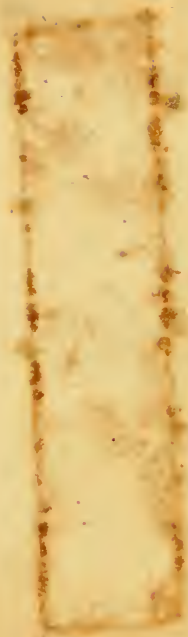
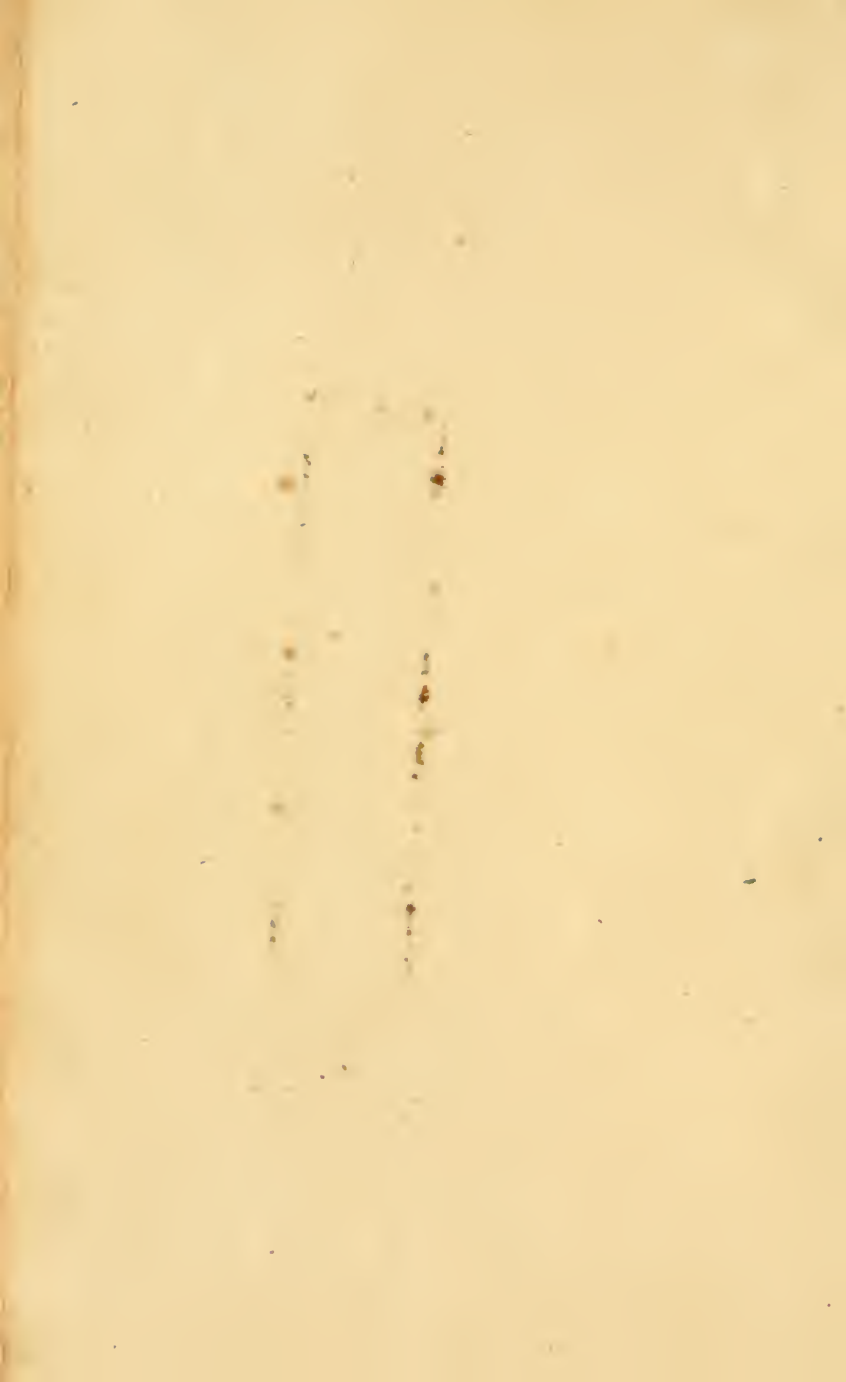




1382.

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T. N. THE TRANSLA-
TOR 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 yong man, a booke of small volume, & since that season he hath at sundry times published it with new encreases still protesting at euery edition himself to be one

of those qui scribendo proficiunt, & proficiendo scribunt, which with their writing do growe in profiting, & with their profiting do proceede in writing. At length hauing in many his other workes trauailed about exposition of sundry bookes of the Scriptures, & in the same finding occasion to discourse of sundry common places & matters of doctrine, which being handled according to the occasions of the text that were offered him & not in any other methode, were not so ready for the readers use, he therefore entred into this purpose, to enlarge this booke of Institutions, & therein to treat of all those titles and common places largely, with this entent, that whensoever any occasion fel in his other bookes to treat of any such cause, he would not newly amplyfie 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 upon him, so hee hastened his labour, and according to his petition to God, he in manner ended his life with his worke, for he liued not long after. So great a iewell was meete to be made most beneficiall, that is to say, applied to most common use. 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 memory Reginald Wolfe and Edward Whitchurch, the one her Maiesties Printer for the Hebrew, Greeke, & Latine tongues the other her Highnes Printer of the bookes of common Prayer. I performed my worke in the house of my saide friende Edward Whitchurch, a man well known of upright hearte and dealing, an auncient zelous Gospeller, as plaine and true a friende as euer I knew liuing, and as desirous to do any thing to common good, specially by the aduancement of true religion. At my said 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 packe great plentie of matter in small roome of wordes, yea and those so circumspectly and precisely ordered, to auoyde the cauillations of such, as for enmitie to the truth therein conteyned, woulde gladly seeke & abuse all aduantages which might be found by any oversight in penning of it, that the sentences were thereby become so full as nothing might well be added with out idle superfluiy, & againe so nicly pared that nothing could be minished without taking away some necessarie substance of matter therein expressed. This manner of writing, beside the peculiar scarmes of artes and figures, & the difficulty of the matters themselves, being throughout enterlaced with the schoolemens controuersies, made a great hardnes in the authors owne booke, in that tongue wherein otherwise he is both plentifull and

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ease, insomuch that it suffiseth not to read him once, vnlesse you can be content to reade in vaine. This consideration encombred me with great doubtfulness for the whole order and fraise of my translation. If I should followe the wordes, I saw that of necessity the hardnes in the translation must needs be greater than was in the tongue wherein it was originally written. If I should leaue the course of wordes, and graunt my selfe liberty after the naturall manner of my owne tongue, to say that in English which I conceaued to be his meaning in Latine, I plainly perceined how hardly I might escape error, and on the other side in this matter of faith and religion, how perrilous 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 knowe that not the onely grammaticall construction of words suffiseth, but the very building and order to obserue all advantages of vehemence or grace, by placing or accent of wordes, maketh much to the true setting forth of a writers minde. In the ende, I rested vpon this determination, to followe the wordes so neere as the phrase of the English tongue would suffer me. Which purpose I so performed, that if the English booke were printed in such paper & letter as the Latine is, it should 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 tongue (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 fewe places, where the great difference of the phrases of the languages enforced me: so that comparing the one with the other, they shall both profitt 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 onely trust mine owne wit or abilitie, but examined my whole doing from sentence to sentence throughout the whole booke with conference and ouerlooking of such learned men, as my translation being allowed by their indgement, I did both satisfie mine owne conscience that I had done truly, and their approouing 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 Whiehed (whome I name with honorable remembrance) did among other, compare with the Latine, examining euery sentence throughout the whole booke. Beside all this, I primatchly required many, and generally all 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 amende it. Since which time I haue not bene 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, so 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 principall matters discoursed in this booke are named by their due titles in order of Alphabet, & vnder euery title is set forth a

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briefe 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, & Section or diuision of the Chapter, where the same doctrine is more largely expressed & proued. And for the redier finding thereof, I haue caused the number of the Chapters to be set upon 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 Romaine letter & smaller volume, with diuerse other Tables, which since my seconde 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 hande, the enterlining of my Copy, and some other causes wel known among workemen of that faculty, made very many faults to passe the Printer, I haue in the second impresson caused the booke to be composed by the printed copy, and corrected by the written: whereby it must needes be that it was much more truly done than the other was, as I my selfe do knowe aboue three hundred faultes amended. And now at this last Printing, the composing after a printed copy bringeth some ease, and the diligence used about the correction, hauing bene right faithfully looked vnto, it cannot be but much more truly set forth. This also is performed, that the volume being smaller, with a letter fayre and legible, it is of more easie price, that it may be of more common use, and so to more large communicating of so great a treasure to those that desire Christian knowledge for instruction of their faith, & 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 wordes in commending the worke it selfe, were needelesse: yet thus much I thinke I may both not vnto and not vainly say, that though many great learned men haue written bookes of common places of our religion, as Melancthon, Sarceuius, and other, whose workes are very good and profitable to the Church of God: yet by the consenting iudgement of those that vnderstand the same, there is none to be compared to this work 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 & new heresies: so that (the holy Scriptures excepted) this is one of the most profitable bookes for all students of Christian diuinitie. Wherin (good Readers) as I am glad for the glory of God, and for your benefite, that you may haue this profite of my trauel, so I beseech you let me haue this use of your gentleness, that my doinges may be construed to such good end as I haue meant them: & that if any thing mislike you by reason of hardnes, or any other cause that may seeme to be my default, you will not forthwith condemne the worke, but read it ofter: in which doing you will finde (as manie haue confessed to me that they haue found by experience) that those things which at the first reading shal displease you for hardnes, shal be found so easie as so hard matter would suffer, & for the most part more easie than some other phrasie which should with greater loosenes & smother sliding away deceiue your vnderstanding. I cōfesse indede it is not finely & pleasantly writtē, nor carrieth with it such delitefull grace of speech as some great wise men haue bestowed upon some folisher things, yet it containeth sound trueth set foorth with faithful plainnes without wrong done to the authors meaning: and so if you accept and use it, you shall not faile to haue great profite thereby, and I shal thinke my labour very well employcd.

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.

1582



WHEN 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 maiestie. Onely my minde was to teache certaine introductions, whereby they that are touched with some zeale of religion might be instructed to true godlinesse. And this trauaile I tooke principally for my contriemen the Frenchmen, of whom I vnderstood very many to hunger and thirst for Christ, but I sawe very fewe that had rightly receiued so much as any litle knowledge of him. And y^e this was my meaning, the boke 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 rounce for sound doctrine: I thought I should do a thing worth my trauaile, all in one worke both to giue an instruction for them, & to declare a confession to you: whereby ye may learne what manner of doctrine that is, against which those furious men burne in so great rage, who at this day trouble your realme with sworde and fier. For I wil not feare to confesse, that I haue in this worke comprehended in manner the summe of that selfe same doctrine, against which they cry out, that it ought to be punished with prisonment, banishment, cōdemnation without iudgement, and with fier, that it ought to be chased away by land and sea. I knowe in deede with how hainous informations they haue filled your minde and eares, to make our cause most hatefull vnto you: but this of your clemencie ought you to wey, y^e there shalbe no innocence, neither in wordes nor deedes, if it may be enough to accuse. Truly if any, to bring the same in hatred, shall allege that this Doctrine whereof I nowe go about to yeld account vnto you, hath bene long ago condemned by cōsent of all degrees, and atteinted by many iudgements already giuen in iudicial courts: all that he sayth shal amount to no more but that it hath partly bin violently throwen downe by the banding and power of the aduersaries thereof, and partly bene traiterously and fraudulently oppressed with their lies and suttile practises and sclaunders. Herein is violence shewed, that without hearing the cause, bloody sentences are pronounced against it: herein is fraude, that it is without deseruing accused of sedition and euil doing. And that none may thinke that we wrongfully complaine of these thinges, you your selfe can beare vs witnesse, most noble king, with how lieng sclaunders it is dayly accused vnto you: as, that it tendeth to no other end but to writh from kings their scepters out of their handes, to throwe downe all iudges seates and iudgements, to subuete all orders and ciuil governments,

To the French King.

to trouble the peace and quiet of the people, to abolish all lawes, to vndoe all proprieties and possessions, finally to turne all things vpside downe. And yet you heare the smallest portion. For horrible things they spread abroad among the people: which if they were true, the whole worlde might worthily iudge it with the maintainers thereof, worthy of a thousand fiers and gallowes. Who can now maruell that a common hatred is kindled against it, where such most wrongfull accusations are beleueed? Lo, this is the cause y^e all degrees agree & conspire to the condemning of vs & our doctrine. They that sit to iudge, being rauished 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 commaund no man to be drawn to execution, but such as are found guilty either by their owne confession or by sufficient witnessse. But of what fault? of that condemned doctrine, say they. But by what lawe condemned? Herein should haue stand the succor of defence for them, not to denie the doctrine it selfe, but to mainteine it for true. But here is all libertie once to mutter, vtterly cut of from vs.

Wherefore I doe not vniustly require, most victorious King, that it may please you to take into your own hand the whole hearing of the cause which hitherto hath bene troublesomely handled or rather carelesly tossed without all order of lawe, more by outrageous heat than iudiciall grauitie. Neither yet thinke, that I here goe about to make mine owne priuate defense, whereby I may procure to my selfe a safe returne into my natieue contrie, to which although I beare such affection of natural loue as becommeth me: yet as the case now 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 bene by all meanes torne & troden downe in your kingdome, lieth as it were in dispaired case, and that in deede rather by the tyrannie of certeine Pharisees, than by your owne knowledge. But howe that cometh to passe, it is not here needfull to tell: truely it lieth in great distress. For thus farre haue the vngodly preuailed, that the trueth of Christ, if it be not destroyed being chased away and scattered abroad, yet it lieth hidden as buried and vnregarded: as for the silly poore Church, it is either wasted with cruell slaughters, and so driuen away with banishments, or dismayed with threatens & terrors, that it dare not once open her mouth. And yet stil they continue with such rage & fiercenes as they are wont, thrusting strongly against the wall already bending & the ruine which theselues haue made. In the meane time no man steppeth forth, to set him selfe in defense 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 vnskilfulnesse of ignorant men. For thus the good natured men forsooth do speake, calling that error & vnskilfulnesse which they know to be the most certaine trueth of God: calling them ignorant men, whose wit they see that Christ hath not so despised but that he hath vouchefaued to communicate to them the mysteries of his heauenly wisdom. So much are all ashamed of the Gospel. It shalbe your office (most noble King) not to turne away
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shall not onely be no Christians, but also no men? For though some of them doe plenteously glut themselues, & other some liue with gnawing of poore crustes; yet they liue all of one pot, which without these warming helps should not onely waxe cold, but also throughly freeze. Therefore howe much more euery of the is carefull for his belly, so much more earnest warrier he is for their faith. Finally they all endeuer themselues to this, to kepe still either both kingdome safe, and their belly full: but of pure zeale none of them sheweth any token, be it neuer so litle. Neither yet so do they cease to slander our doctrine, and by al the colours that they can, to accuse and defame it, wherby they may bring it into hatred or suspiciō. They call it new, & lately forged: they cauil that it is doubtful, & vncerteine: they demaunde by what miracles it is cōfirmed: they aske whether it be meete that it shold preuaile against the consent of so many holy Fathers, and the most auncient custome: they presse vpon vs to confes it to be schismatical, which moueth warre against the Church, or that the Church hath lien dead in many ages in which no such thing hath beene hearde of. Last of all they say, that there neede no arguments, for (say they) it may by the frutes be iudged of what sort it is, namely which hath bredde so huge a heape of sectes, so many turmoiles of seditions, so great licentiousnesse of vices. Truly ful easy it is for them, to triumph vpon a forsaken cause before the light beleeting and ignorant multitude. But if we might also haue our turne likewise allowed vs to speake, verily this sharpe heate would sone be cooled wherewith they do so with full mouth and as licentiously as vnpunishedly some against vs.

Rom. 4. 25.

First, whereas they call it newe, they do great wrong to God, whose holy word deserued not to be accused of newnesse. To them in deede I nothing dout that it is new, to whom Christ is newe, and his Gospel is new. But they which knewe that preaching of Paul to be olde, that Iesus Christe died for our sinnes, and rose againe for our iustification, shall finde nothing newe among vs. Whereas it hath long lien hidden vnknown, and buried: that is the fault of the vngodlines of men. Nowe sith it is by the bountifulnesse of God restored to vs, it ought at least by right of full restitution to receiue againe the title of auncientie.

Esa. 1 3.

Out of the same fountaine of ignorance springeth this, that they rake it for doubtfull and vncertaine. This verily is it which the Lord by his Prophet complaineth, that the oxew knewe his owner, and the asse his maisters stall, but his people knewe not him. But howefouer they mocke at the vncertaintie of it: if they were driuen to seale their owne doctrine with their own bloud, & with losse of their life, men might see how much they set by it. But farre other is our affiance, which dreadeth neither the terrors of death, nor yet the very iudgement feare of God.

Whereas they require miracles of vs, they deale vnreasonably with vs. For we coyne no new Gospell, but hold fast the selfe same Gospell for confirming of the truth whereof all the miracles doe serue that cuer Christ and his Apostles haue done. But this thing they haue special about vs, that they can euen to this day confirme their faith with continuall miracles. Yea but rather they aleadge miracles, which may weaken a minde otherwise well
stabil-

stablished: they are so either trifling and worthy to be laughed at, or vaine
 and lying. And yet, although they were neuer so monstrous, they ought not
 to haue ben of any value against the word of God: forasmuch as the name
 of God ought both in euery place & at euery time to be hallowed, whether
 it be by miracles or by natural order of things. This false colour might par-
 adventure haue made the better shewe, if the Scripture did not informe vs
 of the lawfull end and vse of miracles. For, Marke teacheth that the signes
 which folowed the preaching of the Apostles were set forth for the confir-
 ming of it: Likewise Luke also saith that the Lord did beare witness to y^e word
 of his grace, when signes and wonders were shewed by the handes of the A-
 postles. Wherwith 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 diuerse powers. But those
 things which we heare to be the sealings of the Gospell, shall we turne to the
 destroying of the credit of the Gospell? those things which are appointed
 onely to stablish the trueth, shall we apply to confirming of lyes? 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 marke, if it tende not to the seeking of the glorie of men, but of
 God. Sith Christ affirmeth this to be the prooffe of doctrine, miracles are
 wrongfully esteemed which are drawn to any other ende than to glorifie y^e
 name of God alone. And we ought to remember that Sathan hath his mira-
 cles, which although they be juggling deceites rather than true powers, yet
 are such as may deceiue the ignorant & vnskillful. Magicians & enchanter
 haue bin alway famous in miracles: wonderfull miracles haue nourished i-
 dolatrie: which yet doe not proue to vs, that the superstition of Magicians
 and idolaters is lawfull. And with this battning ramme in olde time the Do-
 natistes did shake the simplicitie of the common people, for that they excel-
 led in miracles. Therefore we doe nowe make the same aunswere to our ad-
 uersaries, which Augustine then made to the Donatistes: that the Lord hath
 made vs ware against such miracle workers, when he foretolde that there
 should come false prophetes, which with lying signes and diuerse wonders,
 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,
 and lying wonders. But these miracles (say they) are done not of idols, not
 of forserers, not of false prophetes, but of the Saintes. As though we knewe
 not that this is the craft of Satan, to transfigure himselfe into an Angell of
 light. In olde time the Egyptians worshipped Ieremy which was buried a-
 mong them, with sacrifices and other diuine honors. Did not they abuse the
 holy Prophet of God to idolatry? And yet by such worshipping of his tombe,
 they obtained that they thought the healing of the stinging of the serpents
 to be the iust rewarde thereof. What shall we say: but that this hath bin and
 euer shall be the most iust vengeance of God, to send strength of illusion to
 them that haue not receiued the loue of truth, that they may beleue lying?

Mar. 16. 20.

Act. 14. 3.
Heb. 2. 4.

Iohn. 7. 18.
and 8. 50.

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

Hieron. in
p^resa. Ierem.

2. Thef. 2.
11.

lations.

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lations . As for miracles which they bring forth for themselves, they are meere illusions of Satan, forasmuch as they lead away the people from the true worshipping of their God to vanitie.

Moreouer, they doe slanderously set the Fathers against vs (I meane the auncient Fathers & the writers of y^e 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 victory (to speake euen most modestly) would bend to our side . But whereas many things haue bin excellently wel & wisely writen of those Fathers, & in some things, that hath happened to them which is wont to happen to men: these good natural children forsooth, according to the rightnes that they haue, both of wit, iudgement, and minde, do worship only their faultes and errours: & those things which are well spoken, they either marke not, or faine as if they knew them not, or do corrupt them: so as a man may say that their care was altogether to gather dunge in of the golde of the Fathers . Then they oppresse vs with importunate crying out against vs, as despisers and enemies of the Fathers. But we do so not despise them, that if it were the matter of my present purpose, I could very easily proue by their consenting voices, the greater parte of these things that we say at this day . But we so reade their writings, that

1 Cor. 3. 21.

Prover. 22.

28.

Pl. 45. 11.

we alway remember, that all things are ours, to serue vs, not to haue dominion ouer vs: and that we are Christes alone, whome wee must obey in all things without exception. Who so kepeth not this choise, shall haue nothing certaine in religion: forasmuch as those holy men were ignorant of many things, do oftentimes striue one with another, yea and sometimes fight with themselves. Not without cause (say they) we 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 & the house of her Father. If they haue so great delite to vse allegories, why do they not rather expounde the Apostles, than any other, to be their Fathers, whose appointed boundes it is not lawfull to plucke vp? for so did Hierom expounde it, whose wordes they haue registred among their Canons. But if they wil haue the boundes of the

Acatius Tri-
part. hist. libr.

21. c. 16.

Abros. de of-
fic. lib. 2. c. 28

same Fathers, whom they meane, to be stedfastly kept: why do they, so oft as they list, so licentiously passe them? Of the ũmber of the Fathers were they, of whom the one said, that our God eateth not, nor drinketh, and that therefore he needeth neither cuppes nor dishes: the other said, y^e the holy things require not gold, and that those thinges please not with gold which are not bought with gold. Therefore they passe the bounde, which are in the holy things somuch delited with golde, siluer, iuorie, marble, precious stones and silkes, and thinke that God is not rightly worshipped, vnlesse altogether they be dissolutely set out with exquisite gorgeoufnes, or rather with outra-

Spyridion tri-
part. hist. lib. 1.

cap. 10.

Tripart. hist.
lib. 8. cap. 13

giuous excessse. A Father was he, which said, y^e 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 fleshe in Lent. Fathers were they, of whom the one said y^e a Monke which laboureth

not

not with his handes, is iudged as euill as a violent taker, or (if you wil) a robber: The other said, that it is not lawfull for Monkes to liue of other mens goods, although they be continually busied in contemplations, in prayers, in studie. This bounde also they haue passed, when they placed the sale and barrell bellies of Monks in stewes and brothelhouses to be fatted with other mens substance. A Father was he, which saide, that it is a horrible abomination to see any image painted, either of Christ or of any 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 walles. They are farre from holding themselves within these boundes, when they leaue not one corner without images. An other Father counselled, that hauing done the duetie of natural kindenesse 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 testified that the substance of bread and wine in the sacrament of the Supper so remaineth and ceaseth not, as in the Lord Christ remaineth the substance and nature of man ioyned with the substance of God. Therefore they passe measure, which saine that after the words of the Lord rehearsed, the substance of bread and wine ceaseth, that it may be transubstantiate into his holy 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 removed those bounds, when they fill not only Churches, but also priuate houses with their masses, and admit all men to looke vpon them, and euery man so much more gladly as hee more largely payeth, howe vnclane and wicked so euer they be: 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 whom the one decreed, that they should be altogether debarred from y^e 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 Lord ought not to be denied, for the confession whereof they are commaunded to shedde their owne blood. These bounds also they haue taken away, when they haue by an inuolable lawe commanded the selfe same thing which the one of these Fathers punished with excommunication, and the other reprobud with a strong reason. A Father was he, which affirmed it to be rashnes to determine any thing of a doubtfull matter on the one side or the other, without cleare and euident witnessings of the Scripture. This bounde they forgot, when they stablished so many constitutions, so many canons, so many maisterly determinations, without any word 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 fastings. This bound also they haue farre passed, when they commanded fasting with most straight lawes. A Father was he, which denied that marriage

August. de opere monach cap. 17.

Epiphani. in epist. ad Hier. 26. sa.

Concil. Eliberti. cap. 36. Ambro. de Abra. lib. 1. cap. 9.

Gelasius Pap. in Concil. Roma.

Chrysost. in 1. cap. Eph. s. Calix. Papa de consecra. dist. 2.

Gelasius canon. Comperimus. De consecra. dist. 2. Cypria. epist. 2. lib. 1. de lapsis.

August. lib. 2. de peccat. mer. cap. 12.

Apolon. ecclesiaz. hist. lib. 5. cap. 12.

Paphnuzus. scripar. hist. lib. 2. ca. 4.

Cyprian. epist. 2. lib. 2.

August. cap. 2 contra Crescon. gramat.

age ought to be forbidden to ministers of the Church, and pronounced a mans lying with his owne wife to be chastic: and Fathers were they, which agreed to his authoritic. Beyond these bounds haue they gone, when they seuerely enioyned vnmarried life to their sacrificers. A Father was he which iudged, that onely Christ ought to be hearde, of whom it is said, Hearc him: and that we ought not to haue regarde, what other men which were before vs, haue sayde or done, but what Christ (which is the first of all) hath commaunded. This bounde neither do they appoint to themselues, nor do suffer other to haue it appointed them, when they set both ouer themselues & other any maisters whatsoeuer they be, rather than Christ. A Father was he, which affirmed that y^e Church ought not to set it selfe before Christ, because he alway iudged truely: but the iudges of the Church, as men, are commonly deceaued. They breaking through this bound also, sticke not to affirme that the whole authority of the Scripture, hangeth vpon the awardment of the Church. All the Fathers haue with one heart accursed, and with one mouth pronounced it abominable, that the holy word of God should be entangled with the subtilties of Sophisters, & brawlings of Logitians. Do they holde themselues within these boundes, when they goe about nothing else in their whole life, but with endles struiues, and more than Sophisticall brablings to wrap & encombre the simplicitie of the Scripture? so that if the Fathers were now raised to life againe, & should heare such an art of brawling, which these men cal Speculatiue Diuinitie, they would beleue that nothing lesse is done than any disputation had of God. But my talke should spread it selfe beyond due boundes, if I would reckon vp how boldly these men shake of the yoke of the Fathers, whose obedient children they would seeme to be. Truely both monethes & yeares would be too litle for me. And yet they are of so extreme and desperat shamelesnesse, that they dare blame vs for that we sticke not to passe the auncient boundes.

But now whereas they call vs to custome, they nothing preuaile. For we should be most vniustly dealt with, if we should be driuen to yeld to custom. Truely 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 be done of many, by and by obtaineth the right of a Custome. But the state of men hath scarcely at any time bin in so good case, that the better things pleased the greater number. Therefore for the most part of the priuate vices of many hath bin made a publike errour, or rather a common consent of vices, which now these good men would haue to stand for a lawe. Who so haue eyes do see that not only one sea of euils hath overflowed, many poysonous pestilences haue inuaded the world, that al things runne headlong to ruine: so that either the matters of men must be vtterly despeired, or we must lay hande vnto, or rather vse violence vpon so great euils. And remedy is by no other reason driuen away, but because we haue now long time accustomed vs to euils. But be it that publike errour haue place in matters of common weale: yet in the kingdome of God his onely truth is to be hearde and regarded, to which by no succeeding course of yeares, by no custome, by no conspired agreement, may any prescription be

Decret. dist. 8. ca. si. Ex. de consuet.

To the French King.

limited. So in olde time Esay taught the electe of God, that they shoulde not say Conspiring, to all thinges in which the people saide Conspiring: that is to say, that they shoulde not conspire together to the wicked agreement of the people, nor shoulde feare and dread the peoples feare: but rather that they shoulde 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 Lord of hostes, we wil not be much afraid For whether it be y^e manie ages haue consented to like vngodlines, he is strong to take vengeance to the third & fourth generation: or if the whole world together conspire into one selfe same wickednes, hee hath by experience taught what is the end of them that offend with y^e multitude, when he did with a generall ouerflowing destroy the whole kinde of men, preserving Noe with a small household, which shoulde by his faith being but one man condemne the whole worlde. Finally an euil custome, is none other than a common pestilence, in which they do neuertheless dye that die with company of a multitude. Moreo uer 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 maner excusable: but who so obstinately refuse y^e truth offred by the grace of God, they haue nothing to pretend for their excuse.

As for their double horned argument, they doe not driue vs to so hard a streight with it, to compel vs to confesse, that either the Church hath lyen dead a certain time, or that we haue controuersie against the Church. Truly the Church of Christ hath liued & shal liue, so long as Christ shal reigne at the right hande of the Father: by whose hande she is vpholden, by whose succour she is defended, by whose power she keepeth her safetie. For he will vndoubtedly performe that which hee 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 do with one consent together with all the people of the faithful honor and worship the one God and Christ the Lorde, in like sort as he hath alway bene worshipped of all the godlie. But they themselves not a litle way erre from the truth, when they acknowledge no Church, but which they see with present eie, and go about to compass it about with those bounds in which it is not enclosed. Vpon these points hangeth our controuersie: first that they affirme that the forme of the Church is alway appearing and to be seene: then, that they set the same forme in the see of the Church of Rome, & in the order of their prelat. We on the contrary side affirme, both that the Church may consist of no appearing forme, and that the forme it selfe is not contained in that outward shining shewe, which they foolishly haue in admiration, but hath a far other mark, namely the pure preaching of the word of God, and the right ministration 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 Iewes to be 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 y^e comming of Christ hath it lien hidden without forme? How since that time

Esai. 8. 12.

Gen. 7. 1.
He. 11. 7.

Epist. 3. lib.
1. & in epist.
ad Iulian, de
hęc. bapti-
za.

Mat. 28. 20.

1. King. 19.
12.

hath

hath it bene so oppressed with warres, seditions, and heresies, that it shined out on no side? If they had liued at that time, woulde they haue beleued that there was any Church? But it was sayde to Helias, that there were preferred seuen thousand men, which had not bowed their knee before Baall. Neither ought it to be doubtfull to vs but that Christ hath alway reigned in earth since he ascended into heauen. But if the godly had then sought any discernable forme with their eyes, should they not by and by haue bin discouraged? And verily Hylarie 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 sayth: Oae 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 buildinges: vnder them ye do ill thrust in the name of Peace. It is doubtfull that in those Antichrist shall sitte? Mountaines and woods, and lakes, and prisons, and caues are safer for me. For in these the Prophets, when they were either abiding or throwen into them, did propheticie. But what doth the world at this day honour in his horned Bishoppes, 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 Lorde, forasmuch as he alone knoweth who be his, and sometime also taketh away from the sight of men the ouuarde knowledge of his Church. That is (I graunt) a horrible vengeance of God vpon the earth. But if the wickednes of men so deserue, why do we seeke to withstand 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 trueth, and had quenched his light, he suffred them being blinded in sense, both to be mocked with lyes full of absurditie, and to be drowned in deepe darkenes, so that there was no face of the true Church to be seene. Yet in the meane time he saued his both being scattered abroad and lying hidden in the middest of errors and darkenesse, from destruction. And no maruell. For he can skill to saue both in the very confusion of Babylon, and in the flame of the burning ouen. But whereas they woulde haue the forme of the Church to be iudged by I wote not what vaine pompous shew: howe perilous 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 Bishoppes 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 can not erre. How so? because they are pastors of the church, & consecrate to the Lord. And were not Aaron and the other rulers of Israel also Pastors? But Aaron and his sonnes after that they were made priestes, did yet erre when they made the calfe. After this reason, why should not the foure hundred Prophets which lyed to Achab, haue represented the Church? But the Church was on Micheas side, being indeede but one man alone, and vnregarded, but out of whose mouth came trueth. Did not the false prophets in resemblance beate both the name and face of the Church, when they did

Contra
Auentiu.

2. Tim. 2.
19.

Exo. 32. 4.

1. King. 22.

11.

Ierc. 18. 18.

with

with one violent assault rise vp against Ieremie, and with threatenng boasted that it was not possible that the lawe should perish from the priest, counsell from the wiseman, the word from the Prophet? Ieremie alone was sent against the whole company of the Prophetes, to declare from the Lord, that it should come to passe, that the lawe should perish from the priest, counsell from the wiseman, and the word from the Prophet. Did not such a glistring shew shine in that Councell which the Bishops, Scribes, and Pharisees assembled, to take aduises together for the killing of Christ? Now let them goe and sticke fast in the outward visour, that they may make Christ and all the Prophetes of God, schismatikes: and on the other side make the ministers of Satan, the instruments of the holy Ghost. If they speake as they thinke, let them faithfully answere me, in what nation & place they thinke that the Church remained since the time y by the decree of the Councell at Basile, Eugenius was thrust downe and deprivied from the estate of pope, and Aymee set in his place. They can not, though they would burst for it, deny that the Councell, for so much as concerneth outward solemnities, was lawfull, and summoned not onely of one Pope, but of two. Eugenius was there condemned of schisme, rebellio, and obstinacie, with the whole stocke of Cardinals and Bishops, which had with him practised the desolation of the Councell. Yet afterward being borne vp by the fauour of Princes, he recovered his papacy safe againe. That election of Aymee, which had bin orderly made by the authoritie of a generall and holy Synode, vanished away in a smoke: sauing that he himselfe was appeased with a Cardinals hat, as it were a barking dog with a peece of bread cast vnto him. Out of the bosome of these heretikes, rebels, and obstinates, are proceeded all the Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, Abbots and priestes that haue bin since. Here they are taken and can goe no further. For, to whether side will they giue the name of the Church? Wil they deny that the Councell was generall, which wanted nothing to the outwad maiestie: namely, which being solemnely summoned by two bulles, and well framed in the order of all thinges, continued in the same dignity to the last ende? Wil they confesse Eugenius with al 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 shalbe of vs accounted schismatikes, which wittingly and willingly haue bin ordered of heretikes. If it had neuer before bin knowne, y the Church is not bound to outward pomps, they themselues may be to vs a large prooffe, 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 doinges wherwith 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 very doctrine, the doctrine it selfe, for the which they say that they be the church is a deadly butchery of soules, the firebrand, ruine, and destruction of the Church.

Finally they doe not vprightly enough, when they do spitefully rehearse

howe great troubles, vproes, and contentions the preaching of our doctrine hath drawne with it, & what fruits it now beareth in many. For the blame of these euils is vnworthily laide vpon it, which ought rather to haue bin imputed to the malice of Satan. This is as it were a certaine naturall propertie 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 doe easily shew foorth themselves when they are receiued with fauourable eares of al men, and are heard of y world reioying at them. So in certaine ages past, when al things were drowned in deepe darknes, the Lord of this world made a sport and a play in manner of all men, and lay idle and tooke his pleasure like a certaine Sardanapalus in sounde peace. For, what should he else doe but laugh and play being in quiet and peaceable possession of his kingdome? But when y light shining from about somewhat scattered abroad his darknes, when y strong man troubled & assailed his kingdome, then he began to shake off his wonted drowfines, & hastily to arme himself. And first he stirred vp the force of men, whereby he might violently oppresse y truth beginning to shine. By which whē he nothing preuailed, he turned to subtile entrappings. He stirred vp dissentions & disagreements of doctrines by his Catapartists, & other monstrous lewde men, wherby he might darken it and at length vtterly quench it. And nowe he continueth to assaile it with both engines. For he traueileth both by the force and power of men to plucke vp that seede, and with his darnell (as much as in him lieth) to choke it, that it may not growe and beare fruit. But all this he doth in vaine, if we heare the warning of God, which both hath long before opened his craftes vnto vs, that he should not take vs vnware, and hath armed vs with sufficient defences against all his engines. But how great maliciousnes is it to lay vpon the worde of God, the hatred either of y seditions, which noughty & rebellious men do stirre vp, or of the sectes which deceiuers doe 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 seditious man. The Apostles were accused of making a commotion among the people. What other thing doe they which at this day doe father vpon vs all the troubles, vproes and contentions that boyle 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 stirre vp vproes: but it is they themselves that wastle against the power of God. But as that one thing alone is sufficient to bear backe their rashnes, so againe we ought to meete with the weakenes of other, who oftentimes happen to be moued with such offences, and in their dismaying to wauer. But let them, to the ende that they may not faint with this dismaying and be discouraged, know that the Apostles in their time felte by experience the same things that nowe 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 dispisers of God, which when they heard that sinne abounded to the end that grace might more abound, by & by obiected, We will then abide in sinne, that grace may abound. When they heard that the faith-

1. King. 18.

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

faith-

faithfull are not vnder the lawe, they by and by answered, We wil then sin, 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 enuy and contention, and not purely, yea and maliciously preached the Gospel, thinking to adde more affliction to his bandes. Somewhere the Gospel 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 liberty of the Spirit to the licentiousnes of the flesh. Many brethren crept in, by whome there came afterward great dangers to the godly. Among the brethren themselues 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 forsaken the Gospel, which they sawe to be y^e seedplot of so many contentions, the matter of so many dangers, the occasion of so many offences? No. But for help 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 assurance they being armed, went forward boldly through al dangers of vprores & offences. With y^e same thought we also ought to be vpholden, for asmuch as Paul testifieth that this is the perpetual propertie of y^e Gospel, to be the saueur of death vnto death to them that perish, although it were ordeined to this vse, that it should be the saueur of life vnto life, and the power of God vnto the saluation of the faithfull: which verily we should also feele, if we did not with our vnthankfulnes corrupt this so singular a benifite of God, and turne that to our own destruction which ought to haue bin to vs the onely defence of our safetic.

Philip. 1. 15.

Luk. 2. 34.

2. Cor. 2. 16.

But now I returne to you, my soueraigne Lord. Let those false reportes nothing moue you, by which our aduersaries trauel to cast you in feare of vs, with saying that by this newe Gospell (for so they call it) nothing is hunted for and sought but fit occasion of seditions, and vnpunished libertie of vices. For our God is not the author of diuision, but of peace: and the sonne of God is not the minister of sinne, which came to destroy all the workes of the Diuell. And wee are vnworthily accused of such desires, whereof wee neuer gaue any suspicion were it neuer so small. It is likely that wee forsooth doe practise the ouerthrowing of kingdomes, of whome there hath neuer bene heard any one seditious worde, whose life hath euer bene knowne quiet and simple, when wee liued vnder you, and which nowe being chased from home, yet cease not to pray for all things prosperous to you and your kingdom. It is likely forsooth that we hunt for licentiousnesse of vices, in whose behauiours although many things may be found faulty, yet there is nothing worthy of so great reproching: neither haue we with so ill successe (by the grace of God) profited in the Gospel, but that our life may bee to these backbyters an examplar of chastitie, liberality, mercy, temperance, patience, modesty, & whatsoeuer other vertue. Verily it is by the prooffe it selfe euident y^e we do vnfaignedly feare and worship God, forasmuch as we desire that his name be halowed

both by our life and our death, and enuie it selfe is compelled to beare of some of vs a witness of innocence and ciuile vprightnesse, in whom this onely thing was punished with death, which ought to haue bin accounted for a singular praise. But if any vnder pretence of the Gospell doe stirre vp tumultes (as hitherto it hath not bin founde that there haue bin any such in your Realme) if any pretende the libertie of the grace of God to defend the licentiousnesse of their vices (of which sort I haue knowne many) there bee lawes and penalties of lawes, by which they may according to their desertings 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 venomous iniustice of the sleaunders largely enough declared, that you may not with an care of too easie beliefe bende to their reports. 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 entended not to make a defense indeede, 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 shalbe able to recouer the fauour thereof, if you shall once haue without displeasure and troublous affection red ouer this our confession, which we will to bee in steede of a defense for vs to your maiestie. But if the whisperinges of the malicious doe so possesse your cares, that there is no place for accused men to speake for them selues: and if those outragious furies doe still with your winking at them, exercise crueltie with prisoning, tormenting, cutting and burning: we shall indeede, as sheepe appointed to the slaughter, be brought to al extremities, yet so that in our patience we shall possesse our soules, and waite for the strong hande of the Lorde: which shall without doubt bee present in time, and stretch forth it selfe armed, both to deliuer the poore out of affliction, and to take vengeance on the dispisers, which nowe triumph with so great assurednesse.

The Lord the King of Kinges stablishe your throne with rightcousnesse, and your seate with equitie, most noble King.

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

1536.





IOHN CALVINE TO THE READER.



*T*he first setting out of this worke, because I did not looke for that success, which the Lorde of his unmeasurable goodnes hath given, I had (as men use to doe in small workes) for the more part lightly passed it over. But when I understood that it was received with that favor of all the godly, which I never durst have desired, much lesse have hoped for: as I verily felt in my heart that much more was given to me than I had deserved, so I thought it should be a great unthankfulness if I should not at the least after my slender abilitie enduor to answer so favorable affections toward me, and which of them selues 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 imprimed, so oft hath it bin enriched with some encrease. But although I did not then repent me of the labor that I had employed: yet I neuer held my selfe contented till it was disposed into that order which is now set before you. Now I trust I haue given you that which may be allowed by all your iudgements. Truly with how great enduor I haue applied my selfe to the doing of this seruice to the Church of God, I may bring forth for an euident witness, that this last winter, when I thought that the feur Quatane had summoned me to death, how much more the sicknes enforced upon me, so much lesse I spared my selfe, till I might leaue this booke to ouerline me, which might make some part of thankfull recompence to so gentle prouoking of the godly. I had rather in deede it had bin done sooner: but it is soone enough if well enough. And I shall then thinke that it is come abroade in good season, when I shall perceiue that it hath brought yet more plentifull fruite than it hath done heretofore 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 unskillfull, or the wrongfull and malicious of the wicked. For although God hath throughly seild my minde to the enduor both of enlarging his kingdome, and of helping the common profit: and though I am cleare in mine owne conscience, and haue himselfe and the Angels to witness with me, that since I tooke upon me the office of a teacher in the Church, I haue tended to none other purpose but that I might profit the Church in mainteining the pure doctrine of godlines: yet I thinke there is no man, that hath bin snatched at, bitten, and torne in sunder with moe slaunders than I. When my epistle was now in printing, I was certainly enformed that at Augsburgh where the assembly of the states of the Empire was holden, there was a rumor spread abroad of my resoluing to the Papacie, and

To the Reader.

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 trialls had of my steadfastnes, which trialls as they shake off so foule a sclander, so they shoulde with all indifferent and gentle iudges haue defended me from it. But the Diuell with his whole route is deceiued if in oppressing me with filthy lies, he thinke that by his vniust dealing I shalbe either the more discouraged or made the lesse diligent: because I trust that the Lord of his vnmearurable goodnes will grant me that I may with euen suffe-
rance 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, & go forward in it without stumbling: for I think that I haue in all poynts so knit vp together the summe of religion, and disposed the same in such order, that whosoeuer shall well haue it in mind, it shall not be hard for him to determine both what hee ought chiefly to seeke in the Scripture: and to what marke to apply whatsoeuer is contained in it. Therefore, this as it were a way being once made plaine, if I shall hereafter set forth any expofitions of Scripture, because I shall not neede to enter into long disputations of articles of doctrine, and to wander out into common places: I will alway knit them vp shortly. By this meane the godly reader shalbe eased of great paine and tediousnes, so that he come furnished aforehand with the knowledge of this present worke as with a necessary instrument. But because the intent of this purpose, doth clearely as in mirrors appeare in so many commentaries of mine, I had rather to declare indeede what it is, than to set it out in wordes. Fare well frendly 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 profuing, and profit in writing.

WHAT CHAPTERS ARE contained in the bookes of this Institution.

*In the first booke which intreateth of the knowledge of God the
Creator: Are contained xviiij. Chapters.*



That the knowledge the true God against all the Gods of God, and of our the Gentiles, reckoning him for none selues, are things of them.

conioyned: and how 11 That it is vnlawfull to attribute they bee linked the vnto God a visible forme, and that ge- one with the other. nerally, they forsake God, so many

2 What it is to knowe God, and to as doe erect to themselues any ima- what ende tendeth the knowledge of ges. him. 12 That God is seuerally discerned

3 That the knowledge of God is na- from idols, that he may be onely and turally planted in the minds of men. wholly worshipped.

4 That the same knowledge is ei- 13 That there is taught in the scrip- ther choked or corrupted, partly by tures one essence of god from the ve- ignorance, and partly by malice. 14 creation, which essence containeth

5 That the knowledge of God doth in it three prsons. shingly appeare in the making of 14 That the Scripture euen in the the world, and in the continuall go- creation of the world & of all things, uernement thereof. doth by certaine markes put diffe-

6 That to attaine to God the crea- rence betweene the true God, and tor, it is needefull to haue the Scrip- saigned Gods.

7 By what testimonie the Scripture wherein there is entreated of the ought to be stablished, that is, by the powers of the soule, and of the image witnessse of the holy Ghost, that the of God, of free will, and of the first authority thereof may remaine cer- integritic of nature.

8 That so farre as mans reason may parts thereof. tion to saye that the credit thereof nourish and mainteine the worlde, doth hang vpon the iudgement of the which himselfe hath created, and by Church. his prouidence doeth gouerne all the

9 That those fantastical men, which be certaine of the profit thereof. 17 Whereto and to what ende this stablish the credit of the Scripture. doctrine is to be applied, hat we may

10 That the Scripture, to correct al execution, that yet still himselfe re- superstition, doth in comparison set maineth pure from all spot. forsaking Scripture, resort vnto re- 18 That God doth so vse the ser- uelation, doe ouerthrowe all the prin- uice of wicked men, and so boweth ciples of godlinesse. their mindes to put his iudgement in

10 That the Scripture, to correct al execution, that yet still himselfe re- superstition, doth in comparison set maineth pure from all spot.

The Table.

In the second booke 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: Are contained xvij. Chapters.

- 1 **T**hat by Adams sinne and falling away, mankinde became accursed, and did degenerate from his first estate: wherein is entreated of Originall sinne.
- 2 That man is nowe spoyled 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 heartes 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 lawe was giuen, not to holde still the people in it, but to nourishe the hope of saluation in Christ vntill his comming.
- 8 An exposition of the morall lawe.
- 9 That Christ although hee was knowne to the Iewes vnder the lawe, yet was hee deliuered onely by the
- 10 Of the likenesse of the olde and newe Testament.
- 11 Of the difference of the one Testament from the other.
- 12 That it behooued, that Christ to performe the office of the Mediator, should be made man.
- 13 That Christ tooke vpon him the true substance of the flesh of man.
- 14 Howe the natures of the Mediator doe make one person.
- 15 That wee may knowe to what end Christ was sent of his father, and what he brought vs: three things are principally to be considered in him, his Prophetical office, his kingdome, and his Priesthoode.
- 16 Howe 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 truly and properly said, that Christ hath deserued Gods fauour and saluation for vs.

In the third Booke which intreateth of the maner howe to receiue the grace of Christ, and what fruites come thereof to vs, and what effectes followe of it: Are contained xxv. Chapters.

- 1 **T**hat those things which are spoken of Christ doe profit 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 we 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 supplynges which they adde to satisfactions, as Pardons and Purgatorie.
- 6 Of the life of a Christian man. And firste 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 part of the forsaking of

The Table.

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| <p>our felues.</p> <p>9 Of the meditation of the life to come.</p> <p>10 How we ought to vse this present life, and the helpes thereof.</p> <p>11 Of the Iustification of faith, and first of the definition of the name & of the thing.</p> <p>12 That to the ende we may be fully persuaded of the free Iustification, we must lift vp our minds to y^e iudgement seate of God.</p> <p>13 That there are two things to be marked in free Iustification.</p> <p>14 What is the beginning of Iustification, and the continual proceeding thereof.</p> <p>15 That those things that are commonly boasted concerning the merites of workes, do ouerthrowe as wel the praise of God in giuing of righteousness, as also the assurednesse of saluation.</p> <p>16 A confutation of the slaunders,</p> | <p>wherby the Papists go about to bring this doctrine in hatred.</p> <p>17 The agreement of the promises of the Lawe and the Gospell.</p> <p>18 That of y^e reward, the righteousness of workes is ill gathered.</p> <p>19 Of Christian libertie.</p> <p>20 Of Prayer which is the chiefe exercise of faith, and wherby we daily receiue the benefites of God.</p> <p>21 Of the eternall election, wherby God hath predestinate some to saluation, some other to destruction.</p> <p>22 A confirmation of this doctrine by the testimonies of Scripture.</p> <p>23 A confutation of the slaunders, wherewith this doctrine hath alway beene vniuistly charged.</p> <p>24 That Election is established by the calling of God: and that the reprobate doe bring vpon themselves the iust destruction, to which they are appointed.</p> <p>25 Of the last Resurrection.</p> |
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In the fourth Booke which entreateth of the outward meanes or helpes whereby God calleth vs into the felowship of Christ, and holdeth vs in it: Are contained xx. Chapters.

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| <p>1 OF the true Church with which we ought to keepe vnitie, because it is the mother of all the godly.</p> <p>2 A comparison of the false Church with the true Church.</p> <p>3 Of the teachers and ministers of the Church, and of their Election and office.</p> <p>4 Of the state of the olde Church, & of the maner of gouerning that was in vse before the Papacy.</p> <p>5 That the olde forme of gouernment is vterly ouerthrowen by the tyranny of the Papacie.</p> <p>6 Of the Supremacie of the Sea of Rome.</p> <p>7 Of the begining and encreasing of the Papacy of Rome, vntill it ad-</p> | <p>vanced it selfe to this height, wherby both the libertie of the Church hath beene oppressed, and all the right gouernement therof ouerthrowen.</p> <p>8 Of the power of y^e Church as touching the articles of faith: and with how vnbridled licentiousnesse it hath in the Papacy beene wrested to corrupt all purenesse of doctrine.</p> <p>9 Of Councells and of their authoritie.</p> <p>10 Of the power in making of lawes wherein the Pope and his haue vsed a most cruell tyranny & butchery vpon soules.</p> <p>11 Of the iurisdiction of the Church, and the abuse thereof, such as is seene in the Papacy.</p> |
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The Table.

- 12 Of the discipline of the Church, what it auaieth vs.
whereof the chiefe vse is in the cen- 18 Of the Popish Masse, by which
sures and excommunication. sacriledge the supper of Christ hath
3 Of vowes, by rashe promising not onely bene prophaned, but also
whereof ech man hath miserably en- brought to nought.
tangled himselfe. 19 Of the five falsely named Sacra-
14 Of Sacramentes. ments: where is declared, y^e the other
15 Of Baptisme. five which haue bene hitherto com-
16 That the Baptisme of Infantes monly taken for Sacramentes, are not
doth very well agree with the institu- Sacramentes: and then is shewed
tion of Christ, and the nature of the what manner of things they be.
signe. 20 Of ciuill gouernement.
17 Of the holy Supper of Christ: &

THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE INSTITVTION OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION, which intreateth of the know- ledge of God the Creator.

The first Chapter.

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



THE whole summe in a maner of all our wisdom, which onely ought to be accompted true and perfect wisdom, consisteth in two partes, that is to say, the knowledge of God, & 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 needes by and by turne all his senses to the beholding of God, in whome he liueth & is moued: because it is plaine, that those gifts 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 drop-meale powred into vs from heauen, we are led as it were by certain streames to the spring head. And so by our owne needinesse, better appeareth that infinite plentie of good things that abideth in God. Specially that miserable ruine, whereinto the fall of the first man hath thrown vs, compelleth vs to lift vp our eyes, not onely being foodeles and hungry, 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 certeine world of all miseries, & since we haue bene spoyled of the diuine apparell, our shamefull nakednesse discloseth an infinite heape of filthie disgracements: it must needes be that euery man be pricked with knowledge in conscience of his owne unhappinesse to make him come at y least vnto some knowledge of God. So by the vnderstanding of our ignorance, vanitie, beggery, weaknes, perversenes, and corruption, wee learne to reknowledge that no where else but in the Lorde abideth the true light of wisdom, sound vertue, perfect abundance, of all good things, and puritie of righteousnes. And so by our own euils we are stirred to consider the good things of God: and we cannot earnestly aspire towards him, vntill we beginne to mislike our selues. For of all men what one is there, that would not willingly rest in him selfe: 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 misery? Therefore euery man is by the knowledge of him selfe, not onely pricked forward to seeke God, but also led as it were by the hand to finde him.

2 Again it is certeine, that man neuer commeth vnto y true knowledge
of

of himselfe, vnlesse he hath first beholden the face of God, and from beholding therof do 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 conuinced of our vnrighteousnesse, filthines, follie and vncleannes. But we are not conuinced therof, if we looke vpon our selues only, and not vpon God also, who is the only rule wherby this iudgement ought to be tryed. For because we are naturally inclined to hypocrisse, therefore a certaine vaine resemblance of righteousness doth abundantly content vs in stead of righteousness in deede. And because there appeareth nothing among vs, nor about vs, y^e is not defiled with much filthines, therefore that which is somewhat lesse filthy pleaseth vs as though it were most pure, so long as we holde our selues within the bounds of mans vncleannes. Like as the eye 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 behold those things that rounde about ly open before our eyes, then we thinke our selues to haue very assured and pearcing force of sight: but when we looke vp to the sunne, and beholde it with fixed eyes, then that same sharpenes that was of great force vpon the ground, is with so great brightnes by and by daseled and confounded, that we are compelled to cōfessiō the same sharp sight which we had in considering earthly things, when it commeth to the sunne, is but meere dulnes. Euen so commeth it to passe in weying our spirituall good things. For while we looke no further than the earth, so long being well contented with our owne righteousness, wisdom and strength, we do sweetely flatter our selues, and thinke vs in manner halfe gods. But if wee once beginne to raise vp our thought vnto God, and to wey what a one he is, and howe 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 lothsome to vs as greatest wickednesse: then that which did marueilously deceiue vs vnder colour of wisdom, shall stink before vs as extreme folly: then y^e which did beare the face of strength, shall be proued to be most miserable weakenes. So slenderly doth y^e which in vs seemeth euen most perfect, answer in proportion to the purenes of God.

3 Hereof proceedeth that trembling & amasednes, wherewith the scripture in manie places reciteth that the holy men were stricken & astonished so oft as they perceiued the presence of God. For when we see y^e they which in his absence did stand assured & vmoued, so sone as he discloseth his glory, begin so to quake and are so dismayd, y^e they fall downe, yea are swallowed vp, & in maner as destroyed with feare of death: it is to be gathered therby that man is neuer sufficiently touched & inwardly moued with knowledge of his owne basenes, vntill he haue compared himselfe to y^e maiestie of God. But of such disinaying we haue often examples both in the Iudges & in y^e Prophets: so that this was a common saying among the people of God: We shall dye because the Lorde hath appeared vnto vs. And therefore the history of *Iob*,

to throwe men downe with knowledge of their owne folly, weaknes, and vncleannes, bringeth alway his principall prooffe from describing Gods wisdom, strength & clenness. And that not without cause. For we see how *Abraham*, the nerer 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 tary his comming to him with vncouered face: so terrible is the beholding of him. And what may man do 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 shalbe ashamed, when the Lord of hostes shall raigne, that is to say, when he displayeth his brightures, and bringeth it nearer to sight, then in comparison thereof the brightest thing of all shall be darkened. But howsoeuer the knowledge of God and of our selues, are with mutuall knot linked together, yet the order of right teaching requireth that first we intreat of the knowledge of God, & after come downe to speake of the knowledge of our selues.

Gen. 18. 17.

1. King. 19.

13.

Esa. 24. 23.

Esa. 2. 10.

and 19.

The second Chapter.

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

I Meane by the knowledge of God, not only that knowledge, whereby we conceiue that there is some God, but also that, wherby we learne so much as behoueth vs to know of him, and as is profitable for his glory, finally so much as is expedient. For, to speake properly, we can not say that God is known where there is no religion nor godlinesse. But here I doe not yet touch that special 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 only of y^e first and simple maner of knowledge, whereunto the very 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 eyther a father, or author of saluation, or in any wise fauourable, vnles Christ come as a meane to pacifie him towarde vs: yet it is one thing to feele that God our maker doth by his power sustaine vs, by his prouidence gouerne vs, by his goodnes nourish vs, and endue vs with all kindes of blessings: and an other thing to embrace the grace of reconciliation offered vs in Christ. Whereas therefore the Lord first simply appeareth as well by the making of the world, as by the generall doctrine of the scripture, to be the Creator, and then in the face of Christ to be the redeemer: hereupon arise two sortes of knowing him, of which the former is now to be intreated of, and then the other shal orderly folow in the place fit for it. For although our mind cannot conceiue y^e knowledge of God, but y^e it must giue to him some kind of worship, yet shal it not be sufficient simply to know that it is he only that ought to be honored & worshipped of all men, vnles we be also perswaded that he is the fountaine of al good things, to the end that we should seeke for no thing elsewhere but in him. I meane hereby, not onely for that as he hath once created this worlde, so by his infinite power hee sustaineth it, by his wisdom he gouerneth it, by his goodnes hee preserueth it, and

and specially mankind he ruleth by his righteousness & 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 righteousness, 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 verely, that we should learne to looke for & craue all these things at his hand, & with thanksgueing account them receiued of him. For this feeling of the powers of God is to vs a meere scholemaster of godlines, out of which springeth religion: Godlines I cal a reuerence of God ioined with loue of him which is procured by knowledge of his benefites. For men will neuer with willing obedience submit themselues to God, vntill they perceiue that they owe al 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 yeld themselues truely & with all their hart wholly to him, vnles they assuredly belecue that in him is perfect felicitie reposed for them.

2 Therefore they do but trifle with vaine speculations, which in entreating of this question, do make it their purpose to discusse, what thing God is, where it rather behoueth vs to know what maner one he is, & what agreeth with his nature. For to what end serueth it to confesse as Epicure doth, that there is a God which doth onely delight him selfe with idleness, 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 hand, and to account them receiued of him. For how can any thought of God enter into thy mind, but that thou must therewithall by & by thinke, that forasmuch as thou art his creature, therefore thou art of right subiect & bound to his authoritie, that thou owest him thy life, y whatsoeuer thou enterprisest, whatsoeuer thou doest, ought to be directed to him? If this be true, then truely it foloweth that thy life is peruersely corrupted if it be not framed to obeying of him, forasmuch as his will ought to be our law to liue by. Againe, y canst not cleerely see him, but that thou must needs know that he is the fountaine and originall of all good things, whereupon should growe both a desire to cleaue vnto him, and an assured trust in him, if mans owne corruptnes did not drawe his minde from the right searching of him. For first of all, the godly mind doth not as by a dreame imagine to her self any God at aduventure, but stedfastly beholdeth the onely one and true God: and doeth not falsely forge of him whatsoeuer her selfe liketh, but is content to beleue him to be such a one as he discloseth himselfe, & doth alway with great diligence beware that with presumptuous rashnesse she passe not beyond his will, and so wander out of the way. And when she so knoweth him, because she vnderstandeth that he governeth all things, she assuredly trusteth that he is her safe keeper and defender, and therefore wholly committeth her selfe to his faith, because she vnderstandeth that he is the author of al good things; therefore if any thing trouble her, or if she want any thing, by & by she flyeth to him for succour, looking for helpe at his hand. Because she is perswaded

ded that he is good and mercifull, therefore with assured confidence shee resteth on him, and doubteth not in al her euils to find ready remedie in his merciful kindnesse. Because she knoweth him to be her Lord & father, therefore she determineth that he is worthy that she should in all things haue regard to his authoritie, reuerence his maiestie, procure the aduancement of his glorie, and obey his commaundements. 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, & with feare of him withdraweth and restraineth her selfe from prouoking his wrath. Yet is she not so affraide with the feeling of his iudgement, that she would conuey her selfe from it, although there were a way open to escape it: but rather shee doeth no lesse loue him, while he extendeth vengeance vpon the wicked, than 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 reward of eternall life for the righteous. Moreouer she doth not for onely feare of punishment refraine her selfe from sinning: but because shee loueth and reuerenceth him as her father, attendeth on him and honoureth him as her Lorde, therefore although there were no hell at all, yet shee dreadeth his onely displeasure. Nowe beholde 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, & drawe with it a right forme of worshipping such as is appoynted in the lawe. And this is the more heedfullie to be noted, because al men generally do worship God, but fewe do reuerence him, while ech where is great pompous shewe in ceremonies, but the purenes of heart is rare to be found.

3 Truly, they that iudge rightly, will alway hold this for certaine, that there is grauen in the minds of men a certaine feeling of y^e 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 very obstinacie of the wicked is a substantiall witnes, which with their furious striuing yet can neuer winde themselues out of the feare of God. Although *Dirigoras* and such other do iest and laugh at all that hath in all ages bene beleueed concerning religion: although *Dionysius* doe scoffe at the heauenly iudgement: yet y^e is but a laughter from the teeth forward, because inwardly the worme of conscience gnaweth them much more sharpely than al hot searing irons. I alleage not this y^e *Cicero* saith, that errors by continuance of time growe out of vse, & religion daily more & more encrease & waxeth better. For the world (as a litle hereafter we shal haue occasion to shew) traucileth as much as in it lieth to shake off all knowledge of God, & by al meanes to corrupt the worshipping of him. But this onely I say, that when the dul hardnes, which the wicked doe desirously labour to get to despise God withall, doeth lye pyningly in their heartes, yet the same feeling of God, which they would most of all desire to haue vtterly destroyed, lueth still, and sometime doth vtter it selfe: whereby we gather that it is no such doctrine as is first to be learned in scholes, but such a one whereof eueriy man is a teacher to himselfe euen from his mothers wombe, and such

a one as nature suffereth none to forget, although many bend all their endeouore to shake it out of their minde. Nowe, if all men be borne and doe liue to this ende, to knowe God, and the knowledge of God is but fickle and lightly vanissheth away, vnlesse it proceede thus farre: it is euident, that they all swarue out of kinde from the lawe of their creation, that do not direct to this marke al 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 likeneffe of God, when the soule hauing throughly conceiued the knowledge of him is wholly transformed into him. Therefore very aptly doth *Grillus* reason in *Plutarche*, where he affirmeth, that men, if religion be once taken from their life, are not only nothing better thā brute beasts, but also many waies much more miserable, for that being subiect to so many sortes of euils they continually drawe forth a troublesome vnquiet life: and that therefore y worshiping of God is the onely thing that maketh them better than brute bestes, by which alone they aspire to immortalitie.

The third Chapter.

That the knowledge of God is naturallie planted in the mindes of men.

WHE holde it out of controuersie, that there is in the mind of man, euen by naturall instinction, a certaine feeling of the Godhead. For to the end that no man should flee to the pretence of ignorance, God himselfe hath planted in al men a certaine vnderstanding of his diuine maiesty: the remembrance whereof, with powring in now and then as it were newe droppes, he continually reneweth: that when al, 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 & fardest from ciuil 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 persuasion that there is a God. And euen they that in other partes of their life seeme very litle to differ from brute beasts, yet do continually kepe a certaine seede of religion. So throughly hath this common principle possessed all mens mindes, and so fast it sticketh within all mens bowels. Sith then from the beginning of the world there hath bin no coutrie, no Citie, yea no house, that cold be without religion, in this is emplied a certaine secret confession, that a feeling of the Godheade is written in the hearts of al men. Yea & idolatrie it selfe is a substantiall profe of this persuasion. For we know how vnwillingly man abaseth himselfe to honor other creatures about 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 persuasion of God is of most great force, which is impossible to be raced out of y minde of man, that it is much more easie to haue the affection of nature broken, as in deede it is broken when man from his owne naturall swelling pride of his owne will stoupeth downe

In Phedro-
ne & thee-
tero,

Cicero de
nat. Deorū.

downe euen to the basest creatures to honor God.

2 Wherefore it is most vaine which some do say, that religion was deuised by the sutteltie and craft of a fewe, by this policie, to keepe the simple people in awe, whereas they themselues that procured other to worship God, belceued nothing lesse than that there was any God at all. I graunt in deede 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 bene already before haue persuaded that there was a God, out of which persuasion as out of seede springeth that ready inclination to religion. Neither is it likely that euen they which suttelly deceiued the simple sort with colour of religion, were them selues altogether without knowledge of God. For though in times past there haue bene 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 reade of none that euer did break 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 endeouored 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 very noyse of the falling of a leafe. And whence commeth that, but from the reuengement of Gods maiestie, which doth so much the more vehemently strike their consciences as they more labor to flie away from it? They do in deede looke about for all the starting holes that may be, to hide them selues from the presence of $\ddot{\text{y}}$ Lord: but whether they will or no, they are still holden fast tyed. For howsoeuer sometime it seemeth to vanish away for a momēt, yet it oft returneth againe, and with newe assault doth runne vppon 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 euery moment vexed with horrible & dreadfull dreames. Therefore the very vngodly themselues serue for an example to proue that there alway lueth in all mens mindes some knowledge of God.

The iiij. Chapter.

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

BVt as experience teacheth that God hath sowen $\ddot{\text{y}}$ seede of religion in all men, so scarcely may be found the hundreth man, that hauing it conceiued in his heart doth cherish it, but no man in whom it ripeneth, so far is it of that any frute appeareth in due time. Therefore whether it be that some become vaine in their owne superstitions, or that some doe of set 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 worlde. But whereas I sayd that some by error fall into super-

stitution, I meane not thereby as though their simplicitie might excuse them from blame, because the blindness that they haue, is commonly alway mingled both with proude vanitie, & with stubbornesse. Vanitie and the same ioyned with pride appeareth in this, that they miserable men both in the seeking of God do not climbe about these lues as they ought to haue done, but measure him according to the proportion of their owne fleshy dulnesse, and also neglecting the sound manner of searching for him, do curiously fly 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 own rash presumption they haue forged him. Which gulfe being once opened, what way soeuer they stirre their feete, they must needs alway runne headlong into destruction. For whatsoeuer afterwarde they go about toward the worshiping or seruice of God, they can not 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 peruerenes doth *Paul* expressly touch, where he sayth, that they were made fooles when they coueted to be wise. He had before sayd, 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 sobrietie, but presumptuously taking vpon themselues more than they ought, they wilfully bring darkenesse vpon them, yea with vaine & froward pride do make themselues fooles. Whereupon followeth, that their foolishnes 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.

2 As for this that *Dauid* sayth, that y wicked & mad men thinke in their heartes, that there is no God: First that is meant only of those that choking the light of nature, doe of purpose make themselues senselesse, as we shall see againe a litle hereafter. Euen as we see that many after that they haue bin hardened with boldnesse and custome of sinning, doe furiously put from them all the remembrance of God which yet is by very feeling of nature inwardly ministred vnto their mindes. Now *Dauid*, to make their madnes the more detestable, bringeth them in as though they precisely denied, 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 gouernement of the world, and leaue it to fortune, to winke at the sinnes of men, so as they may liue in licentious outrage vnpunished: whosoever he be that quenching the feare of the heauenly iudgement, doth carelesly folowe his owne affections, he denieth that there is a God. And this is the iust vengeance of God, to drawe a fatnes ouer their hearts, so y the wicked when they haue once closed their eyes, euen in seeing may not see. And *Dauid* in an other place is y best expounder of his owne meaning, where he sayth: That the feare of God is not before the eyes of the wicked. Again, that in their euill doings they proudly reioyce at themselues, because they persuaade themselues that God doth not loke vpon them. Therefore although they be compelled to acknowledge some God, yet they do rob him of his glorie,

Rom. 1. 22.

Psa. 13. 1.

Psa. 30. 6. 2.
Psa. 10. 11.

glorie in withdrawing from him his power. For as God (as *Paul* witnesseth) 2. Tim. 1. 13.
cannot denie himselfe, because he continually abideth like himselfe: so is it
truly sayd, that these men in faining God to be a dead and vaine image, doe
deny god. Morouer it is to be noted that although they wrastle against their
owne naturall feeling, and doe desire not onely to shake out GOD from
thence, but also to destroy him in heauen: yet their dull hardenesse can
neuer so farre preuaile, but that God sometime draweth them backe to his
iudgement seate. But forasmuch as they are not withholden with any feare
from running violently against God: therefore it is certaine that there
raigneth in them a brutish forgetfulnes of God, so long as that blinde pang
of rage dorth so forcible carie them.

3 So is that vaine defense ouerthrown, which many are wont to pre-
tende for excuse of their superstition. For they thinke, that any deuotion to
religion sufficeth, whatsoever it be, though it be neuer so much contrarie 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: & that God him-
selfe abideth alway like himselfe, & is no imagined Ghost or fantasie, y^e may
be diuersly fashioned after euery mans liking. And truly we may plainly
see with how lying deceites superstition mocketh God, while she goeth a-
bout to do him pleasure. For catching hold of those things in a maner only,
which God hath testified that he careth not for, she either contemptuously
vseth, or openly refuseth those things that he appointeth and sayth to be
pleasant vnto him. Therefore whosoeuer do set vp new inuented formes of
worshipping God, they worship and honour their owne doting deuises: be-
cause they durst not so trifle with God, vnles they had first sained a God, a-
greeing with the follies of the trifling toyes. Wherefore the Apostle pro-
nounceth, that that vnstaied and wandering opinion of the maicstie of God,
is a verie not knowing of God. When (sayeth he) ye knewe not God, Ga. 4. 8.
ye serued them that in nature were no gods. And in another place he saith Ep. 2. 12.
that y^e 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 beleecue one God or many, because in both cases thou
departest from & forsakest the true God: whom when thou hast once forsak-
ken, there is nothing left with thee but a detestable Idol. It followeth ther-
fore, that we must determine with *Lactantius*, that there is no lawfully allow-
able religion, but that which is ioyned with truth.

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 towarde him,
till for all their holding backe they be forcibly drawn to him: and euen
then also they haue not a willing feare that proceedeth from reuerence of
Gods maicstie, but only a seruile & constraigned feare, which y^e iudgement
of God wringeth out of them: which iudgement because they cannot escape,
therefore they dread it, but yet so as therewithal they abhorre it. And so that
saying of *Stadius*, y^e feare first made gods in the worlde, may be fitly spoken
of vngodlinesse, & of this kinde of vngodlines only. They that haue a mind
abhorring from the iustice of God, doe heartily wish to haue his throne of
C 2 iudge-

iudgement ouerthrowne, which they know to stand for punishmēt of offences against his iustice by which affection they warre against God, who can not be without his iudgement. But when they vnderstand that his power impossible to be auoyded, hangeth ouer them: because they can neyther by force remoue it, nor by flight escape it, therefore they feare it. So least they should 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 them selues with all kinde of vices, to ioyne outragious mischeues to mischeues, vntil they haue in all points violated y^e holy lawe of the Lord, & destroyed his whole righteousnes or at least they are not so holden back with that fained feare of God, but y^e they sweetly rest in their sinnes, and flatter themselues, & had rather to followe the intemperance of their flesh than restrain it with the bridle of y^e holy Ghost. But forasmuch as the same is but a voyde and lying shadow of religion, yea scarcely worthy to be called a shadow: hereby againe is easily gathered how much the true godlines, 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 fly from. For whereas there ought to haue bin one continuall vnbroken course of obedience in their whole life, they in a maner in al their doings carelessly rebelling against him labour with a few sacrifices to appease him. Whereas they ought to haue serued him with holines of life & syncerenesse of heart, they inuent triflings & obseruances of no value, to procure his fauour withal: yea they doe y^e more licentiouslie lie dul in their owne dregges, because they trust that they may be discharged against him with their owne mockeries of propiciatory satisfactions. Finally whereas their assiance ought to haue bin fastened in him, they neglecting him doe rest in themselues, or in creatures. At length they entangle themselues with such a heape of errors, that the darke mist of malice doth choke, & at last vtterly quench those sparkes, that glimmeringly shined to make them see y^e glory of God. Yet y^e seede still remaineth which can by no meane be plucked vp by the roote, to belecue that there is a certaine godhead: but y^e same seede is so corrupted, that it bringeth forth of it none other but very euil fruites. Yea therby is that which I trauaile to proue more certainly gathered, that there is a feeling of godhead naturally grauen in y^e heartes of men, forasmuch as the very reprobate themselues 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 once any desperation touch them, it stirreth them vp to seeke the same God, and ministreth them sodaine short prayers: by which it may appeare, that they were not vtterly ignorant of God, but that the same which ought sooner to haue beene vttered, was by obstinacie suppressed.

The fifth Chapter.

That the knowledge of God doth shinnylie appeare in the the making of the worlde and in the continuall government thereof.

Morcouer

Moreouer because the furthest end of blessed life standeth in the knowledge of God: that the way to felicitie shoulde 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 workemanshippe of the worlde, and daylie so manifestly presenteth himself, that men can not open their eyes but they must needs behold him. His substance in deede is incomprehensible, so that his diuine maiestie farre surmounteth al mens senses: but he hath in al his workes grauen certaine markes of his glorie, & those so plaine and notably discernable, that y^e excuse of ignorance is taken away from men, be they neuer so grosse and dull witted. Therefore the Prophet rightfully cryeth out, that he is clothed with light as with a garment: as if he should haue sayde, that then he first began to come forth to be seene in visible apparel, since the time that he first displaid his ensignes in the creation of y^e world, by which euen now what way soeuer we turne our eyes, he appeareth glorious vnto vs. In the same place also the same Prophet aptly compareth the heauens as they be displaid abroad, to his royal pauillion: he saith that he hath framed his parlours in the waters, that the clouds are his chariots, that he rideth vpon the wings of the winds, y^e the winds & lightnings are his swift messengers: And because the glory of his power & wisdom doth more fully shine about, therefore commonly the heauen is called his pallace. And first of al, what way soeuer thou turne thy eyes, there is no peece of the world be it neuer so small, wherein are not seene at least some sparkles of his glory to shine. But as for this most large & beautiful 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 very well call the ages of the worlde 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 Propriet assigneth to y^e heauenly 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 sayth that there is disclosed vnto men so much as was behoueful to be knowen concerning God: because al men without exception, do throughly see his inuisible things euen to his very power and Godhead, which they vnderstande by the creation of the world.

Psa. 104. 2.

He. 11. 3.

Psa. 119. 1.

Ro. 1. 19.

2 As for his wonderfull wisdom, there are innumerable proues both in heauen and in earth that witness it: I meane not onely that secreter sort of things, for the nerer marking wherof *Astrologie*, *Phisicke*, & all naturall Philosophy serueth, but euen those things that thrust themselues in sight of euery one, euen of y^e rudest vnlearned man, so that men can not open their eyes but they must needs be witnesses of them. But truely they that haue digested, yea or but tasted the liberall arts, being holpen by the ayde thereof, do proceed much further to loke into y^e secrets of Gods wisdom. Yet is there no man so hindred by lacke of knowledge of those arts, but that he through-

ly seeth abundantly enough of cunning workmanship in Gods workes, to bring him in admiration of the workeman thereof. As for example: to the searching out of the mouings 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 perceiued, as the prouidence of God is the more manifestly disclosed, so it is conuenient, that the mind rise somewhat the hier thereby to behold his glory. But forasmuch as the vnlearned people, yea & the rudest sort of them, such as are furnished with the only helpe of their eyes, can not be ignorant of the excellencie of Gods cunning workmanship, which in this innumerable & yet so seuerally wel ordered & disposed variety doth of it selfe shew forth it self: 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, & vse in the frame of mans body: but by al mens confession, the body of man doth vtter in very shew of it selfe so cunning a compacting together, that for it the maker of it may worthily be iudged wonderfull.

In libr. de
vfu part.

AQ. 17. 27.

Psa. 8. 5.

AQ. 17. 28.

3 And therefore certaine of the Philosophers in olde time did not without cause call man a litle worlde, because he is a rare representation of the power, goodnes & wisdom of God, and containeth in him selfe miracles enough to occupie our mindes, if we wil be content to marke them. And for this reason *Paul*, after that he had sayd that the very blind men may finde out God by groping for him, by & by sayth further, y he is not to be sought farre of, because all men doe feelee vndoubtedly within themselues the heauenly grace wherewith they be quickned. But if we neede to go no further than our selues, to find and take holde of God: what pardon shall his slouthfulnes deserue that will not vouchsafe to descend into himselfe to find God? And the same is the reason why *Dauid*, when he had shortly spoken in y aduancement of the wonderfull name & honor of God y do euery where gloriously shine, by & by cryeth out: What is man y thou art mindful of him? Againe, Out of the mouth of infants and sucking babes thou hast stablished strength. For so he pronounceth that not only in the whole kind of man is a mirror of the works of God, but also that the very infantes while they yet hang on their mothers brestes, haue tongues eloquent enough to preach his glory, so that there needeth no other orators. And therefore he douteth not to set their mouthes in the vauuarde, as beeing strongly armed to subdue their madnes that would according to their diuelish pride couet to extinguish the name of God. And hereupon riseth that which *Paul* allegeth out of *Aratus*, that we are the ofspring of God: because hee garnishing vs with such excellencie, hath testified that he is our father. Like as cuen by common reason, & as it were by information of experience, the prophane Poets called him the father of men. And truely no man will assentingly & willingly yeelde him selfe to serue God, but he that hauing tasted his fatherly loue, is mutually allured to loue and worship him.

4 And here is disclosed the foule vnthankfulness of men, which while they haue within them selues a workhouse gloriously furnished with innumerable

merable workes of God, & also a shop stuffed with inestimable plentie of riches, and when they ought to burst forth into praying of him, are contrariwise puffed vp & doe swell with so much the greater pride. They feele how diuersly in marueilous wise God worketh in them: they are taught by experience it selfe, how great variety of gifts they possesse by his liberalitie: whether they wil or no, they are enforced to knowe that these are the tokens of his godhead: and yet they suppress it close within them. Truely they neede not to go out of them selues, so y^e they would not in presumptuously taking vpon them selues that which is giuen from heauen, bury within the ground that which brightly giueth light to their minds to see God. But euen at this day the earth beareth many monsterous spirites, which sticke not to abuse the whole seede of godhead that is sowen in mans nature, & to employ 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 and & his soule, should by the very same pretence of excellencie deny that there is a God? They will not say, that they are by chance made different from brute beastes. But they pretende a cloke of nature, whom they account the maker of all things, and so do conuey God away. They see that exquisite workmanship in all their members, from their mouth & their eyes euen to the nailes of their toaes, 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, do represent a diuine nature that doth not easily suffer it selfe to be hid: vnlesse the Epicureans like the Giauntes Cyclopes would bearing themselues bold vpon this hie degree outrageously make warre against God. Doe the whole treasures of the heauenly wisdomes so meete together, to rule a worme of five feete long: and shall the whole vniuersalitie of the worlde bee without this prerogatiue? First to agree that there is a certaine instrumentall thing that aunswereth to all the partes of man, doth so serue nothing at all to obscure the honour of God, thut it rather doth more gloriously set it out. Let Epicure aunswere me, what meeting of vndiuisible bodies, boyling the meat and drinke in man, doth dispose part into excrementes and part into bloud, and bringeth to passe that there is in all the members of man such an endeavoring to doe their office, euen as if so many seuerall soules did by common aduise rule one bodie.

5 But I haue not now to do with that stie of swine. I rather speake vnto them, that being giuen to suttelties, would by crooked conuicance writh 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 bind the soule to the body, that it can not continue without the body, & with praises of nature they doe as much as in them is, suppress the name of God. But the powers of the soule are farre from being enclosed in those exercises that serue the body. For what pertaineth it to the body, for a man to measure the skie, to gather the number of the starres, to learne the greatnesse of one, to knowe what space they be distant one from another, with what swiftnesse or slownesse they go their courses, how many degrees they decline this way or y^e way? I grant in deede

that there is some vse of Astrologic: but my meaning is onely to shewe that in this so deepe searching out of heavenly things, it is not an instrumentall measuring, but that the soule hath her offices by it selfe seueral from y^e body. I haue shewed one example, by which it shalbe easie for the readers to gather the rest. Truly the manifold nimbleness of the soule, by which it surueieth both heauen & earth, ioyneth things past with things to come, keepeth in memorie things heard long before, & expresseth ech thing to it selfe by imagination, also the ingeniousnes by which it inuenteth things incredible, & which is y^e mother of so many maruelous arts, are sure tokens of diuine nature in man. Beside that, euen in sleeping it doth not only roll & 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 immortality that are imprinted in man, can not be blotted out? Now what reason may beare that man shalbe of diuine nature, and not acknowledge his Creator? Shall we forsooth by iudgement that is put into vs discern betweene right and wrong, & shall there be no iudge in heauen? Shall we euen in our sleepe haue abiding with vs some remnant of vnderstanding, & shal no God be waking in governing the worlde? Shall we be so couⁿted the inuenters of so many artes and profitable thinges, that God shalbe defrauded of his praise, whereas yet experience sufficiently teacheth, that from an other and not from our selues, all that we haue, is in diuerse wise distributed among vs? As for that, which some doe babble of the secret inspiration that giueth liuelines to the worlde, it is not onely weake, but also vngodly. They like well that famous saying of Vergil:

Aen. 6.

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

Forsooth, that the world which was created for a spectacle of the glorie of God, should be the creator of it selfe. So in an other place the same author folowing the common opinion of the Greekes and Latins, sayth:

Geo. 4.

*Some say that bees haue parte of minde diuine,
And heavenly draughtes. For eke they say that God
Goeth through the coastes of land, and creeks of sea,
And through deepe skie. And hence the flocks and herdes,
And men, and all the kindes of savage beastes
Ech at their birth receiue their subtle liues.
And thereto are they rendered all at last,
And all resolued are resournd againe.
No place there is for death: but liuely they,*

*Flie into number of the starres aboue,
And take their place within the loſie ſkie.*

Loc, what that hungry ſpeculation of the vniuerſall minde that giueth ſoule and liuelineſſe to the world, auaieth to engender & nourish godlines in the hearts of men. Which doth alſo better appeare by the blaſphemous ſayings of the filthy dogg Lucretius, which are deriued from the ſame principle. Euen this is it, to make a ſhadowiſh God, to driue farre away the true God whome we ought to feare and worſhip. I graunt in deede 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 maner of ſpeech, forasmuch as Nature is rather an order preſcribed by God: therefore in things of ſo great weight and to which is due a ſingular religiousneſſe, it is hurtfull to wrap vp God confuſedly with the inferior courſe 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 to 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 conueniencce of reaſon than for vs to enioy thoſe excellent gifts that ſauour 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 forceably drawe vs to conſider it vnleſſe perhaps we may be ignorant, of how great a ſtrength it is with his only worde to vphold this infinite maſſe of heauen and earth, with his only beck, ſometime to ſhake the heauen with noiſe of thunders, to burne vp eche thing with lightning, to ſet the aire on fire with lightning flames, ſometime to trouble it with diuers ſorts of tempeſtes, 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 wiſe to raiſe it vp with outrageous violence of windes, and ſometime to appeaſe the waues and make it calme againe. For prooſe hereof do ſerue all the praifes of God gathered of the teſtimonies of nature. ſpecially in the booke of Iob and in Eſay, which nowe of purpoſe I ouerpaffe, becauſe they ſhal els where haue an other place fitter for them, where I ſhall entreat of the creation of the world according to the Scriptures. Only my meaning was now to touch, that both ſtrangers & 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 ſhadow 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 whome all things haue their beginning, is of eternal continuance, and hath his beginning, of himſelfe. But nowe if any man enquire the cauſe whereby he both was once lead to create all theſe things, & is now moued to preſerue them: we ſhal 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 ſayth) vppon which his mercy is not poured 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 profe of his powers. For in gouerning the fellowship of men hee so ordereth his prouidence, that whereas he is by innumerable meanes good and bountifull to all men, yet by manifest and dayly tokens he declareth his fauorable kindnes to the godly, and his seuerity to the wicked and euill doers. For nor doubtful are the punishments that he layeth vpon hainous offences: like as he doth openly shewe himselfe a defender and reuenger of innocency, while he prospereth the life of good men with his blessing, helpeth their necessity, asswagereth and comforteth their sorowes, relieueth their calamities, & by all meanes prouideth for their safety. 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 reioyce vnpunished: and on the other side suffereth good and innocent to be rossed with many aduersities, yea & to be oppressed with the malice and vniust dealing of the vngodly. But rather a much contrary consideration ought to enter into our mindes: that when by manifest shewe of his wrath he punisheth one sin, we should therefore thinke that he hateth all sinnes: and when he suffereth many sins to passe vnpunished, we should therevpon thinke that there shalbe an other iudgement to which they are differred to be then punished. Likewise howe great matter doth it minister vs to consider his mercy, while he oftentimes ceaseth not to shew his vnwearied bountifulnesse vpon miserable sinners in calling them home to him with more than fatherly tendernesse, vntill he haue subdued their frowardnes with doing them good?

Psa. 107.

7 To this end, where the Prophet particularly rehearseth, howe God in cases past hope, doth suddenly and wonderfully and beside all hope succour men that are in misery and in a maner lost, whether he defend them wandering in wilder nesse from the wilde beastes and at length leadeth them into the way againe, or ministreth foode to the needy and hungry, or deliuereth prisoners out of horrible dongeons and yron bands, or bringeth men in peril of shipwrack safe into the hauen, or healeth the half dead of diseases, or scorseth y^e earth with heat & drines, or maketh it fruitful with secret watering of his grace, or aduanceth the basest of the rascall people, or throweth downe the noble Peeres from the hie degree of dignitie: by such examples shewed forth he gathereth that those things which are iudged chaunces happening by fortune, are so many testimonies of the heauenly prouidence and specially of his fatherly kindenes, and that therby is giuen matter of reioycing to the godly, and the wicked & reprobate haue their mouthes stopped. But because the greater part infected with their errors are blind in so cleare a place of beholding, therefore he crieth out that it is a gift of rare and singular wisdome, wisely to wey these workes of God: by sight wherof they nothing profit that otherwise seeme most clere sighted. And truly howe much soeuer y^e glory of God doth apparantly shine before them, yet scarcely the hundreth man is a true beholder of it. Likewise his power & wisdom are no more hid in darknes: wherof the one, his power, doth notably appeare, when the fierce outragiousnesse of the wicked being in all mens opinion vn-

conquerable, is beaten flat in one momēt, their arrogancie tamed, their strō-
gest holdes rased, their weapons & armour broken in pieces, their strengthes
subdued, their deuises ouerthrowen, and themselues fall with their owne
weight, the presumptuous boldnesse, y auanced it self about the heauens is
throwen down euen to the bottome point of the earth: againe, the lowly are
lifted vp out of the dust, & the needie raised from y donghill, the oppressed &
afflicted are drawn out of extreme distresse, men in despaired state are resto-
red to good hope, the vnarmed beare away the victorie from the armed, few
from many, the feeble from the strong. As for his wisdom, it self sheweth it
self manifestly excellent, while it disposeth euery thing in fittest oportunitie,
confoundeth the wisdom of the world be it neuer so pearcing, findeth out y
subtile in their subtiltie, finally gouerneth al things by most conueniēt order.

Psa. 113. 7.

1. Cor. 3. 19.

8 We see that it needeth no long or laborfome demonstration, to fetch
our testimonies, to serue for the glorious declaration & prooffe of Gods ma-
iestie: for by these few that we haue touched it appeareth that which way so
euer a man chauce to looke, they are so common & readie that they may
be easily marked, with eye, & pointed out with the finger. And here againe is
to be noted, that we are called to the knowledge of God, not such as conten-
ted with vaine speculation, doth but stre about in the braine, but such as shal-
be found & fruitfull, if it be rightly conceiued & take roote in our hearts. For
the Lord is declared by his powers, the force whereof because we feele with-
in vs, & do enioy 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 one, of whom we should haue no feeling. Wherby we vnder-
stand that this is the rightest way & fittest order to seek God, not to attempt
to enter depely with presumptuous curiositie throughly to discusse his sub-
stance, which is rather to be reuerently worshipped than scrupuloufely ser-
ched: but rather to behold him in his workes, by which he maketh himsefse
nere & familiar, & doth in a maner communicate himsefse vnto vs. And this
the Apostle meant, when he said, that God is not to be sought a farre of, for-
asmuch as he with his most present power dwelleth within euery one of vs.

Aq. 17. 27.

Psa. 145.

In Psa. 144.

9 Then such a knowledge ought not onely to stirre vs vp to the wor-
shipping of God, but also to awake vs, & raise vs to hope of the life to come.
For when we consider that such examples as God sheweth both of his mer-
cifulnesse, and of his seueritie, are but begun and not halfe full: without
doubt we must thinke, that herein he doth but make a shewe afore hande of
those things, whereof the open disclosing & full deliurance is differred vnto
another life. On the other side, when we see that the godly are by y vngodly
griued

griued with afflictions, troubled with iniuries, oppressed with sclanders, and vexed with dispitfull dealings and reproches: contrarywise that wicked doers doe flourish, prosper and obtaine quiet with honor, yea and that vnpunished: we must by and by gather that there shalbe an other life, wherein is layd vp in store both due reuenge for wickednes, and rewarde for righteousnes. Moreover when we note that the faithfull are often chastised with the rodde of the Lord, we may most certainely determine that much lesse the vngodly shall escape his scourges. For very well is that spoken of Augustine. If euerie sinne should now be punished with open paine, it would be thought that nothing were reserued to the last iudgement. Againe, If God should now openly punish no sinne, it would be beleeued, that there were no prouidence of God. Therefore we must confesse, that in euery particular worke of God, but principally in the vniuersal generalitie of them, the powers of God are set foorth as it were in painted tables, by which all mankinde 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 woorkes most brightly appeare, yet what they principally tende vnto, of what valoure they be, and to what ende wee ought to wey them: this we then onely attaine to vnderstand when we discende into our selues, and doe consider by what meanes God doth thewe forth in vs his life, wisdom, and power, and doth vse towardes vs his righteousnesse, goodnesse, and mercifull kindenesse. For though Dauid iustly complaineth, that the vnbeleeuing do dote in folly, because they wey not the deepe counsailes of God in his gouernance of mankind; yet that is also most true, which he saith

De ciui. dei.
cap. 8.

Psa. 93. 7.

Psa. 40. 13.

in an other place, that the wonderful wisdom of God in that behalf exceedeth y^e heares of our head. But because this point shal hereafter in place conuenient be more largely entreated, therefore I do at this time passe it ouer.

10 But with howe greate brightnes soeuer God doth in the mirror of his woorkes shewe by representation both himselfe and his immortall kingdom: yet such is our grosse blockishnesse, that we stand dully amased at so plaine testimonies, so that they passe away from vs without profit. For, as touching the frame and most beautifull placing of the worlde, how many a one is there of vs, that when hee either listeth vp his eyes to heauen, or casteth them about on the diuerse countries of the earth, doth direct his minde to remembrance of the creator, & doth not rather rest in beholding the woorkes without hauing regard of the workeman. But as touching those things that dayly happen beside the order of naturall course, how many a one is there that doth not more thinke that men are rather whirled about & rowled by blinde vnaduisednesse of fortune, than gouerned by prouidence of God. But if at any time we be by the guiding & direction of these things driuen to the consideration of God (as all men must needes be) yet so soone as we haue without aduisement conceiued a feeling of some Godhead, we by & by slide away to the dotages or erroneous inuentions of our flesh, & with our vanitie we corrupt the pure veritie of God. So herein in dede we differ one frō 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 wittes are subiect: but also the most excellent and those that otherwise are endued with singular sharpness of vnderstanding, are entangled with it. How largely hath the whole sect of Philosophers bewrayed their owne dullnes 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, vainely erreth in his round globe. Now what might not chance to the other, when the chiefe of them, whose part was to giue light to the rest, doe themselues so erre and stumble? Likewise where Gods gouernance of mens matters doth so plainly proue his prouidence, that it cannot be denied, yet this doth no more preuaile with men, than if they beleued that all things are tossed vp and downe with the rash will of Fortune: so great is our inclination to vanity and error. I speake now altogether of the most excellent, and not of the common sort, whose madnes hath infinitely wandered in prophaning the truth of God.

II Hereof proceedeth that vmeasurable sinck of errors, wherewith the whole world hath bin filled and ouerflowne. For ech mans wit is to himselfe as a maze, so that it is no maruell that euery seuerall nation was diuersly drawne into seuerall deuises, and not that onely, but also that ech seuerall man had his seuerall gods by himselfe. For since that rash presumption and wantonneffe was ioyned to ignorance and darkensse, there hath bin scarcely at any time any one man found, that did not forge to himselfe an idole or fansie in steede of God. Truly euen as out of a wide and large spring doe issue waters, so the infinite number of gods hath flowed out of the wit of mā, while euery man ouer licentiously straying, erroneously deuisech this or that concerning God himselfe. And yet I neede not here to make a register of the superstitions, wherewith the world hath bin entangled: because both in so doing I should neuer haue end, and also though I speake not one word of them, yet by so many corruptions it sufficiently appeareth howe horrible is the blindness 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 owne conceite to speake very wisely, that out of al the parts of nature may be gathered diuerse names of God, and yet that God being but one is not thereby torne in sūder. As though we were not already more thā enough enclined to vanity, vnlesse a manifold plenty of gods set before vs shoulde further and more violently draw vs into error. Also the Ægyptians mystical science of diuinity sheweth, that they al diligētly 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 mortal mā euer inuented any thing, whereby religion hath not bin fowly corrupted.

And

And this so cōfufe diuersity emboldned the Epicures & other grosse dispisers of godlineſſe, by little and little to caſt of al feeling of God. For when they ſaw the wiſeſt of all to ſtriuē in contrary opinions, they ſticked not out of their diſagreements, & out of the fooliſh or apparently erroneous doctrine of each of them, to gather, that men doe in vaine and fondly procure torments to themſelues while they ſearch for God, which is none at al. And this they thought that they might freely doe without puniſhment, becauſe it was better briefly to deny vtterly, that there is any God, than to faigne vncertaine Gods, and ſo to raiſe vp contentions that neuer ſhould haue end. And too much fondly doe they reaſon, or rather caſt a miſt, to hide their vngodlines by ignorance of men, wherby it is no reaſon that any thing ſhould be taken away from God. But forasmuch as all doe confeſſe, that there is nothing, about which both the learned and vnllearned doe ſo much diſagree thereupon is gathered that the wittes of men are more than dull and blinde in heavenly myſteries, that doe ſo erre in ſeeking out of God. Some other doe praife that anſwere of Symonides, which being demanded of King Hieron what God was, deſired to haue a dayes reſpite graunted him to ſtudy vpon it. And when the next day following, the king demanded the ſame queſtion, he required two dayes reſpite, and ſo oftentimes doubling the number of dayes at length he answered: Howe much the more I conſider it, ſo much the harder the matter ſeemeth vnto me. But graunting that hee did wiſely to ſuſpend his ſentence of ſo darke a matter, yet herby appeareth, that if men be onely taught by nature, they can know nothing certainly, ſoundly, and plainly concerning God, but onely are tyed to conſuſed principles to worſhip an vnknoſne God.

12 Now we muſt alſo hold, that all they that corrupt the pure religion (as all they muſt needes doe that are giuen to their owne opinion) doe depart frō the one God. They wil boalt that their meaning is otherwiſe: but what they meane, or what they perſwade thēſelues maketh not much to the matter, ſiſh the holy ghoſt pronounceth, y al they are Apoſtates, that according to the darknes of their own mind do thruſt diuels in the place of God. For this reaſon, Paule pronounceth that the Ephēſians were without a God, til they had learned by the goſpel, what it was to worſhip the true God. And we muſt not thinke this to be spokē of one nation only, for as much as he generally aſſirmeth in an other place, that all men were become vaine in their imaginations, ſince that in the creation of the world, the Maieſty of the creator was diſcloſed vnto them. And therefore the ſcripture, to make place for the true and one only God, condemneth of falſehood and lying, what ſocuer godhead in old time was celebrate among the Gentiles, and leaueth no God at al, but in the mount Sion, where flouriſhed y peculiar knowledge of God. Truly among the Gentiles the Samaritans in Chriſtes time ſeemed to approach nigheſt to true godlines: and yet we heare it ſpoken by Chriſtes owne mouth, that they knew not what they worſhipped. Wherupon ſoloweth, that they were deceiued with vaine error. Finally although they were not al infected with groſſe faultes, or ſel into open idolatries, yet was there no true and approued religion that was groundēd only vpon cōmon reaſon. For al-

Ephē. 2. 12.

Rom. 1. 21.

Abac. 2. 18.

20.

Iohn. 4. 22.

beit, that there were a few \bar{y} were not so mad as the comon people were, yet this doctrine of Paul remaineth certainly true, that the princes of this world conceiue not the wisdom of God. Now if the most excellent haue wandred in darknesse, what is to be saide of the very dregges? Wherefore it is no meruaile, if the holy Ghost doe refuse as bastird worshippings all formes of worshipping deuised by the wil of men. Because in heauenly mysteries opinion conceiued by wit of men, although it doe not alway breed a heape of errors, yet is alway the mother of error. And though there come no wise of it, yet is this no small fault, at aduventure, to worship an vnknowne God: of which fault, al they by Christs own mouth are pronounced guilty, \bar{y} are not taught by the law what God they ought to worship. And truly the best law-makers that euer were, proceeded no further, than to saye that religion was grounded vpon comon consent. Yea and in Xenophon Socrates praised the answer of Apollo, wherein he willed that euery man should worship gods after the maner of the countrey, and the custome of his owne city. But how came mortall men by this power, of their owne authority 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? Euery man rather will stande to his owne iudgement, than yeelde himselfe to the will of an other. Sith therefore it is too weake & feeble a bond 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.

1. Cor. 2. 8.

Iohn. 4. 22.

13 In vaine therefore so many lampes lightned do shine in the edifice of the world, to shew foorth the glory of the creator, which doe so euery way display their beames vpon vs, that yet of themselues they cannot bring vs into the right way. In deede they raise vp certaine sparkles, but such as bee choked vp before that they can spread abroad any ful brightnes. Therefore \bar{y} Apostle in the same place where he calleth the ages of the world 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 in deede represented by such shewes, but that we haue no eyes to see the same throughly, vnles they be enlightned by \bar{y} reuelatiō of god through faith. And Paul, where he teacheth that by the creation of the world was disclosed that which was to be known concerning God, doth not meane such a disclosing as may be cōprehended by the wit of men: but rather sheweth, \bar{y} the same proceedeth 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 an other place teacheth to what ende that necrenesse auayleth. In the ages past (saith he) God suffered the nations to walke in their owne wayes: yet he left not himselfe without testimonie, doing good from heauen, giuing showers and fruitfull seasons, filling the hearts of men with foode & gladnesse. Howsoeuer therefore the Lord be not without testimony, while with his great and manifold bountifullnesse he sweetly allureth men to the knowledge of him: yet for all that, they cesse not to followe their owne wayes, that is to say, their damnable errors.

Heb. 11. 3.

Act. 17. 27

Act. 13. 26

14 But although we want naturall power, whereby we cannot climbe vp vnto the pure and cleare knowledge of God, yet because the faulte of our dulnesse is in our selues, therefore all coulour of excuse is cut away from vs. For we cannot so pretend ignorance, but that euen our conscience doth still condemne vs of slouthfulnesse and vnthankfulnesse. It is a defence forsooth right worthy to be receiued, if man will alleage that he wanted eares to hear the truth, for the publishing whereof the very dumbe creatures haue lowde voices: if man shall say that he cannot see those things with his eyes, which the creatures without eyes doe shew him: if man shall lay for his excuse the feeblenesse of his wit, where all creatures without reason doe instruct him: Wherefore sith all things do shew vs the right way, we are worthily put from all excuse of our wandering and straying out of the way. But howsoeuer it is to be imputed to the faulte of men, that they doe by and by corrupt the seede of the knowledge of God, sowne in their mindes by maruelous workmanthip 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 testimony, that the creatures doe honorably 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 doe in stead of him raise vp dreames and fantasies of our owne braine, and doe conuey hither and thither from the true fountaine the praise of righteousnes, wisdom, goodnesse and power. Moreouer we doe so either obscure, or by ill esteeming them, depraue his dayly doinges, that we take away both from them their glory, and from the Author his due praise.

The vj. Chapter.

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

Therefore although that same brightnesse, which both in heauen and earth shineth in the eyes of all men, doth sufficiently take away all defence from the wickednesse of men, euen so as God, to wrap all mankinde in one guiltinesse, doth shew his diuine maestic to all without exception as it were portrayed out in his creatures: yet is it necessarie that we haue also an other and a better helpe that may rightly direct vs to the very Creator of the world. Therefore not in vaine hec hath added the light of his word, that thereby he might be knowne to saluation. And this prerogatiue he hath vouchsafed to giue vs, whom it pleased him more nerely and more familiarly to draw together to himself. For because he sawe the mindes of al men to be caried about with wandering and vnstedfast morion, after he had chosn the Iewes to his peculiar flocke, he compassed them in as it were with bars, that they should not wander out in vanity as other did. And not without cause he holdeth vs with the same meane in the true knowledge of himselfe. For otherwise euen they should quickly swarue away that seeme to stand stedfast in comparison of other. For as olde men, or poore blinde, or they whose eyes are dimme sighted, if you laye a faire booke before them, though they perceiue that there is somewhat written therein,

therein, yet can they not read two wordes together: but being holpen with spectacles set betwene them & it, they begin to read distinctly: so the Scripture gathering vp together in our mindes the knowledge of God, which otherwise is but confused, doth remoue the mist, & plainly shew vs y^e true God. This therefore is a singular gift, that to the instruction of his church god vseth not only dumme teachers, but also openeth his owne holy mouth: not only publisheth that there is some God to be worshipped, but also therewithal pronounceth that he himself is the same God whom we ought to worship: & doth not only teache the elect to looke vpon God, but also presenteth him selfe 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 & certainer marke to know him by. And it is not to be doubted, that Adam, Noe, Abraham & the rest of the fathers by this help attained to that familiar knowledge, which made them as it were seuerally different from the vnbeleuers. I speake not yet of the proper doctrine of faith, wherewith they were enlightened into the hope of eternal life. For, that they might passe from death to life, it was needeful for them to knowe God not only to be the creator, but also the redeemer: as doubtlesse 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 & is gouerned, in order came before the other: and then was that other inward knowledge adioyned, which only quicknerh dead soules, wherby God is knowen not only to be the maker of the world & the only author & iudge of al things that are done, but also to be the redeemer in the person of y^e 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 remedie therof. Therefore let the readers remeber that I do not yet speake of the couenant whereby God hath adopted to him self the children of Abraham, & of that special part of doctrine whereby the faithful haue alway bin peculiarly seuered from the prophane nations: because that doctrine was founded vpon Christ: but I speake howe we ought to learne by the Scripture, that God which is the creator of the world, is by certaine markes seuerally discerned from y^e counterfaiit multitude of false gods. And then the order it selfe shal conueniently bring vs to the redeemer. But although we shall alleage many testimonies out of the newe Testament, and some also out of the law & the Prophets, wherein is expresse mention made of Christ: yet they shall all tend to this end, to proue that in the Scripture is disclosed vnto vs God the creator of the world, & in the Scripture is set forth what we ought to think of him, to the ende that we should not seeke about the bush for an vncertaine godhead.

2 But whether God were knowen to the fathers by oracles & visions, or whether by y^e mean & ministratation of men he informed them of that which they should from hand to hand deliuer to their posteritie: yet it is vndoubtedly true that in their harts was engrauen a stedfast certcintie of doctrine, so as they might be perswaded & vnderstand, that it which they had learned came from God. For God alwayes made vndoubted assurance for credit of his word, which farre exceeded al vncertein opinion. At length that by

continual proceeding of doctrine, the truest suruiuing in all ages might still remaine in y^e world, the same oracles which he had left with the fathers, his pleasure was to haue as it were enrolled in publike tables. For this entent was y^e law published, whereunto after were added the Prophets for expositors. For though there were diuerse vses of the law, as hereafter shal better appeare in place conuenient: and specially the principal purpose of Moses & al y^e prophets was to teach y^e maner of reconciliation betwene god & men, for which cause also Paul calleth Christ the end of the law: yet, as I say once againe, beside y^e proper doctrine of faith & repentance which sheweth forth Christ the mediatur, the Scripture doth by certaine markes & tokens paint out y^e only & true God, in that that he hath created & doth gouerne the world, to the end he should be seuerally knowne & not reckned in the false number of fained gods. Therefore although it behoueth man earnestly to bend his eyes to consider the works 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 therby. And therefore it is no maruell y^e they which are borne in darknesse do more & more waxe hard in their amased dulnes, because very few of them do giue themselues pliable to learne of the word of God, whereby to kepe them within their boundes, but they rather reioyce in their own vanitie. Thus then ought we to hold, that to y^e ende true religion may shine among vs, we must take our beginning at the heauenly doctrine. And that no man can haue any tast be it neuer so little of true & sound doctrine, vnlesse he haue bin scholer to the Scripture. And frō hence groweth the originall of true vnderstanding, that wee reuerently embrace whatsoeuer it pleaseth God therein to testifie of himselfe. For not onely the perfect & in all points absolute faith, but also all right knowledge of God springerth from obedience. And truely in this behalfe God of his singular prouidence hath prouided for men in and for all ages.

3 For if we consider how slippery 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 & counterfait religions, wee may thereby perceiue how necessary it was to haue the heauenly doctrine so put in writing, that it should not either perish by forgetfulness, or grow vaine by error, or be corrupted by boldnes of men. Sith therefore it is manifest that God hath alway vsed the helpe of his word, toward al those whom it pleased him at any time fruitfully to instruct, because he foresaw that his image emprinted in y^e most beautiful forme of the world was not sufficiently effectual: Therefore it behoueth vs to trauaile this straight way, if we earnestly couet to attaine to the true beholding of God. We must, I say, come to his worde, wherein God is wel & liuely set out by his workes, when his workes be weyed not after the peruersnesse of our own iudgement, but according to the rule of y^e eternal trueth. If we swarue from that word, as I said euen now, although we runne neuer so fast, yet we shal neuer attaine to the marke, because the course of our running is out of the way. For thus we must think, y^e the brightnessse 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

Rom. 10. 4.

1. Tim. 6. 16.

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 an other. And therefore Dauid oftentimes when he teacheth that superstitions are to be taken away out of the world, that pure religion may flourish, bringeth in God reigning: meaning by this word reigning, not the power that he hath, but y^e doctrine whereby he chalengeth to himselfe a lawfull government: because errours can neuer be rooted out of the hearts 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 glory of God, that the firmament sheweth forth the workes of his handes, that the orderly succeeding course of daies & nightes preacheth his maiesty, then descendeth to make mention of his word. The lawe of the Lord (saith he) is vndefiled, cōuerting soules: the witness of the Lord is faithfull, giuing wisdom to little ones: the righteousnes of y^e Lord are vpright, making hartes cheareful: the cōmandement of the Lord is bright, giuing light to the eyes. For although he comprehendeth also the other vses of the law, yet in generality he meaneth, that forasmuch as God doth in vaine call vnto him all nations by the beholding of the heauen and earth, therefore this is the peculiar schoole of the children of God. The same meaning hath the xxix. Psalme, where the prophet hauing preached of y^e terrible voice of God, which in thunder, windes, showers, whirlwindes and stormes, shaketh the earth, maketh the mountaines to tremble, and breaketh the cedar trees: in the end at last he goeth further and saith, that his praises are song in the sanctuary, because the vnbeleeuers are deafe and heare not all the voyces of God that resound in the aire. And in like maner in an other Psalme, after y^e he had described the terrible waues of the Sea, he thus cōcludeth: thy testimonies are verified, the beauty of thy temple is holines for euer. And out of this meaning also proceeded that which Christ said to the woman of Samaria, that her nation and the rest did honor that which they knew not, and that onely the Iewes did worship the true God. For whereas the wit of man by reason of the feeblenes thereof can by no meane attaine vnto God, but being holpen and listened vp by his holy word, it folowed of necessity, that all men, except the Iewes, did wander in vanitie & errour, because they sought God without his word.

The vij. Chapter.

By what testimonie the Scripture ought to be established, that is by the witness of the holy Ghost, that the authority 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 go any further, it is needfull to say somewhat of the authority of the Scripture, not onely to prepare mens mindes to reuerence it, but also to take away all doubt therof. 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 bee voide of all common sense and naturall witte of man, that dare derogate the credite of him that speaketh it.

But because there are not dayly oracles giuen from heauen, and the onely Scriptures remaine wherein it hath pleased to preserue his truth to perpetual memorie, the same Scripture by none other meanes is of full credit among the faithful, but in that they doe belecue that it is as verily come from heauen as if they heard the liuely voice of God to speake therein. This matter indeede is right worthy both to be largely entreated of and diligently weyed. But the readers shal pardon me if herein I rather regarde what y^e proportiō of the worke which I haue begon may beare, than what the largenes 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 authority 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 ask 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 thinges? 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 therof. So these robbers of Gods honor, while they seeke vnder colour of the church to bring in an vnbrideled tyranny, care nothing with what absurdities they snare both themselues and other, so that they may enforce this one thing to be beleued among y^e simple, that the Church can doe all thinges. 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 therof stand and be staied onely vpon the iudgement of men? When they receiue such answer, shall they cease to wauer and tremble? Again to what scorn 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?

2 But such bablers are well confuted euen with one word of the Apostle. *Eph. 2. 20.* He testifieth that the church is builded vpon the foundatiō of the Prophets and Apostles. If the doctrine of the Prophets, and Apostles be the foundation of the Church: then must it needes be, that the same doctrine stoode in stedfast certainty, before that the Church began to be. Neither can they well cauil, that although the Church take her first beginning therof, yet it remaineth doubtful what is to be said 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: whersoever that doctrine shalbe found, the allowed credit therof was surely before the Church, without which the Church it selfe had neuer bin. Therefore it is a vaine forged deuise, that the Church hath power to iudge the scripture, so as the certainty 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.

should be in controuersie, make it autentike and of credit : but because she acknowledgeth it to be the trueth of her God, according to her duetic of godlinesse without delay she doth honor it. Whereas they demaund, how shall we be perswaded that it came from God, vnlesse we resort to the decree of the Church? This is all one as if a man should aske, how shall we learne to knowe light from darkenesse, white from blacke, or sweete from sower. For the Scripture sheweth in it selfe no lesse apparant sense of her trueth, than white and blacke things doe of their colour, or sweete and sower things of tast.

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 vntruely and cauillously it is alleaged for such a meaning, by y whole tenor of his writing it is easie to perceiue. He had to doe with the Manichees, which required to be beleueed without gaine saying, when they vaunted y they had the truth on their side, but proued it nor. And to make their Manicheus to be beleueed, they pretended the Gospell. Now Augustine asketh the what they would do, if they did light vpon a man that would not beleue the gospel it selfe, with what manner of perswasion they would drawe him to their opinion. Afterward he saith : I my selfe would not beleue the Gospell, &c. saue that the authority of the church moued me thereto. Meaning that he himselfe, when he was a stranger from the faith, could not otherwise be brought to embrace the gospel for the assured truth of God, but by this that he was ouercome with the authority 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 certainty of y gospel doth hang therupon: but simply & only, that there should be no assurednes of the gospel to the infidels, wherby they might be won to Christ, vnlesse y 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 beleuee, & scorne that which thou beleueest, what thinkest thou mete for vs to iudge or do? but that we forsake such men as first call vs to come and knowe certaine truethes and after commaund vs to beleuee things vncertaine : and that we follow them that require vs first to beleuee that which we are not yet able to see, that being made strong by beleueing we may attaine to vnderstand the thing that we beleuee : not men nowe, but God himselfe inwardly strengthening and giuing light to our mind. These are the very words of Augustine: wherby euery man may easely gather, that the holy man had not this meaning, to hang the credite that we haue to the Scriptures vpon the will and awardement of the church, but onely to shewe this, (which we our selues also doe 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 is an introduction, wherby we are prepared to beleuee the Gospell. For, as we see, his minde is that the assurance of the

Cōtra epist.
fundamen-
talem. cap. 5

Cōtra epist.
fundamen-
talem. cap. 4

Contra Fau-
stū. lib. 32.

godly be stayed vpon a far other foundation. Otherwise I doe not deny but that he often presseth the Manichies with the consent of the whole church, when he seeketh to proue the same Scripture which they refused. And from hence it came, that he so reproched Faustus for that he did not yeld himself to the truth of the gospel so grounded, so stablished, so gloriously rencumed and from the very time of the Apostles by certaine successions perpetually commended. But he neuer traueileth 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 only this, which made much for him in the matter y^e he disposed of, he bringeth forth y^e vniuersal iudgement of the church, wherein he had the auantage of his aduersaries. If any desire a fuller prooffe herof, let him read his booke concerning the profit of beleeuing. Where he shall find that there is no other readines of beleefe commended vnto vs by him, but that which onely giueth vs an entrie, and is vnto vs a conuenient beginning to enquire, as he termeth it: and yet not that we ought to rest vpon bare opinion, but to leane to the certaine and found truth.

Aug. de vti-
litate cred.

4 We ought to hold, as I before said, that the credit of this doctrine, is not established in vs, vntill such time as we be vndoubtedly perswaded y^e God is the author therof. 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 sharp wit or any such things as procure credit to men that speake: neither stand they vpō proues by reason, but they bring forth the holy name of God, therby to compel the whole world to obedience. Now we haue to see how not only by probable opinion, but by a parant truth it is euident, that in this behalf the name of God is not without cause nor deceitfully pretended. If then we wil prouide wel for consciences, y^e they be not continually caried about with vnstedfast doubting, nor may wauer, nor stay at euery smal stop, this maner of perswasion must be fetched deeper than from either the reasons, iudgements or the coniectures of men, euen from the secret testimonie of the holy Ghost. True in deede it is, that if we list to worke by way of arguments, many things might be alledged that may easily proue, if there be any God in heauē, that the law, the prophecies and the gospel came from him. Yea although men learned and of deepe iudgement would stand vp to the contrary, & would employ & shew foorth y^e whole force of their wits in this disputatiō: yet if they be not so hardned as to become desperately shamelesse, they would be cōpelled to confesse, that there are seene in the scripture manifest tokens that it is God that speaketh therein: whereby it may appere that the doctrine therof is from heauen. And shortly hereafter we shall see, y^e all the books of y^e holy Scripture do far excell al other writings what soeuer they be. Yea if we bring thither pure eyes and vncorrupted senses, we shall forthwith finde there the maiesty of God, which shall subdue all hardnes of gaine saying and enforce vs to obey him. But yet they doe disorderly, that by disputation trauel to establish the perfect credit of the scripture. And truely 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 themselues witty and pleasant in febling the autho-

authority of Scripture, I trust it should not be hard for mee to put to silence their babblings. And if it were profitable to spend labour in confuting their cauellations, I would with no great busines shake in sunder the bragges 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 soorthwith to fasten in their heartes that assurednesse that godlines requireth. Prophane men because they thinke religion standeth onely in opinion, to the ende they would belecue nothing fondly or lightly, doe couet and require to haue it proued to them by reason, that Moses and the Prophetes 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 witnessse of himselfe in his owne word, so shall the same word neuer finde credit in the hearts of men, vntill it be sealed vp with the inward witness of the holy ghost. It behoueth therefore of necessitie that the same holy Ghost which spake by the mouth of the Prophetes, doe enter into our heartes to perswade vs that they faithfully vterred 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, & the words that I haue put in my 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 cleare prooue to alleage, when the wicked do without punishmēt murmur against the word of God: As though the holy Ghost were not for this cause called both a seale and a pledge, because vntill he doe lighten mens mindes they doe alway wauer among many doutinges.

Esay. 51. 16.

5 Let this therefore stand for a certainly perswaded truth, that they whom the holy Ghost hath inwardly taught, doe wholly rest vpon the scripture, and y^e the same scripture is to be credited for it self sake, & ought not to be made subiect to demonstration and reasons: but yet the certainty 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 throughly pearceth our affectionis, when it is sealed in our heartes by the holy Ghost. So being lightned by his vertue, we doe then belecue, not by our owne iudgement, or other mens, that the scripture is from God: but aboue all mans iudgement we hold it most certainly determined, euen as if we beheld the maiesty of God himselfe there present, that by the ministry of men it came to vs from the very mouth of God. We seeke not for arguments and likelihodes to rest our iudgement vpon: but as to a thing without al compasse of consideratiō, we submit our iudgement & wit vnto it. And that not in such sort as some are wont sometime hastily to take hold of a thing vnknowne, wh ch after being throughly perceiued displeaseth them: but because we are in our consciēces well assured that we hold an intiuincible truth. Neither in such sort, as silly mē are wont to yeld their mind in thraldome to superstitions: but because we vndoubtedly perceiue therein the strength & breathing of the diuine maiesty, wherwith we are drawne & stirred to obey, both wittingly & willingly, & yet more liuely & effectually than mans will or wit can attaine. And therefore for good cause doth God cry out by Esay, that the Prophetes with the whole people doe beare him

Esay. 43. 10.

witnes, because being taught by prophecies they did vndoubtedly beleue without guile or vncertainty that God himselſe 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 mind more aſſuredly & ſtedfaſtly reſteth than vpon any reaſons: ſuch is our feeling, as cannot proceede but by reuelation from heauen. I ſpeake nowe of none other thing but that which euery one of the faithfull doth by experience find in himſelf, ſaying that my words doe much want of a full declaration of it. I leaue here many thinges vnſpoken, because there wilbe elſwhere againe a conuenient place to entreate of this matter. Onely now let vs know, that only that is the true faith which the ſpिरite of God doth ſeale in our hearts. Yea with this only reaſon will the ſober reader, and willing to learne, be contented. Eſai promiſeth, that all the children of the reuened church ſhalbe the ſcholars of God. A ſingular priuiledge therein doth God vouchſafe to grant to his elect onely, whom he ſeuereth from all the reſt of mankind. For what is the beginning of true doctrine, but a ready cherefulnes to hear the voyce 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 word is euen in thine owne mouth. If it be y^e pleaſure of God that this treaſure of vnderſtanding be layde vp in ſtore for his children, it is no maruell nor vnlikely, that in the common multitude of men is ſcene ſuch ignorance and dulneſſe. The comon multitude I calue the moſt excellent the, vntil ſuch time as they be graſſed into y^e body of the church. Moreouer Eſai giuing warning that the prophets doctrine ſhould ſeeme incredible not only 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 ſmalneſſe of number of the beleeuers doth trouble vs, on the other ſide let vs call to minde, that none can comprehend the myſteries of God but they to whome it is giuen.

Eſa. 54. 13.

Deu. 30. 12.

Rom. 10. 6.

Eſa. 53. 1.

The viij. Chapter.

That ſo farre as mans reaſon may leaue, there are ſufficient proues to ſtabliſh the credit of Scripture.

VNleſſe we haue this aſſurance, which is both more excellent & of more force than any iudgement of man, in vaine ſhall the authority of ſcripture either be ſtrengthened with arguments, or ſtabliſhed with conſent of y^e church, or confirmed with any other meanes of defence. For vnleſſe this foundation be layd, it ſtill remaineth hanging in doubt. As on the other ſide when exempting it from the common ſtate of thinges, we haue embraced it deuoutly and according to the worthineſſe of it: then theſe thinges become very fit helps which before were but of ſmale force to graſſe and faſten the aſſurance thereof in our mindes. For it is marueilous, howe great eſtabliſhment groweth hereof, when with earneſt ſtudy wee conſider howe orderly and well framed a diuine wiſedome appeareth therein, howe heauenly a doctrine in currey place of it, and nothing

thing fauouring of earthlineſſe, howe beautifull an agreement of all the partes among them ſelues, and ſuch other things as auaille to procure a maieſtie to writings. But more perfectly are our heartes confirmed when we conſider, how we are euen violently caried to an admiration of it rather with dignitie of matter, than with grace of wordes. For this alſo was not done without the ſingular prouidence of God, that the hie myſteries of y^e heauēly 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 cauſe that the onely force of eloquence doeth raigne therein. But when that rough and in a maner rude ſimplicity doth raiſe vp a greater reuerence of it ſelfe than any Rhetoricians eloquence, what may we iudge, but that there is a more mightie ſtrength of trueth in the holy Scripture, than that it needeth any art of wordes? Not without cauſe therefore the Apoſtle maketh his argument, to proue that the faith of the Corinthians was grounded vpon the power of God, and not vpon mans wiſdome, becauſe his preaching among them was ſet forth not with entifiſing ſpeech of mans wiſdome, but in plaine euidence of the ſpirite and of power. For the trueth is then ſet free from all douting, when not vpholden by foraigne aids it ſelfe alone ſufficeth to ſuſtaine it ſelfe. But how this power is properly alone belonging to the Scripture, hereby appeareth, that of all the writings of men, be they neuer ſo cunningly garniſhed, no one is ſo farre able to pearce our affections. Reade Demofthenes or Cicero, read Plato, Aristotle, or any other of all that ſorte: I graunt they ſhall marueiloſly 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 heart, it ſhall ſo ſettle within thy bones, that in compariſon of the efficacy of this feeling, all that force of Rhetoricians and Philoſophers ſhall in manner vniſh away: ſo that it is eaſie to perceiue that the Scriptures, which do farre excell all giſtes and graces of mans induſtrie: doe in deede breath out a certaine diuinitie.

1. Cor. 2. 4.

2 I graunt in dede, that ſome of the Prophets haue an elegant cleare yea and a beautifull phraſe of ſpeech, ſo as their eloquence giueth not place to the prophane writers: and by ſuch examples it pleaſed the holie Ghoſt to ſhewe 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 ſaoureth of cōtrie rudeneſſe: in euerie one of them ſhall appeare that maieſtie of the holy Ghoſt that I ſpake of. Yet am I not ignorant, that as Satan is in many things a counterfaiſer of God, that with deceitfull reſemblance he might y^e better creepe into ſimple mēſ mindes: ſo hath he craftilie ſpread abroad with rude and in manner barbarous ſpeech, thoſe wicked errors wherewith he deceiued ſilly men, & hath oft times vſed diſcontinued phraſes, that vnder ſuch viſour he might hide his deceites. But how vaine and vncleanlie is that curious counterfaiſing, all men that haue but meane vnderſtanding doe plainly ſee. As for the holie Scripture, although froward men labour to bite at many things, yet is it full

Schole men
& Canonis-
tes.

of such sentences as could not be conceived by man. Let all the Prophets be looked vpon, there shall not one be found among them, but he hath farre excelled all mans capacitie, in such sorte that those are to bee thought, to haue no iudgement of tast to whome their doctrine is vsfauorie.

3 Other men haue largely entreated of this argument, wherefore at this time it sufficeth to touch but a few things, y^e chiefly make for the principall summe of the whole matter. Beside these points that I haue already touched the very antiquitie of y^e Scripture is of great weight. For howsoever y^e Greek writers tel many fables of the Ægyptian diuinitie: yet there remaineth no monument of any religion, but that is far inferiour to the age of Moses. And Moses deuifeth not a new God, but setteth forth the same thing which the Israelites had receiued in long proesse of time, conueied to them by their fathers as it were from hand to hand 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 y^e the deliuerance from bondage, wherein they were detained, was a thing well & commonly knowen among them, so that the hearing of the mention thereof did forthwith raise vp all their minds. It is also likely that they were informed of the number of the CCCC. yeares. 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 deliuerance of his doctrine: how much the holy Scripture then is beyond all other writings in antiquitie.

4 Vnlesse perhaps some list to belecue the Ægyptians, that stretch their auntienty to sixe thousand yeares before the creation of the worlde. But sith their vaine babling hath bin alway scorned euen of all y^e prophane writers themselues, there is no cause why I should spend labour in confuting of it. But Iosephus against Appion, alleageth testimonies worthy 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 bin famous euen from the first ages, although it were neither read nor truely knowen. Nowe, that neither there should remaine to the malicious any cause of suspicion, nor to the wicked any occasion to cauill, God hath for both these daungers prouided good remedies. When Moyses rehearseth what Iacob almost three hundred yeares before had by heauenle inspiration pronounced vpon his owne posteritie, how doth he set forth his owne tribe? yea in the person of Leui he sporteth it with eternall infamie. Symeon (sayth he) and Leui the vessels of wickednesse. My soule come not into their counsel, nor my tongue into their secret. Truely he might haue passed ouer that blotte with silence, in so doing not onely to please his father, but also not to staine himselfe and his whole family with part of the same shame. Howe can that writer be suspected, which vnconstrainedly publishing by the oracle of the holy Ghost, that the principall auncester of the family wherof him selfe descended was an abominable doer, neither priuately prouided for his owne honor, nor refused to enter in displeasure of all his owne kinsmen, whome vndoubtedly this matter greued? When also he rehearseth the wicked

murmuring of Aaron his owne brother, and Marie his sister: shall wee saie that he spake after the meaning of the flesh, or rather that he wrote it obeying the commandement of the holy Ghost? Moreouer sith himselfe was hyest in authoritie, why did he not leaue at least y^e office of the hie priest-hode to his own sonnes, but appointeth them to the basest place? I touche here onely a fewe thinges of many. But in the lawe it selfe a man shall eche where meete with many argumentes that are able to bring full prooffe to make men beleue that Moses without all question commeth from heauen as an Angell of God. Num. 12. 1.

5 Now these so many and so notable miracles that he recounteth, are euen as many establishments of the lawe that he deliuered, and the doctrine that he published. For, this that he was caried in a cloud vp into the mountaine: that there euen to the fortieth day he continued without companie of men: that in the very publishing of the lawe his face did shine as it were besette with sunne beames: that lightnings flashed round about: that thunders and noises were heard eche where in the ayre: that a trumpet sounded being not blowen with any mouth of man: that the entrie of the tabernacle by a cloude sette betwene was kept from the sight of the people: that his authority was so miraculously reuenged with the horrible destruction of Chore, Dathan and Abiron, and all that wicked faction: that the rock striken with a rodde did by and by powre forth a riuer: that at his prayer it rayned Manna from heauen: did not God herein commend him from heauen as an vndouted Prophet? If any man obiekt agaynst me, that I take these thinges as confessed, which are not out of controuersie, it is easie to answere this cauillation. For seeing that Moses in open assembly published all these thinges; what place was there to fayne before those witnesses that had them selues seene the thinges done? It is likely forsoth that he would come among them, and rebuking the people of infidelity, stubbornes, vnthankfulnes and other sinnes, would haue boasted that his doctrine was established in their owne sight with such miracles, which in deede they neuer sawe. Exo. 24. 18.
Exo. 34. 29.
Exo. 19. 16.
Exo. 40. 34.

6 For this is also worthy to be noted, so oft as he telleth of any miracles, he therewithall odiouly ioyneth such thinges as might stirre the whole people to crie out against him, if there had bin neuer so litle occasion: Whereby appeareth, y^e they were by no other meane brought to agree vnto him, but because they were euer more than sufficiently conuincid by their owne experience. But because the matter was plainlier knowen, than y^e the prophane coulde denie that miracles were done by Moses: the father of lying hath ministred them an other cauillation, saying, that they were done by Magicall artes and sorcerie. But what likely prooffe haue they to accuse him for a sorcerer, which so farre abhorred from such superstition, y^e he commandeth to stone him to death, that doth but aske counsell of sorcerers and soothsaiers? Truely no such deceiuer vseth his juggling castes, but that he studieth to amase the mindes 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 only execute those thinges that God hath appointed, Num. 16. 24.
Num. 20. 1 C.
Num. 11. 9.

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he doth sufficiently wipe away all blottes of thinking euil of him. Nowe if the thinges themfelues be considered, what enchantement could bring to passe that Manna daily raining from heauen, should suffice to feede y^e people? and if any man keep in store more than his iust measure, by the verie rotting thereof he should be taught, that God did punish his want of beleefe? Beside that, with many great proues God suffred his seruant so to be tried, y^e now the wicked can nothing preuaile with prating against him. For how oft did sometime the people proude and impudently make insurrections, sometime diuers of them cōspiring among themfelues went about to ouerthrowe the holy seruant of God: how could he haue begiled their furor with illusions? And the ende that followed plainly sheweth, that by this meane his doctrine was stablished to continue to the ende of all ages.

Gen. 49.

7 Moreouer where he assigneth the chiefe gouernement to the tribe of Iuda in the person of the Patriarche Iacob, who can denie that this was done by spirite of prophecie, specially if we wey in consideration the thing it selfe, how in comming to passe it proued true? Imagine Moses to haue bin the first author of this prophecie: yet from the time that he did first put it in writing, there passed fower hundred yeares wherein there was no mention of the scepter in the tribe of Iuda. After Saul was consecrate king, it seemed

Sam. 11. 15.

that the kingdome shoulde rest in the tribe of Benjamin. When Dauid was annointed by Samuel, what reason appeared there why the course of inheritance of the kingdome should be chaunged? who would haue looked that

Sam. 16.

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 shold light vpon the yongest? By what meane came he to hope to be a king? who can say that this annointment was gouerned by any arte, trauaile or policy of man, and not rather that it was a fulfilling of y^e heauenly prophecie? Likewise those things that Moses afore speaketh, albeit darkely, concerning the Gentiles to be adopted into y^e couenant of God, seeing they came to passe almost two thousande yeres after, doe they not make it plaine that he spake by the inspiration of God? Iouerskippe his other tellinges aforehand of things, which do so euidently fauour of the reuelation of God, that all men that haue their sounde wit may plainly perceiue that it is God that speaketh. To be short, that same one song of his, is a cleare looking glasse, wherein God euidently appeareth.

Deuter. 32.

8 But in the other prophetes the same is yet also much more plainelie scene. I will choose out only a few examples, because to gather them all together were too great a labour. When in the time of Esay the kingdome of Iuda was in peace, yea when they thought that the Chaldees were to them some stay and defence, then did Esaias prophecie of the destruction of the citie and exile of the people. But admit that, yet this was no token plaine enough of the instinct of God, to tell long before of such thinges as at y^e time seemed false, and afterward proued true: yet those prophecies 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 than an hundred

Esa. 45. 1.

dred yeares from the time that Eſaie ſo prophecied before that Cyrus was borne: for Cyrus was borne in the hundreth yeare or thereabouts after the death of Eſaie. No man could then geſſe that there ſhould be any ſuch Cyrus, that ſhould haue warre 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 Iſtaell. Doth not this bare telling without any garniſhment of wordes euidently ſhew, that the things that Eſaie ſpeaketh, are the vndoubted oracles of God, and nor the coniectures of men? Againe, when Ieremie a lide before that the people was caried away, did determine the ende of the captiuitie within threescore & ten yeares, and promiſed returne and libertie, muſt it not needes be that his tongue was governed by the ſpirit of God? What ſhameleſſneſſe ſhall it be to denie, that the credite of the prophetes was ſtabliſhed by ſuch prooues, and that the ſame thing was fulfilled in deede, which they them ſelues do reporte to make their ſayings to be beleued? Behold, the former things are come to paſſe, and new things do I declare: before they come forth, I tell you of them. I leaue to ſpeake how Hieremie and Ezechiell being ſo farre aſunder, yet prophecying both at one time, they ſo agreed in all their ſayings as if either one of them had ended the wordes for the other to write. What did Daniel? Doth he not write continuing prophecies of things to come for the ſpace of ſixe hundred yeares after, in ſuch ſort as if he had compiled an hſtorie of things already done and commonly knowne? 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 cleare to be ſubiecte to any cauillations at all.

Iere. 25. 11.

Eſa. 42.

9 I know what ſome learned men do prate in corners, to ſhew the quicknes of their wit in aſſaulting the truth of God. For they demande, who hath aſſured vs that theſe things which are read vnder title of their names, were euer written by Moſes and the prophetes. Yea, they are ſo hardy to moue this queſtion, whether there were any ſuch Moſes or no. But if a man ſhould call in doubt whether euer there were any Plato, or Ariſtode, or Cicero: who would not ſay, that ſuch madneſſe were worthy to be corrected with ſtrokes and ſtripes? The law of Moſes hath bin marueiloſly preſerued rather by heauenly prouidence than by diligence of men. And though by the negligence of the Prieſtes it laie buried a little while: yet ſince the time that the godly king Ioſias found it, it hath ſtill by continual ſucceſſion from age to age bin vſed in the handes of men. Neither did Ioſias bring it forth as an vnknown or new thing, but ſuch a thing as had bin euer commonlie publiſhed, and whereof the remembrance was at that time famous. The originall booke it ſelſe was appointed to be ſacredly kept in the temple, and a copie written out therof, to remaine with the keepers of the kings Records. Only this had happened, that the Prieſtes had ceaſſed to publiſh the law according to the olde accuſtomed maner, 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 handes, knewe they not of Moſes? But to ſpeake of them all

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at once, it is most certaine that their writings came to posteritie none other-wise 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, & partly while the remembrance was fresh of it, did learne of them which heard them that they had so spoken.

1. Mac. 1.

2. Mac. 1. 59.

10 As for that which they obiect out of the historie of the Machabees, to minish the credite of scripture, it is such a thing as nothing can be deuised more fitte to stablish the same. But first let vs wipe away the colour that they lay vpon it, & then let vs turne vpon them selues 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 sone be made? It is euident, that after the crueltie appeased they were immediatly abroade againe, and were without controuersie knowne to be the same of all godly men, that hauing bene brought vp in the doctrine of them, did familiarly knowe them. Yea, when all the wicked men being as it were conspired together, did insolently triumphe with reproches vpon the Jewes, yet neuer was there any that durst lay to their charge false changing of their bookes. For whatsoeuer they thinke the Jewes religion to be, yet still they thinke Moses to be the authour 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 newe put in their places, whose sacred antiquitie is approued by consent of all histories? But to spende no more labour vainly in confuting such foolish cauillations: let vs rather hereby consider how greate a care God had for the preseruacion of his worde, when beyond the hope of all men, he saued it from the outrage of the most cruell tyrant, as out of a present fire: that he endewed the godly priestes & other with so great constancie, y^e they sticked not to redeeme this booke euen with losse of their life if need were, & so to conuey it ouer to posteritie: that he disappointed y^e narrow search of so many gouernors & souldiours. Who can but acknowledge the notable & miraculous worke of God, y^e these sacred monumentes which the wicked verily thought to haue bene vtterly destroyed, by and by came abroade againe as fully restored, & that with a great deale more honour? For by & by folowed y^e translating of them into Greeke, to publish them through out the world. And not in this only appeared the miraculous working, that God preserued the tables of his couenant from the bloody proclamations of Antiochus: but also that among so manifold miserable afflictions of y^e Jewes, wherewith the whole nation was sometime worne to a fewe & wasted, & last of all, brought in maner to vtter destruction, yet they remained still safe and extant. The Hebrue tongue lay not onely vnesteemed, but almost vnknown. And surely had not bene Gods pleasure to haue his religion prouided for, it had perished altogether. For howe much the Jewes that were since their returne from exile, were swarued from the naturall vse of their mother tongue, appeareth by the Prophetes, that liued in that age, which is therefore worrhie to be noted, because by this comparison the antiquitie of the lawe and the prophetes is the more plainly perceiued. And by whome

whom hath God preferued for vs the doctrine of saluation contained in the law and the prophetes, to the end that Christ might in his appointed time be openly shewed? euen by the most cruelly bent enemies of Christ, y^e Iewes whom Saint Augustine doth therefore worthily call the keepers of the Librarie of Christian Church, because they haue ministred vnto vs that thing, to reade whereof, themselues haue no vse.

11 Nowe if we come to the new Testament, with how sounde pillars is the trueth thereof vpholden? The three Euangelistes write the historie in base and simple speache. Many proud men do lothe that simplicitie, because they take no heede to the cheife pointes of doctrine therein, whereby it were easie to gather, that they entreate of heauenly mysteries aboute mans capacitie. Surely whosoeuer haue but one droppe 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, do easly deliuer their writing from all contempte. But Iohn thundering from on hic, those whome he compelleth not to obedience of faith, hee throweth down their stubburnes more mightily than any thunderbolt. Now let come foorth all these sharpnosed 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: Wil they or no, they shall there finde a thousande sentences that may at least awaken their sluggishnesse, yea that may print a horrible brande in their owne consciences to restraine their laughing. The same is to bee thought of Peter and Paul, in whose writings although the more parte be blinde, yet the verie heauenly maiestie in them holdeth all men bounde, and as it were fast tied vnto it. But this one thing doeth sufficientlic aduance their doctrine aboute the worlde, that Mathew being before all giuen to the gaine of his monie 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 only from a professed, but also from a cruell and bloody enemy conuerted to a newe man, with sodaine and vnhoped change doth shewe, that being compelled by heauenly authoritic he now mainteineth that doctrine, which before he had fought against. Now let these dogges deny, that the holy Ghost came downe vpon the Apostles, or let them discredit the historie: yet still the trueth it selfe openly cryeth out, that they were taught by the holy Ghost, which being before time despised men among the raskall people, sodenly began so gloriously to entreate of heauenly mysteries.

12 There be yet also furthermore many very good reasons, why the cōsente of the Church should not be esteemed without weight. For it is to be accounted no smal matter, that since the Scripture was first published, y^e willes of so many ages haue constantly agreed to obey it. And y^e howsoeuer Sathan with all the worlde hath trauailed by marueilous meanes, either to oppresse it, or ouerthrowe it, or vtterly to blotte & deface it out of mens remembrance, yet euer still like a palme tree, it hath risen vp aboue, and remained inuincible. For there hath not lightly bin in olde time any sophister or Rhetorician y^e had any more excellent wit thā other, but he hath bent
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his force against this Scripture: yet they all haue nothing preuailed: The whole power of the earth hath armed it selfe to destroy it, & yet al their enterprises are vanished away, as in smoke. How could it haue resisted being so mightily on eche side assailed, if it had had none other defence but mans? Yea rather it is hereby proued, that it came from God himselfe, that all the trauales of men striuing against it, yet it hath of her owne power still risen vp. Beside that, not one citie alone, nor one only nation hath agreed to receiue and embrace it: but so farre as the worlde extendeth in length & breadth, the Scripture hath attained her credite, by one holy conspiracie of diuers nations, which otherwise were in nothing agreable one with another. And forasmuch as such agreement of mindes so diuers & disagreeing in manner in all things els, ought much to moue vs, because it appeareth, that the same is brought about none other way, but by working of the heauenly 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 whome as with lightes it pleased God to haue his Church to shine.

13 Now with what assurednesse of minde ought we to submitte vs to that doctrine which we see stablished and witnessed with the bloude of so many holy men? They when they had but once receiued it, sticked not boldly without feare, yea and with great chearefulnes to die for it: howe should it then come to passe, that we, hauing it conueied to vs with such an assured pledge, should not with certaine and vn moueable persuasion take holde of it? It is therefore no small confirmation of the Scripture, that it hath bene sealed with the bloud of so many witnesses, specially when we consider that they suffred death to beare witness of their faith: and not of a frantike distemperance of braine, as sometime the erroneous spirites are wont to doe, but with a firme and constant and yet sober zeale of God. There be other reasons and those not few nor weake, whereby the Scripture hath her dignitie and maiestie not onely ascertained vnto godly hartes, but also honourably defended against the subtilties of cauellers, yet be they such as be not of them selues sufficiently auaylable to bring stedfast credite vnto it, vntill the heauenly father disclosing therein his maiestie, doth bring the reuerence therof out of al controuersie. Wherefore then only the scripture shall suffice to y^e knowledge of God that bringeth saluation, when the certentie thereof shall be grounded vpon the inwarde persuasion of the holy Ghost. So those testimonies of men that serue to confirme it shall not be vaine, if as seconde helpes of our weaknesse they follow that cheefe and hiest testimony. But they do fondly that will haue it perswaded by prooffe to the vnfaithfull, that the scripture is the worde of God, which can not be knowen but by faith. For good reason therefore doth Augustine giue warning, that godlinesse and peace of minde ought to goe before, to make a man vnderstand somewhat of so great matters.

De vtilitate
credendi.

The ix. Chapter.

*That those fanaticall men, which forsaking Scripture, resort vnto reuelacion,
doe overthrowe all the principles of godlinesse.*

Nowe

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 errour, as to be caried with rage. For there haue arisen of late certeine giddie brained men, which most presumptuously pretending a schoole of the spirite, both them selues do forsake all reading, and also doe scorne their simplicitie which still follow the dead & staving letter, as they call it. But I would faine knowe of these men, what spirite that is, by whose inspiration they are caried vp so hie, that they dare despise the doctrine of the Scripture as childish and base. For if they answer that it is the spirite of Christ, then such carelesnesse is worthie to be laughed at. For I thinke they will graunt, that the Apostles of Christ and other faithfull in the primitiue Church were lightned with none other spirite. But none of them did learne of that spirite to despise the worde of God: but rather euery one was moued more to reuerence it, as their writings do most plainly witnesse. And surely so was it foretold 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 outwarde doctrine as though they were set to learne to spell, but rather he teacheth, that this shall be the true & perfect felicitie of the newe church vnder the reigne of Christ, that it shall no lesse be led by the voice of God, than by the spirite of God. Whereby wee gather, that these lewde men with wicked sacrilege doe seuer afunder those things that the Prophet hath ioyned with an inuiolable knot. Moreover, Paul being rauished vp into the third heauen, yet ceased not to go forward in the doctrine of the law and the Prophets, euen so as he exhorteth Timothie, a doctour of singular excellencie to apply reading. And worthie is that commendation to be remembered, wherewith he setteth foorth the Scripture, saying, that it is profitable to teach, to admonish and to reprove, that the seruants of God may be made perfect. How diuclish 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 spirit than that, which the Lord promised to his disciples. Although they be vexed with extreme madnesse, yet I thinke they are not caried with such giddinesse, that they dare so boast. But what manner of spirite did he speak of in his promise? euen that spirite which should not speake of it selfe, but should minister and inspire into their mindes those thinges, which he the Lord himselfe had taught by his worde. It is not therefore the office of the spirite, which is promised vs, to faine new and vnheard of reuelations, or to coine a newe kinde of doctrine, whereby we should be led from the receiued doctrine of the Gospel, but to seale in our minds the selfe same doctrine that is commended vnto vs by the Gospel.

2 Whereby we plainly vnderstand, that we ought right studiously to apply 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 heedefull to the doctrine of the Prophets, which yet might seeme to haue giuen

Esa. 59. 21.

1. Tim. 4. 13.

2. Tim. 3. 16.

Ioh. 16. 13.

2. Pet. 1. 10.

boundes. 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. Euery where is renoumed both his fatherly bountie and enclined wil to do good, & there are also examples rehearsed of his seueritie, which shewe him to be a righteous punisher of wicked doinges, specially where his sufferance nothing preuaileth with the obstinate.

2 In certaine places are set foorth more plaine descriptions wherein his naturall face is as in an image represented to be seen. For in the place where
 Exo. 34. 6. Moses describeth it, it semeth that his meaning was shortly to comprehend all that was lawfull for men to vnderstand of God. The Lord (sayth he) the Lord, a mercifull God, and gracious, patient and of much mercy, and true, which keepest mercy, vnto thousandes which takest away iniquitie & wicked doinges, before whome the innocent shall not bee innocent, which redrest 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 wise repeting of that honorable 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 stand in a liuely feeling, than in an empty and supernatural speculation. And here we do heare recited those vertues of his which we noted to shine in the heauen and earth, that is to say, clemencie, bountie, mercy, iustice, iudgement and trueth. For might and power are contained vnder this name Elohim God. With the same names of addition do the Prophets set him forth when they meane fully to paint out his holy name. But, because I would not heape vp too many examples together, at this present let one Psalme suffice vs, wherein the summe of all his vertues is so exactly reckened vp, that nothing can seeme to be omitted. And yet is nothing there rehearsed, but that which we may behold in his creatures. So plainly do we perceiue God by information of experience, to be such as he declareth himselfe in his worde. In
 Psa. 145. 3. 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. He that glorieth, saith he, let him glory in this that he knoweth me to be the Lord that do mercy, iustice, and iudgement on the earth. Surly these three things are very necessary for vs to know: mercy, in which alone consisteth all our saluation: Iudgement, which is daily executed vpon euil doers, & more greuous is prepared for them to eternall destruction: Iustice, whereby the faithfull are preserved & most tenderly cherished. Which things when thou hast conceiued, the prophecy saith thou hast sufficiently enough whereof thou maiest glory in God. And yet here are not omitted either his trueth or his power, or his holines or goodnes. For how should the knowledge stand sure which is here required of his iustice, mercy and iudgement, vnles it did rest vpon his vn moueable trueth? And how should we beleue that he doth gouerne the earth with iustice and iudgement, but vnderstanding his power? And whence cometh his mercy but of his goodnes? If then al his waies be mercy, iudgement & iustice, in them must holines also needes be scene. And to none other end is directed y^e knowledge of God that

is set fourth vnto vs in the Scriptures, than is that knowledge also which appeareth imprinted in his creatures, that is to say: it first moueth 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 innocency 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 y^e true God, doth expressly exclude and cast away all the gods of the Gentiles, because commonly in a manner in all ages religion hath bin corrupted. True it is in deed that the name of one God was euery where knowen and renoumed. For euen they that worshipped a great number of Gods, so oft as they did speake 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 y^e this, that there is but one God, was engrauen in the heartes of al men. The same thing also doth Tertullian proue by the common phrase of speech. But forasmuch as all without exception are by their owne vanitie either drawn or fallen to false forged deuises, and so their senses are become vaine, therefore all that euer they naturally vnderstoode of the being but one God, auailed no further but to make them inexcusable. For euen the wisest of them doe plainly shewe the wandering error of their mind, when they wish some god to assist them, and so in their prayers doe call vpon vncertaine gods. Moreouer in this that they imagined God to haue many natures although they thought somewhat lesse absurdely than the rude people did of Iupiter, Mercurie, Venus, Minerua and other: yet were they not free from the deceites of Satan, and as we haue already sayde els where, whatsoeuer wayes of escape the Philosophers haue suttely inuented, they cannot purge theselues of rebellion but that they al haue corrupted the truth of God. For this reason, Habucuc after he had condemned all idoles biddeth to seeke God in his owne temple, that the faithfull should not admitte him to be any other than such as he had disclosed himselfe by his word.

Abra. 2.

The xj. Chapter

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

BVt as the Scripture prouiding for the rude and grosse wit of man vseth to speake after the common maner: so when it meaneth to make scuerally knowen the true God from the false gods, it chiefly compareth him with idoles: not that it doth allow these inuentions that are more suttelike 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 euery one to their owne imaginations. Therefore that exclusive definition which we commonly heare, bringeth to nought al that maner

of Godhead that men frame to themselves by their owne opinion, because God himselfe is the onely conuenient witness of himselfe. In the meane time, sith this brutish grossenesse hath possessed the whole world, to couer visible shapes of God, and so to forge themselves Gods of timber, stone, gold, siluer, and other dead and corruptible matter, we ought to hold this principle, that with wicked falshod the glorie of God is corrupted so oft as any shape is fained to represent him. Therefore God in γ law, after he had once chalenged the glorie of his deitie to himself alone, meaning to teach vs what manner of worshipping him hee alloweth or refuseth, addeth immediately:

Exo. 20. 4.

Thou shalt make thee no grauen image, nor any similitude, in which wordes he restraineth our liberty, that wee attempt not to represent him with anie visible image. And there 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 sunne, yea & so many stars as the foolish nations sawe in the skie, so many goddes they fained them. And scarce was there any liuing creature which was not among γ Egyptians a figure of God. But the Grecians were thought to be wiser than the rest, because they worshipped God in γ shape of a man. But God cōpareth not images one with an other, as though one were more & an other lesse meet 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.

Maximus Tiri-
us Platoni-
cus sermo-
ne 38.

Deu. 4. 10.
12. 5.

2 This is easie to be gathered by the reasons which hee ioyneth to the prohibition. First with Moses: Remember that the Lord hath spoken to thee in the vale of Horeb. Thou heardest a voyce, but thou sawest no body. Therefore take heede to thy selfe, least peradventure thou be deceiued and make to thy selfe any likenesse. &c. We see how openly God setteth his voyce against all counterfait shapes, that we may know that they forsake God who-
soeuer do couer to haue visible formes of him. Of the Prophetes onely Esay

Esa. 40. 18.
and 41. 7. &
45. 9. & 46.
5.

Act. 17. 29.

shalbe enough which speaketh oft and much hereof, to teach that the ma-
iestie of God is defiled with vncomely and foolish counterfaying, when he
being without body is likened to bodily matter: being inuisible, to a visible
image: being a spirit, to a thing without life: being incomprehensible, to a
small lumpe of timber, stone or gold. In like manner reasoneth Paul: For as-
much as we are the generation of G O D, 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 dishonours of his maiestie. And what maruel is it if the holic
Ghost do thunder out these oracles from heauen, sith he compelleth the ve-
ry wretched and blind idolaters themselves to confesse this in earth? It is

Li 6, de ciui.
dei cap. 10.

known how Seneca complained as it is to read in Augustin. They dedicate
(saith he) the holy inmortall and inuiolable Gods in most vile & base stuffe,
and put vpon them the shapes of men and beastes, and some of them with
kinde of man & woman mingled together, and with sundrie shapen bodies,
and such they call Gods which if they should receiue breath & meete them,
would be reckened monsters. Whereby againe plainly appeareth, that it is

fond caullation wherewith the defenders of images seeke to escape, which say that the Iewes were forbidden images, because 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 counterfaiting a shape of God.

3 God in deede, I graunt, sometime in certaine signes hath giuen a presence of his godhead, so as hee was sayde to bee beholden face to face, but all these signes that euer he shewed did aptly serue for meanes to teach, and withall did plainly admonish men of an incomprehensible essence. For the cloud and smoke and flame, although they were tokens of the heavenly glory, yet did they as it were bridle and reftaine the mindes of men that they should not attempt to passe any further. Wherefore not Moles himselfe, to whome God disclosed himselfe most familiarly in comparison of other, obtained by prayer 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 doue, but sith he immediatly 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 belecue him to be an inuisible spirite, that holding them 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 mercy seate wherein God shewed forth the presence of his power in the time of the lawe, was so made as it might teache that the best beholding of the godhead is this, when mens mindes are carried beyond the selues with admiration of it. For the Cherubins with their wings stretched abroad did coner it, the veile did hide it, & the place it selfe being set faire inward did of it selfe sufficiently keepe it secret. Therefore it is very plaine that they be very mad that go about to defende y^e images of God and of S^aints with the example of these Cherubins. For, I pray you, what meant these litle images, but to shewe that images are not meete to represent the mysteries of God? forasmuch as they were made for this purpose, that hyding the mercy seate 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 Prophetes described the Seraphins shewed them in vision, with their face vncouered: wherby they signifie, that so great is the brightnes of y^e glory of God y^e 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, do acknowledge that the Cherubins of whome we now speake, pertained onely to the olde maner of introduction as it were of children vsed in the lawe. So to draw them now for an example to our age, is an absurditie. For y^e childish age, as I may so terme it, is passed, for the which such rudimentes were appointed. And it is much

Deu. 4. 11.

Exo. 33. 13.

Mat. 3. 16.

Exo. 25. 17.

Esa. 6. 2.

shame, that the painime writers are better expounders of the lawe of God than the Papistes are . Iuuenal reprocheth the Iewes as it were in scorne that they honor the white cloudes and the deitie of heauen. I grant he speaketh peruerfly & wickedly : and yet he speaketh more truely 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 hastinesse, brake out oftentimes to seeke them idoles, euen as waters out of a great fresh spring boile out with violent force : hereby rather let vs learne how great is y^e inclination of our nature to idolatry, lest throwing vpon the Iewes the blame of that fault which is common to al, we sleepe a deadly sleepe vnder vaine allurementes to sinne.

Pf. 115. 4.&
135. 5.

4 To the same purpose serueth this saying : The idoles of the Gentiles are gold and siluer, euen the workes of mens handes . 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 trueth , that it is a foolish fained inuention whatsoeuer we conceiue of our owne sense concerning God . He nameth rather gold and siluer than clay or stone, that the beautie or y^e price should not serue to 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 caried away with too mad a rashnes , which themselues bearing about with them but a borrowed breath, readie to vanishe away at euery momente , yet dare giue the honor of God to idoles . Man must needes confesse that himselfe is but a creature of a daies continuance, and yet he will haue a peece of metall to be counted God to which himselfe gaue the beginning to bee 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 :

Horat. ferm.
1. sat. 8.

I was sometime a fig tree log, a blocke that serud for nought:

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

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

As length he thought she better was a God to make of me.

Esa. 44. 15.

Forsooth an earthly silly man that breatheth out his owne life in maner euery moment, by his workmanship shall conuey the name and honour of God to a dead stock. But forasmuch as Epicure in scoffingly iesting hath cared for no religion, let vs leaue the tauntes of him and such as he is , and let the rebuking of the Prophet pricke vs or rather thrust vs through where he saith, that they are too much beastly witted y^e with one selfe peece of woode do make a fire and warme themselues, doe heat the ouen to bake bread, doe rost or seeth flesh, & do make them a God before which they fal down humbly to pray. Therefore in an other place he doth not only accuse them by the law, but also doth reproch them that they haue not learned of y^e foundations of the earth: for that there is nothing lesse conuenient than to bring God to the measure of siue foote which is about all measure and incomprehensible. And yet this same monstrous thing which manifestly repugneth against y^e order of nature, custome sheweth to be natural to men. We must moreouer hold in mind , that superstitions are in Scripture commonly rebuked in this

Esa. 40. 21.

Esa. 2. 8. &

31. 7. & 57.
10.

phraze

phrase of speech, that they are the workes of mens hand which want the authority of God: that this may be certaine, that all these manners of worshipping that men doe deuise of themselves are detestable. The Prophet in the Psalme doth amplifie the madnesse of them that therefore are endued with understanding, that they should know that all thinges are moued with the onely power of God, and yet they pray for helpe to thinges dead and senselesse. But because the corruption of nature carieth as well 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 be noted that a similitude is no lesse forbidden than a grauen image, whereby the fond suttily of the Greekes is confuted. For they thinke they are well discharged if they graue not a God, while in painting they doe more licentiously outrage than any other nations. But the Lord forbiddeth an image not onely to be made by the grauer but also to be counterfayted by any other workeman, because such counterfaying is euill 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. Gregory so said, but the spirite of God pronouñceth far otherwise, in whose schoole if Gregory had bin taught, he woulde neuer so haue spoken. For whereas Hieremy plainly saith that the stocke is a doctrine of vanity: 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 whatsoeuer men learne by images concerning God. If any man take exception, and say that the Prophetes 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 Papistes take for an assured principle, that images are in steede of bookes. For they doe in comparison set images against God as thinges directly contrary and such as neuer can agree together. This comparison I say is made in those places which I haue alledged. Sith there is but one true God whome the Iewes did worship, it is amisse and falsely done to forge visble shapcs 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 deceitful and corrupt knowledge of God that is learned by images, the Prophetes would not so generally condemne it. At least thus much I winne of them when we shew that it is vanity and lying that men doe attempt to represent God with images, we doe nothing but rehearse word for word that which the Prophetes 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 whome images are to be seene. Likewise Augustine: which without douting pronounceth that it is vnlawfull not onely to worship images, but also to set vp images to God. And yet saith he none other thing but the same which many yeares before was decreed by the Elibertine Councell, whereof this is the xxxvi. Chapter. It is ordeined that no pictures be had in the Church, that the thing which is honoured and worshipped be not painted on the

Ose. 14.4.
Mic. 5.14.
Psal. 115.8.

Hier. 10.8.
Ha. 2.18.

Concil. Elibert. ca. 6.
cap. 31.

Li. 1. de Ci-
uitate Dei
ca. 9. & 31.

walles. But most notable is that which in an other place Augustine alledgeth out of Varro, and confirmeth it with his owne assent, that they which first brought in the images of Gods, both took away the feare of God, & brought in error. If Varro alone should say this, peradventure it shoulde be but of small authority. Yet ought it of right to make vs ashamed that a heathen man groping in darkenesse came to this light, to see that bodily images are therefore vnmeet for the maiesty 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 foorth as of his owne minde. And first he admonisheth, y^e the first errors wherwith men were entangled concerning God, began not of images, but as with new matter added encreased by them. Secondly he expoundeth that the feare of God is therefore diminished or rather taken away therby, because his maiesty may easily in the foolishnesse and in the fond and absurd forging of images growe to contempt. Which second thing I would to God we did not by prooffe finde to be so true. Whosoever therefore will couet to be rightly taught, let him else where learne than of images, what is meete to be knowne concerning God.

7 Wherefore if the Papistes 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 therby for defense of their idols. What monsters they thrust in, in the place of God, is wel knowne. The pictures and images that they dedicate to Saints, what are they but examples of extreme riot and vncleanesse, wherunto if any would fashion himselfe, he were worthy to be beaten with stauers? Surely y^e brothelhowes, can shew harlots more chastly and soberly attyred, than their temples shew images of these whome they would haue called virgins. Euen as vncomly array giue they to the Martyrs. Let the therfore fashion their idols at least to some honest shewe of shamefastnes, that they may somewhat more colourably lye in saying, that they are the bookes of some holinesse. But if it were so, yet then would we answer, that this is not y^e right way to teach the faithful people in holy places, whom God would haue there instructed with far other doctrine than with these trifles. God commanded in the churches a cōmon doctrine to be set foorth to all men in preaching of his word and in his holy mysteries: whereunto they shew themselues to haue a mind not very heedfull, that cast their eyes about to behold images. But whom do the Papistes call lay and vnlearned men whose vnskilfulness may beare to be taught onely by images? forsooth euen those whom y^e Lord knowledgeth for his disciples, to whom he vouchsafeth to reueile y^e heauenly wisdome, whome he willet to be instructed with the wholsome mysteries of his kingdome. I graunt indeede as the matter standeth that there are at this day many which cannot be without such bookes. But whence I pray you groweth that dulnes, but that they are defrauded of that doctrine which only 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 themselues were dūmme. Paul testi-
fith

fieth that Christ is in y^e true preaching of the gospel, painted out in a maner crucified before our eyes. To what purpose then were it to haue commonly set vp in churches so many crosses of wood, stone, siluer and gold, if this were wel & faithfully beatē into the peoples heads, that Christ died to bear 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 and eyes faster vpon the golden & siluer crosses than vpon any wordes of God. Gal. 3. 1.

8 As concerning the beginning of idols, that is by cōmon consent thought to be true which is written in the booke of wisdome, that they were the first authors of them, which gaue this honor to the dead, superstitiously to worship their memorie. And truly I graunt that this euill custome was very ancient, & I deny not that it was the fierbrand wherwith the rage of men being kindled to idolatry, did more & more burne therein. Yet do I not graunt that this was the first originall of this mischiefe. For it appeareth by Moses that images were vsed before that this curiosity 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, he speaketh it as of a cōmon fault. Wherby we may gather that the wit of man is, as I may so call it, a continuall worship of idols. After the generall floud, there was as it were a new regeneration of the world, and yet there passed not many years, but that mē according to their owne lust faigned them gods. And it is likely, that the holy Patriarch yet liuing, his childrens children were giuen to idolatry, so that to his bitter grief he saw the earth defiled with idols, whose corruptions the Lord had but late purged with so horrible iudgemēt. For Thare, and Nachor euen before the birth of Abrahā were worshippers of false gods, as Iosue testifieth. Seing the generation of Sem so sone swarued, what shal we iudge of y^e posterity of Cham, who were already cursed in their father? The mind of men, as it is full of pride & rash boldnes, presumeth to imagine God according to her owne conceit: & as it is possessed wth dulnes, yea ouerwhelmed with grosse ignorance, so it conceiueth vanity & a fond iantafie in stede of God. And in these euils is added a new mischiefe, that man attēpreth to expresse in workmanship such a God as he inwardly conceiueth. Thus the mind begetteth the idole, & the hand bringeth it forth. The example of the Israclites proueth that this was y^e beginning of idolatry, that men do not beleue that God is among them vnlesse he shew himself carnally present. We know not (said they) what is become of this Moses: make vs gods y^e may goe 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 y^e he was nie vnto thē vnlesse they did see with their eyes a corporal representation of his face to be a witnes vnto them of the God that gouerned them. Their minde was therefore to know by y^e image going before them, that God was the guide of their journey. This thing daily experience teacheth, that the flesh is alway vnquiet till it hath gotten some counterfaite deuise like it selfe, wherein it may vainely delight as in an image of God. In a maner in al ages since the cre-

creation of the worlde, men to obey this blinde desire haue erected signes wherein they imagined God to be present before their carnall eyes.

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 them. At length being both with mindes and eyes altogether fastned theron, 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 Lord hath forbidden not onely images to be erected that are made to expresse a likenesse of him, but also any titles or stones to be dedicated, that should stand to bee worshipped. And for the same reason also in the commandement of the law, this other point is added concerning worshipping. For so sone as they haue forged a visible forme for God, they also tye the power of God vnto it. So beattly foolish are men, that there they fasten God where they counterfaite him, and therefore must they needes worship it. Neither is there any difference whether they simply worship the idole, or God in y^e idole. This is alway idolatry, when honours due to God are giuē to an idole, vnder what colour so euer it be. And because God will not bee worshipped superstitiously, therefore whatsoever is giuen to idols is taken from him. Let them take heede hereunto that seeke for pretenses to defende the abominable idolatry, wherwith these many ages past, true religion hath bin drowned and ouerthrowne. But (say they) the images are not taken for Gods. Neither were the Iewes themselues so vnaduised to forget that it was God by whose hand they had bin brought out of Ægypt before they made the calfe. Yea when Aaron said, that those were the Gods by whome 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 y^e was their deliuerer, so that they might see him goe before them in the calfe. Neither is it to be beleueed that the heathen were so grosse as to belecue, that God was no other thing but stockes and stones. For they changed their images at their pleasure, but stil they kept the same Gods in their minde: and there were many images of one God, & yet they did not according to the multitude of images faigne them many Gods. Beside that they did dayly 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 deity that did in it inuisibly dwel. And they that were of somewhat better religion, as he calleth it, did say that they did neither worshippe the image nor the spirite in it, but by the corporall image they did beholde the signe of that thing which they ought to worship. How then? All idolaters, whether they were of the Iewes, or of
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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 once that such disordered counterfaiting of God well liked them, they neuer ended, till dayly more and more deluded with newe deceites they imagined that God did shewe foorth his power in images. And neuerthelesse, 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, whome yet they faigned to dwell in heauen.

10 Whosoever deny that it hath thus bin done in time past, yea within our owne remembrance, they impudently lye. For, why fall they down before them? And when they pray, why turne they toward them as to the cares of God? For it is true that Augustine saith, that no man prayeth or worshippeth when he so beholdeth an image. but he is so affected in mind that he thinketh himselfe to be heard of it, or that it will doe 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 honor an other solemnly? Why doe they weary themselues with vowed pilgrimages to visite those images wherof they haue like at home? Why doe they at this day in defense of them as it were for their religion & 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 doe not reckon vp the grosse errors of the common people, which are almost infinite, and doe in maner possesse the hearts of all men. I doe onely shewe what themselues doe confesse when they meane most of all to excuse themselues of idolatrie. We doe 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 ech where cease not to cast in the ir teeth their fornicatiō with stockes and stones, for doing no more but such thinges as are dayly done by them that would be counted Christians, that is to say, that they carnally worshipped God in stockes and stones.

In Psal. 113.

11 Although I am not ignorant, nor thinke good to passe it ouer as if I knewe it not, how they seeke to escape with a more suttle distinction, wherof 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, & not Idololatria which is worship of Images. For so they terme it when they reach 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 litle lighter matter to worship than to serue. And yet while they seeke a hole to hide them in the Greeke word, they childishly disagree with themselues. For seeing Latreuein in Greeke signifieth nothing but to worship, their saying cometh but to this effect, as if they would say that they worship in dede 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

they seeke to cast a mist before the eyes of the simple, do bewray their owne ignorance. And yet though they be neuer so eloquent, they shall not attaine by their eloquence to proue vnto vs that one selfe same thing is two sundry things. Let them (say I) shewe 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 newe 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 whome they themselues are compelled to condemne. But so farre are they from prouing that their case differeth from the case of those idolaters, that rather the fountaine of all this whole mischiefe is an vnorderly counterfaiting, wherein they haue striued with them while both with their owne wit they deuise, & with their owne hands they frame them signifying formes to expresse them a fashion of God.

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. Least these things which God hath giuen vs for his glorie & for our owne benefit, 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, & because it cannot be done without some defacement of his glory. And least they thinke that it is only we that are in this opinion, they that haue bene trauelled in their workes shal 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 only those things be painted & grauen wherof our eyes are capable: but that the maiestie of God which is farre aboue the sense of our eyes, be not abused with yncomly deuised shapes. Of this sort are partly histories & things done, partly images & fashions of bodies, without expressing of any things done by them. The first of these haue some vse in teaching or admonishing a man: but what profit the second can bring saue only delectation, I see not. And yet it is euident, that euen such were almost all the images that heretofore haue stande vp in churches. Whereby we may iudge that they were there set vp not by discrete iudgement or choise, but by foolish and vnadvised desire. I speake not how much amisse & yncomely they were for the most parte fashioned, nor how licentious Painters & Caruers haue in this point shewed their wantonnesse, which thing I haue already touched. Only I speake to this end, that though there were no fault in them, yet do they nothing auaille to teach.

13 But leauing 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 do any thing moue vs, let vs remember that for about v. C. yeres together, while religion yet better flourished, & 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 mi-
nistia-

nistration was not a litle altered. I wil not now dispute what reason they had with them y were the first authors therof. But if a man cōpare age with age, he shal see that they were much swarued from that vprightnes of them that were without images. What do we thinke y those holy fathers would haue suffered the church to be so long without the thing which they iudged profitable & good for them? But rather because they saw either litle or no profit in it, & much danger to lurk vnderneath it, they did rather of purpose & aduisedly reiect it, than by ignorance or negligence omit it. Which thing Augustine doth also in expresse words testifie: When they be set in such places (saith he) honorably on hve, to be seene of them that pray & do Sacrifice, although they want both sense & life, yet with the very likenesse y they haue of liuely members & senses, they so moue the weake mindes, that they seem to liue & breath, &c. And in another place: For that shape of members doeth worke & in maner enforce thus much, that the mindē liuing within a bōdy doth thinke that body to haue sense, which he seeth like vnto his own. And a litle after: Images do more auaille to bow downē an vnhappy soule, by this that they haue mouth, eyes, eares, & fecte, than to amend it by this that they neither speake nor see nor heare nor go. This truely seemeth to be y cause why Iohn willed vs to beware not only of worshipping of images, but also of images themselues. And we haue found it too much in experience, y through the horrible madnesse which hath heretofore possessed the worlde, to the destruction in maner of all godlinesse, 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 refraine it selfe, but it must forthwith runne on to superstitious worshippings. But if there were not so much danger hanging thereby: yet when I consider for what vse temples are ordeined, me thinkes it is very ill besecming the holinesse thereof to receiue any other images than these liuely & naturall images, which the Lord by his word hath consecrate. I meane Baptisimē and the Lords supper, and other ceremonies wherewith our eyes ought both more earnestly to be occupied & more liuely to be moued, than that they should needē any other images framed by the wit of men. Loe this is the incomparable commoditie of images, which can by no value be recompensed, if we beleue the Papistes.

14 I thinke I had spoken enough of this thing already, but that the Nicene Synode doth as it were lay hand on me to enforce mee to speake more. I meane not that most famous Synode which Constantine the Great assembled, but that which was holden eyght hundred yeares agoe, by the commaundement and authority of Irene the empresse. For that Synode decreed, that images should not only be had in churches, but also worshipped. For whatsoeuer I should say, the autoritie of the Synode would make a great preiudice on the other side. Although to say truth, that doth not so much moue me, as make it appeare to the readers how farre their rage extended, that were more desirous of images than became Christians. But first let vs dispatche this. They that at this day maintaine y vse of images, allege the decree of that Nicene Synode for their defense. But there is extant a booke of confutatiō bearing the name of Charles y Great, which by y phrase we may gather

Epi. 49.

In ps. 113.

1. Joh. 5. 21.

gather to haue bin written at the same time. Therein are recited the sentences of the Bishops that were present at that Council, and the arguments wherewith they contended. Iohn the Legate of the east partes said: 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: shewe me thy face because it is beautifull. An other to proue that images ought to be set vpon altars, cited this testimony: no man lighteth a candle and putteth it vnder a bushell. An other, to shewe that the beholding of them is profitable for vs, brought forth a verse out of the Psalmie: the light of thy countenance is sealed vpon vs. An other tooke this similitude: As the Patriarches vsed the Sacrifices of the Gentiles, so must Christian men haue the images of Saintes in steade of the images of the Gentiles. To the same purpose haue they writted this saying: Lord, I haue loued the beauty of thy house. But specially witty is the exposition of this place, As we haue heard so haue we seene, that God is not knowne by onely hearing of his worde, but also by looking vpon images. Like is the sharpe deuise of Bishop Theodore. Marueilous (saith he) is God in his Saintes. And in another place: In the Saintes that are in the earth: therefore this ought to be referred to images. Finally so filthy are their vnfauorie follies that it greueth me to rehearse them.

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 marueilous strong and meete proues. Worship his foote stole. 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, coulde he gather together greater and grosser follies? But to put all out of doute, 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 faouers of images goe and presse vs with the decree of that Synode. As though those reuerend fathers doe not altogether discredit themselues, in either so childishly hādling, or so vngodly and fowly tearing the Scriptures.

16 Now come I to those monstrous impieties, which it is maruell that euer they durst vomit, and twise marueilous that they were not cried out against with hie detestation of all men. And it is good that this outragiously wicked madnesse be bewrayed, that at least the false colour of antiquity may be takē away, which y papistes pretend for the worshipping of images. Theodosius the Bishop of Amorū pronounceth curse against al them that wil not haue images worshipped. An other imputeth all the calamities of Grecia and the East part to this, that images were not worshipped. What punishment then were the Prophetes, the Apostles and Martyrs worthy to suffer in whose time there were no images? They adde further: If the Emperours image be met with perfume and censing: much more is this honor due to the

the images of Saints. Constantius Bishop of Constance in Ciprus, professeth that he reuerently embraceth images, and affirmeth that he will giue to the same honorable maner of worship that is due to the Trinity that giueth life. And who soeuer 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 parts being further caried with heat, said it were better to bring all brothelhouses into the city than to deny 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 reioyce that hauing the image of Christ doe offer Sacrifice vnto it. Where is now the distinction of Latria and Dulia, wherewith they are wont to seeke to blinde the eyes 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 seuerally discerned from idols, that he may be onely and wholly worshipped.

WE sayde 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 howe he is rightly worshipped, which point shalbe in other places more largely to be set forth. Nowe 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 commaundeth this, that whatsoeuer belongeth to the Godhead, be not giuen to any other. Whereby also appeareth what pure religion doeth differ from superstition. Eusebeia, in Greeke signifieth as much as true worship, because alway euen the blinde themselues groping in darkenesse haue found that this rule ought to be holden, that God bee not vnorderly worshipped. The name of religion although Cicero truly and well deriueth from religere, to recorde, or gather vp together: yet is the reason that he assigneth enforced and farre set, that good worshippers did often record and diligently wey what was the truth. I rather thinke that that name is set as a contrary to wandering liberty, because the greater part of the worlde vnadvisedly taketh hold of that which they first meete withall, and flieth about hither and thither: but true godlinesse, to the ende it may stand 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 maner & order prescribed, she heapeth vp together a superfluous number of vaine things. But to leaue the words it hath alway bin agreed by the consent of all ages, that religion is with false errors corrupted and peruered. Whereupon we gather that it is a very fond colour which the superstitious doe pretend, when with vndiscrete zeale we giue our selues leaue to doe all thinges. And although this confession found in the

2. de nat.
deorum.

mouthes of all men: yet herein a shameful ignorance bewrayeth 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 ielous, and that he will be a seuerer reuenger if he be mingled with any fained God. And then he setteth foorth the lawfull maner of worshipping, to hold mankinde in obedience. He conteineth both these points in his law, when first he bindeth the faithfull vnto himselfe that he only may be their lawmaker: and then he prescribeth a rule wherby to be worshipped after his owne minde. Of the law, because the vses & endes therof are many, I will entreat in place fit for it. Now I only touch this point, that thereby men are bridlede that they run not out of the way to wrong worshippings. Now as I first said, we must hold in mind, that if all y^e euer properly belongeth to godhead doe not rest in God alone, he is spoiled of his honour, & his worship broken. And there must we somewhat heedfully marke with what subtleties superstition deceiueth. For it doth not so reuolte vnto strange gods that it seemeth to forsake the highest God, or to bring him downe into the number of other gods: but while she graunteth vnto him the highest place, she setteth round about him a number of lesser gods, among whom she diuideth his offices. And so (albeit clokedly & craftely) y^e glory of the godhead is cut in parts, that it remaineth not whole in him. So in the olde time, as wel they of the Iewes as of the Gētiles 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 maiesty of God is not so much as diuided, when in deede it is a great part suppressed and extinguished, sauing that we retaine stil a poore opinion of his supreme power: and in the meane time deceiued with entangled subtleties, we are sunderly caried to diuers gods.

2 For this purpose also was inuented the distinction of *Latria* and *Dulia*, as they terme them, that is worship and seruice, whereby they might freely seeme to giue away the honours of God to Angels and dead men. For it is euident, that the worship which the Papistes giue vnto Saintes differeth nothing indeede from the worship of God. For all alike without diuersity 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 inuiolate, 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 mocke in a matter of all matters most weighty? But to let that also passe, yet winne they nothing by this distinction, but to proue, that they giue worship to one God and seruice to another. For *Latria* in Greeke signifieth as much as in Latine *Cultus*, and in Englishe worship. *Dulia*, properly signifieth seruice. And yet sometime in Scripture this difference is confounded together without diuersitie. But graunt it be a perpetuall difference, then muste we search
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what both the wordes may meane. *Dulia* is seruice, *Latria* is worship. Now no man douteth that to serue, is more then to worship. For many times a man could hardly beare to serue him whome he would not stick to worship. So is it an vnegall dealing to giue to the saints that which is the greater, & to leaue to God that which is the lesser. But many of the auncient authors haue vsed this distinction. What maketh that matter, if all men do perceiue: it to be not onely vnfit, but altogether very fond?

3 Now leauing nice fittleties, let vs wey the matter it selfe. When Paul putteth the Galathians in remembrance what they were before that they were lighened in the knowledge of God, he saith that they gaue *Duliam* seruice to those that of nature were no gods. Although he name not *Latriam* or worship, is therefore their superstition excusable? He doth neuertheless condemne their peruerse 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 \bar{y} Lord thy God, the name of *Latria* was not brought in question. Sathan required but an adoration. Likewise when the Angel reproved Iohn, because he fell downe on his knees before him, wee ought not to thinke that Iohn was so madde that he would giue vnto the Angell the honor that was due onely to God. But because it was not possible, but that all worship that is ioyned with religion sauoureth somewhat as pertaining to God, therefore he could not adore the Angell, but that he must take away somewhat from the glory of God. We read in deede often, that men haue bene honoured: but that was a ciuil honor, as I may so call it. But religion hath an other rule, which so soone as it is ioyned with wotship, bringeth with it a prophane abuse of the honor of God. The same may we see in Cornelius. He had not so sclenderly profited in godlinesse; but that he 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 \bar{y} steede of God. And yet did Peter earnestly forbid him to doe that which he did. And why so? but because men do neuer so narrowly put difference betwene 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 Zachary when he preacheth of the repairing of the Church, in plaine words expresseth: That there shal not only be one God, but also \bar{y} there shalbe one name of that God, to the end that he haue nothing in common with Idols. What maner of worship God requireth, we shal see in another place when it falleth in order. For it pleased him in his law to prescribe vnto men what is lawful & right, & so to binde them to a certaine rule, that euery man should not giue himself leaue to deuise what form of worship he list. But because: it is not expedient to load the readers with heaping many matters together, I will not touche that point yet. Onely let it suffice for this time to keepe in minde, that euery carying away of the dutifull behauiours of Godlinesse to any other than to God alone, is not without robbery.

Gal. 4. 8.

Matt. 4. 10.
Reu. 19. 10.

Act. 10. 25.

Zac. 2. 4. 9.

of God. And first superstition deuised to giue diuine honours to the Sunne, or other starres 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 honour the soueraigne deitie, yet grewe it in vse indifferently to offer sacrifices to spirites, lesser gods, or dead men of honour. So slippery is the way to slide into this fault, to make common to a number y^e which God seuerely chalengeth to himselfe alone.

The xiiij. Chapter.

That there is taught in the Scriptures one essence of God from the very creation, which essence consisteth 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 saide very well, That God is all that we doe see, and all that we doe not see. But by this meane he hath imagined the godheade to be powred into all the partes of the worlde. 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 al grosse imaginations, and also repressie 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: & 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 dulnes to lye still in the earth, for good cause he listeth vs vp about the world, to shake off our slouth and sluggishnesse. And here fallerth to ground the error of the Manichees, which in appoynting two originall beginnings haue made the diuell in a maner egall with God. Surely this was as much as to breake the vnity of God and restraine his vnmearurableness. For where they haue presumed to abuse certain testimonies: that sheweth a fowle ignorance, as their error it selfe sheweth a detestable madnesse. And the Anthropomorphites are also easily confuted which haue imagined God to consist of a body, because oftentimes the Scripture ascribeth vnto him a mouth, eares, eyes, hands, and feete. For what man yea though he be scenderly witted doeth not vnderstand that God doth so with vs speake as it were childishly, as nurses doe with their babes? Therefore such maners of speech doe not so plainly expresse what God is, as they doe apply the vnderstanding of him to our scender capacity. Which to doe, it behooued of necessitie that hee descended a great way beneath his owne height.

2 But he also setteth out himselfe by an other speciall marke wherby he may be more neerely knowne. For he so declarerth himselfe to be but one, that he yet giueth himselfe distinctly to be considered in three persons: which
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except we learne, a bare and empty name of God without any true God siteth in our braine. And y^e 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 al errour. But because many doe make much a doe 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 meaneth, that the Father hath some being, wherein he differeth from the sonne. For to take it for essence (as some expositours haue done, as if Christ like a peece of waxe printed with a seale did represent the substance of the father) were not onely hard but also an absurdity. For sith the Essence of God is single or one and vndiuisible, he that in himselfe conteineth it all and not by peece-meale, or by deriuation, but in whole perfection, should very vnproperly yea fondly be called the engraued forme of him. But because the father although he be in his owne property 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 agreeeth that which by and by followeth, that he is y^e brightnes of his glory. 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 easly perceiued the Hypostasis of the sonne that distinguisheth him from the Father. Like order is in the holy ghost. For we shall by and by proue 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 vnlawfull 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 & waywardnes to braule about so clear a matter. But if we list word for word to translate, we may call it Subsistence. Many in the same sense haue called it substance. And the name of Person hath not bin in vse among the Latines onely: but also the Grecians, perhaps to declare a consent, haue taught that there are three Prosopa, that is to say Persōs in God. But they, whether they be Greekes or Latines that differ one from an other in the word, doe very well agree in the summe of the matter.

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 vnreasonableness is this, to mislike words, which expresse none other thing but that which is testified & approued by the Scriptures? It were better (say they) to reſtraine not onely our meanings but also our words within the boundes of Scripture, than to deuise strange names that may be the beginnings of disagreement and brawling: so doe wee tyer our selues with strife about wordes: so the truth is lost in contending: so charity is broken by odiously brawling together. If they call that a strange worde, which cannot be shewed in Scripture, as it is written in number of sillables: then they binde vs to a hard law, wherby is condemned all exposition that is not peeced together, with bare

laying together of textes of Scripture. But if they meane 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 profite vsed, which withdraweth from the simplicitie of the worde of God, then with all my heart I embrace their sober minde. For I iudge that wee ought with no lesse deuout reuerence to talke of God than to thinke of him, for as much as whatsoeuer we do of our selues thinke of him, is foolish, and whatsoeuer we speake is vsfauourie. But there is a certeine measure to be kept. We ought to learne out of the Scriptures a rule both to thinke & speake, whereby to examine all the thoughts of our minde and wordes of our mouth. But what withstādeth vs, but that such as in Scripture are to our capacitie doubtful and entangled, we may in plainer wordes expresse them, being yet such wordes as do reuerently & faithfully serue the trueth of the Scripture, & be vsed sparsely, modestly, & not without occasion? Of which sort there are examples enow. And where as it shal by prooffe appeare y^e the Church of great necessitie was enforced to vse the names of Trinitie, & Persons, if any shall then finde fault with the newnesse of wordes, shall he not be iustly thought to be grieued at the light of the trueth, as he that blameth only this that the trueth is made so plaine and cleare to discernē?

4 Such newnesse of wordes, if it be so to be called, commeth then chiefly in vse, when the trueth is to be defended against wranglers that do mocke it out with cauillations. Which thing we haue at this day too much in experience, who haue great businesse in vanquishing the enemies of true & sound doctrine. With such folding & crooked winding these slipperie snakes doe slide away, ynlesse they be strongly griped & 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 plainnesse, least they should leaue any crooked bywayes to the wicked, to whome the doubtful constructions of wordes were hiding holes of errors. Arius confessed Christ to be God, & the sonne of God, because he could not againsay the euident wordes of God, and as if he had beene so sufficiently discharged did faine a certeine consent with the rest. But in the meane while he ceased not to scatter abroad that Christ was create, & had a beginning as other creatures. But to the end they might draw forth his winding subtletie out of his denne, the ancient fathers went further, pronouncing Christ to be the eternall sonne of the father & consubstantiall with the father. Hereat wickednes began to boile, when the Arrians began to hate & detest the name *Omoousson*, 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 brawlers and contentious, because for one litle wordes sake, they were so whote in disputation, and troubled the quiet of the Church? But that litle worde shewed the difference betweene the true beleeuing Christians, and the Arrians that were robbers of God. Afterward rose vp Sabellius which accompted in a maner for nothing the names of the Father, y^e Sonne, & the Holy ghoist, saying in disputation y^e they were not made to shewe any maner

of distinction, but onely were several additions of God, of which sort there are many. If he came to disputation, he confessed, that he beleueed 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, & wise God: and so he song another song, that the Father is the Sonne, and the Holy ghost is the father, without any order, without any distinction. The good doctours which then had care of 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 sense themselues against the croked writthen 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 vnity of God a Trinity of persons.

5 If then the names haue not bin without cause inuented, we ought to take heede, that in reiecting them wee bee not iustly blamed of proude presumptuousnes. I would to God they were buried indeede, so that this faith were agreed of all men, that the Father and the Sonne, and the Holy ghost bee one God: and yet that the Father is not the Sonne, nor the Holy ghost the Sonne, but distinct by certaine property. Yet am I not so precise, that I can finde in my heart to striue for bare wordes. For I note, that the olde fathers, which otherwise speake very religiously of such matters, did not euerywhere agree one with an other, nor euery one with himselfe. For what formes of speech vsed by the counsels doth Hilary excuse? To how great liberty doth Augustine somtime breake foorth? How vnlike are the Greekes to the Latins? But of this variance one example shall suffice for this time. When the Latins ment to expresse the word Omoouision, they called it Consubstanti- all, declaring the substance of the Father and the Sonne to be one, so vsing the word substance for essence. Wherupon Hierome to Damascus saith, it is sacrilege to say, that there are three substāces in God: & yet aboute a hūdred times you shal find in Hilary, y there are three substāces 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 doe vse this word in a godly sense, yet he plainly saith that is an improper speech, if he spake vnfaignedly, and did not rather wittingly and willingly seeke to charge the Bishops of the Eastlandes, whom he sought to charge with an vniust sclander. Sure this one thing he speaketh not very truely, that in all prophane schooles, ouisia, essence is nothing else by hypostasis, which is proued 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 of that he taketh from the Greekes their vsuall manner of speaking, that he also gently beareth with the Latins that had followed the Greeke phrase. And that which Socrates writeth in the sixt booke of the Tripartite history, tendeth to this end, as though he ment that he had by vnskilful men bin wrongfully applied vnto this matter. Yea and the same Hillary himselfe layeth it for a great fault to the heretikes charge, that by their waiwardnes he is compelled, to put those things in peril of the speech of mē, which ought to haue bin kept in the religiousnes of minds plainly cō-

De trinit. li.
5. cap. 8. & 9

De trinit. li. 2.

fessing that this is to doe things vnlawfull, to speake that ought not to bee spoken, to attempt things not licenced. A little after, he excuseth himselfe with many wordes, for that he was so bold to vtter new names. For after he had vsed the naturall names Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, he addeth that whatsoeuer is sought further, is beyond the compasse of speach, beyond the reach of sense, and beyond the capacitie of vnderstanding. And in another place he saith, that happy are the Bishops of Gallia, which neither had nor receiued nor knew any other confession, but that olde and simple one, which frō the time of the Apostles was receiued in all Churches. And much like is the excuse of Augustine, that this word was wrong 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 warne vs, that we doe not forthwith so seuerely like Censors, note them with infamy that refuse to subscribe & sweare to such words as we propound them: so that they doe it not of pride, of frowardnes, or of malicious craft. But let them againe cōsider, by how great necessity we are driuen to speake so, that by little and little they may be enured with that profitable maner of speach. Let the also learne to beware, lest sith we must meete 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 cauill, they bring themselues 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 create, 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 faithful be, although by singular prerogatiue. Say once that Christ is Consubstantial with his father, then pluck you of his visour from the dissembler, & yet you adde nothing to the Scripture. Sabellius saith, that the seueral names, Father, Son, and Holy ghost signifie nothing in God seuerally distinct: say that they are three: & he will cry out y^e you name three gods. Say y^e there is in one essence a Trinity of persons, then shall you in one word both say, what the Scripture speaketh, and stop their vaine babbling. 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 vnity of substance: when we heare of three in one essence, that it is ment of the persons of the trinitie. Which thing being without fraude confessed, we stay no longer vpon wordes. But I haue long ago found, and that often, that whosoever doe obstinately quarell about words, doe keepe within them a secret poyson: so that it is better willingly to prouoke them, than for their pleasure to speake darkely.

6 But leauing disputation of wordes, I will now begin to speake of the matter it selfe. I call therefore a Person, a subsistence in the essence of God, which hauing relation to the other is distinguished from them with vncommunicable property. By the name of the Subsistence we mean another thing than the essence. For if y^e word had simply bin God, & in the mean time had nothing seuerally proper to it selfe, Iohn had said amisse y^e it was with God.

Where-

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 bee 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 each 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 seueral property 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, can not agree with, nor be giuen to the Sonne. And I mislike not the definition of Tertulian, so that it be rightly taken, That there is in God a certaine disposition or distribution, which yet chaungeth nothing of the vnitie of the essence.

Lib. contra Praxcam.

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 an other. Surely when the worde of God is spoken of in the Scripture: it were a very great absurditie to imagine it onely a fading and vanishing voyce, which sent into the aire, cometh 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 spirit of Christ, than did the Apostles and al they that after them did distribute the heauenly 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 Spirit was of the word, whose instrumentes were the prophets, we doe vndoubtedly gather that he was true God. And this doth Moses teach plainly enough in the creation of the worlde, when he setteth the worde as the meane. For why doth he expressly tell, that God in creating of all his works sayd, Be this done: or that done: but that the vnsercheable glorie of God may shiningly appeare in his images? The suttlenosed and babbling men do easily mocke out this, with saying that the name Worde, is there taken for his bidding or commaundement. 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 Worde. For here we see that the Worde is taken for the bidding or commaundement of the Sonne, 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 thinges, and in all the workes of God. For to say that it was a certaine commaundement of God, seruing but for a time, were very foolish and vaine: where as in deede it was Gods pleasure at that time to shewe forth his stedfast and eternall purpose, yea and some thing more secreete. To which intente also maketh that saying of Christ: My Father and I do worke euen to this daie. For in saying,

1. Pet. 1. 11.

Heb. 1. 26

Eccles. 24.

14

Iohn. 5. 17.

Iohn. 1. 3.

That from the beginning of the worlde he was continually working with his Father, he doth more openly declare that which Moses had more shortly touched. We gather then y^e the meaning of Gods speaking was this, that the Word had his office in the doing of things, & so they both had a common working together. But most plainly of all doeth Iohn speake, when he sheweth that the same Worde, which from the beginning was God with God, was together with God the Father the cause of all thinges. For hee both giueth to the Worde a perfecte and abiding essence, and also assigneth vnto it some thing peculiar to it selfe, and plainly sheweth howe God in speaking was the creator of the worlde. Therefore as all reuelations proceeding from God doe wel beare the name of the word of God, so ought we yet to set in the hyest place that substantiall Worde, the wellspring of all Oracles, which being subiecte to no alteration, abideth alwayes one & the selfe same with God, and is God himselfe.

Gen. 1. 3.

Ioh. 17. 5.

8 Here manie dogges doe barke against vs, which when they dare not openly take from him his Godhead, doe secretly steale from him his Eternitie. For they say, that the Worde then beganne first to be, when God in the creation of the world opened his holy mouth. But verie vndiscreetly do they to imagine a certaine innouation of the substance of God. For as those names of God that haue relation to his outwarde worke, began to be giuen vnto him after the being of his worke, as for example, this that hee is called the creator of heauen and earth: so doeth Godlinesse knowe or admit no name that shoulde signifie any newe thing in himselfe to haue chanced vnto God. For if any shoulde come to him from else where than in him selfe, the this saying of Iames shoulde faile, y^e euery good giuing and euery perfect giste is from aboue, and commeth downe from the Father of lightes, with whome is no variableness neither shadowing by turning. Therefore nothing is lesse to be suffred, than to faine a beginning of that Word, which both alwaies was God, and afterwarde was creator of the worlde. But full futelely forsooth they reason, that Moses in saying that God then first spake, doth secretly shewe that there was no Worde in him before. Which is a most tryfling 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 saide, let light be made, the power of the word appeared and shewed it selfe: the same Worde was long before: but if a mā aske howe long before, he shall finde no beginning. For he appointed no certaine space of time when himselfe saide: Father, glorifie mee with the glorie which I had with thee before the worlde was. And this thing Iohn also lette not vntouched, because hee first sheweth that in the beginning the worde was with God, before that hee commeth to the creation of the worlde. Wee say therefore againe, that the Worde which was conceived of G O D before any beginning of time, was continually remaining with him. Whereby both his eternitie, true essence, and Godhead is proued.

9 Although I do not yet touch the person of the Mediator, but do defer it

it to that place where we shall specially entreate 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 do cauill and say, that the name Elohim is also applyed to the Angels and soveraigne 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 Lorde. Againe, this title is giuen to none but with an addition, as it is said: that Moses shalbe for a God to Pharao. Some read it in the Genitiue case which is very foolish . I graunt in deede that oftentimes 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 harde and forced, and will not agree . But if their stubbornesse will not so yelde: In Esaie is very plainly brought in for all one both Christ and God, and he that is adorned with the ^{so}ueraigne power, which is properly belonging to God alone. This (sayeth 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 worlde to come shall call him : so that they leaue this onely to the Sonne to be called the Prince of peace . But to what purpose should so many names of addition in this place bee heaped vpon God the Father, seeing it is the purpose of the Prophet to adorn Christ with such speciall notes as may builde our Faith vpon him ? Wherefore it is out of dout that he is here in like sort called the strong God, as he is a litle before called Immanuel . But nothing can be founde plainer than that place of Hieremie where he sayth, that this shall be the name whereby the seede of Dauid shall be called Iehouah our righteousnesse . For where the Iewes themselues do teach, that all other names of God are but adiectiue names of addition, and that this onely name Iehouah which they call vn-speakable is a substantiue name to expresse his essence: wee gather that the Son is the onely and eternall God, which saith in an other place that he wil not giue his glorie to an other . But here also they seecke to scape away because that Moses gaue that name to the Altar that hee builded, & Ezechiel gaue it to the newe citie Hierusalem . But who doth 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 sayth the Prophete: The name of the citie from that day shalbe Iehouah there. And Moses saith thus: He builded an altar and called the name of it, Iehouah my exaltation . But more businesse ariseth by an other place of Hieremie, where the same title is applyed to Hierusalem in these wordes : this is the name whereby they shall call her Iehouah our righteousnesse . But this testimonie is so faire from making against the trueth which wee defende, that it rather confirmeth it . For whereas he had before testified that Christ is the true Iehouah from whom floweth righteousnesse, nowe hee pronounceth that the Church shall so

verily

Psa. 45. 6.

Exo. 7. 1.

Esa. 9. 6.

Iere. 23. 6.

Esa. 42. 8.

Eze. 48. 35.

Exo. 17. 15.

Iere. 33. 16

verely feele the same, that shee may gloriously vse the very name it selfe. And so in the first place is set the fountaine and cause of righteousnesse, in the other the effect.

Iud. 6. 7.

Iud. 13. 16.

10 Now if this do not satisfie the Iewes, that Iehouah is so oft presented in the person of an Angell, I see not with what cauillations they can mocke it out. It is sayed that the Angell appeared to the holy fathers: and the same Angell chalengeth to him selfe the name of the eternal God. If any take exception and say, that this is spoken in respect of the Person that hee representeth: this knot is not thus losed. 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 breade, commaundeth Sacrifice to be offered to Iehouah. And then he proueth that himselfe in deede was the same Iehouah, and therefore Manoah and his wife by this token did gather, that they had seene not only an Angell but God. And thence came it that he sayd: we shall die because we haue seene God. And when his wife aunswereth, if Iehouah would haue slayned ^{the} hee would not haue receiued Sacrifice at our handes: in this she doth confesse that he was God which before was called the Angell. Beside this, the aunswere of the Angell himselfe taketh away all doubt of it, saying: why doest thou aske me of my name, which is maruellous? So much the more detestable was the wickednesse of Seruetto, when hee affirmed that God neuer appeared to Abraham and the other fathers, but that an Angell was worshipped in place of him. But truely and wisely haue the true teaching doctors 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 betweene 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 hee retained that which was his owne, to be the God of vspeakeable glory. The

Ose. 12. 5.

Ge. 32. 29.

1. Cor. 10. 4.

Zach. 2. 3.

same thing meaneth Oseas, which after he had recited the wrastling of Iacob with the Angell, saith: Iehouah the God of hostes, Iehouah, worthy of memorie is his name. Here againe Seruetto carpeth, y^e God did beare y^e person of an Angel. As though the Prophet did not cōfirme y^e which Moses had said: why doest thou aske me of my name? And the confession of the holy Patriarche doth sufficiently declare y^e he was not a created Angel, but one in whome the ful godhead was resident, when he said: I haue seen God face to face. And for this cause Paul saith, that Christe was guide of the people in the wilderness. For though the time was not yet come of his abasement: yet that eternall worde shewed a figure of that office to which hee was appointed. Now if the second Chapter of Zacharie be weyed without contention, the Angel that sent an other Angell was by and by pronounced to be the God of hostes, and to him is soueraigne power ascribed. I omitte innumerable testimonies on y^e which our Faith safely resteth, although they doe not much moue the Iewes. For when it is saide in Esaie: Behold, this is our God, this is Iehouah, we shall waite vpon him, and he shall saue vs, they that haue eyes may see, that herein is ment God which raiseth vp for the salua-

Esa. 25. 9.

tion

tion of his people. And these vehement demonstrations twice repeated suffer it to be drawn no otherwhere but to Christ. And yet plainer and fuller is the place of Malachie where he promiseth that hee shall come the Lorde that was then desired, to his owne temple. But to none but to the onely soveraigne 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 trauaile rather shortly to choose out fewe, than largely to heape 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 aptly serue to proue his godhead. First this is worthy to be singularly marked, y^e those thinges which were before spoken touching the eternall God, the Apostles doe shew y^e they are either already performed, or hereafter to be performed in Christ. For where Esaie prophecieth that the Lorde of hostes shalbe to the Iewes and Israelites a stumbling stone and 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 an other place, We must all (saith he) once be brought to appeare before the iudgement throne of Christ. For it is written, to me shall all knees bow, and to me shal all tongues sweare. Seeing God in Esaie speaketh this thing of himselfe, and Christ in deede performeth it in himselfe, it followeth that he is the selfe same God whose glory may not be withdrawn to an other. And that thing which writing to the Ephesians he allegeth out of the Psalmes, is eident that it can be applied to none but to God alone. Ascending on hie he hath caried captiuitie captiue, meaning y^e such ascending was in shadow shewed, whē God in notable victory against forein nations did shew forth his power, but he declareth that in Christe it was more fully performed. So Iohn testifieth that it was the glorie of the Sonne that was reueiled to Esay by a vision, whereas in deed y^e Prophet himselfe writeth that the maiestie of God appeared vnto him. And it is eident that those thinges which the Apostle writing to the Hebrues applieth to the Sonne, are the plaine titles of God: as, Thou Lord in the beginning didest laie the foundations of heauen and earth. &c. Againe, worship him al ye his Angels. And yet he abuseth not those titles when hee draweth them to Christ. For all those thinges that are spoken of in those Psalmes, hee himselfe alone hath fulfilled. For it was he that rose vp and had mercy on Sion. It was he that claimed to himselfe the kingdome of all the nations & ilandes. And why should Iohn sticke to apply the maiestie of God to Christ which in his preface had sayd that the worde was alway God? Why should Paul feare to set Christ in the iudgement throne of God, hauing before with so open proclamation declared his Godheade, where he sayed that he was God blessed to the ende of worldes? 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 prayesd to the ende of worldes, then he is the same to whom in an other place hee affirmeth all glorie and honour to be due. And thus he hideth not, but plainly cryeth

Mal. 3. 1.

Esa. 8. 14.
Rom. 9. 24.
Rom. 14. 10.
Esa. 5. 23.Ephe. 8. 4.
Psal. 57. 12.Iohn. 1. 14.
Esa. 6. 1.Heb. 1. 10.
and 6.

Iohn. 1. 1.

2. Cor. 10.
Rom. 9. 5.

1. Tim. 3. 16.

out,

out, that he woulde haue counted it no robberie if he had shewed himselfe egall with God, but that he willingly abased himselfe. And that the wicked shoulde not carpe that hee is some made God, Iohn goeth further and saith: He is the true God and the eternall life. Although it ought abundantly to satisfie vs, that he is called God, specially of that witnesse which expressly affirmeth vnto vs that there are no more Gods but one. That same witnesse is Paul, which saith thus: Howe manie soeuer be called gods, either in heauen or in earth, to vs there is but one God from whome are all things. When we heare of the same mouth, that God was openly shewed in the flesh, that God with his owne bloode purchased the Church to himselfe: why shoulde we imagine a seconde 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 Lorde and his God, doth professe that he is that onely one God whome hee had alwayes worshipped.

12 Nowe if wee esteeme his Godhead by the workes that in the Scripture are ascribed vnto him, it shall therby more evidently appeare. For whē he saide that from the beginning hee was thither to working with his Father: the Iewes which were most dull in vnderstanding of all his other sayings, yet then perceiued that hee 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 egall with God. Howe dull shall wee be then, if wee doe not perceiue that his Godheade is herein plainly affirmed? And truely to order the worlde with prouidence and power, & to gouerne all things with the authoritie of his owne might, which y^e Apostle ascribeth vnto him, belongeth to none but onely to the creator. And he not onely enterparteneth the gouernement of the worlde with his Father, but also all other offices which can not be made common to God with his creatures. The Lorde crieth out, by the Prophete: I am hee, I am he, that doe awaye 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 proued by miracle that this power belonged vnto himselfe. Wee see therefore that hee hath, not the ministracion, but the power of forgiuencesse of sinnes, which the Lord saith hee will not suffer to passe away from himselfe to any. What shal we say of searching, & pearcing the secreete thoughts of harts? is it not the propertie of God alone? But the same had Christ: whereby is gathered that he is God.

13 Now, in his miracles howe plainly and clearly doth he appeare? And though I graunt that as well the Prophetes as the Apostles did egall & like miracles to these that hee did: yet this great difference is there, that they by their ministracion disposed the gifts of God, hee shewed forth his owne power. He vsed sometime prayer, to the ende to giue glorie vnto his Father. But we see for the most part his owne power shewed vnto vs. And how could it otherwise be but y^e he was y^e verie author of miracles that by his owne authoritie gaue power to other to deale miracles abroad? For y^e E. uangelist declarcth that he gaue power to the Apostles to raise vp y^e dead, to heale

1. Tim. 1. 17
Philip. 2. 6.
Iohn. 5. 20.
1 Cor. 8. 5.
1. Tim. 3. 16.
Act. 20. 28.
Iohn. 20. 28.

Iohn, 5. 17.

Heb. 1. 3.

Esay. 43. 25.

Mat. 9. 6.

Mat. 9. 4.

Mat. 10. 8.

heale the leprous, to cast out deuils. &c. And they so vsed the ministracion thereof that they sufficiently shewed y^e this power came not from els where but from Christ. In the name of Iesus Christ (sayeth Peter) rise and walke. It is therefore no maruell if Christ alleged his miracles to confound the vnbelleuungnesse 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: & Christ conteineth all these things in him, surely he is thereby declared to be God. And no man can obiekt against me and say, that life and saluation is powred into him by God: for it is not saied that he receiued saluation, but that he is saluation himselfe. And if none be good but only God: how can he be onely man, being I will not say good and iust, but selfe goodnes and iustice? Yea from the first beginning of the creation as the Euangeliste witnesseth, in him was life: and he euen then being life was the light of men. Wherefore being supported with such proues we are bolde 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? sayth he. Beleeue then also in me. And so doth Paul expound those two places of Esay, Whosoever trusteth in him, thal 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 eternal life. Moreouer the inuocation which hangeth 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 sayth: Whosoever calleth vpon the name of Iehouah shalbe saued: and another sayth: a most strong toure is the name of Iehouah: to it the righteous shall flee and hee shalbe 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, Lorde Iesu receiue my spirite. Againe in the whole Church, as Ananias testifieth in the same booke. Lord (saith 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 doeth confesse that he brought no other doctrine among the Corinthyans but the knowledge of him, and that he preached no other thing but that knowledge. What, I pray you, and howe great a thing is this, that the name of the Sonne onely is preached vnto vs whome he willet 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 Paul, wish the same benefites from the Sonne which they do from the Father, whereby we are taught not only that those things which the Father giueth vs do come vnto vs by his intercession, but also by communitie of power, he is the authour of them. Which knowledge by practise is without dout more certaine and perfect than any idle speculation. For there the godly minde doth beholde God most present, and in

Mar. 3. 15. &
6. 7.
Act. 3. 6.
Iohn. 5. 36.
and 10. 37.
and 14. 11.

Mat. 19. 17.
Iohn 1. 4.
Iohn. 14. 1.
Esa. 26. 16.
E say. 11. 10.
Ro. 10. 11, &
15. 12.

Io. 2. 32.
Pr. 18. 10.

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

1. Cor. 2.

Hie. 9. 24.

maner handle him, where it feeleth it selfe to be quickened, lightned, saued, iustified and sanctified.

Gen. 1. 2.

Esa. 48. 16.

1. Cor. 2. 10.

1. Cor. 12. 10.

Exo. 4. 11.

1. Cor. 12.

11.

1. Cor. 3. 17.

and 6. 19.

2. Cor. 6. 16.

14 Wherefore out of the same fountaines we must fetch our meane of prouing to confirme the Godhead of the Holy ghost. Verie plaine is the testimonie of Moses in the historie of the creation, that the spirite of God was vpon the depthes, or vpon the vnfashioned heap: because he sheweth that not only the beautie of the world that is now to be seene is preserued by the power of the Spirite, but ere this beautie was added, the Spirite was then busied in preseruing that confused lump of things. And that saying of Esai cannot be cauilled against, And 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 prooffe, as I haue said, shalbe by familiar vs. For that which the Scriptures impute vnto it, is farre from the proprietie of creatures, and such a thing as we our selues doe learne by assured experience of godlinesse. For he it is y being eche where poured abroade, 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 verie 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 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 secretes of God, wherewith none of all the creatures is of counsell. He giueth wisdome and skill to speake, whereas yet the Lorde pronounceth to Moses that it is onely his worke to do it. So by him we 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, trueth, grace, & what good thing soeuer may be thought of, because it is the Holy ghost onely from whome proceedeth all kinde of giftes. For that sentence of Paul is right worthie to be noted. Although there be diuerse giftes, and manifolde and sundrie is the distribution of them, yet is there but one holy Spirite: because he maketh him not onely the originall or beginning, but also the author. Which a little after is more plainly expressed in these wordes. One & the same Spirite distributeth all thinges as he will. For if he were not something subsisting in God, he would not attribute vnto him choise of minde and will. Therefore most evidently doeth Paul giue to the Holy ghost diuine power, and sheweth that he is substantially resident in God.

15 And the Scripture it selfe, when it speaketh of him, forbeareth not the name of God. For Paul hereby gathereth that wee are the temple of God, because his spirite dwelleth in vs: which thing is not lightly to be passed ouer. For whereas God so often promisseth that he will choose vs for a temple

temple to himselfe, that promise is no other way fulfilled, but by his spirite dwelling in vs. Surely, as Augustine very well sayeth: if we were commanded to make vnto the Holy ghost a temple of timber & stone because such worship is due to God only, it were a cleare argument that he is God: now therefore how much clearer is this, that we ought not to make a temple, but our selues to be a temple for him? And the Apostle himselfe calleth vs sometime the temple of God, sometime the temple of the Holy ghost, both in one meaning. And Peter reprehending Ananias for that he had lied to y^e Holy ghost, said that he lied not vnto men but vnto god. And where Esay bringeth in the Lord of hostes speaking, Paul teacheth that it is the Holy ghost that speaketh. Yea, where cōmonly the Prophets say, that the words which they vtter are the wordes of the Lord of hostes, Christ & the Apostles doe referre them to the Holy ghost. Whereby it followeth that he is the true Iehouah that is the chiefe author of prophecies. Againe, where God complaineth that he was prouoked to wrath by the stubbornesse of his people, in steede of that Esay saith that his holy Spirite was grieved. Last of all, if blasphemie against the Holy ghost be not forgiuen in this worlde nor in the worlde to come, whereas he may obtaine pardon that hath blasphemed against the Sonne: his diuine maiestie is here plainly prooued, the offence or diminishment whereof is an vnardonable crime. I do wittingly and of purpose omit many testimonies that the auncient writers haue vsed. They haue thought it a maruellous meete place to alleage out of Dauid: with the worde of the Lord the heauens were stablished, and all the power of them with the spirite of his mouth, to prooue that the worlde was no lesse the worke of the Holy ghost than of the Sonne. But for as much as it is cōmonly vsed in y^e Psalmes to repete one thing twise: and in Esay the spirite of his mouth is as much to say as his worde, that reason is very weake. Therefore I thought good to touche a fewe such things as godly mindes might soundly rest vpon.

16 And as God hath more plainly disclosed himselfe by the comming of Christ, so is he also in the three Persons become more familiarly knowen. But of all the testimonies let this one suffice vs for this present. Paul so knitte these three together, God, Faith, and Baptisme, that he reasoneth from the one to the other in this maner. Because there is but one Faith, he thereby sheweth that there is but one God. And because there is but one God, he thereby prooueth that there is but one Faith. Therefore if we be entred into the Faith and religion of one God by Baptisme: we must needs think him the true God in whose name we are baptised. And it is not to be doubted, but that in this solempne protestation, Christ meant to testifie that the perfect light of Faith was already deliuered, when he sayd: Baptise them in y^e name of the Father and of the Sonne and of the Holy ghost. For it is as much in effect as to be baptised in the name of y^e one God, which with perfect brightnesse hath appeared in the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy 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, & to sticke fast in him: it is hereby easily proued,

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that

August. ad
Maximumum
Epi. 66.Ag. 5. 3.
Esa. 6. 9.
Ag. 28. 25.Esa. 43. 10.
Mat. 12. 30.
Mar. 3. 29.
Luk. 12. 10.
Psa. 33. 6.

Esa. 11. 4.

Ep. 4. 5.

Mat. 28. 19.

that if there be diuerse kindes of faith, there must also be many gods. Nowe whereas baptisme is a Sacrament of faith: it proueth vnto vs the vnitie of God, because it is but one. And hereof 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, & the Holy ghost, but that we ought with one Faith to beleue in the Father, Sonne, and the Holy ghost? Therefore sith this remaineth certain, that there is but one God, and not many, we determine that the Word and the Spirite are nothing els but the verie selfe essence of God. And very foolishly 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 would haue to be vnderstanded by the Spirite, onely the giftes of grace that are poured forth into men. For as wisdom, vnderstanding, prudence, fortitude, feare of God do proceede from him: so he only is the spirit of wisdom, prudence, fortitude, and godlinesse. Yet is not he diuided according to the distribution of his graces: but how soeuer they be diuersely dealt abroade, yet he remaineth one and the same, as the Apostle saith.

1. Cor. 12. 11.

17 Againe, there is shewed in the Scriptures a certaine distinction of the Father, from the Word, and of the Word from the Spirite. In discussing whereof, how greate religiousnesse and sobrietic we ought to vse, the greatnesse of the mystery it selfe doth admonish vs. And I very wel like that saying of Gregorie Nazianzene: I can not thinke vpon the one, but by and by I am compassed about with the brightnesse of the three: And I can not seuerally discern the three, but I am sodeinly 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 seueralties, and doeth not forthwith bring vs againe to that vnitie. The names of Father, Sonne, and Holy ghost, doe proue a true distinction, that no man shoulde 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 already cited, do shewe that the sonne hath a property distinct from the Father, because the Word had not bin with God, if he had not bin an other thing than the Father: neither had he had his glory with the Father, but being distinct from him. Likewise he doth distinguish himselfe from the Father, when he saith, that there is an other which beareth him witness. And for this purpose maketh that which in an other place is saide, that the Father created all thinges by the Word, which he could not, but being after a certaine maner distinct frō him. Morcouer y^e Father came not downe into the earth, but he that came out from the Father. The Father died not nor rose again, 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 say, that then the Sonne entred into the bosome of the Father, when he descended from heauen to take manhode vpon him? Hee was therefore before in the bosome of the Father, and enioyed his glory with the Father. As for

In sermone
de sacro
baptismo,Iohn. 5. 3. &
8. 16.

Iohn. 1. 18.

Iohn. 14. 6.
15. 26.

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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 shewe it to be an other beside himselfe? as when he promiseth that he will sende an other comforter, and often in other places. Iohn. 14. 16

18 But to borrow similitudes from matters of men, to expresse the force of this distinction, I know not whether it be expedient. In deede the old fathers are wont so to do sometime: but withall they doe confesse, that whatsoever they bring forth for like, doth much differ. For which cause I am much affraide to be any way bold, least if I bring forth any thing vnwisely, it should giue occasion either to the malicious to cauill, 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 vnspoken. And that is this, that to the Father is giuen the beginning of working, the fountaine & spring of al thinges: to the Sonne wisdom, counsell, & the very disposition in \bar{y} doing of thinges: 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 bin 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 reckned first, and then of him the Sonne, and after of them both the Holy 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 \bar{y} Son is said to be of the Father onely, and the Holy ghost both of the Father and the Sonne, is shewed in many places, but no where more plainly than in the viii. Chapter to the Romanes, where the same Spirit is without difference sometime called the Spirit of Christ, and sometime of him \bar{y} raised vp Christ from the dead: and that not without cause. For Peter doth also testifie that it was the Spirit of Christ wherewith the Prophetes did prophecy, whereas the Scripture so often teacheth, that it was the Spirit of God the Father.

19 Now this distinction doth not so stand against the single vnyty of God, that thereby we may proue that the Sonne is one God with the Father, because he hath one Spirit with him, & that the Holy Spirit 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 property. The Father is whole in the Sonne, & the Sonne is whole in the Father, as himselfe affirmeth, I am in the Father and the Father is in me. And the Ecclesiasticall writets do not graunt the one to be seuered from the other by any difference of essence. By these names \bar{y} betoken distinctiō (saith Augustine) \bar{y} is ment wherby they haue relation one to an other, & not \bar{y} very substance wherby they are al one. By which meaning are the sayings of \bar{y} old writers to be made agree, which otherwise would seeme not a litle to disagree. For sometime they say \bar{y} the Father is the beginning of the Son, & sometime that the Son hath both godhead & essence of himselfe, and is all one beginning with \bar{y} Father. The cause of this diuersity Augustine doth in an other place wel & plainly declare, whē he saith: Christ hauing respect to himselfe, is called Iohn. 14. 10.
August. ho.
de tempo.
33.

De trinitate
& coll. ad
Pascentium
epi. 174.
Cyrillus de
trini. li. 6. i-
dem li. 3. di-
alog.
August. in
Psal. 109. &
tract. in Io.
39. & psal.
68.

God, and to his Father is called the Sonne. And againe, the Father as to himselfe is called God, as to his Son is called the Father, where hauing respect to the Son he is called the Father, he is not the Sonne: & where as to the Father he is called the Sonne, he is not the Father: & where he is called as to himselfe the Father, & as to himselfe the Son: it is all one God. Therefore when we simply speake of the Sonne. without hauing respect to the Father, we do well and properly say, that he is of himselfe: & therefore we call him but one beginning: but when we make mention of the relation betwene him and his Father, then we rightly make the Father the beginning of the Sonne. All the whole fifth booke of Augustine concerning the Trinity doth nothing but set forth this matter. And much safer it is to rest in that relation that he speaketh of, than in too subtly pearcing vnto the hie mystery to wander abroad by many vaine speculations.

20 Let them therefore that are pleased with sobernesse, and contented with measure of Faith, shortly learne so much as is profitable to be known: that is, when we professe that we beleue in one God, vnder the name of God, we vnderstande the one only and single essence in which we comprehend three Persons or Hypostases. And therefore so oft as we do 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 y beginning and original 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 y Father. By this meane is retained the vnitie of the essence, & regard is had to the order, which yet doth minish nothing of the godhead of the Sonne and of the Holy ghost. And whereas we haue already seene that the Apostles doe affirme, that the Sonne of God is he, whom Moses and the Prophetes do testifie to be Ichouah the Lord, wee must of necessitie alway come to the vnitie of the essence. Wherefore it is a detestable sacriledge for vs to call the Sonne a scuerall God from the Father, because the simple name of G O D, doth admitte no relation, and God in respect of himselfe can not be sayd to be this or that. Now, that the name of Ichonah the Lord indefinitely taken is applied to Christe, appeareth by the wordes of Paul, where he sayth: Therefore I haue thrise prayed the Lorde, because that after he had receiued the aunswere of Christ, My grace is sufficient for thee: he sayth by and by, that the power of Christ may dwell in me. It is certeine that the name Lord is there sette for Ichouah, and therefore to restraine it to the person of the Mediatour were very fonde and childish, for so much as it is an absolute sentence that compareth not the Father with the Sonne. And we knowe that after the accustomed maner of the Greekes, the Apostles do commonly sette the word Kyrios, Lord, in steede of Ichouah. And, not to fetch an example farre of, Paul did in no other sense pray to the Lorde, than in the same sense that Peter citeth the place of Iocell: whosoever calleth vpon the name of the Lorde shall be saued. But where this name is peculiarly giuen to the Sonne, we shal see that there is another

A& 2. 16.
Iocel. 2. 28.

1. Cor. 12. 9.

other reason thereof, when we come to a place fit for it. Nowe it is enough to haue in minde, when Paul had absolutely prayed to God, hee 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 & the Holy Ghost be comprehended. Which is very plaine by this Scripture. For euen as there we heare God to be made a Spirite: so we do heare the Holy Ghost, for so much as it is an Hypostasis of the whole essence, to bee called both God, and proceeding from God.

21 But for as much as Sathan, to the end 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 maner in all ages he hath stirred vp wicked spirites to trouble the true teachers in this behalfe: so at this day he trauaileth out of the old embers to kindle a newe fire: therefore here it is good to answer the peruerse foolish errours of some. Hir herto it hath bene our purpose, to leade 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 reskued from the cauillations of the wicked: All be it my chiefe trauaile shall yet be applyed to this ende, that they which giue gentle and open eares to the worde of God, may haue whereupon stedfastly to rest their foote. In this point, if any where at all in the secreete mysteries of Scripture, we ought to dispute soberly, and with great moderation, and to take great heede that neither our thought nor our tounge proceede any further than the bourdes of Gods word do extend. For howe may the minde of man by his capacity define the immeasurable essence of God, which neuer yet could certainly determine how great is the body of the Sunne which yet he daily seeth with his eyes? yea how may she by her own guiding attaine to discusse the substance of God, that cannot reach to know her owne substance? Wherefore let vs willingly giue ouer vnto God the knowledge of himselfe. For he onely, as Hilarie sayth, is a conuenient witnessse to himselfe, which is not known but by himselfe. We shal giue it ouer vnto him, if we shal both conceiue him to be such as he hath opened himself vnto vs, & shal not else where search to know of him, than by his own word. There are to this ende written fise homelies of Chrysofome against the Anomei. Yet the boldnesse of Sophisters could not bee restrayned by them from babling vnbridledly. For they haue behaued themselves 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 trauaile 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 verie harde to know, so doeth it bring more businesse and

Hila. li. pri.
de Trinitate

combrance to some wittes than is expedient . Let them remember that the mindes of men do enter into a maze when they followe their owne curiositie, and so let them suffer themselues to be ruled with the heauenly oracles, how soeuer they cannot attaine the height of the mystery.

22 To make a register of the errours, wherewith the purenesse of Faith in this point of doctrine hath in times past bene assailed, were too long & full of vnprofitable tediousnesse: and the most parte of heretikes haue so attempted to ouerwhelme the glory of God with grosse doing errours, that they haue thought it enough for them to shake and trouble the vn-skillfull. And from a fewe men haue sprong 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 wee holde fast that which is already sufficiently shewed by the Scripture, that y^e essence of the one God which belongeth to the Father, the Sonne, & the Holy ghost, is single & vndiuided: Againe, that the Father by a certeine properie differeth from the Sonne, & the Sonne from the Holy ghost: we shall stop vp the gate not onely against Arrius & Sabellius, but also the other old authors of errours. But because in our time there be risen vp certaine phrentike men, as Seruetto & other like, which haue encombred all things with new deceits: It is good in few words to discusse their falshodes. The name of the Trinitie was so hatefull, yea so detestable to Seruetto, that he sayd, that all the Trinitaries, as hee called them, were vtterly godlesse. I omit the foolish words 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 y^e this Trinitie is but a thing imagined, because it disagreeeth with the vnitie of God. In the meane time the Persons he would haue to be certeine outward conceptions of Forme, which are not truly subsisting in the essence of God, but do represent God vnto vs in this or that fashion. And at the beginning y^e there was in God nothing distinct because once the Word & the Spirit were all one: but since that Christ arose God out of God, the holy Ghost sprong also an other 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 spirire of Christ with God, & the bright shining of his forme: Againe, that the Holy ghost was the shadow of the godhead, yet afterward he bringeth the godhead of them both to nothing, affirming that after the rate of distributiō there is both in the Sonne and in the holic Spirite a part of God, euen as the same Spirite in vs, & also in wood & stones is substantially a portion of God. What he babbleth of the Person of the Mediatour, we shal hereafter see in place conueniēt. But this monstrous forged deuise, that a Person is nothing else but a visible forme of the glory of God, needeth no long confutation. For where as John pronounceth, that the Word was God before the world was yet creat, he maketh it much differing from a conception of forme. But if then also, yea, and from farthest Eternitie of time, that Worde which was God was with the Father, and had his owne proper glorie with the Father, he could not be an outward or figuratiue shining: but it necessarily followeth that he was an Hypostasis that did inwardly abyde in God. And although there

there be no mention made of the Spirite, but in the historie of the creation of the worlde: yet he is not there brought in as a shadowe, but an essentiall power of God, when Moses sheweth that the very vnfashioned lump was susteined in him. Therefore it then appeared, that the eternall Spirite was alwayes in God, when he preferred and susteined y^e confused matter of heauen & earth, vntill beautie & order were added vnto it. Surely he could not yet be an image or representatiō of God as Seructo dreameth. But in other pointes he is compelled more openly to disclose his wickednesse, in saying that God by his eternall purpose appointing to himselfe a visibler Sonne, did by this meane shewe himselfe visibler. For if that bee true there is no other godhead left vnto Christ, but so far as he is by the eternall decree of God ordeined his Sonne. Moreouer he so transformeth those imagined shapes y^e he sticketh not to faine new accidents in God. But this of all other is most abhominable, that he confusely mingleth 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 Spirites of the faithfull are coeternall and consubstantiall with God: albeit in an other 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 an other like monster. For certeine leud men meaning to escape the hatred and shame of the wickednesse of Seructo, haue in dede confessed, that there are three Persons, but adding a manner how: that the Father which truly and properly is the one onely God, informing the Sonne & the holy ghost, hath powred his godhead into them. Yea they forbear not this horrible maner of speech, that the Father is by this marke distinguished from the Sonne and the holy ghost, that he is the onely essentiatior or maker of the essence. First they pretend this colour, that Christ is eche where called the Sonne of God: whereof 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 vnirie of the essence to be thereby noted. They take exception & say: If he be truly the Sonne of God, it is inconuenient to haue him reckned 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 worlde (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 simply be not taken, but for the Father onely. For if we meane none to be God but the Father, we plainly throwe down the Sonne from the degree of God. Therefore so oft as mention is made of the godhead, we must not admit a comparison betweene the Sonne and the Father, as though the name of God did belong onely to the Father. For truly the God that appeared to Esai was the true and onely God, and yet Iohn affirmeth that the same was Christ. And he that by the mouth of Esai testified, that he should be a stumbling stone to the Iewes, was the onely God;

Gen. 1. 2

Esay. 6. 1.
I. h. 1. 2. 4. 1.
Esai. 8. 14.

Rom. 9.33. and yet Paul pronounceth that the same was Christ. He that cryeth out by
 Esay. 45.23. Esay, I liue, and to me all knees shall bowe, is the onely God: and yet Paul
 Rom. 14.11. expoundeth that the same was Christ. For this purpose serue the testimo-
 He. 1.10. nies that the Apostle reciteth. Thou O God hast layd y^e foundations of hea-
 Psa. 102.26. uen and earth. Againe, let all the angels of God worship him, which things
 Psa. 97.7. belong to none, but to the onely God. And yet he sayeth, that they are
 the proper titles of Christ. And this cauillation is nothing worth,
 that that is giuen to Christ, which is proper to God, because Christ is the shi-
 ning brightnesse of his glory. For because in ech of these places is set y^e name
 of Iehouah, it followeth, that it is so sayd in respect that he is God of himself.
 Esa. 44.6. For if he be Iehouah, it can not be denied that he is the same God that in an
 other place cryeth out by Esay: I, I am, and beside me there is no G O D.
 Iere. 10.11. 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 needes 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 borowe his being of another? For who-
 focuer saith that the Sonne was essentiate or made to be of his Father, deni-
 eth that he is of himselfe. But the Holy ghost sayth the contrary, naming
 him Iehouah. Now if we graunt that the whole essence is in the Father on-
 ly, either it must be made partable, or be taken from the Sonne, and so shall
 the Sonne be spoyled 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 Fa-
 ther, for as much as he is onely God, and is the essence maker of the Sonne.
 And so shall the godhead of the Sonne bee an abstract from the essence of
 God, or a deriuation of a part out of y^e whole. Now must they needes graunt
 by their owne principle, that the holy ghost is the Spirite of the Father on-
 ly. For if he be a deriuation from the first essence, which is onely proper to
 the Father, of right he can not be accounted the Spirit of the Sonne: which
 is confuted by the testimonie of Paul, where hee maketh the Spirite com-
 mon to Christ and the Father. Moreouer if the person of the Father be wip-
 ped out of the Trinitie, wherein shal he differ from the Sonne and the holy
 ghost, but in this, that he onely is God? They confesse Christ to be God, &
 yet they say he differeth from the Father. Againe, there must be some mark
 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 can not be without essence, yea and y^e
 the whole essence. The Father differeth not from the Sonne, vnlesse hee
 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 y^e
 essence, let them answere if he haue not communicated the same to y^e Son.
 But that could not be in part, for to say that he made halfe a God were wic-
 ked. Beside that by this meane they do fowly teare in sunder the essence of
 God. It remaineth therefore that the essence is whiole, and perfectly cōmon
 to the Father & the Sonne. And if that be true, then as touching the essence
 there

there is no difference of the one of them from the other. If they say that the Father in giuing his essence, remayneth neuerthelesse the onely God, with whome the essence abideth: then Christ shall be a figuratiue God, and a God onely in shew and in name but not in deed: because nothing is more proper to God than to be, according to this saying: He that is hath sent mee Exo. 5. 13.
vnto you.

24 It is easie by many places to prooue that it is false which they hold, that so oft as there is in scripture mention made absolutely of God, none is meant therby but the Father. And in those places that they themselues do alleadge, they sowlly bewray their owne want of consideration, because there is also set the name of the Sonne. Whereby appeareth, that the name of God is there relatiuely taken, and therefore restrayned to the Person of the Father. And their obiection where they say, If the Father were not onely the true God, he shoulde 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 fleshe, he is called the Sonne of God, not onely in respecte 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 ioyne vs vnto God. And because they do so boldly exclude the Sonne from the honour of God, I woulde faync 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 say, 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 wee holde their vngodlinesse sufficiently conuincid: in saying yea, they confounde themselues. But where as at the first sight, Christ seemeth to put from himselfe the name of Good, that doth y 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 admonishe them, that the goodnesse wherein hee excelled, was the goodnesse that God hath. I aske also, where Paul affirmeth that onely God is Mat. 19. 17.
immortall, wise, and true, whether by these wordes Christ be brought into the number of men mortall, foolish, and false? Shall not he then be immortall, that from the beginning was life to giue immortality to Angels? Shall not hee be wise, that is the eternall wisdom of God? Shall not the Tim. 1. 17.
trueth it selfe be true? I aske furthermore, whether they thinke that Christ ought to be worshipped or no? For he claimeth this vnto himselfe, to haue all knees bowe 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 wee see, that whatsoeuer pertayneth to God is giuen to Christ. And their caullation hath no Phil. 2. 10.
place, that Christe was exalted in the fleshe, wherein hee had beene Esai. 44. 6.

abased, and that in respect of the flesh, all authoritie is giuen him in heauen & in earth. because although the maiestie of king & Iudge extend to the whole Person of the Mediatour, yet if he had not beene God, openly shewed in flesh, he could not haue been aduanced to such height, but that God shoulde haue disagreed with himselfe. But this controuerfie Paul doth well take away, teaching that he was egall with God before hee did abase himselfe vnder the shape of a seruaunt. Nowe howe could this equalitie haue stande together, vnlesse hee had beene the same God whose name is Iah & Iehouah: that rideth vpon the Cherubin, that is king of all the earth and Lorde of the worldes? Nowe howsoever they babble against it, it cannot be taken from Christ which Esaie saith in another place: He, he, is our God, for him wee haue wayted, whereas in these wordes he describeth the coming of God the Redeemer, not onely that shoulde bring home the people from the exile of Babylon, but also fully in all pointes restore the Church. And with their other cauillation they nothing preuaile, in saying, that Christ was God in his Father. For though wee 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 saye that the essence is onely proper to the Father, as though hee were the onely Godmaker of the Sonne. For by this meanes either hee shoulde haue moe essences than one, or else they call Christ God onely in title and imagination. If they graunt that Christe 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 knowe that many quicke nosed men doe laugh at this that wee gather the distinction of Persons out of the wordes of Moses, where hee bringeth in God speaking thus: Let vs make man after our image. But yet the godly readers doe see howe vainely and fondly Moses shoulde bring in this as a talke of diuerse together, if there were not in God moe Persons than one. Nowe certaine is it, that they whome the Father spake vnto, were vncreate: but nothing is vncreate but God himselfe, yea the one onely G O D. Nowe therefore vnlesse they grant that the power of creating was common, & the authoritie of commaunding common, to the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghost: it shall followe that God did not inwardly thus speake to himselfe, but directed his speach to other foreyne workemen. Finally one place shall easily aunswere two of their obiections. For where as Christ himselfe pronounceth that God is a Spirite, this were not conuenient to be restrained to the Father onely, as if the Worde himselfe were not of Spirituall nature. If then the name of Spirite 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 worshippe him in Spirite and truth, wherevpon followeth an other thinge, because Christe doeth vnder a heade execute the office of a teacher, hee doeth giue the name of G O D to the Father, not to the entente to destroye his owne Godhead, but by degrees to liste vs vppe vnto it.

Phil. 2.7.

Esaie. 25.9.

Gen. 1.26.

Iohn. 4.24.

25 But in this they are deceived, that they dreame of certaine vndiuided singular things whereof each haue a part of the essence. But by the Scriptures, we teach, that there is but one essentially 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 himselfe begotten his wisdom, therefore rightfully as is aboue saide, he is counted the originall and fountaine of all 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 falsely 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 doe not draw 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 peradventure their reason were like to be true. But by that meane it should be a Trinity 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 Trinity as though we did imagine that there descend three gods out of it. And this exception groweth of like foolishnesse where they say, that then the Trinity should be without God. For though it meete not to make vp the distinction as a parte 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 himselfe 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 himselfe. And the true teaching writers that in old time haue spoken of the Trinity, haue onely applied 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 doe destroy the essence of the Sonne and the Holy ghost, for else the partes ioyned together would fall in sunder, which is a fault in euery 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 should remaine in the Sonne but a shadowe, and the Trinity should be nothing else, but the ioyning of one God with two creatures.

26 Whereas they object, that if Christ be properly God, he is not rightfully called the Sonne, 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 doe fondly imagine, but in respect of order. In this meaning is construed that saying of Christ to the Father: this is the

Iohn. 17. 3. the eternall life, that men belecue in thee the one true God, and Iesus Christ whome thou hast sent. For speaking in the Person of the Mediatour, he 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 not with the Father his glory that was hidden before the world. 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 eternall 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 sayd to the Apostles: It is profitable that I goe vp to the Father, because the Father is greater: He gueth not vnto himselfe onely the second degree of godhead to be as touching his eternall essence inferior to the Father, but because hauing obtained the heauenly glory, he gathereth together the faithfull to the partaking of it. He setteth his Father in the higher degree, insomuch as the glorious perfection of brightnes that appeareth in heauē, differeth from that measure of glory that was scene in him being clothed with flesh. After like maner 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 absurd 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 listing vs vp vnto his Father, he might also lift vs vp vnto himselfe, inasmuch as he is al one w his Father. It is therefore neither lawfull nor right so exclusiuely to restraine 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 I maruell what these framers of newe Gods doe meane, that while they confesse Christ to be true God, yet they forthwith exclude him from the godhead of his Father. As though there coulde any bee 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. 1. 1.

27 Whereas they heape vp many places out of Ireneus, where he affirmeth that the Father of Christ is the onely and eternall God of Israel: that is either done of a shamefull ignorance, or of an extreeme wickednes. For they ought to haue considered, that then the holy man had to do in disputation with those frantike men that denied that the Father of Christ was the same God that in olde time spake by Moses and the Prophetes, but that he was I wot not what imagined thing brought out of the corruption of the worlde. Therefore he altogether trauaileth 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 maruel if he so oft conclude that there was no other God of Israel, but he that was spoken

spoken of by Christ and the Apostles . And in like maner now , whereas we are to stand against an other sort of error , we may truly say that the God which in olde time appeared to the Fathers, was none other but Christ. But if any man obiect that it was the Father , our answeere is in readinesse , that when we striue to defend the godhead of the Sonne , we exclude not the Father . If the readers take heede to this purpose of Ireneus, all that contenti- on shall cease . And also by the sixt Chapter of the thirde booke , this whole strife is ended, where the good mā standeth al 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 re- member that this was the principall point whereupon stooode all his dispu- ration , as by the whole processe 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 deede . Moreouer in an o- ther place he saith , that as well the Sonne as the Father were ioyntly called God by the Prophets and Apostles . Afterwarde he defineth howe Christ which is Lord of all , and king, and God , and iudge, receiued power from him which is the God of all , that is to say in respect of his subiection , be- cause he was humbled euento y death of the crosse. And a little after he affir- meth , that the Sonne is the maker of heauen and earth, which gaue the lawe by the hand of Moses and appeared to the Fathers . Nowe if any man do prate that with Ireneus only the Father is the God of Israel, I will turne againe vpon him that which the same writer plainely teacheth, that Christ is all one and the same : as also he applieth vnto him the Prophecie of Ha- bacuc . 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 himselte therefore with the Father is the God of the liuing . And in the twelue Chap- ter of the same booke he expoundeth that Abraham beleueed God, because Christ is the maker of heauen and earth and the onely God .

Lib. 3. cap. 9

Cap. 12. e-
iusd. li.Cap. 16. e-
iusd. li.Ibi. ca. 18.
& 23.

28 And with no more trueth doe they bring in Tertullian for their de- fender . For though he be rough sometime and crabbed in his maner of speech , yet doeth he plainely teach the summe of that doctrine that we de- fende . That is to say , where as he is the one God , yet by diposition and order he is his Worde : 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 hee defendeth the Sonne to bee a seconde next to the Father , but he meaneth him to bee none other than the Father , bur 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 hee is the Worde . Fi- nallie where he affirmeth that the Father is determined in his owne person , he proueth himselte farre from that error which we confute . And though he doeth acknowledge none other God but the Father , yet in the nexte peece of his writing expounding himselte , he saith , that he speaketh not exclusiue in respect of the Sonne , because he denieth that the Sonne is

any

any other God beside the Father, and that therefore their sole government 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 hee 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 coulde not be God, but hee must also be the Father, therefore hee somuch labourerth 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 only sheweth the disposition and order y^e belongeth only 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 litle after y^e, they may beleeue the Father and the son ech in their names & Persons. Hereby I thinke may be sufficiently confuted their impudencie that seeke to beguile the simple with colour of Tertullians authoritie.

29 And surely whosocuer shall diligently compare together y^e writings of the old authors, shall find no other thing in Ireneus, than that which hath bene taught by other that came after. Iustine is one of the auncientest, and he in all things doeth agree with vs. Yet let them obiekt that hee as the rest do, calleth the Father of Christ the onely God. The same thing doeth Hilarie teach, yea, and speaketh more hardly, that the eternitie is in y^e Father. But doth hee that to take away the essence of God from the Sonne? And yet is hee altogether in defence of the same Faith that we follow. Yet are they not ashamed to picke out certaine mangled sentences whereby they woulde perswade that Hilarie is a Patrone of their errour. Where they bring in Ignatius: if they will haue that to bee of any authoritie, let them prooue that the Apostles made a lawe for lent and such like corruptions of religion. Nothing is more vsfauerie than those sonde trifles that are published vnder y^e name of Ignatius, Wherefore their impudencie is somuch lesse tolerable that disguise theselues with such visers to deceiue. Moreover the consent of the auncient Fathers is plainly perceiued by this, that at y^e council of Nice, Arius neuer durst alledge for himselfe y^e authoritie of any one allowed writer. And none of the Grekes or Latines doth excuse himself and say, that he dissenteth from them that were before. It needeth not to be spoken how Augustine, whome these loselles doe most hate, hath diligently searched the writings of them all, and howe reuerently hee did embrace them. Truely euen in matters of least weight hee vseth to shewe what compelleth him to dissent from them. And in this matter, if he haue read any thing doubtfull or darke in other, hee hydeth it not. But the doctrine that these men striue against, hee taketh it as confessed, that from the farthest time of antiquitie it hath bene without controuersie received. And by one worde it appeareth that hee was not ignorant what other had taught before him, where hee saith that in the Father is vnitie, in the first booke of Christian doctrine, will they say that hee then forgate himselfe? But in an other place hee purgeth himselfe from such reproch, where hee calleth

calleth the Father the beginning of the whole Godhead, because hee is of none: considering in deede wisely that the name of God is specially ascribed to the Father, because if the beginning shoulde not be reckened at him, the single vnitie of God cannot be conceyued. By this I trust the godly reader will perceiue that all the cauillations are confuted wherewith Sathan hath hitherto attempted to peruert or darken the pure trueth of doctrine. Finally I trust that the whole summe of doctrine in this poynte is fully declared, if the readers will temper them of curiositie, and not more greedily than met is seeke for combersome and entangled disputations. For I take not in hande to please them, that doe delight in an vtemperate desire of speculation. Truly I haue omitted nothing of suttle purpose that I thought to make against mee. But while I studie to edifie the Church, I thought it best, to leaue many things vntouched which both smally profited, and woulde greue the readers with superfluous tediousnesse. For to what purpose were it to dispute, whether the Father doe alwayes beget? For asmuch as it is follie to faine a continuall acte of begetting, sith it is euident that from eternitie there haue bene 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 betwene the true God, and fained Gods.

ALthough Esay doth worthily reproche the worshippers of false Gods with slouthfulnesse, for that they haue not learned by the very foundations of the earth, and rounde compasse of the heauens, which is the true God: yet such is the dulnesse & grossenes of our wit, y^e leasty^e faythfull should fall away to the inuentions of the Gentiles, it was necessarie to haue God more expressly painted out vnto them. For whereas the saying that God is the minde of the worlde, which is compted the most tollerable description that is founde among the Philosophers, is but vaine, it behoueth vs more familiarly to knowe him, least wee alwayes wauer in doubtfulnesse. Therefore it was his pleasure to haue a historie of the creation remaining, wherevpon the Faith of the Church might rest, and seeke for none other God but him, whome Moses hath declared to be the maker and buylder of the worlde. There is first set foorth the time, that by continuall proceeding of yeres the faithfull might come to the first original of mankinde, and of all things. Which knowledge is verie necessarie, not onely to confute those monstrous fables that sometime were spred in Egypte and other partes of the worlde, but also, that the beginning of the worlde once being knowen, y^e eternitie of God may more clearly shine foorth and raiushe 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 hec might haue made it many thousande ages before: whereas the whole continuance of the worlde that nowe draweth to an ende, is not yet come to sixe thousande yeares. For why God so long differred it, is neither lawfull nor expedient for vs to enquire. Because

cause if mans minde will trauaile to attaine therevnto, it shall fayle an hundred times by the way, neyther were it profitable for vs to know that thing which God himselfe to prooue the modestie of our faith, hath of purpose willed to be hidden. And well did that godlie olde man speake, which when a wanton fellowe did in scorne demaunde of him, what God had done before the creation of the worlde, answered that hee buylded Hell for curious fooles. Let this graue and seuerer warning repress the wantonnesse that tickleth many yea and driueth them to cuill and hurtfull speculations. Finally let vs remember that the same inuisible God whose wisdome, power and iustice is incomprehensible, doth set before vs the historie of Moses as a looking glasse, wherein his luely image appeareth. For as the eyes that either are growen dimme with age or dulled with anie disease, doe not discern any thing plainly vnlesse they be holpen with spectacles: so, such is our weakenesse, that vnlesse the Scripture direct vs in seeking of God, we doe fourthwith runne out into vanitie. And they that followe their owne wantonnesse, because they be nowe warned in vaine, shall all too late feele with horrible destruction, howe much it had beene better for them reuerently to receiue the secrete counsels of God, than to vomite out blasphemies, to obscure the heauen withall. And rightly doeth Augustine com-
 Lib. de gen. contra Ma. De ciui. dei. lib. 40.
 plaine that wrong is done to God when further cause of thinges is sought for, than his onely will. The same man in an other place doth wisely warne vs, that it is no lesse euill to moue question of immeasurable spaces of times than of places. For howe brode foecer the circuite of the heauen is, yet is there some measure of it. Nowe if one shoulde quarell with God for that the emptinesse wherein nothing is conteyned, is an hundred times more, shall not all the godly abhorre such wantonnesse? Inro like madnesse runne they that busie themselues about Gods sitting still, because at their appointment he made not the worlde innumerable ages sooner. To satisfie their owne greedinesse of mind, they couet to passe without the compasse of y world, as though in so large a circuite of heauen, and earth, they coulde not finde things enough that with their inestimable brightnesse may ouerwhelme all our senses: as though in sixe thousande yeares God hath not shewed examples in continuall consideration, whereof our mindes may be exercised. Let vs therefore willingly abide enclosed within those boundes wherewith it pleased God to enuiron vs, and as it were to penne vp our mindes that they should not stray abrode with libertie of wandring.

2 For like reason is it that Moses declareth, that the worke of God was not ended in a moment but in sixe dayes. For by this circumstance we are withdrawn from forged inuentions to the one onely God that deuided his worke into sixe dayes, that it should not greeue vs to be occupied all y time of our life in considering of it. For though our eyes, what way foecer wee turne them, are compelled to looke vpon the workes of God, yet see we howe fickle our hede is, and if any godly thoughts, do touch vs, how soone they passe away. Here againe mans reason murmureth as though such proceedings were disagreeing from the power of God, vntill such time as being made subiect to y obediēce of faith, the learne to keep y rest wherunto y hal-
 lowing

lowing of y^e 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 vntil 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 & 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 and the aire with liuing creatures, & brought forth abundance of fruites to suffice for foode, taking vpon him the care of a diligent and prouident householder, he shewed his marueilous 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 witnesse & publisser of the one God the creator. I omit here that which I haue already declared, that he speaketh not there onely of the bare essence of God, but also setteth forth vnto vs his eternall Wisdome & Spiritie, to the end we should not dreame that God is any other, than such as he will be knowen by the image that he hath there expressed.

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 rudenessse of the common people reciteth in his historie of the creation no other workes of God but such as are scene with our eyes, yet whereas afterward he bringeth in Angels for ministers of God, we may easily 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 y^e people doeth not at the very beginning rehearse the Angels among the creatures of God: yet that is no cause to the contrary, but that we may plainly & expressly speake those thinges of them, which in other places the Scripture commonly teacheth. Because if we desire to know God by his works, so noble and excellent an example is not to be omitted. Beside that this point of doctrine is verie necessarie for the confuting of many 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 authoritie of one God, and brought as it were in obedience. And here vpon were they fained to be Gods. There rose vp also one Manicheus with his sect, which made themselves two originall beginnings of things, God, & the Diuel, and to God he assigned the beginning of good things, & of things of euil nature he determined the diuel to be the author. If our minds should be entangled with this error, God should not keepe whole his glory in the creation of the world. For where as 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 diuel, 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 diuel, that he may put in execution what he wil though God say nay & withstand it? As for the onely foundation that the Manichees haue, that it is unlawfull 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 euill in the whole vniuersalitie of the worlde, because neither the frowardnesse and malice both of man and the deuill, nor the sins 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 behoueth vs to lift vp our mindes hier than our eyes can attaine to see. For which cause it is likely, that where in the Nicene creede 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 abroade, being ledde away from the simplicitie of Faith. And surely for as much as the Holy ghost teacheth vs alwaie for our profite, and such things as are smally auaylable to edifie, hee doeth either leaue wholly vnspoken, or but lightly, and as it were ouerrunningly touch them: it shalbe also our duetie to be content not to knowe those things that do not profit vs.

4 That the Angels, for as much as they are the ministers of God ordeined to execute his commandementes, are also his creatures, it ought to be certeinly our of all question. To moue dout of the time and order that they were created in, should it nor rather be a busse 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 searche, what day the other more secret armies of heauen beside the starres and planettes 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 & sobriety, that of obscure things we neither speak, nor thinke, nor yet desire to knowe any other things than that hath bin taught vs by the word of God: and an other point, that in reading of Scripture we continually rest vpon the searching and studying of such things as pertaine to edification, & not giue our selues to curiosity or study of things 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 holines: let vs rest vpon such knowledge. Wherefore, if we will be rightly wise, wee must leaue those vanities that idle men haue taught without warrant of the word of God, concerning the nature, degrees, and multitude of Angels. I knowe that such matters as this, are by many more greedily taken hold of, & are more pleasant vnto them than such things as lie in daily vse. But if it greeue vs not to be the scholars of Christ, let it not greeue vs to folowe that order of learning y^e he hath appointed. So shal it so come to passe, that being contented with his scholing, we shal not onely forbear but also abhorre superfluous speculations, from which he calleth vs away. No man can deny, that the same Denyse, whatsoeuer man he was, hath disputed many things both subtilly & wittily in his Hierarchie of heauen: but if a man examine it more neerely, he shal 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 stablsh consciences with teaching things true, certaine, and profitable.

If one should reade that booke, he would thinke that the man were slipped downe from heauen, & did tell of things not y he had learned by hearefay, but that he had seene with his eyes. But Paul which was rauished aboute the third heauen, hath vttered no such thing, but also protesteth, that it is not lawfull for man to speake the secretes that he had seene. Therefore bidding farewell to that triflyng wisdom, let vs consider by the simple doctrine of the Scripture, what the Lord would haue vs knowe concerning his Angels.

5 It is commonly read in the Scripture, that y Angels are heauenly Spirites, whose ministracion and seruice God vseth for putting in execution of those things that he hath decreed. For which reason that name is giuen them, because God vseth them as messengers, to shewe himselfe vnto men. And vpon like reason are deriued the other names that they are called by. They are named armies, because they do like a gard enuir on their prince, & do adorne & set forth the honorable shew of his maiestie, and like souldiers they are alway attending vpon the ensigne of their captaine, and are euer so prepared & in readines to do his commandements, that so soone as he doth but becken to them, they prepare themselues to worke, 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 sare him downe 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 maruailously shew forth & declare y might and strength of his hand, therefore they are named strengths, because he exerciseth and vseth his authority in y world by them, therefore they are sometime called principalities, sometime powers, sometime Dominions. Finally because in them as it were sitteth the glory of God, for this cause also they are called Thrones: though of this last name I will not certainly say, because an other 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 auance the dignitie of the ministerie of Angels: For it were not reason y those instruments should be let passe without honor by whom God doth specially shewe the presence of his maiestie. Yea for that reason they are many times called Gods, because in their ministry as in a loking glasse, they partly represent vnto vs the godhead. Although in deede I mislike not this that the old writers do expound, that Christ was the Angel, where the Scripture, saith, that the Angel of God appeared to Abraham, Iacob, Moses, & other, yet oftentimes where mention is made of all the Angels in deede this name is giuen vnto them. And that ought to seeme no meruile. For if this honour be giuen to princes and gouernours, that in their office they stande in the steede of God that is soueraigne king & iudge, much greater cause there is why it should be giuen to the Angels, in whom the brightnes of the glory of God much more abundantly shineth.

6 But the scriptre standeth most vpon teaching vs that, which might most make to our comforte and confirmation of Faith: that is to wit, that the Angels are the distributors & administratours of Gods bountie toward vs. And therefore the Scripture reciteth, that they watch for our safetie:

1. Cor. 13. 2.

Dan. 7. 10.

Coloss. 1. 10.
Eph. 1. 21.Ge. 18 1. 32.
Ios. 5. 14.
Iudi. 6. 14. &
13. 22.

Psa. 82. 6.

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 vniuersall, which principally pertaine to Christ the heade of the Church, and then to all the faithfull. He hath giuen his Angels charge of thee, to keepe thee in all thy wayes. They shall beare thee vp in their handes, least thou chaunce to hit thy feete against a stone. Againe, The Angel of the Lord standeth rounde about them that feare him, and he doth deliuer them. Wherby God sheweth that he appointeth to his Angels the defence of them, whom he hath taken in hand to keepe. After this order the Angel of the Lord doth comfort Agar when she fled away, & commandeth her to be reconciled to her maistres. God promised to Abraham his seruant an Angel to be the guide of his iourney. Iacob in blessing of Ephraim & Manasses prayeth, that the Angel of the Lord by whom he himselfe had bin deliuered from all euill, may make them prosper. So the Angell was set to defende the tentes of the people of Israel. And so oft as it pleased God to reskue Israel out of the handes of thir enemies, he raised vp reuengers by ſ ministerie of Angels. So finally (to ſ end I neede not to rehearse many mo) the Angels ministred to Christ and were ready assistent to him in all necessities. They brought tidings to the women of his resurrection, & to ſ disciples of his glorious comming. And so to fulfill their office of defending vs, they fight against the deuill and all enemies, and do execute the vengeance of God vpon them, that are bene against vs. As we reade that the Angell of God to deliuer Hierusalem from ſ siege, slew in one night a hundred sower score and fise thousand in ſ campe of the king Assyria.

7 But whether to euery of the faithfull be a seuerall Angell assigned for their defence, I dare not certainly affirme. Surely when Daniel bringeth in the Angel of the Persians, and the Angel of the Grecians, hee sheweth that he ment, that there are to kingdoms and prouinces certaine Angels appointed as gouernours. And when Christ saith ſ the Angels of Children do alway beholde the face of the Father, he seemeth to meane, that there are certaine Angels to whome the preseruation of them is giuen in charge. But I can not tell whether we ought thereby to gather, that euery one hath his Angell set ouer him. But this is to be holden for certeintie, that not one Angel only 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 Angels together, that they more reioyce of one sinner conuerted to repentance, than of nyntie & nine iust that haue stand stil in their righteousness. And it is said of mo Angels thā one, that they conueyed the soule of Lazarus into the bosome of Abraham. And not without cause did Elizeus shewe to his seruant so many fierie chariots that were peculiarly appointed for him. But one place there is ſ seemeth more plaiue than the rest to proue this point. For when Peter being brought out of prison knocked at ſ doores of the house, where the brethren were assembled, whē they could not imagine that it was he, they said it was his Angel. It should seeme that this came in their minde by the common opinion, ſ to euery of the faithfull are assigned their Angels for gouernours. Albe it yet here it may be answered ſ it may well be, notwithstanding any thing

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

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

Mat. 4. 11.

Luk. 22. 43.
Mat. 28. 5.

Luk. 24. 5.
Act. 1. 10.

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

Da. 10. 13.
and 12. 1.
Mat. 18. 10.

Luk. 15. 7.
Luk. 16. 23.
2. Kings 16.
37.

AA. 12. 15.

Handwritten notes:
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thing that there appeareth, that we may thinke it was any one Angell, to whome God had giuen charge of Peter for that time, and yet not to be his continual keeper: as the common people do imagine that there are appointed to euery one two Angels, as it were diuerse ghostes, a good Angel and a badde. But it is not worth trauaile, curiously to search for that which doeth not much import vs to know. For if this do not content a man, that all degrees of the armie of heauen do watch for his safetie, I doe not see what hee can be the better, if he vnderstand that there is one Angel peculiarly appointed to keepe him. And they which restraints vnto one Angel y care that God hath to euery one of vs, do great wrong to themselues, & to al the members of the Church: as if that power to succour vs had bene vainly promised vs, wherewith being enuironed and defended, wee shoulde fight the more boldly.

8 They that dare take vpon them to define of the multitude and degrees of Angels, let them looke well what foundation they haue. I grant Michael is called in Daniel, the Great prince, & with Iude, the Archangel. And Paul saith, it shal be an Archangel that shal with sound of trumpet call men to y iudgement. But who can thereby appoint the degrees of honours betweene Angels, or discern one from another by speciall markes, & appoint euery one his place & standing? For the two names that are in Scripture, Michael, & Gabriel: and if you list to adde the third out of the historie of Thobie, may by their signification seeme to be giuen to the Angels, according to the capacite of our weakenesse, although I had rather leaue that exposition at large. As for the number of them, we heare by Christes mouth of many Legions, by Daniel many companies of ten thousands, the seruant of Elizeus saw many chariots full: and this declareth that they are a great multitude, that it is said, they do camp round about them that feare God. As for shape, it is certeine, that Spirites haue none, and yet the Scripture for the capacite of our wit doth not in vaine vnder Cherubin and Seraphin paint vs out Angels with wings, to the intent we should not dout that they will be cuer with incredible swiftnesse, readie to succour vs, so soone as neede shall require, as if the lightning sent from heauen should fly vnto vs with such swiftnesse as it is wonted. Whatsoeuer more than this may be sought of both these points, let vs beleue it to be of that sort of mysteries; whereof the full reuelation is deferred to the last day. Wherefore let vs remember to take heed both of too much curiositie in serching & to much boldnes in speking.

9 But this one thing which many troublesome do call in doubt, is to be holden for certieintie, that Angels are ministring spirits, whose seruice God vseth for the defence of his, and by whome he both distributeth his benefits among men, and also putteth his other workes in execution. It was in the olde time the opinion of the Sadduces, that by Angels is meant nothing els; but either the motions that God doth inspire in men, or the tokens that he sheweth of his power. But against this errour crie out so many testimonies of Scripture, that it is maruile that so grosse ignorance could be suffred in that people. For to omit those places that I haue before alleged, where are recited thousands & Legions of Angels: where ioy is giuen vnto them: where

Dan. 12. 1.
Iud. 1. 9.
1. Thel. 4. 16

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

it is sayd that they vphold the faithfull with their hands, & cary their soules into rest: that they see the face of the Father, and such like: there are other places whereby is clearly proued, that they are in deede spirites of a nature that hath substance. For where as Stephen & Paul do say, that the law was giuen by the hand of Angels, and Christ saith, y^e the elect after the resurrection shalbe like vnto Angels: that the day of iudgement is not known to the very Angels: that he shal then come with his holy Angels: how soeuer they be writhed, yet must they so be vnderstanded. Likewise when Paul charged Timothie before Christ and his chosen Angels, to keepe his cōmandements, he meaneth not qualities or inspirations without substance but very spirites. 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 tooke vpon him not their nature, but the nature of man. If we meane not y^e blessed spirites, to whom may these comparisons agree? And the author of y^e Epistle expouñdeth himselfe where he placeth in the kingdome of heauen the soules of the faithfull and the holy Angels together. Also the same that we haue already alleged, that the Angels of children do alway behold the face of God, that they do reioyce at our safetie, that they maruell at the manifolde grace of God in the Church, that they are subiect to Christ, the heade. To the same purpose serueth this, that they so oft appeared 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 principal preeminence that he hath in the person of the Mediatour, is called an Angel. This I thought good to touch by the way, to furnish the simple with defence against those foolish and reasonlesse opinions, that manie ages agoe raised by Sathan do now and then spring vp againe.

10 Now it resteth, that we seeke to meeete with that superstition which is commonly wont to creepe in, where it is said: that Angels are the ministers and deliuerers of all good things vnto vs. For by and by mans reason falleth to this point, to thinke y^e therefore all honour ought to be giuen them. So commeth it to passe that those things which belong only to God & Christ, are conuicied away to Angels. By this meane we see that in certaine ages past, the glory of Christ hath bin many wayes 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 auintent than this. For it appeareth, that Paul himself had much to do with some which so auanced Angels, that they in manner would haue brought Christ vnder subiection. 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 authour of all the good things that they haue: to the end we should not forsake him and turne vnto them, which can not sufficiently helpe them selues, but are faine to drawe out of the same fountaine that we do. Surely forasmuch as there shineth in the a certain brightness of the maicesty of God, there is nothing whereunto we are more easily enclined, than with a certaine admiration to fall downe in worshipping of them, & to giue vnto them all things that are due only to God. Which thing

John

Ag. 8. 53.
Gal. 3. 19.
Mat. 22. 30.
& 24. 37.
31. and 25.
Luk. 9. 26.
1. Tim. 5. 21.
Heb. 1. 4. and
2. 16.

Heb. 12. 22.

Mal. 3. 1.

Coloss. 1. 16.

John in the Revelation confesseth to haue chaunted to himselfe, but he addeth withall, that he receiued this answer. See thou doe it not. For I am thy fellowe seruant, Worship God.

11 But this daunger 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 safery of the faithfull, and to communicate y gifts of his liberality among them. Surely he doth not this of necessity, 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 only becke: so far is it of, that they be any aide to him, to ease him of the hardnesse therof. This therefore maketh for the comfort of our weakenes, 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 y he is our protector. But while we see our selues besieged with so many dangers, so many hurtfull thinges, so many kindes of enemies: it may be (such is our weakenesse and frailtie) that we be sometime filled with trembling feare, or fall for despaire, vnlesse the Lord after the proportion of our capacity do 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 whom he hath giuen in charge to trauaile for our safetic, and that so long as we be compassed with the garrison & support of them, whatsoeuer danger betideth, we be without all reach of hurte. I graunt we do amisse that after this simple promise of the protection of God alone, we still looke about from whence other help may come vnto vs. But for as much as it pleaseth the Lord of his infinite clemencie and gentlenes to helpe this our fault, there is no reason why we should neglect his so great benefit. An example thereof we haue in the seruant of Elizeus, which when he sawe the hill besieged with the army of the Syrians, and that there was no way open to escape, was stricken downe with feare, as if his maister and hee were then vterly destroyed. Then Elizeus praied God to open his seruants eies, and by & by he sawe the hill furnished with horses and fiery chariotes, that is with a multitude of Angels to keepe him and the prophet safe. Encouraged with this vision he gathered vp his heart againe, & was able with a dreedelesse mind to looke downe vpon his enemies, with sight of whome he was before in a maner driuen out of his witte.

2. Kin. 6. 17.

12 Wherefore whatsoeuer 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 herefore prouided vs of God, that we shold 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 ledde away from God by Angels which are ordeined 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 streight lead vs as it were by the hand to him, that we may haue eye vnto, call vpon, and publish him for our onely helper: if we consider not them to be as his hands

Gen. 28. 13. that moue themselves to no worke but by his direction : if they do not holde vs fast in the one Mediatour Christ, so that wee may hang wholly of him, leane all vpon him, be caried to him and rest in him . For that which is described in the vision of Iacob, ought to sticke and be fastened in our mindes, how Angels descend downe to the earth vnto men, and from men doe go vp to heauen by a ladder, whereupon standeth the Lord of hostes . Whereby is ment, that by the only intercession of Christ it cometh to passe, that the ministeries of the Angels doe come vnto vs, as he himselfe affirmeth, saying: Hereafter ye shal see the heauens open & the Angels descending to y^e Sonne of man. Ioh. 1. 51. Therefore the seruant of Abraham being committed to the custody of the Angel, doth not therefore call vpon the Angel to helpe him, but holpen with y^e commendation, he praicth to the Lord, and beseecheth him to shewe his mercy to Abraham. For as God doth not therefore make them ministers of his power & goodnes, to the intent to part his glory with them : so doth he not therefore promise vs his helpe in their ministracion, that we should diuide our confidence betweene him & them . Let vs therefore forsake that Platonicall philosophie, to seeke y^e way to God by Angels, and to honour them for this purpose that they may make God more gentle vnto vs: which superstitious and curious men haue from the beginning gone about, and to this day do continue to bring into our religion.

Gen. 24. 7. Plato in E-pynonide & Cratilo.

13 As for such thinges as the Scripture teacheth concerning deuils, they rende in a manner all to this ende, that we may be carefull to beware afore hand of their awaites and preparations, & furnish our selues with such weapons as are strong & sure enough to driue away euen the strongest enemies. For whereas Sathan is called the God and prince of the worlde, 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 ware and watchfull, and readier to enter in battaile with him. Which is also sometime set out in expresse wordes . For Peter after he had sayde, that the deuill goeth about like a roaring lyon, seeking whome hee may deuour, by & by addeth this exhortation, y^ewe strongly resist him by Faith. And Paul after he had giuen warning that we wastle not with flesh & blood, but with the princes of the ayre, the powers of darkenesse, and spirituall wickednesses, by and by biddeth vs put on such armour as may serue for so great and dangerous a battaile . Wherefore let vs also applie all to this ende, that being warned howe there doeth continually approach vpon vs an enemy, yea an enemy that is in courage most hardy, in strength most mightie, in policies most sutable, in diligence and celeritie vnweariable, with all sortes of engins plenteously furnished, in skill of warre most ready, we suffer not our selues by slouth and cowardise to be surprisid, but on the other side with bolde and hardy 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 weakenesse and vnskilfulnesse, let vs call vpon the helpe of God and enterprise nothing but vpon trust of him, for as much as it is in him onely to giue vs policie, strength, courage and armour.

14 And that we should be the more stirred vp and enforced so to do, the Scripture

Scripture warneth vs, that there are not one or two or a few enemies, but great armies that make warre with vs. For it is saide, that Mary Magdalene was deliuered from seuen diuels, wherewith she was possessed. And Christ saith, that it is y^e ordinary custome, that if after a diuel 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 empty. Yea it is said that a whole legion besieged one man. Hereby therefore we are taught, that wee must fight with an infinite multitude of enemies, least despising the fewenesse of them we should be more slacke to enter in battaile, or thinking that we haue some respite in the meane time graunted, we should giue our selues to idleness. Where as many times Satan or the diuell is named in the singular number, thereby is ment that power of wickednes which standeth against the kingdome of Iustice. For as the Church and y^e 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 authority among them. After which manner this is spoken. Goe ye cursed into eternall fire that is prepared for the diuell and his angels.

15 Here also this ought to stirre vs vp to a perpetuall warre with the diuell, for that he is euery where called the enemy of God and of vs. For if we haue regarde of Gods glory, as it is meete we should, then ought we with all our force to bend our selues against him, that goeth about to extinguishe it. If we be affectioned to mainetaine 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 lieth in waite for the destruction of it. Such a one is he described in the 3. chap. of Genesis where he leadeth man away from the obedience that he did owe to God, that he both robbeth God of his due honor, and throweth man himselfe headlong into destruction. Such a one also is he set forth in the Euangelistes, where he is called an enemy, and is saide to scatter rates, to corrupt the seede of eternall life. In summe, that which Christ testifieth of him, that from the beginning he was a murderer, and a lyer, we finde by experience in all his doings. For he assaileth the truth of God with lyes, obscureth the light with darkenesse, entangleth the mindes of men with errors, raiseth vp hatredes, kindleth contentions and strifes, doeth all things to this end to ouerthrow the kingdome of God and drowne men with himselfe in eternall destruction. Wherby appeareth, that he is of nature frowarde, spitefull & malicious. For needs must there be great frowardnes in that wit, that is made to assaile the glory 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 authour, captaine and principall workeman of all malice and wickednesse.

16 But forasmuch as the diuell was created by God, let vs remember that this malice which we assigne in his nature, is not by creation but by deprauation. For what so euer damnable thing he hath, he hath gotten to himselfe by his owne reuolting and fall. Which the scripture therefore giueth

vs warning of, least thinking that he came out such a one from God, wee shoulde 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 lyes, and addeth a cause why, for that he stode not still in the truth. Now when he saith that he stood not still in the truth, he sheweth that once he had bene in the truth. And when he maketh him the Father of lying, he taketh this frō him, that he cannot lay that fault to God whereof hee 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 sclaunder. And what maketh it matter to vs, to know more or to any other purpose concerning deuils? Many perhaps doe grudge, that the Scripture doeth not orderly and distinctly in many places set forth that fall and the cause, manner, time, and fashion thereof. But because these things doe nothing pertaine to vs, it was better, if not to be suppressed wholly, yet to bee but lightly touched, and that partly, because it was not be seeming for y^e holy ghost to feed curiositie with vaine histories without any fruit: and wee see that it was the Lords purpose to put nothing in his holy oracles but y^e which we should learne to edification. Therefore, least we our selues shoulde tarie long vpon things superfluous, let vs be content shortly to know thus much concerning the nature of Deuils, y^e at the first creation they were the Angels of God: but by swaruing out of kinde they both destroyed themselues and are become instruments of destruction to other. Thus much, because it was profitable to be knowen, 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 doeth without doubt secretly by implication set the reprobate Angels in comparison against them.

17 As for the discorde & strife that we say is betweene God & Satan, we must so take it y^e still wee hold this for certaine, that hee can doe nothing but by the wil & sufferance of God. For we read in the historie of Iob, that he presented himselfe before God to receyue his cōmandements, & durst not go forward to do any enterprife til 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 he performed it. For this reason is he called the euill spirite of the Lord y^e tormented Saul, because by him as with a scourge the sins of the wicked king were punished. And in an other place it is written, y^e the plagues were laid vpon y^e Egyptians by y^e euill angels. According to these particular examples Paul doth generally testifie, y^e the blinding of y^e wicked is the worke of God, whereas before he had called it the working of Satan. It is euident therefore y^e Satan is vnder the power of God, & so gouerned by his authoritie y^e he is compelled to doe him seruice. Now when we say that Satan resisteth God, y^e the works of Satan disagree with the workes of God, wee doe therewithall affirme that this disagreement and strife hangeth vpon the sufferance of God. I speake not nowe of his will, nor of his endeuor, but of the effecte onely. For sith the deuill is wicked of nature, he is not enclined to obey the wil of God, but is wholly caried to stubbornesse

Iohn. 8. 44.

2. Pet. 2. 4.

Iud. 1. 6.

1. Tim. 5. 20.

Iob. 1. 6. and

2. 1.

1. Kin. 22. 20

1. Sa. 16. 14.

& 18. 10.

Psal. 1. 4.

1. The. 1. 9.

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 hee knoweth to be most against God. But because God holdeth him fast tyed & restrayned with the bridle of his power, he executeth onely those things that are graunted him from God. And so doeth he obey his creator whether he will or no, because he is constrained to applie his seruice whither soeuer God compelleth him.

18 Nowe because God boweth the vncleane Spirites hither & thither, as pleaseth him, he so tempereth this gouernment, 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 affraide, and sometime wounde them, but neuer ouercome nor oppresse them. But y^e wicked they subdue & draw away, they raigne vpon their soules and bodies, & abuse them as bondslaves to all mischeuous doings. As for the faithfull, because they are vnquieted of such enimies, therefore they heare these exhortations. Doe not giue place to the Deuill. The deuill your enimie goeth about as a roaring lyon seeking whom hee may deuoure, whome resist yee being strong in faith, and such like. Paul confesseth that he himselfe was not free from this kinde of strife, when hee saith, that for a remedie to tame pride, the Angel of Satan was giuen to him by whome he might be humbled. This exercise therefore is common to all the children of God. But because that same promise of the breaking of Sarahs heade pertaineth generally to Christ and to all his members, therefore I say that the faithfull can neuer be ouercome nor oppressed by him. They are many times stricken 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 y^e end they obteyne the victorie: but I speake not this of euerie doing of theirs. For we knowe y^e 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, least if any haue bene entangled with y^e snares of the deuill. Therefore in an other place the same Paul saith, that the promise aboue alleaged is begonne in this life, wherein we must wrastle, and is performed after our wrastling ended: when he saith the God of peace shall shortly beate downe Satan vnder your feete. This victorie hath alway fully bene in our heade Christ, because the Prince of the worlde had nothing in him, but in vs that are his members it doeth now partly appeare and shall be persfited, when being vnclouted of our flesh by which wee 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 aunswere hee confirmeth that which the Apostles had reported of the power of his preaching. Againe, I Luk. 10. 18. When the Prince possesseth his owne palace, all things that he possesseth

Eph. 4. 27.

1. Pet. 5. 8.

2. Cor. 12. 7.

Gen. 3. 15.

2. Sam. 24. 3.

Rom. 26. 20

Luk. 10. 18.

Luk. 11. 21.

are

are in peace, but when there commeth a stronger, he is throwen out &c. And to this ende Christ in dying ouercame Sathan which had the power of death, and triumphed vpon all his armies that they shoulde not hurte the Church, for otherwise they woulde euerie moment an hundred times destroy it. For (considering what is our weakenesse, and what is his furious strength) howe coulde we stande, yea neuer so little time against his manifolde and continuall assautes, but being supported by the victorie 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, whome God doeth not vouchsafe to haue reckened in his flocke. For it is saide that hee possesseth this worlde without controuersie till he be thrust out by Christ. Againe, that hee doeth blinde all them that beleuee not the Gospell, againe, that hee performeth his worke in the stubborne children, and worthilie, for all the wicked are the vesselles of his wrathe. Therefore to whome shoulde they be rather subiect then to the minister of Gods vengeance? Finally they are sayde to bee of their Father the Deuil, because as the faithfull are hereby knowen to bee the children of God, because they beare his image: so they by the image of Sathan into which they are gone out of kinde, are properly discerned to be his children.

19 As wee haue before confuted that trifling Philosophie concerning the holy 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 wee confute them that fondly say that deuils are nothing else but euill affections or perturbations of minde, that are thrust into vs by our flethe. That may we shortly doe, because there bee many testimonies of Scripture, and those plaine enough vpon this pointe. First where the vnclene Spirites are called, Angels, Apottataes, 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 in deede as they bee called mindes or Spirites endued with sense and vnderstanding.

1. Iohn. 3. 8. Likewise whereas both Christ and Iohn doe compare the children of God with the children of the Deuill: were it not an vnfit comparison, if the name of y^e Deuill signified nothing else but euill inspirations? And Iohn addeth somewhat more plainely, that the diuill sinneth from the beginning. Likewise when Iude bringeth in Michael y^e Archangel fighting with y^e deuill, doubtles he setteth against y^e good Angel an euill & rebellious Angel. Where with agreeeth that which is read in the historie of Iob, that Sathan 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? Agayne, Goe ye cursed into eternall fire that is prepared for the Deuill and his Angels. Againe, If hee spared not his owne Angels that had sinned, but cast them downe into hell and deliuered them into cheines of darkenesse to bee kept vnto damnation, &c. Howe sonde shoulde these speeches bee, that the Deuilles are ordeyned to eternall iudgement, that fire is prepared for

2. Cor. 4. 4.
Eph. 2. 2.

Iohn. 8. 44.
1. Iohn. 3. 8.

Iob. 1. 6.

Mat. 8. 29.
Mat. 25. 41.
Iud. 1. 9.

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 worde of the Lord, and litte 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 godlie minds should be furnished against such fond errors, wherwith vnquiet men do trouble both themselves and other that be more simple. But it was good to touch this, least any entangled with that errour, while they thinke they haue none to stand against them, should waxe more slowe and vnprouided to resist.

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 ordinary workes of God. For, as I haue elsewhere already saide, though this be not the chiefe, yet is it in order the first doctrine of Faith, to remember that what way soeuer we turne our eyes, all that we see are \dot{y} workes 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 behoueth vs to knowe of God, it is good first of all to learne the historie of the creation of the worlde, how it is shortly rehearsed by Moses, and afterwarde more largely set out by holy men, specially by Basile and Ambrose. Out of it we shall learne that God by the power of his word and Spirite created heauen and earth of nothing, and thereof brought foorth all liuing creatures and thinges without life, with maruellous order disposed the innumerable varietie of thinges, to euerie thing he gaue the proper nature, assigned their offices, appointed their places and abidinges, and where all thinges are subiect to corruption, yet hath he so prouided that of all sortes some shalbe preferued to the last day, and therefore some he cherisheth by secrete meanes, and powreth nowe and then as it were a newe liuelinesse into them, and to some he hath giuen the power to encrease by generation, that in their dying that whole kinde should not dye together. So hath he marueilously garnished the heauen and the earth, with so absolutely perfect plenty, variety and beauty of all thinges as possibly might be, as it were a large & gorgeous house furnished and stored with abundance of most finely chosen stuffe, last of all howe in framing man and adorning him with so goodly beauty, & 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 foorth at large the creation of the world, let it suffice to haue ouce againe touched these fewe thinges 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 conueied the historie of the world by writing to perpetuall memorie.

21 It is to no purpose, to make much a doe in disputing, to what ende the consideration of the workes of God ought to tende, or to what marke it ought to be applied: forasmuch 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. Truely if we were minded to set out as it is

worthie, how inestimable wisdom, power, iustice and goodnes of God appeareth in the framing of the worlde, no eloquence, no garnishment of speech, could suffice the largenes of so great a matter. And no doubt it is Gods pleasure y^e we should be continually occupied in so holy a meditation, that while we beholde in his creatures as in looking glasses the infinite richesse of his wisdom, iustice, bountie and power, we should not runne ouer them as it were with a flying eye, or with a vaine wandring looke as I may so call it, but that wee should with consideration rest long vpon them, cast them vp and downe earnestly and faithfully in our mindes, and oft repeat them with remembrance. But because we are nowe busied in y^e kinde that pertaineth to order of teaching, it is met that we omit those things that require long declamations. Therefore, to be short, let the readers know, that then they haue conceiued by Faith, what this meaneth, that God is the creator of heauen & 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 applie themselues that they may therewith bee thoroughly moued in their hartes. The first of those we do when we consider how excellent a workmans worke it was to place & aptly set in so well disposed order the multitude of y^e starres that is in heauen, that nothing can be deuised more beautifull to behold: to set & fasten some of them in their standings so that they cannot moue, and to othe. some to graunt a free course, but so that in mouing they wander not beyond their appointed space, so to temper the motion of them all that it may diuide in measure the dayes and nightes, monethes, yeares, and seasons of the yeare, and to bring this inequalitye of dayes which we dayly see to such a tempered order y^e it hath no confusion. Likewise, when we mark his power in susteyning so great a body, in gouerning the so swift whirling about of the engine of heauen, and such like. For these fewe examples do sufficiently declare what it is to recorde the power of God in the creation of the worlde. For else if I should trauell as I saide to expresse it all in wordes I shoulde neuer make an end, for asmuch as there are so manie miracles of the power of God, so many tokens of his goodnesse, so many examples of his wisdom, as there be formes of thinges in the world, yea as there be things either great or small.

22 Now remaineth the other part which cometh neerer to Faith, that while we consider that God hath ordayned al things for our guard & safety, and therewithall do feele his power and grace in our selues, and in so great good things that he hath bestowed vpon vs: we may thereby stirre vp our selues to the trust, inuocation, prayse and loue of him. Nowe as I haue before saide, God himselfe hath shewed in the verie order of creation, that for mans sake he created all thinges. For it is not without cause that he diuided the making of the world into sixe dayes, whereas it had ben as easie for him in one moment to haue in all pointes accomplished his whole worke, as it was by such proceeding from peece to peece to come to y^e end of it. But then it pleased him to shewe his prouidence & fatherly carefulnesse toward vs, y^e before he made man he prepared all that he foresaw should be profitable for him

him and fit for this preservation. Howe great vnthankfulnesse now should it be to doubt whether this good Father doe care for vs, whome wee see to haue ben careful for vs ere that we were borne? How wicked were it to trebble for distrust least his goodnesse woulde at anie time leaue vs destitute in necessitie, which we see was displayed 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 worlde is made subiect to vs. Sure it is that he did it not to mocke vs with an emptie name of gift. Therefore wee shall neuer lacke any thing, so far as it shall be auailable for our preservation. Finally to make an end, so oft as we name God the creator of heauen & earth, let this come in our mindes withall, that the disposition of all things which he hath create, is in his hande and power, and that we are his children who he hath taken into his owne charge and keeping to foster and bring vp: that we may looke for all good things at his hande, and assuredly that he wil neuer suffer vs to lacke things needfull for our safetie, to the ende our hope should hang vpon none other: y whatsoeuer we desire our prayers may be directed to him: of what thing soeuer wee receiue profite we may acknowledge it to be his benefite, and confesse it with thanks giuing: that being allured with so great sweetnesse of his goodnesse and liberaltie, we may study to loue and honour him with all our heart.

Gen. 1. 26. 1.
& 2. 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 free will and of the first inegritie 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, wise dome and goodnes: but also because as we haue saide in the beginning, we cannot plainly and perfectly know God, vnlesse wee haue withall a mutuall knowledge of our selues. Although the same knowledge be of two sortes, the one to know what we were created at the first beginning, the other to know what our estate began to bee after the fall of Adam (for it were but to small profite for vs to know our creation, vnlesse wee did also in this lamentable fall knowe what is the corruption and deformitie of our nature:) yet at this time we will be content with description of our nature when it was pure. And before wee descende to this miserable estate wherevnto man is now in thraldome, it is good to learne what a one he was created at the beginning. For we must take heed that in precisely declaring onely the naturall euils of man, we seeme not to impute them to the author of nature. For vngodlines thinketh her selfe to haue sufficient defense in this colour, if it may lay for herselfe that whatsoeuer fault she hath, the same did after a certaine manner proceede from G O D, and sticketh not if shee be accused, to quarrell with G O D, and to lay the fault vpon him whereof she is worthily accused. And they that woulde seeme to speake somewhat more reuerently of y 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 shoulde fall if it were proued that there is any fault in nature. Sith then we see that our flesh gapeth for all the wayes to escape, whereby shee thinketh the blame of her owne euils may any way be put of from her, wee must diligently trauell to meet with this mischeefe. Therefore wee must so handle the calamitie of mankinde that wee cut off all excuse, and deliuer the iustice of God from all accusation. Afterwarde in place conuenient wee shall see howe far men be nowe from that purenesse that was giuen to Adam. And first wee must remember, that in this that man was taken out of earth and claye, a bridle was put vpon his pride, for there is no greater absurditie, than for them to glorie in their excellencie that doe not onely dwell in a cotege of claye, but also are themselues in parte but earth and ashes. But forasmuch as God did not onely vouchsafe to giue life vnto an earthen vessell, but also it was his pleasure that it shoulde bee the dwelling house of an immortall Spirit, Adam might iustly glorie in so great liberalitie of his maker.

2 Now it is not to be doubted that man consisteth of soule & body, and by the name of soule I meane an immortall essence, and yet created, which is the nobler part of hum. 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 spirit 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 fleshe, God is the perpetuall keeper of it. As for them that imagine that the Soule is therefore called a Spirit because it is a breath or a power by God inspired or poured into bodies which yet hath no essence: both the thing it selfe and all the Scripture sheweth that they doe too much grossly erre. True it is that while men are fastened to the earth more than they ought to bee, 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 aliuie after death. And yet is not that light so quenched in darkenesse, but that they be touched with some feeling of immortalitie. Surely the conscience which discerning betweene good and euill answereth the iudgement of God, is an vndoubted signe of an immortall Spirit. For howe coule a motion without essence attaine to come to the iudgement seate of God, and throwe it selfe into feare by finding her 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. Moreouer the verie knowledge of God doeth prouue that the soules which ascende vp about the worlde are immortall: for a vanishing liuelinesse were not able to attaine to the fountayne of life. Finally forasmuch as so many excellent giftes wherewith mans minde is endued, do crie out that there is some diuine thing engrauen in it, there are euē so many testimonies of an immortall essence. For y sense which

is in brute beastes, goeth not out of the body, or at least extendeth no further than to things presently set before it. But the nimbleness of the minde of man which veweth the heauen and earth and secrets of nature, and comprehending all ages in vnderstanding and memory, digesteth euery thing in order and gathereth things to come by things past, doth plainly shew that there lyeth hidden in man a certaine thing seueral from the body. We conceiue by vnderstanding the inuisible God and Angels, which the body can not do. We knowe things that be right, iust, and honest, which are hidden from y^e bodily senses. Therefore it must needs be that the Spirit is the seat of this vnderstanding. Yea and our sleepe it selfe, which astonieth a man and seemeth to take life away from him, is a plaine witnesse of immortality, forasmuch as it doth not onely minister vnto vs, thoughtes of those things that neuer were done, but also foreknowinges of things for time to come. I touch these things shortly which euen prophane writers do excellently set out with more gorgeous garnishment of wordes: 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 self seueral from the body, the Scripture would not teach that we dwell in houses of clay, that by death wee remove out of the Tabernacle of the flesh, that we do put of that which is corruptible, y^e finally at the last day we may receiue reward euery man as he hath behaued himselfe in his body. For these places and other that we do ech where cōmonly light vpon, do not only manifestly distinguish the soule from the body, but also in giuing to the soule the name of man do shew that it is the principall part. Now whereas Paul doth exhort the faithful to cleanse themselues from al defiling of the flesh and the Spirite, he maketh two partes of man wherein abiderth the filthiness of sin. And Peter where he calleth Christ y^e 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 stande together which he sayeth of the eternall saluation of soules, and where he biddeth to cleanse our soules, and where he sayth that euill desires doe fight against the soule, and where the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues sayth, that the Pastors do watch that they may yelde 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 witnesse to his owne soule, because it coulde not bee called in iudgement 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 hee hath killed the body, can throwe the soule into hell fier. Now where the author of the Epistle to y^e Hebrues doth distinguish y^e Fathers of our flesh from God, which is the only Father of Spirits, he would not otherwise more plainly affirme y^e essence of soules. Moreouer, if the soules remained not aloue 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 tormentes. The same thing doth Paul confirme when he teacheth that wee wander abraode from God, so long as we dwell in the flesh, and that we enjoy his presence being out of the fleshe.

1. Cor. 7. 1.

1. Pet. 2. 25.

1. Pet. 1. 9.

1. Pet. 1. 3.

Heb. 1. 3. 16.

Mat. 10. 28.

Luk. 12. 5.

Heb. 12. 9.

Luk. 16. 22.

2. Cor. 5.

A^{d.} 13.8.

But, because I will not be long in a matter that is not obscure, I will adde onely that this out of Luke, that it is reckened among the errorrs of the Sadduces that they did not beleue that there were any Spirits and Angels.

Gen. 1.27.

3 Also a strong prooffe hereof may be gathered of this where it is sayde, that man is create like to the image of God. For although the glory of God do appeare in the outward shape of man, yet is it no dout 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 doe also therein more neerely approach to God than they: neither will I much stand against them which thinke y^e this is to be accounted of the image of God, that where all other liuing creatures doe grow: llingwise behold the ground, to man is giuen an vpright face, & he is commanded to looke vpon the heauen, & to aduance his countenance toward the starres: so that this remaine certaine, y^e the image of God which is seene appeareth in these outward signes, is spirituall. For Oslander (whome his writings declare to haue bin in fickle imaginations fondly witty) referring the image of God without difference as well to the body as to y^e soule, minglet heauen and earth together. For he sayth, that the Father, the Sonne, & 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 Spirite? I grant in deede y^e 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 Spirite whom he goeth before in order? Finally it ouerthroweth the distinction betweene the Sonne & the Holy ghost, if he do 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 & features he doth expresse y^e likenesse of him.

Gen. 1.16.

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 Oslanders inuention be beleueed, man was fashioned onely after the figure and paterne of Christ in that he was man, & so that forme out of which Adam was taken, was Christ, in that that he was to be clothed with flesh, where as the Scripture in a farre other meaning teacheth, that he was create in the image of God. But their suttile inuention is more colourable which do thus expounde 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 founde. Also some interpreters make a great disputation about Image and Likenes, while they seeke a difference betweene those two wordes, where is no difference at all, saying that this word Likenes is added to expound the other. First we know that among the Hebrues 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. Wherby appeareth that they are to be laughed at, which do so suttely argue

about

about the wordes, 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 ſoever it be that they teach. For where as God determined to create man after his owne image, this being ſomewhat darkely ſpoken, he doth as by way of explication repete it in this ſaying, After his likeneſſe, as if he would haue ſayd, that he would make man, in whom he would represent himſelfe, as in an image, becauſe of the markes of likeneſſe grauen in him. And therefore Moſes a litle after reciting the ſame thing, doeth repete the Image of God twiſe, leauing out the name of Likenes. And it is a trifling obiection that Oſiander maketh, y^e not a part of man, or the ſoule onely with the giſtes thereof, is called the Image of God, but the whole Adam which had his name giuen him of the earth, from whence hee was taken. Trifling, I ſay, wil all readers that haue their found wit iudge this obiection. For whee whole man is called mortall, yet is not the ſoule thereby made ſubieſt to mortality. Again, where he is called a liuing creature endued with reaſon, it is not therby ment y^e the body hath reaſon & vnderſtanding. Although therfore the ſoule is not the whole man, yet is it not 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 excellence, whereby the nature of man hath preeminence among all kindes of liuing creatures. Therefore in that word is noted the integrity 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 giſtes he did truly reſemble the excellence of his Creator. And though the principall ſeate of the image of God were in the minde and heart, or in the ſoule and the powers thereof, yet was there no part of man, nor 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 do ſhine ſome reſemblance of the glorie of God: whereby we may gather that where it is ſayde, that his Image is in man, there is in ſo ſaying a certaine ſecret compariſon, that auanceth man about all other creatures, and doth as it were ſeuer him from the common fort. Neither is it to be denied, that the Angels were create after the likeneſſe of God, ſith (as Chriſt himſelfe teſtifieth) our chiefe 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 giuen a full definition of the image of God, vnleſſe it plainlier appeare in what qualities man excelleth: & whereby he ought to be counted a glaſſe, reſembling the glory of God. But y^e can be by no other thing better knowen, than by the repaying of mans corrupted nature. Firſt it is doubtleſſe, y^e when Adam fell from his eſtate, he was by that departure eſtranged from God. Wherefore although we grant y^e the Image of God was not altogether defaced and blotted out in him, yet was it ſo corrupted, that all that remaineth, is but vgly deformity. Therefore the beginning of recouery of ſafety for vs, is in that reſtoring which we obtaine

by Christ, who is also for the same cause called the second Adam, because he restored vs vnto true and perfect integrity. For although where Paul doth in comparison set the quickning 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 principal point, that this is the ende of our regeneration, that Christ should new 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 create according to God. Nowe it is to be seene what Paul doth principally cōprehend vnder this renewing. First he speaketh of knowledge, and after of pure righteousnesse and holinesse. Whereby we gather that the image of God was first of all to be seene in the light of the minde, in the vprightnesse of heart, and soundnesse of all the partes. For although I graunt that this is a figuratiue phrasē of speech to set the part for the whole: yet can not this principle be ouerthrowen, that that thing which is y^e chiefe in the renewing of the image of God, was also y^e 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. Nowe do we se how Christ is the most perfect image of God, according to the which we being fashioned are so restored, that in true godlinesse, righteousnesse, purenesse and vnderstanding, we beare the image of God. Which principle being established, Oslanders imagination of the shape of our body doth easily vanish away of it selfe. Where as the man alone is in Paul called the Image and glory of God, & the woman is excluded from that degree of honor, it appeareth by the rest of the text, y^e same is to be applied only to ciuile order of policy. But that vnder the name of image, whereof 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 word of God was y^e light of men. For where his purpose was to praise the singular grace of God, wherby man excelleth all liuing creatures to seuer him from the common sorte, 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 excellence of the nature of man, which 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 y^e same doth in some part appeare in the elect, insomuch as they are regenerate, & shal obtaine her ful brightnes in heauen. But y^e we may know en what partes it consisteth, it shall be good to entreate of the powers of the soule. For that speculatiue deuise of Augustine is not sounde, where he saith that the soule is a glasse of the Trinity, because that there are in it vnderstanding, wil, and memorie. Neither is their opinion to be approued, which set the Image of God in the power of

domi-

dominion giuen vnto him, as if he resembled God onely in this marke, that he is appointed lord and possessor of all things, where as in deede the Image of God is properly to be sought within him, and not without him, and is an inward good gift of the soule.

5 But before I goe any further, it is needeful that I meet with the doting error of the Manichees, which Seructo hath attempted to bring in againe in this age. Where it is sayd, that God breathed the breath of life into the face of man, they thought that the soule did conuey 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 many grosse and foule absurdities this deuill^{is}the 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 only to change and passions, but also to ignorance, euill lustes, weakenesse, and all kinds of vices. Nothing is more inconstant than man, because contrary motions do tosse and diuersly drawe his soule, oftentimes he is blinde by ignorance, oft he yeldeth as vanquished euen to smal tentations, and we knowe that the soule it selfe is the sinke and receiuer of al filthines, al which thinges we must ascribe to the nature of God, if we graunt that the soule is of the essence of God, or a secret inflowing of godheade. Who would not abhorre this monstrous deuise? Truly in deede doth Paul alledge out of Aratus, that we are the ofspring of God, but in quality and not in substance, inasmuch as he hath garnished vs with godly giftes. But in the meane time to teare in sunder the essence of the Creator, as to say, that euery man doth possesse a part of it, is too much madnes. Therefore we must certainly hold, that the soules, although the image of God be grauen in them, were no lesse created then the Angels were. And creation is not a pouring out of one substance into another, but a beginning of essence made of nothing. And although the spirite of man came from God, and in departing out of the flethe returneth to God, yet is not forthwith to be saide, that it was taken out of his substance. And in this point also Osiander, while he glorieth in his illusions, hath entangled himselfe with an vngodly error, not acknowledging y^e image of God to be in man without his essential iustice, as though God by the inestimable power of his holy spirite could not make vs like vnto him selfe, vnlesse Christ should substantially powre himselfe into vs. With whatsoever colour many do goe about to disguise these deceites, yet shal they neuer so beguile the eyes of the readers, that are in their right wittes, but that they will easily see that these thinges fauour of the Manichees error. And where saint Paul entreateth of the restoring of this image, it may be readily gathered out of his wordes, that man was made of like forme to God, not by inflowing of his substance, but by grace and power of his Spirite. For he sayeth, that in beholding the glory of Christ we are transformed into the same Image, as by the Spirite of God, which surely so worketh in vs, that it maketh vs of one substance with God.

6 It were but folly to borow 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, y^e is the Socratics, do touch it,

but so as none doth plainly reach y^e to other, which himself was not perswaded. But therefore is Plato of the better iudgement, because he doth in y^e soule consider the image of God. Some other do so bind the powers & vertues of y^e soule to this present life, y^e being out of the body they leaue to it nothing. Now we haue already taught by the Scripture, y^e it is a bodilesse substance: now must we adde y^e although properly it is not cōprehended in place, yet it is set in y^e body, & doth there dwel as in a house, not only to minister life to all y^e partes of y^e body, & to make the instruments thereof mere & fitly seruing for the actions y^e they are appointed for, but also to beare y^e chief office in governing the life of man, and y^e not only about the dueties in this earthly life, but also to stir vs vp to the seruice of God. Although this later point in this corruptiō is not plainly perceived, yet euen in y^e vices theselues there remaine emprinted some leauings thereof. For whence cōmeth it but of shame, y^e men haue so great care what be reported of the? And whence cōmeth shame, but of regard of honestie? Wherof the beginning & cause is, y^e they vnderstād that they are naturally borne to obserue Iustice, in which perswasion is enclosed y^e seede of religion. For as wout all controuersie man was made to meditation of y^e heauenly life: so is it certain y^e the knowledge thereof was engrauen in his soule. And surely man should want the principal vse of his vnderstanding, if he should be ignorant of his own felicity, whereof the perfection is y^e he be ioyned with God, and therefore it is the chiefe action of the soule to aspire therunto. And so the more y^e euery man studieth to approach vnto God, y^e more he thereby proueth himselfe to be endued with reason. As for them y^e would haue diuers soules in man, that is, a feeling soule, & a reasonable soule, although they seme to say sō what by reason prouable, yet because there is no stedfast certainty in their reasons, wee must reiect thē, vnlesse we list to accōber our selues in things trifling & vnprofitable. A great disagreement say they, there is betwene y^e instrumentall motions & the part of the soule endued wth reaso. As though reason it selfe did not also dissent frō it self, & some deuise of it do striue with other some, as they were armies of enemies. But forasmuch as y^e troublesomnes proceedeth of y^e corruption of nature, it were amisse to gather thereby, y^e there are two soules, because the powers of the soule do not agree together, in such wel framed order as they ought. But as for more futtle disputatiō of y^e Powers theselues, I leaue y^e to the Philosophers. A simple definition shal suffice vs for edification of godlines. I grāt y^e the things that they teach are true, & not only pleasant but also profitable to be knowen, and wel gathered of them, & I forbid not such as are desirous to learn to study them. First therefore I admir y^e there are fiue Senses, which Plato better liked to call Instrumentes, whereby all objects, are powred into Cōmon sense, as into a place of receipt: then foloweth Phāntasie, which iudgeth those things one from other y^e Common sense hath conceiued, next is Reason, to which belongeth y^e vniuersal iudgement of things: last, is y^e Vnderstanding mind, which with earnestly bent & quiet viewing beholdeth all those things, that Reason is wont to discourse vpon, & consider. And to the Vnderstanding mind, Reason, & Phantasie, which are y^e three powers of the soule, y^e rest in knowledge, there do answer three other y^e do rest in Appetite, that is to say, Wil, the parts wherof are to coact those things y^e the Vnderstanding mind & Reason do lay before it: y^e power of Anger, which catcheth those things y^e Reason & Phantasie do minister vnto it.

The

In Theor.
& eto.

Arist.
Ethicorum
li. 1. ca. vlt.
Item, lib. 6.
cap. 2.

The power of Desiring, which taketh hold of those things y^e Phansie and Sense, presenteth it. Although these things be true, or at least likely to be true, yet because I feare y^e 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, & to cal the one y^e power of Appetite, which although it be without reason it selfe, yet doth obey reason, if it be by other meane directed, & to call the other the power of vnderstanding, which is by it selfe partaker of reason, I am not much against it, neither wil I confute this opinion, y^e there are three beginnings of doing: that is to say, Sense, Vnderstanding, & Appetite. But let vs rather choose a diuision, that is within y^e capacitie of all men, which can not be had of the Philosophers. For they when they meane to speak most plainly, do diuide the soule into Appetite & Vnderstanding, but either of these they make of two sortes. Vnderstanding, they say, is sometime Cōtemplatiue, which being contented with only knowledg, hath no mouing of action, which thing Cicero thinketh to be expressed by this word ingeniu, wit. Sometime they say it is practicall, which by conceiuing of good or euill doth diuersly moue the Will. And appetite they do diuide into Wil, & Lust. Wil they cal y^e when Appetite which they cal Horne, obeyeth 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, wherby man may rightly gouerne himselfe.

Themistocles de anima li. 3. ca. 49.
De duplici intel. de finibus lib. 3.

7. But we are constayned somewhat to swarue from this manner of teaching, because the Philosophers which knew not y^e corruption of mans nature, which came for punishmēt of his fall, do wrongfully confound y^e two very diuerse states of man. Let vs therefore thus thinke of it, y^e there are in y^e soul of man two parts, which shal serue at this time for our present purpose, y^e is to say, Vnderstanding and Will. And let it be the office of Vnderstanding, to discern betweene objects, or things set before it, as ech of the shal seem worthy to be liked or disliked: and the office of Will to chose & follow that which vnderstanding saith to be good, and to refuse and flee y^e which Vnderstanding shall disallowe. Let vs not here be stayed at all with the nice subtleties of Aristotle, that the minde hath of it selfe no mouing, but that it is choise which moueth it, which choise he calleth the desiring vnderstanding. But to the ende we be not entangled with superfluous questions, let this suffice vs, that the Vnderstanding is as it were the guide and gouernour of the soule, and that Wil hath alwayes regard to the appointment of Vnderstanding, and abideth the iudgement thereof in her desires. According wherunto, Aristotle himselfe hath truely sayd, y^e fleeing or following is in Appetite such a like thinge, as in y^e vnderstanding minde is affirming and denying. Now how certaine the gouernment of Vnderstanding is to direct the Will: that we will consider in an other place. Here we meane onely to shewe that there can be found no power in the soule but that may well be sayde to belong to the one of these two members. And in this sort vnder Vnderstanding we comprehend Sense, which other doe so distinguish, that they say Sense is enclined 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. Againe in steede of the name of Appetite, which they better like, I set the name of Will, which is more commonly vsed.

Eth. lib. cap. 2.

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 giftes the first state of man excelled, so that he not onely had enough of reason, vnderstanding, wisdom, and iudgement, for the gouernement of this earthly life, but also to clime vp euen to God & to eternall felicity. Then to haue Choise added vnto it, which might direct the appetites, & order all the instrumental motions, and that so y^e Wil 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 moue 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 constancy to continue, therefore he so easily fel. Yet his Choise of good and euil was free. And not that only, but also in his vnderstanding minde, and in his will was most great vprightnesse, & al his instrumental partes orderly framed to obedience, vntil by destroying himselfe he corrupted y^e good things that were in him. From hence commeth it that all the Philosophers were so blinded, for that in a ruine they sought for an vpright building, and for strong ioyns in an vnioynted ouerthrowe. This principle they helde, that man could not be a liuing creature, endned 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 betweene vertues and vices, vnlesse man did order his owne life by his owne aduise. Thus farre had they sayd well if there had bin no change in man, which chaunge because they knewe not of, it is no maruile though they confounde heauen and earth together. But as for them which professing themselves to be the disciples of Christ, doe yet seeke for freewill in man, that hath bin lost and drowned in spirituall destruction, they in going meane between the Philosophers opinions and heauenly doctrine are plainely deceiued, so that they touche neither heauen nor earth. But of these things we shall better speake in place fitte for them: now onely this we haue to holde in minde, that man at his first creation was far other than his posteritie cuer since, which taking their beginning from him beeing corrupted, hath from him receiued an infection deriued to them as it were by inheritance. For then all the partes of his soule were framed to right order; then stode safe the soundnesse of his vnderstanding minde, and his will free to chchose the good. If any do obiekt that it stode but in slippery state, because his power was but weake, I answere that that state was yet such as sufficed to take from him all excuse, neither was it reasonable to restrayne God to this point, to make man such a one as either could not or would not sinne at all. I graunt such a nature had bene better, but therefore precisely to quarell with God, as though it had bin his duetie

to haue giuen that vnto man, is too much vniustice, forasmuch as it was in his owne choise to giue howe much pleased him. But why hee did not vpholde him with the strength of stedfast continuance, that resteth hidden in his owne secreete counsell: it is our part onely to bee so farre wise as with sobrietie we may. Man receaued in deede to bee able if hee would, but hee had not to will that hee might be able. For of this will shoulde haue followed stedfast continuance. Yet is hee not excuseable, which receued 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 will and a frayle will, that of mans fall hee might gather matter for his owne glorie.

August.
Gen. lib. 11.
cap. 7. 8. 9.

Decorep. &
grat. ad Va-
lentin. ca. 12

The xvj. Chapter.

*That God by his pouuer doth nourish and maintaine the worlde, vvhich
himselſe hath created, and by his prouidence doth gouerne
all the partes thereof.*

BUt it were verie fonde and bare to make God a creatour for a moment, which doeth nothing since hee hath once made an ende of his worke. And in this point principally ought wee 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 mindes of the verie wicked in onely beholding of the heauen and earth are compelled to rise vp vnto the creator, yet hath faith a certaine peculiar maner by it selfe wherby it giueth to God the whole praise of creation. And therefore serueth that saying of the Apostle, which wee before alleaged, that wee doe not vnderstande but by faith, that the worlde was made by the word of God. For vnlesse wee passe forwarde euen vnto his prouidence, we doe not yet rightlie conceiue what this meaneth that God is the creator, howe soeuer we doe seeme to comprehend it in minde, and confesse it with tongue. When the sense of the fleshe hath once set before it the power of God in the verie creation, it resteth there, and when it proceedeth further of all, it doeth nothing but wey and consider the wisdom, power, & goodnesse of the workeman in making such a peece of worke (which things doe of themselues offer and thrust them selues in sight of men whether they will or no) and a certayne generall doing in preseruing and gouerning the same, vpon which dependeth the power of mouing. Finally it thinketh y the liuely force at the beginning put into all things by God, doth suffice to susteyne them. But faith ought to percee deeper, that is to say, whom he hath learned to bee the creator of all things, by and by to gather that the same is the perpetuall gouernor and preseruer of them: and that, not by stirring with an vniuersall motion as well the whole frame of the worlde, as all the partes thereof, but by susteyning, cherishing and caring for, with singular prouidence euerie one of those things that hee hath created euen to the least sparowe. So Dauid after hee had first saide that the worlde was created by God, by & by descendeth to the continuall course of his prouidence. By the worde of the Lorde (sayth hee) the heauens were stablished, and all the power thereof by the spirite of his mouth. By and by hee addeth, The

Psal. 33. 6.

Lorde looked downe vpon the sonnes of men, and so the rest that he saith further 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 doeth earnestly beleue that God made the worlde, vnlesse he be perswaded that God hath also care of his workes: therefore not without cause Dauid doeth by good order conuey vs from the one to the other. Generally indeed both the Philosophers doe teach, and mens mindes do conceiue that all partes of the world are quickened with the secret inspiration of God. But yet they arteine not so farre as Dauid both himselfe proceedeth and carrieth all the godly with him, saying: all thinges waite vpon thee, that thou maist giue them foode in due season. Thou giuest it to them and they gather it. Thou openest thy hande and they are filled with good thinges. But if thou hide thy face, they are troubled. If thou take away their breath, they die and returne to their dust. Againe, if thou sende fourth 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 doe liue in God, yet are they farre from that earnest feeling of grace which he commendeth vnto vs: because they tast not of Gods speciall care whereby alone his fatherly fauour is knowen.

Psa. 104. 27.

Act. 17. 28.

2 That this difference may the better appeare, it is to be knowen, that the Prouidence of God, such as it is taught in the Scripture, is in comparison set as contrarie 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 maner in all men, that al 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 winde sodenly rising hee suffer shipwracke on the sea, if hee bee killed with the fall of a house or of a tree, if an other wandring in deserte places finde remedie for his pouertie, if hauing bene tossed with the waues, he atteyne 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 fleshe doth ascribe to fortune. But whosoever is taught by the mouth of Christe, that all the heares of his head are numbred, wil seek for a cause further of, & will firmly beleue that all chaunces are governed by the secret counsell of God. And as concerning things without life, this is to be thought, that although euery one of them haue his owne proprietie naturally put into it, yet do they not put forth their power but only so far, as they be directed by the present hand of God. They are therefore nothing else but instruments, whereby God continually poureth in so much effect as pleaseth him, and at his wil boweth and turneth them to this or that doing. Of no creature is the power more miruellous 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 cherisheth and quickeneth all liuing creatures with his heate: y hee breatheth fruitfulnessse into the earth with his beames: that out of seedes

Mat. 10. 30.

warmed in the bosome of the ground, he draweth a budding greenesse, and sustaining the same with new nourishmentes doth encrease and strengthen it, til it rise vp in stalkes? That hee feedeth 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 ripenesse? That trees likewise and vines being warmed by him, do first bud and shoot forth braunches, & after send out a flower & of a flower doe engender fruite? But the Lorde because hee would chime the whole glorie of all these things to himselfe, made the light first to bee, and the earth to be furnished with all kindes of hearbes and fruits before y 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 doe all things as easily by himselfe. Then when we read that the sunne stode still two dayes in one degree at the prayer 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 dayly so rise and goe downe by blind instinct of nature, but that he to renue the remembrance of his fatherly fauor toward vs, doth gouerne the course thereof. Nothing is more naturall than spring tide to come immediatelie after winter, sommer after spring, & haruest in course after sommer. But in this orderly course is plainly seene so greate and so vnegall diuerstie, that it may easily appeare that euerie yeare, moneth & day, is gouerned by a newe and speciall Prouidence of God.

3 And truly God doeth claime and will haue vs giue vnto him an almightinesse, not such as the Sophisters do imagine, vaine, idle, and as it were sleeping, but waking, effectual, working and busied in continuall doing. Nor such a one as is onely a generall beginning of a confused motion, as if hee woulde commaunde a riuer to floue by his appointed chanel, but such a one as is bent and readie at all his particular mouinges. For he is therefore called almightie, not because hee 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 governing 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 Psalme that he doth whatsoever he will, therein is meant his certaine and determined will. For it were verie sonde to expounde the Prophets wordes after the Philosophers manner, that God is the first Agent or doer, because he is the beginning & cause of all mouing: whereas the faithfull ought rather in aduersitie to ease themselves with this comfort, that they suffer nothing but by the ordinaunce and commaundement of God, because they are vnder his hand. If then the gouernment of God do so extend to all his workes, it is a verie childish caualation to enclose it within the influence of nature. And yet they do no more defraud God of his glorie than theselues of a most profitable doctrine, whofoeuer do restrain y Prouidence of God within so narrow bounds, as if he suffred all things to be caried with an vngouerned course according to a perpetuall law of nature. For nothing were more miserable than man if hee shoulde be left subiect to euery motion of the heauen, the aire, the earth, & the waters.

Gen. 1. 3.

Ios. 10. 13.
2. Kin. 20. 11.

Psal. 115. 3.

Psal. 8. 3.

Beside that by that meane the singular goodnesse of God towards euery man is too much vn honorably diminished. Dauid crieth out that babes yet hanging on their mothers brestes are eloquent enough to magnifie the glorie of God, because euen so soone as they be come out of the wombe, they finde foode prepared for them by his heauenly care. This is in deed generally true, so that yet our eyes & senses ouerpasse not that vnmarked which experience plainly sheweth, that some mothers haue full and plentifull brestes, some other almost drie, as it pleaseth God to feede one more liberally, and an other more scarcely. But they which giue the due prayse to y^e almightinesse of God, doe receiue double profite thereby, the one that hee hath sufficiently large abilitie to do them good, in whose possession are both heauen and earth, and to whose becke all creatures do attende vpon, to yeelde themselues to his obedience: the other that they may safely rest in his protection, to whose will are subiect all these hurtefull 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 safetic. And no other way but this can the immeasurable and superstitious feares be corrected or appeased, which wee oftentimes conceyue by daungers happening vnto vs. Superstitiously fearefull I say we bee, if where creatures doe threaten vs or giue vs any cause of feare, we be so afraide 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 Prophete forbiddeth the children of God that they shoulde not feare the starres and signes of the heauen, as the vnbeleeuers are wont to doe. Hee condemneeth not euery kinde of feare. But when the vnbeleeuers to giue away the government of the worlde from God vnto Planets, doe faine that their felicitie or misery doeth 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, whome they ought to haue regarded, vnto the starres and comets. Whoso therefore will beware of this vnfaithfulnesse, let him keepe alwayes in remembrance that there is not in creatures a wandring power, working or motion, but that they are gouerned by the secrete counsell of G O D, so that nothing can chaunce but that which is decreed by him both witting and willing it so to bee.

Ier. 10. 2.

4 First therefore let the readers learne, that Prouidence is called that, not wherewith God idley beholdeth from heauen what is done in the world, but wherewith as guiding the sterne hee setteth and ordreth all things that come to passe. So doeth it no lesse belong to his handes than to his eyes. For When Abraham sayde vnto his sonne, God shall prouide, hee meant not onely that God did forknowe the successe then to come, but that hee 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. Wherby followeth that Prouidence consisteth in doing: for too much fondely do 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

Gen. 20. 8.

aduised choise, (as I haue before sayde,) that is to say such as whirlth and driueth about with a generall motion the frame of the world with all y parts thereof, but doeth not peculiarly direct the doing of euery creature. Yet is this error not tollerable. For as they teach, it may bee (notwithstanding this Prouidence which they call vniuersall) that all creatures may bee moued by chaunce, or man may turne himselfe hither or thither by free choise of his will. And so doe they parte the gouernment betweene God and man, that God by his power inspireth into man a motion whereby hee may worke according to the nature planted in him, and man ordereth his owne doings by his owne voluntarie aduise: Briefly 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 Epicureans (which pestilence the worlde hath alwayes beene filled with) which dreame of an idle and slouthfull God: and other as mad as they, which in olde time imagined that God did so rule about the middle region of the ayre, that he left things beneath to Fortune: For against so euident madnesse the dumme creatures themselues doe sufficiently crie out. For nowe my purpose is to confute that opinion that is in a manner commonly belceued, which giuing to God a certaine blind, and I wot not what vncertaine motion, taketh from him the principall thing, that is by his incomprehensible wisdome to direct and dispose all things to their ende: and so in name onely and not in deede it maketh God a ruler of the worlde, because it taketh from him the gouernment of it. For what (I beseech you) is it else to gouerne, but so to bee ouer them that are vnder thee, that thou maiest 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 mee this, that y world is ruled by God, not onely because hee mainteyneth the order of nature which himselfe hath set, but also because hee hath a peculiar care of euery one of his workes. True it is that all sortes of things are moued by a secrete instinct of nature, as if they did obey the eternall commaundement of God, and that that which God hath once determined doeth of it selfe proceede forward. And hereunto may that be applied which Christ saith, that hee and his Father were euen from the beginning alwayes working. And that which Paul teacheth that in him wee liue, are moued and haue our being, and that which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrewes, meaning to prooue the Godhead of Christ, saith, that by his mightie commaundement all things are susteyned. But they doe wrong which by this colour doe hide and darken the speciall Prouidence, which is confirmed by so certaine and plaine testimonies of Scripture, that it is meruell that any man could doubt of it. And surely they themselues that drawe 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 restrayne the same only to peculiar doings. Wherefore we must prooue that God doeth so giue heede to the gouernement of the successes of all things, and that they all doe so proceed from his determinate counsell that nothing happeneth by chaunce.

AG. 17. 28.
Heb. 1. 3.

5 If we graunt that the beginning of motion belongeth to God, but that all things are either of themselves or by chance caried whither the inclination of nature driueth them, the mutual succeeding by turnes of days and nights, of winter and somer, shalbe the worke of God, in somuch as he appoynting to euery one their duties hath set them a certaine law, that is if they should alway kepe one measure in egall proportion, as well the dayes y come after the nights, the monethes after monethes, & yeres after yeres. But whē sometimes immoderate heats with diuines do burne vp all y graine, sometime vnseasonable raines doe marre the corne, when sodaine harme commeth by haile and tempestes: that shal not be the worke of God, vnlesse perhap it be because the clouds or faire whether or colde or heate haue their beginning of the meting of the planetes or other naturall causes. But by this meane is there no roume lefte, neither for the fatherly fauour nor for the iudgements of God. If they say that God is beneficiall enough to mankind because hee 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 yere were not the singular blessing of God, and dearth and famine were not his curse and vengeance? But because it were too long to gather together all the reasons that serue for this purpose, let the authoritic of God himself suffice vs. In the law and in the Prophets hee doth oftentimes pronounce, that so oft as he watereth the earth with dew and raine, he declareth his fauour, and that when by his commaundement the heauen is hardened like yron, when corne is consumed with blasting & other harmes, when the fieldes are stricken with haile and tempestes, it is a token of his certaine and speciall vengeance. If we graunt these things, then is it assured that there falleth not a droppe of raine but by the certaine commaundement of God. Dauid prayseth the generall Providence of God, that he giueth meat to the rauens birdes, that call vpon him: but when G O D himselfe threateneth famine to liuing creatures, doeth he not sufficiently declare that he sedeth all lyuing things sometime with scarce and sometime with more plentifull portion as hee thinketh good? It is a childish thing, as I said before, to restraine this to particular doings, whereas Christ speaketh without exception, that not a sparow 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 chance in heauen and earth.

6 But because we knowe that the worlde was made principally for mākinde sake, we must therefore consider this end in the gouernance of man. The Prophete Hieremie crieth out: I know, Lord, that the way of man is not his owne, neither belongeth it to man to direct his owne steppes. And Salomon saith, the steppes of man are ruled by the Lorde, and howe shall a man dispose his owne way? Nowe 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 saide, then should man haue the free choise of his owne wayes. Paraduerture they wil denie

Psal. 146. 9.

Mat. 10. 29.

Psal. 12. 5.

Hier. 10. 23.

Pro. 20. 24.

denie that, because he can doe nothing without the power of God. But seeing it is certaine that the Prophet and Salomon doe giue vnto God, not onely power but also choise and appoyntment, they can not so escape away. But Salomon in an other place doeth finely rebuke this rashnesse of men, that appoint vnto themselues an other end without respect of God, as though they were not led by his hande. The preparations (saith he) of the hart are in man, but the aunswere of the tongne is of the Lord. It is a fonde madnesse that men will take vpon them to doe things without God, which cannot so much as speake but what hee will. And the Scripture to expresse more plainly that nothing at all is done in the worlde but by his appointment, sheweth that those things which seeme most happening by chaunce are subiect to him. For what can you more ascribe to chaunce, than when a broken bowe falling from a tree killeth a wayfaring man passing by it? But the Lorde saith farre otherwise, which confesseth that hee hath deliuered him into the hande of the slayer. Likewise who doeth not leaue the happening of lettes to the blindnesse of fortune? But the Lorde suffereth it not which clameth the iudgement of them to himselfe: for he saith that it cometh not to passe by a mans owne power that stones are cast into y 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 & 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 blinde, and so he exhorteth the poore to patience, because whosoeuer are not contented with their owne state, they seeke to shake of the burthen that God hath laide vpon them. So an other Prophet rebuketh the vngodly men, which ascribe to the diligence of men or to Fortune, that some lie in miserie and some arise vp to honour. 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 hie. Because God cannot put of the office of a iudge, therevpon the Prophet proueth that by his secreete purpose some are in honour, & other some remaine in contempt.

7 And also I say that the very particular successes are generally witnesses of Gods singular providence. God raised in the deserte a south winde to bring y people plentie of fowles: when his pleasure was to haue Ionas thrown into the sea, he sent out a winde to raise vp a tempest. But they y thinke y God gouerneth not y world, wil say y this chaunced beside comon vse. But therby I do garher y neuer any wind doeth rise or encrease but by y speciall cōmandement of God. For otherwise it should not be true, y he maketh the winds his messengers, & fire flames his ministers, that he maketh the clouds 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 an other place wee are taught that so oft as y sea swelleth with blast of winds, those violences do testifie a singular presence of God. He commandeth & raiseth vp y stormie winds & it listeth vp the waues thereof

Pro. 16. 1.

Exo. 21. 23.

Pro. 16. 33.

Psal. 75. 7.

Exo. 19. 23.

Ion. 1. 4.

Psal. 104. 4.

Psa. 107. 23.

thercof, and then hee turneth the storme to calme, so that the waues thereof are still. As in an other place hee saith, that hee scourged the people with burning windes. So whereas the power of engendring is naturally giuen to men, yet God willeth it to bee imputed to his speciall grace, that he leaueth some in barrenesse, and vouchsafeth to graunt issue to other some, y^e fruite of the wombe is his gift. Therefore saide Iacob to his wife, am I as God that I can giue thee children? But to make an ende: there is nothing more ordinarie in nature than that wee be fed with breade. 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 liue not by onely bread, because it is not the verie full feeding that nourisheth, but the secreete blessing of God: as on the other side: hee threateneth that hee will breake the stay of breade. Neither coude wee earnestly pray for our dayly bread, vnesse God did giue vs foode with his fatherly hande. Therefore the Prophete, to perswade the faithfull, that God in feeding them doeth fulfill the office of a good father of householde, doeth put them in minde that hee giueth meate to all flesh. Finally when wee haue on the one side: The eyes of the Lorde are vpon the righteous, and his eares bent to their prayers: on the other side: The eye of the Lorde is vpon the vngodly to destroy the memorie of them out of the earth: let vs know that all creatures both aboue and beneath are ready to obedience that he may applie them to what vsf soeuer he will, wherevpon is gathered that not onely his generall providence remayneth in his creatures to continue the order of nature, but also by his meruellous counsell is applied to a certaine and proper end.

8 They which woulde bring this doctrine in hatred, do cauill that this is the learning that the Stoikes teach of *Fatum* or *Destenie*, which also was once layde for reproch to Augustine. As for vs, although wee bee loth to striue about wordes, yet wee allowe not this worde *Fatum*, both because it is one of those whose prophane noueltie Saint Paul teacheth vs to flie, and because some men do goe about with the odiousnesse thereof to bring Gods trueth in haired. As for the verie opinion of the Stoikes, it is wrongfully laide to our charge. For wee doe not, as the Stoikes doe, imagine a necessitie by a certayne perpetuall knot and entangled order of causes which is conteyned in nature: but wee make God the iudge and gouernour of all things, which according to his wisdom hath euen from the furthest ende of eternitie decreed what hee woulde doe, and nowe by his power putteth in execution that which hee hath decreed. Wherevpon we affirme that not onely the heauen and earth and other creatures without life, but also the purposes and willes of men are so gouerned by his Providence, that they bee directly carried to the ende that it appointeth. What then? wil 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 bee occupied. For if euery good successe be the blessing of God, and euerie calamitie and aduersitie be his curse, nowe is there in mens matters no place lefte for fortune or chaunce. Wee ought also to bee moued with
this

Gen. 30. 2.

Eisy. 3. 1.

Psal. 136.

Psal. 34. 16.
17.Lib. 2. ad
Rom. cap. 6.

this saying of Augustine. In his bookes against the Academikes he saith: It doth displeas me that I haue so oft named fortune, albeit my meaning was not to haue any goddesse meant thereby, but only a chanceable happening in outward things either good or euil. Of which word Fortune are deriued those wordes which no religion forbiddeth vs to vse, forte, forsan, forsitán, fortasse, fortuito, that is parhap, paraduventure, by fortune and by chaunce, which yet must all be applyed to the Prouidence of God. And that did I not leaue vnspoken when I said, for parchance euen the same ȳ is commonly called Fortune is also ruled by secret order. And we call chance in things nothing els but ȳ whereof the reason and cause is vnknowen. I said this in dede, but it repenteth me that I did there so name Fortune. Forasmuch as I see that men haue a very euill custome, ȳ 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 were left vnto Fortune. And although in an other place he determineth that all things are done partly by the free will of man, & partly by the Prouidence of God, yet doth he a little after sufficiently shew that men are subiect vnto & ruled by Prouidence, taking this for a principle, that nothing is more against conuenience of reason, than to say that any thing chanceth but by the ordinance of God, for els it should happen without cause or order, by which reason he also excludeth that happening that hangeth vpon the will of men: and by & by after he plainlier saith that we ought not to seeke a cause of the wil of God. And so oft as he maketh mention of sufferance, how that is to be vnderstanded, shal very wel appeare by one place where he prooueth 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 faineth not God to sit still idle in a watch toure, when it is his pleasure to suffer any thing, whereas he vseth an actuall wil (as I may so call it) which otherwise could not be called a cause.

9 But forasmuch as the dulnesse of our vnderstanding can not by a great way attaine to the height of Gods prouidence, wee must vse a distinction to helpe to list it vp. I say therefore, how soeuer 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 & men, and vnadvisedly tosseth al things vp & downe (for such beastlinesse ought to be farre from a Christian heart) but because the order, meane, ende and necessity 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 certaine to come to passe by the wil of God. For they seme no otherwise, whether we consider them in their own nature, or whether we esteeme them according to our knowledge & iudgement. As for an example, let vs put the case, ȳ a marchant being entred into a woode in companie of true men, doth vnwisely stray away from his felowes, & in his wandering chanceth vpon a den of robbers, lighteth among theues & is killed, his death was not onely foreseene with gods eye, but also determined by his decree. For it is not said that he did foresee how farre ech mans life should extende, but that hee hath set and appointed markes which can

Retr. lib. 1.
cap. 1.Quaest. lib.
83.
De Tri.
lib. 3. cap. 4.

Io. 14. 5.

not 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, what soeuer happened in such a death, he will thinke it in nature chauncing by fortune as it is in deede, but yet he will not doubt that the prouidence of God did gouerne to direct fortune to her end. In like manner are the happenings of things to come. For as all things that be to come are vncerteine vnto vs, so we hang them in suspense, as if they might fall on either parte, yet this remaineth settled in our hearts, that nothing shall happen but that which God hath already foreseene. In this meaning is the name of chaunce oft repeted in Ecclesiastes, because at the first sight men do not attaine to see the first cause which is farre hidden from them. And yet y^e which is declared in the Scriptures concerning the secret prouidence of God, was neuer so blotted out of the hearts of men, but that euen in the darknesse there alway shined some sparkes therof. So the soothsayers of the Philistians, although they wauer in doubtfulnesse, yet they ascribe aduersitie partly to God, partly to fortune. If (say they) the arke go that way, we shall know that it is God that hath striken vs: but if it go the other way, then a chaunce hath light vpon vs. In deed they did foolishly, when their cunning of soothsaying deceiued them, to flee to fortune, but in the meane while wee see them constrained, so that they dare not thinke that the cuill hap which chaunced vnto them did come of fortune. But how God with the bridle of his prouidence turneth all successes whither pleaseth him, may appeare by one notable example. Behold euen at one momēt of time, when Dauid was found out & neere taken in the desert of Mahon, euen then the Philistines inuaded the land, and Saul was compelled to depart. If God meaning to prouide for the safetie of his seruant did cast this let in Saules way, surely although the Philistines going to armes were sodein, & beside the expectatiō of men, yet may we not say that it came by chance. But those things that seeme to vs to happen by chance, faith wil acknowledge to haue beene a secret mouing of God. I grant there doth not alway appeare the like reason, but vndoubtedly we ought to beleue that whatsoeuer changes of things are seen in y^e world, they come by the secret stirring of y^e 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 self. As thercof is a familiar example in the bones of Christ. Forasmuch as he had put on a bodie like vnto ours, no wise man wil deny that his bones were naturally able to be broken, yet was it impossible y^e they should be broken: whereby wee see againe y^e not without cause were in scholes inuented the distinctions of necessitie in respect, & necessitie absolute, of consequent and consequence, whereas God had subiect to bricklenesse the bones of his sonne, which he had exempted from being able to be broken, & so brought to necessitie by reason of his own purpose, that that thing could not be, which naturally might haue bin.

The xvij. Chapter.

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

NOW forasmuch as mens wits are bent to vaine curious fittleties, it is scarcely possible but that they shall encomber themselues with
 entangled

entangled doubts, whosoever doe not knowe the true and right vse of this Doctrin. Therefore it shall be expedient here to touch shortly to what ende the Scripture teacheth, that all thinges are ordered by God. And first of all is to be noted, that the providence of God ought to be considered as well for the time to come as for the time past: secondarily that the same is in such sorte the governour of all thinges, that sometime it worketh by meanes, sometime without meanes, and sometime against all meanes. Last of all, that it tendeth to this ende, that God may shewe that hee hath care of all mankinde, but specially that hee doth watch in ruling of his Church, which he vouchsafeth more neerely to looke vnto. And this is also to be added, that although either the fatherly fauour and bountifullnesse of God, or oftentimes the seueritie of his iudgement do brightly appeare in the whole course of his Providence: yet somtime the causes of those thinges that happen are secret, so that this thought creepeth into our mindes, that mens matters are turned and whirled about with the blinde sway of fortune, or so that the flesh stirreth vs to murmure, as if God did to make himselfe pastime tosse them like tennise balles. True it is that if we were with quiet and still 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, or tame their wantonnesse, or to bring them downe to the renouncing of themselues, or to awake their drowsinesse: on the other side to ouerthrowe the proude, to disappoint the suttletie of the wicked, to confounde their deuises. But whosoever the causes be secret and vnknownen to vs: wee must assuredly holde that they are layde vp in hidden store with him, and therefore we ought to cry out with Dauid, God, thou hast made thy wonderful works so many, that none can count in order to thee thy thoughtes toward vs. I woulde declare & 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 y^e very punishment may moue vs to repentaunce, yet doe we see how Christ giueth more power to the secret purpose of his father, than to punish euery one according to his deseruing. For of him that was borne blinde he saith: neither hath this man sinned nor his parents, but y^e the glory of God may be shewed in him. For here natural 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 y^e in this looking glasse the glory of his father doth shine to our sight, if we haue cleere eyes to beholde it. But we must keepe modestie, that wee drawe not God to yelde cause of his doings, but let vs so reuerence his secret iudgements, that his wil be vnto vs, a most iust cause of all things. When thicke 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, & al our senses are amased with terrour, we thinke that al things are confounded and tumbled together: and yet all the while there remaineth in y^e heauen the same quietnesse and calmnesse, that was before. So must we thinke that while the troublesome state of things in y^e world taketh from vs abilitie to iudge, God by the pure light of his righteousnesse and wisdom, doeth in well framed

Psa. 40.

Iohn. 9.

order gouerne & dispose euen those very troublesome motions themselves to a right end. And surely very mostrous 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 vnaduised sentence of things vnknown, than they will doe of the deedes of mortall men. For what is more vnorderly than to vse such modestie toward our egals, that we had rather suspende our iudgement than to incurre the blame of rashnesse, and on the other side proudly to triumph vpon the darke iudgements of God, which it became vs to regarde with reuerence?

2 Therefore no man shal wel and profitably wey the Prouidence of God but he that considering that he hath to do with his creator and the maker of the worlde, doth with such humility as he ought submitte himselfe to feare and reuerence. Hereby it commeth to passe, that so many dogs at this day do with venimed bitings, or at lest barking assail 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 spitefulnesse that they are able, for that not contented with the commandementes of the lawe, wherein the will of God is comprehended, we do further say, that the world is ruled by his secret counsels. As though the thing that we teach were an inuention of our owne braine, & as though it were not true that the holy Ghost doth euey where expressly say the same, and repeteth it with innumerable formes of speech. But because some shame restraineth them, that they dare not vomit out their blasphemies against the heauen: they faine that they contend with vs, to the end 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 answere to what end the Scripture saith, that his iudgementes are a deepe bottomlesse deapth. For whereas Moses crieth out that the will of God is not to bee sought as farre of in the cloudes, 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 deapth. Of which Paul also saith: O deapth of the richnesse & of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God: how vnsearchable are his iudgementes, & his waies past finding out? for who hath knowen the mind of the Lorde, or who hath bin his counsellour? And it is in deede true, that in the Gospell and in the lawe are contained mysteries which are farre aboue the capacity of our sense: but forasmuch as God for the comprehending of these mysteries which he hath vouchsafed to open by his word, doth lighten the mindes of them that bee his, with the Spirit 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 trueth. But his maruailous order of gouerning this world is worthily called a bottomlesse deapth: because while it is hidden from vs, we ought reuerently to worshippe it. Right well hath Moses expressed them both in fewe wordes. The secret thinges (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 studie in meditation of the law, but also reuerently to looke vpon vnto the secreete Prouidence of God. And in the booke of Iob is

rehearsed

Psa. 36.7.

Rom. 11.33.

Deu. 10.34.

rehearsed one title of this deapth, that it humbleth our mindes. For after that the author of that booke in surueying vp and downe the frame of the world, had honorably entreated of the workes of God, at length he addeth: Iob. 26. 14. Loe, these be part of his wayes, but how little a portion heere wee of him? According to which reason in an other place he maketh difference between the wisdome that remaineth with God, and the measure of wisdome that he hath appoynted for men. For after he hath preached of the secretes of nature, he sayeth that wisdome is knowne to God onely, and is hidden from the eyes of all liuing creatures. Iob. 28. 12. But by and by after he sayth further, Lib. 8. 3. quæst cap. 23. y it is published to the end it should be searched out, because it is sayd vnto man, behold the feare of God is wisdom. 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 only good will we doe according to the law, because his Providence is an vnchangeable lawe. Therefore sith God doth claime vnto himselfe the power to rule the worlde, which is to vs vnknown, let this be to vs a lawe of sobernesse and modesty, quietly to obey his soueraigne authoritic, that his wil may be to vs the onely rule of iustice, and the most iust cause of all things. I meane not that absolute will, of which the Sophisters do babble, separating by wicked and prophane disagreement his iustice from his power, but I mean that Providence, which is the gouernesse of all things, from which proceedeth nothing but right: although the causes thereof be hidden from vs.

3 Whosoeuer shalbe 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 doinges, as Agamemnon in Homer did, saying, I am not the cause, but Iupiter and Destenie: nor yet againe as caried away with Destenies, they will by desperation throwe themselues into destruction, as that yong man in Plautus which sayd: Vnstable is the chance of things: the Destenies driue men at their pleasure, I wil get me to some rocke there to make an end of my goods and life together. Neither yet (as an other did) they will pretende the name of God to couer their owne mischicuous doinges: for so saith Lyconides in an other comedie: God was the mouer. I beleuee it was the will of the gods: for if it had not beene their will, I knowe it should not so come to passe. But rather they will search and learne out of the Scripture what pleaseth God, that by y guiding of the Holy ghost they may trauaile to attaine thereunto. And also becing ready to followe God, whither soeuer he calleth, they shewe in decde that nothing is more profitable than the knowledge of his doctrine. Very foolishly do prophane men turmoile with their fondnesses, so that they in maner confound heauen and earth together as the saying is: If God haue marked the point of our death, we can not escape it: then it is labour vainly lost in taking heed to our selues: Therefore whereas one man dareth not venture to go the way y he heareth to be dangerous, lest he be murdered of theues: an other sendeth for Phisitions, and wearieith himselfe with medicines to succour his life: an other forbearreth grosse meates for feare of appeiring his feeble health: an other dreadeth to dwell in a ruinous house: Finally where as men deuise al wayes 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 sickenes, peace and warre, and other things, which men as they couet or hate them, do 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 Lorde 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 counsel. And then what soeuer is already happened, they so impure it to the Prouidence of God, that they winke at the man whom they know to haue done it. As, hath a ruffian slaine 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 foresene and ordeined by the Lorde, he is a minister of his Prouidence. Hath the sonne carelesly, neglecting all remedies, waited for the death of his father? he could not resist God that had so before appointed from eternitie. So all mischeuous doinges 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 hande: so in another place he speaketh in this maner: The heart 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 wee may both prouide for our selues, & dispose all things belonging to vs. And y^e is not without a manifest reason. For he y^e hath limited our life within appointed boundes, hath therewithall left with vs the care thereof, hath furnished vs with meanes & helpes to preferue it, hath made vs to haue knowledge before hand of dangers, & that they should not oppresse vs vnware, he hath giuen vs prouisions & remedies. Now it is plaine to see what is our duetic: that is to say: If God hath committed to vs our owne life to defende, our duetic is to defende it. If he offer vs helpes, our duetic is to vse them. If he shew vs dangers before, our duetic is not to runne rashly into them. If he minister vs remedies, our duetic is not to neglect them. But no daunger shall hurte, vnlesse it be fatal, which by all remedies can not be ouercome. But what if dangers bee therefore not fatal, because God hath assigned thee remedies to repulse and ouercome them? See howe thy maner of reasoning agreeth with the order of Gods disposition. Thou gatherest that daunger is not to be taken heede of, because forasmuch as it is not fatal, we shal 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 fatal vnto thee. These madde men do not consider that which is plaine before their eyes, that the skil of taking counsell and heede is inspired into men by God, whereby they may serue his Prouidence in preferuing of their owne life: as on the other side by negligence and slouth they procure to themselues those euils that he hath appointed for the. For
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how commeth it to passe, that a circumspect man while he prouideth for himselfe, doth winde himselfe out of euils that hang ouer him, and the foole perisheth by vnaduised rashnesse, but for that both folly and wisdom are the instruments of Gods disposition on both partes? Therefore it pleased God to hide from vs all things to come, to this ende that wee should meete with them as things doubtful, and not ceasse to set prepared remedies against them, til either they be ouercome or be past all helpe of care. And for this cause I haue before admonished that the Prouidence of God doeth not alway shewe it selfe naked, but as God by vsing of meanes doeth in a certaine manner clothe it.

5 The same men do vnorderly & vnaduisedly draw the chaunces of time past to the naked prouidence of God. For because vpon it do hang al things whatsoeuer happen, therefore (say they) neither robberies nor adulteries, nor manslaughters are committed without the wil of God. Why then (say they) shall a thiefe be punished, for that hee spoyled him whome the Lordes will was to punish with pouerty? Why shall the murderher 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 will of God. For we may not say that he which is caried with an euil mind doeth seruice vnto God as commaunder of it, where in deede hee doeth but obey his owne wicked lust. He obeyeth God, which beeing enformed of his will doth labour to that ende, whereunto Gods will calleth him. But whereby are we enformed of his will, but by his worde? Therefore in doing of things wee must see that same will of God, which he declareth in this worde. God requireth of vs onely that which he commaundeth. If we do any thing against his commaundement, it is not obedience but obstinacie and transgression. But vnlesse he would, we should not do it. I grant. But do we euill things to this end to obey him? But he doth not command vs to do them, but rather we run on headlong, not minding what hee willeth, 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 wee serue his iust ordinance, because according to the infinite greatnes of his wisdom he hath good skill to vse euill instrumentes to do good. And see howe foolish is their maner of arguing. They would haue the doers vnpunished for mischeuous acts, because they are not comitted but by y disposition of God. I grant more: that theeues and murderers & other euil doers are the instrumentes of Gods Prouidence, whom y 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 therby. For why? shall they either entangle God in the same wickednes with them, or shall they couer their naughtinesse with his righteousnes? They can do neither of both. Because they should not be able to excuse theselues, they are accused by their own conscience. And because they should not be able to blame God, they find all the euill in themselves, & in him nothing but a lawful vse of their euilnes. But he worketh by them. And whence I pray you, commeth the stinke in a dead cartion, which hath bin both rotted & disclosed by heat of the sunne? All men do see that it is raised by the beames of the sunne.

Pro. 6.9

say, that the sunbeames do stinke. So when there resteth in an euil 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 in deede a farre ofbarke at the iustice of God, but can not touch it.

6 But these cauillations or rather doting errors of phrenetike men, shal easily be shaken away, by godly and holy ineditation of the Prouidence; which the rule of godlinesse teacheth vs, so that thereof may growe vnto vs a good and most pleasant fruite. Therefore a Christian heart when it is most assuredly persuaded, that all things come to passe by the disposition of God, & that nothing happeneth by chance, will alway bend his eyes to him as to the principall cause of things, and yet will consider the inferiour causes in their place. Then he will not doubt that the singular prouidence of God doth watch for his preseruation, which Prouidence will suffer nothing to happen, but that which shal turne to his good and saluation. And because he hath to do first of all with men, and then with the other creatures, hee will assure himself that Gods Prouidence doth reigne in both. As touching men, whether they be good or euill, he will acknowledge that al their counselles, willes, enterprises and powers are vnder the hande of God, so that it is in Gods will to bowe them whether he list, and to restraine them so 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.

Psa. 55. 23.
1. Pet. 5. 9.

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

Cast thy burden vpon the Lord, and he shal nourish thee, and shal not suffer the righteous to fall for euer, because he careth for vs. He that dwelleth in the helpe of the hiest, 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 wall: I will be enemie 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 Lorde doth with such diligence keepe the waies of the Saintes, 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 vniuersal Prouidence of God, that stoupeth not specially to the care of euery creature: yet principally it shalbe good to reknowledge y^e same speciall care toward our selues. Whereupon Christ after he had affirmed that not the sparowe of least value, doth fall to the ground without the wil of the Father, doth by & by apply it to this end, y^e we should consider that how much we be more worth than sparowes, with so much neere care doth God prouide for vs, and he extendeth that care so far that we may be bold to trust that the heares of our head are numbered. What can we wish our selues more, if not so much, as a heare can fall from our head but by his will? I speake not onely 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 gouerning of it.

Mat. 10. 29.

7 The seruant of God being strengthened with these both promises and examples, will ioyn with them the testimonies which teach that all men are vnder Gods power, whether it be to winne their mindes to good will, or to refrayne their malice that it may doe no hurt. For it is the Lorde that

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that giueth vs fauour not onely with them that will vs well, but also in the Egyptians, and as for the malicioufnesse of our enemies, he knoweth how by diuerse wayes to subdue it. For sometime he taketh away their wit from them, so that they can conceiue no sounde or sober aduise, like as hee sent forth Satan to fill the mouthes of all the Prophets with lying to deceiue Achab. He made Rechabam made by the young mens counsell, that hee might bee spoiled of his kingdome by his owne follie. Many times when he graunteth them wit, yet hee maketh them so afraide and astonished, that they cannot will or goe about that which they haue conceyued. Sometime also when he hath suffered them to goe about that which lust and rage did counsell them, hee doeth in conuenient time breake of their violences, and suffereth them not to proceede to the end that they purposed. So did hee before the time bring to nought the counsell of Achitophell that shoulde haue ben to Dauids destruction. So also he taketh care to gouerne al his creatures for the benefite and safetie of them that be his, yea and to gotterne the deuil himselfe, which as wee see durst enterprife nothing against Iob without his sufferance and commaundement. Of this knowledge necessarily ensueth both a thankfulness of mind in prosperous successe of thinges, and also patience in aduersitie, and an incredible assurednesse against the time to come. Whatsoeuer therefore shall betide vnto him prosperously and according to his heartes desire, all that hee will ascribe vnto God, whether hee feele the bountie of God by the ministerie of men, or be holpen by luellesse creatures. For thus hee will thinke in his minde: Surely it is the Lorde which hath enclined their minds to me, which hath ioyned the vnto me to bee instrumentes of his goodnesse towardes me. In plentie of the fruites of the earth, thus hee will thinke, that it is the Lorde which heareth the heauen, that the heauen may heare the earth, that the earth also may heare her fruites. In other thinges hee will not doubt that it is the onely blessing of the Lorde, whereby all thinges prosper, and being put in mind by so many causes he will not abide to be vnthankfull.

Exo. 3. 21.

1. Kin. 2. 22.
1. Kin. 12. 10

2. Sam. 17. 7.

Iob. 1. 12.

8 If anie aduersitie happen, hee will by and by therein also liste vp his minde to God, whose hande auayleth much to imprint in vs a patience and quiete moderation of heart. If Ioseph had still continued in recording the falsehoode of his brethren, hee coulde neuer haue taken a brotherly minde towardes them. But because he bowed his minde to the Lord, he forgate the iniurie, and inclined to meekenesse and clemencie, so farrefoorth that of his owne accorde hee comforted his brethren and saide: It is not you that soule me into Egypt, but by the will of God I was sent before you to saue your liues. You in deede thought euil of me, but the Lord turned it to good. If Iob had had respect to the Chaldees, by whome hee was troubled, hee woulde forthwith haue bene kindled to reuenge. But because hee did therewithall acknowledge it to be the worke of God, hee comforted himselfe with this most excellent saying: The Lorde hath giuen, the Lord hath taken away, the Lordes name be blessed. So Dauid: when Semci had rayled and cast stones at him, if hee had looked vpon man, hee would haue in-

Gen. 45. 8.

Iob. 21.

2. Sa. 16. 10.

that Semei did it not without the mouing of the Lorde, hee rather appeased them. Let him alone (saide he) for the Lord hath commaunded him to curse. With the same bridle in an other place doth he restrain the intemperance of sorowe. I helde my peace (saith hee) and became as dumme, because thou O Lorde, diddest it. If there bee 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 Lordes will, therefore it must bee suffered, not onely because it is not lawfull to striue against it, but also because hee willet nothing but that which is both iust and expedient. In summe this is the end, that being wrongfully hurt by men, wee leauing their malice (which woulde doe nothing but enforce our sorrowe, and whet our mindes to reuenge) shoulde remember to climbe vpon God, & learne to beleue assuredly, that whatsoeuer our enemy hath mischeuously done against vs, was both suffered and sent by Gods disposition. Paul, to refrain vs from recompensing of iniuries doth wisely put vs in minde, y^e we are not to wraastle with fleshe and blood, but with the spirituall enemy the Deuill, 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 deuill as all wicked men to striue with vs, and that hee sitteth as iudge to exercise our patience. But if the misfortunes and miseries that oppresse vs, doe chauce without the worke of men, let vs remember the doctrine of the law: whatsoeuer is prosperous floweth from y^e fountaine of Gods blessing, and that all aduersities are his cursings: and let that most terrible warning make vs afraide: If ye walke stubbornly against mee, I will also walke stubbornly against you. In which is rebuked our sluggishnesse, when according to the common sense of the flesh accounting al to be but chance that happeneth of both sortes we are neither encouraged by the benefits of God to worship him, nor pricked forward with his scourges to repentance. This same is the reason, why Hieremie, & Amos did so sharply rebuke the Iewes, because they thought that things as wel good as euill came to passe without the commandement of God. To the same purpose serueth y^e sermon of Esay. I the God that create light and fashion darkenes, that make peace and create euill: I God do 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 hee thinketh them the ministers of Gods goodnesse by whome he hath receiued benefite, therefore let them passe vnderconsidered, as though they had deserued no thanke by their gentlenes: but he will hartily thinke himselfe bound vnto them, and will willingly confesse his bonde, and trauell as hee shall bee able and as occasion shall serue, to recompence it. Finally in benefites receyued hee will reuerence and praise God as the principall author, but he will honour men as the ministers, and as the truth is indeede hee will vnderstande that hee is by the will of God bounde to them, by whose hande it was Gods will to bee beneficiall vnto him. If hee suffer any losse by negligence or want of foresight, hee will determine in his mind that the same was done in deed with the will of GOD, but he will impute it also to himselfe. If any man be dead by sicknes whome

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Psal. 38. 10.

Ephe. 6. 12.

Deu. 28.

Lam. 3. 38.
Amo. 3. 6.
Esa. 45. 6.

he hath negligently handled, whereas of duetie he should haue taken good heede vnto him although he be not ignorant that the man was come to his appointed time beyond which he could not passe, yet will he not thereby lessen his offence, but because he had not faithfully discharged his dutie toward him, he will so take it as if he had perished by fault of his negligence. Much lesse when there is vsed any fraude, and conceiued malice of minde in committing either murther or theft, will he excuse it vnder prerence of Gods prouidence, but he will in one selfe euill act seuerally behold both the righteousnes of God and 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 safetic. And so he neither will be negligent in taking of counsell, nor slouthfull in crauing their help whom he seeth to haue sufficient whereof he may be succoured: but thinking that whatsoever creatures can any thing profite 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 because he doth not certainly knowe what successe the buisines will haue that he goeth about, (sauiug that in all things he knoweth that the Lord wil prouide for his benefit) he will with studie trauaile to that which he shall thinke expedient for himselfe, so far as he can conceiue in minde and vnderstanding. And yet in taking of counsels he will not be caried on by his owne wit, but wil commit & yeeld himselfe to the wisdom of God, that by the guiding thereof he may be directed to the right end. But his confidence shal not so stay vpon outward helps, that if he haue them he wil carelesly rest vpon them, or if he wāt them he wil be afraid as left destitute, for he wil haue his minde alway fastened vpon the Prouidence of God, neither wil he suffer himselfe to be drawen away from the stedfast beholding thereof, by consideration of present things. So though Ioab acknowledged that the successe of battail is in y will & hand of God, yet he gaue not himselfe to slouthfulnes but did diligently execute that which belonged to his calling, but he leaueth it vnto the Lord to gouerne the end. We wil stand valiāt (saith he) for our nation, and for the cities of our God: But the Lord do what is good in his cies. This knowledge shall despoile vs of rashnes & wrongful confidence, & shal driue vs to continual calling vpon God: & also shal vphold our minds w good hope, so as we may not dout assuredly & boldly to despise those dāgers y cōpasse vs about.

2. Sam. 10. 2

10 In this point doeth the inestimable felicitie of a godly minde shewe forth it selfe. Innumerable are the euils that doe beseege mans life, and do 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 & doth nourish within it the causes of diseases, man can not carie himselfe but he must needs also carie about with him many formes of his owne destruction, & 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 peril? Nowe whithersoever y turne thee, al things y are about thee are not only vntrusty friends to thee, but do in maner openly threaten & seeme to shew thee present death. Go into a ship, there is but a foot thicknes betwene thee & death.

Sit

Sit on horsebacke, in the slipping of one foote thy life is in daunger. Goe through the streetes of the citie: euen howe many tyles are vppon the houses, to so many perils art thou subiect. If there be an iron toole in thy hand or thy friendes, thy harme is readie prepared. Howe 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 pleasauntnesse of ayre 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 vppon thy head. Thy feele forasmuch as it lyeth open to hayle, frost, drowth and other tempestes, it warneth thee of barrennesse, and thereby famine. I speak not of prisonnings, treasons, robberies, open violence, of which parte doe beseege vs at home, and part doe followe vs abroad. In these streightes must not man neede bee most miserable, which euen in life halfe deade doeth plainly drawe forth a carefull and fainting breath as if hee had a sworde continually hanging ouer his necke? But thou wilt say that these thinges chaunce seldome, or at the least not alwayes, nor to all men, and neuer all at once. I graunt, but seeing wee are put in minde by the examples of other, that the same thinges may happen to our selues, and that our life ought of duetic no more to bee free than theirs, it can not bee but that we must dreade and feare them as thinges that may light vppon vs. Now what can a man imagine more miserable than such a fearefulnesse? besides that, it is not without dishonourable reproch of God to say, that hee hath set open man the noblest of all his creatures to their blind and vnaduised stroks of fortune. But here my purpose is to speake onely of the miserie of man, which hee shoulde feele if he shoulde be brought subiecte vnder Fortunes dominion.

II But when that light of Gods Prouidence hath once shined vppon a godly man: hee is nowe releued and deliuered not onely from y extreme anguish and feare wherewith he was before oppressed, but also from al care. For as iustly he feareth fortune, so he dare boldly commit himselfe to God. This is (I say) his comforte to vnderstande that the heauenly father doeth so holde in all thinges with his power, so ruleth them with his authoritie and countenance, so ordereth them with his wisdom, that nothing befalleth but by his appointment: and that hee is receiued into Gods tuition, & committed to the charge of Angels, and cannot be touched with any hurt of water, nor fire, nor weapon, but so farre as it shall please God the gouernour to giue them place. For so is it song 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 bee sure vnder his fethers. His trueth shall be thy shielde and buckler. Thou shalt not bee afraide of the feare of the night, nor of the arrowe 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 Saintes to glorie: The Lorde is my helper, I will not feare what flesh may doe to mee. The Lorde is my protector, why shall I be afraid? If whole camps stand vp against mee, if I walke in the middest of the shadow of death, I wil not cease

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Psal. 91. 3.

Psal. 118. 6.

to hope well. Whence, I pray you, haue they this that their assure dness is neuer shaken away from them? but hereby, that where the worlde seemeth in shewe to be without order whirled about, they knowe that God worketh euerie where, whose worke they trust shall bee for their preseruacion. Nowe if their safetie be assailed either by the deuill or by wicked men, in that case if they were not strengthened with remembraunce and meditation of Prouidence, they must needes by and by be discouraged. But when they call to minde, that the deuill and all the rout of the wicked, are so euerie way holden in by the hand of God as with a bridle, that they can neither conceiue any mischief 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 farre as hee shall suffer, yea so farre as hee shall commaund, and that they are not onely holden fast bounde 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 directe it which er it pleaseth him, so is it his worke also to appoint a measure and ende, that they doe not after their owne will licentiously triumph. With which perswasion Paul being stablished, did by the sufferance of God appoint his iourney in another place which hee saide was in one place hindered by Satan. If he had onely sayde that hee had bene stopped by Satan, hee should haue seemed to giue him too much power, as if it had bene in Satans hande: to ouerthrow the verie purposes of God: but when hee maketh God the iudge, vpon whose sufferance all iourneies do hang: he doeth therewithall shewe, that Satan whatsoeuer hee goe about, can attaine nothing but by Gods will. For the same reason doeth Dauid, because for the sundrie chaunges wherewith mans life is tossed and as it were whirled about, hee doeth flie to this sanctuarie, saith that his times are in y hand of God. Hee might haue saide either y course of his life, or time in the singular number. But by the worde Times, hee meant to expresse that howsoeuer the state of man bee vnstedfast, whatsoeuer alterations doe nowe 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 firebrandes kindeled to wast and consume the lande, are called by the Prophete smoking brandes, which can doe nothing but breath out a little smoke. So when Pharao was terrible to all men by reason of his richesse, strength and number of men, hee himselve 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. Finally because I will not tarie long vpon this poynt, if a man marke it hee shall easly see that the extremitie of all miseries is the ignorance of Gods Prouidence, and the chiefe blessednesse standeth in the knoweledge thereof.

1. The. 2. 18.
1. Cor. 16. 7.

Psa. 31. 16.

Esa. 8. 4.

Eze. 29. 4.

12 Concerning the Prouidence of God, this that is saide were enough for so much as is profitable both for the perfecte learning and comforte of the faithfull, (for to fill the vaine curiositie of men, nothing can be sufficient, neither is it to be wished that they bee satisfied) were it not for certaine places, which seeme to meane otherwise than is aboue declared, that God hath

Gen. 6. 6.
1. Sam. 15. 11
Ier. 18. 8.

Tonas 3. 4.

Esa. 35. 2. 5.
2. King. 20. 5

1. Sam. 5. 29

Num. 23. 19.

hath not stedfast and stable purpose but changeable according to the disposition of inferiour things. First, in some places is spoken of the repentance of G O D, as that he repented him of the creating of man, of the aduancing of Saul to the kingdome. And that he will repent him of the euill that he had determined to lay vpon his people, so soone as hee perceiueth any conuersion of them. Againe there are rehearsed diuers repelles of his decrees. He had declared by Ionas to the Ninuities that after 40. dayes once past Ninuie should be destroyed, but by & by he was turned with their repentance to a more gentle sentence. He had by the mouth of Esay pronouced death to Ezechias, which he was moued by his teares and prayers to deferre. Hereupon many doe make argument, that God hath not appointed mens matters by eternall decree, but yerely, daily and hourelly appointeth this or that, as euery mans deseruings are, or as he thinketh it equitie & iustice. Concerning his repentaunce this we ought to hold, that the same can no more be in God, than ignoraunce errour and weakenesse. For if no man doe wittingly and willingly throw himselfe into the case that he neede to repent, we can not say that God doth repent, but that we must also say, y God is ignorant what will come to passe, or that he cannot auoide it, or that he headlong & vnadvisedly runneth into a purpose wherof he by & by forethinketh him. But y it is so far from the meaning of the holy Ghost, that in y very mention making of repentaunce he denieth that God had any repenting at al, because he is not a man that may repent. And it is to be noted that in y same chapter they are both so ioyned together, that the comparison doeth very wel bring the shew of repugnancie to agreement. His changing is figuratiuely spoken, y God repented that he had made Saul king, by & by after it is added: The strength of Israel shal not ly, nor shalbe moued with repēting. Because he is not a man that he may repent. In which words his vnchangeableness is affirmed plainly without any figure. Therefore it is certaine that the ordinance of God in disposing the matters of men, is perpetuall and aboue al repentance. And y his constance shold not be doubtful, his very aduersaries haue bin compelled to beare him witness. For Balaā whether he would or no, could not chuse but burst out into this saying: that he is not like a man to lye: nor as a son of man to be changed, & that it is not possible that hee should not do that he hath said, & not fulfill whatsoeuer he hath spoken.

13 What meaneth then this name of Repentance? euen in the same sort that all the other phrascs of speache which do describe God vnto vs after the maner of men. For, because our weakenesse doth not reach to his highnes, that description of him which is taught vs, was meete to be framed low to our capacitie that we might vnderstande it. And this is the manner how to frame it lowe for vs, to paint out himselfe not such a one as hee is in himselfe, but such a one as he is perceiued of vs. Where as he himselfe is without al mouing of a troubled minde, he yet testifieth y he is angry with sinners. Like as therefore when we heare that God is angry, we ought not to imagine that there is any mouing at all in him, but rather to consider that this speach is borrowed of our common sense, because God beareth a resemblance of one chafed and angry so oft as hee exerciseth iudgement: so ought we to vnderstand nothing els by this worde of Repentaunce but a chan-

changing of deedes, because men by changing of their deedes are wont to declare that they mislike them. Because then every change among men is an amendement of that which misliketh them, and amendement 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 hee followeth on with one continuall course that which he had from eternitie foreseene, allowed and decreed, howsoever the alteration seeme sodeyne in the eyes of men.

14 Neither doeth the holy historie shewe that Gods décrees were repealed when it sheweth that the destruction was pardoned to the Niniuites which had bene before pronounced, and that the life of Ezechias was prolonged after warning giuen him of death. They that so construe it are deceived in vnderstanding of threatninges: which although they doe simply affirme, yet by the successe it shall be perceiued that they conteyned a secrete condition in them. For why did God sende Ionas to the Ninuites to tell them aforehande of the ruine of their citie? Why did he by Isay giue Ezechias warning of death? For he might haue brought to nought both him and them without sending them any worde of their destruction. He meant therefore an other thing, than to make them by foreknowing of their death to see it comming a farre of. Euen this he meant: not to haue them destroyed, but to haue them amended that they should not be destroyed. Therefore this that Ionas prophecied that Niniue should fall after 40. dayes, 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 hee might obtaine longer life. Nowe who doeth not see that God meant by such threatninges to awake them to repentaunce, whome hee made afraide to the ende that they might escape the iudgement which they had deserued by their sinns? If that be so agreed, the nature of the things themselues doeth lead vs to this, to vnderstande in the simple threatning a secrete emplied 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 shee hath a husbände. But after hee had excused himselfe, God saide thus: Restore the wife to her husbände, for he is a Prophete and shall pray for thee that thou maist liue. If not: know that thou shalt die the death and all that thou hast. You see howe in his first sentence he vehemently striketh his minde to bring him to be more heedefully bent to make amends, & 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 firste purpose of God, by this that hee made voide the thing which hee 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, whome his will is to spare, rather than varieth any thing in his will, no not in his worde, sauing that he doth not expresse the same thing in sillables which it is yet easie to vnderstand. For that saying of Isay must needs remaine true: The Lord of Hostes hath determined, and who shall be able to vndoe it: His hand is stretched out, and who shall turne it away?

Ion. 3. 10.
Esa. 35. 5.

Gen. 26. 3.

Esa. 14. 27.

The xviii. Chapter.

*That God doeth so vse the seruice of wicked men, and so borroweth their mindes
so put his iudgements in execution, that yee still himselfe remaineth
pure from all spot.*

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 fleshe scarcely conceyueth howe hee working by them, should not gather some spot of their faulte, yea in his common working bee free from all fault, and iustly condemne his ministers. Vpon this was deuised the distinction betweene Doing and Suffering: because many haue thought this doubt vnpossible to bee dissolued: that both Satan & all the wicked are so vnder the hande and power of God, that hee directeth their malice vnto what end it pleaseth him, and vseth their wicked doings to the executing of his iudgementes. And their modestie were peradventure excusable, whome the shewe of absurditie putteth in feare, if it were not so that they do wrongefully with a lying defence goe about to deliuer the iustice of God from all vnrightfull blame. It seemeth to them vnreasonable, that man shoulde by the will and commaundement of God be made blinde, and so by and by bee 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 hee himselfe plainly pronouncing that hee doeth it, doeth reiect that shift. As for this that men doe nothing but by the secrete commaundement of God, and doe trouble themselues in vaine with deliberating, vnlesse hee doe by his secrete direction stablish that which hee hath before determined, it is proued by innumerable and plaine testimonies. It is certayne that this which wee before alleaged out of the Psalme, that God doeth all thinges that hee will, belongeth to all the doings of men. If God bee the certaine appointer of warre and peace, as it is there saide, and that without exception: who dare say that men are caried causelessly with blinde motion while God knoweth not of it, and sitteth still? But in speciall examples will bee more lightsome plainnes. By the first Chapter of Iob we know, that Satan doeth no lesse appeare before God to receeiuie his commaundementes than doe the Angels which doe willingly obey. In deede it is after a diuerse manner and for a diuerse ende: but yet so that hee can not goe about any thing but with the will of God. Although there seeme afterwarde to bee added a bare sufferance of him to afflict the holy man: yet because that saying is true: The Lorde hath giuen, the Lorde hath taken awaye, as it pleased God so is it come to passe: We gather that God was the author of that triall of Iob, whereof Satan and the wicked theecues were ministers. Satan goeth about to driue the holy man by desperation to madnesse. The Sabees cruelly and wickedly doe inuade and rob his goods that were none of theirs. Iob knowledgeth that he was by God stripped of al his goods and made poore, because it so pleased God. Therefore whatsoeuer men or Satan himselfe attempt, yet God holdeth the sterne to turne all their trauelles to the executing of his iudgementes. It was Gods will to haue the false king

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 madnes of Achab be the iudgement of God, then the deuise of bare Sufferance is vaine. For it were a fond thing to say, that the iudge doth onely suffer and not also decree what he wil haue done, and command the ministers to put it in execution. It was the Iewes purpose to destroy Christ, Pilate and the souldiers do follow their raging lust, & yet in a solemne prayer 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 & foreknowledge of God deliuered to be slaine. As if he should say: that God from whom nothing is hidden, from the beginning did wittingly & willingly appoint that which the Iewes did execute, as in another place he rehearseth, that God which shewed before by all his Prophets y^e 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 wordes are these: Thou hast done it secretly, but I will do it openly, and before the sunne. Hieremie pronounceth that all the crueltie that the Chaldees vsed in Iury, was the worke of God. For which cause Nabucadnezer is called the seruant of God, God euery where crieth out that with his hissing, with the sound of his trumpet, with his power & commandement y^e wicked are stirred vp to warre. He calleth the Assirian the rod of his wrath, & the axe that he moueth with his hand. The destruction of the holy citie & ruine of the Tēple he calleth his worke. Dauid not murmuring against God, but acknowledging him for a righteous iudge, yet confesseth 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 whatsoeuer happeneth it commeth of the Lord, as the departing of the ten tribes, the death of the sonnes of Hely, & very many things of like sort. They that be meanly exercised in y^e Scriptures do see, that for shortnesse sake, I bring forth of many testimonies but a few, by which yet it appeareth plainly enough, that they doe trifle & talke fondly, that thrust in a bare Sufferance in place of the Prouidence of God, as though God sate in a watch tower wayting for the chaunces of Fortune, & so his iudgements should hang vpon the will of men.

2 Now as concerning secret motions, that which Salomon speaketh of the heart of a king, that it is bowed hither or thither as pleaseth God, extendeth surely to all mankin d, & is as much in effect as if he had said. whatsoeuer we conceiue in minde, is by the secret inspiration of God directed to this end. And truly 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, & wisdom from aged men, that he taketh the heart from the Princes of the earth, that they may wander wher is no beaten way. And hereto belongeth that which we oft read, that men are fearfull so farre forth as their hearts be taken with his feare. So Dauid went out of the campe of Saul & 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 where he so oft pronounceth, that he

blindeth the eyes of men, & striketh them with giddinesse, that he maketh them drunke with the spirite of drowfinesse, casteth them into madnes, and hardneth their hearts. These things also many do referre to Sufferance, as if in forsaking the reprobate, he suffred them to be blinded by Satan. But that solution is too round, forasmuch as the Holy ghost in plaine wordes expresseth, that they are striken with blindnesse & madnesse by the iust iudgement of God. It is said, that he hardned the heart of Pharao, also that he did make dul and strenthen it. Some do with an vnfauiory cauillation mock out these phrascs of speech, because wherin an other place it is said, Pharao did harden his owne heart, there is his own wil 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, doeth also worke himselfe. And I do turne backe their obiection against themselues. For, if to harden do signifie but a bare sufferance, then y very motion of obstinacie shall not be properly in Pharao. Now how weake & foolish were it so to expound, as if Pharao did only suffer himself to be hardened? Moreouer the Scripture cutteth of all occasions from such cauillations. For God saith, I will hold his heart. So of the inhabitants of the land of Canaan Moses saith, that they went forth to battaile, because the Lorde had hardned their hearts. Which same thing is repeted by another Prophet, saying: He turned their hearts that they should hate his people. Again in Esay he saith, that he will send the Assirians against the deceitful nation, & wil command them to cary away the spoyles, & violently take the pray, not meaning that he wil teache wicked & obstinate men to obey willingly, but that he wil bow them to execute his iudgements as if they did beare his commandements grauen in their mindes. Whereby appeareth that they were moued by the certeine appointment of God. I grant that God doth often times worke in the reprobate by Satans seruice as a meane, but yet so that Satan doeth his office by Gods mouing, and proceedeth so farre as is giuen him. The euill Spiritie troubled Saul, but it is said that it was of God, that wee may knowe that the madnesse of Saul, came of the iust vengeance of God. It is also said, that the same Satan doth blind the mindes of the vnfaithful: but how so, but only because the effectual working of error commeth from God himselfe, to make them belecue lyes that refuse to obey the 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 sayd, that he giueth men into a reprobate mind: & to cast them into filthie desires, because he is the chiefe author of his owne iust vengeance, & Satan is but onely a minister therof. But because we must entreat of this matter againe in the second booke, where we shal discourse of free or bond wil of man, I thinke I haue alreadie shortly spoken so much as this place required. Let this be the summe of all, that forasmuch as the wil of God is said to be the cause of all things, his Prouidence is thought the gouerneisse in all purposes & workes of men, so as it sheweth foorth her force not only in the elect, which are gouerned by the holy Spirit, but also compelleth the reprobate to obedience.

3 Forasmuch as hitherto I haue recited only such things as are written in y Scriptures, plainly & not doubtfully, let them that feare not wrongfully

Eccle. 7. 3
& Ro. 7. 21.
Exo. 8. 15.

Exo. 4. 21.
Ios. 11. 20.
Psa. 105. 25.
Esa. 10. 6.

1. Sa. 16. 14.

2. Cor. 4. 4.

Ezc. 14. 9.
Rom. 1. 28.

to slander the heavenly oracles, take heede what maner of iudgement they take vpon them. For if by fained pretending of ignorance they seke a praise of modestie, what can be imagined more proudly done, than that 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 new example of waywardnes, because there haue bin in all ages wicked and vngodly men, that with raging mouth barked against this point of doctrine. But they shall feele that thing in deede to be true, which long agoe the holy Ghost spake by the mouth of Dauid, that God may overcome when he is iudged. Dauid doth by the way rebuke the madnesse of men in this so vnbridled licentiousnesse, that of their owne filthinesse they do not onely argue against God, but also take vpon them power to condemne him. In the meane time he shortly admonisheth, that the blasphemies which they vomit vp against the heauen do not reach vnto God, but that he driuing away the cloudes of cauillations, doth brightly shewe forth his righteousnesse, and also our faith (because being grounded vpon the word of God, it is aboue all the world) doth from her hie place contemptuously looke downe vpon these mystes. For first where they obiekt, that if nothing happen but by the will of God, then are there in him two contrary willes, because he decreeth those things by secret purpose, which he hath openly forbidden by his lawe, that is easily wiped away. But before I answere it, I wil once againe giue the readers warning that this cauillation is thrown out not against me, but against the holy Ghost, which raught the holy man Iob this confession: As it pleased God, so it came to passe. When he was spoiled by theeues, he acknowledged in the iniurie and hurte that they did him, the iust scourge 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 an other Prophet crieth out, that God which sitteth in heauen doth whatsoever he will. And now I haue shewed plainly enough that God is the author of all those things which these iudges would haue to happen onely by his idle sufferance. Hee testifieth that he createth light and darkenesse, that he formeth good and euil, that no euill happeneth which he himselve hath not made. Let them tell me, I beseech them, whether he do willingly or against his will execute his owne iudgements? But as Moses teacheth, y^e he which is slain by the falling of an axe by chance, is deliuered by God into the hand of the striker: so the whole church sayth in Luke, that Herode 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 faineth that he willeth 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 weaknesse of our witte we conceiue not howe God in diuers maner willeth and willeth not one selfe thing. Paul, after that he hath said, that y^e calling of the Gentiles is a hidden mysterie, within a litle after saith further, that in it was manifestly shewed the manifolde wisdome of God: because for the dulnesse of our witte the wisdome of G O D seemeth to vs manifolde, or (as the olde

Psa. 51. 6.

1. Iohn. 5. 4.

Iob. 1. 21.

1. Sam. 2. 25.

Psa. 115. 3.

Esa. 45. 7.

Amos. 3. 6.

Deu. 19. 5.

Act. 4. 28.

Ephe. 3. 10.

interpretour hath translated it) of many fashions: shal we therefore dreame that there is any variety in God himselfe, as though he either chaungeth 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 mind our owne weaknesse, and therewithall consider that the light wherein he dwelleth, is not without cause called Inaccessible, because it is couered with darknesse. Therefore all godly and sober men will easily agree to this sentence of Augustine, that sometime man with good will willethe y^e which God willethe not. As if a good sonne willethe 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 willethe with a good will. As if an euill sonne willethe to haue his father to die, and God also willethe the same. Now the first of these two sonnes willethe that which God willethe not, and the other sonne willethe that which God also willethe, and yet the naturalnesse of the first sonne doth better agree with the will of God, although hee willethe a contrary thing, than the vnnaturalnesse of the other sonne that willethe y^e same thing. So great a difference is there what to wil doth belong to man, & what to God, and to what end the will of euery one is to be applied, to haue it either allowed or disallowed. For those things which God willethe well he bringeth to passe by the euill willes of euill men. But a litle before he had said, that the Angels apostataes in their falling away, and al the reprobate, in as much as concerneth themselues, did that which God would not, but in respect of the omnipotencie of God, they could by no meanes so do, 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, & ought to be sought out of al them that loue them: that in maruiculous maner y^e 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, would not suffer a thing to be done euill, vnlesse for that he is omnipotent, he could of euill make good.

4 In the same maner is assoiled or rather vanisheth away the other objection: that if God do not onely vse the seruice of wicked men, but also gouerneth their counsels and affections, he is the author of all wicked doings, & therefore men are vnworthily condemned, if they execute y^e which God hath decreed, because they obey his will: for it is done amisse to confound his wil & commandement together, which it appeareth by innumerable examples to differ farre a sunder. For though when Absalon abused his fathers wiues, it was Gods will to punish Dauids adulterie with that dishonor: yet did he not therefore commande the wicked sonne to committe incest, vnlesse perhap 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 commende his obedience, as if that froward dogge did obey the commandement of God, but acknowledging his tongue to be y^e scourge of God, he patiently suffreth to be corrected. And this is to be holden in minde, that when God performeth by y^e wicked that thing which he decreed by his secret iudgement, they are not to be excused, as though they did obey his commandement, which in deede of their

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1. Tim. 6. 16.
Enchirid. ad
Laure. 1. ca.
101.

Psa. 111. 3.

2. Sam. 16.
21.

owne euil lust they do purposely breake. Now how that thing is of God, & is ruled by his secrete Providence, which men do wickedly, the election of king Iarobeam is a plaine example, in which the rashnesse and madnesse of the people is seuerely 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 appeareth a certeine shewe of repugnancie, that where God complained that that kingdome was erected without his knowledge, and against his will, in another place he sayeth, that he gaue the kingdome to Iarobeam in his rage. How shall these sayings agree? that Iarobeam reigned not by God, and that he was made king by the same God? Euen thus, because neither could the people fall from the house of Dauid, but that they must shake off the yoke which God had layed 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 allegiance, yet to another end iustly willeth a falling away from their prince, wherupon Iarobeam beside all hope was by holy annointing driuen to be king. After this maner doeth the holy historie say, that there was an enemy raised vp to spoile Salomons sonne of part of his kingdome. Let the readers diligently wey both these things, because it had pleased God to haue y^e people gouerned vnder the hand of one king. Therefore when it was diuided in two partes, it was done against his will. And yet the diuision tooke beginning of his will. For surely, where as the Prophet both by words & ceremonie of anointing did moue Iarobeam whē he thought of no such thing, to hope of y^e kingdome, this was not done without the knowlege 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 maner it is also afterward further said, that where Rehabeam proudly despised the request of the people, this was done by God to confirme the worde which he had spoken by the hande of Ahiha, his seruant. Lo howe against Gods wil the sacred vnitie is torne in sunder, & yet with the will of the same God tenne tribes do forsake Salomons sonne. Let vs adde another like example. Where the people consenting, yea laying their hands vnto it, the sonnes of Ahab were slaine, & all his offspring rooted out: Iehu said in deede truly, that nothing of the words of God were fallen to the ground, but that he had done all that he had spoken by the hand of his seruant Elias. And yet not vniustly he rebuketh the citizens of Samaria, for that they had put their hands vnto it. Are ye righteous, saith he? If I haue conspired against my lord, who hath killed al these? I haue before (as I think) already declared plainly, how in one selfe worke both the fault of man doth bewray it selfe, and also the righteousnes of God gloriously appeareth. And for modest wittes this answere of Augustine shall alway suffice: where as the father deliuered the sonne, & Christ deliuered his body, 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 nowe saye, that there is no consent of God with man, where

1.Kings. 12.
20.Osee 8.4.
Osee 13.11.1.Kings. 11.
23.2.Kings. 10
7.Episto. 48.
ad Vincen.

De gratia &
libero arbi-
trio ad Va-
lent. ca. 20.

man by the righteous mouing of God doeth 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 euil men whatsoeuer he will, and yet rendreth to them according to their deseruings? And truely in the falshood of Iudas, it shalbe 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 shalbe to giue away the praise of our redemption to Iudas. Therefore the same writer doeth in an other place truely tel vs, that in this examination God doeth not enquire what men might haue done, or what they haue done, but what their wil was to doe, that purpose and will may come into the accompt. They that think this harde, let them a litle while consider, how tolerable their owne waywardnesse is, while they refuse a thing witnessed by plaine testimonies of Scripture, because it exceedeth their capacitie, and do finde fault that those things are vterred, which God, vnlesse he had knowen them profitable to be knowen, would neuer haue commanded to be taught by his Prophets & Apostles. For our being wise ought to be no more but to embrace with meeke willingnesse to learne, and that without exception whatsoeuer is taught in the holy Scriptures. As for them that doe more frowardly outrage in prating against it, sith it is euident that they babble against God, they are not worthie of a longer confutation.

The ende of the first booke.

THE SECOND BOOKE

OF THE INSTITVTION OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION,

which intreateth of the knowledge of
God the Redeemer in Christ, which
knowledge was first opened to the Fa-
thers in the time of the Lawe, &
then to vs in the Gospel.

The first Chapter.

That by Adams sinne and falling arway, mankinde became accursed, and did degenerate from his first estate: vvherein a intreated of Original sinne.



NOT without cause hath the knowledge of himselfe been in the olde prouerbe so much commended to man. For if it be thought a shame to be ignorant of all thinges 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.

ded. But how much more profitable this lesson is, so much more diligently must we take heede, that we do not disorderly vse it, as we see some of the Philosophers 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 doe they will him to behold 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 bountifully God continueth his gracious fauour toward vs, we may knowe how great had bin the excellencie of our nature, if it had continued vncorrupted: and we may withall thinke vpon this, that there is nothing in vs of our owne, but that we haue as gotten by borrowing all that God hath bestowed vpon vs, that we may alwayes hang vpon him. Then, that we call to mind our miserable estate after the fall of Adam, the feeling whereof may throw downe all glorying & trust of our selues, ouerwhelme vs with shame and truly humble vs. For as God at the beginning fashioned vs like his owne image, to the end to raise vp our mindes both to the studie of vertue and to the meditation of eternall life, so least the so great noblenesse of our kind, which maketh vs different from brute beasts, should be drowned with our slothfulnes, it is good for vs to know, that we are therefore endued with reason & vnderstanding, that in keeping a holy & honest life, we should proceede on forward to the appointed end of blessed immortalitie. But the first dignitie can not come in our minde, but by and by on y other side the heavy sight of our filthines & shame doth thrust it selfe in presence, since we in the person of y first man are fallen from our first estate, where vpon groweth the hatred and lothing of our selues, & true humilitie, and there is kindled a new desire to seeke for God, in whom euery of vs may recover those good things, whereof we are found altogether void and empiric.

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 glory vpon, may bring vs to submission. Which rule it behooueth vs to keepe, if we wil 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 dishonour, which ought to ouerwhelme vs with shame. For there is nothing that mans nature more couereth, than to be stroked with flattery: and therefore when he heareth the gifts that are in him to be magnified, he leaneth to that side with ouermuch lightnesse of beleefe: whereby it is so much lesse to be marueiled, that herein the greatest part of men haue perniciously erred. For sith there is naturally planted in al mortall men a more than blind loue of themselves, they doe most willingly perswade themselves, that there is nothing in them that they ought worthily to hare. So without any maintenance of other, this most vaine opinion doth ech where get credit, that man is abundantly sufficient of him selfe to make him selfe liue well and blessedly. But if there be any that are content to thinke more modestly, howe soeuer they graunt

somewhat to God, least they should seeme arrogantly to take all to themselves, yet they so part it, that the principall matter of glorie and confidence alway remaineth with themselves. Now if there come talke, that with her allurementes 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 advanced the excellency of mans nature, so hath he bin excepted with the well liking reioycement in maner 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 in deede 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 al vaine confidence to deuise, appoint, attempt and goe about those thinges that we thinke to be for our behoofe, and in our first beginning of enterprife to be forsaken & destitute of sound vnderstanding and true strength, and yet to goe on boldely till we fall downe into destruction? But it can not otherwise happen to them that haue affiance that they can do any thing by their owne power. Therefore if any man giue heede to such teachers that holde vs in considering onely our owne good thinges, he shal not profite in learning to knowe himselfe, but shall be caried 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 seconde parte of wisdom consisteth in the knowledge of our selues, yet in the very maner of knowing there is much disagreement. For by the iudgement of the fleshe, a man thinketh that he hath then well searched himselfe, when trusting vpon his owne vnderstanding and integrity, he taketh boldnesse, and encourageth himselfe to doing the duties of vertue and bidding battell to vices, trauaileth with all his studie 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 spoiled of all confidence, he leaueth 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 awake vs to the studie of righteoufnesse and goodnesse. For we can not consider either our owne first estate, or to what end we are created, but we shalbe pricked forward to studie vpon immortalitie, 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 we are altogether turned away: so that lothing our owne miserable estate, wee may grone for sorrowe, and in groning may also sigh for the losse of that dignitie. But nowe when wee say that man ought to behold nothing in himselfe that may make him of bolde courage; wee meane that there is nothing in him vpon affiance whereof he ought to be proude.

Wherfore, if any list to heare what knowledge mā ought to haue of himself,

let vs thus diuide it, that first hee consider to what ende he is created, and endued with giftes that are not to be dispised, by which thought hee may be stirred vp to the meditation of the hearing of God & of the life to come. Then let him way his owne strength, or rather needie want of strength, by perceiuing wherof he may lie in extreme confusion, as one vtterly brought to naught. The first of these considerations tendeth to this ende, that hee may knowe what is his ductie: and the other, howe much hee is able to do towards the performing of it. Wee will entreat of them both, as the order of teaching shall require.

4 But because it must needes be that it was not a light negligence, but a detestable wicked act which God so seuerely punished, wee muste consider the verie forme of the same in the fall of Adam, that kindeled the horrible vengeance of God vpon al mankinde. It is a childish opinion that hath commonly beene receyued, concerning the intemperance of gluttonie, as though the summe and heade of all vertues consisted in the forebearing of one onely fruite, when there flowed on euery side store of all sortes of deinties y were to be desired, & when in that blessed fruitfulness of y earth, there was not onely plentie, but also varietie to make fare for pleasure. Therefore wee must looke further, because the forbidding him from the tree of y knowledge of good and euill, was the triall of obedience, that Adam in obeying might proue that hee was willingly subiect to the government of God. And the name of the tree it selfe sheweth, that that commaundement was giuen for none other ende, than for this that hee contented with his owne estate shoulde not with wicked lust aduaunce himselfe higher. But the promise whereby hee was bidden to hope for eternall life, so long as hee did not eate of the tree of life, and againe, the horrible threatening of Death so soone as hee shoulde tast of the tree of knowledge of good and euill, serued to prouue and exercise his faith. Hereof it is not harde to gather, by what meanes Adam prouoked the wrath of God against himselfe. Augustine indeede saith not amisse, when hee saith, that pride was the beginning of all euils. For if ambition had not listied vp man higher than was lawfull & than was permitted him, he might haue continued in his estate: but wee muste fetch a more full definition from the maner of the tentation that Moses describeth. For sith the woman was with the deceite of the Serpent led away by infidelitie, nowe it appeareth that disobedience was the beginning of y 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 y subiection of God, for that hee not only was taken with the entisements of Satan, but also despising the trueth, did turne out of the way to lying. And surely Gods worde being once despised, all reuerence of God is shaken off. Because his maiestie doeth no other wayes 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 there vpon arose ambition and pride, to which was adioyned vnthankfulness, for that Adam in coueting more than was graunted, did vnreuerently dispise the so great liberalitie of God wherewith he was enriched. And this was a monstrous wickednesse, that the sonne of the earth thought it a small thing

Rom. 5. 19.

that hee was made after the likenesse of God, vnlesse he might also be made egall with God. If Apostasie bee a filthie and detestable offence, whereby man draweth himselfe from the alleageance of his creatour, yea outrageously shaketh of his yoke: then it is but vaine to extenuate the sin of Adam. Albeit it was no simple Apostasie, but ioyned with shamefull reproches against God, while they assented to the sclauanders 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, & throw the selues whither their lust caried them. Therefore Bernard doth rightly teach that the gate of saluation is opened vnto vs, when at this day wee receiue the Gospell by our cares: euen as by the same windowes, when they stood open to Satan, death was let in. For Adam woulde neuer haue beene so bolde, as to do against the commaundement of God, but for this that hee did not beleue his worde. Truly this was the best bridle for the right keeping of al affections in good order, to thinke that there is nothing better than to keepe righteoufnesse in obeying the commaundements of God, and then that the cheefe end of happie life is to be beloued of him. Hee therefore being carried away with the blasphemies of the Deuill, did (as much as in him lay) extinguishe y whole glorie of God.

Rom. 8.

5 As the spirituall life of Adam was, to abide ioyned and bounde to his creatour, so his alienation from him was the death of his soule. Neither is it maruell 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 Paul, being made subiect to corruption against their will. If one shoulde aske the cause: no doubt it is for that they beare part of that punishment y man deserued, for whose vse they were created. Sith then the curse that goeth throughout all the coastes of the world proceeded from his fault both vpward and downewarde, 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 wisdome, strength, holinesse, trueth, and iustice (with which ornaments he had beene clothed) there came in the most horrible pestilences, blindness, weakenesse, filthinesse, falsehode, and iniustice, but also hee entangled & 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 farther 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 beene 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 fearefulnesse 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 suttletie, Satan went about by hiding the disease, to make it incurable. But when it was proued by manifest testimonie of
Scrip.

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 trauailed in this point, and aboue all other Augustine, to shewe that we are corrupted not by forein wickednesse, but that we bring with vs from the wombe of our mother a viciousnesse planted in our begetting, which to denie was too great shamelesnesse. But the rashnes of the Pelagians and Celestians wil not seeme maruellous to him, which by the writings of the holy man shal perceiue, howe shamelesse beasts they were in all other things. Surely it is not doubtfully spoken that Dauid 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, hee beginneth the confession of his owne wickednesse at his very begetting. Forasmuch as it is euident that that was not peculiar to Dauid alone, it followeth that the common estate of all mankinde is noted vnder his example. All we therefore that descend of vncleane seede, are borne infected which the contagiõ of sin, yea before that we see the 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. Psal. 51. 7.

6 We heare that the vncleannesse of the parentes so passeth into the children, that al without any exception at their beginning are defiled. But of this defiling we shall not finde the beginning vnlesse 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 al mankinde worthily corrupted: which the Apostle maketh plaine by comparing of him and Christ. As (saith he) by one man sin Rom. 5. 12. entered 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, righteousness and life is restored vnto vs. What will the Pelagians here 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 follow? Who can abide such robbie 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 betweene them two is this relation, that Adam wrapping vs in his destruction, destroyed vs with him, and Christe with his grace restored vs to saluation. In so cleare light of truth, I thinke wee neede not a longer or more laborious prooffe. So also in the 1. Epistle to the Corin. 2. Cor. 15. 22 when he goeth about to stablish the godly in the trust of ys resurrection, he sheweth ys the life is couered in Christ, ys was lost in Adam, he that pronounceth that we all are dead in Adam, doth also therewithal plainly testifie, that we were infected with the filth of sinne. For damnation could not reache vnto them ys were touched wth no gultines of iniquitie. But it can be no way plainlier vnderstanded what he meaneth than by relation of ys other mēbers of

of the sentence, where he teacheth that hope of life is restored in Christ. But it is well inough known that the same is done no other way, than when by maruellous maner of communicating, Christ poureth into vs the force of his righteoufnesse. As it is written in an other place, that the spirite is life vnto vs, for righteoufnesse sake. Therefore we may not otherwise expound that which is saide that we are dead in Adam, but thus, that he in sinning did not onely purchase mischiefe and ruine to himselfe, but also threwe 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 al his seed with the same corruption whereinto he was fallen. For otherwise the saying of Paul 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 were create by God, but such as it was corrupted in Adam. For it were not conuenient, that 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 inough pronounce, that all are borne euill and corrupted, where he teacheth, that whatsoeuer 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 needefull, which not a litle combred the old writers, whether the soule of the sonne doe proceede by deriuation from the soule of the father, because in it the infection principally resteth. We must be content with this, that such giftes as it pleased the Lord to haue bestowed vpon the nature of man, he left them with Adam, and therefore when Adam lost them after hee had receiued them, he lost them not onely from himselfe, but also from vs all. Who shall be carefull of a coneuiance from soule to soule, when hee shall heare that Adam receiued these ornamets which he lost, no lesse for vs than for himselfe? that they were not giuen to one man alone, 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 rottenesse into the other twigges that sprong out of them. For so were the children corrupted in y^e father, y^e they also were infectiue to their children: y^e is to say, so was y^e beginning of corruptiō in Adam, that by continuall flowing from one to another, it is conueied 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 parentes, 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 vnbeleueer be condemned as guiltie, and the beleueer quitte as innocent, they both do beget not innocents, but guiltie, because they beget of the corrupted

rupted nature. Nowe where as they doe in manner partake of the parentes holinesse, that is the speciall blessing of the people of God, which proueth not but that the first and vniuersall curse of mankinde went before. For of nature is guiltinesse, and sanctification is of supernaturall grace.

8 And to the end that these things be not spoken of a thing vncertaine and vnknown, 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 bee most agreable with trueth. Originall sin therefore seemeth to be the inheritably descending peruersnesse 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 fleshe: & that is it properly that Paul oftentimes calleth sinne. And these workes that arise out of it, as are adulteries, fornications, thestes, hatreds, murders, banketinges, after the same manner hee calleth the fruites of sinne, albeit they are likewise called sinnes both commonly in the Scripture, & also by the same Paul himselfe. Therefore these two things are distinctly to bee noted: that is, that being so in all partes of our nature corrupted and peruerted, wee are nowe euen for such corruption onely holden worthily damned and conuicted before God, to whome is nothing acceptable but righteousness, innocencie and purenesse. And yet is not that bonde in respecte of an others fault. For where it is saide, that by the sinne of Adam wee are made subiect to the iudgement of God, it is not so to bee taken, as if wee innocent and vnderferuing did beare the blame of his faulte. But because by his offending wee are all clothed with the curse, therefore is it saide that hee hath bounde vs. Neuerthelesse, 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 howe so euer Augustine doeth oftentimes call it an others sinne, (to shew the more plainly, that it is conueyed into vs by propagation) yet doeth hee also affirme withall that it is proper to euerie 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 spottes thereof. And therefore the verie infantes them selues, while they bring with them their owne damnation from their mothers wombe, are bounde, not by an others, but by their owne faulte. For though they haue not as yet brought forth the fruites of their owne iniquitie, yet they haue the seed thereof enclosed within them: yea their whole nature is a certaine seede of sinne: therefore it cannot be but hatefull and abominable to God. Wherevpon foloweth, that it is properly accounted sinne before God: for there coulde bee no giltinesse without sinne. The other point is, that this peruersnesse neuer ceaseth in vs, but continually bringeth forth newe fruites, euen the same workes of the fleshe that wee haue before described: like as a burning fornace bloweth out flame and sparcles, or as a spring doeth without ceassing cast out water. Therefore they which haue defined Originall sinne, to bee a lacking of Originall righteousness which ought to haue beene in vs, although indeede they comprehend all that is in
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the thing it selfe: yet they haue not fully enough expressed the force and efficacy thereof. For our nature is not onely bare and emptie of goodnesse, but also is so plenteous and fruitfull of all euilles, that it cannot bee idle. They that haue saide, that it is a concupiscence, haue vsed a worde not verie farre from the matter, if this were added, which is not graunted by the most part, that whatsoeuer is in man, euen from the vnderstanding to the will, from the soule to the fleshe, is corrupted and stuffed full with this concupiscence: or, to ende it shortlier, that whole man is of himselfe nothing else but concupiscence.

9 Wherefore, I haue saide that all the partes of the soule are possessed of sinne, sith Adam fell away from the fountaine of righteousness. For not onely the inferiour appetite allured him, but wicked impietie possessed the very castle of his minde, and pride pearced to the innermost part of his hart. So that it is a fonde and foolish thing, to restrain the corruption that proceeded from thence, onely to the sensuall motions as they call them, or to call it a certaine nouriture, that allureth, stirreth and draweth to sinne onely that parte, which among them is called Sensualitie. Wherein Peter Lombarde hath disclosed his grosse ignorance, which seeking and 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 fleshe, 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 al doubt: teaching that corruption resteth not in one parte alone, but that nothing is pure and cleane from the deadly infection thereof. For entreating of corrupted nature, hee doeth not onely condemne the inordinate motions of appetites that appeare, but specially trauelleth to prooue that the vnderstanding minde is subiect to blindnesse, and the hearte to peruersnesse. And the same thirde chapter to the Romanes is nothing else but a description of originall sinne. That appeareth more plainly by the renewing. For the spirite which is compared with the old man and the flesh, doth not only signifie the grace whereby the inferiour or sensuall parte of the soule is amended, but also conteyneth a full reformation of all the parts. And therefore Paul doth commaunde, not onely that our grosse appetites be brought to naught, but also that we our selues be renewed in the spirit of our mind, as likewise in an other place he biddeth vs to be transformed in newnesse of minde. Wherevpon followeth, that the same part, wherein 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 bee healed, but in manner so put on a newe nature. Howe farre sinne possesseth both the vnderstanding minde and the hearte, wee will see hereafter. Here I onely purposed shortly to touch that the whole man from the heade to the foote is so ouerwhelmed as with an ouerflowing of water, that no parte of him is free from sinne, and that therefore whatsoeuer proceedeth from him is accompted for sinne, as Paul sayth, that all the affections of the fleshe or thoughtes, are enmities against GOD, and therefore death.

10 Now let them go, that presume to make God author of their sins, because wee say that men are naturally sinnefull. They doe wrongfully seeke the worke of God in their owne filthinesse, which they ought rather to haue sought in the nature of Adam, while it was yet sounde and vn-corrupted. Therefore our destruction commeth of the fault of our owne fleshe and not of God, forasmuch as we perished by no other meane but by this, that we degendred from our first estate. But yet let not any man here murmure and say, that God might haue better foreseene for our saluation, if he had prouided that Adam should not haue fallen. For this obiection both is to be abhorred of all godly mindes, for the too much presumptuous curiositie of it, and also pertaineth to the secret of predestination which shal after be entreated of in place conuenient. Wherefore let vs remember that our fall is to be imputed to the corruption of nature, that wee accuse not God himselfe the author of nature. True in deede it is, that the same deadly wound sticketh fast in nature: but it is much materiall to knowe, whether it came into nature from else where, or from the beginning hath rested in it. But it is euident that the wounde was giuen by sinne. Therefore there is no cause why we should cōplaine 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 many inuentions. Ecc1. 7. 13. It appeareth that the destruction of man is to be imputed onely to himselfe, forasmuch as hauing gotten vprightnesse by the goodnesse of God, hee by his owne madnesse is fallen into vanitie.

11 We say therefore that man is corrupted with faultinesse naturall, but such as proceeded not from nature. Wee denie that it proceeded from nature, to make appeare that it is rather a qualitic come from some other thing, which is happened to a man, than a substantiall propertie that hath bin put into him from the beginning. Yet we call it Natural, that no man should think yeuery man getteth it by euil custom, whereas it holdeth al men bound by inheritably descending right. And this we do not of our own heads without authoritie. For, for the same cause the Apostle teacheth, that we are al by nature the children of wrath. How could God, whom al his meanest workes do please, be wrathful against the noblest of al his creatures? But he is rather wrathful against y corruptiō of his work, than against his work it selfe. Therefore if, for that mans nature is corrupted, man is not vnfitly saide to bee by nature abhominable to God, it shalbe 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 reigne in our fleshe where the grace of God is absent. So vanisheth away the foolish trifling deuise of the Manichees, which when they imagined an euilnesse hauing substance in man, presumed to forge for him a newe Creator, least they should seeme to assigne to the righteous God the cause and beginning of euill. Eph. 2. 3.

The ij. Chapter.

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

Sith we haue seene, that the dominion of sinne, since the time that it helde the first man bound vnto it, doth not onely reigne in all mankind, but also wholly possesseth euery soule: nowe must wee more neerely examine, since we are brought into that bondage, whether we be spoiled of all Freedome or no: and if yet there remaine any parcel, how farre the force thereof proceedeth. But to the end that the truth of this question may more easily appeare vnto vs, I will by the way set vp a marke, whereunto the whole summe may be directed. And this shalbe the best way to auoid errour, if the daungers be considered that are like to fall on both sides. For when man is put from al vprightnesse, by and by he thereby taketh occasion of slouthfulness: and because it is said, that by himselfe he can do nothing to the studie of righteousnes, forthwith he neglecteth it wholly, as if it pertained nothing vnto him. Againe, he can presume to take nothing vpon himselfe, be it neuer so litle, but that both Gods honour shalbe thereby taken from him, and man himselfe be ouerthrowen with rash confidence. Therefore to the end we strike not vpon these rocks, this course is to be kept, that man being enforced that there remaineth in him no goodnes, & being on euery 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. Howe necessary this second point is, euery man seeth. The first, I see is doubted of by moe than it ought to be. For this being set out of controuersie, it ought then plainly to stand for trueth, that nothing is to be taken away from man of his owne, as farre as it behoueth that he be throwen downe from false boasting of himselfe. For if it were not granted to man to glory in himselfe euen at that time, when by the bountifullnes of God he was garnished with most singular ornamentes, how much ought he now to be humbled, sith for his vnthankfulness hee is thrust downe from hie glorie into extreme shame? At that time (I say) when he was aduanced to the hiest degree of honour, the Scripture attributeth nothing else vnto him, but that hee was created after the image of God, wherby it secretly teacheth, that man was blessed, not by his own good things, but by the partaking of God. What therefore remaineth nowe, but that he being naked and destitute of all glorie, doe acknowledge G O D, to whose liberalitie he could not be thankfull when hee flowed full of the riches of his grace: and that now at length with confession of his owne povertie he glorifie him, whom in the acknowledging of his good gifts, he did not glorifie? Also it is as much for our profite, that all praise of wisdom & strength be taken from vs as it pertaineth to the glorie of G O D that they ioine 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 wee are taught to fight of our owne force, but that we be lifted 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 do babble of them. Wherefore not without cause is this excellent sentence oft repeated by Augustine, that free will is rather throwen downe headlong,

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than stablished by them that defend it. This I thought needfull to speake before, as by way of preface for many mens sakes, which when they heare mans power ouerthrowen from the ground, that the power of God may be buylded in man, do much hate this maner of disputing as dangerous, much more superfluous, which yet appeareth to be both in religion necessarie, & for vs most profitable.

2 Whereas we haue a litle before said, that in the vnderstanding minde, & in the heart are placed the powers of the soule, now let vs consider what they both are able to do. The Philosophers in deede with great consent do imagine that in the vnderstanding minde sitteth reason, which like a lampe giueth light to all counsels, & like a Queene gouerneth the will, for they say that it is so endued with diuine light, that it can giue good counsel, & so excelleth in liuely force that it is able well to gouerne. On the other side, that sense is dull & bleare eyed, that it alway creepeth on y^e ground, & walloweth in grosse objects, and neuer listeth yp it selfe to true insight. That the appetite, if it can abide to obey reason, and do not yield it selfe to sense to be subdued, is caried on to the studie of vertues, holdeth on the right way, and is transformed into will: but if it giue it selfe subiect into the bondage of sense, it is by it corrupted and peruerced, so that it dependeth into lust. And whereas by their opinion there do sir in the soule those powers that I haue spoken of before, vnderstanding, sense, appetite or will, which worde will is nowe more commonly vsed, they say that vnderstanding is endued with reason, the best gouernesse toward good and blessed life, so that it do hold it selfe within his owne excellencie, & shew forth the force that is naturally giuen it. But that inferiour motion of it, which is called sense, wherewith man is drawen to error & deceit, they say to be such, that it may be tamed with the rod of reason, & by litle & litle be vanquished. They place will in the midst betweene reason & sense, as a thing at her own ordering, & hauing libertie whether it list to obey to reason, or giue forth it selfe to be rauished by sense.

3 Sometime in deede they do not deny, being ouercome by verie experience, how hardly man stablisheth reason to raigne as Queene within him selfe, while sometime he is tickled with entisements of pleasures, sometime deceiuéd with false semblance of good things, sometime importunately stricken with immoderate affections, and violently haled out of the way as it were with ropes or strings of sinowes, as Plato sayth. For which reason Cicero saith, that these sparkes giuen by nature, are with peruerse opinions & euill maners by and by quenched: But when such diseases haue once gotten places in the mindes of men: they grant that they doe more outragiously ouerflow, than that they easily may be restrained: and they sticke not to compare them to wild horses which throwing away reason as it were casting y^e Chariot diuen, do range vnrulely & without measure. But this they make no question of, that vertues and vices are in our owne power. For if (say they) it be in our choise to do this or that, then is it also in our choise not to do. Now if it be in our choise not to do, then is it also to do, but of free choise we seeme to do those things that we do, and to forbear those things that we forbear. Therefore if we do any good thing when we list, we may likewise leaue it vndone: if we do any euil, we may also eschew the same. Yet

De leg. 16.
li. 1.
Tu. qu. 2, li. 3

Ari. eth. li.
3. ca. 5.

Seneca.

Some of them haue burst forth into so great licentiousnesse, that they haue boasted that it is in deede Gods gift that we liue, but our owne that we liue well & 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 wee be praised, & 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 wisdom to be taken of himselfe. This therefore is the summe of the opinion of all the Philosophers, that the reason of mans vnderstanding is sufficient for right gouernance: that Will being subiect to it, is in deede moued by Sense to euil 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.

De natu. de lib. 3.

4 Among the Ecclesiasticall writers, albeit there haue bene none that did not acknowledge both that the soundnesse 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 ancient, as I thinke, did so much aduance the strength of man, vpon this consideration, lest if they should haue expressly confessed his weakenesse, first they should haue made the Philosophers, with whom they then contended, to laugh at them: and then lest they should giue to \bar{y} flesh, which of it selfe was dull to goodnes, a new occasion of slouthfulness. 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 Scripture halfe to agree with the teachings of the Philosophers. But that they principally regarded that seconde point, not to make place for slothfulness, appeareth by their owne wordes. Chrysostom hath in one place: Because God hath put both good and euill things in our owne power, hee hath giuen vs Freedom of election, and he withholdeth not the vnwilling, but embraceth the willing. Againe, Oftentimes he that is euill, if he will, is turned into good, and he that is good by slouthfulness falleth and commeth euill, because God made our nature to haue free will, and he layth not necessitie vpon vs, but giuing conuenient remedies, suffreth all to lye in the mynde of the patient. Againe, As vnlesse wee be holpen by the grace of God, wee can neuer doe any thing well: so vnlesse wee bring that which is our owne, wee cannot obtaine the fauour of God. And hee had saide before, that it shoulde 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 sayeth, that it is our parte to begin, but Gods to make an ende: our parte to offer what we can, his to fulfill what wee cannot. You see nowe that in these sayings they gaue to man towards the studie of vertue more than was meete, because they thought that they could not otherwise awake the dulnesse that was naturally in vs, but if they did proue that in it onely wee sinned. With what apt handeling they haue done the same, we shal after see. Surely that the sayings which we haue rehearsed are most false, shal by and by apere. Now although \bar{y} Grecians more than other and

Hom. de proditiōe Iudæ. Chrysost. in Gen. hom. 18.

Hom. 52.

Dialog. 3. contra Pelagium.

and among them principally Chrystostome haue passed measure in aduancing the power of mans will, yet all the olde writers, except Augustine, do in this poynt so either vary, or wauer, or speake doubtfully, that in manner no certainty can be gathered of their writings. Therefore we wil not tary vpon exact reckening of euery one of their sayings, but here and there wee will touch out of euery one of them so much as the plaine declaration of the matter shall seeme to require. As for them y^e followed after, while euery one for him selfe sought praise of wit, in defending of mans nature, they fell continually by lide and litle one after an other into worse and worse, till it came so fare, that man was commonly thought to be corrupted only in his sensuall parte, and to haue reason altogether, and wil for the more part vn-corrupted. In the meane time this slewe 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 hundreth man did euen sleightly vnderstand. As for my part, if I would plainely shew 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 spoiled 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 Freewill still remained among the Latines, as if man had still abiden in vn-corrupted state. And the Grecians were not ashamed to vse the worde much more arrogantly: For they called it *Autexousion*, that is to say, of her owne power, as if a man had the power of himselfe. Because therfore al, euen to the common people, had receiued this principle, that man was endued with Free will, & many of them that would seeme excellent, can not tel how far it extendeth: first let vs search out the force of the word it selfe, & then let vs proceede on by the simplicity of the Scripture, to shewe what man is able to do of his own nature, toward good or euill. What Free will is, where as it is a word commonly found in all mens writings, yet few haue defined. Yet it seemeth that Origen rehearsed that thing whereof they were all agreed, when he sayd, that it is a power of reason to discerne good or euill, and a power of will to choose either of them. And Augustine varieth not from him, when he teacheth that it is a power of reason and will, wherby good is chosen while grace assisteth, and euill when grace ceaseth. Bernarde, while he meaneth to speake more suttly, speaketh more darkely, which saith, that it is a consent by reason of the liberty of will that can not be lost, & the iudgement of reason that can not be auoyded. And the definition of Anselmus is not familiar enough, which saith that it is a power to kepe vprightnesse for it selfe. Therefore Peter Lombard and the other Scholemen, haue rather embraced Augustines definition, because it both was plainer and did not exclude the grace of God, without the which they sawe that wil was not sufficient for it selfe. But they bring also of their owne such thinges as they ought either to be better, or to serue for playner declaration. First, they agree that the name of *Arbitrium*, that is free choise, is rather to be referred to reason, whose part is to discerne betweene good and euil things: and the adiectiue *Free*, pertayneth properly to will, which may be turned

Lib. 1.
περι αἰχμα

Lib. 2.
Dist. 24.

to either of both. Wherefore sith Freedome properly belongeth to will, Thomas saith that it would very well agree, if Free will be called a power of choosing, which being mixt of vnderstanding & appetite, doth more encline to appetite. Nowe haue we in what thinges they teach that the power of Free will consisteth, that is to say, in reason and will. Nowe remaineth that we shortly see how much they giue to either part.

5 They are commonly wont to make subiect to the free determination of man, thinges meane, y^e is which belong not to the kingdome of God: but they doe referre true righteousnesse to the special grace of God and spirituall regeneration. Which thing while the author of y^e booke Of the calling of the Gentiles meaneth to shewe, he reckoneth vp three sortes of Willes, the first Sensitiue, the second Naturall, the third Spirituall, of which he sayth, that man hath the first two at his owne libertie, the last is the worke of the holy ghost in man. Which whether it be true or not, shalbe enreated 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 cometh to passe, that when writers speake of free will, they principally seeke not what it is able to do to ciuil or outward doinges, 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 shewe a good reason. There hath bin a distinction receiued in Schooles, that reckoneth vp three sortes 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 necessaric that difference is to be considered, shal appeare in another place.

6 If this be receiued, then shall it be out of controuersie that man hath not free will to do good workes, vnlesse he be holpen by grace, and that by speciall grace, which is giuen to the onely elect by regeneration. For I doe not passe vpon these phrenetike men, which babble that grace is offered generally and without difference. But this is not yet made plaine, whether he be altogether deprived of power to doe well, or whether he haue yet some power, although it be but litle & weake, which by it selfe in deede can do nothing, but by helpe of grace doth also her part. While the Maister of the Sentences goeth about to make that plaine, he sayeth there are two sortes of grace necessaric for vs, whereby we may be made meete to doe a good worke: the one they call a Working grace, whereby wee effectually will to doe good: the other a Together working grace, which followeth good wil in helping it. In which diuision this I milke, 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 maner, desireth good though vneffectually. As Bernard affirming that good will is in deede 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 Lombard would seeme to haue borrowed this diuision. In the

second part of the diuision, the doubtfulness of speach 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 voyde the First grace by refusing it, or to confirme it by obediently following it. Whereas the author of the booke, *Of the calling of the Gentiles*, Amb. lib. 2. cap. 4. doth thus expresse it, that it is free for them that vse the iudgement of reason, to depart from grace, that it may be worthy reward not to haue departed, & that the thing which could not be done but by the working together of the holy Ghost, may be imputed to their merites, by whose wil it was possible to haue not bin done. These two things I had wil to note by the way, that nowe, reader, thou mayest see howe much I dissent from the soundest sorte of the schoolemen. For I do much farther differ from the later Sophisters, euen so much as they be farther gone from the auncient time. But yet somewhat, after such a sorte as it is, we perceiue by this diuision, after what maner they haue giuen Free will to man. For at length Lombard saith, Libr. 2. dist. 25. that we haue not free will therfore, because we are alike able either to do or to thinke good and euill, but onely that we are free from compulsion: which freedome is not hindered, although wee be peruerse and the bondmen of sinne, and can doe nothing but sinne.

7 Therefore, man shalbe sayd to haue free wil after this sort, not because he hath a free choise as well of good as of euill, but because he doth euil by Will, and not by compulsion. That is very wel said: but to what purpose was it to garnish so small a matter with so proude 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 bounde with the fetters of sinne. Truly I do abhorre striuing about wordes wherewith the Church is vainely wearied: but I thinke that such wordes are with great religious carefulnesse to be taken heede of, which sounde of any absurdity, specially where the error is hurtfull. Howe fewe 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 owne minde and will, and that he is able of himselfe to turne himselfe to whether part he will? But some one will say: that peril shalbe 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 falsity, he will sooner conceiue an error of one litle word, than a trueth 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 maner that came after, while they sticke vpon the naturall signification of the word, haue bin caried into a trust of themselues that bringeth them to destruction.

8 But if the authority of the fathers do moue vs, they haue in deed continually y word in their mouth: but they do withall declare, how much they esteeme y vse of it. First of all Augustine, which sticketh not to cal it Bonde will. In one place he is angry with them that denie free wil: but he declareth his chiefe reason why, when he sayeth onely, Let not any man be so bolde to deny the freedome of will, that he go about to excuse sinne. But surely in an other 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 conquire it. Lib. 7. cōtra Iul. Hom. 53. in Ioan. Ad Anast. cap. 44.

Deperfect. Againe, that when will was ouercome with sinne wherinto it fell, nature began to want freedome. Againe, that man hauing ill vsed his free will, lost both himself & it. Againe, free will is become captiue, that it can do nothing toward righteousnes. Againe, that it cannot be free, which the grace of God hath not made free. Againe, 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 rendereth 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 he had shewed that free will is established by grace, he sharply inueyeth against them that take it vpon them without grace. Why therefore (saith he) dare wretched men either be proud of free will before that they be 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 Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedome. If then they be the bondmen of sinne, why do they boast them of free will? For of whome a man is ouercome, to him he is made bond. But if they be made free, why do they boast them as of their owne worke? Are they so free, that they will not be his bondseruants, which saith: Without me ye can do nothing? Beside that also in another place he seemeth sportingly to mocke at the vse of that worde, when he sayde, that will was in deede free, but not made free, free to righteousness, but the bondseruant of sinne. Which saying in another place he repeateth and expoundeth, that man is not free from righteousness, but by choyse of will, and from sinne he is not free but by grace of the Saviour. He that doeth testifie, that the freedome of man is nothing else but a freemaking or manumission from righteousness, seemeth trimly to mock 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 mee for so doing. But because I thinke it cannot be kept without great perill, and that it shoulde 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 preiudice against my self, which haue confessed, that all the ecclesiasticall writers, except Augustine, haue spoken so doutfully or diuersly in this matter, that no certieintie can be had out of their writings. For some will so construe this, that I meant therefore to thrust them from giuing any voyce herein, because they are all against me. As for me, I meant it to no other end but this, that I simply and in good faith would haue godly wittes prouided for, which if they waite vpon those mens opinions in this point, they shall alway wauer vncertaine. In such sort do they sometime teach, man being spoyled 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 appeare, that in such doutfulness of speech, they nothing, or verie litle esteeming mans strength, haue giuen the praise of all good things to the holy Ghost, if I here recite certain sentences of theirs, whereby that is plainly taught. For what meaneth

that

that saying of Cyprian, which Augustine so oft repeateth, that we ought to glory of nothing, because we haue nothing of our owne, but that man wholly despoiled in himselfe, may learne to hang al vpon God. What meaneth that saying of Augustine and Eucherius, when they expound, that Christ is the tree of life, to whom he that reacheth his hand, shal liue? and y^e the tree of knowledge of good & euil, is the free choise of will, wherof whoso tasteth, forsaking the grace of God, he shal dye? What meaneth that of Chrysostom, 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 sin: 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 betweene God & man? I could rehearse of this sort very many sayings out of other, but least any man should cauill, that I choose out those things only that make for my purpose, and do craftily leaue out such things as make against mee, therefore I doe forbear such rehearfall. Yet this I dare affirme, howsoeuer they be somtime too busie in aduancing free will, y^e this yet was their purposed marke, to teach man beeing altogether turned away from trust of his owne power, to haue his strength reposed in God alone. Nowe come I to the simple setting foorth of the truth, in considering the nature of man.

10 But I am here constrayned to reapeate that, which in the beginning of this chapter, I spake by way of preface. As any man is most discouraged and throwen downe with conscience of his owne miserie, needinesse, nakednesse and shame, so hath hee 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 he wanteth is to be recouered in God, but to himselfe he can take nothing more than his own right, be it neuer so litle, but that he shall destroy himselfe with vaine confidence, and conueying the honor of God to himselfe, become guilty of hainous sacriledge. And truly so oft as this lust inuadeth our minde, y^e we desire to haue somewhat of our own, which may rest in our selues rather then in God, let vs know y^e this thought is ministred vs by no other counseller, but by him that perswaded our first parentes, to haue a will to be like vnto Gods, knowing both good and euill. If it be the word of the deuill 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 own, y^e he may rest in himselfe. But that we be not allured to this vaine affiance, let so many fore sentences make vs afraide, by which we be throwen downe: as are, Cursed is he which trusteth in man, & setteth flesh to be his arme. Again, y^e God hath not pleasure in the strength of a horse, neither deliteth in the legs of man, but deliteth in them that feare him, & attend vpon his mercy. Againe, that it is he which giueth strength vnto him that fainteth, & vnto him y^e hath no strength, he encreaseth power, euen the young men shall faint and be weary, and the yong men shall stumble and fall, but they that wait 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 litle, if wee meane to haue God fauorable vnto vs, which resisteth the proud, & giueth

De prædelli-
natio e
Sanctorum,
lib. 4.
Aug. in gen.

Hom. in ad-
uent.

Jer. 17. 5.
Psa. 147. 10.

Psa. 40. 29.

Iac. 4. 6.

grace to the humble. And then againe, let these promises come into our remembrance. I will poure out water vpon the thirstie, and Floudes vpon the dry ground. Againe, All ye that thirst, come vnto the waters. Which promises do testifie, that none are admitted to receive the blessings of God, but they that pine away with feeling of their owne pouerty. And such promises are not to be passed ouer, as is that of Esay: 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 euerlasting light, & the God thy glory. The Lord in deede doth not take away the shining of the Sunne or Moone from his seruantes, but because he will himselfe alone appeare glorious in them, hee calleth their confidence far away, euen from those things, that are counted in their opinion most excellent.

II Truly, that saying of Chrystome hath alway exceedingly well pleased me, that the foundation of our Wisedome is humility: but yet more that saying of Augustine, As (sayth he) that same Rhetorician being asked, what was the first thing in the rules of eloquence, answered Pronunciation: and what was the second, he answered Pronunciation: and what was the thirde, he answered Pronunciation: so if one aske mee of the rules of Christian religion, the First, the Second, and Thirde time, and alwayes I would answer Humilitie. But he meaneth not humilitie, when a man knowing some litle vertue to be in himselfe, absteineth from pride and haughtinesse of minde, but when he truly feeleth himselfe to bee such a one, as hath no refuge but in humilitie: as in an other place he declareth. Lette no man (sayth he) flatter himselfe: of his owne he is a deuill. 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, maymed, 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 warres 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. Howe much more weake thou art in thy selfe, so much the more the Lorde receiueh thee. So vpon the three score and tenne Psalme hec forbiddeth vs to remember our owne righteousnesse, that wee 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 G O D, when of our selues we are nothing but euill. Let vs not therefore striue here with God for our right, as if that were withdrawn from our saluation which is giuen to him. For as our humblenesse is his hiennesse, so the confession of our humblenes hath his mercy ready for remedy. Neither yet do I require that man not conuincd should willingly yelde himselfe: nor if he hath any power, that he should turne his minde from it, to bee subdued vnto true humilitie. But that laying away the disease of selfeloue and desire of victorie, wherewith beeing blinded, hee thinketh too highly of himselfe, he shoulde well consider himselfe in the

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Esai. 44. 3.
Esai. 55. 1.

Ho de perf.
euange.
Epi. 56.
ad Dioc.

In Ioan.
hom. 49.

Li. de Nat. &
gratia, ca. 52
In pf. 45.

true looking glasse of the Scripture. 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 righteousness, which were sufficient to the attaining of heauenly life and eternal felicitie. Therefore banishing himselfe from the kingdome of God, he was also, deprivied of the spirituall giftes, where with he had bin 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 hee recover them. Of that sort are faith, the loue of God, charitie toward our neighbours, the studie of holinesse and righteousness. 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. Again, soundnesse of the vnderstanding minde and vprightnesse of heart 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 found and perfect, which is both feeble and drowned in many darkenesses. And as for our will, the peruersenes thereof is more than sufficiently knowen. Sith therefore reason, wherby a man discerneth betweene good and euill, wherby he vnderstandeth and iudgeth, is a naturall gift, it could not be altogether destroid, 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 words both things are plainly expressed, that in y^e perverted & degendred nature of man, there shine yet some sparks that shew that he is a creature hauing reason, and that he differeth from brute beastes, because he is endued with vnderstanding: and yet that this light is choaked with great thicknesse of ignoraunce, that it can not effectually gette abroad. So will, because it is vnseparable from the nature of man, perished not, but was bound 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, wher in we deuided the soule of man into vnderstanding and will: let vs first examine the force of vnderstanding. So to condemne it of perpetuall blindenesse, that a man leaue vnto it no manner of skill in any kinde of thinges, is not onely against the worde of God, but also against the experience of common reason. For we see that there is planted in man a certaine desire to searche out trueti, 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 trueti, the neglecting whereof, in brute beastes proueth a grosse sense without reason, albeit, this litle desire, such as it is, faimeth before it enter the beginning of her race, because it by and by falleth into vanitie. For the witte of man can not for dulnesse keepe the right way to search out

Iohn. 1. 5.

truth, but strayeth in diuerse errors, and as it were groping in darkenesse, oftentimes stumbleth, till at length it wander and vanisheth away, so in seeking trueth, it doeth bewray howe vnfitte it is to seeke and finde truth. And then it is sore troubled with an other vanitie, that oftentimes it discerneth not those things, to the true knowledge whereof it were expedient to bend it selfe, and therefore it tormenteth it selfe with fonde curiositie, in searching out things superfluous and nothing worth: and to things most necessary to be knownen, it either taketh no heede, or negligently or seldome turneth, but surely scarce at any time applieth her studie earnestly vnto them. Of which petuersenesse, 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 themselues to bee very wise, yet he pronounceth that they are all vaine and trifling.

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 blockishe, but that it tasteth also some litle of the huer things, howsoever it more negligently apply the searching of them, but yet not that with like power of conceiuing. For when it is carried vppe about the compasse of this present life, then is it principally conuincd of her owne weakenesse. Wherefore, that we may the better seee howe farre according to the degrees of her abilitie it proceedeth in euery thing, it is good that I putte soorth a distinction. Let this therefore be the distinction, that there is one vnderstanding of earthly things, an other of heauenly 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 bounds thereof. Heauenly things, I call the pure knowledge of God, the order of true righteousnesse, and the mysteries of the heauenly kingdome. Of the first sort are policie, gouernaunce of householde, all handy craftes, and liberrall Sciences. Of the second sorte are the knowlege of G O D 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 instinctio bent to cherishe and to preserue the fellowshippe of these companies, therefore wee seee that there are in the mindes of all men vniuersal imprcssions of a certaine ciuill honestie and order. Hereby 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. Hereof commeth that same perpetuall consent, as well of all nations as of al men vnto lawes, because the seeds thereof are naturally planted in all men without any teacher or lawmaker. And I weye not the disensions and fightinges that afterward arise while some desire to peruert lawe and right, the loose absolute gouernement of Kinges, that lust straieth abroad in steade of right, as thecues and robbers,

some

some (which is a faulte 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 doe 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 fantasie doe abhorre that, which in vnderstanding of minde they allowe. The latter sorte of it striuing in such, that taketh not away the first conceiuing of equitie. For when men do striue among themselues, concerning the pointes of lawes, they agree together in a certaine summe of equitie. Wherein is proued the weakenes of mans wit, which euen then when it seemeth to follow the right way, yet halteth and staggereth, but stil this remaineth true, that there is sownen 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.

14 Now doe followe the artes, both the liberall, and the handy craftes, in learning whereof, because there is in vs all a certaine aptnesse, in them also doeth appeare the force of mans witte: but albeit, all men be not apt to learne them all, yet is this a token certayne enough of the common naturall power, that there is almost no man founde, whose conceite of witte doeth not in some arte or other shewe foorth it selfe. Neither haue they onely a power or facilitie to learne, but also to deuise in euerie art some newe thing, either to amplifie or make perfecter that which hath bene learned of an other that went before, which thing, as it moued Plato erroneously to teach, that such conceiuing is nothing else, but a calling to remembraunce, so by good reason it ought to compell vs to confesse, that the beginning thereof is naturally planted in the witte of man. These poyntes therefore doe plainely testifie, that there is giuen to men naturally an vniuersall conceiuing of reason and of vnderstanding. Yet is it so an vniuersall benefite, that therein euerie man ought for himselfe to acknowledge the peculiar grace of G. O. D. To which thankfulnessse the creator himselfe doeth sufficiently awake vs, when hee createth naturall fooles, in whome hee maketh vs to see with what giftes mans soule excelleth, if it bee not endued with his lighre, which is so naturall in all men, that it is yet altogether a free giste of his liberalitie towardes euerie 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 fewe, is no perfecte argument of the common conceiuing of wit, yet because without difference it happeneth to the godlic and vngodlic, it is rightfully reckened among naturall giftes.

15 So ofte therefore as wee fight vpon prophane writers, let vs bee put in minde by that maruellous light of trueth that shineth in them, that the wit of man, howe much soeuer it be peruerted and fallen from the first integritie, is yet stil clothed and garnished with excellent giftes of God. If we consider that the spirite of God is the onely fountaine of trueth, wee will neither refuse nor dispise the truth it selfe, wheresoeuer it shall appeare, except we will dishonourable vse the spirite of God: for the giftes of the holy
Ghoſt

Ghost cannot bee set light by, without contempt and reproch of himselfe: And what? Shall wee denie that the truth shined to the olde Lawyers, which haue set foorth Ciuil order and Discipline with so great equitie? Shall we say that the Philosophers were blinde both in thar exquisite contemplation, and cunning description of nature? Shall wee say that they had no wit, which by setting in order the art of speach, haue taught vs to speake with reason? Shall we say that they were madde, which in setting foorth Physicke, haue employed their diligence for vs? What of all the Mathematicall sciences? shall wee thinke them doring errors of madde men? no, rather wee can not reade the writing of the olde men, concerning these things, without great admiration of their wit. But shall wee thinke any thing praise worthie or excellent, which we doe not reknowledge to come of God? Let vs bee ashamed of so great vnthankfulness into which the heathen Poetes fell not, which confessed that both Philosophie and Lawes, and all good artes, were the inuentions of Gods. Sith then it appeareth that these men whonie the scripture calleth naturall men, were of so sharpe and deepe sight in searching out of inferiour things, let vs learne by such examples, howe many good things the Lorde hath left to the nature of man, after that it hath beene spoiled of the true God.

16 But in the meane time yet let vs not forget, that these are the most excellent good giftes of the spirite of God, which for the common benefite of mankind hee dealeth abroad to whome it pleaseth him. For if it be houghed, that the vnderstanding and skill that was required for the framing of the tabernacle, shoulde bee powred into Beseleel and Oliab by the spirit of God, it is no maruell if the knowledge of those things which are moste excellent in mans life, be sayde to bee communicated vnto vs by the spirite of God. Neither is there cause why any man should aske, what haue ywicked to doe with Gods spirite, which are altogether estraunged from God. For where it is saide that the spirite of God dwelleth in the faithfull onely, that is to be vnderstanded of the spirit of sanctification, by the which we are consecrate to God himselfe, to bee his temples: yet doeth hee neuertheles fill, mooue and quicken all things with the vertue of the same spirite, and that according to the propertie of euerie kinde which he hath giuen to it by law of creation. If it haue beene the Lordes will that wee shoulde bee holpen by the trauell and seruice of the wicked in naturall Philosophie, Dialecticke, the Mathematicall knowledges, and other: let vs vse it, leaste if wee neglect the giftes of God, willingly offered in them, wee suffer iuste punishment for our slouthfulness. But least any shoulde thinke a man to bee blessed, when vnder the elementes of this worlde there is granted vnto him so great an abilitie to conceiue truth, it is also to bee added that all this power to vnderstande, and the vnderstanding that followeth thereof, is a vanishing and transitorie thing before God, where is not a steedefast foundation of truth. For Augustine teacheth most truelic, whome (as we haue saide) the Master of the Sentences, and the other Scholmen 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 themselves in asmuch as they come from God, but because
they

Exo. 31. 2. &
35. 30.

Lib. 2.
dist. 25.

they cease to be pure to a defiled man, that he should haue no praise of the.

17 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 beasts, as brute beastes doe differ in sense from thinges without life. For whereas there be borne certaine natural fooles 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 bee ascribed to the kindenesse of God, because if he had not spared vs, our rebellion had drawē 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 G O D setteth foorth 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 an other, but that in common nature might appeare. aboute other the speciall grace of God; which in omitting many, saith openly that it is bounde to none. Beside that, God poureth in singular motions, according to the calling of euery man. Of which thing we meete with many examples in the bookes of the Iudges, where it is saide, 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 hearts the Lord had touched. And when his ministring in the kingdom was prophesied of, Samuel saide thus: The spirite of the Lord shall come vpon thee, and thou shalt be an other man. And this was continued to the whole course of gouernement: as after it is spoken of Dauid, that the spirit of the Lord came vpon him from that day forward. But the same is spoken in an other place as touching particular morions: yea in Homer men are saide to excell in witte, not onely as Iupiter hath dealt to euery man, but also as the time required. And truely experience teacheth, while many times such men stand amased as were most sharp and deepe witted; that the wittes of men are in the hande 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 al mankinde and other creatures.

Judg. 6. 34.

1. Sam. 10. 6.

1. Sam. 6. 13.

Psa. 107. 40.

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, where in our saluation standeth: and the way to frame our life according to the rule of his lawe. Both in the first two, and in the second, properly they that are most wittie, are blinder than molles. I denie not that there be here and there read in Philosophers, concerning God, many thinges well and aply spoken, but yet such as doe alway fauour of a certaine eiddie imagination. The Lord gaue them in deed, as is aboue said, a litle tast of his godhead, that they should not pretend ignorance to colour their vngodlinesse: and many times he moued them to speake many thinges, by confession whereof themselves might be conuincid: But they so saue the things that they saw, that by such seeing they were not directed to y truth, much lesse did attaine vnto

vnto it, like as a wayfaring man in the middelt of the fieldē, for a sodaine moment, seeth faire and wide the glistering of lightening in the night time, but with such a quickely vanishing sight, that hee is sooner couered againe with the darkenesse of the night, than he can stīre his foot, so far is it of that he can be brought into his way by such a helpe. Beside that, those small droppes 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 will toward vs, without which mans witte 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 selues to be persuaded, that in matters of God it is vtterly blinde and dul: I think it shalbe better to confirme it by testimonies of Scripture, than by reasons. This doth Iohn very wel teach in that place which I euen now alleaged, when hee writeth, that life was in God from the beginning, and the same life which should bee the lighte of men, and that the light did shine in darkenesse, and the darkenesse 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 sparcle of it, but yet, that with such a light he comprehendeth not God. And why so? because mans quicknesse of witte, as toward the knowledge of God, is but meere darkenesse. For when the holy Ghost calleth men darkenesse, 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 fleshe, or of man, but of God. As if he should say: flesh is not capable of so hie 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 here 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 y no man can call Iesus the Lord, but in y holy Ghost. And Iohn Baptist seeing the dulnesse of his disciples, cryeth out, that no man can receiue any thing, vnlesse it bee giuen him from aboue. And that he meaneth by giste a speciall illumination, and not a common gift of nature, appeareth hereby, y he complaineth that in so many words 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 thinges, vnlesse the Lord giue vnderstanding by his spirite. Yea and Moses, when he 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 benefite of G.O.D. Thine eies (saith hee) haue seene those

Iohn. 1. 4.

Iohn. 1. 13.

Mar. 16. 7.

Psal. 34. 10.

1. Cor. 12.

Iohn 3. 27.

Deut. 29. 2.

those great tokens and wonders, and, The Lord hath not giuen thee a heart to vnderstand, nor eares to heare, nor eyes to see. What should he expresse more, if hee called vs blockes in considering the workes of God? Wherevpon the Lorde by the Prophete promisseth for a great grace, that hee will giue the Israelites a heart, that they may knowe him: signifying thereby, that mans wit is onely so much spiritually wise, as it is lightened by him. *Ier. 24. 7.* and this Christ plainly confirmed with his owne mouth, when hee sayth, that no man can come to him, but hee to whome it shall be giuen from the Father. What? is not hee himselfe the luely Image of the Father in whome the whole brightnesse of his glorie is expressed vnto vs? Therefore he coulde not better shew what our power is to knowe GOD, than when hee saith, that wee 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 hee not faithfully doe his office? Yes surely. But yet nothing is wrought by his preaching, vnlesse the inwarde scholemaster, the holy Ghost, set open the way to our minds. Therefore none come to him, but they that haue hearde and beene 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 vnderstande. And least that shoulde seeme straunge, hee alleageth the Prophecie of Esay, where when he promisseth the repairing of the Church, that they which shall be gathered together to saluation, shall be taught of the Lorde. If God there foresheweth some peculiar thing concerning his electes, it is euident that hee speaketh not of y^e kinde of learning that was also common to the wicked and vngodly. It remaineth therefore that wee must vnderstande it thus, that the way into the kingdome of God is open to no man, but to him to whome the holy ghost by his enlightening shal make a new minde. But Paul speaketh most plainly of all, which of purpose entring into discourse of this matter, after hee had condemned all mens wisdom of follie and vanitie, & vtterly brought it to naught, at the last concludeth thus: that y^e naturall man can not perceiue those things that are of the spirite of God: they are foolishnes vnto him, and he cannot vnderstande them, because they are spiritually iudged. Whome doeth 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 slouthfulnesse he neglecteth it? Nay, rather although he woulde trauell neuer so much, hee can doe 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 follie where the spirite of God giueth not light. Before he had auauced those things that God hath prepared for them that loue him, aboue the capacitie of eyes, eares & mindes. Yea he testifieth that mans wisdom was as a certaine veile, whereby mans minde was kept from seeing God, What meane wee? The Apostle pronounceth, that the wisdom of this worlde is made follie by God: & shal we forsooth giue vnto it sharpenes of vnderstanding, whereby it may pearce to the secrete places of y^e heauenly kingdome? Farre be such beastlines fro vs. *1. Cor. 2. 14.* *1. Cor. 1. 20.*

21 And so that which here he taketh away from men, in an other place in a prayer, hee giueth it to God alone. God (saith he) and the father of glorie, giue to you the spirite of wisdom and reuelation. Nowe thou hearest that all wisdom and reuelation is the gifte of God. What followeth? and lighten the eyes of your minde. Surely if they neede a newe reuelation, then are they blinde of themselues. It followeth after: That ye may know what is the hope of your calling. &c. Therefore he confesseth, that the wittes of men are not capable of so great vnderstanding, to knowe their owne calling. And let not some Pelagian babble here, y^e God doth remedie that dulnesse or vnskilfullnesse, when by the doctrine of his worde hee directeth mans vnderstanding, whither without a guide hee coulde not haue atteyned. For Dauid had a lawe, wherein was comprehended all the wisdom that may bee desired, and yet not contented with that, hee requireth to haue his eyes opened, that hee may consider the mysteries of the same lawe. By which speech truly he secretly saith, that the sunne riseth vpon the earth where the worde of God shineth to men: but they get not much thereby, vntill hee himselfe, that is therefore called the father of lightes, doe giue them or open their eyes, because where so euer he shineth not with his spirite, all things are possessed with darkenesse. So the Apostles were well and largely taught by the best scholemaster: yet if they had not needed the spirit of truth to instruct their mindes in that same doctrine which they had heard before, hee woulde not haue bidden them looke for him. If the thing that we aske of God, we do thereby confesse that we want: and God in that that hee promisseth it vs, doeth argue our neede, let no man doubt to confesse that he is so much able to vnderstande the mysteries of God as he is enlightened with his grace. He that giueth to himselfe more vnderstanding, is so much the more blinde, for that hee doeth not acknowledge his owne blindnesse.

22 Nowe remaineth the thirde pointe, of knowing the rule of well framing of life, which wee doe rightly call the knowledge of the workes of righteousness, wherein mans wit seemeth to bee of somewhat more sharpe sight, than in the other two before. For the Apostle testifieth, that the gentiles which haue no lawe, while they doe the workes of the lawe, are to themselues in steede of a lawe, and doe shewe the lawe written in their hartes, their consciences bearing them witnes, and their thoughtes accusing them within themselues or excusing them before the iudgement of God. If the Gentiles haue righteousness naturally grauen in their mindes, surely we can

not say that wee are altogether blinde in the order of life. And nothing is more common, than that man by the law naturall, of which y^e 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 lawe is planted in men: then it shall by and by appeare, howe farre it bringeth them towards the marke of reason and truth. The same is also euident by the wordes of Paul, if a man doe marke the placing of them. Hee had saide a litle before, that they which sinned in the lawe, are iudged by the lawe, they that haue sinned without lawe doe perishe without lawe. Because this might seeme vnreasonable, that the Gentils should perish without any iudgement going before,

Eph. 1. 15.

Psa. 139. 18.

Iac. 1. 17.

Ioh. 14. 26.

Rom. 2. 14.

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 shal be defined not ill after this sort, that it is a knowledge of conscience, that sufficiently discerneth between iust and vniust, to take away from men the pretence of ignorance, while they are proued guiltie by their owne testimonie. Such is the tenderesse of man toward him selfe, that in doing of euils, he alway turneth away his minde so much as he may from the feeling of sinne. By which reason it seemeth that Plato was moued to thinke that there is no sin done but by ignorance. That in deede were fitly sayd of him, if mens hypocrisie went so farre in hiding of euils, that the minde might not knowe it selfe guiltie before God. But when the sinner seeking to eschue the iudgement empinted in him, is now & then drawn backe vnto it, and not suffered so to winke, but that he be compelled whether he wil or no, sometime to open his eyes: it is falsely said that he sinneth onely by ignorance.

In Protagora.

23 Themistius saith more truely, which teacheth y^e vnderstanding is selfe deceiued: that it is blindness when it goeth any further, that is, when he commeth down to the speciall case. Euery man, if it be generally asked, wil affirme, that manslaughter is euil: but he y^e conspireth to kil his enimies, 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 coming to the special case forgetteth the rule, that he had lately agreed vpon in the generall question. Of which thing Augustine discourses very finely in his exposition of the first verse of the lviij. Psalme: albeit the same thing is not continuall. For sometime the shamefulnessse of the euil deede so presseth the conscience, that not deceiuing him selfe vnder false resemblance of a good thing, but wittingly & willingly he runneth into euil. Out of which affection came these sayings: I see the better & allow it, but I follow the worse. Wherefore, me think, Aristotle hath very aptly made distinction betweene Incontinence and Temperance. 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 euil in his owne act, which it generally seeth in the like: and when the troubled affection is cooled, repentance immediatly 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.

Paraph. in lib. 3. de anima. cap. 46.

Meda 2. pud Ouidiu. Ethic. 7. ca. 3

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 heartes are furnished with choise of iust and vniust, only to this end, that they should not pretend ignorance, it is not then needeful to see the trueth in euery thing. But it is enough & more, that they vnderstand so farre that they cannot escape away, but being conuict by witnessse of their conscience, they euen now alreadie begin to tremble at the iudgement seat of God. And if we wil trie our reason by the law of God, which is the exemplar of true righteousness, we shal find how many wayes it is blind. Truely it attaineth not at all to those that are the chiefe things in the First table, as of confidence in God, of giuing to him the praise of strength and right-

teoufnesse, 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 & like things? For when prophane men wil 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 law prescribeth of it. Shal I say, that that wit excelleth in any sharp vnderstanding, which can neither of it selfe be wise, nor harken to teaching? In the commaundments of the Second table it hath some more vnderstanding, by so much as they came neerer to the preferuation of ciuil felowship 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, & too imperious a maner of gouerning ouer 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 & base courage, to suffer it patiently: and againe, the parte of an honest & free borne heart, 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, commaundeth 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 desire of minde at all. For a natural man suffereth not himselfe to be brought to this, to acknowledge the diseases of his desires. The light of nature is choked vp, before that it come to the first entrie of this bottomlesse depth. For when the Philosophers note immoderate motions of minde for faults, they meane those motions that appere and shewe forth themselues by grosse tokens, but they make no accompt of those euill desires that do 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 cuerwhelmed with so many sortes of being deceiued, is subiect to so many errours, stumbleth at so many stayes, is entangled with so many streightes, that it is farre from sure directing. But how litle it is esteemed before the Lord in all partes of our life, Paul sheweth when he sayeth, that we are not sufficient to think any thing of our selues, as of our selues. Hee speaketh not of wil or affection, but he taketh also this away from vs, that we 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 think vpon nothing that is right before the Lord? that seemeth too hard to vs, that do vnwillingly suffer our selues to be spoyled of the sharpnesse of reason, which we accompt 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 heart is onely euill. If all that our witt conceiued,

deu-

deuifeth vpon, purpofeth and goeth about, is alway euill, how can it come in our minde to purpose that which pleaseth God, to whome onely holines and righteousnesse is acceptable? So is it to be feene, that the reason of our mind, which way so euer it turne it selfe, is miserably subiect to vanitie. Dauid knew this weaknesse in himselfe, when he prayed to haue vnderstanding giuen him, to learne the Lordes commandementes aright. For he secretly sayth therein, that his owne wit sufficeth him not, which desireth to haue a new giuen him. And that he doth not onely once, but almost tenne times, in one Psalm, he repeteth the same prayer. By which repeting hee priuily declareth, with how great neede he is driuen to pray it. And that which he prayeth for himselfe alone, Paul commonly vseth to pray for the Churches. We cease nor (saith he) to pray for you, and to desire that ye may be filled with the knowledge of God in all wisdome and spirituall vnderstanding, that ye may walke worthily of God. &c. But so oft as he maketh that thing the good gift of God, let vs remember y^e he doth withall testifie, that it lieth not in mans power. And Augustine so far acknowledged this default of reason to vnderstand those things that are of God, that he thinketh the grace of illumination to be nolesse necessarie for our mindes, than the light of the sunne is for our eyes. And not content with y^e, he addeth a correction of that, saying, that we list vp our eyes to see the light: but the eies of our mind lie shut, vnlesse the Lord open them. And the Scripture teacheth that our mindes are not enlightned one day alone, that they may after ward see by themselues: for that which I euen now alleged out of Paul, belongeth to continual proceedinges and increasings. And this doth Dauid expressly set out in these wordes: With my whole heart I haue sought thee, make me not to stia y from thy commandementes. For when he had bene regenerated, and had not slenderly profited in true Godlinesse, yet he confesseth, that for euery moment he needeth continual direction, least he should swarue from the knowledge wherewith he is endued. Therefore, in an other place he prayeth to haue the right spirite renued, which he had lost by his owne faulte, because it belongeth to the same GOD to restore vnto vs the same thing beeing lost for a time, which himselfe gaue at the beginning.

26 Nowe is will to be examined, wherin standeth the cheefe libertie of free choise, for it hath bin already seene, that choise doeth rather belong to will, than to vnderstanding. First, y^e this thing which the Philosophers haue taught, & is receiued with common consent, that is, y^e all thinges by naturall instinctio desire that which is good, may not seeme to belong to y^e vprightnesse of mans will: Let vs marke that the force of free wil, is not to be considered in such appetite, as rather proceedeth of y^e inclination of the essence, than of the aduifement of the vnderstanding minde. For euen the schoolemen doe confesse, that free will hath no action, but when reason turneth it selfe to objects, wherby 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 truely, 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 to be well, and when any shewe of good appeareth that moueth their sense, they followe it. But man doth neither chose by reason, y^e he

Gen. 6. 3.
and 8. 21.

Psa. 119. 34.

Phil. 1. 4.

Col. 1. 9.

Aug. lib. 2.
De peccat.
mer. & remil.
cap. 5.

Psa. 119. 10.

Psa. 51. 12.

may follow with diligence that thing which is in deede good for him, according to the excellencie of his immortall nature, nor taketh reason to counsel, nor bendeth his minde, but without reason, without counsel, 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 caried to desire that which is good: but this is requisite, that he discern good by right reason, and when he hath knowen it, that he chose it, and when he hath chosen it, that he follow it. But least any man should doubt, there is to be noted a double sophisticall argument. For appetite is not here called the proper maner of will, but a naturall inclination: and good is called not as of vertue or iustice, but of estate, as we 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 eternal bleesse dneesse is not pleasant, yet is there none that aspireth vnto it, but by the mouing of the holy Ghost. Wherefore, sith the naturall desire in men to be well, maketh nothing to proue the freedome of will, no more than in metalls and stones, doth the affection inclining to the perfection of their substance: let vs consider in other thinges, whether Will be so infected and corrupted in all partes, that it engendreth nothing but euill: or whether it keepeth stil any parcel unhurt, from whence do growe good desires.

27 They that do attribute to the first grace of God, that we will effectually, seeme on the other side to say secretly, that there is in the soule a power of it selfe to aspire to good, but it is so weake, that it can not growe to a perfect affection, or raise vp any endeouour. And there is no doubt that the scholemen haue commonly embraced this opinion, or which was borrowed by Origen and certaine of the olde writers: for so much as they are wont to consider man in pure narurall thinges, (as they terme it) such a one as the Apostle describeth him in these wordes: I do not the good y I would, but the euill that I would not, that I doe. To will is present vnto me, but to performe it, I find not. But after this maner is the discourse y Paul there followeth, altogether wrongfully peruered. For he entreateth of the Christian wrastling (which he shortly toucheth to the Galathians) which the faithfull continually feele within themselues, in the battell of the flesh & the spirit. But the spirit is not of nature, but of regeneration. And that the Apostle doth there speake of the regenerate, appeareth by this, y when he had sayd, that there dwelleth no goodnesse in him, he addeth an exposition, y he meaneth it of his flesh. And therefore he saith, that it is not he that doth the euill, but sinne that dwelleth in him. What meaneth this correction in me, that is, in 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 be founde in my flesh. Herevpon followeth that maner of excuse: I my selfe doe not the euill, but sinne that dwelleth in me. Which excuse belongeth onely to the regenerate, which doe with the cheife part of their soule tende vnto good. Nowe, the conclusion that is adioyned after, declareth all this matter euidently. I am delited (saith he) with the lawe, according to the inward man. But I see an other lawe in my members, fighting against the lawe of my minde. Who hath such a striuing in himself, but he that being regenerate by the spirit of God,

carieth

Rom. 7.15

Gal. 5.17.

Rom. 7.22.

carieth the leauings of his flesh about with him? Therefore Augustine, whereas once he had thought, that that had beene spoken of the nature of man, reuoked 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 answere to the Apostle which sayeth, that wee are not sufficient so much as to thinke any good? What shall wee answere to the Lorde that pronounceth by Moses, that euery inuention of mans heart is onely euill? Wherefore, sith they haue stumbled by false taking of one place, there is no cause why we should staye vpon their iudgement. Let rather this saying of Christ preuaile. He that doeth 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 be, that the will it selfe which is the chiefe seate thereof, be bound fast with most streight bondes. For otherwise the saying of Paul would not stande together, that it is God which worketh will in vs, if any will did go before the grace of the Holy ghost. Away therefore with all that many haue triflingly spoken concerning preparation. For although sometime the faithfull do praye to haue their heart formed to the obedience of the lawe, as Dauid doeth 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 heart created within him, surely he taketh not on him selfe 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. Howe? Confesse that thou hast all these thinges of God, that what so euer good thou hast, is of him: what soeuer euill, it is of thy selfe. And a litle after: Nothing is ours but sinne.

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

2. Cor. 3. 5.

Gen. 8. 21. Iohn. 8. 34.

Phil. 2. 13.

Psa. 51. 13.

De verbis Apost. Ser. 10.

The iij. Chapter.

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

BUT man cannot be any way better knowen in either part of his soule, than if he come forth with his titles wherewith the Scripture doeth 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 prooue, then is he prooued to be a verie 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 law of God. Is flesh so peruerse, that with all her affection shee continually vseth enimitie against God? that shee cannot agree with the righteousnesse of the law of God? Finally, that shee can bring forth nothing but matter of death? Nowe, 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 parte 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. He commandeth not to be borne againe according to the body. But in minde he is not borne againe, if a parte of

Ioh. 3. 6.

Rom. 8. 6.

Ioh. 3. 6.

it be amended, but when it is all renewed. And that doeth the comparison, set in both places, confirme. For the spirite is so compared against the flesh, that there is left no meane thing betwee ne them. Therefore whatsoeuer is not spirituall in man, is after the same reason called fleshly. But wee haue nothing of the Spirit but by regeneration. It is therefore flesh whatsoeuer wee 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, whom he had said to be corrupt with concupiscences of errour, he biddeth vs to be 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 lide before he had painted out such an image of mans nature, as did shewe that there was no part wherein we were not corrupted and peruered: 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 blindenesse of their heart: it is no dout that this is spoken of al them whom the Lorde hath not reformed to the vprightnesse both of his wisdome and iustice: which is also made more plaine by the comparison by and by adioyned, where hee 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 wherby we be deliuered from that blindenesse, and the euils that ensue thereof. For so had Esaie also prophecied of the kingdome of Christ, when he promised, y^e the Lorde 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 blindenesse. I wil not rehearse particularly such thinges as are written euery where, specially in the Psalmes and in the Prophetes against the vanitie of man. It is a greate thing that Dauid writeth, if he be weyed with vanitie, that he shall be vayner 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.

2 No easier is the condemnation of the heart, when it is called guilefull and peruerse about all thing: but because I studie to be short, I will be contente with one place alone, but such a one as shall be like a most bright looking glasse, wherein we may beholde the whole image of our nature. For the Apostle, when he goeth about to throw down y^e arrogance of mankind, doth it by these testimonies: That there is not one righteous man, There is not one man that vnderstandeth or that seeketh God, Al are gone out of the way, they are made vaprofitable together, there is none that doeth good, no not one: their throte is an open sepulcher, with their tongues they worke deceitfully, the poyson of Serpentes is vnder their lippes, whose mouth is full of cursing and bitternesse: whose feete are swift to shedde bloude, in whose wayes is sorrowe and unhappinesse, which haue not the feare of God before their eyes: With these thunderboltes hee inueyeth, not against certaine men, but against the whole nation of the sonnes of Adam. Neither declineth 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 reach rather that all men are oppressed with calamitie, impossible to bee overcome, from which they can not get vp againe, vnlesse they be plucked out by the mercie of God. And because, that could not be proued vnlesse it had beene by the ouerthrowe and destruction of nature, he brought forth these testimonies whereby is proued that our nature is more than destroyed. Let this therefore remaine agreed, that men are such as they be here described, not onely by faulre of euill custome, but also by corruptnesse of nature. For otherwise the Apostles argument can not stand, that there is no saluation for man but by the mercie of GOD, because he is in him selfe vtterly lost and past hope. I will not here busie my selfe in prouing the applying of these testimonies that no man shoulde thinke them vnfitly vsed. I will so take them as if they had bin first spoken by Paule, and not taken out of the Prophets. First he taketh away from man righteousnesse, that is integritie and purenesse, and then vnderstanding. The wante of vnderstanding, he proueth by Apostasie or departing from GOD, whome to seeke is the first degree of wisdome. But that want must needs happen to them that are fallen away from God. He sayth further, that all are gone out of the way and become as it were rotten, that there is none that doth good, and then he adioyneth the haynous faultes, wherewith they defile their members that are once let lose into wickednesse. Last of all he testifieth that they are voyde of the feare of God, after whose rule our steppes should haue bin directed. If these be the inheritable gistes of mankinde, it is in vaine to seeke for any good thing in our nature. In deede I grant that not all these faultes doe appeare in euery man: yet can not be denied that this Hydra lurketh in the heartes of all men. For as the body while it already soffreth enclosed within it, the cause and matter of disease, although the paine be not yet vehement, can not be called healthy: no more can the soule be reckned sounde, while it swarmeth ful of such diseases of vices, albeit the similitude doth not agree in all points. For in the body be it neuer so much diseased, there remaineth a quickenesse 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 bin before assoyled, nowe riseth vp againe of newe. For in all ages there haue bin some, which by guiding of nature haue bin bent to vertue in all their life. And I regarde it not, though many slippings may be noted in their manners: yet by the very study 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 shall speake of the merites of workes, yet we must somewhat speake in this place: so farre as is necessarie for making plaine of this present argument. These examples therefore seeme to put vs in minde, that we should not thinke mans nature altogether corrupte, for that by her instruction some 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, howe in this corruption of nature

there is some place for the grace of God, not to cleanse it, but inwardly to restrain it. For if the Lord would suffer the mindes of all men as it were with lose reines to runne wildly into all sortes of lustes, without doubt there would be no man, but he would in plaine experience make vs beleecue, that al those euils wherewith Paul condemneth all nature, are most truely sayde of him. For what? Canst thou exempt thy selfe out of the number of them, whose feete are swift to shed bloude, their handes defiled with robberies and manslaughters, their throtes like vnto open Sepulchres, their tongues deceitfull, their lippes venimous, their workes vnprofitable, wicked, rotten, deadly, whose minde is without God, whose inwardes are peruersenes, whose eyes are bent to entrappinges, their heartes liste vp dispiteously to triumph ouer other, and all the partes of them applied to infinite mischeues. If euery soule be subiect to all such monsters, as the Apostle boldly pronounceth, truely we see what would come to passe, if the Lorde would suffer the lust of man to wander after his owne inclination. There is no madde beast that is so hedlong caried away, there is no streame be it neuer so swift and strong, whereof the ouerflowing is so violent. The Lorde healeth these diseases in his elect by this meane that we will by and by sette forth. In some he only restraineth them with putting a bridle in their mouth, onely that they breake not out, so farre as he foreseeeth to be expedient for preferuing of the vniuersity 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 vncleanesse. Some because they thinke that an honest trade of life is good, doe after a certaine sorte aspire toward it. Some rise vp about the common sorte, that by their maiestie they may keepe other in their duetie. So God by his prouidence bridleth the peruersnesse of nature, that it breake not forth into doying: but he cleanseth it not within.

4 But yet the doubt is not dissolued. For either we must make Camillus like vnto Catiline, or els in Camillus we shall haue an example that nature, if it be framed by diligence, is not altogether without goodnesse. I graunt in deede that those goodly giftes which were in Camillus both were the giftes of G O D and seeme worthy to be commended, if they be weyed by themselves, but howe shall they be proues of naturall goodnesse in him? must we not returne to the minde, and frame our argumente in this sorte? 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 any thing rather than vprights streightnesse? And that it was such, there is no doubt, if you graunt that he was a naturall man. Nowe what power of mans nature to goodnesse will you rehearse vnto mee in this behalfe, if in the greatest shewe of purenesse it be founde that he is alway carried to corruption? Therefore, least ye 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 his owne peruersenesse. Albeit this is a most sure and easie solution of this question, that these are not common gifts of nature, but special graces of God, which he diuersly & to a certaine

certaine measure dealeth among men that are otherwise vn godlie. For which reason wee feare not in common speech to call one man well natured, and an other of euill nature, and yet wee 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 hee hath not vouchsafed to giue to the other, when his pleasure was to make Saul king, hee formed him as a newe man: and that is the reason why Plato alluding to the fable of Homer, sayth that Kinges sonnes are created notable by some singular marke, because God prouiding for mankinde, furnisheth these with a princely nature whome hee appointeth to beare gouernment: and out of this store house came all the great Captaines yare renoumed in histories. The same is also to be thought of priuate men. But because as euerie man hath most excelled, so his ambition hath most moued him forward (with which spotte all vertues are defiled, so that they lose all fauour before God) it is to bee accompted nothing worth, whatsoeuer seemeth praise worthie in vngodly men, beside that the cheife part of vprighteousnes faileth, where there is no studie to aduance the glorie of God, which all they want whom he hath not regenerate with his spirite. Neither is it vainely spoken in Esay, that vpon Christ resteth the spirite of the feare of God, whereby we are taught, y so many as are strange fro Christ are without y feare of God, which is the beginning of wisedome. As for the vertues that deceiue vs with vaine shew, I grant they shal haue praise in the court of policie, & in the common fame of men, but before the heauenly iudgement seate, they shalbe of no value to deserue righteousness.

Esay. 11. 3.

5 With such bondage of sinne therefore as Will is deteyned, it cannot once moue it selfe to goodnesse, much lesse applie it selfe. For such mouing is the beginning of turning to God, which in Scriptures is wholly imputed to the grace of God. As Ieremie prayeth to the Lorde to turne him, if he wil haue him turned. Wherevpon the Prophet in the same Chapter, describing the spirituall redemption of the faithfull people, saith that they were redeemed out of the hand of a stronger, meaning with howe streight fetters a sinner is bound so long as being forsaken of the Lorde, hee liueth vnder the yoke of the Deuill. Yet Will still remaineth, which with most bent affection is both inclined and hasteth to sinne. For man was not depriued 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 simply to Will, is the worke of man: to Will euill, of corrupte nature: to will well, of grace. Nowe whereas I say, that will put from libertie is by necessitie drawe or led into euill, it is meruell if that should seeme a hard speech vnto any mā, which neither hath any absurdity 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 aunswere? For so is goodnesse knit with gods diuinitie, that it is no more necessarie that he bee God than that hee bee good. And the diuell is by his fal so estraunged from partaking of goodnesse, y he can do nothing but euill. But nowe if any robber of God

Iere. 31. 18.

doe barke against this and say, that God deserueth small prayse for his goodnesse, which hee is compelled to keepe: shall not this be a readie aunswere to him, that it cometh to passe by his infinite goodnesse and not by violent impulsion, that he can not do 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 deuill which cannot doe but euill yet willingly sinneth, who shall then say that a man doeth therefore lesse willingly sinne for this that hee is subiect to necessitie of sinning? This necessitie, whereas Augustine ech where speaketh of it, euen then also when he was enuiously prested with the cauil- lation of Celestius, hee sticked not to affirme in these wordes, by libertie it came to passe that man was with sinne, but nowe the corruption which flowed for punishment, hath of libertie made necessitie. And so oft as hee falleth into mention thereof, he douteth not to speake in this manner of the necessarie bondage of sinne. Therefore let this summe of that distinction be kepte, that man since he is corrupted, sinneth in deede willingly and not against his will nor compelled, by a most bent affection of minde, and not by violent compulsion, by motion of his owne lust, and not by for- ren constraint: but yet of such peruersenesse of nature as he is, hee cannot but be moued and driuen to euill. If this bee true, then surely it is plainly expressed that he is subiect to necessitie of sinning. Bernard agreeing to Au- gustine writeth thus, onely man among all liuing creatures is free: and yet by meane of sinne, hee also suffereth a certaine violence, but of will & not of nature, that euen thereby also he shoulde not be depriued of freedome, for that which is willing is free. And a little after, will beeing changed in it selfe into worse, by I wot not what corrupt & maruellous maner, so maketh necessitie. y very necessitie for as much as it is willing, cannot excuse will, & wil forasmuch as it is drawn by alluremen, cannot exclude necessitie, for this necessitie is after a certaine maner willing. Afterward he saith y we are prested down with a yoke, but yet none other but of a certaine willing bon- dage, therefore by reason of our bondage we are miserable, by reason of our will wee are inexcusable, because will when it was free, made it selfe the bondseruaunt of sinne. At length hee concludeth, that the soule is so after a certaine maruellous and euill manner holden both a bond seruant & free, vnder this certaine willing and ill free necessitie: a bondseruaunt by rea- son of necessitie, free by reason of Will, and that which is more maruelous and more miserable, therein guiltie wherein it is free, therein bond where- in it is guiltie, and so therein bond wherein it is free. Hereby truely the rea- ders doe perceiue that I bring no newe thing, which long agoe Augustine brought forth out of the consent of al godly men, & almost a thousand yeres after was kept stil in monkes Cloysters. But Lombard when he coule not distinguish necessitie from compulsion, gaue matter to a pernicious er- rour.

6 On the other side it is good to consider what manner remedie is that of the grace of God, whereby the corruption of nature is amended & healed. For whereas the Lord in helping vs, giueth vs that which wee want, when we shall know what his worke is in vs, it will streight way appeare on the other side what is our needinesse. When the Apostle saith to the Phi-

Lib. de per-
te & inlitic.

De nat. &
gr. & alibi.

Ser. super
Cantic. 81.

Philippians, that he trusteth that he which began a good worke in them, wil performe it vnto the day of Iesus Christ: it is no doubt, that by the beginning of a good worke, hee meaneth the very beginning of conuersion, which is in will. Therefore God beginneth a good worke in vs by stirring vp in our heartes the loue, desire and endeouour of righteousnesse, or (to speake more properly) in bowing, framing and directing our heartes to righteousnesse: he endeth it in confirming vs to perseuerance. And that no man should cauill that good is begunne by the Lorde, when will being of it selfe weake is holpen: the holy Ghost in an other place declareth what will is able to doe being left vnto it selfe. I will giue you (saith he) a newe heart. I will put a newe spirite in the middes of you. And I will take away the stonie heart from your fleshe, and I will giue you a heart of *Eze. 36. 16.* fleshe. And I will put my spirite in the middes of you, and I will make you to walke in my commaundementes. Who shall say that the weakenes of mans will is strengthened with helpe, whereby it may effectually aspire to the choise of that that is good, when it must be whole transformed and renewed? If there be any softenesse in a stone, which by some helpe being made tenderer wil abide to be bowed euery way, then wil I grant that the heart 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 shewe by this similitude, that no goodnesse could euer be wrung out of our heart vnlesse it be made throughly newe: let vs not part betweene him and vs, that which he chalengeth 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 G O D. 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 bee, but that it be turned from an euill wil 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 an other place he saith, that G O D doth not onely helpe our weake will, or amend our peruerse will, but that he worketh in vs to will. *2. Cor. 8. 6.* Wherevpon is easily gathered, that which I said before, that whatsoeuer good is in will, it is the worke of onely grace. In which sense in an other place he saith, that it is God that worketh all in all. *2. Cor. 12. 6.* Neither doth he there intreate of the vniuersall gouernement, but giueth vnto G O D alone the praise of all good thinges that the faithfull haue. And in saying, all, truly 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 wordes, 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 an other place he more plainly expresseth, where he teacheth that we are the work of God created in Christ to good workes, which he hath prepared that wee 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

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 hee to prooue vs altogether nothing worth, reasoneth that we haue deserued nothing, because we are create in Christ to good workes, which God hath prepared. In which wordes he signifieth againe, that all partes of good workes euen from the first motion, are proper to God onely. For this reason, the Prophet after he had saide in the Psalme 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, appeareth 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 praise of our saluation, doth expressly exclude vs from all fellowship with him, as if hee 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 peradventure 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 wayting 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 thinges be plainly signified, that the Lord 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 leaue to call it a wayting maide: but for that being reformed, it is the worke of the Lorde, this is wrongfully giuen to man that hee 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 very well it seife, as euen now we haue seene by Paul. Neither was it Augustines purpose, when he called mans will the wayting maide of grace, to assigne vnto her a certaine second office in doing a good worke, but because this onely was his intent, to confute the wicked doctrine of Pelagius, which did set the principal cause of saluation in mans deseruing: therefore he stooode onely vpon this point, that grace was before all deseruing: which was sufficient for the matter y^e he then had in hand, nor meddling in the meane time with y^e other question, concerning the perpetuall effect of grace, which yet in an other 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, hee maketh him altogether the whole authour of the good worke. Albeit his sentences touching this matter, are too plaine to neede any longe arguing vpon them. Men (saith he) doe labour to finde in our will something that is our owne and not of God, but howe it may be found I knowe not. And in his first booke against Pelagius and Celestius, where he doth expound that saying of Christ, Euery one that hath heard of
my

Ad Romif.
Epi. 106.

Ser. de inuēt.
S. Crucis.

Aug. li. 3. de
remiss. pecc.
cap. 18.
Iohn. 6. 45.

my father commeth to mee, he saith: Freewill is so holpen not onely that it may knowe what is to be done, but also may doe it when it hath knowen it. And so when God teacheth, not by the letter of the lawe, but by y grace of the spirite, hee so teacheth, that hee that hath learned, doeth not onely see it in knowing, but also desire it in willing, and performe it in doing. Iohn. 6. 45.

8 And because wee are now in hande with the chiefe point wherevpon the matter hangeth, let vs goe forward and proue the summe thereof to the readers, onely with a few and the most plaine testimonies of the Scripture. And then, least any man shoulde accuse vs of wrongfull wresting the Scripture, let vs shewe that the trueth which wee 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 thinges be rehearsed that may bee brought out of the Scriptures, for confirmation of our meaning, so that by the most chosen that shall bee brought foorth, the way may bee prepared to vnderstande all the rest that are here and there commonly read. And again, I thinke it shall not be vnfitely done, if I openly shew that I agree well with that man whome worthilie 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 can not be found a will bent to good, but in the elect. But the cause of election is to be sought out of man. Wherevpon 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 worlde. There is also another reason not vnlike vnto that. For whereas the beginning of willing and doing well is of faith, it is to bee scene whence faith it selfe commeth. For as much as the whole Scripture crieth out that it is a free giste of God, it followeth, that it is of the mere grace of God, when we, which are with al our minde naturally bent to euill, begin to will that which is good. Therefore the Lorde, when he nameth these two things in the conuersion of his people, to take away from them a stonie heart, and to giue them a heart of flesh, plainly testifieth that that which is of our selues must bee done away, that we may be conuerted to righteousnesse: and that whatsoeuer commeth in place thereof, is frō himselfe. And he vtereth not this in one place only. For he saith in Ieremie: I will giue them one heart and one way, that they may feare me all their dayes. And a little after, I will giue the feare of my name into their heart, that they depart not from me. Againe in Ezechiel: I wil giue them one heart, and I wil giue a newe spirite in their bowels. I will take away the stonie heart out of their flesh, and I will giue them a heart of fleshe. Hee could not more euidently claime to himselfe, & take from vs whatsoeuer is good and right in our will, than when he declareth that our conuersion is a creation of a new spirite, and of a new heart. 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. Ier. 32. 39.

9 And so read wee the prayers of holy men made to that effect, as, The Lorde encline our hearte to him (saith Salomon) that we may keepe his commaundementes. He sheweth the frowardnesse of our heart which naturally reioyceth to rebell against the Lawe of God if it bee not bowed. Eze. 11. 19.

And

1, Reg. 8. 58.

Psal. 119.

And the same thing is in the Psalme: Lord incline my hearte to thy testimonies. For the comparison of contrarietie is alway to be noted, which is betweene the peruerse motion of the hearte whereby it is caried to obstinacie, and this correction whereby it is led to obedience. When Dauid feeling himselfe for a time without the directing grace, prayeth God to create a newe heart within him, to reue a right spirite within his bowelles: doth he not acknowledge that all the partes of his heart are full of vncleannesse, and his spirite writhen with crooked perueseness? and in calling the cleanness which he prayeth for, the creature of God, doeth he not attribute it wholly to God? But if any man take exception and say, that the verie prayer is a token of a godly & holy affection: our aunswere is readie, that though

Psal. 51. 12.

Dauid were by that time somewhat come to amendement, yet doeth hee still compare his first state with that sorowfull fall that hee had felt. Therefore taking vpon him the person of a man estranged from God, he for good cause praieth to haue giuen him all these things y^e God giueth to his elect in regeneratiō. And so being like a dead man, he wisheth himselfe to be created of newe; that of the bondslauē of Sathan, he may be made the instrument of the holy Ghost. Maruelous and monstrous surely is the lust of our pride. God requireth nothing more earnestly, than that we shoulde most religiously keepe his Sabbath, that is in resting from our owne workes, but of vs nothing is more hardly obeyned, than bidding our owne workes farewell, to giue due place to the workes of God. If sluggishness hindred not, Christe hath giuen testimonie eident enough of his graces to make them not to be enuiously suppressed. I am (saith he) the Vine, you be the branches:

Ioh. 15. 1.

My father is a husbandman. As the branche cannot beare fruite of it selfe, vnlesse it abide in the Vine, no more can you, vnlesse you abide in mee. For without me you can doe nothing. If we beare fruite none otherwise thā a branch buddeth being plucked out of the grounde and without moisture: wee neede no more to seeke what is the aptnesse of our nature to goodnes. And this is a plaine conclusion: Without me you can do nothing. He doth not say that we are too weake 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 fruite like a Vine, which taketh her efficacy of liuelinesse both from the moysture of the earth, and from the dewe of heauen, and from the cherishing of the sunne: I see nothing remaine for vs in doing a good worke, if wee keepe whole for G O D that which is his. The sonde sittle deuise is alleaged in vayne, that there is iuyce already enclosed within the branche, and a certayne power to bring forth fruite, and that therefore it taketh not all from the earth or from the firste roote, because it bringeth somewhat of her owne. For Christe doeth meane nothing else, but that wee are a drie sticke and nothing worth, when wee bee sauered from him, because by our selues beeing separate, wee haue no power to doe well: as also in another place hee saith:

Mat. 15. 13.

Euerie tree that my Father hath not planted shall bee rooted vp. Wherefore the Apostle scribeth all the whole vnto him in the place already alleaged. It is God (saith he) that worketh in vs both to will and to performe.

Phili. 2. 13.

The

The first part of a good worke is will: the second is a strong endeouour in doing it: the author of both is God. Therefore we steale it from G O D, if wee take to our selues any thing, either in will or in effectually working. If it were saide that God doth helpe our weake will, then somewhat were left for vs. But when it is said that he maketh wil, now all the good that is in it, is set out of vs. And because the good wil is yet still oppressed with weight of our flesh that it can not rise vp: He said further, that to ouercome the hardnesse of that bartell, there is ministred vnto vs stedfastnesse of endeouour, euen to the effect. For otherwise it could not stand together which he teacheth in an other place, that it is God alone that bringeth to effect all thinges in all, wherein we haue before taught that the whole course of spiritual life is comprehended. For which reason, Dauid, after he had praied to haue the waies of the Lord opened vnto him, that he might walke in his trueth, by and by addeth: Vnite thou my heart to feare thy name. In which wordes he signifieth, 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 an other place, after he had praied to haue his steppes directed to keepe the worde of God, hee 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 Lorde both beginne and ende a good work in vs: that it may al be his work, that wil conceiueth a loue of that which is right, that it is enclined to the desire thereof, that it is stirred vp & moued to endeouour of following it. And then that our choise, desire, and endeouour faint not, but do 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 hee moueth the wil, not in such sort as hath in many ages bin taught & beleueed that it is after ward in our choise, either to obey or withstand the motion, but with mightily strengthning it. Therefore that must be reiected which Chrysofom so oft repeateth: whom he draweth, he draweth being willing. Whereby he secretly teacheth that God doth onely reach out his hand to see if we will be holpen by his aide. We grant that such was the state of man while he yet stode, that he might bow to either part. But sith he hath taught by his example how miserable is free will, vnlesse God both wil and can in vs: what shal become of vs, if he giue vs his grace according to that small proportion? But rather wee doe obscure and extenuate it with our vnthankfulness. For the Apostle doth not teach, that the grace of a good wil is offered vs, if we do accept it, but y he wil performe it in vs: which is nothing else, but that the Lord by his spirit doth direct, bowe and gouerne our heart, & reigneth in it as in his owne possession. Neither doth he promise by Ezechiell, that he will giue to the elect a new spirite onely for this end, that they may be able to walke in his commaundementes, but to make them walke in deede. Neither can Christs saying, (Euery one that hath heard of my Father commeth to me) be otherwise taken, than to teach that the grace of G O D is effectually of it selfe: as Augustine also affirmeth. Which grace God vouchsafeth not to giue to all men generally without regarde; as that saying (as I thinke) of Occam, is commonly spoken among the people, that it denieth nothing to him y doth what lieth in him. Men are in deede

Eze. 11. 19. &

36. 27.

Iohn. 9. 45.

Lib. de præ-

dest. Sanctæ

deed to be taught y^e Gods goodnes is laid open for al men, w^out exception that seeke for it. But forasmuch as they onely begin to seeke for it, whom the heauenly grace hath breathed vpon, not so much as this litle peece ought to be plucked away from his praise. Truly this is the prerogatiue of the elect, that being regenerate by the spirite of God, they are moued and gouerned by his guiding. I herefore Augustine doth worthily as wel mock them, that claime any part of willing them to themselves, as he doth reprehend other which thinke that, that is generally giuen to all men, which is the speciall testimonie of free election. Nature, (saith he) but not grace, is common to all men. Calling it a brickle subtletie of witte like glasse, that glistreth with meere vanitie, where it is generally extended to all which God giueth onely to whom it pleaseth him. And in an other place: Howe camest thou by beleeuing. Feare thou, least while thou takest vpon thee that thou hast found the iust way, thou perish 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 commeth to me vnlesse my Father draw him. And it is without controuersie gathered out of Iohns wordes, that the heartes of the godly are so effectually gouerned by Gods working, that they follow with an vchangeable affection. He that is begotten of God (saith he) can not sinne, because the seede of God abideth in him. For we 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.

11 Of continuance there should no more doubt haue bin made, but that it should haue bin 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 vnthankful 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 diuened away, this other doth also fall of it selfe. Albeit herein they erre two manner of wayes. For beside this that they teache that our vnthankfulnesse toward the first grace and our lawfull vse thereof, are rewarded with the latter gistes: they adde also, that nowe grace alone doth not worke in vs, but that it is onely a worker together with vs. Of the first this we ought to beleeuue, that the Lord while he daily enricheth & heapeth his seruants with newe gistes 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 here to serue those sayings, To him that hath, shall be giuen. Againe: Oh, good seruant, because thou hast bin faithfull in fewe 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 saide to be rewarded with the later graces, nor it bee 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 howe much the better they haue vsed the first graces, they shall bee encreased with so much the greater. But I say, that this vse also is of the Lorde,

and

Aug. de ver-
bis Apost.
Ser. 17.

Iohn. 6. 44.
1. Iohn. 3. 9.

Mt. 25. 21.
Luke. 19. 17.

and that this rewarding is of his free good wil. And they vse no lesse wrongfully than vnhappily that olde destruction 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 ende, that which in working he beginneth, & that it is stil the same grace but changeth name, according to the diuerse maner of effect. Whereupon followeth, that he doth not part it betweene God & vs, as if there were a mutuall meeting together by the motion of both, but only noteth the multiplication of grace. To which purpose belongeth that which in an other place he teacheth, that many giftes of God do goe before the good will of man, amonge the which the selfe same is one. Whereupon followeth, that he leaueth nothing that it may claime to it self. Which thing Paul also hath namely expressed: For when he had sayd \bar{y} it is God, which worketh in vs both to wil & to performe, he by & by addeth, \bar{y} he doth them both of his good wil, declaring by this word, that it is his free goodnesse. Whereas they are wont to say, that after we haue once giuen place to the first grace, our owne endeouours do now worke together with the grace that followeth. To this I answer: If they meane that we, after we haue ben once by the power of the Lord broken to \bar{y} obedience of righteousness, do of our own accord go forward, and are inclined to follow the working of grace, I speake nothing against it. For it is most certain, that there is such a readines of obeying, where the grace of God reigneth. But whence commeth that, but from this, that the spirite of God alway agreing 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 whereby to labour with the grace of God, they are most pestilently deceiued.

12 And to this purpose is that saying of the Apostle wrongfully wrested by ignorance: I haue laboured 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 himself before them all, therefore he corrected it with referring the praise to the grace of god, but yet so, that he calleth himself a worker together with grace. It is maruell that so many which otherwise were not cuil men, haue stumbled at this straw. 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 al the praise of the labor to grace only. It is not I (saith he): hat haue laboured, but the grace of God that was with me. But the doubtfulnesse of the speach 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 \bar{y} grace that was with him was the worker of all. And the same thing doth Augustine teach, not darkly, though shortly, where he thus saith: The good will of man goeth before many gifts 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: Psa. 13. 6. His mercy hath preuented me: And his mercy shal folow me. It preuenteth man not willing, to make him wil: and it foloweth him willing, \bar{y} he wil not in vaine. With whom Bernard agreeth bringing in the church speaking thus: Cant.

Drawe me in a maner vnwilling, that thou maist make me willing: drawe me lying slouthful, that thou maist make me runne.

13 Now let vs heare Augustine speaking in his owne wordes, 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 ago Augustine was drawn forth into the same contention. In his booke of Correption & Grace written to Valentine he entreateth largely that which I will rehearse shortly, but yet do it in his owne wordes: 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 ouercome 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 be 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 immortalitie (as Lombard wrongfully draweth it to that meaning) within a litle after he plucketh out this dout. For (saith he) the will of holy men is so much kindled by the holy Ghost, that they therefore are able, because they so wil: they therefore wil, because God worketh that they so will. For if in so great weaknesse, in which yet behoueth the power to be made perfect, for repressing of pride, their owne will were left vnto them, that by the help of God they may if they will, and God doeth not worke in them to wil: then among so many temptations wil should needes fall downe for weaknesse, and therefore could not continue. Therefore is succour giuen to the weaknesse of mans will, that it should be moued without swaruing or seuering by the grace of God, and therefore should not faint howe weake so euer it be. Then he entreateth more largely how our heartes do 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 willes, but with such as he himselve 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 receiued or refused at euery mans Free electiō, but also that grace is the same, that formeth the election & wil in the heart: so that euery good worke that followeth after, is the fruite and effect thereof, and that it haue no other will obeying it, but the same which it hath made. For these are also his wordes out of another place, that nothing but grace maketh euery good worke in vs.

14 But whereas he saith in another place, that will is not taken away by grace, but from an euill will turned into a good, and holpen when it is good: he meaneth onely that man is not so drawn, that without any motion of heart he is caried as by an outward impulsio, but that he is inwardly so affected, that from his very heart he obeyeth. That grace is specially and freely giuen to the elect, he writeth thus vnto Boniface: We knowe that grace is not giuen to all men, and to them to whome it is giuen, it is not giuen according to the merites of workes, nor according to the merites of wil, 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

Cap. 2.

a. Cor. 12. 9.

Cap. 14.

Epi. 100. 5.

Epi. 100. 6.

is giuen to the desertinges of men, because in not refusing the first grace, they shewed themselues worthy. For he will haue Pelagius graunt, that grace is necessarie to vs for euery of our doings, and is not giuen in recompense to workes, that it may be grace in deede. But the matter can not be comprehended in a shorter summe, than out of y^e eight chapter of his booke to Valentine of Correption and Grace, where first he teacheth that mans will obtaineth not grace by liberty, but liberty 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 tombleth downe. Epist. 46.
That by the free mercy of God it both is conuerted to good, and being conuerted abideth in it, that the direction of mans wil to good, and stedfastnes after direction, hangeth vpon the onely will of God, and not vpon any merite of his owne. And so to man is left such a free wil, if we list so to call it, as he writeth of in an other 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.

The iiij. Chapter.

How God vworketh in the heartes of men.

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 trauaile by endeuour to goodnesse: beside that, wee haue rehearsed a distinction betweene compulsion and necessity, whereby it might appeare, that when hee sinneth of necessitie, yet neuertheless he sinneth willingly. But forasmuch as while he is subiect in bondage to the Deuill, he seemeth rather to be ledde by the deuils will than his owne, it resteth nowe to bee declared of what sort are both kindes of working. And then is this question to be assoiled, whether in euill workes there bee any thing to be attributed to G O D: 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 ready to be ruled by the will of his rider: and God and the Duill he compareth to riders. If God (sayth he) sit vpon it, he like a sober and cunning rider, gouerneth it temperatly, spurreth it forward if it be too slowe, plucketh it backe if it be too quicke, restrayneth the wantonnesse and wildnesse of it, tameth the stubbornnesse of it, and guideth it into the right way. But if the Denill haue possessed it, he like a foolish and wanton rider, violently carieth 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 we will for this time be contented with, sith there commeth not a better in place. Where it is sayde that the will of naturall man is subiect to the rule of the Deuill, so bee stirred by him, it is not ment thereby that man as it were striuing against it, and resisting is cōpelled to obey, as we compel bondslaves against their wil, by reason of being their lordes, to do our commandementes: but that being bewitched with the deceites of Satan, it of necessity yeldeth it selfe obedient to euery leading of him. For whome the Lorde vouchsafueth not to

rule with his spirite, them by iust iudgement he sendeth away to be moued of Satan. Wherefore the Apostle saith, that the God of this worlde hath blinded the mindes of the vnbeleeuers ordained to destruction, that they should not see the light of the Gospell. And in an other place: That he worketh in the disobedient children. The blinding of the wicked, & all the wicked deedes that follow thereupon, are called the workes of Sathan, of which yet the cause is not to be sought 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 But farre other is the order of Gods doing in such thinges. And that the same may appeare more certainly vnto vs: let the hurt done to the holy man Iob by y Chaldees, be an example. The Chaldees killed his herdmen, and like enemies in warre, droue away his cattell for booties. Now is their wicked deede plainly scene, and in that worke Sathan is not idle, from whom the Historie saith, that all this did proceede. But Iob himselfe did acknowledge the worke of the Lorde in it, whom he sayth to haue taken away from him those thinges, that were taken away by the Chaldees. How can we referre the selfe same worke to God, as author, to Sathan as author, and to man as author of it, but y we must either excuse Satan 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 maner how. The purpose of the Lord is by calamity to exercise the patience of his seruant: The deuill goeth about to driue him to despire. The Chaldees against right & lawe, seeke gaine of that which is an other mans. Such diuersity in purposes, maketh greate difference in the worke. And in the maner of doing there is no lesse diuersity. 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 & deliuer to him to be driuen to it. Sathan with his venemous stings, pricked forward the minds of the Chaldees which otherwise were peruerse of themselues to do y mischief: they furiously runne to do wrong, and do binde & 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 wickednesse. It is also said that God worketh in them after his maner, 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 susteined, so frō thence they take their effectuall power of doing any thing. I speake onely of that special doing, which appeareth in euery special act. We see therefore that it is no absurdity, that one selfe act be ascribed to God, to Sathan, and to man: but the diuersity in the end and maner of doing, causeth that therein appeareth the iustice of God to be without fault, and also the wickednesse of Sathan and man, bewrayeth it selfe to their reproch.

3 The old writers in this point also, are sometime precisely afraid, simply to confesse the truth, because they feare least they should so open a window to wickednesse, to speake irreuerently of the workes of God. Which sobriety as I embrace, so I thinke it nothing dangerous, if we simply hold what
the

the Scripture teacheth. Augustine himselfe sometime was not free frō the superstition, as where he saith, that hardning & blinding, pertaine not to the worke of God, but to his foreknowledge. But the phrasēs of Scripture allow not these subtleties, which phrasēs do plainly shewe that there is therein somewhat else of God, besides his foreknowledge. And Augustine himself in his fift booke against Iulianus, goeth earnestly about with a long processe to proue that sinnes are not only of the permission or sufferance of God, but also of his power, that so former sinnes might be punished. Likewise, that which they bring forth, concerning permission, is too weake to stand. It is oftentimes said, that God blindeth and hardeneth the reprobate, that hee turneth, boweth, & moueth their heartes as I haue else where taught more at large. But of what manner that is, it is neuer expressed, if wee 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 darknesse & blindnes: whereas when his spirite is takē away, our hearts wax hard & become stones: where as when his direction cesseth, they are wrested into crookednes, it is wel said that he doth blind, harden & bow them from whom he taketh away the power to see, obey & do rightly. The second maner, which commeth neere to the propertie 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 willes, & strengtheneth their endeouours. So when Moses rehearseth that king Schon did not giue passage to the people, because God had hardened his spirit, & made his heart 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 will to haue him destroyed, the making of his heart 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 trueth, and taketh away reason from the Elders. He taketh the heart away from them that are set ouer the people, hee maketh them to wander where no way is. Again, Lord why hast thou made vs mad, and hardened our heart, that we should not feare thee? Because they iudge rather of what sort God maketh men by forsaking them, than howe he perfourmeth his worke in them. But there are other testimonies that go further: as are these of the hardening of Pharao. I wil harden the heart of Pharao, that he do not heare you, & let the people go. Afterward he saith, that he hath made heauy & hardened his heart. Did he harden it, in not sustaining it? That is true in deede: but he did somewhat more, that he committed his heart to Sathan to be confirmed with obstinacy. Whereupon he had before said: I wil hold his heart. The people went out of Aegypt, the inhabitants of that countrey came forth & met them like enimies. By whom were they stirred vp? Truly Moses affirmeth to the people, that it was the Lord that had hardened their hearts. And the Prophet reciting the same history, saith, that he turned their hearts, 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 & turned, then they are of purpose bowed to that selfe thing. Moreouer so oft as it pleased him to punish the transgressours of the

Lib. de præ
dest. & grat.

Deut. 2. 30.

Iob. 12. 20.

Esay. 63. 17.

Exo. 4. 21. &
7. 3. & 10. 1.Exo. 3. 19.
Deut. 2. 30.
Psa. 105. 25.

Esay. 5. 26.
& 7. 18.
Eze. 12. 13.
& 17. 20.
Ier. 50. 23.
Esa. 10. 15.
De prœdest.
sanct.

people, how did he performe his worke in the reprobate? so as a man may see, that the effectualnes of working was in him, and they onely did seruice 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 entangle them, & 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 & driuen by his hand to cut. Augustine in one place doth not amisse appoint it after this sort: that inasmuch as they sinne, it is their owne: inasmuch as in sinning they do this or that, it is of the power of God, that deuided the darkenesse as pleaseth him.

1. Sa. 16. &
18. 10. & 29

5 Now that the ministerie of Sathan is vsed pricke forward the reprobate, so oft as the Lord by his prouidence apointeth them to this or to that, may sufficiently be proued, though it were but by one place onely. For it is oftentimes said in Samuel, that the euil spirit of the Lord, and an euil spirite from the Lord, did either violently cary or leaue Saul. To say that this spirit was the holy Ghost, is blasphemous. Therefore the vncléane spirit is called the spirit of God, because it answereth at his commandement & power, being rather his instrument in doing, than an author of it selfe. This is also to be added withall, which Paul teacheth, that the efficacie of errour & deceiuing is sent by God, that they which haue not obeyed the trueth, may beleue lies. But there is alway great difference in one self same worke; betwene that which the Lord doth, and that which Sathan & the wicked goe about. He maketh the euil instruments that he hath vnder his hand, & may turne whither he list, to serue his iustice. They, in as much as they are euill, do bring forth in effect the wickednesse that they haue conceiued by corruptnesse of nature. The rest, of such things as serue for to deliuer the maiestie of God from slander, & to cut off all shifting from the wicked, are already set forth in the chapter concerning Prouidence. For in this place my purpose was only to shewe how Sathan reigneth in the reprobate man, and how God worketh in them both.

2. Thef. 2.

6 Although we haue before touched, yet it is not plainly declared what libertie man hath in those doings, which are neither iust nor faultie of them selues, 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 striue about a matter of no great importãce, than that they minded certainly to proue 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 hold the thing that is principally necessarie to saluation: yet I doe thinke 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 thereunto: a gaine, so oft as our wit & mind eschueeth that which elsé would haue hurt vs. And the force of Gods prouidence extendeth thus farre, not onely to make the successes of things to come to passe, as he shal foresee to be expedient, but also to make the willes of men to tend therunto. Truly, if we consider in our wit the administration of outward things, wee shall thinke that they are so farre vnder the will of man: but if we shal giue credit to so many

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testimonies, which cry out that the Lord doth in these things also rule the heartes of men, they shal compell vs to yelde our will subiect to the special mouing of God. Who did procure the good willes of the Egyptians to the Israelites, to lende them all their most precious iewels? They would neuer haue found in their heartes to haue so done of their owne accord. Therefore their heartes were more subiect to the Lord, than ruled by them selues. And truely if Iacob had not bene perswaded that God put into men diuerse afflictions as pleaseth him, he would not haue said of his sonne Ioseph, whom he thought to be some Heathen Egyptian: God graunt you to finde mercy before this man. As also the whole Church confesseth in the Psalme, that when it pleased God to haue mercy vpon it, he meekened the heartes of the cruell nations. Againe, when Saul so waxed on fire with anger, that he prepared him to warre, the cause is expressed, for that the spirit of God did enforce him. Who turned away Absolons minde, from embracing the counsel of Achitophel, which was wont to be holden as an oracle? Who inclined Rehabeam to be perswaded with the yong mens aduise? Who made the nations that before were great, to be afraid at the comming of Isaac? Truely the harlot Rahab confessed, that it was done by God. Againe, who threwe downe the heartes of Israel with dread and fearefulnesse, but he that in the lawe threatened that he would giue them a fearefull heart?

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 prouidence, euen in outward things doth bow and turne the willes of men, and that their choise is not so free, but that Gods wil beareth rule ouer the freedome therof. That thy minde hangeth rather vpon the mouing of God, than vpon the freedome of thine owne choise, this dayly experience shall compell thee to thinke whether thou wilt or no: that is, for that in things of no perplexitie thy iudgement and wit oft faileth thee; in things not hard 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 eye may see, the Lord worketh both. For I take it that hee speaketh not of the creation, but of the speciall grace of vsing them. And when he writeth that the Lord holdeth in his hand and boweth whether he will the heart of the king as the streames of waters: truely vnder the example of one speciall sort, he comprehendeth the whole generaltie. 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 willes of other: but if the will of the King be ruled with the hande of God, no more shal our wil be exempted from y 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 willes of men which he of euil maketh good, and so being made by him selfe doth direct to good doinges and to eternall life, but also these willes that preserue the creature of the world, are so in the power of G O D, that hee maketh them to be inclined

Exo. 11. 3.

Gen. 43. 14.

Psa. 106. 46.

1. Sam. 11. 6.

2. Sam. 17. 10

Ios. 2. 9.

Leui. 26. 36.

Deu. 18. 63.

Prou. 20. 12.

Prou. 21. 1.

Lib. de gratia & libero a b. ad Valent. cap. 20.

whether he will & when he will, either to do benefices, or to execute punishments, by a iudgement most secret in deede, but the same most righteous.

8 Here let the Readers remember, that the power of mans will is not to be weyed by the successe of things, which some vnskilful men are vnorderly wont to do. For they seeme to them selues to proue trimly and wittily that mans will is in bondage, because euen the hiest Monarches haue not all thinges flowing after their owne desire. But this power whereof we speake, is to be considered within man and not be measured by outward successe. For in the disputation of freewill, this is not to the question, whether man may for outward impedimentes, performe 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 Atilius Regulus, enclosed in the narrownesse of a tonne, set ful of sharpe prickes, shall no lesse haue free will than Augustus Cæsar, gouerning a great part of the world with the becke of his countenance.

The v. Chapter.

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

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 throw it down hedlong, did not on the contrarie part pretend certain reasons to assaile our meaning. First they heap 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 (say they) Sinne be of necessitie, then cesseth it to be sinne: if it be voluntarie, then may it be auoyded. 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 deny therefore that sinne ought the lesse to be imputed, because it is necessarie. I deny againe that this doth follow which they conclude, that it may be auoyded, because it is voluntarie. For if any man wil dispute with God, and seeke to escape from his iudgement by this pretence, because he could none otherwise do: God hath that answer ready which we in an other place haue spoken of, that it is not of creation, but of the corruption of nature that men being made bondslaues to sinne, can will nothing but euil. For whence cometh this want of power which y^e wicked would gladly pretend, but vpon this, y^e Adam of his owne accord made himselfe subiect to y^e tyranny of the Deuil? Hereupon therefore grew the corruption, with the bonds whereof wee are holden fast tyed, for that the first man fel from his creator. If al men be iustly holden guilty of his falling away, let them not thinke themselues excused by necessity, in which it selfe they haue a most euident cause of their damnatiō. And this I haue aboue plainly set forth, and I haue giuen an example in the Deuill himselfe, whereby it might appeare, y^e he which necessarily sinneth, doth neuerthelesse willingly sinne: as againe in the elect Angels, where as their will can not decline
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from good, yet it ceaseth not to be a will. Which same thing Bernard also Ser. 81. in Can. aptly teacheth: that we are therefore the more miserable, because our necessitie is voluntarie: which yet holdeth vs so subiect vnto it, that wee bee the bondslaves of sinne, as we haue before rehearsed. The second part of their argument is faultie, because from voluntarie it straight way leapeth to free: but we haue before proued, 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 reward 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 Pelagians, Hierome himselfe hideth not, & also rehearseth it in their owne words. If the grace of God work In. Episto. ad Ctesiphon & Diacon. 10. in vs: then it, not we that labour, shalbe crowned. Of punishments I answer, that they are iustly laid vpon vs from whom the guiltines of sin proceedeth. For what matter maketh it, whether sinne bee 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 righteoufnesse: a great absurditie forsooth it is, if we confesse that they hang rather vpon Gods bountifullnesse, than vpon our owne deseruings. Howe oft finde we this thing repeated in Augustine: that God crowneth 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 nowe 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 to teach for necessarie, that which they thinke so vnlawful to confesse, as where he saith: What bee the merites of any men whatsoeuer they be? when hee commeth, not with due reward, but with free grace, then he alone being free, and that maketh free from sinne? He findeth all men sinners'. In Psal. 31 Againe, If that shall be rendred to thee that is due to thee, thou art to be punished: what is done then? In Psal. 70. G O D hath not giuen thee punishment which is due, but giueth thee grace which is not due. If thou wilt be estraunged 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 reward commeth, hee shall crowne his owne giftes, and not thy deseruings. And in the same meaning Epist. 52. De verbis Aposto. Ser. 4. 7. in an other place, he teacheth that grace is not of deseruing, but deseruing of grace. And a litle after he 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 wherevpon to saue. But what neede is it to make a longer register, when such sentences are often found in his writings? But the Apostle shall yet better deli- 1. Cor. 4. 7. uer them from this error, if they heare from what beginning he conueieth y^e glorie of the Saintes: Whome he hath chosen, them he hath called, whome he hath called, them he hath iustified: whome he hath iustified, them hee hath glorified. Why then, as witnesseth the Apostle, are the faithfull crow-

ned because by the Lords mercie and not by their owne endeouour 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 al things, why gloriest thou, as if thou haddest 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 bountifulnesse and liberalitie of God is manifold, and impossible to be spent out, those graces which he bestoweth on vs, because he maketh them ours, he rewardeth as if they were our owne vertues.

1. Cor. 4. 7.

Ho. 2. 1. in Gē.

Lib. 1. cap. 4.

Rom. 3. 10.

3 Moreouer they bring soorth that which may seeme to be taken out of Chrysostome: If this be not the power of our will, to choose good or euil, 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 Chrysostoms 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 al together are peruerse and giuen to wickednes: but with him we adioyne this that by Gods mercie it commeth to passe that al abide not in peruerseness. Therefore whereas naturally we are all sicke of one disease, they onely 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 end, and some fall in their course begunne. For continuance it selfe is the gift of God, which he giueth not to al indifferently, but dealeth it to whom it pleaseth himselfe. If a man aske for a cause of the difference, why some continue constantly, and some faile by vnstedfastnes, we know none other cause but that God susteineth 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.

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 & 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 faulte thou hast it not: in praier learne whence thou maist receiue that which thou wouldest haue. Of the same argument in a manner is the booke of the Spirite and Letter, where he teacheth that God measureth not the commaundementes of his lawe by the strength of man, but when he hath commended that which is right, hee freely gueth to his elect power

power to fulfill it. And this is no matter of long disputation. First wee are not onely in this cause, but also Christ and all the Apostles. Nowe let the other looke howe they will get the maisterie in striuing, that match themselves with such aduersaries. Doeth Christ, which testifieth that we can do nothing without him, any thing the lesse rebuke and chaſtice them, y^e without him did euill? Doeth he lesse exhort euery man to applie himselfe to good workes? Howe seuerely doeth Paul inuey againſt the Corinthians for neglecting of charitie: and yet hee prayeth for charitie to bee giuen to the same men from God. He testifieth in the Epistle to the Romanes, that it is neither of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God y^e hath mercie, and yet hee ceaseth not afterwarde to admonishe, to exhorde and to rebuke. Why doe they not therefore speake to the Lord, that hee doe not lose his labour in requiring of men those things which hee himselfe alone can giue, & in punishing those things which are done for want of his grace? Why doe they not admonishe 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 nowe hath forsaken them? As if the Lorde had not a verie good reason of his doctrine, which offereth it selfe readily to be founde of them that reuerently seeke it, but howe much doctrine, exhortation and rebuking doe worke of themselves, to the chaunging of the minde, Paul declareth, when hee writeth, that neither hee that planteth is any thing, nor hee that watereth, but the Lorde that giueth the increase onely, effectually worketh. So wee see that Moses seuerally stablissheth the commaundementes of the Law, and the Prophetes 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 heartes, and in steede of stonie heartes to giue heartes of fleſhe, to write his lawe in the bowelles of men: finally, in renewing of soules to make that his doctrine may be effectuell.

5 Wherefore then serue exhortations? For this purpose: if they be despised of the wicked with an obstinate heart, they shall be for a witnesse vnto them when they shall come to the iudgement seate of the Lorde, yea and euen now alreadie they beat and strike their conscience: for howsoeuer the most frowarde man laugheth them to scorne, yet can he not disproue them: but thou wilt say, what may sillie miserable man do, if the softnesse of hart, which was necessarily required to obedience, be denied him? Nay rather, why doeth he excuse himselfe, when hee can impute the hardnes of hearte to none but to himselfe? Therefore the wicked that are willingly ready to mocke them out if they might, are throwen downe with the force of them whether they will or no. But the cheefe profite towards the faithfull is to be considered: in whome as the Lord worketh all things by his spirit, so he leaueth not the instrument: of his word, 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, y^e they may walke in them. But thou wilt say, Why are they now admonished of their duetie, and not rather left to the direction of the holy Ghost? why are they moued with exhortation, sith they can

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make no more hast 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 weakenesse of the fleshe? O man, what arte thou to appoint a lawe for God? If it be his pleasure, that wee 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 godlie, but to reprove them of sinne, they were euen for that thing onely to be compted not altogether vnprofitable. Nowe, for asmuch as by the holy Ghost working inwardly, they much auaille to enflame the desire of goodnesse, to shake of sluggishnesse, to take away the pleasure and venomous sweetnesse of wickednesse, and on the other side to engender a hatred of irkesomnesse thereof: who dare cauell that they are superfluous? If any man require a plainer answer, let him take this: God worketh after two sortes in his elect, inwardly by his spirite, outwardly by his worde: By his spirite, by enlightning their mindes, by framing their heartes to the loue and keeping of iustice, he maketh them a new creature: By his word, he stirreth them to desire, to seeke & atteine the same reuening: by them both he sheweth foorth the effectuall working of his hand, according to the proportion of his distribution. When hee sendeth the same worde to the reprobate, though not for their amendment, yet he maketh it to serue for an other vse: that both for the present time they may be pressed with witnesse of conscience, and may against the day of iudgement be made more inexcusable. So though Christ pronounce that no man cometh to him, but whome the father draweth, and that the elect doe come when they haue hearde and learned of the Father: yet doth not he neglect the office of a teacher, but with his voice diligently calleth them, whome it necessarily behoueth to bee 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 fauour of death to death, but a sweete fauour to God.

Iohn. 6. 44.

2. Cor. 2. 16

6 They be verie laborious in heaping together of testimonies of scripture: and that they doe of purpose, that when they can not oppresse vs with weight, they may yet with number. But as in battels, when it cometh to hande strokes, the weaker multitude howe much pompe and shewe soeuer it hath, is with a fewe stripes discomfited and put to flight: so shall it be 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, doe meete vpon a fewe speciall pointes, wee shall with one aunswere satisfie many of them: therefore it shall not bee needfull to tarrie vpon dissoluing euerie one of them particularly. Their chiefe force they set in the commaundementes, which they thinke to be so tempered to our strengthes, that what soeuer is proued to bee required by the one, it necessarily followeth that it may be performed by the other. And therefore they runne through euerie of the commaundementes, and by them doe measure the proportion of our strength. For (say they) either God mocketh vs when hee chargeth vs with holinesse, godlinesse, obedience, chastitie, loue and meekenesse: and when hee forbiddeth vs vncleannesse, idolatrie, vnchastnesse,

ness, wrath, robbrie, pride, and such like: or he requireth only those things that are in our power. Nowe, we may deuide into three sorts in maner all the commandementes that they heape together. Some require our first conuersion to God, some speake simply of the keeping of the law: some command vs to continue in the grace of God that we haue receiued. First let vs speake of them all in generaltie, and then descend to the speciall sortes. To extend the power of man to the commaundementes of the lawe, hath in deed long ago begun to be common, & hath some shew: but it proceeded from most rude ignorauce of the lawe. For they y^e thinke it a heinous offence, if it be saide that the keeping of the lawe is impossible, doe rest forth vpon this most strong argument, that else the law was giuen in vaine. For they speake in such sorte, as if Paul had no where spoken of the lawe. For, I beseeche them, what meane these sayinges, that the lawe 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 meant that the lawe 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 weakenesse? Truly by the same mans definition, the end and fulfilling of the law is Charitie. But when he wisheth the mindes of the Thessalonians to be filled with charitie, he doth sufficiently confesse, that the law soundeth in our eares without profite, vnlesse God inspire the whole summe thereof in our hartes.

7 Truly, if the Scripture did teache 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 lawe may doe in man. For so much as concerneth this present cause: it teacheth that so soone as it hath appointed what we ought to do, the power to obey commeth of the goodnesse of God, and therefore moueth vs to prayer, whereby wee may require to haue it giuen vs. If there were onely the commaundement and no promise, then were our strength to be tried whether they were sufficient to answer the commaundement, but sith there are promises ioyned withall, which crie out, y^e not onely our aide, but also al our whole power consisteth in y^e help 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 strengthes with the commaundementes of Gods lawe be no more enforced, as if the Lord had measured the rule of iustice, which he purposed to giue in his lawe, according to the rate of our weakenesse. Rather by his promises we ought to consider, how vnready we are of our selues which in euery behalfe do so much neede his grace. But who (say they) shalbee perswaded that it is like to be true, that the Lorde appointed his lawe to stocks and stones? Neither doth any man go about to perswade it. For the wicked are neither stocks nor stones, when being taught by the lawe that their lustes doe striue against God, they are prooued guiltie by their owne witness. Nor yet the godly, when being put in minde of their weakenes they flee vnto grace. For which purpose serue these sayings of Augustine. The Lorde

Gal. 3. 10.
Rom. 3. 20.
Rom. 7. 7.
1. Tim. 1. 5.
1. Thess. 3. 12

In Enchi. ad
Lau. de grat.
& 4. ca. 16
Ho. 29. in 10.
Epif. 24.
commandeth those things that we can not 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 bee the more honoured. Faith obtaineth that which the lawe commandeth, yea the lawe therefore commandeth, 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 command what he will.

8 That shall more plainly be seene in rehearsing the three sortes of commaundements which we touched before. The Lord oftentimes commaundeth both in the lawe and in the Prophetes, that we be conuerted vnto him. But on the other side, the Prophet answereth, Conuert me, Lord, and I shall be conuerted: for after that thou didst conuert me, I repented, &c. He commaundeth vs to circumeise the vncircumcised skinne of our heart: and by Moses he declareth that this circumcision is done by his owne hande. He each where requireth newnesse of heart, but in an other place he testifieth that it is giuē by himselfe. That which God promiseth (saith Augustine) we do not by free will or nature, but he himselfe doth it by grace. And this is the same note that hee 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 goe, that gather by the commaundements whether man be able to do any thing toward obediēces in such sort that they destroy the grace of God, by which the commaundements themselues 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 gifte what-foeuerrighteousnesse, 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 Paule teacheth in an other place. That remaineth, saith he, brethrē, be ye strong thorough the Lorde. In an other place he forbiddeth vs, that wee doe not grieue the spirite of God, wherewith we are sealed vp vnto the day of our redemption. But because the thing that he there requireth, could not be performed by men, therefore he wisheth it to the Thessalonians, from God, namely that he would reckon them worthy of his holy calling, & fulfil al the purpose of his goodnes, and the worke of faith in them. Likewise in the second Epistle to the Corinthians, entreating of almes, hee oftentimes commaundeth their good and godly will, yet a litle after, he thanketh God that put it in the heart 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 far as God did put vnto him, how should other haue bin willing to do, vnlesse God himselfe had directed their hearts?

9 The craftier sort of them do cauill at all these testimonies: because there is no impediment, but that wee may ioyne our owne strengthes, and God to helpe our weake endeouours. 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 ye to me, and I will turne to you. What manner of helpe the Lorde bringeth vs, wee haue aboue shewed, and it is not needefull here to repete it. This one thing I woulde haue graunted mee, that it is vainely gathered that there is required in vs a power to fulfill the law, because God doth commaunde the obedience of it: For as much as it is euident, that for the fulfilling of all the cōmandements of God, the grace of the law giuer is both necessarie for vs and promised vnto vs. Thereby the it appeareth, that at the least there is more required of vs than we are able to pay. And that saying of Hieremie can not bee wiped away with any cauillations: that the couenaunt of God made with the auncient people was voide, because it was onely literall, and that it coulde no otherwise be stablised, than when the spirite commeth vnto it, which frameth the harts to obedience. Neither doeth that saying, Turne ye to me, and I will turne vnto you, fauour their errour. For their is meant, not that turning of God, wherewith he renueth our hearts to repentance, but wherewith he by prosperitie of thinges doth declare himselfe fauorable and mercifull: as by aduersitie he sometime sheweth his displeasure. Where as therefore the people being vexed with manie sorts of miseries, and calamities, did complaine that God was turned away from them: he aunswereth, that they shall not be destitute of his fauour, if they returne to vprightnesse of life, and to him selfe that is the paterne of righteousnesse: Therefore the place is wrongfully wrested, and it is drawn to this purpose, that the worke of our conuersion shoulde seeme to bee parted betweene God and men. These things we haue comprehended so much the shortlier, because the proper place for this matter shall be where we entreat of the law.

10 The seconde sort of their argumentes is much like vnto the first. They alleadge the promises whereby God doeth couenaunt with our wil, of which sorte are: Seeke good and not euill, and yee shall liue. If ye will and doe heare, yee shall eate the good thinges of the earth: but if yee will not, the sworde shall deuoure you, because the Lords mouth hath spoken it. Againe, If thou put away thine abominations out of my sight, then shalt thou not bee driuen out: If thou shalt obey diligently the voice of the Lorde thy God, and obserue and do all his commaundementes which I commaunde thee this day, then the Lorde thy God will set thee on hie 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 stablsh them or make them voide. And right easie it is to amplify this matter with eloquent complaintes, that the Lord doeth cruelly mocke vs, when hee pronounceth that his fauour hangeth vppon our will, if the same will bee not in our power: And that this liberalitie of G O D shoulde bee a goodly thing forsooth, if hee so set his benefites before vs that wee haue no power to vse them: and a meruellous assurednesse of his promises, which hange vppon a thing impossible, so as they might neuer bee fulfilled. But of such promises as haue a condition adioyned, wee will speake in an other place: so that it shall bee playne, that

Zach. 1. 3. 5

Iere. 13. 3.

Amos. 5. 1. 4.

Esfay. 5. 16.

Iere. 4. 1.

Deu. 28. 1.

Leu. 26. 30.

that there is no absurditie in the impossible fulfilling of them. And for so much as concerneth this place: I denie that God doeth vnghently mocke vs, when hee moueth vs to deserue his benefites, whome he knoweth to be vterly vnable to do it. For whereas the promises are offered both to the faithfull and to the wicked, they haue their vse with both sortes. As God with his commaundementes pricketh the consciences of the wicked, that they shoulde not too sweetly take pleasure in their sinnes, without any remembrance of his iudgementes: so in his promises hee doth in a manner take them to witnesse, howe 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 whome hee is honoured, and punish the despisers of his Maiestic, according to his seueritie? Therefore God doeth well and orderly when in his promises he adioineth this condition to the wicked that are bound with the fetters of sinne, that they shall then onely enioy his benefites, if they depart from their wickednesse: or for this purpose onely, that they maye vnderstande that they are worthily excluded from these thinges, that are due to the true worshippers of God. Againe, because hee seeketh by all meanes to stirre vp the faithfull to call vpon his grace, it shall not bee inconuenient, if hee attempt the same thing also by promises, which we haue shewed that he hath done to great profite with commaundementes towarde them. Being enformed of the will of God, by his commaundementes, wee are put in minde of our miserie, which doe withall our heart too farre dissent from the same, and we be therewithall pricked forward to call vpon his spirit, whereby we may be directed into the right way. But because our sluggishnesse is not sufficiently sharpened with commaundementes, there are added promises which with a certaine sweetnesse may allure vs to the loue of them. And that the more desire that wee haue of righteousnesse, wee may be the more feruent to seeke the fauour of God. Loe howe 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.

II The thirde sorte of their argumentes, 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 receiued not of his tender loue all kinde of good thinges.

Num. 14. 43 Of which sort are the places: Amaleck and the Chananee are before you, with whose sworde you shall fall, because yec woulde not obey the Lorde, because I called and ye aunswered not, I will doe to this house as I did to

Iere. 31. 13. Silo. Againe, this nation hath not hearde the voyce of the Lord their God, nor hath receyued discipline, therefore it is cast away from the Lorde.

Iere. 32. Againe, because ye haue hardened your heart and woulde not obey the Lorde, all these euilles are happened vnto you. Howe (say they) coulde such reproches be laide 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 wee obeyed not the Lord, nor hearkened to his voyce: this was the cause thereof, for that it was not at our libertie so to do, because we were subiect to to the dominion of sinne. Vainely

ly 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 them selues of all fault. For if they be found gilty of any fault, then the Lord doth not without cause reproche them, that it came to passe by their peruersnes, that they felt not the fruite of his clemencie. Let them aunswere therefore, whether they can denie, that their froward will was the cause of their stubbornesse. If they finde the spring head of the euill within themselues, why gape they to finde out foreine 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, & chastised with punishments, then is there great reason why they should heare these reproches at the mouth of God: that if they goe obstinately forwarde in their faults, they may learne in their miseries rather to accuse and abhorre their owne wickednesse, than to blame God of vniust crueltie: that if they haue not cast off all willingnesse to learne, they may be wery of their sinnes, by the deseruings whereof they see themselues miserable & vndone, and may retourne into the way, and acknowledge the same with earnest confession which the Lord rehearseth in chiding them. For which purpose it appeareth by the soleme prayer of Daniel, which is in the ninth Chapter, that those chidings of the Prophets which are alleged, did auaille with the Godly. Of the first vse we see an example in the Iewes, to whome 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 words, and they shall not heare thee: thou shalt call them, and they shall not answere thee. To what ende then did they sing to deafe men? that being euen loth and vnwilling, yet they shoulde vnderstand y^t it was true that they heard, that it were wicked sacrilege if they should lay vpon God the blame of their euils which rested in themselues. By these fewe solutions thou maist easily deliuer thy selfe from the infinite heap of testimonies, which, for to crect an image of free wil, the enimies of the grace of God are wont to gather together, as wel out of y^e cōmandments as out of the protestations against y^e professors of the law. It is reprochfully spoken in the Psalm concerning y^e Iewes: A froward generation that haue not made their heart streight. Also in another Psalm, the Prophet exhorteth the men of his age, not to harden their hartes, and that because all the fault of obstinacie remaineth in the peruersnesse of men. But it is fondly gathered thereof, that the heart is pliable to either side, the preparing whereof is onely of God. The Prophet saith: I haue enclined my heart to keepe thy commaundements: because he had willingly and with a cherefull earnest affection of minde addicted himselfe to God, and yet he doeth not boast himselfe to be the author of his owne inclination, which he confesseth in the same Psalm to be 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 he assigneth them offices, to be dooing, that they should not giue themselues to

Dan. 9.

Iere. 7. 37.

Psa. 78. 3.

Psa. 55. 8.

Psa. 119. 113

Phi. 2. 12.

sluggishnesse of the flesh: but in that he commandeth them to haue feare & carefulnesse, he so humbleth them, that they may remember that the same thing which they are commanded to do, is the proper worke of God, wherein plainly he expresseth, that the faithfull worke, passiuely, as I may so call it, in so much as power is ministred them from heauen, that they shoulde claime nothing at all to themselues. Wherefore when Peter exhorteth vs that we should adde power in faith, he granteth not vnto vs a second office, as if we should do any thing seuerally by our selues, but onely he awaketh the slothfulnesse of the flesh, wherewith commonly faith it selfe is choked. To the same purpose seemeth that saying of Paul: Extinguish not the spirit, for slothfulnesse doth oftentimes creepe vpon the faithfull, if it be not corrected. But if any man conclude thereupon, that it is in their own choise to cherish the light being offered them, his ignorance shall be easily confuted: because the selfe same diligence that Paul requireth, commeth onely from God. For wee 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 granting, the same thing is conueyed to vs that properly belongeth to God, is plaine by the wordes of Iohn: Whosoever is of God, saueh himselfe. The aduancers of freewill take holde of this saying, as if we were saued partly by the power of God, & partly by our owne: as though we had not from heauen the very same safe keeping, whereof the Apostle maketh mention. For which cause, Christ also prayeth his Father to saue vs from euil, and wee knowe that the godly, while they warre against Satan, doe 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 obedience of truth, hee by & by addeth as by way of correction, (by the holy Ghost.) Finally, how all mens strength are of no force in the spirituall battell, Iohn briefly sheweth, when he sayeth, that they which are begotten of God, cannot sinne, because the seede of God abideth in them. And in another place, he rendereth a reason why: for that our faith is the victorie that ouercommeth the world.

12 Yet there is alleged a testimonie out of the law of Moses, which seemeth to be much against our saluation. For after the publishing of the lawe, he protesteth vnto the people in this maner. The commaundement that I commaunde thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither farre of: It is not in heauen, but hard by thee, it is in thy mouth and in thy heart, thou shouldest do it. Truly if this be taken to be spoken of the bare commaundementes, I graunt they be of no smal weight to this present matter. For though it were easie to mocke it out with saying, that here is spoken not of the easinesse and readinesse of obseruation, but of knowledge: yet euen so, peraduenture it would also leaue some doubt. But the Apostle which is no doubtful expositor, taketh away all doubt from vs, which affirmeth that Moses here spake of the doctrine of the Gospel. But if any obstinate man will say, that Paul violently wrested those words, y they might be drawn to the Gospel, although his boldnes so to say shall not be without impietic, yet is there sufficient matter beside the authoritie of the Apostle to conuince him withal. For if Moses

spake

speake of the commandementes onely, then he puffed vp the people with a most vaine confidence. For what should they els haue done, but throwen them selues downe hedlong, if they had taken vpon them the keeping of the law by their own strength, as a thing not hard for them? Where is then that so ready easinesse to keepe the law, where there is no accessse vnto it, but by a hedlong fall to destruction? Wherefore there is nothing more certain, than that Moses in these wordes did meane the couenant of mercy, which he had published together with the streight requiring of the lawe. For in a fewe verses before he had taught, that our hartes must be circumcised by y^e hand of God, that we may loue him. Therefore he placed that easinesse, whereof he streightway after speaketh, not in the strength of man, but in the helpe & succor of y^e holy Ghost, which performeth his worke mightely in our weakenes. Albeit y^e place is not simply to be vnderstanded of the cōmandements, but rather of the promises of the Gospel, which are so farre from stablishing a power in vs to obtaine righteousnesse, y^e they vtterly ouerthrowe it. Paul considering that same, proueth by this testimony, that saluation is offred vs in the Gospel, not vnder that hard and impossible condition, wherewith the lawe dealeth with vs, that is, that they onely shall attaine it which haue fulfilled all the commandementes, but vnder a condition that is easie, ready, and plaine to come vnto. Therefore this testimony maketh nothing to challenge freedome to the will of man.

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 waiteth to see to what ende they will apply their endeouours, as is that place in Osee: I will go to my place till they put it in their heart & 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 own wil incline themselues to y^e one side or the other. As though this were not a thing commonly vsed with God in the Prophetes, to make a shewe as if he did despise and cast away his people, till they haue amended their life. But what will the aduersaries gather out of such threatninges? 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 necessarie to conuersion, why striue they with vs? But they so graunt it necessary, that still they will haue mans power preserued vnto him. Howe proue they that? truly not by this place, nor any like to it. For it is one thing, to depart aside from man, and to looke what he will do being giuen ouer and left to himselfe, and an other thing to helpe his litle strength after the measure of his weakenesse. What then (will some man say) do these maners of speaking meane? I answere that they are asmuch in effect, as if God had sayde: Forasmuch as I preuaile nothing with this stubborne people by admonishing, exhorting and rebuking, I will withdrawe my selfe a while: and sitte still and suffer them to bee afflicted: I will seee if at length, after long miseries, they will begin to remember me, to seeke my face. The Lordes going farre away, signifieth the taking away of Prophecy: his looking what men will doe, signifieth that hee keeping silence, and as it were hiding himselfe, doeth for a time exercise

Osee. 5. 14.

them with diuerse afflictions. Both these things he doth to humble vs the more. For we should sooner be dilled than amended with the scourges of aduersity, vnlesse he did frame vs to that tractablenesse by his Spirite. Now whereas the Lorde being offended, and in a maner wearied with our obstinate stubbornesse, doth not 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) & doth make a proufe what we would doe in his absence, it is falsely gathered hereof that there is any strength of free wil 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.

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 workes are called ours, and it is no lesse sayde that wee doe the thing that is holy and pleasing to God, than that we committe sinnes. But if sinnes be iustly imputed to vs, as proceeding from vs, truly in righteous doinges also somewhat by the same reason ought to be assigned vnto vs. For it were against reason that it should be sayd that we doe those things, to the doing whereof being vnable of our own 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 shewe that our endeouour hath also yet a second parte. If that thing onely were still enforced, that good workes are called ours, I would obiect 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 absurdity in the Lordes prayer, or let them not reckon this to be laughed at, that good workes are called ours, in which we haue no property, but by the liberalitie of God. But this is somewhat stronger, that the Scripture oftentimes affirmeth that we our selues do worship God, obey y^e lawe and apply good workes. Sith these are the duties properly belonging to y^e 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 endeouour with the power of God? Out of these snares we shall easily vnwinde our selues, if we wel consider the manner howe the spirite of the Lord worketh in the holy ones. The similitude wherwith 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 followe of our doctrine. We reckon among the naturall powers of man, to allowe and refuse, to will and not wil, to endeouour and to resist, that is, to allowe vanity and to refuse perfect goodnesse, to wil euil and to be vnwilling to good, to endeouour our selues to wickednes and to resist righteoufnesse. 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 end 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, whē he laboureth onely to obey his owne lust, to a stone that being throwen by the violence of an other, is caried neither with mouing nor sense nor will of his owne?

We see how much difference there is. But what doth he in good things, of which is our principall question? when he creteth his kingdom in them, he by his spirit 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 righteousnes: and y^e it should not stumble or fall, he doth stablish and confirme it with y^e strength of his spirit. For which reason Augustine saith: Thou wilt say vnto me: then are we wrought & worke not. Yea, thou both workest & art wrought, and thou workest wel 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 parte he teacheth, that mans working is not taken away by the moouing of the Holy ghost, because will is of nature, which is ruled to aspire to goodnesse. But where he by and by addeth, that by the name of help, may be gathered that wee 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 slouthfulnesse in vs, he so matcheth the working of God with ours, that to will may be of nature, and to wil well of grace. Therefore he said a litle before, Vnlesse God help vs, wee shall not be able to ouercome, no nor yet to fight at all.

15 Hereby appeareth, that the grace of God (as the word is taken when we speake of regeneration) is the rule of the spirite, to direct & gouerne the will of man. And it cannot gouerne it, vnlesse it correct it, reforme it, and renewe it (from whence we say that the beginning of regeneration is, that that which is ours might be destroyed) and vnlesse it moue it, stirre it, driue it forward, cary it and hold it. Whereupon we do truely say, that all the doings that proceede from it, are wholly the onely worke of the same grace. In the meane time we denie not that it is very true that Augustine teacheth, that will is not destroyed by grace, but rather repaired. For both these things do stand very well together: that mens will be said to be restored, when the faultinesse and peruerfnesse 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 vtterly to put on a new nature. Now is there no cause to the contrary, but that we may well be said to do the same thing that the spirit of God doeth in vs, although our own will do of it selfe giue vs toward it nothing at all, that may be seuered from his grace. And therefore we must keepe that in minde, which wee haue elsewhere alleged out of Augustine, that some do in vaine trauaile to find in the will of man some good thing that is properly her owne. For whatsoeuer 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 whatsoeuer good is in the wil 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 chalengeth the praise to himselfe. First, because it is ours whatsoeuer by his goodnesse he worketh in vs, so that we vnderstande it to be not of our selues: and then because the mind is ours, the will is ours,

the endeouour is ours, which are by him directed to good.

16 Those other testimonies beside these, that they scrape together here and there, shall not much trouble euen meane wittes that haue well conceiued onely the solutions aboue said. They allege that saying out of Genesis, Thine appetite shall be vnder thee, and thou shalt beare rule ouer it. Which they expound of sinne, as if the Lord did promise to Cain, that the force of sinne should not get the vpper hand in his minde, if he would labour 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 y enuy that Cain had conceiued against his brother. And that he doth two wayes. One, that in vaine he imagined mischief to excel his brother in Gods sight, before whom no honor is giuen but vnto righteousnesse: the other, that he was too much vnthankfull for the benefit of God which he had already receiued, which could not abide his brother, although he had him subiect vnder his authoritic. But least we should seeme therefore to embrace this exposition, because the other is against vs: let vs admit that God spake of sinne. If it be so, then God either promiseth or commandeth that which he there declareth. If he commandeth, then haue wee already shewed that thereby followeth no prooffe of the power of man. If he promiseth, where is the fulfilling of the promise? for Cain became subiect to sinne, ouer which he should haue had dominion. They wil say, that in the promise was included a secret condition, as if it had ben said, that he should haue the victory if he would striue for it. But who will receiue these crooked compasses? For if this dominion be meant of sinne, 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 aboue our power. Albeit both the matter it selfe and the order of Grammar do require, that there be a comparison made of Caine and Abel, because the elder brother should not haue ben set behind the yonger, vnlesse he had become worse by his owne wicked doing.

17 They vse also the testimony of the Apostle, which saith, that it is not of him y willeth, nor of him y runneth, but of God that hath mercy. Whereby they gather that there is somewhat by mans will and endeouour, which of it selfe though it be weake, being holpen by the mercy 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 forth Origen and Hierome for mainteiners 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 vouchsaferh to graunt his mercy: and that ruine & destruction is prepared for all those that he hath not chosē. He had vnder the example of Pharao declared the state of the reprobate, and had also confirmed the assurednes of free election by the testimony of Moses, I will haue mercy vpon whom I will haue mercy. Now he concludeth, that it is not of him that willeth, or of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy. If it be thus vnderstanded, y will or endeouour are not sufficient, because they are too weake for

Gen. 4. 7.

Rom. 9. 16.

Li. 7. in epi.
ad Rom.
Hier. o. dial.
in Pel.

So great a weight, that which Paul sayth, had not bin aptly spoken: Therefore away with these subtleties, to say: It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, therefore there is some will, there is some running. For Pauls meaning is more simply, thus: It is not will, it is not running y get vs the way to saluation, herein is onely the mercy of God. For he speaketh no otherwise in this place than he doth to Titus, where he writeth, that y goodnesse and kindnesse of God appeareth not by the workes of righteousnesse, which we haue done, but for his infinite mercy. They themselues that make this argument, that Paul meant that there is some will and some running, because he said, y it is not of him that willeth, 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 sayth, that we haue not attained the goodnesse of God by y good works y we haue done. If they see a fault in this argument, let them open their eyes, and they shal perceiue that their own is not without the like deceite. For that is a sure reason that Augustine resteth vpon, If it were therefore sayd that it is not of him that willeth nor of him that runneth, because neither the will nor the running is sufficient: Then it may be turned on the contrary part that it is not of the mercy of God, because it alone worketh not. Sith this second is an absurdity, 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 wil and to runne, but because God worketh both in vs. No lesse vnaptly do some wrest that saying of Paul: Wee are the workers with God, which out of doubt ought to be restrayned onely to the ministers: and that they are called workers with him, not that they bring any thing of themselues, but because God vseth their seruice, after that he hath made them meete and furnished with necessarie giftes.

18 They bring foorth Ecclesiasticus, who, as it is not vnknownen, is a writer of whose authority is doubted. But although we refuse it not (which yet we may lawfully doe) what doth he testifie for free will? He sayth, that man so soone as he was created, was left in the hande of his owne counsell: that commandementes were giuen him, which if he obserued, he should againe be preserued by them: that before man was set life and death, good & euill: that whatsoever he would, should be giuen him. Be it, y man receiued from his creation power to obtaine either life or death. What if on the other 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 vpriight, and he forged vnto himself many inuentions. But because man in swaruing, lost as it were by shipwracke both himselfe and all his good things, it foloweth 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 only, but also to Ecclesiasticus himselfe whatsoever 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 y vndoubted word of God. But if thou only study to restrain the malice of the flesh, which in laying the blame of her owne euills vpon God, vseth to seeke a vaine defence for it selfe, and therefore thou answerest

that vprightnesse was giuen vnto men, wherby it may appeare that himselfe was cause of his owne 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 ornamentes, wherwith God had clothed him at the beginning: & that so we confesse together, that now he more needeth a Phisitian than a defender.

19 Yet they haue nothing oftener in their mouth than the parable of
 Luk. 10. 30. Christ of the wayfaring man, whom theues laid abroad halfe dead in y way. I know y it is common almost with all writers, that the calamity 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 y robberie of sin and the Deuil, but that he keepeth still remaining the leauings of his former good things, forasmuch as it is said, that he was left halfe alieue. For where is y halfe life, vnlesse some portion both of right reason and wil remained? First if I would not giue place to their allegory, I beseech you, what would they doe? For there is no doubt that it was deuised by the fathers beside the naturall sense of the Lords wordes. Allegories ought to go no further than they haue the rule of Scripture going before them: so farre is it of, that they be by them selues sufficient to ground any doctrines. And there want not reasons, whereby I can, if I list, ouerthrow this deuise, for the word of God leaueth not to man halfe a life, but teacheth that he 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 & halfe alieue, but that we were raised vp againe when we were dead. He calleth not vpon them that are halfe alieue to receiue the light of Christ, but them
 Eph. 2. 5. that sleepe and are buried. And in like maner speaketh the Lorde himselfe,
 Iohn. 5. 25. when he sayth, that the houre is come when the dead shall rise againe at his voyce. With what face would they set this light allusion against so many plaine sentences? But let this allegory haue the force of a certaine testimonie, yet what shall they wring out of vs thereby? Man is halfe alieue, therefore he hath somewhat left safe. I graunt: he hath a wit capable of vnderstanding, although it pearce not to the heauerly and spirituall wisdom: he hath true iudgement of honesty: 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 y the same saying of Augustine be taken from vs, which is also approued by common consent of y Scholes: that after mans fall the freely giuen good things, whereupon saluation hangeth, are taken away from him, and that his natural giftes are corrupted & defiled. Lette therefore this trueth remaine with vs vndoubted, which can be shaken by no engines, that the minde of man is so estranged from the righteousnesse of GOD, that it conceiueth, coueteth, and enterpriseth all wickednesse, filthinesse, vncleannesse, and mischiefe: that his heart is so thoroughly loked in poyson of sinne, that it can breath out nothing but corrupt stinke: But if at any time they doe vtter any goodnesse in shewe, yet still the minde remaineth alway wrapped in hypocrisie and deceitfull crookednesse, and the heart entangled with inward peruerfenesse.

The vj. Chapter.

That man being lost, must seeke for redemption in Christ.

Sith all mankinde hath perished in the Person of Adam, that excellence and nobilitie of beginning which wee haue spoken of woulde so litle profite vs, that it woulde rather turne to our greater shame, till God appeare theredeemer in the person of his onely begotten sonne, which acknowledgeth not men defiled and corrupted with sinne to bee his worke. Therefore sith we are fallen from life into death, all that knowledge of God the creatour wherof 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 worlde shoulde 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, whether soeuer we turne our eyes, vpperward & downeward, the curse of God still presenteth it selfe vnto our sight, which while it possesseth and enwrappeth innocent creatures by our fault, must needes ouerwhelme our owne soules with desperation. For although Gods will is that his fatherly fauour toward vs doe still many wayes appeare: yet by beholding of the worlde wee cannot gather that hee is our Father when our conscience inwardly pricketh vs, & sheweth that there is in sin iust cause of forsaking, why God should not accompt or reckon vs for his children. Beside that there is in vs both slouthfulnessse and vnthankfulnessse: because both our mindes, as they bee blinded, doe not see the trueth, and also as all our senses be peruerse, we maliciously defraude God of his glorie. Therefore wee must come to that saying of Paul: because in the wisdome of God, the worlde knewe not God 1. Cor. 1. 22.
by wisdome, it pleased God by the foolishnesse of preaching to saue them that beleeeue. The wisdome of God hee calleth this honourable stage of heauen and earth, furnished with innumerable miracles, by beholding whereof wee ought wisely to haue knowen 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 do not agre with mans wit, yet ought we humblie to embrace it, if we desire to returne to God our creator and maker, that he may beginne againe to be our father. Truly since the fall of the first man, no knowledge of God auailed to saluation, without the Mediatour. For Christ speaketh not of his owne 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 whome he hath sent Iesus Christ. And so much the fowler is their sluggishnesse, which take vpon them to set open heauen to all prophane & vnbeleeuing men, without his grace, whom the Scripture ech where teacheth to be the onely gate whereby wee enter into saluation. But if any will restraine that saying of Christ onely to the publishing of the Gospell, wee haue in readinesse wherewith to confute him. For this hath bene a common sentence in all ages and among all nations, that without reconciliatiō they that are estranged from God, and pronounced accursed, & the children

of wrath, can not please God. And here may be also alleaged that which Christ answered to the woman of Samaria: Ye worship what ye knowe not, but we worship that which we know: because the saluation is from the Iewes. In which wordes he both condemneth of falschod all the religions of the Gentiles, and also assigneth a reason why, for that the Redeciner was promised vnder the lawe to the only chosen people. Whereupon it foloweth, that no worship cuer pleased God, but that which had respect vnto Christ. For which cause also Paule affirmeth that all the nations of the Gentiles were without God, and voyd of the hope of life. Now where as Iohn teacheth that life was from the beginning in Christ, and that al the world fel from it, we must returne to the same fountaine Christ. And therefore Christ, in so much as he is the reconciler, affirmeth himselfe to be the life. And truly the entrance of heauen belongeth to none, but to the children of God. But it is not meete that they be accepted in the place and degree of children, that are not grafted into the body of the only begotten sonne. And Iohn plainly testifieth, that they which beleaue in his name, are made the children of God. But because it is not directly my purpose yet to discourse of fayth in Christ, therefore it shall for this time be sufficient to haue touched it by the way.

2 And therefore God neuer shewed himselfe mercifull to the olde people, nor cuer did put them in any hope of grace without the Mediatour. I omit to speake of the sacrifices of the lawe, wherein y^e faithfull were openly and plainly taught, that saluation is no where else to be sought, but in the cleansing which was performed by Christ alone. Only this I say, y^e the blessed and happy state of the church hath ben alway grounded vpon the person of Christ. For though God comprehended all the issue of Abraham in his co-
 Gal. 3. 16. uenant, yet doeth Paul wisely reason, that Christ is properly that seede in whom all nations were to be blessed, forasmuch as we knowe 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) howe 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 refused? Yea howe came it to passe that the elder was reiected and the yonger only tooke place? And howe also came it to passe, that the greater parte should be forsaken? It appeareth 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 thinges that were scattered abroad. Therefore the first adoption of the chosen people did hang vpon the grace of the Mediatour. Which though it be not in so plaine wordes expressed by Moses, yet it sufficiently appeareth that it was commonly knowen to al the godly. For before that there was any king create among the people, Hanna
 1. Sam. 3. 10. the mother of Samuel entreating of the felicitie of the godly, euen then saide thus in her song: God shall giue strength to his king, and shall exalt y^e horne of his anointed. In which wordes she meaneth that God shall blesse his Church. Wherewith also agreeth y^e oracle that is within a litle after adioyned: The Priest whom I shall appoint shall walke before mine anointed.

Neither is it to be doubted, but that the will of the heavenly father was to haue the liuely image of Christ to be seene in Dauid & his posteritie. Therefore meaning to exhort the godly to the feare of God, he biddeth them to kisse the Sonne. Wherewith this saying of the Gospel also agreeth: He that honoureth not the sonne, honoureth not the father. Therefore although by falling away of ten tribes the kingdome decayed: yet it behooued the covenant to stand which God had made in Dauid and his successours: as also he saide by the Prophets: I wil not altogether cut of the kingdom, for Dauid my seruantes sake, and for Hierusalems iake, whom I haue chosē: but there shall remaine one tribe to thy sonne. Where the same thing is repeated the second and third time. It is also expressly added: I will afflict the seede of Dauid, but not for euer. Within a litle space of time after, it is saide: For Dauid his seruantes sake God hath giuen a light in Hierusalem, to raise vppē a sonne and to keepe Hierusalem in safetic. Now when the state grew toward destruction, it was saide againe: God would not scatter Iuda for Dauid his seruantes sake, because he had spoken that he would giue a light to him and his sons for euer. Finally this is the summe, that al other being passed ouer, only Dauid was chosē, vpon whom the good pleasure of God should rest. As in an other place it is said: He hath refused the tabernacle of Silo, and the tabernacle of Ioseph, and he hath not chosē the tribe of Ephraim, but he hath chosē the tribe of Iuda, the mount Sion which he hath loued. Hee hath chosē his seruauant Dauid to feede Iacob his people, and Israel his inheritance. To conclude, it pleased God so to saue his church, that y safetic and preseruatiō thereof should hang vpon that one head, and therefore Dauid crieth out, The Lord, the strength of his people, the strength of the saluations of his Christ. And by and by he addeth a praier: Saue thy people & blesse thine inheritance: meaning that the state of the Church is with vnseparable knot ioy ned to the government of Christ. And in the same meaning in an other place: Lord saue vs: Let the king heare vs in the day that we shall call vpon him. In which words he plainly teacheth, y the faithfull did vpon none other confidence flee to y helpe of God, but because they were hidden vnder y succour of the king. Which is gathered by an other Psalm. Lord saue vs: Blessed is he y commeth in the name of the Lord. Where it is plainly enough, y the faithfull are called back vnto Christ, that they may hope y they shalbe saued by y hand of God. The same respect hath y other praier, where al the Church calleth vpon the mercie of God. Let thy hand be vpon y man of thy right hand, vpon the sonne of man, whom thou hast preserued (or appointed) to thy selfe. For though the author of the psalme bewaileth y scattering abroad of y whole people, yet he praieth for their restitution in the head alone. Where, when the people was led away into exile, the land wasted, and all things to mans seruing destroyed, Ieremy lamenteth the ouerthrowe of the Church, he doth principally complain that by destruction of the kingdome all hope was cut off from the faithfull. Christe (saith hee) the spirite of our mouth is taken in our sinnes, to whom we said: In thy shadowe we shall liue among the nations. Hereby now it sufficiently appeareth that because God can not be merciful to mankinde without the Mediatour, therefore Christe was alway set before the holy fathers in time of

Psal. 2. 12.
Iohn 5. 23.

1. Re. 11. and
12. 24.

1. Kin. 11. 29
1. King 15. 4
1. Kin. 11. 34.

Pf. 77. 60. 67

Pfal. 20. 10.

Psa. 118. 25,
26.

Pfal. 80. 18.

Lam. 4. 20.

of the law to whom they might direct their faith.

- 3 Nowe, 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 Prophetes 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 bin no assurance of the couenant. For which purpose serueth that notable answer of Esay. For when he sawe that y^e vnbelceuing 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 son, meaning indirectly that though the king and his people by their frowardnesse refused the promise offered vnto them, as though they did of purpose bend themselues to discredite the trueth of God, yet the couenant should not be voide, but that the Redeemer should come at his appointed time. Finally it was the care of all the Prophetes, to the ende they might shewe that God would be mercifull, alway to set out that kingdome of Dauid, wherupon hanged the redemption and euerlasting saluation. So Esay saith: I will make a couenant with you the faithfull mercies of Dauid. Behold I haue giuen him for a witnessse vnto nations, that is, because the faithfull when their state is at the worst, could not otherwise haue any hope, but by the meanes of him being witnessse, that God would bee appeasable toward them. Likewise Hieremy, to raise them vp being in despaire, saith: Beholde the daies come, wherein I will raise vp vnto Dauid a righteous branche, and then shall Iuda be saued, and Israel shall dwell in safetie. And Ezc. 34. 23. Ezechiel saith, I wil raise vp one shepheard ouer my sheepe, euen Dauid my seruant. I the Lord wil be a God to them, and my seruant Dauid for a shepheard. And I wil make a couenant of peace with them. Also in an other place, after he had entreated of the incredible reuening, he saith: my seruant Dauid shall be their king, and there shalbe one shepheard ouer all, and I will make an euerlasting couenant 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 beene reposed no where else but in Christ. And all the other Prophetes also speake agreeably hereunto, as it is saide in Osee. The children of Iuda and the children of Israel shalbee gathered together, and shall appoint to themselues one head. Which he afterward more plainly expoundeth, The children of Israel shall returne, and shall seeke for the Lord their God and Dauid their king. And Michee speaking of the returne of the people expressly saith, Amos 9. 11. The king shall go before them, and the Lord in their head. So Amos meaning to praise the reuening 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 gappes, 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 hie in the stocke of Dauid, which is fulfilled in Christ. Therefore Zacharie, as his age was neerer to the appearing of Christ, so doth he more plainly crie out: be glad

his glorie. Which thing the phrentike men not considering, doe wrest a profitable sentence to a wicked fantasie, as though there were in Christe but a portion of the godheade deriued from the whole perfection: whereas it meaneth nothing else, but that God is comprehended in Christ alone.

1. Iohn. 2. 31 That saying of Iohn hath alwayes bene true: He that hath not the son, neither hath he the Father. For though in old time many did boast y they worshipped the soueraigne God, y maker of heauē & earth: yet because they had no Mediator, it was impossible y they should truly taste of y mercie of God, & so be perswaded y he was their father. Therefore because they knewe not the heade 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 bewrayed their owne ignorance. As at this day y Turkes although they report with full mouth, that the creator of heauen & earth is their God, yet do they thrust an idol in place of the true God while they swarue from Christ.

The vij. Chapter.

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

BY this continuall processe that wee haue rehearsed, may bee gathered, that the Law was added about foure hundred yeres after the death of Abraham, not for this entent to lead away the chosen people from Christe: but rather to keepe their mindes in expectation vntill his comming, to kinde a desire of him, and to confirme them in looking for him, y they should not waxe faint with long tariance. I meane by this worde Law, not only the ten commaundementes, which prescribe a rule howe to liue godly and righteously, but also the forme of religion deliuered by the hand of Moses. For Moses was not made a lawgiuer to abolishe the blessing promised to the kinred of Abraham: but rather wee see howe euery where he putteth the Iewes in remembrance of that free couenant made with their fathers whose heires they were, as if he had bene sent to reneue the same. That was most plainly set forth by the ceremonies. For what were more vaine & fonde, than for men to offer vp lothsome stinke of the fat of cattell, to reconcile themselues to God thereby? to flee to the sprinkling of water or bloude to wash away their filthinesse? Finally, all the seruice of God appointed in y lawe (if it bee considered by it selfe, and doe not containe shadowes and figures, which the truth should answer vnto) shalbe but a verie mockerie. Wherefore not without a cause both in Stephens sermon, & in the Epistle to the Hebrewes is that place so diligently weyed. Where God commaundeth Moses to make al thinges pertaining to the tabernacle, according to y paterne that had bene shewed him in the mount. For if there had not bene some spirituall thing appointed y they should tend vnto, the Iewes shoulde no lesse haue fondly spent their labour in them, than the Gentiles did in their trifles. Prophane men y neuer earnestly applied the study of godlines, cānot without lothsome tediousnes abide to heare so many sundrie fashions of vsages: & they not only maruel why God wearied his people with such a heape of

A&. 5. 44.
Heb. 8. 5.
Exod. 25. 40

heape of ceremonies, but also they despise & scorn them as childrens plays. And the cause is, for that they consider not the end, from which if the figures of the law be severed, they must needs be condemned of vanitie. But that same figure sheweth, that G O D did not therefore commaund sacrifices because he would occupie them that worshipped him with earthly exercises, but rather to raise vp their mindes hier. Which may also plainly appeare by his nature: for as he is spirituall, so he is delited with no other worshipping but spirituall. This doe the sayings of the Prophetes testifye, wherein they rebuke the Iewes of sluggishnes, for that they thought that any sacrifices were of any value with God. Is that because their purpose is to derogate any thing from the law? No, but according as they were true expositours of the law, so they would by this meane haue mens eies directed to y^e mark from which the common people straid. Now by the grace offered to the Iewes it is certainly gathered, that the law was not voide 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 vnles there were had for the meane thereof a great and more excellent reconciliation, than by the blood of beastes. For what is lesse likely than Adams children, which by inheritably descending infection are all borne the bondslaves of sinne, to be aduanced to royal dignitie, and so to become partakers of the glorie of God, vnlesse that so excellent a benefite should come vnto them frō else where thā from themselues? Also how could y^e right of priesthood remaine in force among them, who by filthines of sins were abominable to God, vnles they had bin consecrate in a holy head? Wherefore Peter doth very aptly turn y^e saying of Moses, where he teacheth, that the fulnes of grace, the tast whereof the Iewes had taken vnder the lawe, was giuen in Christ: Yee are (saith hee) a chosen kindred, a kingly priesthoode. For to this end tendeth that turning of y^e words, to shew that they, to whom Christ appeared by the Gospel, haue obtained more than their fathers, because they are all endued both with priestly and kingly honour, that trusting vpon their mediatour, they may freely be bold to come forth into the sight of God. Exod. 10, 6.
1. Pet. 2. 9.

2 And here 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 law, & contained vnder the ministry of Moses. Whereupon followeth, that as wel in al the kindred of the Leuites as in the posteritie of Dauid Christ was set before y^e eies of the old people as in a double looking glasse. For, as I said euen now, they could not otherwise be before God either kings or priestes, which were both the bondslaves of sinne and of death, and defiled by their owne corruption. Hereby appeareth that that saying of Paul is most true, y^e the Iewes were holden as vnder the keeping of a Schoolemaster, til y^e seed came for whose sake the promise was giuen. For, because Christ was not yet familiarly known, they were like vnto children, whose weakenesse could not yet beare a full knowledge of heauenly things, but how they were by ceremonies as it were lead by the hand to Christ, is spoken before, and may bee better vnderstanded by many testimonies of the Prophetes. For although it was commanded them to come daily with newe sacrifices to appease G O D: yet Esay. Gal. 3, 24.
promi-

promiseth that all their sinnes shalbee cleansed with one onely sacrifice. Wherewith Daniel agreeably saith: The Priestes 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 oile was visible: but Daniel by his vision pronounceth that there shalbe an other manner of anointing. And because I will not tarie vpon many examples, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues euen from the 4. chapter to the 11. doth largely and plainly ynough shewe, that the ceremonies are nothing woorth and vaine till we come to Christ. As concerning the ten commaundementes: that lesson of Paul is likewise to be kept in minde, that Christ is the ende of the lawe vnto saluation, to euery one that beleueth: And an other lesson, that Christ is the Spirite that quickeneth the letter which of it selfe slaieth. For in the first of these two, he meaneth that righteousnes is vainly taught by commandements, vntill Christ doe giue it both by free imputation and by the spirite of regeneration. Wherefore he worthily calleth Christ the fulfilling or ende of the lawe. Because it should nothing profite vs to knowe what God requireth of vs, vnlesse he did succour vs fainting and oppressed vnder the yoke and vntollerable burden. In an other place he teacheth that the lawe was made for transgressions, that is to bring men to humilitie being prooued guiltie of their owne damnation. And, because this is the true and onely preparation to seeke Christ, whatsoeuer hee teacheth in diuerse wordes doe all very wel agree together. But because he then was in contention with peruerse teachers, which fained that we doe deserue righteousnesse by the workes of the lawe, to confute their error, he was compelled sometime to speake precisely of the bare lawe, which yet otherwise is cloathed with the couenant of free adoption.

3 But now it is good to know, how being taught by the moral lawe, we are made more inexcusable, that our owne guiltinesse may mooue vs to craue pardon. If it be true that we be taught perfection of righteousnes in the lawe: then this also followeth, that the absolute keeping thereof is perfect righteousnesse 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 law, doubted not to protest before heauen and earth, that he had set before Israel life and death, good and euill. And we may not denie, but that the reward 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 wee performe that obedience, vpon desert whereof we may conceiue a trust of that reward. For to what small purpose is it, to see the reward of eternall life set in keeping of the lawe, vnlesse wee further knowe whether we may by that way attaine to eternall life? But herein the weakenesse of the lawe doth shewe it selfe. For because that keeping of the lawe is found in none of vs all, we are excluded from the promises of life, and doe fall into curse onely. I doe not nowe tell what doth come to passe, but what needes must so come to passe. For whereas the doctrine of the lawe is farre aboue the power of man, he may in deede a far of, looke at the promises, but yet not gather any fruite of them. Therefore this one thing

Esay 53.

Daniel 9.

Psal. 110. 4.

Rom. 10. 4.

2. Cor. 3. 6.

Gal. 3. 9.

Deus. 30. 19.

thing remaineth, that by the goodnesse of them he may the better weye his owne miserie, while he considereth, that all hope of saluation being cut off, death doth certainly hang ouer him. On the other side doe presse vs terrible penall lawes, which do hold entangled and fast bound not only a fewe of vs, but euery one without exception : they presse vs, I say, and doe pursue vs, with an vnapeasable rigour, so that wee may see most present death in the lawe.

4 Therefore if we looke only vpon the law, wee can doe nothing but be discouraged, be confounded, and dispeire, forasmuch as by it we are all damned & cursed, & 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 doeth it differ from mocking, to shew forth a hope of felicitie, to allure and exhorte men vnto it, to protest that it is layed open for vs, when in the meane season the entrie vnto it is forclosed and impossible to be come to? I answere : although the promises of the lawe, in so much as they are conditionall, do hang vpon the perfect obedience of the lawe, which can nowhere be found, yet are they not giuen in vaine. For when we haue learned that they shalbe voyd and of no effect vnto vs, vnlesse God embrace vs with his free goodnesse without regard of our works, & vnlesse we do imbrace by faith the same goodnesse giue vs by the gospel, then want they not their effectualnes, yea with their condition annexed. For the he doth so freely giue al things vnto vs, that he addeth this also to the heape of his bountifullnesse, y not refusing our halfe full obedience, & remitting so much as it wanteth of full performance, he so maketh vs to enioy the fruite of the promises of y law, as if we our selues had fulfilled the condition. But we wil at this present procede no further in this matter, because it shalbe more largely to be entreated of, when we shall speake of the Iustification of faith.

5 Whereas we saide that it is impossible to kepe the lawe, that is in fewe wordes to bee both expounded and proued. For it is wont among the people commonly to be accompted an opinion of great absurditie, so farre that Hierome doubted not to pronounce it accursed : what Hierome thought, I do nothing stay vpon: as for vs, let vs search what is truth. I will not here make long circumstances of diuerse sortes of possibilities. I call that impossible, which both neuer hath beene, and also is hindered by the ordinance and decree of God, that it neuer hereafter may be. If wee 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 heart, with all his minde, with all his soule, with all his power : Againe, that there hath byn none that hath not ben troubled with concupiscence. Who can say Nay? I see in deed what maner holy men foolish superstition doth imagine vnto vs, euen such whose purenesse the heauenly Angels do scarcely counteruaile : but against both the Scripture and proofe of experience. I say also, that there shall none hereafter be, that shall come to the marke of true perfection, vnlesse he be loosed from the burden of his bodie. For this point there are opon testimonies of Scripture. Salomon said, there is not a righteous man vpon the earth that sinneth not. And Dauid saide : euery liuing man shall not bee

1. Reg. 8. 46.

Psal. 100. 43.

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- Gal. 3. 10. justified in thy sight. Job in many places affirmeth the same. But Paul most plainly of all: that the flesh lusteth against the spirite, and the spirite against the flesh. And by no other reason he proueth that, all that are vnder the law, are subiect to the curse. But because it is written, that cursed are al they that do not abide in all the commaundements thereof: meaning, or rather taking it as a thing confessed, that no man can abide in them. And whatsoeuer is forespoken by the Scriptures, that must be holden for perpetuall, yea and necessarie. With such suttletie did the Pelagians trouble Augustine, saying that there is wrong done to God, to say that he doeth commaund more than the faithfull are able by his grace to performe. Augustine, to auoide their cauillation confessed, that the Lorde might in deede, if he would, aduance a mortall man to the purenesse of Angels: but that he neither hath done so at any time, nor will do, because he hath otherwise affirmed in the Scriptures. And that do I also not denie. But I adde further, that it is inconuenient to dispute of his power against his trueth, and that therefore this sentence is not subiect to cauillations if a man should say, that that thing is impossible to be, wherof the Scriptures doe pronounce that it shal 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 yelde to God the due loue that wee owe him. 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 worlde, 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 fulfil the lawe, if wee behold the weaknesse of our owne nature, as it shal yet also in another place be proued by Paul.
- Deu. 27. 26.
- Lib. de nat. & gratia.
- Mat. 19. 25. Lib. de spiritu & litera.
- Rom. 8. 3.

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 Moral. Now, as farre as I vnderstand, it is contained in these three partes. The first is, that while it sheweth to euery man the righteousnes of God, that is, the righteousnesse which only is acceptable to God, it admonish, certifie, proue giltie, yea & condemne euery man of his own vnrighteousnesse. For so is it needefull that man blinded & drunke with loue of himselfe, be driuen both to the knowledge & the confession of his owne weaknesse & vncleannesse: for asmuch as if his vanitie be not evidently conuincd, he swelleth with mad affiance of his owne strength, and can neuer be brought to thinke of the slenderesse therof, so long as he measureth it by the proportion of his own 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 conceived a great opinion of it, yet by & by he feeleth it to pant vnder so great a burden, & then to shake & solter, at last euen to fall down & faint. So being taught by the scholing of the law, he putteth off that arrogancie wherwith before he was blinded. Likewise he is to be healed of another disease of pride, wherof wee haue saide that he is sicke, so long as he is suffered to stande to his owne iudgement, hee deuifeth

Hypocrisie in steede of righteousnesse, wherwith being contented, he riseth vp in courage, by I wote 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 lawe, then leauing the presumption of the counterfaite righteousnesse, he seeth himselfe to be an infinite space distant from holinesse: Againe, that he sheweth full of infinite vices, whereof 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 knewe not lust, except the lawe had sayd: Thou shalt not luste: because except it be by the lawe disclosed out of her lurking holes, it destroyeth miserable man so secretly, that he feeleth not the deadly darte thereof.

Rom. 7. 7.

7 So the lawe is like a certaine looking glasse wherem we beholde, first our weakenesse, and by that our wickednesse, and last of all by them both our accursednesse, euen as a glasse representeth vnto vs the sportes of our face. For when power faileth man to follow righteousnesse, then must hee needes sticke fast in the mire of sinnes. And after sinne by and by followeth curse. And of how much the greater transgression the lawe holdeth vs guilty 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 only of the first office of the lawe, the prooffe wherof is in sinners not yet regenerate. And like to this are these two sayings, that the lawe entred that sinne might abound, & therfore that it is the ministracion of death that worketh wrath and slaieth. For without doubt so much more groweth iniquity, with how much more vnderstanding of sinne the conscience is stricken, 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 spirit of grace be absent, the lawe is present with vs, onely to this end, to accuse vs and kil vs. And yet when this is sayd, neither is y^e lawe dishonored 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 the onely knowledge of it were sufficient to saluation. But forasmuch as our fleshly and corrupt nature fighteth, as an enemy 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 bearers) turneth to the occasion of sinne and death. For sith wee are all proued 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 rewarde of life and saluation laid vp for righteousnesse, so much the more assured it maketh the destruction of the wicked. So farre is it of therefore that these sayings should be to the dishonour of the lawe, that they much auaille to the more glorious commendations of Gods bountie. For truly it hereby appeareth that we are hindered by our owne wickednesse, and peruersenes, that wee 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

Rom. 3. 21.

Rom. 5. 20.

2. Cor. 3.

Rom. 4. 15

De corre. &
gratia vide
Ambros. cap
1. de Jac. &
vita beata,
cap. 6.

sweeter, & the mercy more louely that giueth it vnto vs, whereby we learne that he is neuer wearied with often doing vs good and heaping newe giftes vpon vs.

8 And whereas the iniquity and condemnation of vs all is sealed by the testimony of the lawe, it is not done for this purpose (if at least we well profit in it) to make vs fall downe with despeire, or with discouraged mindes 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 behoueth to be an other ende of instruction. I grant the Apostle testifieth that wee are all condemned by iudgement of the lawe, that euery mouth may be stopped, and that all the worlde may become bounde vnto

Rom. 3. 19. God: but yet the same Apostle in an other place teacheth, that God hath concluded all vnder vnbeliefe, not to destroy al, or to suffer all to perish, but that he might haue mercy of all, that leauing the foolish opinion of their owne strength, they might vnderstand, that they stand and are vpholden by the only hande of God: that they being naked and empty, may flee to his mercy, that they may rest themselues wholly vpon it, hide themselues wholly in it, take holde of it alone in steede of righteousnesse and merites, which is laide open in Christ for al men who soeuer they be that with true faith do desire and looke for it. For God in the commandementes of the lawe appeareth but a rewarder of perfect righteousnesse, whereof we all are destitute, and on the other side a rigorous iudge of euill doinges. But in Christ, his face shineth full of grace and lenity, euen towarde the wretched and vnworthy sinners.

9 Of profiting, to craue the grace of his helpe, Augustine speaketh oft, as when he writeth to Hilarie, The lawe commandeth that endeouering to doe the thinges commanded, and being wearied with our weakenesse vnder the lawe, we should learne to aske the helpe of grace. Againe to Aselius:

Epistol. 200. The profit of the lawe is to conuince man of his owne weakenesse, and compell him to craue the Physicke of grace that is in Christ. Againe to Innocent of Rome: The law commandeth, & grace ministreth strength to do. Againe to Valentine: God commaundeth those thinges that we can not doe,

Epistol. 95. that we may learne to knowe 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:

In Psa. 118. The lawe was giuen for this purpose, of great to make litle, to shewe that thou hast no strength of thine owne to righteousnesse, that thou as poore, vnworthy and needy, shouldest flee vnto grace. After, he turneth his speech to God and sayth: Doe so Lord, do so mercifull Lord, commande that which can not be fulfilled: yea, commaunde that which can not but by thy grace be fulfilled, that when men can not fulfill it by their owne strength, euery mouth may be stopped, and no man may thinke him selfe great. Let al be little ones, and let all the worlde be guilty before thee. But I am not wise to heap vp so many testimonies, sith y^e holy man hath written a booke properly of that matter, which he hath intituled, Of the Spirite & Letter. The seconde profiting he doth not so lively describe, either because hee knewe that it did hang vpon the former, or because he did not so wel vnderstand it,

Scr. 27.

or because he wanted words wherewith distinctly & 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 farre forward with the children of God, that after the throwing downe of their flesh they be renued & flourish againe in the inward man, but amased with the first terrour do lie still in desperation: yet it serueth to shewe forth the equitie of Gods iudgement, that their consciences be tossed with such wayes. For they euer willingly desire to make shift against the iudgement of God. Nowe while the same is not yet opened, they yet so astonished with the testimonie of the lawe and their conscience do bewray in themselues what they haue deserued.

10 The seconde office of the lawe, is that they which are touched with no care of that which is iust & right, vnlesse they be compelled, when they heare the terrible penal ordinances therein, may be restrained at least with feare of punishment. But they are restrained, not because their inward mind is moued or affected withall, but because being as it were bridled, they withhold their hand from outward worke, and doe keepe in their peruersnesse within them, which otherwise they would haue outragiously 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 & obedience of God, yea the more that they holde backe them selues, so much the stronglier within they are kindled, they burn, they boile, readie to do any thing, & to break forth any whither, if this terror of the law did not stay them. And not that only, but also they most spitefully hate the lawe, and do detest God the lawmaker, so that if they coulde, they would very faine take him away, whome they cannot abide, neither when he commandeth rightfull things, nor when he reuengeth him vpon the despisers of his maiestie. In some in deede more darkly, & in some more plainly, but in all generally that are not regenerate, is this feeling, that they are drawn to the following of the law not by willing submission, but resisting and against their willes, only by violence of feare. But this constrained and enforced righteoufnes is necessary for the publike common state of men, the quiet wherof is herein prouided for, while order is taken that all thinges be not confounded with vpror, which would come to passe, if all thinges were lawful for all men. Yea, it is not vnprofitable for the children of God to be exercised with this Scholing, so long as they before their calling beeing yet destitute of the spirite of sanctification, are still wanton with the folly of the flesh. For when they are drawn backe, though it be but from outwarde licentiousnes, by the terrour of Gods vengeance, although for that they are not yet tamed in minde, they go for the present time but a litle forward, yet they partly grow in vre to beare the yoke of Christ, so that when they are called, they be not altogether rude and rawe to discipline, as to a thing vnknown. This office the Apostle seemeth properly to haue touched, when

1. Tim. 1. 9.

slayers of their parents, & murderers, fornicators, Sodomites, robbers of children, lyers & periured men, & whatsoeuer else is against sound doctrine. For he saith, that it is a stay to the wilde outraging lustes of the flesh, that else would stray abroad without measure.

Gal. 3:4.

11 But to both may that be applyed which he saith in another place, that the law was to the Iewes a Scholemaster to Christ, for there are two sortes of men, whome with her schooling she leadeth by the hand to Christ. The one sort, of whome we first spake, because they are too full of assurance of their owne strength or righteousness, are not meete to receiue the grace of Christ, vnlesse they be first emptied, therefore the lawe 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 y^e reines to the wantonnesse of their flesh, that they fall of altogether from all studie of righteousness. For where the spirite of God doth not yet gouerne, there sometime lustes do so boile, that it is in great perill least they throwe downe the soule that is subiect to them into the forgetfulnesse & despising of God: and so would it come to passe if God did not with this remedie prouide for it. Therefore those whom he hath appointed to the inheritance of his kingdom, if he do not by and by regenerate them, he keepeth them by the works of the lawe vnder feare, vntill the time of his visitation, not that chaste & 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 proues, that it needeth no example. For whosoever haue any time continued in not knowing of God, will confesse that this happened vnto them, that they were holden by the bridle of the law in some feare & obedience of God, vntill the time that being regenerate by his spirite, they began heartily to loue him.

12 The third vse, which is also the principal vse, & more nearely loketh vnto the proper end of the law, concerneth the faithful, in whose hearts already liueth & reigneth the spirit of God. For although they haue the lawe written & grauen in their hearts by the finger of God, that is to say, be so affectioned & minded by the direction of the spirit that they desire to obey God, yet do they still two wayes profit in the lawe. For it is to them a very good meane, wherby they may daily better & more assuredly learne what is the will of the Lord which they aspire vnto, & may be confirmed in y^e vnderstanding thereof. As if a seruant be already bent with all the affection of his heart, to please his Lord: yet hath he neede diligently to search out & marke the fashions of his Lord, that he may frame & apply himselfe vnto them. And let none of vs exempt himself from this neede. For no man hath hitherto attained to so great wisdom, but that he may by daily instruction of the law get new profit in proceeding to the purer knowledge of Gods will. Then because wee neede not only doctrine but also exhortation: this other profite shall the seruant of God take by the lawe, to be by the often meditation thereof stirred vp to obedience, to be strengthened in it, to be holden backe from the slippery way of offending. For after this maner, **must these holy ones driue forwarde them selues, which with howe great**
cheere.

cheerefulnesse so euer they trauaile to Godward according to the spirit, yet they are alway loden with the sluggishnesse of the flesh, that they proceede not with such full readines as they ought. To this flesh is the lawe giuen as a whippe, that like a slowe and dul Assie 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 forth the law with those notable praises: The lawe of the Lorde is vndefiled, conuerting soules: the iustices of the Lorde are vpriight, and chearing heartes: the commandement of the Lorde is bright, that giueth light to the eyes. &c. Againe: A lanterne to my feete is thy worde, and a light vnto my pathes, and innumerable other that he rehearseth in all that Psalme. Neither are these things against the sayings of Paul, wherein is shewed, not what vse the lawe ministreth to the regenerate, but what it is able to giue to man of it selfe. But here the Prophete reporteth with howe great profite the Lord doth instruct them by reading of his lawe, to whome hee inwardely inspirereth a readinesse to obey. And he taketh holde not of the commaundementes onely, but also the promise of grace annexed to the things, which onely maketh the bitternesse to waxe sweete. For what were lesse amiable than the lawe, if it should onely with requiring & threarning trouble soules carefully with feare, and vexe them with terror? But specially Dauid sheweth, that he in the lawe conceiued the Mediatour, without whom there is no delite or sweetenesse.

Psa. 119. 8.

Psa. 119. 105.

13 Which while some vnskillfull men can not discern, they boldly shake away all Moses, and bidde the two tables of the lawe farewell, because they thinke it is not agreeable for Christians to cleaue to that doctrine that containeth the ministratation of death. Let this prophane opinion depart farre out of our mindes. For Moses taught excellently wel, that the same Lawe 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 ready to die, he openly saide to the people: Lay your heartes vpon al the wordes that I doe testifie to you this day, that ye may committe them to your children, that ye may teach them to keepe, to doe, and to fulfill all the things that are written in the volume of this lawe, because they are not vainely commaunded you, but that euery one shoulde liue in them: but if no man can denie that there appeareth in it an absolute paterne of righteousnesse, then either wee must haue no rule at all to liue iustely and vpriightly, or else it is not lawefull for vs to departe from it. For there are not many but one rule of life which is perpetuall and can not bee bowed. Therefore, whereas Dauid maketh the life of a righteous man continually busied in the meditation of the lawe, lette vs not referre that to one age onely, because it is most meete for all ages to the ende of the world: and let vs not therefore be frayed away, or flee from beeing instructed by it, because it appointeth a much more exacte holynesse than wee 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, y wil not be satisfied, but with his sul taske performed: but in this perfection wherevnto it exhorteth

Deu. 31. 6.

Psa. 119.

vs, it sheweth vs a marke, towarde which in our life to endeour, is no lesse profitable for vs, than agreeable with our dutie . In which endeour 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, towarde which our endeouours do trauaile a farre of.

14. Nowe therefore , whereas the lawe 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 of sluggishnesse and pinch imperfection to awake it : many when they meane to expresse this deliuerance from the curse thereof, do say , that the lawe is abrogate to the faithfull. (I speake yet of the lawe moral) 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 makinge afraide and confounding their consciences, danne and destroy them . And truly such an abrogation of the lawe, Paul doeth plainely teach , and also that the Lorde himselfe spake of it, appeareth by this that he would not haue confuted that opinion that he should dissolue the lawe , vnlesse it had bene commonly receiued among the Iewes . But forasmuch as it could not rise causelesly and without any colour , it is likely that it grewe vpon false vnderstanding of his doctrine, as in a manner all errours are wont to take occasion of trueth, but least wee 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 lawe , but to fulfill it : and that till heauen and earth passe away, no one iote of the lawe should passe away, but that all should be fulfilled: he sufficiently confirmeth that by his coming nothing should be taken away from the due keeping of the lawe . And for good cause : sith he came rather for this ende, to heale offences . Wherefore the doctrine of the lawe remaineth for all Christians, inuiolable, which by teaching, admonishing, rebuking and correcting may frame and prepare vs to eery 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 only teacheth, but also with authoritie requireth that which it commandeth . If it be not performed, yea if dutie be slacked in any part, it bendeth her thunderbolte of curse . For this cause the Apostle sayth, that all they that are of the workes of the lawe , are subiect to the curse, because it is written : Cursed is eery one , that fulfilleth not all . And he saith, that they be vnder the works of the law , that do not set righteousnesse in the forgiuenesse of sinnes, by which we are loosed from the rigor of the lawe . He teacheth therefore that we must be loosed from the bondes of the lawe , vnlesse we will miserably perish vnder them . But from what bondes? the bondes of that rigorous and sharp exacting, that releaseth nothing of the extremitie of the lawe, & suffreth not any offence vn-punished . From this curse (I say) that Christ might redeem vs, he was made a curse for vs. For it is written: Cursed is eery one that hangeth vpon the tree . In the chapter following in deede he saith , that Christ was made subiect to the lawe, to redeem them that were vnder the lawe : but all in one meaning

Mar. 5, 17.

Gal. 3. 10.
Deu. 27. 26.

Gal. 3. 12. &
5. 4.

meaning, for he by and by addeth, that by adoption we might receiue the right of children. What is that: that we should not be oppressed with perpetuall bondage, that should holde our conscience fast strained with anguifhe of death. In the meane time this alway remaineth vnshakē, that there is nothing withdrawn of the authoritie of the law, but that it ought stil to be receiued of vs with the same reuerence and obedience.

16 Of ceremonies it is otherwise, which wec abrogate not in effect, but in vse onely. And this, that Christ by his comming hath made an end of them, doth so nothing diminish their holinesse, that it rather setteth them forth, and maketh them glorious. For as they should haue giuen but a vaine shewe to the olde people, vnlesse the power of y death and resurrection of Christ had bin shewed therein, so if they had not ceased, we could not at this day discern to what purpose they were ordained. Therefore Paul, to proue that the keeping of them nowe is not onely superfluous, but also hurtfull, teacheth that they were shadowes whereof we haue the body in Christ. We see therefore howe in the abolishing of them, the trueth shineth better than if they did still a farre of, and as it were with a veile spred before, shewe 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 & expresse image of the heauenly good things was come to light, which before had bin 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 lawe and the Prophetes were vnto the time of Iohn, and that from that time forward, the kingdom of God begā 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 of, and vnder shadowes only they did behold that which we at this day see in the full light. But why it behoued that the Church of God should climbe vp hier from those first instructions, Iohn the Baptist declareth, for that the lawe is giuen by Moses, but grace and trueth beganne by Iesus Christ. For although the purging of sinnes were truely 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 beene but a shadowe, if it had not bin grounded vpon the grace of Christ, wherein is found, perfect, and eternall stedfastnesse. Let this then remaine sure, that although the ceremonial vsages of the law haue ceased to be obserued, yet by the ende of them it is the better knowen how great was the profite of them before Christs comming, which in taking away the vse of them hath sealed the force and effect of them with his death.

17 Somewhat more hard is the point that Paul noteth. And he hath renued you together with him, when ye were dead by sinnes, and the vncircumcision of your flesh, forgining you al your offences, blotting out y hand-writing that remained in the decrees against vs, which was contrary vnto vs, and he hath taken it away, fastening it to the crosse. &c. For he seemeth to stretch the abolishing of the law somewhat further that now we haue nothing to do with the decrees thereof. For they erre that expound it of the lawe morall, whose vnappeasable rigor rather then doctrine thereof they

Eph. 2. 14.

Heb 7. & 9.
and 10.

Heb. 9. 15.

thinke to be taken away. Some more deeply waying the wordes of Paule, doe espie that it is properly spoken of the lawe ceremoniall, and doe shewe that this worde Decree, doth more than once so signifie in Paul. For to the Ephesians he saith thus : He is our peace, that maketh both to be one, that maketh voide the law of commandementes consisting in the decrees, that he might make two in himselfe into one newe 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: wherfore I grant that those first expositors are rightly reprov'd by these : but yet me thinkes that these do not sufficiently well set forth the minde of the Apostle. For I like not at all, to haue these two places compared together in all points, when his purpose was to aduertise the Ephesians of their adoptiō into the fellowship of Israel, he teacheth that the stop is taken away, whereby they were before time kept asunder, that was in ceremonies. For the vsages of washings and 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 hyer mysterie ? In deede the point of the disputation there, is of Mosaicall obseruations whereunto the false Apostles did labour to driue the Christian people. But, as in the Epistle to the Galatians he fetcheth that controuersie further of, 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 cōsider nothing els but a necessitie of y^e vse of the^e, to what purpose was it, to cal it a hand writing against vs? morcouer to set the whole summe in a manner of our redemption in this, y^e it should be cancelled ? Wherefore y^e matter it selfe trieth out, that here is some more secret thing to be cōsidered. And I trust y^e I haue attained the natural vnderstāding of it if at least this be granted me to be true, which in one place is most truly written by Augustine, yea that he hath taken out of the plaine words of the Apostle, that in the Iewish ceremonies was rather a confession than a cleansing of sins. For what did they els by sacrifices, but confesse themselues in their conscience guiltie of death, that did put cleansings in their place ? What did they with their cleansing, but testifie themselues to be vncleane ? And so was the hand-writing 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 old Testament. Therefore the Apostle doth worthily cal the ceremonies handwritings against those y^e obserue them: for asinuch as by them they did openly scale to their owne damnation and 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 glorie of Christ. Thus learn we, that the ceremonies, if they be considered by themselues, are well and fidly called handwritings against the saluation of men, because they were as solemne instruments y^e 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 pointe they should fall backe againe, if they suffered themselves in such sorte to bee yoked by them. For therewithall was the benefit of Christ wrested away from them, in asmuch as he hauing once performed the eternall cleansing, hath vtterly abolished those dayly obseruations which were onely of force to seale finnes, but coulede do nothing to the putting away of them.

The viij. Chapter.

An exposition of the Morall lawe.

HERE I thinke it shall not bee from the purpose, to enterlace the tenne commaundementes of the lawe with a shorte 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 prooue of the second point, that the Iewes did not onely learne by it what was the true force of godlinesse, but also by the terror of the iudgement; sith they sawe themselves vnable to keepe it, they were compelled whether they woulde or no, to be drawn to the Mediator. Nowe in setting foorth the summe of those things that are required in y true knowledge of God, we haue alreadie taught, that wee cannot conceiue him according to his greatnesse, but that by and by his maiestic presenteth it selfe vnto vs, to binde vs to the worshippe of him. In the knowledge of our selues wee haue set this for the cheife point, that being voide of the opinion of our owne strength, and cleane stripped of the trust of our owne righteousnesse, and on the other side discouraged and beaten downe with conscience of our owne needinesse, we shoulde learne perfect humilitie and abasement of our selues. The Lord setteth foorth both these pointes in his lawe, 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 righteousnesse, (against the righteousnesse whereof our nature as it is peruerse and crooked, doeth alway striue, and beneath the perfection whereof our power as of it selfe it is weake & feeble to do good, lieth a great way below) he reproveth vs both of weakenes & vnrighteousnes. Moreouer y inward law which we haue before saide to be grauen and as it were imprinted in the heartes of all men, doth after a certaine maner enforme vs of the same things that are to bee learned of the two tables. For our conscience doeth not suffer vs to sleepe a perpetuall sleepe without feeling, but that it inwardly is a witnesse and admonisher of those things that wee owe to God, and layeth before vs the difference of good and euill, and so accuseth vs when wee swarue from our dutie. But man being wrapped in such darkenesse of errours as he is, sckarfe euen slenderly tasteth by that law of nature, what worship pleaseth God: but truly he is verie farre distant from y right knowledge thereof. Beside that, he is so swollen with arrogancy and ambition, and so blinded with selfe loue, that he cannot yet looke vpon, and as it were, descende into himselfe to learne to submit and humble himselfe, and confesse his owne miserie. Therefore (as it was necessary both for our

our dulnesse and stubbornesse) the Lorde hath set vs a lawe written, which shoulde both more certainly testifie that which in the lawe naturall was too obscure, and also shoulde shake away our drowsinesse, and more liuely touch our minde and remembrance.

2 Nowe it is easie to vnderstande 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 & Lorde, and that by this reason wee owe to him glorie, reuerence, loue & feare. Yea and also that we are not at our owne libertie, to follow whither soeuer that lust of our minde doeth moue vs, but that wee ought to hang vpon his becke, and to rest onely vpon that which pleaseth him. Then we learne, that hee delighteth in righteousnesse, that hee abhorreth wickednesse, and therefore that vnlesse wee will with wicked vnthankfulnes fall away from our creator, wee must necessarily obserue righteousnesse all our life long. For if then onely we yelde vnto him the reuerence that wee owe, when wee prefer his will before our owne, it foloweth, that there is no other due worshippe of him, but the obseruation of righteousnesse, holynesse and cleannesse. Neither may wee pretende this excuse that we want power, and like wasted debtors bee not able to pay. For it is not conuenient that wee shoulde measure the glorie of God by our owne power: for whatsoeuer wee bee, he alway abideth like to himselfe, a louer of righteousnesse, a hater of wickednesse. Whatsoeuer he requireth of vs (because hee 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 wee bee holden bounde of our owne lust wherein sinne reigneth, so that we are not lose at libertie to obey our father, there is no cause why we shoulde alledge necessitie for our defence, the cuill whereof is both within vs, and to be imputed vnto our selues.

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 wee may carrie away two thinges. The first is, by comparing the righteousnesse of the lawe with our life, to learne, that wee 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 seconde is, in considering our strength, to learne that it is not onely insufficient to fulfill the law, but also vtterly none at all. Herevpon 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 felte, but that it striketh into vs a dreadfull horreur of death. And likewise being constrayned with prooues of her owne weakenesse, it cannot choose but by and by fall into dispaire of her owne strength. Both these affections doe engender humilitie and abatement of courage. So at length it commeth to passe, that man made afraide with feeling of eternall death, which he seeth to hang ouer him by the deserting of his owne righteousnesse, 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, despeiring in himselfe, hee may take

take breath againe and beginne to craue and looke for helpe from else where.

4 But the Lord not contented to haue procured a reuerence of his righteousnes hath also added promises and threatnings 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 merciful Father of his tender kindenesse, to allure vs with sweetenesse of rewardes to loue and long for him. He pronounceth therefore, that with him are rewardes laid vp for vertue, and that he shal not spend his labour in vaine, whosoever he be, that shall obey his commaundements. He proclaimeth on the other side, that he not onely abhorreth vnrighteousnesse, but also that it shal not escape vnpunished, for that he will be a reuenger of the contempt of his Maiestie. And to exhort vs by all meanes, hee promiseth as well the blessings of this present life as also eternall blessednesse, to their obedience that keepe his commaundements: and to the transgressours therof, he threatneth both present miseries and the punishment of eternall death. For the same promise, (hee that doth these thinges, shall lue in them:) and also the threatening that answereth it, (the soule that sinneth, that same shal die) do without dout belong to the immortalitie or death that is to come, & shal neuer be ended. Albeit, wheresoever is mentioned the good will or wrath of God, vnder the one is contained the eternitie of life, vnder the other eternal destruction. Of present blessings and curses there is a longer register rehearsed in the law. And in the penal ordinances appeareth the soueraigne cleanness of God, that can suffer no iniquitie: but in his promises, beside his great loue of righteousnesse, (which he cannot finde in his heart to defraud of her reward) there is also proued by his maruelous bountifulnes. For whereas we and all ours are indetted vnto his Maiestie, by good right whatsoeuer he requireth of vs, he demandeth it as due det, but the paiement of det is not worthy of reward. Therefore he departeth with his owne 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 do bring vnto vs, is partly saide already, and partly shall appeare 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 commendation of righteousnesse, that it may the more certainly appeare how much the keeping thereof pleaseth God: that the penal ordinances are set 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 righteousnesse, hath applied all the parts thereof to his owne wil, therin 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 ready to deuise now and then diuerse sortes of worshipping to winne his fauour withall. For in all ages that irreligious affectation of religion, because it is naturally planted in the witte of man, hath shewed & yet doth shew forth it selte, that men do alway delite to inuent a way to obtaine righteousnesse beside the word of God, wherby it commeth to passe that the commaundements of the

Leu. 18. 5.
Eze. 18. 4. &
20.

Leu. 26. 4.
Deut. 28. 1.

law haue but small place among the workes that are commonly called good workes, while that innumerable route 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 law he ſpake thus to the people: Giue heede, and heare all the things that I commande thee, that it may bee well to thee and to thy children after thee for euer, when thou ſhalt do that which is good and pleaſant before thy God. What I commande thee, that onely doe: adde not vnto it, nor diminiſh it. And before, when he had pro- teſted, that this was his wiſedome and vnderſtanding before other nations, that he had receiued iudgements, righteousneſſe and ceremonies of \bar{y} Lord, he ſaid further, Keepe therefore thy ſelf 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 heart. For, becauſe God did foreſee, that the Iſraelites would not reſt, but that after they had receiued the lawe, they would beſide it trauaile in bringing forth new righteousneſſe, if they were not ſeuereſly holden backe: therefore he pronounceth that herein is contained the perfection of righteousneſſe, which ſhould haue bin the ſtrongeſt ſtay to hold them backe, and yet they did ceaſſe from that boldneſſe ſo much forbidden them. But what of vs? wee are ſurely comprehended, within the ſame charge: for it is no doubt that that continueth ſtill whereby the Lord hath chalenged to his law the abſolute doctrine of righteousneſſe, yet we not contented therewith, do monſtrouſly trauaile with forging & coyning of new good workes one vpon an other. For the healing of this fault, the beſt remedie ſhalbe, if this thought ſhalbe ſtedfaſtly ſettled in vs, that the law is giuen vs from God to teach vs a perfect righteousneſſe: that therein is taught no righteousneſſe, but the ſame that is examined, by the appointed rule of Gods will: that therefore new formes of works are vainely attempted to winne the fauour of God, whoſe true worſhip ſtandeth in onely obedience: but rather that ſuch ſtudy of good works as wandreth out of \bar{y} law of God, is an intollerable deſiling of Gods righteousneſſe & of the true righteousneſſe. 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.

Lib. 4. de ci-
uitate Dei
ca. 12. de bo-
no coniuga-
li contr. ad-
uer. Legis &
proph. 6.

6 But when we haue expounded the Lawe of the Lord, then more fitly and with more profite ſhall that bee confirmed which I haue before ſpoken of the office & uſe of the law. But before that I beginne to diſcuſſe euery ſeueral commaundement 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 law not only to outward honeſty, but alſo to inward and ſpirituall righteousneſſe. Which thing wheras no man can denie, yet there be few that rightly marke it. That commeth 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 do by proclamation forbid to com- mit fornication, to kill, or to ſteale: in this caſe I grant that if a man doe on- ly conceiue in his minde a luſt to commit fornication, to ſinne, or to ſteale, and doe not commit any of theſe things in deede, he is out of \bar{y} compaſſe of this prohibition. And the reaſon is, for that becauſe the foreſight of a mortal lawmaker, could not extend but to outward ciuilitie: his comaundements are
not

not broken, but when the outward offences are committed. But God (whose eye nothing escapeth, and which regardeth not so much the outward shew as the cleanness of the heart) vnder the forbidding of fornication, manslaughter and theft, forbiddeth lust, wrath, hatred, coueting of an other mā, guile, and whatsoeuer is like to these. For insomuch as he is a spirituall law-maker, he speaketh no lesse to the soule than to the body. But the manslaughter of the soule, are wrath and hatred: the these of the soule, is euill desire and couetousnesse: the fornication of the soule, is lust. But mans lawes also (will some man say) haue regarde to intentes and willes, and not to successes of fortune. I graunt, but yet they are such intentes and wils, as haue outwardly broken out. They weye with what intent euery outwarde acte hath beene done, but they search not the secreete thoughtes. Therefore they are satisfied when a man onely withholdeth his handes from offending. On the other side, because the heauenly law is made for our minds, therefore the restraint of mindes is principally needefull to the keeping thereof. But the common sort of men, euen when they mightily dissemble there contempt of the lawe, doe frame their eyes, their feete, their handes, and all the partes of their bodies to some obseruation of the lawe, in the meane time they holde their heart most farre off from all obedience, and thinke themselues well discharged, if they keepe close from men that which they doe in the sight of God. They heare it saide: thou shalt not kill: Thou shalt not commit adulterie: Thou shalt not steale: they draw not out their sworde to kill: they ioyne not their bodies with harlots: they lay not their handes vpon other mens goods. All this is well hitherto. But in their whole heartes they breath out murders they boile in lust, they cast their eyes aside at all mens goods, and deuoure them with coueting. Nowe wanteth that which was the cheefe point of the lawe. Whence, I pray you, commeth so grosse dulnesse, but that leauing the lawemaker, they rather measure righteousnesse by their owne wit? Against these doeth Paul mightily crie out, affirming that the lawe is spirituall: whereby hee mea-

Rom. 7. 14.

7 When we say that this is the meaning of the lawe, we thrust not in a newe exposition of our owne, but we follow Christ the best expositor of the law. For when the Pharisees had infected y^e people with a false opinion, that he performeth the lawe that hath with outward worke committed nothing against the lawe, he reproveth this most perilous etrou, and pronounced that vnchast looking at a woman is fornication: he protested that they are manslaughterers that hate their brother, for he maketh them guiltie of iudgemēt that haue but conceiued wrath in their mind, and them guiltie of the counsell that in murmuring or grudging haue vttered any token of a displeasēd minde: & them guiltie of Heil fire, that with tauntes and railing breake forth into open anger. They that haue not espied these things, haue fayned Christ to be an other Moses, the giuer of the law of the Gospell which supplied the imperfection of the law of Moses. Wherevpon commeth that common principle of perfection of the lawe of the Gospell, which farre

Mat. 5. 21.

passeth

passeth the olde lawe, which is a most pernicious opinion. For hereafter, where wee shall gather a summe of the commaundementes, it shall appeare by Moses himselfe, howe reprochfully they dishonour the Lawe of God. Truely it sheweth that all the holinesse of the fathers did not much differ from hypocrisie, and it leadeth vs away from that onely and perfect rule of righteousnesse. But it is verie easie to confute that errour: for that they thought that Christ did adde vnto the lawe, whereas hee did but restore the lawe to her integritie, while he made it free, and clenfed it being obscured with lies, and defiled with leauen of the Pharises.

8 Let this bee our seconde note, that there is alway more contained in the commaundementes 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 euerie thing what wee list. For many bring to passe by this vnmeasured libertie of running at large, that with some the authoritie of Scripture groweth in contempt, and other some despeite of vnderstanding it. Therefore if it be possible, wee must take some such way, that may by right and perfect path lead vs to the will of God, wee must I say search howe farre our exposition may exceede the boundes of the wordes, that it may appeare that it is not an addition of mens gloses knit to the worde of God, but rather that the pure and naturall meaning of the lawgiuer is faithfully rendred. Truely in a manner in all the commaundementes it is so manifest, that there are figuratiue speeches, meaning more in expressing part than hee may worthily 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 beyonde the wordes: but howe farre, that remaineth harde to iudge, vnlesse there bee some measure appointed: wherefore I thinke this to bee the best measure, that if it be directed to the intent of the commandement, that is, that in euery commaundement bee weyed, why it was giuen vs. As for example: Euery commaundement is either by way of bidding, or of forbidding: the truth of both sortes shall forthwith bee founde, if wee consider the intent or the ende thereof. As the end 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 we 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 bee, that true godlinesse, that is to say, true worshippe of his maiestie pleaseth God, and that hee abhorreth vngodlinesse. So in euery commaundement wee must looke vpon what matter it treateth: then must wee search out the ende, till wee finde what the lawmaker doeth testifie therein properly to please or displease him: & last of all must we drawe an argument from the same to the contrarie, after this manner: If this pleaseth God, then the contrarie displeaseth him: if this displeaseth him, then the contrarie pleaseth him: if he commaunde this, then he forbiddeth the contrarie, if he forbid this, then he commaunde the contrarie.

9 That which is now some what darkely touched,shal in expounding of the commaundements become very plaine by practice,wherfore it sufficeth to haue touched it,saung that this last point,is to be shortly confirmed with some prooffe therof, because otherwise either it should not be vnderstanded, or being vnderstande, it might perhaps at the beginning seeme to sounde like an absurdity. This needeth no prooffe, that when a good thing is commaunded, the euill is forbidden that is contrary to it: for there is no man but he will graunt it me. And common iudgement will not much stick to admit, that when euill things are forbidden, the contrarie dueties are commaunded. It is an vniuersal opinion that vertues are commended, when the contrary vices are condemned. But we require somewhat more than those formes of speech do signifie commonly among the people. For they for the most part take the vertue contrary to any vice, to be the abstaining from y same vice: we say that it proceedeth farther, that is to contrary dueties & doings. Therefore in this commaundement, Thou shalt not kill, the comon sense of men wil consider nothing else, but that wee must abstaine from all hurt doing, or lust to do hurt. I say that there is further contained, that wee should by all the helps that we may, succour the life of our neighbour. And, least I speake without a reason, I prouie it thus: God forbiddeth that our brother be hurt or misused, because he willet that our neighbours life be deare & precious vnto vs: he doth therefore require with al those duties of loue y may be done by vs for the preseruatiō of it. And so may wee see how the end of the commaundement doth alway disclose vnto vs al that we are therein commaunded or forbidden to do.

10 But why God, in such as it were halfe commaundementes, hath by figures rather secretly signified, than expressed what his will was, whereas there are wont to be many reasons rendred therof, this one reason pleaseth me about the rest. Because the flesh alway endeuoreth to extenuate the filthinesse of sinne, & to colour it with faire pretenses, saung where it is euen palpable for grossenes, he hath set foorth for an example in euery kinde of offence that which was most wicked & abhominable, at the hearing whereof our very senses might be moued with horror, thereby to imprint in our mindes a more haynous detesting of euery sort of sinne. This many times deceiueth vs in weying of vices, that if they be any thing secrete, wee make them seeme small. These deceits the Lord doth disclose, when he accustometh vs to referre all the whole multitude of vices to these principal heads, which do best of al shew, how much euery kind is abhominable. As for example, wrath & hatred are not thought so haynous euils, when they are called by their own names, but when they are forbidden vs vnder the name of manslaughter, we better vnderstand how abhominable they are before god, by whose word they are set in the degree of so horrible an offence: and wee moued by his iudgement, do accustome our selues better to way the haynousnes of those faultes that before seemed but light vnto vs.

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 wee haue a cause readie, that doth not suffer vs to remaine in doubt of

this matter. For God so deuided his law into two partes, in which is contained the whole righteoufnesse, that he hath assigned the first to the duties of religion that do peculiarly pertain to the worshipping of his Godhead, the other to the duties of Charitie which belong vnto men. The first foundation of righteoufnes is the worship of God: which being once ouerthrowē, all the other members of righteoufnes are torne in sunder and dissolued, like to the partes of an house vnioynted and fallen downe. For what maner of righteoufnesse wilt thou call it, that thou vexest not men with robbery & extortions, if in the meane time by wicked sacrilege thou spoylest Gods maiestie of his glory: that thou dehlest not thy body with fornication, if with thy blasphemies thou prophanely abuse the sacred name of God: that thou murderest no man, if thou trauaile to destroy and extinguish the memorie of God. Wherefore righteoufnesse is vainly boasted of without religion, and maketh no better shewe, than if a mangled body with the head cut off, should be brought forth for a beautiful sight. And religion is not onely the principall parte of righteoufnes, but also the very soule wherewith it breatheth, and is quickened. For men keepe not equitie & loue among them selues without the feare of God. Therefore we say, that the worship of God is the beginning and foundation of righteoufnes, because when it is taken away, al the equitie, continence and temperance that men vse among them selues, is vaine and trifling before God. We say also that it is the springhead and liuely breath of righteoufnesse, because hereby men do learne to lue among them selues temperately & without hurt doing one to another, if they reuerence God as the iudge of right & wrong. Wherefore in the first table he instructeth vs to godlinesse & the proper duties of religion, wherewith his maiestie is to be worshipped: in the other he prescribeth howe for the feares sake of his name, we ought to behaue our selues in the fellowship of men. And for this reason our Lord (as the Euangelists rehearse it) did in a summe gather the whole lawe into two principall pointes, the one that we should loue God with all our heart, with all our soule, with all our strength: the other, that wee loue our neighbour as our selues. Thus thou seest howe of the two partes wherein he concludeth the whole law, he directeth the one toward God, and appointeth the other toward men.

Mat. 22. 37.
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 commandements more largely & plainly all things y belong both to the honor, feare & loue of himselfe, and also to that charitie which he commaundeth vs to beare to men for his sake. And thy studie is not ill spent to know the diuision of the commaundements, so that thou remember that it is such a matter wherein euery man ought to haue his iudgement free, for which wee ought not contentiously to striue with him that thinketh otherwise. But we must needs touch this point, least the readers should either scorne or marueil at the diuision that we shall vse, as newe & lately deuised. That the law is deuided in ten words, because it is oft approued by the authoritie of God himselfe, it is out of controuersie, wherefore there is no doubt of the number, but of the manner of deuiding. They that so deuide them, that they giue three commaundements to the first table, & put
other

other 7. into the seconde, doe wipe out of the number the commandement concerning images, or at least they hide it vnder the first: whereas without dout it is feuerally set by the Lord for a commandement, & the tenth commandement of not coueting the thinges of his neighbour, they do fondly teare into two. Beside that it shall by and by be done to vnderstand, that such manner of deuiding was vnknownen in the purer age. Other do reckon, as we doe, fower feuerall commaundementes in the first table, but in place of the first they set the promise without the commandement. As for 11 c, because vnlesse I be conuincd by euident reasō, I take the ten words in Moses for ten commandements, me thinks I see so many deuided in very fit order. Therefore, leauing to them their opinion, I will follow that which I best allowe, that is, that the same which these later sort make the first commandement, shalbe in steede of a preface to the whole lawe, and then shall followe the commandements, foure of the first table, and sixe of the second, in such order as they shalbe rehearsed. Augustine also to Boniface agreeth with vs, which in rehearsing them keepeth this order: that God only be serued with obedience of religion, that no idole be worshipped, that the name of y^e Lord be not taken in vaine, when he had before feuerally spoken of the shadowish commandement of the Sabbat. In an other place in deede that first diuision pleaseth him, but for too sclender a cause, that is, because in the number of three, if the first table consist of three commandementes, the mysterie of y^e Trinity more plainly appeareth. Albeit in y^e same place he sticketh not to confesse y^e otherwise he rather liketh our deuision. Besids these, the author of the Vnperfect worke vpon Mathew is of our side. Iosephus, vndoubtedly according to the common consent of his time, assigneth to either table siue commandements. Which is both against reason, because it confoundeth the distinction of religion and charity, and also is confuted by the authority of the Lorde himselfe, which in Matthew reckoneth the commaundement of honouring our parents, in the number of the second table. Nowe let vs

Lib. 2. quaest.
ver. Tctta.

Mat. 19. 19.

heare God himselfe speaking in his owne wordes.

The first Commandement.

I am the Lord thy God, which hath brought thee out of the land of AEgypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt haue no strange Gods before my face.

13 Whether you make the first sentence a parte of the first commaundement, or reade it feuerally, it is indifferent vnto me, so that you do not deny me that it standeth in steede of a preface to the whole lawe. First in making of lawes is heede to be taken, that they be not shortly after abrogate by contempt. Therefore God first of all prouideth, that the maiesty of y^e law that he shal make, may neuer at any time come in contempt. For stablishing whereof he vseth three maner of argumentes. First he chalengeth to himselfe power & right of dominion, wherby he may constraine his chosen people, that they must of necessity obey him: then he setteth forth a promise of grace with sweetnes therof to allure the to study of holines. Thirdly he reciteth the benefit that he did for them, to reprove the Jewes of vnthankfulness,

if they doe not with obedience answere his kindnes . Vnder the name of Iehouah, the Lord, is meant his authoritic and lawfull dominion. And if all things be of him and doe 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 maiety, because it were monstuous for vs to seeke to withdrawe our selues from vnder his gouernment, out of whome we can not be.

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 draw by onely necessity, he also allureth with sweetenesse in pronouncing , that he is the God of the Church. For there is hidden in this speech a mutual relation, which is contained in the promise: I will be to them a God, and they shalbe to me a people. Whereupon Christ proueth that Abraham , Isaac and Iacob haue immorrall 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 chosē you to be my people, not only to do you good in this present life, but also to giue you the blessednes of the life to come . But to what ende this tendeth, it is noted in diuerse places in y^e law. For when the Lord doth vouchsafe to deale thus mercifully with vs, to cal vs into the company of his people, he choseth vs (saith Moses) that we should be a peculiar people vnto himselfe, a holy people, and should keepe his commandementes. From whence also commeth this exhortation: Be ye holy, for I am holy . Now out of these two is deriued that protestation that is in the Prophet: The sonne honoreth the father, and the seruant honoreth his Lord . If I be a Lord, where is my feare? If I be a father, where is my loue?

15 Now followeth the rehearfall of his benefite, which ought to be of so much more force to moue vs, as the fault of vnthankfulnes is more detestable euen among men. He then did put Israell in remembrance of a benefite lately done, but such a one as for the miraculous greatnesse thereof being worthy to be had in remembraunce for euer , shoulde remaine in force with their posterity . Moreouer 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, y^e they should with obedience & readines of seruice honour him, the author of their deliuerance. He vseth also, (to the end to hold vs fast in the true worshipping of him alone) to set out himselfe with certain titles, wherby he maketh his sacred maiesty to be differētly knownen from al idols & forged gods. For, as I said before, such is our ready inclination to vanity, ioyned wth rash boldnes, that so soone as God is named, our mind cannot take heede to it selfe but y^e it by & by falleth away to some vain inuention. Therefore, when y^e Lord meaneth to bring a remedy for this mischiefe , he setteth out his own godhead with certain titles & so doth compasse vs in , as it were within certaine grates, least we should wander hither and thither and rashly forge our selues some new God, if forsaking the liuing God, we should erect an idole. For this cause, so oft as y^e Prophets meane properly to point out him, they cloth him , and as it were enclose him , within those markes, wherby he had opened himselfe to the people of Israell . And yet when he is called the God of Abraham , or the God of Israell , when he is set in the temple of

Hierusalem

Rom. 11. 36.

Ier. 31. 33.

Mat. 22. 32.

Deu. 7. 6. &
14. 2. & 26.
28.

Leui. 19. 2.
Mal. 1. 6.

Exo. 3. 6.
Amos. 1. 2.

Hierusalem among the Cherubins, these & 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 himself, that it is no way lawfull to vary from such a paterne. But let this remaine stedfastly imprinted, that there is mention made of the deliuerance to this ende, that the Iewes might the more cheerefully giue themselues to the God that doth by right claime them vnto him. And we (least wee 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 bound, vntil our heauenly deliuerer do make vs free by the power of his arme, and conuey vs into the kingdome of libertie. As therefore, when in the olde time hee minded to gather together the Israelites that were scattered abroad, to the worshipping of his name, he deliuered them out of the intollerable domination of Pharao, wherewith they were oppressed: so all those to whome at this day he professeth himselfe a God, he doth now deliuer from the deadly power of the diuel, which was in a shadow signified by that corporal bondage. Wherefore there is no man, but his minde ought to be inflamed to harken to the law 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 end appointed and directed to him. There is no man (I say) but he ought to be rauished to embrace the lawmaker, 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 immortall life: by whose marueilous power & mercy, he knoweth himselfe to be deliuered out of the iawes of death.

16 After that he hath grounded & stablished the authoritie of his lawe, he setteth forth the first commandement, *That we haue no strange Gods before him.* The ende of this commandement is, that God will onely haue preeminence, and wholly enjoy his owne authoritie among his people. And that it may so be, he commandeth that there be farre from vs all vngodlinesse & superstition, wherby the glory of his godhead is either diminished or obscured: and by the same reason he commaundeth, that wee worship & honour him with true endeuour of godlinesse. And the very simplicite of the words themselues do 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 be innumerable, yet not vnfitly they may be brought vnto four principall points: Adoration, wherunto as a thing hanging vpon it, is adioyned spiritual obedience of conscience: Affiance, Inuocation, & Thanksgiuing. Adoration I call the reuerence & worship which euery one of vs yeeldeth vnto him, when hee submitteth himselfe vnto his greatnes: wherefore I doe not without cause make this a part thereof, that we yeld our consciences in subiection to his law. Affiance is an assurednes of resting in him by reknowledging of his powers, when reposing al wisdom, righteousness, power, trueth & goodnes in him, we thinke

our selues blessed with only partaking of him. Inuocation, is a resorting of our minde to his faith and help as to our only succour, so oft as any necessity presseth vs. Thankesgiuing is a certaine thankfulness whereby the praise of all good things is giuen vnto him. Of these, as God suffereth nothing to be conueyed away else where, so he commaunded all to be wholly giuen to himselfe. Neither shall it be enough to abstaine from hauing any strange God, vnlesse thou restraine thy selfe in this, that many wicked contentners are wont, which thinke the readiest waye, to scorne all religions: but true religion must goe before, whereby our mindes may be dyrected to the liuing God, with knowledge whereof they beeing endued may aspire to reuerence, feare and worship his maiesty, to embrace the communicating of all his good things, euery where to seeke for his help, to reknowledge and aduaunce with confession of praise the magnificence of his workes, as to the only marke in all the doings of our life. Then, that we beware of peruerse superstition, whereby our mindes swauing from the true God, are drawen hither and thither as it were vnto diuerse gods. Wherefore, if we be contented with one God, let vs call to remembrance that which is before said, that all forged gods are to be driuen farre away, and that the worship is not be torne in sunder, which he alone claimeth to himselfe. For it is not lawfull to take away any thing from his glory, be it neuer so litle, but that all things that belong to him may wholly remaine with him. The parcell of sentence that followeth (Before my face) encreaseth the hainousnes. for that God is prouoked to ielousie, so oft as we thrust our owne inuentions in his place, as if an vnchast woman by bringing in an adulterer openly before her husbands eyes should the more vexe his minde. Therefore when God testified that with his present power & grace he looked vpon the people that he had chosē, 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 witnes & beholder of their sacrilege. For this boldnesse is encreased with much wickednes, that man thinketh that in his flynges away he can begile the eyes of God. On the other side, God crieth out that whatsoeuer we purpose, whatsoeuer we goe about, whatsoeuer we practise, it commeth in his sight. Let therefore our conscience be cleane euen from the most secret thoughtes of swauinge from him, if we will haue our religion to please the Lord. For he requireth to haue the glory of his godhead whole and vncorrupted not only in outward confession, but also in his eyes, which do behold the most secret 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 waters vnder the earth. Thou shalt not worship them, nor serue them.

As in the first commaundement be 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 end therefore of this commaundement is, that hee will not haue

haue the lawfull worship of him, to be prophaned with superstitious vsages. Wherefore in summe, he calleth and draweth vs away from the carnall obseruations, which our foolish minde is wont to inuent, when it conceiueth God according to her owne grossness. And therefore he frameth vs to the lawfull worship of him, that is the spirituall worshippe, and which is appointed by him. He speaketh of the grossest fault that is in this offence, namely outward idolatry. And there be two partes of this commandment. The first restrayneth our liberty, that we do not presume to make subiect to our senses or by any forme to represent God, which is incōprehensible. The second part forbiddeth vs to honour any images for religions sake. Moreover 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 y^e fourth of Deuteronomy he meaneth as well birdes 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 partes, because they are sufficiently knowen 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 contrary to his nature, and that therefore so soone as images come foorth, true religion is corrupted and defiled.

Deu. 4. 15.

18 The penal ordinance that foloweth ought not a litle to auaille to shake of our slouthfulness. For he threatneth: That he is the Lorde our God, a ielous God, that visiteth the iniquity of the fathers vpon the children vnto the third & fourth generation, in them that hate his name, & sheweth mercy vnto thousandes to them that loue him and keepe his commandments. This is asmuch in effect, as if he should haue sayde, that it is he onely vpon whome we ought to sticke. And to bring vs thereunto, he speaketh of his power, that doth not without punishment suffer it selfe to be contemned or diminished. Here is in deede set the name El, which significth God. But because it is deriued of strength, to expresse the sense the better, I did not sticke 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 wil be a reuenger of his maiesty & glory if any do transerre it to creatures or to grauen images, and that not with a short or slender reuenge, but such as shal extend to the children and childrens children, and childrens childrens children, that is such as shalbe followers of their fathers vngodlinesse: as also he sheweth a perpetuall mercy and bountifulnesse vnto long continuance of posterity, to those that loue him and keepe his lawe. It is a common manner 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 stande by mutuall faithfulness. As he doth all the duties of a faithful and true husband, so againe he requireth of vs such loue and chastitie as ought to be in wedlocke, that we yeelde not our soules to Satan, to lust, & to filthy desires of the flesh, to be defiled by them. Whereupon he that rebuketh the Apostasie of the Iewes, complaineth that they did throwe 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 wiues minde encline to a strange loue: so the Lorde that hath wedded vs vnto himselfe in trueth, testifieth that he hath a most feruently burning ialousie, so oft as neglecting the purenesse of his holy mariage, wee are defiled with wicked lustes , but specially then when we transerre to any other , or doe infect with any superstition the worshippe of his name , which ought to bee most vncorrupted: Forasmuch as by this meane we do not only breake the faith giuen in wedlocke, but also do defile the very wedding bed with bringing into it adulterers.

19 In the threatening is to be scene what he meaneth by this , when he saith, that he will visite the iniquity of the fathers vpon y^e children vnto the third and fourth generation. For, beside that it standeth not with the equity 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 then once repeated, of prolonging the punishment of the sins of the auncesters vpon the generations to come. For so doth Moses oftentimes speake vnto him: Lord, Lord, that rendrest the iniquity of the fathers to y^e children, vnto the third & fourth generation. Likewise Jeremy: Thou y^e shewest mercy in thousands, that rendrest the iniquity of the fathers into the bosome of the children after them . Many, while they trauaile much in losing this knot , thinke that it is to be vnderstanded only of temporall punishmentes, which if the children suffer for the parents faults, it is no absurdity, forasmuch as they are oftentimes layed vpon them for their saluation, which is in deede true. For Esay declared to Ezechias, that his sonnes should be spoyled of the kingdome, and caried into exile for the sin that he had committed. The houses of Pharao and Abimelech were plagued for offending Abraham. But whē that is alleged for assoiling of this question, it is rather a shifte than a true exposition. For here & in like places he threatneth a more greuous reuenge than y^e it may be limited within the boundes of this present life. It is therefore thus to be taken: that y^e iust curse of the Lorde, lieth not only vpon the head of the wicked man himselfe , but also vpon his whole family : 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 Lorde for the fathers fault , do follow the same way of destruction : and finally , the chilles child, and the child of the chilles childe, the cursed seede of detestable men do fall headlong after them ?

20 First let vs see, whether such reuenge be vnseemly for y^e iustice of God. If all the nature of man be damnable, we know y^e destruction is prepared for them , to whom y^e lord vouchsafeth not to communicate his grace . Neuertheles they do perish by their own vnrighteousnes, & not by vnrighteous hatred of God. Neither is there left any cause to quarell, why they be not holpē by y^e grace of God to saluatiō as other are. Whereas therefore this punishment is laid vpon wicked men and euil doers for their offences, y^e their houses be depriued of y^e grace of God during many generatiōs: who can accuse god for this most iust reuenge? But the Lord on the other side pronounceth, y^e the
punishment

Iere. 3.
Osee. 2.

Eze. 18. 20.

Num. 14. 3.

Ier. 32. 18.

Esa. 39. 7.
Gen. 12. 17.
& 20. 3.

punishment of the fathers sinne shall not passe ouer vnto the sonne. Note what is there intreated off. When the Israelites had beene long and continually vexed with manie calamities, they began to vse for a Prouerbe, 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 otherwise righteous, and not deseruing it, did suffer the punishment, rather by the vnappeaseable wrathfulnesse of God, than by a moderate seueritie. The Prophete pronounceth vnto them that it is not so: because they are punished for their owne 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 Lorde 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, doe go on in the steps of their fathers, they susteyne 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 sinnes of other, but for their owne iniquitie.

21 On the otherside is offered a promise of enlarging the mercy of God into a thousand generations, which promise is also often found in the scriptures, and is set in the solemne couenant 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 therevnto, but also for that blessing promised in the couenant, that the grace of God shall rest eternally in the houses of the godly. Herevpon groweth great comfort to the faithfull, great terrour to the wicked. For if euen after death, the remembrance both of righteousnes and wickednes be of so great force with God, that the cursing of the one, and the blessing of the other redoundeth vnto posteritie, much more shall it light and rest vpon the heads of the doers themselues. But it maketh nothing against vs, that the issue of the wicked many times commeth to good prooffe, and the issue of the faithfull swarveth out of kinde: because the lawmaker meant not here to stablish such a perpetual rule as should derogate his fre election. For it sufficeth for y comfort of the righteous and for the terrour of the sinner, that the penaltie is not vaine or of no effect, although it do not alway take place. For as the temporall punishments that are laide vpon a fewe 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 y end of their life: so when God giueth one example of this blessing to shew mercie and bountifulesse 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 wickednesse of the father in the sonne, hee sheweth what iudgement is prepared for all the reprobate for their owne offences. Which assurednesse hee had in this place principally respect vnto. And by the way he commendeth vnto vs the largenesse of his mercie, which hee

extendeth vnto a thousande generations, whereas hee assigned but onely lower generations to vengeance.

The thirde commaundement.

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

The ende of this commaundement is, that his will is to haue the maiestie of his name to be holy among vs. Therefore the summe shall bee that wee doe not defile it with contemptuously and irreuerently vsing it. With which prohibition the commaundement hangeth orderly together, that we take studie and care godlyly to reuerence it. Therefore wee ought so to order our selues both in our mindes and our tongues, that we neither think nor speake any thing of God himselfe or his mysteries, but reuerently and with much sobrietie: that in weying his workes, wee conceiue nothing but honorable towarde him. These three things I say, it behoueth vs not negligently to marke, that what soeuer our minde conceiueth of him, whatsoeuer our tongue vttereth, it may sauiour of his excellencie, and may agree with the holy highnesse of his name: and finally may serue to aduance his magnificence. That wee doe not rashly or disorderly abuse his holy worde and reuerende mysteries 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 honour and estimation among vs. Last of all, that wee doe not carpe against or speake euill of his workes, as these wretched men are wont to babble reprochfully against them: but that whatsoeuer wee rehearse done by him, wee reporte it with wordes of praise of his wisdom, righteousnesse and goodnesse. That is to sanctifie the name of God. Where otherwise is done, it is defiled with vaine & peruerse abuse, because it is violently carried from the right vse wherevnto onely it was appointed: and though there be no other hurt done, yet it is spoyled of his dignitie, and by litle and litle brought to contempt. Now, if there bee so much euill in this rash readinesse to vse the name of God out of season, much more mischeefe is in this, if it bee employed to euill vses, as they doe that make it to serue the superstitions of Necromancie, cruell execrations, vnlawfull coniurations, and other wicked enchauntementes. But swearing is cheeflie mentioned in the commaundement, 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 commaundement giuen of the worship of God, and of the reuerence of his name, and not of the trueth and equitie that is to be kepte among men, appeareth by that that he afterwarde in the second table condemneth periurie and false witnessse, whereby hurte is done to the fellowship of men: but it were in vaine to repeate it againe, if this commaundement intreated of the dutie of charitie. And also the diuision of the lawe it selfe requireth it, because as it is saide, God did not in vaine appoint two tables for his law, whereby is gathered that in this commaundement he challengeth his owne right to himselfe, and defendeth the holines of his name, and teacheth not what men owe to men.

23 First is to be learned what is an othe. It is a taking of God to witnesse, to confirme the truth of that which we speake. For those cursed speeches that containe manifest reproches against God, are vnworthy to bee reckoned among othes. That such taking to witnesse, when it is rightly done, is a kinde of worshipping of God, is shewed in diuerse places of the Scripture. As when Esay prophecieth of the calling of the Assyrians and Ægyptians into fellowship of the couenant with Israel, They shall speake (saith hee) in the tongue of Chanaan, and shall sweare in the name of the Lord That is to say, in swearing by the name of the Lord, they shal yeeld a confession of his religion. Again when he speaketh of the enlargement of his kingdome, he saith: Whosoever shall blesse himselfe, shall blesse in the God of the faithfull: and he that shall sweare in the land shal sweare in the true God. Ieremy saith, If they shall teache the people to sweare in my name as they haue taught them to sweare by Baal, they shal bee builded vp in the middes of my house. And for good cause it is saide, that when we call vpon the name of y Lord to witnesse, we doe witnesse our religion toward him. For so we confesse that he is the eternall and vnchangeable trueth, whom wee call vpon, not onely as a most substantiall witnesse of truth aboue all other, but also as the onely defence thereof, which is able to bring foorth hidden things into light, and then as the knower of heartes. For where testimonies of men do faile, there we flee to God for witnesse, specially where any thing is to be proued that lieth secrete in conscience. For which cause the Lord is bitterly angry with them that sweare by strange gods, and he iudgeth that maner of swearing to be an argument of manifest falling from his allegiance: Thy sonnes haue forsaken me, and do sweare by them that are no gods. And he declareth the hainousnesse of this offence by threatening of punishment: I will destroy them that sweare by the name of y Lord, & sweare by Melchan.

24 Now when we vnderstand that it is the Lords will that there bee in our othes a worship of his name: so much the more diligent heede is to be taken, that in stead of worshipping they do not containe dishonour, contempt or abacement of it. For it is no small dishonour, when periurie is committed in swearing by him, wherfore it is called in the law, Profanation. For what is left to y Lorde when he is spoiled of his truth: he shall then cease to be God. But truly he is spoiled therof, when he is made an affirmer & approouer of falthod. Wherfore, when Iosua minded to driue Achan to confesse y truth, he said: My Sonne, giue glorie to the Lord of Israel, meaning thereby, that the Lord is grieuously dishonored if a man sweare falsly by him. And no maruel. For we do as much as in vs lieth, in a maner, to staine his holy name with a lie. And that this maner of speech was vsed among the Iewes so oft as any was called to take an oth, appeareth by the like protestation, that the Pharisees vse in the Gospel of Iohn. To this heedfulnes the formes of othes that are vsed in the Scriptures do instruct vs: The Lord lieth, The Lord do these things vnto me, and adde these things, The Lord bee witnesse vpon my soule. Which do prouee, that we can not call God for witnesse of our sayings, but that we also wish him to take vengeance of our periurie, if we speak deceitfully.

25 The name of the Lord is made vile and common, when it is vsed
in

Esa. 19. 18.

Esa. 65. 16.

Ierc. 12. 16.

Icre. 5. 7.

Soph. 1. 5.

Leu. 19. 12.

Iosue. 7. 9.

Iohn. 9. 24.

1. Sam. 14.

2. Reg. 6. 31.

2. Cor. 1. 23.

in superfluous othes, although they be true. For in such case it is also taken in vaine. Wherefore it shall not be sufficient to abstaine from swearing falsly, valesse we doe also remember, that swearing was suffered and ordeined not for lust or pleasure, but for necessities sake: and therefore they goe beyond the lawfull vse thereof, that applie it to things not necessaric. 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 offend, & so much the more intollerably, for that by very custom 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 regard, the name of God is defiled in trifling talkes, and it is not thought that they doe euill, because by long suffered and vnpunished boldnesse, they are come to rest as it were in possession of so great wickednesse. But the commandement of the Lord 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 commaundement is also transgressed in an other point, that in our othes we put the holy seruants of God in the place of God, with manifest vngodlinesse, for so we transferre 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 bee heard sweare by any strange gods. And the Apostle evidently testifieth the same, when he writeth, that men in swearing doe call vpon a hier than themselues, and that God which had none greater than his owne glorie to sweare by, did sweare by himselfe.

26 The Anabaptists 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, whatsoeuer is more than this, is of euill. But by this meane, they doe without consideration stumble against Christ: while they make him aduersarie to his father, and as if he 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 ynough: but also in necessitie doeth command it. But Christ affirmeth that he is all one with his father: that hee 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 forbidde and condemne the same thing in mens behauiours, which he hath before allowed by commaunding it? But because there is some difficultie in the words of Christ, let vs a litle weye them. But herein we shall neuer attaine the truth, vnlesse wee bende our eyes vnto the entent of Christ, and take heede vnto the purpose that hee there goeth about. His purpose is not either to release or restraine 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 hold in minde, we shall not thinke that Christ did vterly condemne othes, but onely those othes which do transgresse the rule of the law. Thereby it appeareth, that the people at that time did forbear no maner of swearing

Deu. 6. 13. &
10. 20.
Exo. 23. 13.

Mat. 5.
Iacob 5.

Exod. 22. 11.
Iohn 7. 16.

ring but periuries, whereas the law doth not only forbid periuries, but also al idle and superfluous othes. The Lord therefore the most sure expositor of the lawe, doeth admonish them, that it is not onely euill to forswear, but also to sweare. But howe to sweare in vaine. But as for these othes that are commended in the law, he leaueth them safe and at libertie. They seme to fight somewhat more strongly when they take earnest holde of this word At all, which yet is not referred to the word Sweare, but to y^e formes of swearing that are after reheased. 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 G O D. Therefore after the principall kinde of offence againste this commaundement, the Lorde doeth also cut of from them all byeshiftes that they shoulde not thinke that they haue escaped, if not speaking of the name of God they call heauen and earth to witnesse. For here by the way it is also to be noted, that although the name of God be not expressed, yet men by indirect formes 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 towarde them. Neither doth Christ in that place where hee 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 suttelty, 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 benefites. But otherwise it is, where eyther a mortall man, or a dead man, or an Angell is put in the place of God: as among the prophane nations flatterie deuised that stinking forme of swearing by the life or soule of the king: for then the false making of Gods doeth obscure and minishe the glorie of the one onely G O D. But when wee meane onely, to procure credite to our saying by the holy name of God, although the same bee indirectly done, yet in all such trifling othes his maiestie is offended. Christ taketh from this licentioufnesse, all pretense of excuse, in this that hee forbiddeth to sweare at all. And Iames tendeth to the same purpose, reciting the same wordes of Christ which I haue before alleaged, because the same rashe boldnesse hath alwayes bene in the Mat. 5. 34. worlde, which is a prophane misusing of the name of G O D. For if yee referre this worde, At all, to the substance, as if without any exception it were altogether vnlawfull to sweare: wherefore serueth that exposition which is added afterward: 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.

27 Therefore it cannot nowe be doubtfull to sounde iudgements, that the Lorde in that place did onely reprocue those othes that were forbidden by the lawe. For he himselfe which shewed in his life an examplar of the perfection that he taught, did not sticke to sweare when occasion required. And his disciples, who (we doubt not) did obey their maister in all things, followed the same example: who dare say that Paul woulde haue sworne, if swearing had bene vterly 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 do thinke y^e onely pub-

publike othes are excepted out of this prohibition, as those othes that we take when the Magistrate doeth 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 othe for his true seruice in the warre, and such like. And to this sorte they adioyne, and that rightfully, such othes, as are in Paul, to confirme the dignitie of the Gospell, for asmuch as the Apostles in their office are not priuate men but publike ministers of God. And truely I deny not that those are the safest othes, because they are defended with soundest testimonies of Scripture. The Magistrate is commaunded in a doubtfull case to driue the witnesse to an othe, and hee on the other side to aunswere by othe: 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 old heathen men, y^e publike and solemne othe 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 maiestic of God at all. But yet it were too much daungerous to condemne priuate othes, that are in necessarie cases soberly, holily, & 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 betweene them, much more is it lawfull to call him to witnesse. Put the case: thy brother will accuse thee of false breach of faith, thou endeourest to purge thy selfe according to the dutie of charitie, and hee by no meanes will suffer himselfe to bee satisfied. If thy good name come in perill by his obstinate malicioufnesse, thou shalt without offence appeale to the iudgement of God, that it will please him in time to make thine innocencie known. Now if the weight of the wordes be considered, it is a lesse matter to call him to witnesse. Therefore I see not why in this case wee shoude affirme, that the calling him to witnesse is vnlawfull. And we are not without many examples thereof. For though the othe of Abraham and Isaac with Abimelech bee saide 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 couenaunt with mutuall othe betweene themselues. Booz was a priuate man, which by the same meane confirmed his promise of mariage to Ruth. Abdias was a priuate mā, a iust man & fearing God, which affirmed vnto Elias by oth, the thing y^e he meant to perswade him. Therefore I haue no better rule, but that othes be so tempered, y^e they be not vnaduised, y^e they be not common without regard, that they be not vsed of raging luste, 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 commaundement of the law tendeth.

The fourth Commaundement.

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

Heb. 6. 16.

Gen. 2. 24.
& 26. 31. &
31. 53.
Ruth. 3. 13.

1. Re. 18. 10.

28 The ende of this commandement is, that we being dead to our owne affections and workes, should bee busied in meditation of the kingdome of God, and to y^e same meditation should bee exercised, by such meanes as he hath ordeined. But because this commandement hath a peculiar and seuerall consideration from the rest, therefore it must haue also a seuerall maner of exposition. The olde writers vse to call it a shadowish commandement, for that it containeth the outward obseruatiō of the day, which by the coming of Christ was taken away with the other figures. Wherein I graunt they say truely, but they touch but halfe the matter. Wherefore we must fetch the exposition of it farther of. And (as I thinke) I haue marked that there are three causes to be considered, whereupon this commaundement consisteth. For first the heauenly lawemaker meant vnder the rest of the seuenth day, to set out in figure to the people of Israel y^e spiritual rest, whereby the faithful ought to cease from their owne works, that they might suffer God to worke in them. Secondly, his wil was to haue one appointed day, wherein they shoulde meete together to heare the lawe, 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 godlinesse. Thirdly, he thought good to haue a day of rest graunted to seruantes, and such as liued vnder the gouernement of other, wherein they might haue some ceasing from their labour.

29 But we are many wayes taught, that the same shadowing of the spirituall rest, was the principall point in the Sabbat. For the Lorde required the keeping of no commaundement in a maner more seuerely, than this: when his meaning is in the Prophets to declare that all religion is ouerthrowen, the he complaineth that his Sabbates are polluted, defiled, not kept, not sanctified: as though that peece of seruice being omitted, there remained no more wherein he might be honored. He did set forth the obseruing thereof with his prayes. For which cause the faithful did among other oracles maruellously esteeme the reueiling of the Sabbat. For in Nehemiah thus spake y^e Levites in a solemne conuocation, Thou hast shewed to our fathers thy holy Sabbat, and hast giuen them the commaundementes and the ceremonies, and the lawe by the hand of Moses. You see how it is had in singular estimation among all the commaundements of the lawe. All which things doe serue to set forth the dignitie of the mysterie, which is very well expressed by Moses and Ezechiel. Thus you haue in Exodus. See that ye keepe my Sabbat day, because it is a token betweene me and you in your generations: that you may knowe that I am the Lord that sanctifie you: keepe my Sabbat, for it is holy vnto you. Let the children of Israel keepe the Sabbat & celebrate it in their generations, it is an euerlasting couenant betweene me and the children of Israel, and a perpetual token. Yet Ezechiel speaketh more at large. But the summe thereof commeth to this effect, that it is for a token whereby Israel shoulde knowe that God is their sanctifier. If our sanctification be the mortifying of our owne wil, then appeareth a most apt relation of the outward signe with the inward thing it selfe: we must altogether rest, that God may worke in vs: we must depart from our owne wil, we must resigne vp our heart, we must banish all lustes of the flesh.

Finally,

Numb. 13.

22.

Eze. 20.

21. and 23.

38.

Iere. 17. 12.

and 27.

Exo. 31. 13.

and 35. 2.

Nehc. 9. 14.

Eze. 20. 12.

Hebr. 3. 13,
and 4. 9.

Finally, we must cease from all the doings of our owne wit, that wee may haue God working in vs, y we may rest in him, as the Apostle also teacheth.

Esa. 66. 23.

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 endeouour, that he may knowe that hee 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 workes, maketh an end of describing the succeeding of daies and nightes. There may bee also brought an other probable note of the number, that the Lord thereby meant to shewe that the Sabbat should neuer be perfectly ended, till it came to the last day. For in it we beginne our blessed rest, in it we doe daily proceede in profiting more and more. But because we haue still a continual warre with the flesh, it shall not be ended vntil that saying of Esaie be fulfilled, concerning y continuing of new Moone with new Moone, of Sabbat with Sabbat, euen then when God shall be all in all. It may seeme therefore that the Lord hath by the seuenth day set forth to his people the perfection to come of his Sabbat at the last day, that our whole life might by continual meditation of the Sabbat, aspire to this perfection.

1. Cor. 15. 28

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 ordeined one certaine day, wherein his people might vnder the schooling of the law be exercised to the continuall meditation of the spirituall rest: And that he assigned the seuenth day, either because he thought it sufficient, or that by setting forth the likenesse of his owne example, he might y better moue the people to keepe it or at least to put them in minde, that the Sabbat tended to no other end, but that they should become like vnto their creatour. For it maketh small matter, so that the mysterie remaine which is therein principally set forth, concerning y perpetual rest of our workes. To consideration whereof the Prophetes did now and then call backe the Iewes that they should not thinke them selues 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 Sabbat, that thou do not thine owne will in my holy day, and shalt call the Sabbat delicate and holy of the glorious Lorde, and shalt glorifie him while thou doest not thine owne wayes, & seekest not thine owne wil to speake y word, then shalt thou be delited in y Lord, &c. But it is no dout, 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 doe vanishe away: hee is the bodie at sight whereof the shadowes are left. He, I say, is the true fulfilling of the Sabbat, we being buried with him by Baptisme, are grafted into the fellowship of his death, that we being made partakers of the resurrection, wee may walke in newnesse of life. Therefore in an other place the Apostle writeth, that the Sabbat was a shadowe of a thing to come: and that the true bodie, that is to say, the

Esa. 58. 13.

Rom. 6. 4.

Col. 2. 16.
and 17.

per-

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 dayes ought to be farre from Christians.

32 But forasmuch as the two later causes ought not to be reckened among the olde shadowes, but do belong alike to all ages: since the Sabbath is abrogate, yct this hath stil place with vs, that we should meete at appointed dayes to the hearing of the word, to the breaking of the mystical bread, and to publike prayer: and then, that to seruants and labourers be granted their rest from their labour. It is out of doubt that in commaunding the Sabbath, the Lorde had care of both these things. The first of them hath sufficient testimonie by the onely vse of the Iewes to proue 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 Egypt. Againe in Exodus: that thy Oxe and thy Assc may rest, and the sonne of thy bondwoman may take breath. Who can deny that both these things doe serue for vs as well as for the Iewes? Meetings at the Church, are commaunded vs by the worde of God, and the necessitie of them is sufficiently knowen in the very experience of life. Vnlesse they be certainly appointed and haue their ordinarie dayes, 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 of, that comlineffe & order can be kept without this policie and moderation, that there is at hand present trouble and ruine of the Church, if it be dissolued. Now if the same necessitie be among vs, for releefe whereof the Lorde 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 saye, why doe wee not rather daily meete together, that the difference of dayes may be taken away? I would to God, that were graunted, and truely spirituall wisdom was a thing worthy to haue daily a peece of the time cut out for it. But if it cannot be obtained of the weakenesse of many to haue daily meetings, and the rule of charitie doth not suffer vs to exact more of them, why should we not obey the order which we see layed vpon vs by the will of God?

33 I am compelled here to be somewhat long, because at this day many vnquiet spirites do raise trouble, concerning the Sunday. They erie out that the Christian people are nourished in Iewishnesse, because they keepe some obseruation of dayes. But I answer, that wee keepe those dayes without any Iewishnesse, because we do in this behalfe farre differ from the Iewes. For we keepe it not with streight religion as a ceremonie, whercin we think a spiritual mysterie to be figured, but we retaine it as a necessary remedie 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 dayes. And to the Romanes he affirmeth that it is superstition if any man doe make difference betweene day

Deu. 5. 14.

Exo. 25. 12.

1. Cor. 14. 40

Col. 2. 16.

Gal. 4. 10.

Rom. 14. 5.

Exo. 21.
Leui. 20. 9.
Leui. 10. 9.
Pro. 10. 10.
Deu. 21. 18.
Mat. 15. 4.
Eph. 5. 1.
Col. 3. 20.

reuerence very nature ought in a manner to instruct vs. For they are monsters and not men, that breake the authoritie of parentes with dishonour or stubburnesse. Therefore the Lord commanded all the disobedient to their parentes, to be slaine, as men vnworthy to enioy the benefit of light, that doe not reknowledge by whose meanes they came into it. And by many 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 Lorde establisheth when hee commaundeth him to be killed that curseth his Father or his Mother, for there he punisheth the contempt and dishonour of them. The seconde 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 fiftenth of Matthew, that it is the commandement of God that we doe good to our parentes. And so oft as Paul maketh mention of a commandement, 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 submission y^e is here commanded. For Paul vseth the same prick to stirre vp our dulnesse when he saith: that this is the first commandement with promise. For the promise that went before in the first Table, was not special & properly belonging to one commandement, but extended to the whole lawe. Now this is thus to be taken: The Lord spake to the Israelites peculiarly of the lande which he had promised them for their inheritance. If then the possession of land was a pledge of Gods bountifulnes: let vs not merueile if it pleased God to declare his fauour by giuing length of life, by which a man might long enioy his benefit. The meaning therefore is thus. Honor thy Father and thy Mother, that by a long space of life thou mayest enioy y^e possession of that land that shalbe vnto thee for a testimonie of my fauour. But sith all the earth is blessed to the faithfull, we doe not worthily reckon this present life among the blessinges of God. Therefore this promise doth likewise belong vnto vs, forso much 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 blessednes in it selfe, but because it is wont to be to the Godly a token of Gods tender loue. Therefore if it chaunce that an obedient child to his parentes be taken out of this life before his ripe age, which is oftentimes scene, yet doth God no lesse constantly continue in the performance of his promise, than if he should reward him with a hundreth Acres of land, to whom 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 G O D, and that it is his blessing so farte as it is a prooffe of his fauour, which he by death doth much more plentifully and perfectly witness and shew in effect to his seruantes.

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 stubborn and disobedient children. And that the same should not want execution: he pronounceth them by his lawe subiect to the iudgment of death,

and

and comāndeth 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 howe great a number of that sort of men are slaine in battailes & in frayes, and some other tormented in strange vnaccustomed fashions, and they all in a manner are a prooffe that this threatning is not vaine. But if any escape to olde age, sith in this life being deprived of the blessing of God, they do nothing but miserably languish, and are referued 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 wee are not commaunded to obey them but in the Lorde. And that is euident by the foundation before layed: for they sit on hie in that place whereunto the Lorde hath aduanced them, by communicating with them a portion of his hōnour. Therefore the submission that is vsed toward them, ought to be a steppe towards the honouring of that soueraigne Father. Wherefore, if they moue vs to transgress the lawe, then are they worthily not to bee 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 conuenience of reason, that their preeminence shoulde preuaile to presse downe his highnesse, sith theirs as it hangeth wholly vpon it, so ought onely to guide vs vnto it.

The sixt Commaundement.

Thou shalt not kill.

39 The ende of this commaundement is, that forasmuch as God hath bounde together all mankind with a certeine vnitie, that euery man ought to regarde the safetic of all men, as a thing giuen him in charge. In sunime therefore, all violence and wrong, yea and all harme doing, whereby our neighbours body may be hurt, is forbidden vs. And therefore we are commaunded, if there be any power of succour in our trauaile to defend the life of our neighbours, that we faithfully imploy the same, that wee procure those things that may make for their quiet, that we watch to keepe them frō hurt, and 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 thoughtes of the heart, and principally resteth vpon them, should instuct nothing but the body to true righteousness. Therefore the manslaughter of the heart is also forbidden in this lawe, and an inward affection to preserue our brothers life is here giuen in commaundement. The hand in deede bringeth forth the manslaughter, but the minde conceiueth it, when it is infected with wrath & hatred. Looke whether thou canst be angrie with thy brother without burning in desire to do him hurte. If thou canst not be angrie with him, then canst thou not hate him, for asmuch as hatred is nothing but an olde rooted anger. Although thou dissemble and go about to winde out thy selfe by vaine circumstances: yet where anger or hatred is, there is an affection to hurte. If thou

most part of men are subiect to the vice of incontinence: and then of those that be subiect vnto it, he excepteth none, but commandeth al to y only remedy, wherwith vnchastity is resisted. Therefore if they that be incontinent do neglect to heple their infirmity by this meane, they sinne euen in this that they obey not the cōmandement of the Apostle. Neither let him flatter himselfe that toucheth not a woman as though he could not be rebuked of vnchastity, while in the meane season his minde burneth inwardely with lust. For Paul defineth chastity to be a cleannes of the minde, ioyned with chastity of y body. A woman vnmarried (saith he) thinketh vpon those things that are of the Lord, forasmuch as she is holy both in body & in spirit. Therefore when he bringeth a reason to confirme that former commandement, he doth not onely say, that it is better for a man to take a wife, than to defile himselfe, with company of a harlot, but he sayth, that it is better to marry than to burne.

1. Cor. 6, 24.

Amb. lib. de
phil.

44 Now if married folkes do confesse that their fellowship together is blessed of the Lord, they are therby admonished not to defile it with intemperate and dissolute lust: For though the honesty of mariage do couer the filthines of incontinencie, yet it ought not forthwith to be prouocatiō thereof. Wherefore let not married folkes thinke, that all thinges are lawful vnto them, but let euery husband haue his owne wife soberly, and likewise the wife her husband, and so doing, let them committe nothing vnbecoming the honesty and temperance of mariage. For so ought mariage made in the Lord to be restrayned to measure and modesty, & not to ouerflow into euery kind of extreeme lasciuiousnes. This wantonnes Ambrose reproveth with a saying very fore in deede, but not vnfit for it, when he calleth y husband, the adulterer of his own wife, which in vse of wedlock hath no care of shamefastnes or honesty. Last of all, let vs consider what lawmaker doth here condemne fornication, euen he which sith of his own right he ought to possess vs wholly, requireth purenesse of the soule, spirit and body. Therefore when he forbiddeth to commit fornication, he also forbiddeth with wanton attire of body, with vncleane gestures, and with filthy talke to lay waite to trap an others chastity. For that saying is not without good reason, which Archelaus spake to a yong man aboute measure wantonly & deintely clothed, that it made no matter in what part he were filthily vnchast: if we haue a regard vnto God y abhorreth al filthines in whatsoeuer part either of our soul or body it appeareth. And to put thee out of dout, remember that the Lord here commendeth chastity. If the Lord require chastity of vs, then he condemneth all that euer is against it. Therefore if thou couet to shewe obedience, neither let thy minde burne inwardly with euill lust, nor lette thine eyes runne wantonly into corrupt affections, nor let thy body be trimmed vp for allurements, nor let thy tongue with filthy talke entise thy minde to like thoughtes, nor let thy gluttonous belly enflame thee with intemperance. For all these vices are, as it were, certaine blottes, wherewith the purenesse of chastity is bespotted.

The eight Commandement.

Thou shalt not steale.

45 The end of this cōmandement is, because God abhorreth vnrighteousnes

ousnesse, that euery man may haue his owne rendred vnto him. The summe therefore shall be, that we are forbidden to gape for other mens goods, and that therefore we are commanded euery man to employ his faithfull trauaile to preserue to each man his owne goods. For thus we ought to thinke that what euery man possesseth 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 euil meanes, but that wrong be done to the disposition of God. But of thestes there be many kindes: one standeth in Violence, when the goods of an other are by any manner of force and robbing licentiousnes bereaued. The other kinde consisteth in malicious deceite, where they are guilefully conueied away. An other sorte there is that standeth in a more hidden sutletie, when they are wrong from the owner by colour of lawe. An other sort in flatterie, where they are sucked away by pretence of gift. But least wee should tarie too long vppon renting of all the seuerall kindes of theft, lette vs knowe, that all craftie meanes whereby the possessions and money of our neighbours are conueied vnto vs, when they once goby crooked waies from syncerenes of heart, to a desire to beguile, or by any meane to do hurt, are to bee accounted for thestes. Although by pleading the law, they may preuaile, yet God doth not otherwise wey them. For hee seeth the long captious sutleties, wherewith the guilefull man beginneth to entangle the simpler minde, till at length he drawe him into his nettes. He seeth the hard and vngentle lawes, wherewith the mightier oppresseth and throweth downe the weaker. He seeth y^e allurements, wherewith as with baited hookes, the craftier taketh thee vnware. 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 monie, in wares, or in landes, but in euery mans right. For we defraud our neighbour of his goods, if we denie him those dueties which we are bound to do for him. If any idle facter or Baylie doe deuoure his masters substance, and is not heedfull to the care of his thrift, if he either do wrongfully spoile, or do riotously wast the substance committed vnto him, if a seruant doe mocke his master, if he disclose his secretes by any meanes, if he betray his life and his goodes: againe if the Lord doe cruelly oppresse his household, they are before God guiltie of theft. For he both withholdeth and conueieth an other mans goods, which performeth not that which by the office of his calling he oweth to other.

46 We shal therefore rightly obey this commaundement, if being contented with our owne estate, we seeke to get no gaine but honest & lawfull, if we couet not to wax rich with wrong, nor go about to spoile our neighbour of his goodes that our owne substance may encrease, if wee labour not to heape vp cruel riches and wrong out of other mens blood, if we do not immeasurably scrape together euery way, by right and by wrong, that either our couetousnesse may be filled, or our prodigalitie satisfied. But on y^e other side, let this bee our perpetuall marke, to aide all men faithfully by counsel and helpe to keepe their owne so farre as we may: but if we haue to do with false and deceitfull men, lette vs rather be ready to yeelde vp some of our owne, then to striue with them. And not that only, but let vs communicate

to their necessities, and with our store releiue their neede, whom we see to be oppressed with hard & poore estate. Finally, let euery man looke how much he is by duetic bounde vnto other, and let him faithfully pay it. For this reason let the people haue in honor all those that are set ouer them, let them patiently beare their gouernement, obey their lawes and commandements, refuse nothing that they may beare, still keeping God fauourable vnto the. Againe, let them take care of their people, preserue common peace, defend the good, restraîne the euil, and so order all things, as ready to giue account of their office to the soueraigne iudge. Let the Ministers of Churches faithfully applie their ministerie, and not corrupt the doctrine of saluation, but deliuer it pure and syncre 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 shepheardes be ouer the sheepe. Let the people likewise receiue them for the messengers and Apostles of God, giue them that honor wherof the hiest maister hath vouchsafed them, and minister vnto them such thinges as are necessarie for their life. Let parentes take on them to feede, rule and teach their children, as committed to them of God, & grieue not, nor turne away their mindes from them with crueltie, but rather cherish & embrace them with such lenitie and tendernesse, as becommeth their person. After which manner, we haue already said, that children owe to their parentes their obedience. Let yong men reuerence olde age, euen as y Lord willed that age to be honorable. Let old men also gouerne the weakenes of youth with their wisdome and experience, wherein they excell yong men, not rating with rough & loude brawling, but tempering seueritie with mildnesse and gentlenesse. Let seruantes shewe themselues diligent and seruifable to obey: and that not to the eye, but from the heart, as seruing God himselfe. Also let maisters shewe themselues not testie 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 fellowe seruantes vnder the heauenly Lorde, whom they ought mutually to loue and gently to intreate. After this manner, I say, let euery man consider what in his degree and place he oweth to his neighbours, and let him pay that he oweth. Moreouer our minde ought alwayes to haue respect to the lawmaker, that we may knowe that this lawe is made as well for our mindes, as for our handes, that men should studie to defend and further the commodities and profite of other.

The ninth Commandement.

Thou shalt not be a lying witness against thy neighbour.

47 The end of this commandement is, that because God which is truth abhorreth lying, we ought to obserue trueth without deceitfull colour. The summe therefore shall bee, that wee neither hurt any mans name eyther with slaunders or false reportes, nor hinder him in his goodes by lying: finally that wee offende no man, by lust to speake euill, or to be busie: with which prohibition is ioyned a conmaundement, that so farre as wee may, wee employ our faithfull endeuour for euery man in affirming the trueth,
to

to defende the safetie both of his name and goodes. It seemeth that y^e Lord purposed to expounde the meaning of his commaundement in the three & twentie Chapter of Exodus, in these wordes: Thou shalt not vse the voice of lying, nor shalt ioyne thy hande to speake false witnessse for the wicked. Againe, Thou shalt flee lying. Also in an other place hee doeth not onely call vs away from lying in this point that we bee no accusers, or whisperers in the people, but also that no man deceiue his brother, for hee forbiddeth them both in severall commaundements. Truly it is no doubt, but that as in the commaundements before, he hath forbidden crueltie, vnchastitie and couetousnesse, so in this he restraineth falshood. Whereof there are two partes as we haue noted before. For either wee offend the good name of our neighbours by maliciousnesse and froward minde to backbite, or in lying and sometime in euill speaking wee hinder their commodities. There is no difference whether in this place be vnderstanded soleme and iudiciall testimonie, or comon testimonie that is vsed in priuate talkes. For wee must alwayes haue recourse to this principle, that of all the generall kindes of vices one speciall sort is set for an example, wherunto the rest may bee referred, and that that is cheefly chosen, wherein the filthinesse of the faulte is moste apparant. Albeit, it were conuenient to extende it more generally to slaunders and sinister backbitinges wherewith our neighbours are wrongfully greued, for that falsehoolde of witnesssing which is vsed in iudiciall courtes, is neuer without periurie. But periuries insomuch as they doe prophane and defile the name of God, are already sufficiently mette withall in the third commaundement. Wherefore the right vse of this commaundement is, that our tongue in affirming the truth doe serue both the good name and profite of our neighbours. The equitie thereof is more than manifest. For if a good name bee more pretious than any treasures, whatsoeuer they bee: then is it no lesse hurt to a man to bee spoyled of the goodnesse of his name than of his goods. And in bereauing his substance sometime false witnessse doeth as much as violence of handes.

Exod. 23. 1.
Leui. 19. 15.

48 And yet it is maruellous with how negligent carelesnesse men do commonly offende in this point, so that there are founde verie few that are not notably sicke of this disease: wee are so much delighted with a certaine poisoned sweetnesse both in searching out and in disclosing the euilles of other. And let vs not thinke that it is a sufficient excuse, if oftentimes we lie not. For he y^e forbiddeth thy brothers name to be defiled with lying, willethe also y^e it be preferued vntouched so far as the truth will suffer. For howsoeuer he taketh heede to himselfe only, so that he tell no 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, y^e God hath a care of it. Wherefore without doubt all euill speaking is vtterly condemned. But wee meane not by euill speaking, that rebuking which is vsed for chastisement: nor accusation, or iudiciall processe, whereby remedie is sought for an euill, nor publike reprehension which tendeth to put other sinners in feare, nor bewraying of faults to them for whose safety it behooueth y^e they should be forwarned least they should be in danger by ignorance: but we meane only hateful accusing, which ariseth of maliciousnesse & of a wantō wil to backbite.

Also

Also this commaundement is extended to this point, that wee couet not to vse a scoffing kinde of a pleasauntnesse, but mingled with bitter tauntes, thereby bitingly to touch other mens faultes vnder pretence of pastime, as many doe that seeke 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. Nowe if wee bende our eyes to the lawmaker, which must according to his rightfull authoritie beare rule no lesse ouer the eares and minde than ouer the tongue: truely wee shall finde that greedinesse to heare backbitings, and a hastie readinesse to euill iudgements are no lesse forbidden. For it were verie fonde if a man shoulde thinke y God hateth the faulte of euill speaking in the tongue, and doeth not disallow the fault of euill malicioufnesse in the heart. Wherefore if there bee in vs a true feare and loue of God, let vs indeuour so farre as wee may and as is expedient, and as charitie beareth, that wee giue neither our tongue, nor our eares to euill speakings, and bitter iestings, least wee rashly without cause yelde our mindes to indirect suspicions. But being indifferent expositorous of all mens sayings and doings, let vs both in iudgement, eares, & tongue gently preferue their honour safe.

The tenth Commaundement.

Thou shalt not couet thy neighbours house, &c.

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 bee 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 towarde an others losse: wherewith on the other side agreeth the commaundement, that whatsoeuer wee conceiue, purpose, will or studie vppon, bee ioyned with the benefite and commoditie of our neighbours. But here, as it seemeth, ariseth a harde and combersome difficultie. For if it bee truely saide of vs before that vnder the names of fornication and theft are contained the lust of fornication, and the purpose to hurt and deceiue, it may seeme superfluously spoken, that the coueting of other mens goodes shoulde afterwarde be seuerally forbidden vs. But the distinction betwene purpose and coueting, will easily lose vs this knot. For purpose (as wee haue meant in speaking of it in the other commaundementes before) is deliberate consent of will, when lust hath subdued the minde: but coueting may bee without any such either aduisement or assent, when the minde is onely pricked and tickled with vaine and peruerse obiectes. As therefore the Lorde hath heretofore commaunded, that the rule of charitie shoulde gouerne our willes, studies, and workes: so hee now commaunderth 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 another way. As he hath forbidden our minde to be bowed and led into wrath, hatred, fornication, robbetrie, and lying: so he doth now forbid vs to be moued therunto.

50 And not without cause doth he require so great vprightnesse. For who

who can denie that it is righteous, that all the powers of the soule be possessed with charitie? But if any of them do swarue from the marke of charitie, who can denie that it is diseased? Nowe whence commeth it that so many desires hurtfull to thy neighbour, doe enter into thy heart, but of this, that neglecting him thou carest onely for thy selfe? For if thy mind were altogether throughly foked with charitie, no part thereof should be open to such imaginations. Therefore it must needs be void of charitie, so far as it receiueth concupiscence. But some man wil obiect, that yet it is not meete that fantasies that are without order tossed in mans wit, and at length do vanishe away, should be condemned for concupiscence, whose place is in the heart. I answere that here our question is of that kinde of fantasies, which while they are present before our mindes, doe together bite and strike our heart with desire, forasmuch as it neuer commeth in our minde, to wishe for any thing, but that our heart is stirred vp and leapeth withall. Therefore God commadeth a maruelous feruentnes of loue which he willeth not to be entangled with neuer so smal snares of concupiscence. He requireth a maruelously framed minde, which he suffreth not so much as wth slight prouocations to be any thing stirred against the law of loue. To this expositiō Augustine did first open me y^e way: because thou shouldest not think y^e it is without consent of some graue authoritie. And though the Lords purpose was to forbid vs al wrongful coueting: yet in rehearsing y^e same, he hath brought forth for example those things that most commonly do deceiue vs with a false image of delight: because he would leaue nothing to concupiscence when he draweth it from these things, vpon the which it most of al rageth and triumpheth. Loc, here is the second Table of the law, wherein we are taught sufficiently what wee owe to men for Gods sake, vpon consideration whereof hangeth the rule of charitie. Wherefore you shall but vainely call vpon those duties that are contained in this Table, vnlesse your doctrine do stay vpon the feare and reuerence of God, as vpon her foundation. As for them which seeke for two commandments, in the prohibition of coueting, y^e wise reader, though I say nothing, will iudge that by wrong diuision, they teare in sunder that which was but one. And it maketh nothing against vs, that this worde, Thou shalt not couet, is the second time repeated, for after y^e he had first set the house, then he renteth the partes thereof, beginning at the wife: whereby it plainly appeareth, that (as the Hebrues do very well) it ought to be read in one whole sentence, and that God in effect commandeth, that all that euery man possesseth, should remaine safe and vntouched, not onely from wrong and lust to defraude them, but also from the very least desire that may moue our mindes.

51 But now to what ende the whole lawe tendeth, it shall not be 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 performe in deedes that which is there commanded, he shall in a manner expresse an image of God in his life. Therefore when Moses meant to bring the summe thereof into the mindes of the Israelites, he said: And nowe Israel, what doth the Lorde thy God aske of thee, but that thou feare the Lord, and walke in his wayes: sione

him and serue him in all thy heart, and in all thy soule, and keepe his commandements? And he ceased not still to sing the same song againe vnto them, so oft as he purposed to shewe the end of the lawe. 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. Nowe the perfection of that holinesse consisteth in the two principall points already rehearsed, That we loue y^e Lord God with al our heart, all our soule, and all our strength, and our neighbour as our selues. And the first indeede is, that our soule be in all parts filled with the loue of G O D. From that by and by of it selfe foorth floweth the loue of our neighbour. Which thing the Apostle sheweth when he writeth, that the end of the law is Loue out of a pure conscience, and a faith not fained. You see howe, as it were, in the head is set conscience and faith vnfained, that is to say in one word true godlinesse, and that from thence is charitie deriued. Therefore he is deceiued, whosoeuer thinketh that in the lawe 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 workes: whereas beyond that sentence of Moses, and this of Paule, you can desire nothing as wanting of the highest perfection. For howe farre, I pray you, will hee proceede that will not bee contented with this institution, whereby man is instructed to the feare of G O D, to spirituall worshipping, to obeying of the commaundementes, to follow the vprightnes of the way of the Lord: finally to purenesse of conscience, syncere faith and loue? Wherby 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 followe onely the drie and bare principles, as if it taught but the one halfe of Gods wil, knowe not the end thereof, as the Apostle witnesseth.

52 But whereas in rehearsing the summe of the law, Christ and the Apostle do sometime leaue out the first Table: many are deceiued therein while they would faine draw their words to both y^e Tables. Christ in Matthew calleth the chiefe points of the law, mercie, iudgement and faith: vnder y^e word Faith, it is not doubtful to me, but that he meaneth truth or vnfaithfulnesse toward men. But some, that the sentence might be extended to the whole law, take it for religiousnes toward God. But they labour in vaine. For Christ speaketh of those works wherewith man ought to proue himselfe righteous. This reason if we note, we will also cease to maruell why, when a yong man asked him what be the commandementes by keeping whereof we enter into life: he answered these things onely: Thou shalt not kil. Thou shalt not cōmit adultery. Thou shalt not steale. Thou shalt beare no false witnes. Honor thy Father and thy Mother. Loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. For the obeying of the first Table consisted in manner all either in the affection of the heart, or in ceremonies: the affection of the heart appeared not, and as for the ceremonies the hypocrites did continually vse. But the workes 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 bee familiar to a reader, but meanelly exercised in them, For in a maner alway, whē they

they exhort to repentance, they leaue out the first Table, and onely call vpon faith, Iudgement, Mercy and Equity. And thus they do not ouerskip the feare of God; but they enquire the earnest profe thereof by the tokens of it. This is well knowne, that when they speake of the keeping of the law, they do for the most part rest vpon the second Table, because therein the study of righteousnes & vprighnes is most openly scene. It is needles to rehearse y^e places; because euery man wil of himselfe easily mark y^e which Isay. ⁵³ But thou wilt say, is it then more anaileable to the perfection of righteousness, to liue innocently among men, than w^{ith} true godlines to honor God? No, but because a man doth not easily kepe charity in all pointes, vnles he earnestly feare God, therefore it is thereby proued, that he hath godline 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 y^e Prophet: therefore he requireth not our duties to himselfe, but doth exercise vs in good workes toward our neighbour. Therefore not without cause the Apostle setteth the whole perfection of y^e holy ones in charity. And not inconueniently in another place he calleth y^e same the fulfilling of the law: adding that hee hath performed the law that loueth his neighbour. Againe, That all the lawe is comprehended in one worde. Loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. For he teacheth no other thing but the same which Christ doeth when he saith: Whatsoeuer ye will that men doe to you, doe yee the same to them. For this is the lawe and the Prophetes, It is certaine that in the lawe and the Prophetes Faith and all that belongeth to the true worship of God, holdeth the principall place, & that Loue is beneath it in the lower degree: But the Lordes meaning is, that in the lawe 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.

Psal. 16.

Ephes. 7. 5.

Col. 3. 14.

Rom. 13.

Matt. 7. 12.

54 Here therefore let vs sticke fast, that then our life shall bee best framed to Gods will and the rule of his lawe, when it shall bee euery way most profitable to our brethren. But in the whole law there is not reade one sillable that appointeth to man any rule of such things as hee shall doe or leaue vndone to the commoditie of his owne fleshe. And surely sith men are so borne of such disposition naturally that they bee too much caried all headlong to the loue of themselues, and howe much soeuer they fall from the truth yet still they keepe that selfe loue, there needed no lawe anye more to enflame that loue, that was naturally of it selfe, too much beyonde 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 commaundements, and that he liueth best & most holily, that (so nere as may be) liueth & trauelleth least for himselfe, & that no man liueth worse & more wickedly than he y^e liueth and trauelleth for himselfe & only thinketh vpon & 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 hee had no other vehement or stronger affection to measure it by. And the force of the manner of speaking is diligently to bee weyed. For hee doeth not, as certaine Sophisters haue foolishly dreamed, giue the first degre to the loue

Aug. lib. 1.

de doct.

Christ ca. 23

of our selues, and the seconde to charitie; but rather that affection of loue which we doe all naturally drawe to our selues, he giueth away vnto other, **1. Cor. 13. 5.** wherevpon the Apostile saith, that Charitie seeketh not her owne. And their reason is not to bee esteemed worth a haire that the thing ruled is euer inferiour to his Rule. For God doeth not make the loue of our selues, a rule wherevnto charitie towarde other shoulde be subiect, but whereas by peruerfnesse of nature, the affection of loue was wont to rest in our selues, he sheweth that nowe it ought to be elsewhere spread abroade, that we should with no lesse cheerefulnes, seruientnes, and carefulnes be readie to do good to our neighbour than to our selues.

Luc. 10. 36. 55 Nowe sith Christ hath shewed in the parable of the Samaritane that vnder the name of Neighbour euerie man is contained bee hee neuer so strange vnto vs: there is no cause why wee shoulde restraine the commandement of loue within the boundes of our owne friendships and acquaintances. I denie not that the neerer that any man is vnto vs, the more familiarlie hee is to bee holden with our indeuours to doe him good. For so the order of humanitie requireth, that so many moe dueties of friendship men shoulde communicate together, as they are bounde together with streighter bondes of kinred, familiaritie or neighbourhoode, and that without any offence of God, by whose prouidence wee are in a manner driuen therevnto. But I say that all mankind without exception is to bee 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 bee considered in God and not in themselues: from which consideration when wee turne away, it is no maruell if we bee entangled with manie errours. Wherefore if we will keepe the true trade of louing, we must not turne our eyes vnto man, the sight of whome would oster enforce vs to hate than to loue, but vnto God which commaundeth that the loue which wee offer him, be powred abroad among al men: that this bee a perpetuall foundation, that whatsoeuer the man bee, yet he ought to be loued because God is loued.

56 Wherefore it was a most pestilent ignorance or malice, that the Scholemen of these commaundementes, touching not desiring of reuengement, and louing our enemies, which in the olde time both were giuen to the Iewes and at the same time were commonly giuen to all Christians, haue made Councils 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 themselues to keepe the Councils. And they render a reason why they receiue them not for lawes, for that they seeme too burdalous and heauie, specially for Christians that are vnder the lawe of grace. So dare they presume to repel the eternal law of God touching the louing of our neighbours? Is there any such difference in any lease of the lawe? and are not therein rather ech where founde commaundementes that doe most seuerely require of vs to loue our enemies? For **Pro. 25. 21.** what manner of saying is that, where wee are commaunded to feede our **Exod. 23. 4.** enemy when he is hungrie? to set into the right way his Oxen or Asses straying

straying out of the way, or to ease them when they faint vnder their burde? Shal we do good to his beasts for his sake without any good wil to himselfe? What is not the word of the Lord euerlasting: Leauē vengeance to me, and I wil requite it: Which also 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, & not lyingly faine that he was a counsell giuer.

Deu. 32. 35.
Leu. 19. 18.

57 And what I pray you meane these things that they haue presumed to mocke withall in their vnsauory glose? Loue your enemies, doe 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 here reason with Chrysostome, that by so necessarie a cause it plainly appeareth that they are no exhortations but commaundements? What remaineth more when we be blotted out of the number of the children of God: But by their opinion, only Monkes shalbe the children of the heauenly father, they only shal be bold to call vpon God their Father: what shall y Church do in the meane season? it shal by like right be sent away to y Gentils & 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 shal be in good case forsooth, if the title of Christians be lest vnto vs, and the inheritance of the kingdome 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 touche the wife of thine enemy than of thy friend. When he forbiddeth theft, he giueth leauē to steale nothing at all, either from thy friend or from thine enimie. But these two, not to steale, & not to commit fornication, Paul bringeth within the compass of the rule of loue, yea & teacheth that they are contained vnder this commandement, Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. Therefore, either Paul must haue bin a false expositor of the lawe, or it necessarily followeth hereby, y our enimies ought also to be loued, euen by commandemēt, like as our friends. Therefore they do truly bewray themselues to be the children of Satan, y do so licentiously shake off the common yoke of y children of God. It is to be doubted, whether they haue published this doctrine w more grosse dulnes or shamelesnes. For there are none of y old writers that do not pronounce as of a thing certaine, y these are mere commandemētts. And that euen in Gregories age it was not doubted of, appeareth by his own affirmation, for he without controuersie taketh them for commandements. And how foolish do they reason? They say y they are too weightie a burden for Christians. As though there could be deuised. any thing more weightie than to loue God w al 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 enimie, or to lay away all desire of reuenge out of our mind. In deed all things are hie & hard to our weaknes euen the least tittle of the lawe. It is the Lord in whom we vse strength. Let him giue what he commandeth, & command what he wil. Christian men to be vnder the lawe of grace, is not vnbridledly to wander without lawe, but to be graffed in Christ, by whose grace they are free frō the curse of the lawe, & by whose spirite they haue a

Mat. 5. 44.

Lib. de compunctione cordis.

Mat. 5. 46.

Lib. de doctri. Christi. cap. 30.

Rom. 13. 9.

law written in their hearts. This grace Paul vnproperly called a lawe, alluding to the law of God against which he did set it in comparison. But these men do in the name of the law, dispute vpon a matter of nothing.

58 Of like sort it is, that they called Venial sinne, both secrete vngodliness that is against the first table, & 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 heart. But I say, that it cannot come at all into the heart, but by want of those things that are required in the lawe. We forbid to haue strange gods. When the minde shaken with the engines of distrust, looketh about elsewhere: when it is touched with a soden desire to remoue her blessednesse some other way: whence come these motions, although they quickly vanish away, but of this, that there is some thing in the soule emptie, to receiue such tentations? And to the ende not to drawe out this argument to greater length, there is a commaundement giuen to loue God with all our heart, 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 enimies that do therein arise against his kingdom, & interrupt his decrees, do proue that God hath not his throne wel 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 guiltie of coueting, and therewithall are made transgressors of the law, because the Lord doth forbid vs, not only to purpose & practise any thing that may be to anothers losse, but also to be pricked & swell with coueting it. But the curse of God doth alway hang ouer the transgression of the law. We cannot therefore proue euen the very least desires free from iudgement of death. In weying of sinnes (sayth Augustine) let vs not bring false balances to wey what wee list and how wee list at our own pleasure, saying: this is heauie, & this is light: but let vs bring Gods balance out of the holy Scriptures, as out of the Lordes treasure, and let vs therein wey what is heauie: rather let vs not wey, but reknowlege things already weyed 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 enclined to hypocrisie, this cherishment thereof ought not to haue been added to flatter our slothfull consciences.

59 I would to God, they would consider what y^e saying of Christ meaneth: He that transgresseth one of the least of these commandements, and teacheth men so, shall be counted none in the kingdom of heauen. Are not they of that sort, when they dare so extenuate the transgression of the lawe, as if it were not worthie 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 y^e lawe that he hath giuen in commandement. Is it a small matter with them, y^e Gods maiestie be offended in any thing? Moreover if God hath declared his will in the lawe, what soeuer is contrary to the lawe, displeaseth him. Will they imagin the wrath of God to be so disarmed, that punishment of death shall not forthwith follow vpon them? And he himselfe hath pronounced

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Li. 2. de bap.
contra Do-
natist. ca. 6.

Mat. 5. 19.

it plainly, if they would rather finde in their hearts to heare his voyce, than to trouble the cleare truth with their vnfaury subtleties of argument. The soule (sayth he) that sinneth, the same shall die. Againe, which Ieuen nowe alleaged: the reward of sinne is death. But albeit they grant it to be a sinne, because they can not denie it: yet they stand stiffe in this, that it is no deadly sinne. But sith they haue hitherto too much borne with their owne madnesse, let them yet at length learne to waxe wiser. But if they continue in dotage, 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 G O D, which of necessity prouoketh his wrath, because it is a breach of the lawe, vpon which the judgement of God is pronounted without exception: & that the sinnes of the holy ones are veniall or pardonable, not of their owne nature, but because they obtaine pardon by the mercy of God.

Eze. 18. 30.
Rom. 6. 23.

The ix. Chapter.

*That Christ although he was knowne to the Iewes under the lawe,
yet was deliuered onely by the Gospell.*

BECAUSE it pleased God in the olde time not vainely by expiations and sacrifices to declare himselfe a Father, and not in vaine hee did consecrate a chosen people to himselfe: euen then without dout he was knowne in the same Image, wherein hee nowe appeareth to vs with full brightness. Therefore Malachie, after that he had bidden the Iewes to take heede to the lawe of Moses, and to continue in study thereof, (because after his death there should come a certaine interruption of the office of the Prophetes) did forthwith declare, that there should arise a sonne of righteousnesse. In which wordes he teacheth, that the lawe auaieth to this purpose, to holde 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 Prophetes did make search, & 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 olde time, or nothing auailed themselues: but because they enjoyed 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 wheras they did but a litle sippe of it, there is offered vnto vs a more plentifull enjoying thereof. Therefore Christ himselfe, which affirmeth that he had witness borne him by Moses, yet extollet the measure of grace whereby we excell the Iewes. For speaking to the Disciples, he said: Blessed are the eyes y^e see that which ye see, and blessed are the eares that heare that which ye heare. For many kinges and Prophetes haue wished it, & haue not obtained it. This is no smal 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 sayde, that Abraham saue the day of Christ, and reioysed. 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

Mal. 4. 2.

1. Pet. 1. 12.

Iohn. 5. 46.
Mat. 13. 16.
Luk. 10. 23.

Iohn. 8. 56.

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 ben dead before him, frō the fellowship 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 & many wayes spake in olde time by the Prophets, but now by his beloued Son, Although therefore that only begotten one, which is at this day to vs y brightnesse of the glory, and the point of the substance of God the father, was in old time knowen to the Iewes, as we haue in an other place alleaged out of Paul, that he was the guide of the olde deliuerance: yet is it true, which the same Paul els where teacheth, that God which commanded y light to shine out of darkenesse, hath now shined vpon our heartes to set forth the knowledge of the glorie of God in the face of Iesus Christ: because when hee appeared in this his image, he did in a manner make himselfe visible, in comparison of the darke and shadowish forme that had bin of him before. And so much the more soule & detestable is their vnthankfulnes and pueruesnes, that are here so blind at midde day. And therefore Paul saith, y their minds are darkened by Sathan, that they should not see the glory of Christ shining in the Gospell, though there be no veile set betweene 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 lawe, concerning the free forgiuenesse of sinnes, wherby God reconcileth men to himselfe, are accounted parts thereof. For he compareth faith against these terrors, wherewith the conscience should be troubled and vexed, if saluation were to be sought by workes. Wherupon followeth, that in taking the name of the Gospell largely, there are contained vnder it all the testimonies that God in olde time gaue to his fathers, of the mercie and fatherly fauour. But in the more excellent signification of it, I say it is applyed to the publishing of the grace giuen in Christ. And that meaning is not onely receiued 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 kingdome. And Marke maketh his preface in this manner, The beginning of the Gospel of Iesus Christ. And there is no neede to gather places to proue a thing sufficiently knowen. Christ therefore by his coming hath made cleere the life and immortality by the Gospel. 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 clayming this prerogatiue of honour to the Gospel, he teacheth that it is a newe and vnwonted kind of message, wherby 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 faithful 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 heartes: yet because he hath

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accomplished all partes of our saluation in his flesh, therefore that self liuely deliuering of the things rightfully obtained a newe and singular title of praise. Whereupon commeth that saying of Christ: Hereafter ye shal see the heauens open, and the Angels of God ascending and descending vpon the sonne of man. For though he seeme to haue relation vnto the ladder shewed in a vision to the Patriarch Iacob: 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 stand familiarly open to all men. Iohn. 1. 51

3 But yet we must take heede of the diuelish imagination of Seruettus, which when he goeth about, or at least faineth that he goeth about, to extol the greatnesse of the grace of Christ, vtterly abolisheth 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 betweene 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 enioy the benefits purchaced by him, as though that saying of Paul were false, that our saluation is hidde in hope. I graunt in deede, that wee by beleeuing in Christ, do also passe from death to life: But in the meane season we must holde this saying of Iohn, that although we knowe wee be the children of God, yet it hath not as yet appeared, til we shalbe 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 lieth still hidde vnder the keeping of hope, til being vnclodded of the corruptible flesh, we be transfigured into the glorie of him that goeth before vs. In the meane time the holy Ghost biddeth vs to rest vpon the promises, whose authoritie ought with vs to put to silence all the barkings of that filthie dogge. For as Paul witnesseth, godlinesse hath a promise as well of the life to come, as of the life present. For which reason he 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 wee haue the same promises, which in the olde time were giuen to the holy men. Finally, he setteth this for the summe of felicitie, that wee are sealed vp with the holy spirite of promise, but yet we do no otherwise enioy Christ, but so farre as we embrace him clothed with his promises. Whereby it commeth to passe, that he in deede dwelleth in our hearts, & yet we wander in iourney abroad from him: because we walke by faith & not by sight. And these two things do not ill agree together: that wee possesse in Christ all that pertaineth to the perfection of the heauenly 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 law did shadow vnder figures. 1. Tim. 4. 8.

4 And hereby also is their errour conuincd, which do neuer otherwise compare the lawe 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 doeth oftentimes vnderstand by the name of the law, a rule to liue righteously, wherin 2. Tim. 1.
2. Cor. 7.

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 litle swarue from it: that is in such places as he disputeth, that we do freely please God, and are by pardon reckened righteous, because the obseruation of the lawe, whereunto the rewarde is promised, is no where founde.

Therefore Paul doth fitly make the righteousnes of the law and of the Gospell, contrary the one to the other. But the Gospell did not so succeed in place of the whole lawe, that it should bring any diuerse meane of saluation, but rather to confirme and proue to be of force, what so euer the lawe had promised, and to ioyne the body to the shadowes. For when Christ saith, that the lawe and the Prophetes were vntil Iohn: he maketh not the fathers subiect to the curse, which the bondseruantes of the law can not escape: but rather onely that they were instructed with certaine rudimentes, so as they stayed a great way beneath the heighth of the doctrine of the Gospell. Therefore Paul calling th: Gospell the power of God, to saluation to eue-ry beleuer, by and by addeth, that it hath witnesse of the lawe and the Prophetes. But in the ende of the same Epistle, although he shewe that the title of prayse of Iesus Christ is the reuelation of the mysterie kept secret in the euerlasting times: yet he doth qualifie that saying, with adding an exposition, teaching that he is openly shewed by the writings of the Prophetes. Whereupon we gather, that when we are to entreate of the whole lawe, the Gospell differeth from the lawe only in respect of the plaine disclosing thereof. But yet for the inestimable flowing store of grace, which hath bene layed open for vs in Christ, it is now without cause sayd, that at his comming the heavenly kingdome of God was erected in earth.

5 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 he called Christ the lambe of God, and the sacrifice for the cleansing of sinnes, he shewed forth the summe of the Gospell: yet because he did not expresse y same incomparable strength and glorie, which at length appeared in his resurrection, therefore Christ saith, that he was not egal to the Apostles. For so do those words of his meane: that though Iohn excell among the sonnes of women, yet he 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 all the Prophetes, he auanceth the preaching of the Gospell to the hiest 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 Prophetes, he doeth not that for fained humilities sake, but meaneth to teache 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 forespokē by Malachie: Behold, I sende Elias the Prophet, before that the great and terrible day of the Lorde doe come. And truly he did nothing else in the whole course of his ministerie, but endeuour to get disciples to Christ: as also Esaie prooueth, that this was enioyned him from God. And in this sense Christ is called a candel burning and shining, because the broad day had not yet appeared. And yet this is no let, but y he may be reckened among the publishers

Rom. 1. 16.

Mat. 11. 11.

Iohn. 1. 23.

Mal. 4. 5.

Iohn. 5. 35.

of the Gospel, like as he vsed the same Baptisme, which was afterward deliuered to the Apostles. But that which he beganne, was not fulfilled but by the Apostles, with free proceeding, after that Christ was taken vp from them into the heauenly glorie.

The x. Chapter.

Of the likeness of the olde and newe Testament.

BY the thinges aforesayde it may nowe appeare evidently, that all the men whom from the beginning of the worlde God adopted into the estate of his people, were with the same lawe, and with the bonde of the same doctrine, which nowe remaineth in force among vs, bound in conuenant to him. But because it is of no small importance that this point be well established, I wil adioyne vnto it for an addition, sith the fathers were partakers of all one inheritaunce with vs, and hoped for all one saluation by the grace of all one Mediatour, howe farre their estate differed from ours in this fellowship. But although the testimonies that we haue gathered out of the lawe and the Prophets for prooffe therof, do 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 thinges spoken of the difference of the olde and newe Testament, that may make the reader that is not of very sharpe iudgement to be in dout: therefore we shal rightfully appoint one peculiar place for the better & more exact discussing of this matter: Yea and that thing also, which otherwise should haue bene very profitable for vs, is nowe made necessarrie by that monstrous Iosel Seruettus, 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 fondely faine to haue bene fatted vp by the Lord here in this earth, without any hope of heauenly immortality. Therefore that we may keepe away this pestilent errour from godly mindes, and also to plucke out of them all doubtles which are wont by and by to arise vpon hearing mention of the diuersity betweene the old and the newe Testament: let vs by the way looke, what they haue in them like, and what vnlike one to the other: what couenant the Lord made with the Israelites in the old time before the comming of Christ, and what couenant he hath nowe made with vs since Christ hath bene openly shewed.

2 And both these pointes may be made plaine with one worde. The couenant of all the fathers so differeth nothing from ours in substance and in the matter it selfe, that it is altogether one and the selfe same: but the ministration is diuerse. But because of so great shortnesse no man were able to attaine a certaine vnderstanding, we must needs proceede on with a longer declaration if we meane to profit any thing at all. But in shewing how they are like or rather all one, it shall be superfluous to discourse again of new vpon all the special particulars that haue already bene declared: and it shalbe 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: First, that wee holde, that carnall wealth and felicitie was not the make

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 couenant 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 mediatur, by whom they should both be ioyned to God and enioy his promises. Of which pointes, because the seconde peradventure is not yet sufficiently knowen, it shall in place appointed for it be declared at large. For we shall confirme by many & cleere testimonies of the Prophetes, that it was of his owne meere goodnes and tender fauour, whatsoeuer good the Lord at any time did, and promised to the people of Iſraell. The third also hath already had here and there some plaine declarations 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 wil employ the more earnest trauaile: 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 Prophetes in the holy Scriptures promised the Gospell, which he afterward published according to the time appointed. Againe, that the righteousnesse of faith which is taught by the Gospell it selfe, hath witness of the lawe and the Prophetes. For the Gospell doth not holde the heartes of men in the ioy of this present life, but listeth them vp to the hope of immortalitie: doth not fasten them to earthly delites, but preaching to them a hope layd vp in heauen, doth in a manner transport them thither. For thus he defineth in an other 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 layde vp for you in heauen, wherof ye haue heard by the true speech of the Gospell. Againe: He hath called vs by the Gospell 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 faithful, & the kingdome of heauen. Now if the doctrine of the Gospell be spirituall, and openeth the entry to the possession of an incorruptible life: let vs not think 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 body. Neither let any man here caull y^e the promises which are sealed in the lawe & the Prophetes, concerning the Gospell, were ordained for the new people. For within a litle after that which he spake of the Gospell promised in the lawe, he addeth, that all the thinges that the lawe conteineth, are without dout properly directed to them y^e are vnder the law. I grant in deede it is in an other argument. But he was not so forgetful, that when he had once said y^e al the things which the lawe conteineth belong to the Iewes, he did not remember what in a fewe verses before he had affirmed of the Gospell promised in the lawe.

Where-

Rom. 1. 2.

Rom. 3. 21.

Ephe. 1. 13.

Col. 1. 4.

1. Theſ. 2. 14

Rom. 3. 19.

William
Wilson

Wherefore the Apostle sheweth most plainly, that the olde Testament chiefly tended to the life to come, when he saith, that vnder it are contey-
ned the promises of the Gospel.

4 By the same reason followeth, both that it stood vpon the free mercie of God, and also was confirmed by the meane of Christ. For the verie preaching of the Gospell 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 couenaunt of the Gospell was made, whereof Christ is the onely foundation: Who dare make them straungers from the benefit of free saluation, to whom we heare that the doctrine of the righteousnesse of faith was ministred? But, that we dispute not long of an euident matter, we haue a notable sentence of y^e Lorde. Abraham reioyced that he might see my day, hee sawe 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 hee saith, that Christ abideth, yesterday, this day, and for euer. For he speaketh not there onely of the eternall godheade of Christ, but also of his power, which was continually opened to the faithfull. Wherefore both the blessed Virgin and and Zacharie in their songes, doe say, that the saluation reuealed in Christ, is the performance of the promises, which God in olde time had made to Abraham and the Patriarches. If the Lorde in giuing his Christ, discharged his olde oth, it cannot be saide but that the ende thereof was alway in Christ an cuerlasting life.

Iohn. 8. 56.

Heb. 13. 8.

Luk. 1. 54. &
72.

5 Yea and the Apostle doeth make the Israelites egall with vs, not onely in the grace of the couenaunt, but also in signification of sacramentes. For meaning by examples of punishmentes, wherewith the Scripture reciteth that they were corrected in the olde time, to make the Corinthians afraid, that they should not runne into the like offences, hee beginneth with this preface, that there is no cause why wee shoulde challenge any prerogatiue vnto our selues, to deliuer vs from the vengeance of God which they susteined, for asmuch as the Lorde did not onely graunt vnto them the same benefites, but hee hath gloriously set forth his grace among them with the same tokens: As if hee shoulde haue saide: If ye trust that ye bee out of peril, because both Baptisme wherewith ye be marked, and the Supper which ye dayly receiue, haue excellent promises, and in the meane time despising the godnes of God, ye are licentiously wanton: Knowe ye, that the Iewes also were not without such sacramentes, against whome yet the Lord did most seuerely put his iudgementes in execution. They were baptized in passing ouer the Sea, and in the cloudes wherewith they were defended from the burning heat of the sonne. They say, that that same passage was a carnall Baptisme, which after a certaine proportion answereth to our spiritual Baptisme. But if that were allowed true, the Apostles argument could not proceede, which meaneth here to haue this taken away from the Christians, y^e they thinke that they excel the Iewes by the prerogatiue of Baptisme. Neither is y^e which by and by after followeth, subiect to this cauillation: y^e they did eate the same spirituall meate that we eate, and dronke the same spirituall

1. Cor. 10. 1.
& 11.

tuall drinke, which hee expoundeth to be Christ.

6 To ouerthrowe this sentence of Paul, they obiekt that which Christe saith: Your fathers did eate Manna in the wildernesse, and are deade: hee that eateth my flesh, shall not die for euer. Which two places are verie easily made to agree together. The Lord, because he then talked to hearers y^e sought onely to be filled with foode of their bellie, but cared not for the meate of the soule, tempered his talke somewhat to their capacitie, but specially he frameth the comparison of Manna and of his bodie according to their sense. They required that hee, to get himselfe some credit, would approue his power with doing some such miracle, as Moses did in the wildernesse, when he obteyned Manna from Heauen. But in Manna they conceiued nothing but the remedie of carnall hunger, wherewith the people was then vexed: but they pearced not to that hier mysterie which Paul hath respect vnto: Christ therefore, to shewe howe much greater a benefit they ought to looke for at his hande, than that which they reported that Moses did bestowe vpon their fathers, frameth this comparison: If it were a great miracle in your opinion, and worthie to be remembred, that y^e Lord by Moses ministred foode from Heauen to his people, to susteyne them for a small time, that they shoulde not perish for hunger in the wildernesse: gather hereby how much more excellent is the meat that giueth immortality. We see why the Lord passed ouer that thing which was principal in Manna, and spake 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: he answered that he is the minister of a much hier grace, in comparison whereof, the carnall feeding of the people, which alone they so much esteemed, ought of right to be nothing regarded. But Paul, because hee knew that the Lorde when hee rained Manna from heauen, did not onely poure it downe for the feeding of their bellie, 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 parte that was most worthie of consideration. Wherefore it certainly and cleerely followeth, that the same promises of eternall and heauenly life, which nowe the Lorde vouchsafueth to graunt vnto vs, were not onely communicated vnto the Iewes, but also sealed with verie spirituall Sacramentes. Of which matter Augustine disputeth largely against Faustus the Manichee.

7 But if the readers had rather to haue testimonies alledged vnto them out of the lawe and the Prophetes, whereby they may perceiue y^e the spirituall couenant was common also to the fathers, as we heare by Christ and the Apostles: I will also followe that desire, & so much the more willingly, because by that meane the aduersaries shall be more surely conuincd, so that they shal haue after ward no way to dallie. And I will begin at y^e prooffe, which although I know that the Anabaptistes pride will thinke verie fonde and in a manner to bee laughed at, yet shall much auaille with such readers as are willing to learne and haue their sounde wit. And I take it as a principle confessed, that there is such effectuall force of life in the word of God, that whome so euer God vouchsafueth to bee partakers thereof, it quickeneth their soules. For this saying of Peter hath alwaye bene of force,

that it is the incorruptible seed which abideth for ever, as also he gathereth out of the words of Esay. Now sith God in the old time bound the Jewes vnto him with this holy bond, it is no doubt that he did also seuer them into the hope of eternall life. For when I say they embraced the word, which should ioyne them nier to God, I take it for the manner of communicating it: not that generall maner, which is powred abroad throughout the heauen and earth and all the creatures of the world, 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 special manner, whereby the soules of the godly are both lightened vnto the knowledge of God, and in a maner coupled to him. By this enlightening of the worde, 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 immortal kingdome of God. For it was a sound partaking of God, which can not bee without the benefite of eternall life.

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 ignorāce that bend themselues to speake against it. For God did alway thus couenant with his seruantes: I will be to you a God, & ye shall be to me a people. In which wordes the Prophets themselues are wont to expounde, that both life and saluation, and the whole summe of blessednesse is comprehended. For Dauid doth not without cause often pronounce, that blessed is the people, whose God is the Lorde: blessed is the nation, which he hath chosen to be his inheritaunce: and that not for earthly felicities sake, but because he deliuereth them from death, he preferueth them for ever, and continually sheweth them eternall mercie, whom he hath taken to his people: as it is in the other Prophetes, Thou art our God, we shall not die: The Lord is our king, our lawmaker, he shall saue vs. Blessed art thou, O Israel, because thou art saued in the Lord God. But, not to labour ouermuch in a thing needelesse, this admonition is founde eche where in the Prophetes, that we shall want nothing toward all abundance 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 he openly shewe himselfe for his God, but that he will also open to him his treasure of saluation? For hee is our God with this condition, to dwell in the midst of vs: as hee testified by Moses. But such presence can not be obtained, but that life must bee also together had in possession with it. And although there were no more expressed, yet had they a promise of spiritual life plain inough in these words: I am your God. For he did not declare that he would be a God vnto their bodies alone, but principall; to their soules. But soules vnlesse they be ioyned to God by righteousnes remaine estranged from him in death. But on the other side, let that 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 ende that their hope not contented with present benefites, should bee extended to eternitie.

And

And many sayings doe shewe, that the speaking in the future time meant so much, as where the faithful not onely in present euils, but also for the time to come, doe comfort themselues with this, that God wil neuer faile them. Now as concerning the second part of the promise, he yet more plainly assured them of the blessing of G O D to be prolonged vnto them beyond the boundes of this life, in saying: I will be the God of your seede after you. For if he minded to declare his good wil toward them being dead, in doing good to their posteritie, much more would his fauor not faile toward themselues. For God is not like vnto men, which doe therefore carie their loue to their friends children, because their power is interrupted by death, so y they can not employ their friendly doings vpon them to whom they did beare good wil. But God, whose bountifullnesse is not hindered by death, taketh not away from the very dead the fruite of the mercie, which for their sakes hee poureth out into a thousand generations. Therefore the Lords will was by a notable prooffe to set forth vnto them the greatnesse and flowing plentie of his goodnesse, which they should feele after death, when hee 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 bene a fond naming, if they had vtterly perished? For then had it bene all one, as if hee had saide, 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 streight, that they could not denie that Moses did testifie the resurrection of the dead, for that they had learned by Moses, that all the Saintes were in his hand. Whereupon it was easie to gather, that they are not destroyed by death, whome hee 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 faithful 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 onely in this life. Adam, most unhappie, euen with onely remembrance of the happinesse that he had lost, did with painefull labours hardly susteine his needines, and that he should not be pressed with the curse of God, in the onely labours of his hands, euen there receyued 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 hee had left aliue, whose sight he worthily detested & abhorred. Abel cruelly murdered in the very floure of his age, became an example of y wretchednesse of men. Noe, while the whole world carelesly liued in pleasure, spent a good part of his age with great wearinesse in building the Arke. This that he escaped death, came to passe by his greater troubles, than if he should haue died an hundred deaths. For beside that the Arke was to him as a graue for tenne moneths, there is nothing more vnpleasant than

Gen. 17. 7.

Exod. 20. 6.

Exod. 3. 6.

Mat. 22. 23.

Luk. 20. 32.

Deut. 33. 3.

Gen. 3 17.

Gen. 4. 8.

Gen. 6. 22.

Gen. 9. 24.

to be holden so long in manner drowned in dounge of beasts. When he had passed ouer so great difficulties, hee fell into newe matter of greefe, he sawe himselfe scorned of his owne sonne, & was compelled with his owne mouth to curse him, whome by the great benefit of God he had receiued safe from the generall flood.

Gen. 12.4.

11 Abraham in deed may be one alone to be compared with an hundred thousande, if we consider his faith, which is set foorth vnto vs for the best rule of beleeuing, of whose kinred we must bee 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 finest corner among them? but he cannot be throwen downe out of the number, no not from the most honorable degree, but that the whole Church must be destroyed. Nowe as touching the experiences of his life: When hee was first called by the commaundment of God, he was plucked away from his countrie, his parentes and his friendes, in whome men thinke to bee the cheefe swetenesse of life: euen as if God of determinate purpose meant to spoyle him of all the pleasures of life. So soone as hee came into the lande where he was commaunded to dwell, he was driuen out from thence with famine. Thither he fled for succour, where to saue himselfe, hee was compelled to deliuer out his wife to bee abused, which wee know not whether it were not more bitter to him than many deaths. When he was returned into the lande of his owne dwelling, he was driuen out againe from thence with famine. What a felicitie is this, to dwell in that lande, wherein a man must so ofte be hungrie, yea die for famine if he runne not away? And therewithall hee was brought to that necessitie with Abimelech, y he must needes redeeme his life with the losse of his wife, while many yeares long he wandred vncertainly lither and thither, hee was compelled by the continuall brawlinges of his seruantes to put away his nephew, whome hee loued as his owne sonne. Which departing without doubt hee did no otherwise take, than if he had suffered the cutting of one of his limmes. A little after, he hearde that hee was carried away captiue by his enemies. Whither so euer he went, he founde neighbours outragiously barbarous, which woulde not suffer him so much as to drinke water out of the welles that him selfe had digged with great labour. For he woulde not haue redeemed y vse of them at the hande of King Gerar, if hee had not first beene forbidden. Nowe when he came to olde age, hee sawe the thing which is the most vnpleasaut and bitter that that age hath, himselfe punished with hauing no children, till beside all hope he begate Ismael, whose birth yet hee payed 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 householde. At length Isaac was borne, but with this condition that his first begotten Ismaell must, as forsaken, be cruelly cast out of doores. When onely Isaac was left, in whome the wried 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 y old man most miserable, y had a son giuen him in mock-

Gen. 1.13.

age, for whome his greefe of want of children should be doubled? If he had beene slaine by some straunger, the unhappinesse of the thing would haue much increased his miserie. But this passeth al examples of miserie, to haue him slaine with his fathers owne hande. Finally, hee 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 more fit, than this of Abraham. And let no man obiekt that he was not altogether unhappy, for that he at length prosperously escaped from so many and so great tempestes. For we cannot say that hee liueth a blessed life, which for a long space together painefully weareth out of infinite 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 tast of sweetenesse. He also felt the same vexations, that doe 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 meanes oppressed him, so that hee was faine to straine for his water: at home in his owne house, hee suffred much troublesomnes by his childrens wiues, he was greeued with disagreements of his sonnes, and could not remedie that so great a mischeefe, but by the banishment of him whome he had blessed. But as for Iacob, hee is nothing else but a notable example of extreeme infelicitie. Hee passed his childehood most vnquietly at home among the threatenings and terrors of his elder brother, to which at length he was compelled to giue place. When he was fledde from his parentes and his natiue countrie, beside that it was a greeuous thing to liue in banishmēt, he was nothing more kindly or gently receiued of his vnclē Laban. Then it sufficed not that hee had serued seuen yeare 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 new seruice, where he was all the day fried with heate of the sunne, & all the night lay waking and pained with frost and colde, as himselfe complained. While hee by the space of twentie yeares suffred so hard a life, he was dayly vexed with new iniuries of his father in lawe. Neither was hee 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, hee was compelled to watch an aduantage to take his iourney, much like a shamefull running away: and yet could hee not so escape the vniust dealing of his Father in Lawe, but was faine to suffer his reproches and rebukes in the middes of his iourney. Then fell hee into a much more cruell distresse. For when he come neere to his brother, hee 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 in sunder with terrible feares, so long as he looked for his brothers comming; when hee came once in his sight, hee fell downe as halfe dead at his feete, vntill he founde him more fauourable than he durst haue hoped. Beside y, at his first entrie into the land, he lost Rachel his dearly beloued wife. Afterward he heard word that y son which he had by her, & who therefore he loued aboute the rest, was torne with wilde beastes: by whose death howe great greefe he conceyued, hee himselfe declared in this that

after

after long weeping hee obstinately stopped vp all wayes whereby comfort might come to him, leauing himselfe nothing, but to goe downe to his sonne wayling into the graue. In the meane time howe great causes of griefe, wayting and wearinesse were the rauishment and desflouring of his daughter, and the boldenesse of his sonnes in reuenging it, which not only made him to be abhorred in sight of al the inhabitants of y^e countrey, but also procured him most present peril of vtter destruction? Then followed that horrible outrageous 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 hiest ill fortunes: what is to be saide of it, when that wickednesse is committed by a mans owne sonne? Within a litle while after, his house is spotted with an other vnnaturall adulteric: so that so many 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 newe misfortune, vnderstanding that an other of his sonnes was kept in prison, for recouering of whome he was compelled to leaue to the rest Benjamin 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 & euil 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 vnkindely and vnthankfully wey the grace of God, or he truly professed that he had bin miserable vpon the earth. If his affirmation were true, then it followeth, that he had not his hope fastened vpon earthly things.

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 an other maner of blessednesse, than the blessednesse of earthly life. Which thing the Apostle also doth shewe excellently wel: Abraham (saith hee) direct by faith in the land of promise as in a strange lande, dwelling in tentes with Isaac and Iacob parteners with him of the same inheritance. For they looked for a citie set vpon a good foundation, the maker & builder whereof is God. Al these are dead in faith, not receiuing the things promised, but looking at them a far off, and beleeuing & confessing that they were gesses and strangers vpon the land. Whereby they declare y^e they sought for a coutric, and if they had bene moued with desire of that lande from whence they came, they had power to returne. But they sought for a better, that is the heauenly countrie. 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 followe promises so earnestly, whereof there appeared no hope in earth, vnlesse they had looked for the fulfilling of them els where. But this he chiefly enforceth, and that not without good reason, y^e they called this life a iourney from home, euen as Moses reporteth. For if they were strangers & foreners in the land of Chanaan, where is the Lordes promise wherby they were made heires of it? He sheweth plainly therefore, that the

Lordes 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 fruite of the promise till after death. And that is the cause why Iacob so much esteemed to be buried there, that he compelled his sonne Ioseph to promise it him, & to sweare to performe it: and why Ioseph willed his bones, certaine ages after, when they were long before fallen into powder, to be remoued thither.

Gen. 47. 29.
and 30.
Gen. 50. 25.

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 maner to be cast off from being his childe: but no good at all, vnlesse he had respect to a hier blessing? And he declared, that he had this meaning by the wordes which he spake among his last breathings: Lord, I will looke for thy saluation. What saluation could he haue looked for, when he saw that he laie readie to giue vp the Ghost, vnlesse he had seen in death the beginning of a newe life? But what dispute we of the holy ones & children of God, when euen he was not without a tast of such vnderstanding, which otherwise was enemie to the trueth? For what meant Balaam when he saide: 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 afterward vttered, that the death of the Saints is precious in the sighte of the Lord, but the death of the wicked, is very euil? If the furthest bound and end were in death, there could in it bee noted no difference betweene the righteous and vnrighteous, they differ one from the other by the diuersitie of the estates that after death shall befall to them both.

Num. 23. 10.
Pla. 116. 15.
Psal. 34. 22.

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 fruitefulnessse of the ground and plentie of al things. And yet (vnlesse a man will flee the light that willingly offereth it selfe) there is already a plaine declaration of the spirituall couenant. But if we come downe to the Prophets, there with most full brightnesse both the life euerlasting and the kingdome of Christ doe vtter themselues. And first of al Dauid, which as he was before the other in time, so according to the order of Gods distribution, hee shewed the heauenly mysteries in shadowes more darkely than the rest, yet with what plainnesse and certaintie directeth he all his sayings to that end? How he esteemed the earthly dwelling, this sentence testifieth: I am here a forreiner and stranger, as all my fathers were. Euery liuing man is vanitie, euery one walketh about as a shadow. But now what is my expectation, Lorde? euen to thee is my hope. Truely he that confessing that in the earth there is nothing sound or stedfast, keepeth still a stedfastnes of hope in God, considereth his felicitie laide vp in an other place. To such consideration is hee wont to call all the faithfull, so oft as he meaneth to comfort them truely. For in an other place after he had spoken of the shortnesse, and the transitorie and vanishing image of mans life, he addeth: but y mercie of the Lord is for euer vpon them that feare him. Like whereunto is that which is in the

Psal. 39. 13.

hundred and second Psalm. At the beginning Lord thou didst lay the foundation of the earth, and the heauens are the workes of thy handes. They shall perish, but thou abidest: they shall waxe olde like a garment, and thou shalt change them as apparell, but thou remain the selfe same, & thy yeares shall not faile: the sons of thy seruantes shall dwell, and thy posterity shall be stablished before thee. If the godly cease not for the decay of heauen and earth to be stablished before the Lorde, it followeth, that their saluation is ioyned with the eternity of God. But that hope can not stande at all, vlesse it rest vpon the promise that is set forth in Esay: The heauens (sayeth the Lord) shall vanish away like smoke, the earth shall be worne out like a garment, and the inhabitantes of it shall perish like those things: But my saluation shall be for euer, and my righteousnesse shall not faile: where euerlastingnes is giuen to righteousnes and saluation, not in respect that they remaine with God, but in respect that they are felt of men.

16 Neither may wee 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 heauenly glory. As these sayings: The Lord keepeth the soules of the righteous, he shall deliuer them from y^e hande of the sinner. Light is arisen to the righteous, and ioy to the vpright in heart. The righteousness of the godly man abideth for euer: his horne shall be exalted in glory, 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 be in eternall remembrance. Againe: the Lorde shall redeeme the soules of his seruantes. For the Lord oftentimes leaueth his seruantes to the lust of the wicked, not onely to be vexed, but also to be torne in peeces and destroyed: he suffereth y^e good to lie languishing in darknes and filth, while the wicked do in a maner shine among the stars. And he doth not so chere thē with the brightnes of his countenance, that they enioy long continuing gladnes. Wherefore euen he also hideth not, that if the faithful fasten their eyes vpon the present state of things, they shall be stricken with a sore temptation, as though there were no fauor or rewarde of innocency with God. So much doth wickednes for y^e most part prosper & flourish, while the company of the godly is oppressed with shame, pouerty, contempt & al kinds of crosses. It wanted but litle (saith he) that my foote slipped not, and my steppes fell not abroade, while the fortune of fooles grieueth mee, and while I see the prosperity of the wicked. At length after recheerfall of it he concludeth: I bent my thought, if I could vnderstand these things. But it is a torment to my spirite, till I enter into the sanctuary of the Lord, and vnderstand the last end of them.

17 Let vs therfore learne yet by this confession of Dauid, that the holy fathers vnder y^e old testament were not ignorant, how seldom or neuer God doth in this world performe to his seruantes those things that he promiseth thē, and that therfore they did lift vp their minds to Gods sanctuary, wherein they had that laid 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 affiance, whatsoeuer happened in the world, yet they doubted not a

time would once come, when the promises of God should be fulfilled. As these sayings do witness, I will behold the face of God in righteousness: I will be satisfied with thy countenance. Again: I as a greene Oliue tree in the house of the Lord. Again, 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 frute, they shall be fat and greene in their old age. When he had sayd a litle before: How deepe are thy thoughtes? O Lord, while the wicked doe flourish, they bud out like an herbe, that they may perish for euer. Where is y^e faire shewe and beauty of the faithful, but when the face of this world shall be turned inwarde by disclosing of the kingdom of God? When they turned their eyes to that eternity, they despised the hardnes enduring but a moment of present miseries, and boldly burst forth into these words: Thou shalt not suffer for euer the righteous to die, but thou shalt throw down the wicked hedlong into the pit of destruction. Where is in this world the pit of eternal destruction that may swallow vp the wicked? Among whose felicities, this is also reckned in an other place, that they close vp the end of their life in a moment, without long languishing. Where is y^e so great stedfastnes of the holy ones, whom Dauid himselfe ech where complaineth, not only to be shaken with trouble, but also to be oppressed, & 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 & flowing of tides, but what the Lord will do, when he shall one day sit for the eternall settling of heauen and earth. As in an other place he excellently wel describeth it: The foolish do stay vpon their welthines, & are proud because of their great riches. And yet no man, though he flourish in neuer so great dignity, can redeeme his brother from death, no man can pay to God the price of his ransom, but wheras they see that both the wise do die, and y^e the wicked also & fooles do perish and leaue their riches to strangers, yet they thinke y^e their houses shall abide for euer, and their dwellings to the end of ages, and they aduaunce 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 posterity do greedily follow. They shall be placed like a focke in Hell, and death shall haue rule ouer them. When the light ariseth, the vpright shall haue dominion ouer them, the beauty of them shall perish, Hell is their dwelling house. First this laughing to scorne of the foolish for that they rest on the slippery & rolling good thinges of the worlde, doth shewe that the wise must seeke a farre other felicity. But there he more euidently discloseth the mystery of the resurrection, where after the destruction and extinguishment of them, he erecteth the kingdom of y^e godly. For what rising of light (I pray you) shall we call that, but the reuiciling of the new life which followeth the end of this present life.

18 From thence did spring vp that consideration, which the faithful oftentimes vsed for a comfort of their miseries and remedy of patience: It is but a moment in the Lordes displeasure, and life in his mercy. How did they determine afflictions to ende in a moment, that were in affliction in a manner their life long? where did they espie so long an enduring of Gods

kindnes

Psa. 17.
Psa. 52. 10.
Psa. 92. 13.

Psa. 55. 33.

Iob. 21. 13.

Psa. 49. 7.

Psa. 30. 6.

kindnes, whereof they scarcely felt any little taste? If they had stuck fast vpon the earth, they could haue found no such thing, but because they looked vpon heauen, they acknowledged that it is but a moment of time, while the Lord exercise his holy ones by the crosse, but that his mercies, wherein they are gathered together, do last the worldes 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 shalbe 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 euill. Againe in Samuel: The Lord shall keepe the feete of the holy, & the wicked shall be put to silence in darkenes. Which do declare that they well knewe, that howsoeuer the holy were diuersly carried about, yet their last end is life and saluation: and that the prosperity of the wicked is a pleasant way, whereby they by little and little slide forward into the gulfe of death. Therefore they called y^e 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 greuous curse than this: Let them be blotted out of the booke of life, and not be written with the righteous.

Prou. 10. 7.
Psa. 100. 16.
& 30. 22.

1. Sam. 2. 9.

Eze. 28. 10.
and 31.
Psa. 69. 26.

19 But aboute 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 sauour: This hope is layd vp in my bosom. Some that haue a minde to make a shew of their sharpe wit, doe cauill 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 grant them in part, yet shall we enforce them to confesse whether they will or no, that Iob could not haue come to that largeness of hope, if he had rested his thought vpon the earth. Therefore we must needs confesse, that he lifted vp his eyes to the immortality to come, which sawe, that his redeemer would be present with him euen lying in his graue. For to them y^e thinke only of this present life, death is their vttermost desperation: which very death could not cut of Iobs hope. Yea though he kill me (said he) neuerthelesse I wil still hope in him. And let no trisler here carpe against me and say, that these were the sayings but of a few, whereby is not proued y^e such doctrine was among the Iewes. For I will by & by answer him, y^e these fewe did not in these sayings vtter any secret wisdom, whereunto onely certaine excellent wittes were seuerally and priuately suffered to attaine, but that as they were by the holy Ghost appointed teachers of y^e people, so they openly published those mysteries of God that were to be vniuersally learned, and ought to be the principles of the comon religion among y^e people. Therefore when we heare the publike oracles of the holy Ghost, wherein he spake of the spirituall life so clearly & plainly in the Church of the Iewes, it were a point of vntolerable stubbornnes to send them away onely to the fleshy couenant, wherein is mention made of nothing, but earth and earthly wealthinesse.

Iob. 19. 25.

Iob. 13. 15.

20 If I come downe to the later Prophetes, there we may freely walke as in our owne felde. For if it were not harde for vs to get the vpper hande in Dauid, Iob, and Samuel, here it shall be much more easie. For God kept this

this distribution and order in disposing the covenant of his mercy, that how much the nearer it drew on in proceſſe of time to the full performance thereof, with ſo much greater increaſementes of reuelation he did day by day more brightly ſhewe 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 largeneſſe of light began to be put forth: which from thence forth brake out more and more, and diſplayed her brightneſſe farther abroade, till at length all the cloudes were driuen away, and Chriſt the ſonne of righteouſnes fully lightened the whole worlde. We neede not therefore to feare that we faile of teſtimonies of the Prophets, if we ſeek them to proue our cauſe, but becauſe I ſee that there will ariſe a huge deale of matter, wherupon it ſhould be conſtrained of neceſſity to tary longer than the proportion of my purpoſe may beare, for it would ſo growe to a worke of a great volume, and alſo becauſe I haue already, by thoſe things that I haue ſayde before, made plaine the way, euen for a reader of meane capacity, ſo as he may goe forward without ſtumbling: therefore I will at this preſent abſtaine from long tediousneſſe: which to doe is no leſſe neceſſary: but giuing the readers warning before hande, that they remember to open their owne way with that key that wee haue firſt giuen them in their hande. That is, that ſo oft as the Prophetes ſpeake of the bleſſedneſſe of the faithfull people, whereof ſcarſely the leaſt ſteppes are ſeene in this preſent life, they may reſort to this diſtinction: that the Prophetes, the better to expreſſe the goodneſſe of God, did as in a ſhadowe expreſſe it to the people by temporall benefites, as by certaine rough drawing of the portrayture thereof: but that the perfect image, that they haue painted therof, was ſuch as might rauish mens minds out of the earth, and out of the elementes of this worlde, and of the age that ſhall periſh, and of neceſſity raiſe it vp to the conſidering of the felicity of the life that is to come and ſpirituall.

21 We will be content with one example. When the Iſraelites beeing caried away to Babylon, ſawe their ſcattering abroade to be like vnto death, they could hardly be remoued from this opinion that they thought that all was but fables that Ezechiel prophecied of their reſtitution: becauſe they reckened it euen all one as if he had tolde them that rotten carcaſes ſhould be reſtored againe to life. The Lorde to ſhewe, that euen that ſame difficulty could not ſtop him from bringing his benefit to effect, ſhewed to the Prophet in a viſion a ſielde full of drie bones, to the which in a moment with the onely power of his word he reſtored breath and liuelineſſe. The viſion in deede ſerued to correct the incredulity at that preſent time: but in the meane ſeaſon he did put the Iewes in minde how far the power of the Lord extended beyond the account of the people, which ſo eaſily quickened with his onely becke, bones already rotten and ſcattered abroad: wherefore you ſhall compare that with an other ſaying of Eſay. The dead ſhall riſe, my carcaſe, they ſhall riſe againe. Awake ye and reioyce that dwell in the duſt, becauſe the dewe of y greene field is thy dew, and thou ſhalt plucke down the land of the Giances into ruine. Go my people, enter into thy tents: ſhut thy dores vpon thee: hide thee a litle while, till my diſpleaſure paſſe ouer. For beholde

Eze. 37.4.

Eſa. 26.19.

behold, the Lord shal go out of his place, to visit the iniquitie of the dweller vpon the earth against him, and the earth shal shew foorth her blood, & shal no longer hide her slaine.

22 Albeit a man should doe fondly, that would goe about to drawe all to such a rule. For there be some places that without any couering doe shewe the immortalitie to come, that is prepared for the faithfull in the kingdome of God, of which fort we haue recited some, & of like fort are the most parte of the rest, specially these two, the one in Esay. As a newe heauen, & a newe earth which I make to stand before me, so shall your seede stand, and there shalbe moneth of moneth, and Sabbath of Sabbath: all flesh shal come to worship before my face, saith the Lorde. And they shall go out & see the dead carcases of the men that haue offended against mee, that their worme shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched. The other of Daniel. In that time shal 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 be saued that shal be found written in thy booke. And of those y^e sleepe in the dust of the earth, there shal awake some to eternal life, & some to euerlasting shame.

Esa. 66. 22.

Dan. 12. 1.

23 Now, as for prouing the other two points that the fathers had Christ for pledge of their couenant, & that they reposed in him all their affiance of blessing, I wil not trauaile therein at all, because they haue both lesse controuersie & more plainnesse. Let vs therefore boldly determine this, which by no engines of the deuil may be remoued, that the old Testament or couenant which the Lord made with his people Israel, was not limited within the compasse of earthly things, but also contained the promise of the spirituall & eternall life: the expectation wherof must needes haue bene imprinted in all their mindes that truly consented to the couenant. But let vs put farre away this mad & pernicious opinion, that either God did set foorth in his promise to the Iewes nothing else, or y^e the Iewes sought nothing else but filling of their belly, delites of the flesh, flourishing wealth, outward power, frutefulnessse of children, & whatsoeuer a natural man esteemeth. For at this day Christ promiseth no other kingdom of heauen to his, but where they shal rest with Abraham, Isaac, & Iacob. And Peter affirmed, that the Iewes of his time were heires of the grace of the Gospel, for that they were the children of the Prophets, comprehended in the couenant, which the Lorde had in the old time made with his people. And, that the same should not be witnessed wth words only, the Lord also approued it by deede. For in the very moment y^e he rose againe, he vouchsafed to haue many of the holy men to rise againe in company with him, & made them to be seene in the Citie: so giuing an assured token, y^e whatsoeuer he did & suffered for the purchasing of eternal saluation, pertaineth no lesse to the faithful of the olde testament, than vnto vs. For as Peter testifieth, they were also endued wth the same spirit of faith, whereby we are regenerate into life. Now, when we heare that the same spirit which is in vs a certaine sparcle of immortalitie, whereupon 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, y^e in the old time the Sadduces fel to such grosse-

Mat. 8. 11.

Act. 3. 29.

Mat. 27. 51.

Act 15. 8.

ness of error, that they denyed both the resurrection & also the substance of soules, both which points they sawe sealed with so cleare testimonies of Scripture. And no lesse to be maruiled 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 Gospel. For so it behoued, by the iust iudgement of God, to strike those mindes with blindnes, which in refusing the light of heauen being offered them, did wilfully bring themselues into darknesse. Therefore they read and continually turne ouer 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 shal it remaine couered & hidden from them, til he be turned to Christ, from whome now they trauaile to leade and drawe him away so much as in them lieth.

2. Cor. 3. 14.

The xi. Chapter.

Of the difference of the one Testament from the other.

WHAT then wilt thou say: shall there be no difference left betwene the old Testament and the New? & to what purpose serue all those places of Scripture, where they are compared one against the other, as things moste contrary? I do willingly allowe those differences that are rehearsed in the Scripture: but so that they nothing hinder the vnicitie already established, as it shalbe plaine to see when wee shall haue entreated 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 olde and newe 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 be seene or rather to be tasted of, vnder earthly benefits: but nowe hauing reuealed the grace of the life to come, by the Gospel, he more clearly and plainly directeth our mindes the streight way to the meditation thereof, leauing the inferiour manner of exercising which he vsed with the Israelites. They that marke not this purpose of God, do not thinke that the olde people climbed any hier than to the good things promised to the body. They so often heare the land of Chanaan named, as the excellent, or rather only reward for the keepers of Gods law. They heare that God threatneth nothing more seuerely to the transgressors of the same law, than that they shalbe driuen out of the possession of the same land, & scattered abroad into strange regions. They see y in a maner to this effect come all the blessings & curses that are pronounced by Moses. Hereby they do vndoubtedly determine, y the Iewes not for their owne sakes; but for others, were seuered from other nations, y is, that the Church of Christ might haue an image, in whole outward forme
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she might see examples of spirituall things. But sith the Scripture doth sometimes shewe, that God himselfe directed al the earthly benefites that he did for them to this ende, that so he might leade them by the hand to the hope of heavenly benefites: it was too much vnskillfulness, I wil not say blockishnes, nor to consider this order of dispositiō. The issue or point of our controuersie with this sort of men is this, that they teach that the possession of y^e lande of Chanaan was to the Israelites their cheife & last blessednes, and that to vs after the reueling of Christ, it doth but figuratiuely signifie the heavenly inheritance. On the other side we affirme, that they did in the earthly possession which they enjoyed, as in a looking glasse beholde the inheritance to come, which they beleeued to be prepared for them in heauen.

2 That shal better appeare by the similitude that Paul vsed to the Galathians. He compareth 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 schoolemaister, to whose custody he is committed. And whereas he applieth that similitude to the ceremonies, that nothing hindereth but that it may also very 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 capacity 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 shadowed with earthly promises. Therefore, where he called Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, and their posterity vnto hope of immortality, 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 themselues in the hope of that true inheritance that did not yet appeare. And that they might not be deceiued, there was giuen them a hier promise to testifie, y^e that land was not the hiest benefite of God. So Abraham was not suffred to lie slouthfull in the promise receiued of the lande, but his minde was with a greater promise raised vp vnto the Lord. For Abraham heard this sayde vnto him: I am thy protector, and thy rewarde exceeding great. Here we see, that Abraham hath the end of his rewarde set forth in the Lord, that he should not account vpon a transitory and slippery rewarde in the elementes of this world, but rather thinke it to be such as can not wither away. Afterward he adioyneth the promise of the lande to no other intent, but that it should be a token of the good wil of God, and a figure of the heavenly inheritance. And that the holy men had this meaning, their owne sayings do declare. So Dauid riseth vpward from temporal blessings, to that same hiest and last blessing, My heart (sayth he) and my flesh faint for desire of thee. God is my portion for euer. Againe, The Lord is the part of my inheritance, and of my cup: thou art he that sauest mine heritage for me. Againe, I haue cried vnto thee, O Lord, I haue said, Thou art my hope, my portion in the land of the liuing. Truely they that dare so speake, doe without dout professe that with their hope they climbe aboute the worlde, and all the good things here present. But the Prophetes doe oft describe this blessednes of the worlde to come, vnder the figure that they had receiued of the Lord. And so are these sayings to be vnderstanded. That the godly

Gal. 4. 1.

Gen. 15. 1.

Psa. 73. 26.

& 34. 4.

Psa. 16. 5.

Psa. 142. 6.

shall possesse the lande by inheritance, and the wicked shalbe destroyed out of it. That Hierusalem shall abound with all kind of riches, and Sion ouerflow with plenty of all things. All which we see, cannot properly be spoken of the land of our wayfaring, or the earthly Ierusalem, but of the true country of the faithful, and that heavenly citie wherein the Lord hath commanded blessing and life for euer.

3 This is the reason why it is read that the holy men in time of the old testament, did esteeme the mortall life and the blessings thereof more than is now meete to do. For although they knew wel that they should not rest in it, as in y^e end of their race, yet when they called to minde, what markes of his grace the lord had pointed therein, to exercise thē according to the smal rate of their tendernes, they felt a greater sweetnes of it, than if they had considered it by it selfe. But as y^e Lord in testifying his good wil toward y^e faithful, by present good things, did as in shadow expresse the spirituall felicity, 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 vnskilfull do not weye this comparison or agreement, as I may call it betweene the punishmentes and the rewards, they maruel at so much alteration in God, that in olde time was so sodenly ready to take vengeance on euery offence of man with sterne and horrible punishmentes, and nowe as if he had laid away y^e affectiō of his old angrines, he punisheth both much more gentlie & seldomer, yea & for the same cause they do almost imagine feuerall gods of the old & new testament: which y^e Manichees did in dede. But we shal easily be deliuered from such douts, 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 forth in figure both the grace of the eternall felicitie to come, by temporall benefites, and the greuousnes of the spiritual death, by corporall paines. Whereby he deliuered his Testament to the Israelites, as yet after a certaine manner folded vp.

4 An other difference of the olde and newe Testament is sayde to be in the figures: for that the old testament did shew only an image in absence of the truth, and a shadow in steede of the body. But the new testament giueth the truth present, and the sounde body it selfe. And this difference is mentioned commonly wherefoeuer the newe testament is in comparison set against the olde: but it is more largely entreated of in the epistle to the Hebrewes than any where else. There the Apostle disputeth against them, which thought y^e the obseruation of Moses law might not be taken away, but that they should also drawe with them the ruine of all religion. To confute this errour, he vseth that which had bin forespoken by the Prophet concerning the priesthoolde of Christ. For whereas there is giuen him an eternall priesthooche, it is certaine, that that priesthooche is taken away, wherein new successours were dayly put in, one after an other. But he proueth y^e the institution of this new priesthooche is to be preferred, because it is stablished with an orth. He after addeth further, that in the same change of the priesthooche, is also contained the change of the Testament. And that it was necessarie so to be, he proueth by this reason: for that the weakenes of the lawe was such that

Psa. 133. 3.

Psa. 100. 10.

Heb. 7. 11, &
19. & 9. 9. &
10. 11.

it could help nothing to perfection. Then he proceedeth in declaring what was that weakenes, euen this, that it had certaine outward righteoulines of the flesh, which could not make the obseruers of them perfect, according to conscience: that by sacrifices of beastes, it could neyther wipe away sins, 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 themselues: 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 couenant of the law is compared with the couenant of the Gospel: and the ministerie of Christ with the ministerie 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 an other way, we must tend to this ende, to finde out the truth. Let vs then set forth here the couenant which he hath stablished to be eternall, and neuer to perish. The accomplishment thereof, whereby it attaineth to be stablished and continuing in force, is Christ. While such establishment was in expectation, the Lorde did by Moses appoint ceremonies, to be as it were solemne signes of the confirmation. Nowe 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 only accidents, or verily additions & things adioyned, or (as the people call them) accessory things to the couenant, yet because they were instruments or meanes of the administration therof, they beare the name of the couenant it selfe, as the like is wont to be attributed to other Sacraments. Therefore in sum: the old Testament is in this place called the solemne forme of confirming the couenant, contained in ceremonies and sacrifices. The Apostle saith, that because in it is nothing perfect, vnlesse we passe further, therefore it behoued that they should be discontinued and abrogate, that place might be giuen to Christ the assurer & mediatour 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 old testament of the Lord was that, which was deliuered, wrapped vp in the shadowish & effectual obseruations of ceremonies: and that therefore it was but for a time, because it did but (as it were) hãg in suspẽse vntil it might stay vpon a more stedfast & substantial confirmation: and that then onely it was made new and eternal, after that it was consecrate & stablished by the blood of Christ. Wherevpon Christ calleth the cup that he gaue at his supper to his Disciples, The cup of the new testament in his blood: to signifie y^e then the testament of God attaineth his truth: by which it becommeth new and eternal, when it is sealed with his blood. Mat. 26. 20.

5 Hereby appeareth in what sense the Apostle saide: 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 schoolemaster. For it behoued, that ere the sonne of righteousnes was yet risen, there should neither be so great brightnesse of reuelation, nor so great deepe sight of vnderstanding. Therefore God so gaue them in measure Ga. 3. 24. & 4

wordes the Apostle tooke occasion to make this comparison betweene the lawe and the Gospell, that hee called the lawe a literall, and the Gospell a spirituall doctrine: the law, he saide, was fashioned out in Tables of stone, the Gospell written in heartes: that the lawe was the preaching of death, y Gospell the preaching of life: the lawe the Preaching of damnation, the Gospell the preaching of righteousnesse: that the lawe is made void, that the Gospell abideth. Sith the Apostles purpose was but to declare the meaning of the Prophet, it shall bee sufficient that wee wey the wordes of one of them, to attaine the meaning of them both. Albeit, there is some vnlikenes betweene them. For the Apostle speaketh more odiously of the law than the Prophet doeth: and that not in simple respect of the lawe, but because there were certaine naughtie 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 error and foolish affection. Therefore it shall be good to note that peculiarly in Paul. But both of them, because they doe by comparison set the old and the newe testament, the one against the other: doe consider nothing in the lawe, but that which properly belongeth vnto it. As for example: The law doeth commonly in euery place containe promises of mercie, but because they are borrowed from elsewhere, therefore they are not reckened as part of the lawe, when the meere nature of the lawe is spoken off. The only thing they ascribe vnto it, to commaunde thinges that are right, and to forbid wicked doinges: to promise reward to the followers of righteousnes, and to threaten punishment to the transgressours: but in the meane time neither to change nor amend the peruersefnesse of heart, that is naturally in all men.

8 Now let vs expound y Apostles comparison, one peece after another. The old testament is literal, because it was published without y effectuall working of y spirit: The new is spiritual which y Lord hath spiritually graue in y hearts of men: Therefore the second diuersitie is as it were a declaration of y first. The old is deadly, because it can do nothing but wrap all mankind within the curse: The newe is the instrument of life, because it deliuereth from curse, and restoreth into fauour with God. The olde is the ministerie of damnation, because it condemneth all Adams children of vnrighteousnesse: The newe is the ministerie of righteoussesse, because it reuealeth the mercie of God, by which wee are made righteous. The last diuersitie is to be referred to the ceremonies. Because the olde testament had an image of thinges absent, it behoued that it should in time decay and vanish away: but the Gospell, because it giueth y true bodie in deede, keepeth still a firme and perpetuall stedfastnesse. Ieremie indeed calleth euen the morall lawes, a weake and fraile couenant: but that is for an other reason, because by y sodaine falling away of the vnthankfull people, it was by & by broken, but forasmuch as such breaking of it was y fault of y people, it cannot properly be laid vpon the testament. But the ceremonies, forasmuch as by their own weakenesse were dissolved by the comming of Christ, had the cause of their weakenes within themselues. Now, that differēce of the letter & spirit is not so to be taken, as though the Lord had giuen his laws to the Iewes without
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any fruite at all, hauing none of them conuerted vnto him : But it is spoken by way of comparison, to aduance the aboundance of grace, where-with the same lawmaker as it were putting on a newe personage, did honorable set fourth the preaching of the Gospell. For if wee reckon vp the multitude of these whome the Lorde out of all peoples hath by the preaching of the Gospell regenerate with his spirite, and gathered into the communion of his Church, wee shall say, that there were verie fewe, or in a manner none in the olde time in Israell, that with affection of minde and entirely from their heart embraced the couenant of the Lord: who yet were verie manie, if they bee reckened in their owne number without comparison.

9. Out of the third difference riseth the fourth. For the Scripture calleth the olde testament, the testament of bondage, for that it ingendreth feare in mens mindes: but the newe testament, the testament of libertie, because it raiseth them vp to confidence and assurednes. So saith Paul in the eight to the Romains. Yee haue not receiued the spirite of bondage againe to feare, but the spirit of adoption, by which wee crie Abba, father. Herevnto serueth that in the Epistle to the Hebrewes, that the faithfull are not nowe come to the bodily mount, and to kindled fire, and whirlwinde, darkenesse and tempest, where nothing can bee hearde or scene but that st. iketh mens mindes with terrour, insomuch that Moses himselfe quaked for feare, when the terrible voice sounded, which they al besought, that they might not heare: But that wee 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 wee haue alleaged out of the Epistle to the Romanes, hee setteth out more largely in the Epistle to the Galathians, when he maketh an allegorie of the two sonnes of Abraham, after this maner, that Agar the bondwoman is a figure of the mount Sinai, where the people of Israell receiued the lawe: Sara the freewoman 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 lawe wee are made subiect to bondage, by the Gospell onely wee are regenerate into freedom. 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 freedom. But if out of the people of Israel they object against vs the holy fathers, who sith it is euident, that they were endued with the same spirite that wee are, it followeth that they were also partakers both of the selfe same freedom and ioye. Wee aunswere, that neither of both came of the lawe. But that when they felt themselues by the law to bee both oppressed with estate of bondage, and wearied with vnquietnesse of conscience, they fledde to the succour of the Gospell, and y therefore it was a peculiar fruite of the newe testament, that beside the common lawe of the old testament they were exempted from these euils. More-

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Rom. 8. 15.

Heb. 12. 18.

Gal. 4. 21.

ouer, wee will denie that they were so endued with the spirite of freedome and assurednesse, that they did not in some part feele both feare and bondage by the law. For howsoeuer they enioyed that prerogatiue which they had obteyned by grace of the Gospel, yet were they subiecte to the same bondes and burdens of obseruation, that the common people were. Sith therefore they were compelled to y^e carefull keeping of those ceremonies, which were the signes of a schooling much like vnto bondage, and the hand writinges whereby they confessed themselues guiltie of sinne, did not discharge them from being bonde: it may rightfully be said, that in comparison of vs they were vnder the testament of bondage and feare, while wee haue respect to that common order of distribution that the Lord then vsed with the people of Israell.

10 The three last comparisions that wee haue recited, are of the lawe and the Gospel. Wherefore in them by the name of the Olde Testament is meant the lawe, and by the name of the Newe testament is meant the Gospel. 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 reckened vnder the name of y^e old testament, Lib. 3. ad Boni. cap. 4. therein hee thought verie well, and meant euen the same thing that we doe nowe teach, for he had regarde to those sayinges of Hieremie and Paul, where the olde testament is seuered from the worde of mercie and grace. And this also hee verie aptly adioyneth in the same place, that the children of promise regenerate of God, which by faith working through loue haue obeyed the commaundementes, doe from the beginning of the world belong to the Newe testament, and that in hope not of fleshly, earthly and temporall, but spirituall, heauenly, and eternall good thinges, principally beleeuing in the Mediatour, by whome they doubted not that the spirit was nor ministred vnto them, both to doe good, and to haue pardon so oft as they sinned. For the same thing it is that I minded to affirme, that all the Sainctes whome the Scripture rehearseth to haue beene from the beginning of the worlde chosen by God, were partakers of the selfe same blessing with vs vnto eternall saluation. This difference therefore is betwene our diuision and Augustines: that ours (according to that saying of Christe: Mat. 11. 13. The lawe and the Prophetes were vnto Iohn: from thence forth the kingdome of God is preached) doth make distinction betwene the cleerenesse of the Gospel, and the darker distribution of the worde that went before: and Augustine doth onely seuer the weakenesse of the law from the strength of the Gospel. And here also is to bee noted concerning the holy 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 blindnesse 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 blindnesse can be imagined, than to hope for the purging of sinne by the killing of a beast? than to seeke for the clesing of the soule in outwarde sprinkeling of water? than to seeke to appease God with colde ceremonies, as though hee were much delighted therewith? For to all these absurdities doe they fall, that

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sticke fast in the obseruations of the law without respect of Christ.

11 The fifth difference that we may add, lieth in this: that vntil the coming of Christ the Lord had chosen out one nation, within which he would keepe seueral the couenant of his grace. When the highest did distribute the nations, when he diuided the sonnes of Adam (saith Moses) his people fell to his possession: Iacob the corde of his inheritance. In an other place he thus speaketh to the people: Behold the heauen and earth and all that is in it, are the Lord thy Gods. He cleaued only to thy fathers, he loued them, to chose their seede after them euen your selues out of al nations. Therefore he vouch saued to graunt the knowledge of his name to that people onely, as if they only of all men belonged vnto him: he laide his couenant as it were in their bosome: to them he openly shewed the presence of his Godhead: them he honored with all prerogatiues. But (to omit the rest of his benefites, & speak that which onely here is to our purpose) he bound them to him by y^e communicating of his worde, 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 do with him: neither did he to helpe their destruction, giue them that which was only the remedie, namely the preaching of his worde. Therefore Israel was then the Lordes sonne that was his darling, other were strangers: Israel was knowen 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 honoured with the presence of God, other were excluded from comming nie 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 in deede, the particion was plucked downe, which had so long holden the mercy 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 grow into one people. Wherefore, now there is no respect of Greeke or Iewe, 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 worlde.

12 Therefore the calling of the Gentiles is a notable token, whereby is clearly shewed the excellencie of the newe Testament aboue the olde. It had in deede been before testified by many, & most plaine oracles of y^e Prophets, but so as the performance thereof was still differred vnto the kingdom of Messias. And Christ himself did not proceed vnto it at the first beginning of his preaching, but differred it so long vntil y^e all the partes of our redemption being perfourmed, & the time of his abasement ended, he receiued of his father a name that is aboue all names, before whome al knees should bowe. For which cause when this conueniēce of time was not yet fulfilled, he said to y^e woman of Chanaan, y^e he was not sent but to the lost sheep 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 y^e way of the Gentiles, nor enter into the cities of the Samaritans, but rather go ye to y^e lost sheepe of the house

Deu. 31.8.
Deu. 10.14.

Act. 14.16.

Gal. 4.4.
Ephe. 2.14.
Gala. 6.15.
Psal. 2.8.
Psa. 62.

Phil. 2.
Mat. 15.24.

house of Israell. But howe soeuer it was before vttered by so many testimonies, yet when the Apostles were first to beginne it, it seemed so newe and straunge a thing vnto them, that they were afraide of it, as of some monster. Truly verie fearefully and not without sticking at it, they first did set vpon it. And no maruell, for it seemed against reason, that the Lord which by so many ages had chosen out Israell from all other nations, should nowe vndoē that choise, as it were, sodenly changing his purpose. It was in deede spoken of afore by prophecies: but they could not giue so great heede to the prophecies, as to be nothing mouued with the newnesse of the thing that they sawe. And these examples which the Lord 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 verie fewe, hee did after a certaine manner ingrasse them into the householde of Abraham, to adde them vnto his people as parcel of them: but by this general calling, the Gentiles were not onely made egall with the Iewes, but also it appeared that they came into the place of the Iewes, that were become deade. And yet all those straungers whom God hath before that time brought into the bodie of the Church, were neuer made egall with the Iewes. And therefore not without a cause doth Paul so extoll his mysterie hidden from ages and generations, and which hee also saith to be maruellous to the verie Angels.

Col. 1. 16.

13 In these foure or fiue pointes, I thinke I haue well and faithfully set forth the whole difference of the olde 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 forth to other things. And that may bee 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, shoulde suffer so great an alteration, as afterwarde to disalowe the same thing, which he had before both commaunded and commended. I answer, that God ought not therefore to be compted inmutable, for that hee applied diuerse formes to diuerse ages, as he knew to be expedient for euery one. If the husbandman appoint to his householde one sort of businesse in winter, and an other in sommer, shal we therefore accuse him of inconstancie, or thinke that he swarueth from the right rule of husbandrie which agreeth with the continual order of nature? Likewise if a father of a household doe instruct, rule and order his children of one sort in childhoode, of an other in youth, and of an other in mans state, wee cannot therefore say that hee is fickle and forsaketh his owne purpose. Why therefore doe we charge God with reproch of inconstancie, for that he hath seuered the diuersitie of times, with fit & agreeable markes? 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 gouernment of God? he helde them in their childish lessons, which according to y^e capacite of their age were fit for the, & instructed vs with stronger &

as it

it were more manly discipline? Therefore herein appeareth the constancie of God, that he taught one selfe same doctrine in al ages, and continueth in requiring the same worship of his name, which he commaunded from the beginning. But wheras he changed the outward forme and manner thereof, in that he shewed not himselfe subiect to change: but so farre he tempered him selfe to the capacite of man, which is diuers and changeable.

14 But whence (say they) commeth this diuersitie, but bicause God willed it to be such? Could he not as well from the beginning as since the coming of Christ, reucale the eternal life in plaine wordes without any figures, instruct those that are his with a few sacraments and easy to perceauce, giue his holy spirite, and powre abroad his grace throughout the whole worlde? This is euen like as if they should quarel with God for that he hath created the worlde so late, sith he might haue created it from the beginning: or for that his wil was to haue enterchanged courses betwene winter and sommer, betwene 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 been done. For that were to take presumptuously too much vpon vs, not to giue God leaue to haue the causes of his owne purpose secreat to himselfe from vs. But it is maruellous (say they) that he now refuseth and abhorreth the sacrificing of beastes, and all that furniture of the Levitical priesthood, wherwith in the olde time he was delighted: As though these outward and transitorie things did delite God, or any way moue affectiō in him. We haue already said that he did none of these for his owne cause, but disposed them all for the saluation of men. If a Phisicion do heale a yong man after one very good meane from his disease, & 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, he hath consideration of age? So behoued it, that Christ being absent, should be expressed in figure by one sort of signes, and by another sort be before shewed that he was to come: and it is meete that now being already deliuered, he be represented by other signes. But as 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 plenteously powred out: who, I pray you, can deny it to be right, that that God haue in his owne hande and will the disposing of his owne graces, to giue light to what nations it pleaseth him? to raise vp the preaching of his word in what places it pleaseth him? to giue what doctrine & how great profiting & successe of doctrine it pleaseth him? and in what ages he wil, to take away the knowledge of his name out of the world for their vnthankfulnes? & again when he wil to restore it for his owne mercy? We see therefore, that the cauillations are too much vnmeeete, wherwith 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 is behoued, that Christ, so performing his office of the Mediator, should be made man.

Now

NOwe, it much behoued vs that he should be both God and man, which should be our Mediatour. If a man aske of the necessitie, it was not in deede a simple or absolute necessitie, as they commonly call it, but it proceeded from the heauenly decree, whereupon hanged al the saluation of men. But the most mercifull father appointed that which shoulde bee best for vs. For whereas our owne iniquities had, as it were, cast a cloud betweene him and vs, & vtterly excluded vs from the kingdome of heauen, no man could be the interpreter for restoring of our peace, but he that coulde attaine vnto God. But who could haue attained vnto him? could any of the sonnes of Adam? But all they did with their fathers shunne 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 & vnseuerably cleaue vnto God. What then? It was past all hope, vnlesse the very maiestie of God would descende vnto vs, for we could not ascend vnto it. So it behoued that the sonne of God should become for vs Immanuel, that is, God with vs: and that in this sort, that by mutuall ioyning, his godhead and the nature of man might growe into one together. Otherwise neither could the neerenes 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 filthines, and the most pure cleannes of God. Although man had stand vndefiled without any spot, yet was his estate too base to attaine to God without a Mediatour. What could he then do being plunged downe into death and hel with deadly fall, defiled with so many sportes, stinking with his owne corruption, and ouerwhelmed with all accursednesse? Therefore not without cause, Paul meaning to set forth Christ for the Mediator, doth expressly recite that he is Man. One Mediator (saith he) of God and man, the man Iesus Christ. He might haue sayde, God: or at the leaste he might haue left the name of Man as well as of God. But because the holy Ghost speaking by his mouth, knewe our weakenesse: therefore to prouide for it in time, he vsed a most fit remedy, 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, hee 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 an other place is set out with moe wordes: that we haue not a bishop that can not haue compassion of our infirmities, forasmuch as he was in all things tempted as we are, onely sinne excepted.

1. Tim. 2. 3.

Hebr. 4. 15.

2 That shall also appeare more plainly, if wee consider howe 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 hel, 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 him selfe a body of our body, flesh of our flesh, bones of our bones, that he might be all one with vs. Hee disdayned not to take that vpon him which was proper vnto

Iohn 10. 17.

Rom. 8. 17.

vs, to make againe that to belong to vs which he had proper to himself, 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 sayth: 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 sonne of God, to whome it wholly did properly belong, hath adopted vs into his brethren: because if we be brethren, then are we partakers of the inheritance. Moreouer it was for the same cause very profitable, that hee which should be our redeemer, should be both very GOD and very man. It was his office to swallowe vp death: who could doe that but life it selfe? It was his office to ouercome sinne: who could doe that but righteousness it selfe? It was his office to vanquish the powers of the worlde and of the ayre: who could doe that but a power aboue both worlde and ayre? Nowe in whose possession is life, or righteousness, or the empire and power of heauen, but in Gods alone? Therefore the most mercifull God, in the person of his onely begotten sonne, made himselfe our redeemer, when his wil was to haue vs redeemed.

3 An other principal point of our reconciliatiō with God was this, y man which had lost himself by his disobedience, should for remedy set obedience against it, should satisfie the iudgement of God, and pay the penalty of sin. Therefore there came forth the true man, our Lorde, he put on the person of Adam, and tooke vpon him his name to enter into his steede in obeying his father, to yelde our flesh the price of the satisfaction to the iust iudgement of God, & in the same flesh suffer the paine that we had deserued. For asmuch 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 yelde the one subiect to death to satisfie for sinnes, and by the power of the other he might wastle with death, and get victorie for vs. They therefore that spoyle Christ either of his godhead or of his manhood, do indeede either diminish his maiestie and glory, or obscure his goodnes: but on the other side they doe no lesse wrong vnto men whose faith they do therby weaken & ouerthrowe, which can not stand but resting vpon this foundation. Beside that, it was to be hoped, that the Redeemer should be the sonne of Abraham and Dauid, which God had promised in the lawe and the Prophetes. Whereby the godly mindes doe gather this other frute, that being by the very course of his pedigree brought to Dauid and Abraham, they do the more certainly know that this is the same Christ that was spoken of by so many oracles. But this which I euen now declared, is principally to be holden in minde, that the common nature between him and vs is a pledge of our fellowship with the sonne of God: that he clothed with our flesh vanquished death & sinne 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 guiltinesse, and appease the iust wrath of his father.

4 He that shalbe diligently heedefull in considering these thinges as hee ought, will easily neglect these wandring speculations that rauish vnto them.

light.

light spirites and desirous of noueltie: of which sort is, that Christ should haue been man, although there had beene no neede of remedie to redeeme mankinde. 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 al^y Scripture crieth out, that he was clothed with flesh, that he might be the Redeemer: it is too much rash presumption to imagin any other cause or end. To what end Christ was promised from the beginning, it is wel enough known: euen to restore the world fallen in ruine, & to succour men being lost. Therefore vnder the law, the image of him was set forth in sacrifices, to make the faithfull to hope that God would be mercifull to them, when after satisfi-
 Col. 1. 15.
 tion made for sinne, he should be reconciled. But whereas in all ages, euen when the lawe was not yet published, the Mediatour was neuer promised without blood: we gather that he was appointed by the eternall counsell of god to purge the filthinesse 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 testi-
 Esa. 53. 45.
 monie of Esaie shal suffice vs for al, where he foretellet, that he shalbe stricken with the hand of God for the sinnes of the people, that the chastice-
 ment of peace should be vpon him: and that he should be a priest^y shoulde offer vp himselfe for sacrifice: that of his woundes should come health to other: and that, because all haue strayed and beene scattered abroad like sheepe, therefore it pleased God to punish him, that he might beare the ini-
 quities of all. Sith we heare that Christ is properly appointed by God to helpe wretched sinners, who so euer passeth beyond these bounds, he doeth too much follow foolish curiositie. Now when himself was once come, he affirmed this to be the cause of his coming, to appease God, & gather vs vp from death into life. The same thing did the Apostles testifie of him. So
 Iohn. 1. 9.
 Iohn before that he teacheth^y 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 only begotten sonne, that whoso euer beleueeth 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, & they that heare it, shal liue. I am the resur-
 Iohn. 1. 14.
 rection & life: he^y beleueeth in mee, although he be dead, shal liue. Againe,
 Iohn. 3. 16.
 Iohn. 5. 25.
 Iohn. 11.
 Mar. 1. 8.
 Mar. 9.
 The sonne of man commeth to saue^y which was lost. Againe: The whole neede not a Physicion. I should neuer make an end, if I shoulde rehearse all. The Apostles do all with one consent call vs to this fountaine: And truely if he had not come to reconcile God, the honor of the priesthood should
 Heb. 5. 1.
 haue come to nought. For asmuch as the priest appointed meane betweene God & man to make intercession: & he should not be our righteousness, because he was made a sacrifice for vs, that God should not impute sinnes vn-
 2. Cor. 5. 19.
 to vs. Finally, he should be spoiled of all the honourable titles, wherwith the Scripture doth set him out. And also that saying of Paul should proue vaine, that that which was impossible to the lawe, God hath sent his owne sonne,
 Ro. 8. 3.
 y in likenesse of the flesh of sinne he should satisfie for vs. Neither will this stand that he teacheth in another place, that in this glasse appeared the

goodnesse of God and his infinite goodnesse toward men, when Christ was giuen to be the Redeemer. Finally, the Scripture euery where assigneth no other ende, why the sonne of God would take vpon him our flesh, and also receiued this commandement of his father, but to be made a sacrifice to appease his father toward vs. So it is written, and so it behoued 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 commaundement he gaue me. As Moses 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 howre. 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 sorte doth Zacharie pronounce, that he came according to the promise giuen to the fathers, to giue light to them that sat in the shadow 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 wisdom are hidden, and by side whom he glorieth that he knoweth nothing.

5 If any man take exception and say, that none of all these things proueth the contrary, 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 for asmuch as the holy ghost pronounceth, that by the eternall decree of God these two things were ioyned together, that Christ should be our redeemer, and also partaker of all one nature with vs, therefore it is not lawful for vs to search any further. For who so euer is tickled with desire to know any more, he being not contented with the vnchangeable ordinance of God, doth shew also that he is not contented with the same Christ that was giuen vs to be the price of our redemption. But Paul not only rehearseth to what ende he was sent, but also climbing to the high mysterie of predestination, he very fitly 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 here 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 mankind. If the aduersarie obiekt againe, that this purpose of God did hange vpon the fall of man which he did foresee: it is enough and more for me, to say, that they with wicked boldnesse breake forth to faine them a new Christ, who so euer suffer themselves to search for more, or hope to know more of Christ than God hath foreappointed them by his secreete decree. And for good cause did Paul, after he had so discoursed of the proper office of Christ, wish to the Ephesians the spirite of vnderstanding, to comprehend what is the length height, bredth, and depth, euen the loue of Christ that surmounteth all knowledge: euen as if of purpose he would set barres about our mindes, that when mention is made of Christ, they should not, be it neuer so litle, swarue from the grace of reconciliation. Wherefore, sith this is a faithfull saying (as Paul testifieth) that Christ is come to saue sinners, I doe gladly rest

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Luc. 24. 26.
Iohn. 10. 17.
Iohn. 3. 14.
Ioh. 12. 27.
and 28.

Luc. 1. 19.

Col. 2. 3.
1. Cor. 2. 2.

Ephe. 4. 5.

Ephe. 3. 16.

1. Tim. 1. 15.

in the same. And whereas in an other 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 ende. Against this modestie Oslander carpeth vniustly which hath againe in this time vnhappy stirred this question before lightly moued by a few. He accuseth them of presumption that say, that the sonne of God should not haue appeared in the flesh, if Adam had not fallen, because this inuention is confuted by no testimony of scripture. As though Paul did not bridle frowarde curiositie, when after he had spoken of redemption purchased by Christ, he by and by commaundeth to auoide foolish questions. The madnesse of some did burst out so farre, that while they disorderly co-Tim. 3.9ueted to seeme witty, they moued this question, whether the Sonne of God might haue taken vpon him the nature of an Ass. This monstrousnes which all the godly do worthily abhorre as detestable, let Oslander confute with this pretense, that it is neuer expressly confuted in the Scripture. As though when Paule accompreth nothing precious or worthy to be knowne, but Christ crucified, he doth therefore admit an Ass to be the author of saluation. Therefore he that in an other place reporteth, that Christ by the eter-Eph. 4.22nall counsell of his father was ordeined to be a head to gather all things together: will neuer the more acknowledge an other that hath no office of redeeming appointed him.

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 paterne of Christ to come, that he might resemble him, whom the father had already decreed to clothe with our flesh. Whervpon 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 themselues. In the meane time first he thinketh that he hath seene what was the image of God, that forsoth the glory of God did not onely shine in those excellent gistes wherwith he was garnished, but also that God himselfe essentially dwelt in him. But as for me, although I graunt that Adā did beare the image of God, in so much as he was ioyned to God, (which is the true and highest perfection of dignitie) yet I say, that the likenesse of God is no where els to be sought, but in those markes of excellencie wherwith he had garnished Adam aboute other liuing creatures. And that Christ was then the image of God, all men do graunt with one consent, and therefore that what so euer excellencie was grauen in Adam, it proceeded from this, that by the onely begotten sonne he approached to the glorie 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 benefit of the onely begotten sonne: But I say further, that the same sonne was a common head as wel to Angels as to men, so that the same dignity 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 somthing in them wherin they resemble their father. Nowe if his will was to haue his glorie 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 behind 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 beleuee Christ, this shalbe our last felicitie, to be made of like fourme to the Angels, when wee shalbe 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.

7 Therefore, Osiander hath no cause to feare, that God should be found a lier, vnlesse it had bene first stedfastly and vnchangeably 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 necessarie, that the sonne of God should be made either man or Angel. And in vaine he feareth that absurditie, least vnlesse the vnchangeable counsell of God had ben before the creation of man that Christ should be borne, not as the redeemer but as the first man, he should haue lost his prerogatiue: for asmuch 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 therevpon, that Christ was created after the image of Adam. For why should he so much abhorre that which the Scripture so openly teacheth, that he was made like vnto vs in all thinges, except sinne? Wherevpon Luke doubteth not to reckon him the sonne of Adam in his Genealogie. And I would faine knowe why Paul calleth Christ the seconde 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 ben called the first Adam. Osiander boldly affirmeth, that because Christ was alreadie before knowen man in the minde of God, men were formed after the same paterne. But Paul in naming him the second Adam, setteth meane betwene 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 her first degree. Wherevpon 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 & vsauourily, 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, because though y sonne of God had neuer put on flesh, neuertheless both in the body and in the soule of man should haue shined the image of God, in the bright beams whereof it alway appeared, that Christ is verily the head, and hath the so-ueraigne supremacie in all. And so is that foolish subteltie assoiled, which Osiander bloweth abroade, that the Angels shoulde haue lacked this head, vnlesse it had bene purposed by God to clothe his sonne with fleshe, yea, though there had bene no fault of Adam. For he doeth too rashly snatch holde of that which no man in his right wit will graunt, that Christ hath

Gala. 3. 10.

Heb. 4. 15.

Luk. 3. 38.

1. Cor. 15.

47.

no supremacie ouer Angels, that they should haue him for their Prince, but in so much as he is man. But it is easily gathered by the wordes of Paul, Col. 1. 15. that in as much as he is the eternall word of God, he is the first begotten of all creatures: not that he is create, or ought to bee reckened among creatures: but because the state of the worlde in integritie, such as it was at the beginning garnished with excellent beauty, had no other originall: and then, that in as much as he was made man, he was the first begotten of the dead. For y^e 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 beginne to be the redeemer. Of like ignorance is it that he sayth, that men should not haue had Christ to their king, if he 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 felowshippe of his heauenly glorie and life, should himselfe beare the soueraintie. But in this false principle he is alway deceiued, or rather deceiueth 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 dronke with the sweetnesse of his owne speculations, he vseth to blowe out fond Bacchus cries of matters of nothing. But this one that he bringeth after, he sayth is much more strong, that is the prophecie of Adam, which seeing his wife said, this now is a bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh. But howe proueth hee that to be a prophecie? Because in Matthew Christ giueth the same saying to God. As though that what soeuer God hath spoken by men, conteineth some prophecie. Let Osiander seeke prophecies in euery commandement of the lawe, which, it is certaine to haue come from G O D the author of them. Beside that, Christ should haue bene grosse and earthly, if he had rested vpon the literall sense. Because he speaketh not of the mysticall vni-
Colof. 1. 18.
Colof. 1. 19.
on wherunto he hath vouchsafed to receiue his Church, but only of faithfulnessse betweene man and wife: for this cause he reacheth, that God pronounced that man and wife shalbe one fleshe, that no man shoulde attempt to breake that insoluble knot by diuorce. If Osiander loth this simplicitie, let him blame Christ, for that he led not his disciples further to a mysterie, in more suttely expounding the saying of his father. Neither yet doth Paul maintaine his error, which after he had sayd that we are flesh of the fleshe of Christ, by and by addeth, that this is a great mystery, for his purpose was not to tell in what meaning Adam spake it, but vnder the figure & similitude of mariage to set forth the holy coupling together, that maketh vs one with Christ. And so doe the wordes found. Because when he giueth warning y^e he speaketh this of Christ & 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 fickle reason easily vanisheth away. And I thinke

I neede no more to shake vp any more of that sort of chaffe, because the variety of them all his soone found out by this shORTE confutation. But this sobrietie shall abundantly suffice to feede soundly the children of G O D: 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 toke vpon him the true substance of the flesh of man.

NOwe, vnlesse I be deceiued, it were superfluous to entreate againe of the Godhead of Christ, which hath already in an other place bene proued with plaine and strong testimonies. It remaineth therefore to be seene, howe he being clothed with our flesh, hath fulfilled the office of Mediatour. The trueth of his humane nature hath in the olde time bene impugned both by the Manichees and the Marcionites: of whome, the Marcionites fained a ghost in steed of the body of Christe, and the Manichees dreamed that he had a heauenly flesh. But both many and strong testimonies of the Scripture doe stande against them both. For the blessing is promised neither in a heauenly seed, nor in the counterfaiit 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 soone of Dauid and to the frut of his wombe. Therefore being deliuered in the flesh, he is called the sonne of Dauid and Abraham: not because he is onely borne of the wombe of the Virgine, 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 an other place y^e Apostle reacheth, that he descended of the Iewes. For which cause the Lorde himselfe not contented with the bare name of man, doth oftentimes call himself the sonne of man, meaning to expresse more plainely 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 simplicity declared a thing not obscure of it selfe, who woulde haue thought any men to be so shamelesse as to presume yet to spread mistes to darken it? And yet we haue other testimonies at hande, if we list to heape vp more of them. As is that saying of Paul: that God sent his sonne made of woman. And innumerable other places, where by 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. Againe, that by benefit of that communicating we are reckned his brethren. Again, that he ought to haue bin made like vnto his brethren, that he might be made a mercifull and faithful intercessour: that we haue not a Bishoppe that can not be compatiour of our infirmities. And such like. And for the same purpose serueth that which wee touched a litle before, that it behoued that the sinnes of the worlde should be cleansed in our fleshe: Which Paul plainely affirmeth. And truly, what so euer

Gen. 17. 2. &
12. 18 & 26.
4.
Pla. 45. 7.

Mat. 1. 1.
Rom. 1. 3.
Rom. 9. 5.

Gal. 4. 4

Hebr. 2. 16.

Hebr. 1. 10.
and 17.
Hebr. 4. 15.

Rom. 8. 3.

the father hath giuen to Christ, it doeth therefore belong to vs, because he is the heade, from which the whole bodie being knitte together, groweth into one. Yea and otherwise that will not agree together, which is said: that the Spirite was giuen him without measure, that all wee shoulde drawe of the fulnesse thereof. Forasmuch as there is no greater absurditie than to say, that God is enriched in his essence by any accidentall gifte. And for this cause Christ saith in an other place: I doe sanctifie my selfe for them.

Iohn. 1. 16.

Iohn. 1. 15.

2 As for the places that they bring foorth to confirme their errour, they do too vnaptly wrest them, and they nothing preuaile by their trifling subtleties, when they goe about to wipe away those things that I haue alleged for our part. Marcion imagineth that Christ did put on a fantastickall bodie in steede of a true bodie: because in some places it is saide, that hee was made after the likenesse of a man, and that hee was founde in shape as a man. But so he nothing weieth what is Paules purpose in that place. For his meaning is not to teach what manner of body Christ tooke vppon him, but that whereas he might haue shewed foorth his godheade, hee made no other shewe of himselfe, but as of an abiect and vnregarded man. For, to exhorte vs by his example to submission, hee sheweth that forasmuch as he was God, he might haue by and by set forth his glorie to be seene to the worlde: but yet that hee gaue ouer some of his owne right, and of his owne accorde abased him selfe, because he did put on the image of a seruauit & contended with that humilitie, suffred his godheade to bee hidden with the veile of the fleshe. Hee doeth not here teach what Christ was, but how he behaued himselfe. And also by the whole processe of the text it is easily gathered, that Christ was abased in the true nature of man. For what meaneth this, that in shape hee was founde as man, but that for a time the glorie of his godhead did not shine foorth, but onely the shape of man appeared in base and abiect estate? For otherwise that place of Peter coulde not stande together, that he was deade in the fleshe, but quickened in the spirite, if the sonne of God had not bene weake in the nature of man: which Paul expresseth more plainely in saying, that hee suffred by reason of the weaknesse of the fleshe. And herevnto serueth the exaltation: because it is expressly saide, that Christ attained a newe glorie after that hee abased himselfe, which coulde not well agree to bee spoken of any, but of a man hating fleshe and soule. Manichees framed Christ a bodie of aire, because Christ is called the seconde Adam, heauenly of heauen. But neither in that place doeth the Apostle bring in a heauenly essence of the bodie, but a spirituall force which being powred abroad by Christ, doeth quicken vs. Now, as wee haue alreadie seene, Peter and Paul do seuer the same from his flesh. But rather that doctrine which is received among the true teachers, concerning the fleshe of Christ, is verie well proued by that place. For if Christe had not all one nature of bodie with vs, it were a verie vaine argument, that Paul with such vehemencie followeth: that if Christ bee risen againe, we shall also rise againe: and if wee do not rise, then that Christ also is not risen. By what cauillations so euer either the old Manichees or their newe Disciples goe about to escape, they shall not winde themselues away. It is

Phil. 2. 7.

1. Pet. 3. 18.

2. Cor. 13. 4.

1. Co. 15. 47.

1. Co. 15. 26

a foule shifte, that they fondly say, that Christ is called the sonne of man, in so much as he is promised of men. For it is plaine, that after the Hebrew phrase, verie man in deede is called the sonne of man. And Christ without doubt kept the phrase of his owne tongue. Also it ought to make no question, what ought to be vnderstanded by the children of Adam. And (not to goe farre off) the place of the eight Psalme, which the Apostles applic to Christ, shall bee sufficient enough: What is man that thou art mindfull of him, or the sonne of man, that thou visitest him? In this figure is expressed the true manhood: of Christ. For though hee were not immediatly begotten of a mortall father, yet his race came from Adam. For else that place coule not stande which wee haue alreadie alleaged that Christe is made partaker of fleshe and blood, that he might gather to him yong children to the seruice of God. In which wordes it is plainly determined, that Christ is made fellow and partaker of all one nature with vs. In which meaning also hee saith, that both the author of holinesse and they that are made holy, are all of one. For it is prooued by the proesse of the text, that the same is referred to the fellowshipp of nature: because he by and by addeth, Therefore he is not ashamed to call them brethren. For if hee had saide before, that the faithfull are of God in so great dignitie, what cause shoulde there be to be ashamed? But because Christ of his infinite grace doth ioine himselfe to the base and vnnoble, therefore it is said, that he is not ashamed. But in vaine they obiekt, that by this meane the wicked shall become the brethren of Christ: because wee knowe that the children of God are not borne of flesh and blood, but of the holy Ghost by faith. Therefore onely fleshe 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 spirituallly graffeth vs into the body of Christ. Also they foolishly moue a brawle about the name of First begotten. They say that Christ shoulde haue bene borne of Adam streight 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, & excellence of power. And more colour hath that which they bable, y^e Christ tooke to him man and not Angels, because he receiued mankinde into fauour. For, to set out more largely the honor which God vouchsaued to giue vs, he compared the Angels with vs, which were in this behalfe set behinde vs. And if the testimonie of Moses be well weied, where hee saith that the seede of the woman shall breake the serpens heade, it shall vtterly end the controuersie. For onely Christ is not there spoken of, but all mankinde. Because the victorie was to be gotten by Christ for vs, hee generally pronounceth that the posteritie of the woman should get the vpper hande of the deuiill. Whereunto followeth, that Christ issued of mankinde, because it was Gods purpose there to raise vp Eue, whome he spake vnto with good hope, that she should not faint with sorrow.

3 They doe no lesse wickedly than foolishly entangle with allegories these testimonies where Christ is called the seede of Abraham, and y^e fruite of

of the wombe of Dauid. For if the name of Seede had ben spoken in an allegorie, truly Paul woulde not haue left it vntolde, where hee plainly & without figure affirmeth, that there are not many sonnes of Abraham redeemers, but one Christ. Of like sorte is it that they alleadge: that hee is no otherwise called the sonne Dauid, but because he was promised and at length in his due time deliuered. For after that Paul had once named him the sonne of God: in that he by and by addeth, According to the flesh, hee truly meaneth of nature. And so in the ninth Chapter calling him the blessed God, he saith seuerally beside, that according to the fleshe hee descended of the Iewes. Nowe 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 loines shall hee descende, that shall abide in thy seate. Nowe in the Genealogie of Christ, as it is rehearsed of Mattheu, 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, hee reckoneth it enough to shewe that Ioseph came of the seede of Dauid, when it was well knowen y Marie was of the same stocke. But Luke more presseeth them in teaching that saluation brought by Christ, is common to all mankind: because Christ the author of saluation proceeded from Adā the common parent of all. I graunt in deede, that by the Genealogie it can none otherwise be gathered y Christ was the sonne of Dauid, but in so much as hee was begotten of the Virgine. But the new Marcionites to colour their error do too proudly, in this y to prooue that Christ tooke his bodie of nothing, they affirme that women are seedeles, and so they ouerthrowe the principles of nature. But because that is no question of diuinitie, and the reasons that they bring are so fickle, that they may verie easily be confuted: therefore I will not touch those thinges that belong to Philosophie and Phisike, and will hold me contented to wipe away those thinges that they alleadge out of Scripture: that is, that Aaron and Ioiahad tooke wiues of the tribe of Iehudah, and so the difference of tribes had then beene confounded, if woman had engendring seed in her. But it is wel ynough knowen that as touching ciuill order, the kindreds are reckened 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 onely: shall we therfore say, that the women are nothing? But verie children do know, that women are comprehended vnder the name of men. And after this sort is said, that women bring forth to their husbands, because the name of the householde 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 y state of bondage the issue foloweth y wombe, according to the iudgement of the Ciuill lawyers. Whereby we may gather, that the issue is engendred of the seede of the woman. And it hath of long time ben receiued in common vse of all nations, y the mothers are called Genetrices, y is engenders. Wherewith Gods lawe also agreeth, which else should wrongfully forbid y marriage.

Gal. 3. 18.

Rom. 1. 3.

Psal. 113. 2. 11.

Gal. 4. 4.

marriage of the vncke 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 shee were begotten of an other father. But as I graunt that there is a passiue power ascribed to women, so do I answere that the same thing is indifferently spoken of them that is of men. And Christ himselfe is not saide to bee made by the woman, but of the woman. But some of their companie shaking of all shame doe too leudly aske, whether wee will say that Christ was engendred of the menstruall seede of the Virgine, for I will likewise aske of them, whether hee did not congele in the bloude of his mother, which they shall bee constrained to confesse. Therefore it is fitly gathered of Matthewes words, that because Christ was begotten of Marie, he was engendred of her seed: as a like engendring is meant when it is saide, that Booz was begotten of Rahab. Neither doth Matthew here describe the Virgine as a conduit pipe through which Christ passed: but hee seuereth this meruellous manner of generation from the common manner, for y^e by her was Christ begotten of the seed 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 prooue 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.

Mat. 1. 5.

Rom 5. 12.
1. Co. 15. 47
Rom. 8. 3.

4 The absurdities wherewith they woulde charge vs, are stuffed full of childish caullations. They thinke it a shame and dishonour to Christ, if he shoulde haue taken his originall of men: because hee so coulde not bee exempt from the vniuersall lawe that encloseth all the offspring of Adam with out exception, vnder sinne. But the comparison that wee reade in Paul doth easily assoile this doubt: that as by one man came sinne, and by sinne death, so by the righteousnesse of one man grace hath abounded. Wherewith also agreeth an other comparison of his: the first Adam of earth, earthly and naturall, the seconde of heauen, heavenly. Therefore in an other place, the same Apostle, where hee teacheth that Christ was sent in the likenes of sinnefull fleshe to satisfie the lawe, doeth so expressely seuer him from the common estate of men, that he bee verie man without fault and corruption. But verie childishly they trifle in reasoning thus: If Christ bee free from al spot, and was by the secrete working of the holy Ghost begotten of the seede of Marie, then is not the womans seede, but onely the mans seede vnclane. For wee doe not make Christ free from all spot, for this cause that he is onely engendred of his mother without copulation of man, but because hee 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 ofte as the scripture putteth vs in minde of the cleannes of Christ, it is meant of his true nature of manhoode: because it were superfluous to say that God is cleane. Also the sanctification that hee speaketh of in the seeuenteenth of Iohn, coulde 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 genera-
tion

tion of man is not vnclane or vitious of it selfe, but accidental by his falling. Therefore it is no maruell, if Christ, by whome the estate of innocencie was to bee restored, were exempted from common corruption. And whereas also they thrust this vpon vs for an absurditie, that if the Word of God did put on fleshe, then was it inclosed in a narrowe prison of an earthly bodie: this is but meere waywardnesse: because although the infinite essence of the worde did growe together into one person which the nature of man: yet doe wee faine no inclosing of it. For the sonne of God descended maruellously from heauen, so as yet hee left not heauen, it was his will to bee maruellously borne in the Virgins wombe, to be conuerfaunt in earth, and hange vpon the crosse, yet that hee alway filled the worlde euen as at the beginning.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Howe the two natures of the mediator doe make one person.

NOwe where it is saide, that the Worde was made fleshe: that is not so to be vnderstanded, as though it were either turned into fleshe, or confusedly mingled with fleshe, but because hee chose him a temple of the Virgins wombe to dwell in: he that was the sonne of God, became also the sonne of man, not by confusion of substance, but by vnitie of person. For we so affirme the godhead ioyned and vnited to the manhoode, that either of them haue their whole propertie 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 fitte, whome wee see to consist of two substaunces, whereof 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 seuerally spoken of the soule; which can no way agree with the bodie: and likewise of the bodie that thing may be saide, which can by no meane agree with the soule: and that may bee saide of the whole man, which can be but vnfitlie taken neither of the soule nor of the bodie seuerally. Finally, the properties of the soule are sometime attributed to the bodie, and the properties of the body sometime to the soule: and yet he that consisteth of them is but one man and not many. But such formes of speach doth signifie both that there is one person in man compounded of two natures knit together, and that there are two diuerse natures which doe make the same person. And so do the Scriptures speake of Christ: Sometime they giue vnto him those things that ought singularly to bee referred to his manhood, & sometime those things that doe peculiarly belong to his godhead, and sometime those things that doe comprehend both natures, and do agree with neither of them seuerally. And this conioyning of the two natures that are in Christ, they doe with such religiousnesse expresse, that sometime they doe put them in common together: which figure is among the old authors called Communicating of properties.

2 These things were but weak, vnlesse many phrases of scripture, and such

such as bee echwhere readie to finde, did prooue that nothing hereof hath bene deuised by man. That same thing which Christ spake of himselfe, saying: Before that Abraham was, I am, was far disagreeing from his manhood. Neither am I ignorant with what caullation the erroneous spirites doe deprauce this place: For they say that he was before all ages, because he was already foreknownen 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 aboute Abraham, he doth vndoubtedly challenge to himselfe that which is proper to y^e Godhead. Whereas Paul affirmeth that hee 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 glorie with the Father before the creation of the worlde, and that hee 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 peculiarly ascribed to y^e godhead. But whereas he is called the seruant of the Father: and whereas it is saide, that he grew in age, wisdom and fauour with God and men: that he seeketh not his owne glorie: that hee knoweth not the last day: that hee speaketh not of himselfe: that he doeth not his owne will: where it is saide, that he was scene and felt: this wholly belongeth to his owne manhood. For in respect y^e he is God, neither can he increase in any thing, & hee worketh all things for his owne sake, neither is any thing hidden from him, hee doth all things according to the free choise of his owne wil, and can neither be scene nor felt. And yet he doth not seuerally 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 bloude purchase vnto him a Church: and the Lorde of glorie crucified. Again, where Iohn saith, y^e the Word of life was felt. Truly God neither hath blood, nor suffereth, nor can be touched with handes. But because he which was both verie God & man, Christ being crucified, did shed his blood for vs: those things y^e were done in his nature of man, are vnproperly, & yet not without reason giuen to his god head. A like example is, where Iohn teacheth y^e God gaue his soule for vs: therefore there also y^e propertie of the manhood is communicate with the other nature. Again, when Christ saide being yet conuersant in earth, that no man haue ascended into heauen, but the sonne of man that was in heauen: truly according to his manhood, & in the flesh y^e he had put on, he was not then in heauen: but because himselfe was both God & man, by reason of the vnite of both natures, he gaue to the one that, which belonged to the other.

3 But most plainly of al doe these places set forth the true substance of Christ, which doe comprehend both natures together: of which sort there are very many in y^e Gospel of him. For y^e which is there red is singularly belonging neither to his godhead nor to his manhood, but both together, y^e he hath receiued of his father power to forgive sins, to raise vp whome he will, to giue righteousnes, holines and saluation, to be made iudge ouer y^e quicke & the dead, to be honoured euen as the father is: Finally, that hee is called the

Iohn. 8. 38.

Col. 1. 15.

Iohn. 17. 5.

Iohn. 5. 17.

Esa. 42. 1.

Luk. 1. 52.

Ioh. 8. 50.

Matt. 1. 3.

Iohn. 14. 10.

& 6. 36.

Luk. 24. 39.

Act. 20. 28.

1. Cor. 2. 6.

1. Iohn. 1. 1.

1. Iohn. 3. 16.

Iohn. 3. 13.

Iohn. 1. 29.

& 5. 21.

the light of the world, the good shepheard, the onely dore, the true Vine. For such prerogatiues had the sonne of god, when he was shewed in y flesh, which although he enioyed with his father before the world was made, yet he had them not in the same maner or the same respect, & which could not be giuen 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, shal yelde vp the kingdom to God & the father: Euen the kingdom of the sonne of God, which had no beginning, nor shall haue any ending: but euen as hee lay hid vnder the baseness of the flesh, & abased himselfe, taking vpon him the forme of a seruant, & laying aside the porte of maiestic, he shewed himself obedient to his father: & hauing performed all such subiection, at length is crowned with honor & glory, & auanced to the highest dominion, that all knees shall bow before him: so shall he then yeeld vp to his father both that name & crowne of glory, & whatsoeuer he hath receiued of his father, that God may be all in all. For to what purpose is power & dominion giuen him, but that the father should gouerne vs by his hand? In which sense it is also said, that he sitteth at the right hand of the father. But this is but for a time, til we may enioy the present beholding of the godhead. And here the error of the old fathers cannot be excused, which while they tooke no heed to the person of the Mediatour, haue obscured the natural meaning of almost all the doctrine y is read in the gospel of Iohn, & haue entangled them selues in many snares. Let this therefore be vnto vs the key of right vnderstanding, that such things as belong to the office of the Mediatour, are not spoken simply of the nature of God, nor of the nature of man. Therefore, Christ shal reigne til he come forth to iudge y worlde, 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 heavenly glory, shal see God such as he is, then he hauing performed the office of Mediatour, shal cease to be y embassadour of his father, & shalbe contented with that glory which he enioyed before the making of the world. And the name of Lord doeth in no other respect peculiarly agree with the persō of Christ, but in this, that it signifieth the meane degree betweene God & vs. For which purpose maketh that saying of Paul: One God, of whome are all thinges, and one Lorde, by whom are all thinges, euen he to whom the dominion for a time is committed by the father, vntil his diuine maiestic be to be seene face to face. From whom so farre is it of that any thing shal decay, by yelding vp the dominion to his father, that he shal become so much the more glorious. For then shal God also cease to be the head of Christ because Christes godhead shal then shine of it selfe, whereas yet it is couered with a certeine veile.

4 And this obseruation shal do no small seruice to assoile many doutes, if the readers do fitly apply it. For it is marueilous how much the vnskilfull, yea some not vterly vlearned, are combred with such formes of speech, which they see spoken by Christ, which do well agree neither with his godhead nor with his manhood: because they consider not that they do agree wth his person wherein he is shewed both God and man, and with the office of Mediatour. And it is alway easie to see, how well all things hang together, if they haue a sober expositour, to examine so great mysteries with such deuout.

John. 9. 5.

Ioh. 21. 1.

1. Cor. 2. 4.

Phil. 2. 8.

He. 2. 6.

Phil. 2. 10.

1. Cor. 15. 28

1. Cor. 8.

deuout reuerence as they ought to be. But there is nothing that these furious and phrentike spirits trouble not. They catch holde 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 ioyntly 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 draw in sunder, than to distinguish the nature, did by the meane imagine a double Christ. Whereas we 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 vinity of the person, we destroy either nature. For we haue already alleaged so many testimonies, & 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 wil adioyne some testimonies, to confute better that fained deuise, but at this present, one place shal content vs. Christ would not haue 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 Seruettus which did thrust in place of y^e sonne of God, a fained thing made of the essence of God, of spirit, flesh and three elements vncreate. 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 ende tenderh his suttlety, that the distinction of the two natures being once ouerthrowne, Christ might be thought to be a certain thing mingled of God and man, and yet neither God nor man. For in his whole processe he trauaileth towarde this point, that before Christ was openly shewed in the flesh, there were onely certain shadowish figures in God, wherof the truth or effect then at length was in being, when that word which was ordained to that honor, began truely 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 dignity were giuen him to be, and be called the onely begotten sonne of God. But in the meane season the definition of the Church standeth stedfastly grounded, that he is compted the sonne of God, because he beeing the Word begotten of the father before all worldes, did by hypostaticall vnion take vpon him the nature of man. Now the hypostaticall

Aug. in en-
chir. ad Lau-
rent. ca. 36.

Lu. 1. 33, &
44.

Iohn, 2. 19.

postatical vnion is called with the olde fathers, that which maketh one person of two natures, which phrase of speech was deuised to ouerthrowe the doting errour of Nestorius, because he fained that the sonne of God did so dwell in flesh, that yet he the same was not man. Seruettus slandereth vs, y^e we make two sonnes of God when we say that the eternal Word was alreadye 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 doeth 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 wordes to Mary do secretly shewe, That holy thing that shalbe borne of thee, shalbe called the sonne of God: as if he shuld haue said, that the name of the Sonne which was obscure in time of the lawe, shoulde now become famous & euery where knowen abroad. Wherewith agreeth y^e saying of Paul, that now by Christ we are the children of God, frely & with boldnesse to crie Abba, Father. But were not the holy fathers in the olde time also accompted among the children of God? Yea: & 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 y^e world, the heauenly fatherhood is become more plainly knowen: therefore Paul assigneth this, as it were, a priuilege to the kingdome of Christ. But yet this is stedfastly to be holden, y^e God neuer was father either to Angels or men, but in respect of the only begotten sonne: and that men specially, whome 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 Seruettus should cauill, that this hangeth vpon filiation or becoming a sonne, which God had determined wth himselfe, because our purpose is not here to speake of the figures how the expiation was shewed in the bloud of beastes: but because they could not in deede be the children of God, vnlesse their adoption were grounded vpon the head, it is without reason to take y^e from the head which is common to all the members. I go yet further: Wher as 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 the sonne is in order before them, which maketh the father to be their father. I wil repeat it againe shortly, & adde the same of mankind. Sith from at their first beginning both Angels & men were created with this conditiō, that God should be common father to them both, if that saying of Paul be true, that Christ was alway the head & the first begotten of all creatures, to haue the first degree in all: I think I doe rightly gather that he was also the sonne of God before the creation of the world.

6 But if his Filiation (if I may so terme it) began since he was manifested in the flesh, it shal followe, that he was also sonne in respect of his nature of man. Seruettus & 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. Nowe let them answere mee whether he be the sonne according to both natures, & in respect of both. So in deed they prate, but Paul teacheth farre otherwise. Wee graunt in deede, that Christ is in

the flesh of man called the Sonne, but not as the faithfull are, that is by adoption only and grace, but the true and naturall, and therefore only sonne, y by this marke he may be discerned from all other. For God vouchsaue to giue the name of his sonnes to vs, that are regenerate into a newe life: but the name of the true and onely begotten sonne, he giueth to Christ onely.

How can he be the onely sonne in so great a number of brethren, but because he possesseth that by nature, which we haue receiued by gift? And the honor we extend to the whole person of the Mediatour, that he be truly & properly the Sonne of God, which was also borne of the Virgine, & offered himselfe for sacrifice to his father vpon the crosse: but yet in respect of his

Rom. 1. 3.

Godhead, as Paul teacheth, when he saith, he was seuered out to preach the Gospel of God, which he had before promised of his sonne, which 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 shewe that this did hang vpon some other thing, than vpon the very flesh? For in the same sense in another place he saith, that he suffered by the weakenesse of the flesh, & rose againe by the

3. Cor. 13. 4.

power of the spirite, 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 an other thing & seuerall from the nature of man. The Scripture giueth him two names, calling him here & there sometimes the Sonne of God, & sometimes y sonne of Man. Of the second there can be no contention moued: 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 contrary I affirme, that he is called the Sonne of God in respect of the Godhead & eternal essence: because it is no lesse meete that it be referred to the nature of God, that hee 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 y 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, y Christ which according to y flesh descended of y Iewes, is God blessed for cuer. Now if in both places y distinction of the double nature be touched, by what right wil they say, y he which according to the flesh is the sonne of man, is not also y sonne of God, in respect of the nature of God.

Rom. 9. 5.

7 They do in deepe disorderly enforce for the maintenance of their error, the place where it is said, y God spared not his owne Sonne, & where y

Rom. 8. 32.

Lu. 1. 32.

Angel commanded, that the very same he that should be borne of the Virgine, should be called the Sonne of the highest. But, least they should glorie in so fickle an obiection, let them wey with vs a litle, how strongly they reason. For if it be rightly concluded, y from his conception he began to be the Sonne of God, because he y is conceiued is called the Sonne of God, then shal 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 Worde of life, which his handes haue handeled.

1. Ioh. 1. 1.

Likewise that, which is reade in the Prophet: Thou

Thou Bethleem in the lande of Iuda, art a litle one in thousandes of Iuda: Out of thee shall be borne to me a guide to rule my people Israell, and his comming forth from the beginning, from the dayes of eternity. How will they be compelled to expounde this, if they will be content to followe 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 cōioyning, because he is the onely begotten sonne of God in the flesh which he tooke of vs. And Augustine doth 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 excellencie euen according to the flesh from the wombe of his mother, to be the sonne of God. Yet is there not in the vnity of person to be fained such a mixture, as may take away y^e which is proper to the godhead. For it is no more absurdity, that the eternal word of God and Christ, by reason of the two natures vnited into one person, be diuerse wayes called the Sonne of God, than that hee be according to diuerse respectes, called sometime the Sonne of God, and sometime the Sonne of Man. And no more doth that other cauillation of Seruettus 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 clerely proued that he was no otherwise eternall God, but because he was the worde begotten of the eternal father, and that this name doth no otherwise belong to the person of the Mediatour 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 mutuall relation to the Sonne, by whome all kinred or fatherhoode is reckned in heauen and in earth: hereby it is easie to gather, that euen in the time of the lawe and the Prophets, he was the Son of God, before that this name was cōmonly known in the Church. But if they striue only about the onely word, Salomon discourfing of the infinite highnesse of God, affirmeth as well his Sonne as himselfe to be incomprehensible. Tell his name if thou canst (sayth he) or the name of his sonne. Yet I am not ignorant, that with the contentious this testimony will not be of sufficient force: neither do I much ground vpon it, sauing that it sheweth that they doe maliciously cauill, 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 Ireneus and Tertullian against vs, both which doe confesse that the Sonne of God was inuisible, which afterward appeared visible.

Eph. 3. 15.

Pro. 30. 4.

8. But although Seruettus hath heaped vp horrible monstrous deuises, which paraduerture the other would not allowe: yet if ye presse them hard, ye shall perceiue that all they that doe not acknowledge Christ to be the son 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 reade 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 Wisedom, that Solomon

Eccl. 24. 14. speaketh of, is destroyed, and there is no account made of the Godhead in the Mediatour, or a fantasied Ghost is thrust in place of the Manhoode. It were in deede profitable to confute the grosser deceites of Seruettus, where-with he hath bewitched himselfe and some other, to the ende that the godly readers admonished by this example, may hold themselues within the compasse of sobernesse and modesty: sauing that I thinke it should be superfluous, because I haue already done it in a booke by it self. The summe of them commeth to this effect, that the Sonne of God was a forme in minde from the beginning, and euen then hee was before appointed to bee man that should be the essentiall image of God. And he doth acknowledge no other Word of God, but in outward shew. This he expoundeth to be the begetting of him, that there was begotten in God from the beginning a wil to begette a Sonne, which also in act extended to the nature it selfe. In the meane time he confoundeth the Spirit with the Worde, for that God distributed the inuisible Word and the Spirit into flesh & soule. Finally the figuration of Christ, hath with them the place of begetting, but he saith, y he which then was but a shadowish sonne in forme, was at length begotten by the worde, to which he assigneth the office of seede. Whereby it shall followe that hogges & dogges are as well the children of God, because they were create of the originall seede of the worde of God. For although he compound Christ of three vncreate elementes to make him begotten of the essence of God, yet he saineth that he is so the first begotten among creatures, that the same essentiall godhead is in stones, according to their degree. And lest he should seeme to strippe Christ out of his godheade, he affirmeth that his flesh is consubstantiall with God, and that the Word was made man by turning the flesh into God. So while he can not conceiue Christ to be the Son of God, vnlesse his flesh came from the essence of God, and were turned into godhead, he bringeth the eternall person of the Worde to nothing, and taketh from vs the sonne of Dauid, that was promised to be the Redeemer. He oft repeteth this, that the Sonne was begotten of G O D by knowledge and predestination, & that at length he was made man of that matter which at the beginning shined with God in the three elementes, which afterward appeared in the first light of the worlde, in the cloude and in the pillar of fire. Nowe how shamefully he sometime disagreeeth with himselfe, it were too tedious to rehearse. By this short recitall the readers that haue their sound witte may gather, that with the circumstances of this vnclane dog the hope of saluation is vtterly extinguished. For if the fleshe were the godheade it selfe, it shoulde cease to be the temple thereof. And none can be our redeemer, but he that begotten of the seede of Abraham and Dauid, is according to the flesh, truly made man. And he wrongfully standeth vpon the wordes of John, that the Worde was made flesh for as they resist

the error of Nestorius, so they nothing further this wicked inuention, whercof Eutiches was author, forasmuch as the onely purpose of the Euangelist was to defend the vnitie of persons in the two natures.

The xv. Chapter.

That vs we may knowe, 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 kingdom, and his Priesthood.

AVgustine saith rightly; that although the Heretikes do bragge of the name of Christ, yet they haue not all one foundation with the godly, but that it remaineth onely proper to the Church. For if these things be diligently considered, that belong to Christ. Christ shall be found among them onely in name, and not in very deede. So at this day the Papistes, although the name of the Sonne of God redeemer of the worlde; founde in their mouth: yet because being contented with vaine pretense of the name, they spoile him of his power and dignitie: this saying of Paul may be well spoken of them, that they haue not the head. Therefore, that faith may finde sound matter of saluation in Christ, and so rest in him, this principle is to be stablished, that the office which is committed to him by his Father, consisteth of three partes. For he is giuen both a Prophet, a King, & a priest. Albeit, it were but small profite to know 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 known what eche of these titles containeth in it. We haue said before, howe, though God sending Prophets by continual course one after another, did neuer leaue his people destitute of profitable doctrine, and such as was sufficient to saluation; that yet the mindes of the godly had alway this persuasion, 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 knewe the true religion, as appeareth 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 mindes: But as they were taught by assured oracles, so they beleued. Notable among the other is that saying of E say: 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 counsel. After this manner the Apostle commending the perfection of the doctrine of the Gospel, after that he had saide, that God in the old time spake to the Fathers by the Prophets diuersly, and vnder manifold figures, addeth that last of all he spake vnto vs by his beloued Sonne. But because it was the common office of the Prophets to kepe the Church in suspense, & to vphold it vntil the comming of the Mediator, therfore we read that in their scattering abroad, the faithful complained that they were depriued 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 seale vp the vision and the Prophet, not only that the Prophecie, which is there spoken of, should be stablished in assured

Enchir. ad Laur. ca. 5.

Col. 2. 19.

Io. 4. 25.

Esa. 55. 4.

Heb. 1. 10.

Psa. 74. 9.

Dan. 9. 24.

credit, but also that the faithfull should 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 cōmendation of Christ belongeth to these three offices. For we know that in the time of the law, as well the Prophets as Priestes and Kings were anoynted with holy oyle. For which cause the renoumed name of Messias was giuen to the promised Mediatour. But though in deede I confesse, (as I haue also declared in an other place,) that he was called Messias by peculiar consideration & respect of his kingdome: yet the annoyntings in respect of the office of Prophet & of priest, haue their place, and are not to be neglected of vs. Of the first of these two is expresse mention made in E say, in these words: The spirite of the Lorde Iehoua vpon me. Therefore the Lord hath anointed me, that I should preach to the meeke, should bring health to the contrite in heart, shoulde declare deliuerance to captiues, should publish the yere of good will, &c. Wee see y he was annoynted 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 he tooke not the annointing for himselfe alone, that he might execute the office of teaching, but for his whole body, that in his continuall preaching of the Gospel, the vertue of the Spirit should ioyne withall. But in the meane time this remaineth certaine, y 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 Gospel, doe patche any foraine thing vnto it. For that voice which thundered from heauen, saying: This is my beloued sonne, heare him: hath auanced him by singular priuilege about the degrees of all other. Then, this oyntment is poured abroad from the head vnto all the members: as it was forespoken by Joel. Your children shal prophesie, & your daughters shal see visions, &c. But where Paul saith, that he was giuen vs vnto wisdom: and in another place, y in him are hidden all the treasures of knowledge & 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 infinitenesse of heauenly good things. For which cause he writeth in another place: I haue counted it precious to knowe 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 knowe y in the summe of the doctrine, which he hath taught, are contained al points of perfect wisdom.

3 Now come I to his kingdome, of which were vaine to speake, if y readers were not first warned, that the nature thereof is spiritual. For thereby is gathered, both to what purpose it serueth, and what it auaileth vs, and y whole force and eternitie therof, and also the eternitie which in Daniel the Angel doeth attribute to the person of Christ: and againe the Angel in Luke doeth worthily applic to the saluation of the people. But that is also double or of two sortes, for the one belongeth to the whole bodie of
the

Esa. 51. 1.

Mat. 3. 17.

Joel. 2. 28.

1. Cor. 1. 30

Col. 2. 3.

1. Cor. 2. 2.

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 sworne by my holinesse to Dauid, I will not lie, his seede shall abide for euer, his seate shall be as the Sunne in my sight, it shall be stablished as the Moone for euer, and a faithfull witness in heauen. Neither is it doubtful, but that God doth there promise, that he will be by the hande of his sonne an eternall gouerner and defender of his Church. For the true performance of this prophetic can be founde no where else but in Christ: forasmuch as immediatly after y^e death of Salomon, the greater part of the dignitie of the kingdome fell away, & was to the dishonour of the house of Dauid. conueyed ouer to a priuat man, and afterwarde by litle and litle was diminished, till at length it came to vter decay, with heauy & shamful destruction. And the same meaning hath y^e exclamation of Esaie: Who shall shew forth his generation? For he so pronounceth that Christ shall remaine aliue after death, that he ioyneth him with his members. Therefore, so oft as wee heare that Christe is armed with eternall power, let vs remember that the euerlasting continuance of the Church is vpholden by this supporte, to remaine still safe among the troublesome tossings, wherewith it is continually vexed, and among the greuous and terrible motions that threaten innumerable destructions. So when Dauid scorneth the boldnesse of his enemies, that go about to breake the yoke of GOD and of Christ, and sayeth, that the kinges and peoples raged in vaine, because hee that dwelleth in heauen is strong enough to breake their violent assaultes: he assureth the Godly of the continuall preservation of the Church, and encourageth them to hope wel so oft as it happeneth to be oppressed. So in an other place, when he sayth in the person of God: sit at my right hande, till I make thine enemies thy footstool: he warneth vs, that how many and strong enemies so euer doe conspire to besiege the Church, yet they haue not strength enough to preuaile against that vchangeable decree of God, whereby he hath appointed his sonne an eternall king: wherupon it followeth, that it is impossible that the Deuill with all the preparation of the worlde, may be able at any time to destroye the Church, which is grounded vpon the eternall seat of Christ. Now for so much as concerneth the special vse of euery one; the very same eternal continuance ought to raise vs vp to hope of immortalitie. For we see, that whatsoeuer is earthly and of the worlde, endureth but for a time, yea and is very fraile. Therefore Christ, to lift vp our hope vnto heauen, pronounceth that his kingdome is not of this worlde. Finally, when any of vs heareth, that the kingdome of Christ is spiritual, let him be raised vp with this saying, and let him pearce to the hope of a better life: and whereas he is nowe defended by the hande of Christ, let him looke for the full frute of this grace in the worlde to come.

4 That, as we haue saide, the force and profit of the kingdome of Christ can not otherwise be perceiued by vs, but when we knowe it to be spiritual: appeareth 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 harde and miserable: what then should it profit vs to be gathered together vnder the dominion of a heauenly king, vnlesse we were certaine to enioy

the frute thereof out of the state of this earthly life? And therefore it is to be knowen, that whatsoeuer felicity is promised vs in Christ, it consisteth not in outwarde commodities, that we should leade a merry and quiet life, flourish in wealth, be assured from all harmies, and flowe full of those delitefull thinges that the flesh is wont to desire: but that it wholly belongeth to the heauenly life. But as in the worlde the prosperous and desired state of the people is partly maintayned by plentie of good thinges and peace at home, and partly by strong forceable defences; wherby it may be safe against outwarde violence: so Christ also doth enrich his with all thinges necessarie to eternall saluation of soules, and fortifieth them with strength; by which they may stande inuincible against all assaults of principal enemies. Wherby we gather, that he reigneth more for vs than 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 spirit, wherof we are naturally emptie, we may by these first frutes perceiue that we are truly ioyned to God vnto perfect blessednes. And then, that bearing vs bolde vpon the power of the same spirit, wee may not doubt that we shall alway haue the victorie against the Deuill, the worlde, and euery kinde of hurtfull thing. To this purpose tenderth 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 soueraigne blessing of God was to be hoped for, they in scorne required him to shewe forth his signes. But he, because they (who otherwise are too much bent to the earth) should not foolishly rest vpon worldly pompes, biddeth them to enter into their own consciences, because the kingdom of God is righteoufnes, peace & ioy in the holy Ghost. Hereby we are briefly taught, what the kingdome of Christ auaieth vs. For, because it is not earthly or fleshly, subiect to corruption, but spirituall: he listeth vs vp euen to eternall life, that we may patiently passe ouer this life in miseries, hunger, colde, contempt, reproches, and other grieues, contented with this one thing, that our king will neuer leaue vs destitute, but succour vs in our necessities, til hauing ended our warre, we be called to triumph. For such is his maner of reigning, to communicate with vs al that he hath receiued of his father. Now wheras he armeth and furnisheth vs with power, and garnisheth vs with beauty and magnificence, enricheth vs with wealth: hereby is ministred vnto vs most plentifull matter to glorie vpon, & also bolde courage to fight without feare against the Deuill, sinne and death. Finally, that clothed with his righteoufnesse, we may valiantly ouercome all the reproches of the world, and as he liberally filleth vs with his gifts, so we again for our part, may bring forth frute to his glorie.

5 Therefore his kingly anointing is set forth vnto vs, not done with oile or ointmentes made with spices, but he is called the anointed of God, because vpon him hath rested the spirit of wisdome, vnderstanding, counsell, strength and feare of God. This is the oyle of gladnesse, wherewith the Psalme reporteth that he was anointed aboue his fellowes, because if there were not such excellencie in him, we should be all needy & hungry. For, as

plenty vpon vs being hungry and dry. For as it is saide, that the father gaue the spirite to his sonne, not by measure, so there is expressed a reason why, Iohn. 1. 16. that all we should receiue of his fulnesse, and grace for grace. Out of which fountaine floweth that liberall giuing, whereof Paul maketh mention, where- Eph. 4. 7. by grace is diuersely distributed to the faithfull, according to the measure of the gift of Christ. Hereby is that which I saide, sufficiently confirmed, that the kingdom of Christ consisteth in y^e spirit, not in earthly delits or pompes, and therefore we must forsake the worlde that we may be partakers of it. A visible signe of this holy anointing was shewed in the baptilme of Christe, Iohn. 1. 33. when the holy Ghost rested vpon him in the likenesse of a doue. Luk. 3. 22. 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 quickned, specially for so much as concerneth the heauenly life: there is no droppe of liuely force in vs, but that which the holy Ghost poureth into vs, which hath chosen his seat in Christ, that from thence the heauenly riches might largely flowe out vnto vs, whereof wee are so needy. And whereas both the faithfull stande inuincible by the strength of their king, and also his spiritual riches plentifully flowe out vnto them, they are not vnworthily called Christians: But this eternitie whereof we haue spoken, is nothing derogate by that saying of Paul: Then he shall yelde vp the kingdome to God and the Father. 1. Cor. 15. 24. Againe: The sonne him selfe shall be made subiect, that 1. Cor. 15. 28. God may be all in all things: for his meaning is nothing els, 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 al power to the sonne, that by the sonnes hande he may gouerne, cherish and sustaine vs, defend vs vnder his sauegarde, and helpe vs. So while for a litle time we are waucring abroad from God, Christ is the meane betweene God and vs, by litle and litle to bring vs to perfect conioyning with God. And truely, whereas he sitteth on the right hande of the Father, that is as much in effect, as if he were called the fathers deputie, vnder whom is the whole power of his dominion, because it is Gods will to rule and defende 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 chapiter to the Ephesians, that he was set at the right hande of the father, to be the head of the Church, which is his body. And to noe 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 glorie of G O D the Father. For euen in the same wordes also he setteth out in the kingdome of Christe an order necessarie for our present weakenesse. So Paul gathereth rightly, that God shall then be by himselfe the only head of the Church, because Christes office in defending of the Church, shall be fulfilled. For the same reason the Scripture commonly calleth him Lorde, because his Father did sette him ouer vs to this ende, to exercise his owne Lordely power by him. For though there be many lordeshippes in the worlde, yet is there to vs but one God the Father, of whome are all things and we in him, and one Lorde Christ, by whome are all things and we by him sayth Paul. Wherevpon is rightly gathered that he is the selfe same G O D, which by

Esa. 33. 22.

the mouth of Esay affirmed himselfe to be the king and the lawe maker of the Church. For though he do euery where call al the power that he hath, the benefit 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 & incomprehensible glory of the father, he might approach nie vnto vs. And so much more rightfull it is, that we be with all consent prepared to obey, & that with great cherefulness we direct our obediences to his commandement. For as he ioyneth the offices of king and pastor toward them that willingly yeelde themselues obedient: so on the other side we heare that he beareth an yron scepter, to breake and broose all the obstinate like potters vessels: wee heare also that he shalbe the iudge of nations, to couer the earth with dead corpses, and to ouerthrowe the height that standeth against him. Of which thing there are some examples scene at this day: but the full proufe thereof shalbe at the last iudgement, which may also properly be accounted the last act of his kingdome.

Psa. 2. 9.

Psa. 110. 6.

6 Concerning his Priesthood, thus it is briefly to be holden, that the end and vse of it is, that he should be a Mediator pure from all spotte, that should by his holinelle reconcile vs to God. But because the iust curse possesseth the entry, and God according to his office of iudge is bent against vs, it is necessarie 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 behoued that he should come forth with a sacrifice. For in the lawe it was not lawefull for the priest to enter into the sanctuarie without bloud, that the faithfull might knowe, 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 sinnes were purged. Vpon which point the Apostle discourseth largely in the epistle to the Hebrues, from the seuenth chapter almost to the ende of the tenth. But the summe of all commeth to this effect, that the honour of priesthoode can be applied to none but to Christ, which by the sacrifice of his death hath wiped away our guiltines, and satisfied for our sinnes. But how weighty a matter it is, we are enformed by that solemn oth 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 knewe to be the chiefe ioynte whereupon our saluation hanged. For, as it is sayde, there is no way open for vs or for our prayers to God, vnlesse our filthinesse being purged, the priestes do sanctifie vs and obtain grace for vs, from which the vncleanesse of our wicked doings and sinnes doth debarre vs. So doe we see, that we must beginne 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 eternal intercessor, by whose mediation we obtaine fauour, whereupon againe ariseth not onely affiance to pray, but also quietnesse to godly consciences, while they safely leane vpon the fatherly tendernesse of God, and are certainly perswaded that it pleaseth him, whatsoeuer is dedicated to him by the Mediator. But whereas in the time of the lawe, God commanded sacrifices of beastes to be offered to him: there was an other and an new order in

Psa. 110. 4.

Christ, that one should be both the sacrificed host, and the priest: because there neither could be founde any other satisfaction for sinnes, nor any was worthie so great honour to offer vp to God his onely begotten sonne. Nowe Christ beareth the person of a Priest, not onely by eternall meane of reconciliation to make the Father fauorable and mercifull vnto vs, but also to bring vs into the felowship of so great an honour. For wee that are defiled in our selues, yet being made Priestes in him doe offer vp our selues, & all ours to God, and doe freely enter into the heauenly sanctuarie, that all the sacrifice of prayer and praise that come from vs, may bee acceptable and sweete smelling in the sight of God. And thus farre doeth that saying of Christ extende: For their sakes I sanctifie my selfe: because, hauing his holinesse powred vpon vs, in as much as hee hath offered vs with himselfe to his father, we that otherwise doe stinke before him, doe please him as pure & cleane, yea & holy. Herevnto serueth the anointing of the sanctuarie, whereof mention is made in Daniel. For the cōparison of contrarietie is to be noted betwene this anointing, and that shadowish anointing that then was in vse: as if the Angell should haue saide, that the shadowes being driuen away, there should be a cleere priesthōode 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 themselues to kill him: which is dayly interprised among the Papistes, where the Masse is reckened a sacrificing of Christ.

Reue. 1. 6.

Iohn. 17. 15.

Dan. 9. 24.

Act. 1. 5.

The xvj. Chapter.

Howe Christ hath fulfilled the office of Redeemer, to purchase saluation for vs, wherein is intreated of his death, and Resurrection, and his Ascending vnto Heauen.

AL that we haue hetherto saide 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 Peter, that there is none other name vnder heauen giuen to men where in they must be saued. Neither was the name of Iesus giuen him vnadvisedly, or at chaunfable aduenture, or by the will of men, but brought from heauen by the Angel the publisher of Gods decree, and with a reason also assigned: because he was sent to saue the people from their sins. In which words y is to be noted, which we haue touched in an other place, y the office of redeemer was appointed him, y he should be our Sauour: but in the meane time our redemption should be but vnperfect, vnles he should by continual proceedings conuey vs forward to y vttermost marke of saluation. Therefore, so soone as we swarte nener so little from him, our saluation by litle & litle vanisheth away, which wholly resteth in him: so y all they wilfully spoile the selues of all grace, y rest not in him. And y admonition of Bernard is worthie to be rehearsed, that the name of Iesus is not only light, but also meat, yea & oile also, without which all the meat of y soule is drie, and that it is also salt, without the seasoning whereof all that is set before vs is vnfauoric. Finally, that it is honye in the mouth, melodie in the eare and

Act. 4. 12.

Matt. 1. 22.

Luk. 1. 31.

Bern. in can. sermo. 15.

and ioyfulnesse in the hearte, and also medicine, and that whatsoeuer is spoken in disputation is vnfauoric, but where this name soundeth. But here it behoueth to wey diligently how saluation is purchased by him for vs: that wee may not onely bee perswaded that he is the author of it, but also embracing such things as are sufficient to the stedfast vpholding of our faith, wee may refuse all such things as might drawe vs away hither or thither. For sith no man can descende 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 demaundeth satisfaction: there is no common assurednesse required, because the wrath and curse of God lyeth alwaye vpon sinners, till they bee loose from their guiltinesse: who, as hee 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 any further, it is to be scene by the way, how it agreeth together, that God which preuented vs with his mercie, was our enimie vntill he was reconciled to vs by Christ. For howe coulde he haue giuen vs in his onely begotten Sonne a singular pledge of his loue, vnlesse hee had alreadye before that embraced vs with his free fauour? Because therefore here ariseth some seeming of contrarietie, I will first vndoe this knotte. The holy Ghost commonly speaketh after this manner in the scriptures, that God was enimie 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 receiued into a conioyning by his bodie. Such manner of phrases are applied to our capacitie, that wee may the better vnderstand howe miserable and wretched our estate is being out of Christ. For if it were not spoken in expresse wordes, that the wrath and vengeance of God, and euerlasting death did rest vpon vs, wee woulde lesse acknowledge howe miserable wee shoulde bee without Gods mercie, and woulde lesse regarde the benefite of deliuerance. As for example. If a man heare this spoken to him: If God at such time as thou wast yet a sinner, had hated thee, and cast thee away as thou hadst deserued, thou shouldest haue suffered horrible destruction: but because hee hath willingly and of his owne free kindnesse kept thee in fauour, and not suffred thee to bee estraunged from him, hee hath so deliuered thee from that perill: truely he will bee moued with, and in some parteele howe much hee oweth to the mercie of God. But if hee heare on the other side that which the Scripture teacheth, that hee was by sinne estraunged from God, the heir of wrath, subiect to the curse of eternall death, excluded from all hope of saluation, a straunger from all blessing of God, the bondslaue of Satan, captiue vnder the yoke of sinne: Finally, ordeyned vnto and alreadye entangled with horrible destruction, that in this case Christ became an intercessor to entreate for him, that Christ tooke vpon him and suffered the punishment which by the iust iudgement of God did hang ouer all sinners, that hee hath purged with his bloode those euils that made them hatefull to God, that by this expiation is sufficient satisfaction and sacrifice made to God the father, that by this intercessor his wrath was appeased: that within this foundation resteth the peace betweene God and men:

Rom. 5. 10.
Gal. 3. 10.
Col. 1. 11.

men: that vpon this bonde is contained his good will toward them: shall not he be so much the more moued with these, as it is more liuely represented, out of howe great miserie hee hath beene deliuered? In a summe: because our minde can neither desirously enough take hold 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 of God and dread of eternall death, we are so taught by holy scripture, that without Christ wee may see God in manner wrathfully bent against vs, and his hand armed to our destruction: and that wee may inbrace his good will and fatherly kindnes no otherwhere, but in Christ.

3 And although this be spoken according to the weakenesse of our capacitie, yet it is not falsely saide. For God which is the highest righteousness, can not loue wickednesse which hee seeth in vs all. Therefore we all haue in vs that, which is worthie 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 Lorde will not loose that which is his in vs, hee findeth yet somewhat that he of his goodnesse may loue: For howsoever we be sinners by our owne fault, yet wee remayne his creatres. Howsoever we haue purchased death to our selues, yet hee made vs vnto life. So is hee moued by meere and free louing of vs, to receiue vs into fauour. But sith there is a perpetuall and vnappesable disagreement betweene righteousness and iniquitie, so long as wee remaine sinners, hee cannot receiue vs wholie. Therefore; that taking away all matter of disagreement, he might wholy reconcile vs vnto him, hee doeth by expiation set forth in the death of Christ, take away whatsoeuer euill is in vs; that we, which before were vncleane and vnpure, may nowe appeare righteous and holy in his sight. Therefore God the Father doeth with his loue preuent and goe before our reconciliation in Christ, yea, because hee first loued vs, therefore he afterwarde doeth reconcile vs vnto himselfe. But because, vntill Christ with his death come to succour vs, there remaineth wickednes 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 ioyne vs. Therefore if we will assure our selues to haue God made well pleased and fauourable vnto vs, wee must fasten our eyes and mindes vpon Christ onely: as in deed we obtaine by him onely, that our finnes bee 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 worlde, was stayed and grounded vpon Christ. These things are plaine and agreeable with the scripture, and doe make those places of Scripture. to accorde verie 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 hee was our enimie till he was made fauourable againe to vs by the death of Christ. But that they may be more strongly proued to them that require the testament of the old Church I will alleadge one place of Augustine, where hee teacheth the verie same that wee doe. The loue of God (saith he) is incomprehensible and vnchan-

1. Ioh. 4. 19.

Ioh. 3. 16.
Rom. 5. 10.Tra&. in E.
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Iohn. 1. 10.

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is alleaged by the Euangelist. He was accounted among the wicked. And why so? euen to take vpon him the stede of a sinner, not of a man righteous or innocent, because hee suffered death not for cause of innocencie, but for sinne. On the other side when wee heare that hee was acquitted by the same mouth whereby hee was condemned, for Pilate was compelled openly more than once to beare witness of his innocencie: let that come in our minde which is in the other Prophet: y^e he repayed that which he had not taken away. And so wee 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. Hee suffered therefore vnder Ponce Pilate, and so by the solemne sentence of the President, was reckned in y^e number of wicked doers: but yet not so, but y^e 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 remoued vpon the heade of the sonne of God. For this setting of one against the other, wee ought principally to holde fast, least wee tremble and bee 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 accursed, not onely by opinion of men, but also by decree of the lawe of God. Therefore when Christ was lifted vp to the Crosse, hee made himselfe subiect to the curse. And so it behocued to be done, that when the curse was remoued from vs to him, we might be deliuered from all curse y^e for our sins was prepared for vs, or rather did already rest vpon vs. Which thing was also by shadowe expressed in the law. For the sacrifices and satisfactorie oblations that were offered for sinnes, were called *Ashemoth*. Which worde properly signifieth sinne it selfe. By which figuratine change of name, the holy Ghost meant to shew, that they were like vnto cleansing playsters to draw out to themselues, and beare the curse due to sinne. But that same which was figuratiuely represented in the sacrifices of Moses, is indeede deliuered in Christ the originall paterne of all the figures. Wherefore he, to performe a perfect expiation, gaue his owne soule to be an *asham*, 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 plainely, where he teacheth, that he which knewe no sinne, was by his father made sinne for vs, that wee might be made the righteousnesse of God in him. For the son 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 remoued and laide vpon the fleshe 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

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Esa. 53. 12.
Mar. 15. 13.

Psal. 95. 5.

John. 18. 38.

Esa. 53. 5. &
31.

1. Cor. 5. 21.

Rom. 8. 3.

the wrath of God. Now is it plaine, what that saying of the Prophet meaneth, that the iniquities of vs all were lay d 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 whereunto he was fastened was a token, as the Apostle testifieth. Christ (saith he) redeemed vs from the curse of the law, when he was made a curse for vs. For it is written: Accursed is euery one that hangeth on the tree: that the blessing of Abraham might in Christ come to the Gentiles. And the same had Peter respect vnto, where he teacheth that Christ did beare our sinnes vpon the tree. Because by the very token of the curse wee doe more plainly learne that the burden wherewith we were oppressed was laid vpon him. And yet it is not so to be vnderstanded, that he tooke vpon him such a curse, wherewith himselfe was ouerloden, but rather that in taking it vpon him, he did treade downe, breake and destroy the whole force of it. And so faith conceiueth acquitall in the condemnation of Christ, and blessing in his being accursed. Wherefore Paul doeth not without a cause honourably 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 sayth, that the hand writing which was against vs, was fastened to the crosse, and the Princely powers were spoyled and led openly. And no maruell: because (as the other Apostle testifieth) Christ offered vp him selfe by the eternall spirite. And thereupon proceeded that turning of the nature of things. But that these things may take stedfast roote, and be throughly settled in our heartes, let vs alway thinke vpon his sacrifice and washing. For wee could not certainly beleue that Christ was the ransome, redemption, and satisfaction, vnlesse he had beene a sacrificed hoste. And therefore there is so often mention made of bloud, where the Scripture sheweth the maner of our redeeming. Albeit the bloud of Christ that was shed, serued not onely for sacrifice, but also in steede of washing, to cleanse away our filthinesse.

7 It followeth in the Creede, that he was dead and buried. Where again it is to be seene, howe he did euery where put himselfe in our steede, to paye the price of our redemption. Death held vs bounde vnder his yoke, Christ in our steede did yeeld himselfe 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 should not die, or (which is all one) by his death he did redeeme life for vs. But in this he differed frō vs, that he gaue himselfe to death, as it were to be deuoured, not that hee should be swallowed vp with the gulfes of it, but rather that he should swallowe vp it, of which we should haue been presently swallowed: that he gaue himselfe to death to be subdued, not that he should be oppressed with y power thereof, but rather that he should ouerthrowe 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 Diuel: 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 mor-

Esa. 53. 6.

Gala. 3. 13.
Deu. 27. 26.

1. Pet. 2. 24.

Col. 2. 19.

Heb. 9. 17.

Heb. 1. 9.

Heb. 2. 19.

Gal. 3. 19. &
9. 14.

Col. 3. 3.

tiſieth our earthly members, that they ſhould no more hereafter uſe their owne workes: and killeth our olde man, that it ſhould no more liue & beare fruite. And to the ſame purpoſe pertaineth his burial, that wee being partakers thereof, ſhould alſo be buried to ſinne. For when the Apoſtle teacheth that wee are graſſed 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 wee to the worlde, that wee are dead together with him, he doeth not onely exhorte vs to expreſſe the example of Chriſtes death, but hee 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 benefite to bee enjoyed, that is deliuerance from death, wherevnto wee were become bonde, and the mortifying of our fleſh.

8 But it is not meete to ouerpaffe his going down to the helles, wherein is no ſmall importance to the effect of redemption. For although it appeareth by the writings of the olde fathers, that that parte which is read in the Creed was not in olde time ſo much uſed 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 do not leaue it out. Whereby wee may geſſe, that it was after a certaine time added, and did not preſently but by litle & litle growe in uſe in the Churches. But this certainly is out of queſtion, that it proceeded of the common iudgement of all the godly: For as much as there is none of the Fathers that doeth not in his writings make mention of Chriſtes going downe to the helles, although after diuerſe maner 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, wherein nothing may be thruſt, but that which is taken out of the moſte pure worde of God. Nowe, if any will not for precise curioſitie admit it into the Creede, yet ſhall it ſtreight way be made to appeare plainely, that it is of ſo great importance to the ſumme of our redemption, that if it be left out, there is loſt a great parte 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 worde *Infernum*, hell, is in the Scripture often times uſed for the graue. I graunt that to be true which they alleage of the ſignification of the worde, 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 idleneſſe were it, when a thing not harde to vnderſtand, hath once beene ſet out in plaine & eaſie wordes, afterwarde with darker implication of wordes, rather to point towarde it than to declare it. For when two maners of ſpeaking that expreſſe one thing be ioyned together, it behoueth that the later be an expoſition of the former. But what an expoſition were this, if a man ſhould
ſay

say thus: Whereas it is sayd that Christ was buried, thereby is meant that he went downe to hell? Againe, it is not likely that such a superfluous vaine repetition could haue crept into this abridgement, wherein the chiefe points of our faith are summarily noted in as fewe wordes as was possible. And I doubt not that so many as shall haue somewhat diligently weyed the matter it selfe, will easily agree with me.

9 Some expound it otherwise, and say that Christe went downe to the soules of the fathers that died in the time of the lawe, to carry them tidings, that the redemption was performed, and to deliuer them out of the prison wherein they were kept enclosed: & to the prooffe hereof they do wrongfully draw testimonies out of the Psalme, that he brake the brasen geates and yron barres. Againe out of Zacharie, that he redeemed them that were bounde, out of the pit wherein was no water. But whereas the Psalme speaketh of their deliuerances that in far countries are cast captiue into bondes, and Zacharie compareth the Babylonicall ouerthrowe, wherein the people was oppressed, to a dry pit or bottomlesse deapth, and therewithal teacheth that the saluation of the whole Church is as it were a comming out of the deepe helles. I wot not how it is come to passe, that they which came after, thought that there was a certaine place vnder the earth whereunto they haue fained the name of *Limbus*. But this fable, although they were great authours, and at this day many doe earnestly defende it for a truth: is yet nothing els but a fable. For, to enclose the soules of dead men as in a prison, is very childish. And what neede was it that Christes soule should goe downe thither to set them at libertie? I doe in deede willingly confesse, that Christ shined 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 worlde. And to this purpose may the place of Peter be probably applied, where he sayth, that Christ came and preached to the spirites that were in a dongeon or prison, as it is commonly translated. For the very processe of the text leadeth vs to this, that the faithfull which were dead before that time, were partakers of the same grace y^e we were: because he doth thereby amplifie the force of Christs death, for that it pearced euen to the dead, when the godly soules enioyed y^e present sight of that visitation which they had carefully looked for: on the other side it did more plainly appeare to the reprobate that they were excluded from all saluation. But whereas Peter in his saying maketh no distinction between them, that is not so to be taken, as though he mingled together the godly and vngodly without difference: but only he meant to teach that generally they both had one common feeling of the death of Christ.

10 But concerning Christes going downe to the hels, beside the consideration of the Crede, we must seeke for a more certaine exposition, and wee assuredly haue such a one out of the word of God, as it not onely holy and godly, but also full of singular comfort. Christes death had bin to no effect, if he had suffred only a corporal death: but it behoued also y^e he should feele the rigor of Gods vengeance: that he might both appease his wrath and satisfie his iust iudgement. For which cause also it behoued that he should as it were hande to hande wrastle with the armies of the hels and the horrou

Esa. 53. 5.

of eternall death. We haue euen now alleaged out of the Prophet that the chastisement of our peace was layde vpon him: that he was striken of his father for our sinnes, and broused for our infirmities. Whereby is meant, that he was put in the steede of wicked doers, as surety and pledge, yea & as the very guilty person himselfe, to abide and suffer all the punishments that shold haue beene layde vpon them: this one thing excepted, that he could not be holden still of the sorrowes of death. Therefore it is no marueile if it be said that he went downe to the hels, sith he suffered that death wherewith God in his wrath striketh wicked doers. And their exception is very fond, yea & to be scorned, which say, that by this exposition the order is peruerted, because it were an absurdity to set \dot{y} after his buriall which went before it. For after the setting foorth of those things that Christ suffered in the sight of men, in very good order foloweth that inuisible and incomprehensible iudgment which he suffered in the sight of God: that we should knowe that not onely the body of Christ was giuen to be the price of our redemption, but that there was an other greater and more excellent price payed in this, that in his soule he suffered the terrible tormentes of a damned and forsaken man.

Act. 2. 24.

Act. 2. 24.

II 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 ouercome. He doth not name it simply death: but he expreseth that the sonne of God was wrapped in the sorowes of death, which proceeded from the curse and wrath of God, which is the originall of death. For howe small a matter had it bin, carelessly and as it were, in sporte to come foorth to suffer death? But this was a true proufe of his infinite mercy, 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 wryteth: that Christ was hearde of his owne Feare: some translate it Reuerence or piety, but how vnfitly, both the matter it selfe, and the very maner of speaking proueth. Christ therefore praying with teares & mighty 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 hee had but our person vpon him. And truly there can be imagined no more dreadfull bottomlesse 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 we see that Christ was throwne downe, so farre \dot{y} 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 opinion 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 very anguish of the bottom of his heart. Yet doe we not meane thereby, that God was at any time his enemy or angry with him. For howe could he be angry with his beloued son, vpon whō his mind 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: \dot{y} he suffred the grieuouse esse of Gods rigour, for \dot{y} he being striken & tormented with the hand of God, did feele all the tokens

Heb. 5. 7.

Psa. 22. 2.
Mat. 27. 46.Vide Cyril.
lib. 2. de rec^t
sede ad Regi.

of God when he is angrie & punisheth. Whereupon Hylary 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 saith: The crosse, death, & 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 alleage the testimony of a priuate man, when the Apostle affirmeth the same, rehearsing this for a fruit of his victorie, that they were deliuered which were by feare of death all their life long subiect to bondage: It behoued therefore, that he shall ouercome that feare, that naturally doeth continually torment & oppresse all mortall men: which coulde not be done but by fighting with it. Moreouer, 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 diuel, 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 thinges, which our Prince hath swallowed vp.

12 Here some leud men, although vnlearned, 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 fearefull for the saluation of his soule. And then they more hardly enforce this cauillation wth saying, that I ascribe to the sonne of God desperation, which is contrary to faith. First they do but maliciously moue controuersie of Christs feare and trembling, which the Euangelists do so plainly report. For a litle before that the time of his death approached, he was troubled in spirit & passioneth with heauinesse, and at his very meeting with it, he began more vehemently to tremble for feare. If they say that he did but counterfeit, that is too foule a shift. We must therefore as Ambrose truely teacheth, boldly confesse the sorrowfulness of Christ, vnlesse wee be ashamed of his crosse. And truely, if his soule had not bene partaker of paine, he had bene only a redeemer for bodies. But it behoued that he should wrastle, to raise vp them that laye thrown down. And his heavenly glory is so nothing appaired therby, that euen herein gloriously shineth his goodnesse which is neuer sufficiently praised, that he refused not to take our weaknesse vpon him. From whence is also that comfort of our anguishes and sorrowes, which the Apostle setteth before vs: that this Mediatour did feele our infirmities, that he might be the more earnestly bent to succour vs in misery. 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 thinges together, that Christ was in all things tempted as we are, and yet that hee was without sinne. Therefore there is no cause that the weakenes of Christ should make vs affrayde, whereunto he was not by violence or necessitie compelled, but by meere loue of vs, and by mercy was led to submit himselfe. And whatsoeuer he of his owne will suffered for vs, diminisheth nothing of his power. But in this one point are these backbiters deceiued, that they do not perceiue in Christ an infirmite cleane and free from all fault and spot, because he kept himselfe within the boundes of obedience. For whereas there can be found no moderation in our corrupt nature,

Heb. 4. 15.

where all our affections do with troublesome violence exceede all measure, they do wrong to measure the forme of God by that standard. But when man was in his vncorrupted state, then there was a moderatiō hauing force in all his affections, to restraine excesse. Whereby it might well be that hee was like vnto vs in sorrow, dread, & fearfulness, 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 & wrath of God fro which he knewe himselfe to be safe. But let the godly readers weye how honorable this is for Christ, that he was more tender and more fearefull than the most part of the very rascall sort of men. Theeues & other euil doers do obstinately hast to death, many do with hautie courage despise it: some other do mildly suffer it. But what constancie or stout courage were it, for the soune of God to be astonished and in a manner striken dead with feare of it? For euen that which among the common sort might be accounted miraculous, is reported of him, that for vehemencie of grieffe, very drops of bloud did fall from his face. Neither did he this to make a shewe to the eies of other, but when in a secret corner whither he was gone out of company, he groned vnto his father. And this putteth it out of all dout, that it was needeful that he should haue Angels to come downe from heauen to relieue him with an vnwonted maner of comforting. How shameful a tendernes, as I said, should this haue bene, to be so farre tormented for feare of cōmon death, as to melt in bloudie sweate, & not to be able to be comforted, but by sight of Angels? What? doth not that prayer thrise repeated, (Father, if it be possible, let this cup depart from me) proceeding from an incredible bitternesse of heart, shew that Christ had a more cruel & harder batrel than with common death? Wherby appeareth that those triflers against whome I now dispute, do boldly babble vpon thinges that they knowe not, because they neuer earnestly considered what it is, or of howe great importance it is that we be redeemed from the iudgement of God. But this is our wisdom, wel to vnderstand how deere our saluation did cost the sonne of God. Now if a man should aske me, if Christ went then down to hel, when he prayed to escape that death: I answere, that then was the beginning of it: whereby may be gathered, how grieuous & terrible tormentes hee suffered, when he knew himselfe to stand to be arained for our cause before the iudgement seat of God. But although for a moment of time, the diuine power of the spirit did hide it selfe, to giue place to the weaknesse of the flesh: yet must we know, y^e the tentation by feeling of sorrow & feare was such as was not against faith. And so was that fulfilled which is in the Sermon of Peter, y^e he could not be holden of the sorrowes of death, because when he felt himself 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 vpo God, when for extremitie of paine he cried out, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? For though he was aboute measure grieued, yet he cesseth not to call him his God, of whom he crieth out that he was forsaken. Moreover hereby is confuted as well the errour of Apollinaris, as theirs y^e were called Monothelites. Apollinaris fained that Christ had an eternall spirite in steade of a soule, so that he was only but halfe a man. As though he could

cleane

Mat. 26. 39.

A& 1. 24.

Mat. 27. 47.

cleanse our finnes any other way, but by obeying his father. But where is affection or wil of obedience but in the soule? which soule of his we knowe was troubled for this purpose, to driue away feare, & bring peace & quietnes to our soule. Againe, for confusion of the Monothelites, 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 contrary affection. For herein is a plaine shewe of contrarietie. Father deliuer me from this houre. But euen therefore 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.

Ioh. 11. 27.

13 Nowe followeth his resurrection from the dead, without which all that wee 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 wee haue in his death a full accomplishment of saluation, because by it both wee are reconciled to God, and his iust iudgement is satisfied, and the curse taken away, and the penaltie fully payde: yet wee 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 very resurrection: but how this is, is better expressed in the wordes of Paul. For he sayeth, that Christ died for our finnes, and was raised vp againe for our iustification: as if he should haue sayde: that by his death sinne was taken away, and by his rising againe, righteousnesse was renewed and restored. For howe coulde he by dying deliuer vs from death, if he himselve had lyen still ouercome by death? How coulde he haue gotten victorie for vs, if himselve had bene vanquished in fight? wherefore wee do so parte the matter of our saluation betweene the death and resurrection of Christ, that by his death wee 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 shewe foorth her force and effect vnto vs. Therefore Paul affirmeth, that in his very resurrection he was declared the sonne of God, because then at last he vttered his heauenly power, which is both a cleare glasse of his godhead, and a stedfast 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 spirite. And in the same meaning in another, where he entreateth of perfection, he sayth: that I may knowe 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 beeing ypholden by his death shoulde wauer, but that the power of God which kepeth vs vnder faith, doth principally shew it selfe in the resurrection. Therefore let vs remember, that so oft as mention is made of his death only, there is also comprehended that which properly belongeth to his resurrection: and like figure of comprehension is there in the word Resurrection, as oft as it is vsed

1. Pe. 1. 3.

Rom. 4. 25.

1. Cor. 13. 4.
Phi. 3. 10.

1 Pet. 1. 21

seuerally without speaking of his death, so that it draweth with it that which peculiarly 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 Gospel is become vaine & deceitful, 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 terrours of damnation, to amplify the same, he saith further: Yea, the same He which dyed, is risen vp againe, and now standeth a Mediatour 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 an other commoditie which answereth that mortification. For (saith the Apostle) we are therefore grafted 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 wee 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 y^e are aboue, & not those that are vpon the earth. By which wordes we are not only exhorted to be raised vp after the example of Christ, to follow a newnesse of life: But we are taught that it is wrought by his power that we are regenerate in to righteousness. Wee obtaine also a third fruit of his resurrection, that wee are, as by an earnest deliuered vs, assured of our owne resurrection, of which we knowe that his resurrection is a most certeine argument. Whereof hee disputeth more at large in the fiftene chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians. But by the way this is to be noted, that it is saide, that he rose againe from the dead: in which saying is expressed the truth both of his death & of his resurrection: as if it had bene said, that he did both dye the same death that other men naturally do dye, 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 glory & power by rising againe, for that he had now layd away that base & vnnoble estate of mortal life, and the shame of the crosse: yet by his ascending vp into heauen only, he truly began his kingdome. Which the Apostle sheweth where he teacheth, that Christ ascended to fulfil all things. Where in seeming of repugnancie 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 bene 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 faithful, because Iesus was not yet glorified. Which the Lorde himselve also did testifie to the Disciples, saying: It is expedient for you that I go away. For if I do not goe away, the holy Ghost shall not come. But he giueth them a comfort for his corporal absence, that he will not leaue them as parentlesse, but will come againe to them after a certaine manner, in deede inuisible, but yet more to be desired, because they were then

1. Cor. 15.
17.

Rom. 8. 34.

Rom. 6. 4.

Col. 3. 5.

Col. 3. 1.

Eph. 4. 10.

Ioh. 7. 37.

Ioh. 16. 7.

then taught by more assured experience, that the authoritie which he enioyneth, and the power which he vseth, is sufficient for the faithfull, not onely 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, howe much more royally he then aduanced his kingdome, how much greater power he then shewed, both in helping his, and in ouerthrowing his enemies: Being therefore taken vp into heauen, he toke away the presence of his body 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 end of the worlde, he performed by this his ascending, by which as his bodie was lifted vp about all heauens, so his power and effectuall working was powred and spred abroad beyonde all the boundes of heauen and earth. But this I had rather to declare in Augustines wordes than mine owne. Christe (sayth he) was to go by death to the right hand of the father, from whence he is to come to iudge the quicke and the dead: and that like wise in bodily presence according to the sounde doctrin and rule of faith. For in spirituall presence with thē, he was to come after his ascension. And in an other place more largely and plainly: According to an vnspeakable & vnuisible grace is that fulfilled which he had spokē: behold I am with you al y daies, euen to the end of the world. But accordinge to the flesh which the worde tooke vpon him, accordinge to that that he was borne of the virgin, accordinge to that that he was taken of the Iewes, that he was fastened on the tree, that hee was taken downe from the crosse, that he was wrapped in linen clothes, that he was layde in the graue, that he was openly shewed in his rising againe: this was fulfilled, Ye shall not alway haue me with you. Why so? because he was conuersant according to the presence of his body fourty dayes 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 hande of his Father: and is here, for he is not gone away in presence of maicstie. Therefore according to the presence of his maicstie, we alway haue Christ: according to the presence of his flesh, it was truely sayde to his disciples: but me ye shall 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 eyes.

15 Wherefore, it by & by followeth, that he is sitten downe at the right hande 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 wil be exalted & reigne by his hande: was receiued to sit at his right hand: as if it had ben said, that he was inuested in the dominion of heauen & earth, solemnly entred vpon the possession of the gouernement committed vnto him, and that he not only entred vpon it, but also continueth in it til he come downe to iudgement. For so doth the Apostle expounde it, when he saieth thus: The father hath set him at his right hand, about all principality and power, and strength and dominion, and euery name that is named not onely in this worlde, but in the worlde to come. &c. He hath put all thinges vnder his

Tract. in Euan. Iohan. 109.

Mat. 28. 20.

Ag. 1. 3. & 9.

Mar. 16.
Heb. 1. 3.

Eph. 1. 10,
Phi. 2. 9.
1. Cor. 15. 27
Eph. 4. 15.

Act. 2. 30. & 3. 21. feete, and hath giuen him to be head of the Church about all things. Now you see to what purpose belongeth that sitting, that is, that al creatures both heauenly and earthly may with admiration looke vpon his maiestie, be gouerned with his hande, behold his countenance, and be subject to his power.

Heb. 1. 7. And the Apostles meane nothing else; when they so oft rehearse it, but to teach, that all thinges are left to his will. Therefore they thinke not rightly, which thinke that blessednesse is onely meant by it. And it forceth not, that in the Actes, Stephen testifieth that he sawe him standing, because wee speake not here of the gesture of his body, but of the maiestie of his dominion: so that to Sit is nothing else, but to be chiefe iudge in the heauely iudgement seate.

16 Hereupon doth faith gather manifolde fruit: For it learneth, that the Lord by his ascending into heauen, hath opened the entrie of the heauenly kingdome, which before had bin stopped vp by Adam. For when he entred into it in our flesh as in our name, thereupon followeth that which the Apostle sayth, that we doe already in him after a certaine maner sit in heauen. For that we do not with bare hope looke for heauen, but already in our head we possesse it. Moreouer faith perceiueth that he sitteth with his father to our great benefit. For he is entred into a sanctuarie not made with hands, and there appeareth before the face of the father a continuall aduocate and intercessor for vs: he so turneth the fathers eyes to his righteousness, that he turneth them away from our sinnes: Hee so reconciletli his minde vnto vs, that by his intercession he prepareth vs a way and passage to his throne, filling it with grace & mercifulnes, which otherwise would haue bin full of horror to wretched sinners. Thirdly, faith conceiueth his power, wherein consisteth our strength, might, wealth, and glorying against the hels. For ascending into heauen he led captiuity captiue, and spoyling his enemies he enriched his people, & dayly filleth them with heapes of spirituall riches. He sitteth therefore on hie, that from thence pouring out his power vnto vs, he may quicken vs to a spiritual life, sanctifie with his spirit, & garnish his church with the diuerse giftes of his grace, preferue it safe against all hurtes by his protection, restraints with the strength of his hand the raging enemies of his crosse and of our saluation: finally, holde all power, both in heauen and in earth, till he haue ouerthrowen all his enemies which are also our enemies, & made perfect y 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 doeth in deede here shewe to them that be his, plaine prooues of his power present among them: but because 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 shewe at the last day. For he shall in visible forme come down from heauen, euen such as he was seene to go vp: and he shall appeare to all men with vnspeakeable maiestie of his kingdome, with bright glistering of immortality, with infinite power of godhead, with a gard of Angels. From thence therefore we are bidden to loke for him to come our redemer at that day, when he shal seuer the Lambes from the Goates, the chosen from the forsakē: & there shalbe none

of all either the quicke or the deade, that shall escape his iudgement. For from the furthest corners of the world shal be heard the sound of the trumpet, wherewith all shall bee called to his iudgement seate, both they that shall bee founde aliue at that day, and they whome death hath before taken out of the companie of the quicke. Some there bee that in this place expounde the words 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 aforesaide meaning is plaine and easie to perceiue: so doth it better agree with the Creede which is euident that it was written according to the capacitie of the common people. And herewith nothing disagreeeth that which y^e Apostle affirmeth, that it is appointed to all men once to die. For although they which shall remaine in mortall life at y^e last iudgement shall not die after a natural maner and order: yet that change which they shal suffer, because it shalbe like a death, is not vnproperly called death. It is indeede certaine, that not all shall sleepe, but all shalbe changed. What meaneth y^e? In one moment their mortall life shall perish and be swallowed vp and be vtterly transformed into a new nature. This perishing of y^e flesh no man can denie to be a death: and yet in y^e meane time, it remaineth true, that the quicke and the dead shal be summoned to the iudgment: because y^e dead that are in Christ shall first rise, and then they y^e shal remaine and be liuing, shal with them bee sodenly taken vp into the aire to meete the Lord. And truely it is likely that this article was taken out of the sermon of Peter, which Luke reciteth, and out of y^e solemne protestation of Paul to Timothee.

18 Hereypon ariseth a singular comfort, when we heare that he is iudge, which hath alreadie appointed vs parteners with him in iudging: so far is it of, that he will goe vp into the iudgement seate to condemne vs. For howe shoulde the most mercifull prince destroye his owne people? howe shoulde the head scatter abroad his owne members? how should the patrone condemne his owne clientes? For if the Apostle dare crie out, that while Christ is intercessour for vs, there can none come forth that can condemne vs: it is much more true, that Christ himselfe being our intercessour, will not condemne them whome hee hath receiued into his charge and tuition. It is truely no small assurednesse, that we shall be brought before no other iudgement seate, but of our owne redeemer, from whome our saluation is to be looked for: moreover that he which nowe by the Gospell promiseth eternall blessednesse, shall then by sitting in iudgement performe his promise. Therefore to this ende the father hath honoured the sonne, in giuing him all iudgement, that so hee hath provided for the consciences of them that be his, trembling for feare of the iudgement. Hitherto I haue followed y^e order of the Apostles Creede, because whereas it shortly in fewe wordes containeth the cheefe articles of our redemption, it may serue vs for a table, wherein we doe distinctly and seuerally see those thinges that are in Christ worthie to be taken heede vnto. I call it the Apostles Creede, not carefullly regarding who were the authour of it. It is truely by great consent of y^e olde 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,

Mat. 25. 31.
1. The. 4. 16

Heb. 9. 17.

1. Co. 15. 51.

1. The. 4. 16.

A. 10. 42.
2. Tim. 4. 1.

Rom 5. 33.

Iohn. 5. 22.

deli-

deliuered by the handes of the Apostles, was worthie to bee confirmed with such a title. And I take it for no doubt, that whence so euer it proceeded at the first, it hath euen from the first beginning of the Church, and from the verie time of the Apostles, ben vsed as a publike confession, and receiued 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 euen from the farthest age it hath alway continued of sacred authoritie and credite among all the godly. But that thing which is onely to bee cared for, wee 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 conteyned in it that is not sealed with sounde testimonies of Scripture. Which being vnderstanded, it is to no purpose either curiously to doubt, or to striue with any man who were the authour of it: vnlesse perhappe it be not enough for some mā to bee assured of the truth of the holy Ghost, but if hee doe also vnderstande eyther by whose mouth it was spoken, or by whose hande it was written.

Act. 4. 13.

1. Cor. 1. 30.

Heb. 12. 17.

Gal. 5. 13.

19 But forasmuch as wee 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, wee are taught by the verie name of Iesus, that is it in him. If wee seeke for any other giftes of the spirit, they are to bee founde in his anoynting. If we 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 he might learne to sorrowe with vs: if we seeke for redemption, it is in his passion: if wee seeke for absolution, it is in his condemnation: if wee seeke for release of the curse, it is in his crosse: if we seeke for satisfaction, it is in his sacrifice: if wee seeke for cleansing, it is in his blood: if we seeke for reconciliation, it is in his going downe to the hels: if wee seeke for mortification of the fleshe, it is in his buriall: if wee seeke for newnesse of life, it is in his resurrection: if wee seeke for immortallitie, it is in the same, if wee seeke for the inheritaunce of the kingdome of heauen, it is in his entrance into heauen: if wee seeke for defense, for assurednesse, for plentie and store of all good things, it is in his kingdome: if wee seeke for a dreadlesse looking for the iudgement, it is in the power giue to him to iudge. Finally, sith the treasures of all sortes of good things are in him, let vs draw thence and from no where else, euen till we be full withall. For they which being not content with him alone, are caried hither & thither into diuerse hopes, although they haue principal regard to him, yet euen in this they are out of the right way, that they turne any part of their knowledge to any other where. Albeit such distrust can not creepe in, where the aboundaunce of his good giftes hath once bene well known.

The xvij. Chapter.

That is truly and properly said, that Christ hath deserved Gods fauour and saluation for vs.

This

THis question is also to be assoyled for an addition. For there are some suttle men after a wrong manner, which although they confesse that we obtaine saluation by Christ, yet can not abide to here 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 set Christ simply and by himselfe against the iudgement of GOD, then there shalbe no roome for deseruing: because there can not be founde in man any worthinesse that may deserue the fauour of God: But, as Augustine most truely wryteth, the most cleare light of predestination and grace is our Sauour himselfe, the man Christ Iesus, which hath obtayned so to be, by the nature of man, which is in him, without any deseruinges of workes or of sayth going before. I beseech you let me be answered, whereby that same Man deserued to be taken vp by the Worde that is coeternall with the father into one prison, and so to be the onely begotten sonne of God. Let therefore appeare in our head the very fountaine of grace, from whom according to the measure of euery one, it floweth abroade into all his members. By that grace euery one from the beginning of his faith is made a Christian, by which that same man from his beginning was made Christ. Againe in an other place: there is no plainer example of predestination than the Mediatour himselfe. For he that made of the seede of Dauid a man righteous y^e neuer should be vnrighteous, without any deseruing of his will going before, euen the same hee doeth of vnrighteous make them righteous that are the members of that heade: and so foorth 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 Mediatour, to purchase saluation for vs. And so is y^e deseruing of Christ vnfitly set against the mercy of God. For it is a common rule, that things orderly one vnder an other doe not disagree. And therefore it may well stand together, that mans iustification is free by y^e meere mercy of God, and that there also the deseruing of Christ come betweene 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 y^e deseruing of Christ hangeh vpon the onely grace of God, which appointed vs this meane of saluation, therefore as well the same deseruing, as that grace, is fitly set against all the workes of men.

- 2 This distinction is gathered out of many places of the Scripture. God so loued the worlde, y^e he gaue his only begotten son, that whosocuer beleeueth in him, shall not perish. We see how y^e loue of God holdeth y^e first place, as the soueraigne cause or originall, 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 wordes
may

Act. 3. 10.

Lib. 1. de præ
sanctorum,De bono
perseuerant.
cap. vlt.

Iohn, 3. 16.

may beare. For if we obtaine righteousnesse 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. Not that we first loued him, but he first loued vs, and sent his sonne to be the appeasing for our sinnes. In these wordes is clerely shewed, that God to the ende that nothing should withstande his loue toward vs, appointed vs a meane to be reconciled in Christ. And this worde Appeasing, is of great weight: because God, after a certaine vnspeakeable maner, euen the same time that he loued vs, was also angry with vs, vntil he was reconciled in Christ. And to this purpose serue all those sayings: He is the satisfaction for our sinnes. Againe: It pleased God by him to reconcile all thinges 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 beloved sonne. Againe, That he might reconcile them both to God into one man by y^e 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 beginne to embrace with his fauour them whom he loued before the making of the worlde, but because he vttered his loue when he was reconciled by the blood of Christ? For sith God is the fountaine of all righteousnesse, it must needes be, that man so long as he is a sinner, haue God his enemy and his iudge. Wherefore the beginning of his loue is righteousness, 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 obtayned 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 foloweth, that he giueth vs of his owne y^e which he hath purchased: For otherwise it would not agree with him, that this praise is giuen him seuerally 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 appealed 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 litle 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

John, 4.

1. Ioh. 3. 2.

Co. 1. 20.

2. Cor. 5. 19.

Ephe. 2. 16.

Ephe. 1. 6.

1. Cor. 5. 21.

Rom. 5. 11.

Rom. 5. 19.

And the future time of the verbe doeth not exclude present righteoufnesse, as appeareth by the proesse of the text: For hee had saide before, that the free gifte was of manie 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 bee the effect of his blood shed, that sinnes bee not imputed vnto vs: it followeth, that with that price the iudgemēt of God is satisfied. To which purpose serueth that saying of Iohn the Baptist: Beholde the Lambe of God that taketh away the sinne of the worlde. For hee setteth in comparison Christ against all the sacrifices of the lawe, to teache that in him onely was fulfilled that whiche those figures shewed. And we know, what Moses ech where saith: Iniquitie shall be cleansed, sinne shall be put away and forgiven. Finally wee are verie well 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. Wherevpon he gathereth, that Christ for the abolishing of sinne, appeared once for all by his sacrifice. Again: that he was offered vp to take away the sinnes of many. And he had saide before, that not by the blood of goates or of calues, but by his owne blood he once entred into y^e holy place, finding eternall redemption. Nowe when he thus reasoneth: If the blood of a calfe doe sanctifie, according to the cleanness of the fleshe, 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, vnles wee grant vnto his sacrifice the power of cleansing, appeasing & satisfying. As a litle 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 sins going before, which remained vnder the law. But specially it is conuenient to wey the relation which Paul describeth, that he became curse for vs. &c. For it were superfluous, yea & an absurditie, that Christ should bee charged with curse, but for this intent, that he paying that which other did owe, shoulde purchase righteoufnesse for them. Also the testimonie of Esay is plaine that the chastisement of our peace was laid vpon Christ, and that we obtined health by his stripes. For if Christ had not satisfied for our sinnes, it coulde not haue beene said, that he appeased God by taking vpon him the paine wherevnto we were subiect. Wherewith agreeth y^e which foloweth in the same place: For y^e sin of my people I haue stricken him. Let vs also recite the exposition of Peter, which shal leaue nothing doubtful: that he did beare our sin, vpon y^e tree. For he saith, y^e burthen of damnation frō which we were deliuered, was laid vpon Christ.

5 And the Apostles doe plainly pronounce, that he payed the price of ransome to redeeme vs from the guiltinesse 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 y^e grace of God in this point, because hee hath giuen the price of redemption in the death of Christ: and then he biddeth vs to flee vnto his blood, that ha-

1. Ioh. 1. 5.
Luk. 22. 20.

Iohn. 1. 29.

Heb. 9. 22.

Gal. 3. 13.

Esay. 53. 5.

1. Pet. 2. 24.

Rom. 3. 24.

hauing obtained righteoufneffe, wee may stande boldly before the iudgement of God. And to the same effect is that saying of Peter: that we are redeemed not by gold and filuer, but by the pretious blood of the vnspotted Lambe. For the comparison also woulde not agree, vnlesse with that price satisfaction had beene made for sinnes: for which reason Paul saith, that we are
 1. Pet. 1. 18.

preciously bought. Also that other saying of his woulde not stand together. There is one mediator that gaue himselfe to bee a redemption, vnlesse the paine had beene cast vpon him which wee had deserued: Therefore the
 1. Cor. 6. 20.

same Apostle defineth, that the redemption in the blood of Christ is the forgiuenesse of sinnes: as if hee shoulde 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 hande writing which was against vs, was cancelled vpon the crosse. For therein is meant y^e 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 hereby wee gather, that wee must fetch from Christ that which the lawe woulde giue, if any man can fulfill it: or (which is all one) that we obteyne by the grace of Christ that, which God promised to our workes in the lawe when he saide: Hee that doth these things, shall liue in them. Which hee no lesse plainly confirmeth in his sermon made at Antioch, affirming that by beleeuing in Christ wee are iustified from all those things, from which wee coulde not bee iustified in the lawe of Moses. For if the keeping of the lawe bee righteoufnesse, who can denie that Christ deserued fauour for vs, when taking that burden vpon him, he so reconciled vs to God, as if we our selues had kept the lawe? To the same purpose serueth that which he afterward writeth to the Galathians: God sent his son subiect to the law, y^e he might redeeme those that were vnder the lawe. For to what ende serued that submission of his, but that he purchased to vs righteoufnesse, taking vpon him to make good that which we were not able to pay? Hereof commeth that imputation of righteoufnes without works, wherof Paul speaketh, because the righteoufnes is reckened to vs which was founde in Christ only. And truely for no other cause is the fleshe of Christ called our meate, but because wee find in him the substance of life. And that power proceedeth from nothing else, but because the
 Gal. 4. 4.

Sonne of God was crucified, to be the price of our righteoufnesse. As Paul saith, that he gaue himselfe a sacrifice of sweete fauour. And in other place: Hee died for our sinnes, he rose againe for our iustification. Herevpon is gathered, that not onely saluation is giuen vs by Christe, but also for that his sake his father is nowe fauourable vnto vs. For there is no doubt that y^e 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 seruauntes sake. Wherof the Apostle is a right good witness, where hee saith: Your sinnes are forgiuen you for his names sake. For though the name of Christ be not expressed, yet Iohn after his accustomed manner signifieth him by this pronoune He. In which sense also the Lorde pronounceth: As I liue because of my father, so shall ye also liue because of mee. Wherewith agreeth
 1. Ioh. 2. 12.
 Iohn. 6. 57.

eth that which Paul saith, It is giuen you because of Christ, not onely to be- Phil. 1. 29.
leeue in him, but also to suffer for him.

6 But to demand, whether Christ deserued for him selfe, (as Lombard, & Sentent. li. 3
the other scholemen do) is no lesse foolish curiositie, than it is a rash deter- dist. 18.
mination when they affirme it. For what needed the sonne of God to come
downe to purchase any new thing for him selfe? And the Lord declaring,
his own counsell, doth put it wholly out of doubt. For it is not said, that the
father prouided for the commoditie of his sonne in his deseriings, but that Rom. 8.
he deliuered him to death, & spared him not, because he loued the worlde.
And the Prophets manners of speaking are to be noted, as, A child is borne. Ef. 1. 9. 6.
to vs. Againe: Reioyce thou daughter of Sion: behold thy king commeth to
thee. Also that confirmation of loue should be very cold, which Paul setteth Rom. 5. 10.
out, that Christ suffered death for his enimies. For there vpon wee gather, y^e Ioh. 17.
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 purchaceth nothing for himselfe.
And truely this is most worthily to be noted, that Christ, to giue himselfe
wholy to saue vs, did after a certaine maner forget himselfe. But to this pur-
pose they do wrongfully draw this testimonie of Paul: Therefore the father Phil. 2. 9.
hath exalted him, and giuen him a name, &c. For by what deseriings could
man obtaine to be iudge of the world, & the heade of the Angels, & to en-
ioy the foueraigne dominion of God, & that in him should rest that same
maiestie, the thousandth parte wherof all the powers of men & Angels can Luc. 24. 26
not reach vnto? But the solution therof is easie & plaine, that Paul doth not
there entreat 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 behouoeth that
Christ should suffer, and so enter into the glorie of his Father.

THE THIRD BOOKE

OF THE INSTITVTION OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION, WHICH intreateth of the manner howe to re- ceiue the grace of Christ, and what profits do growe vnto vs, & what effectes ensue therof.

The first Chapter.

*That those things which are spoken of Christ, do profite vs by
secrete vworking of the holy Ghost.*

NOwe it is to be seen how those good things do come vnto vs, which
the Father hath giuen to his only begotten Sonne, not for his own
priuate vse, but to enrich them that were without them & needed
them.

them. And first this is to be learned, that so long as Christ is out of vs, and we be seuered from him, whatsoeuer he suffered or did for the saluation of mankind, is vnprofitable and nothing auaieth for vs. Therefore that hee may enterparten with vs those things that he hath receiued of his Father, it behoueth 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 saide, that we are grafted into him, and did put on him. For (as I haue before said) all that euer he possesseth belongeth nothing to vs, vntill we growe together into one with him. But although it be true that we obtaine this by faith: yet forasmuch as wee see that not all without difference do embrace this enterpartening of Christ, which is offered by y^e Gospel, therefore very reason teacheth vs to climbe vp hier, and to enquire of the secret effectuall working of the Spirit, by which it is brought to passe, that we enioy 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 bloude that the Spirit should testifie of him, least the saluation that he hath purchased, should slip away from vs. For as there are alleged three witnesss in heauen, the Father, the Worde, and the Spirit, so are there also three in earth, Water, Bloud, and the Spirit. And not without cause is the testimonie of the Spirit twise repeted, which we feele to be engrauen in our hearts in steede of a seale: whereby commeth to passe, that it sealeth the washing & sacrifice of Christ. After which meaning Peter also saith, that the faithful are chosen in sanctification of the spirit vnto obedience and sprinkling of the bloud of Christ. By which wordes he telleth vs, that to the entent the shedding of that holy bloud should not become voide, our soules are cleansed with it by the secret watering of the holy Spirit. According wherevnto Paul also speaking of cleansing and iustification, sayeth that we are made partakers of them both in the name of Iesus Christ & in the Spirit of our God. Finally, this is the summe, that the holy Spirit is the bonde wherewith Christ effectually bindeth vs vnto him. For prooffe wherof also do serue all that wee haue taught in the last booke before this, concerning his anointing.

- 2 But that this, being a matter specially worthie to be knownen, may be made more certainly eident, wee must holde this in minde, that Christ came furnished with the holy Spirit after a certeine peculiar maner, to the end 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 appeareth as well in mankinde as in all other liuing creatures, but also is in vs the roote and seede of heavenly life. Therefore the Prophets do principally commend the kingdome of Christ by this title of prerogatiue, that then should flourish more plentifull abundance of the Spirit. And notable about all the rest is that place of Ioe: In that day I will powre of my Spirit vpon all flesh. For though the Prophet there seem to restrain the gifts of the Spirit to the office of prophecying, yet vnder a figure he meaneth, that God by the enlightning of his Spirit will make those

Ephe. 4. 13.

Rom. 8. 29.

Rom. 11. 17.

Gal. 3. 16.

1. Ioh. 5 7.

1. Pet. 2. 2.

Ioe. 2. 28.

those his scholers which before were vnskillfull and voide of all heauenly doctrine. Now for as much as God the Father doth for his sonnes sake giue vs his holy Spirite, and yet hath left with him the whole fulnesse thereof, to the end that he should be a minister and distributor of his liberalitie: he is sometime called the spirite of the Father, and sometime the Spirite of the Sonne. Ye are not (saith Paul) in the flesh, but in the Spirite, for the Spirite of God dwelleth in you. But if any haue not the spirite of Christ, he is not his. And herevpon he putteth vs in hope of full reuening, for that he which raised vp Christ from the dead, shall quicken our mortall bodies because of his Spirite dwelling in vs. For it is no absurditie, that to the Father be ascribed the praise of his owne giftes, whereof he is the author: and yet that the same be ascribed to Christ, with whome the giftes of the Spirite 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 Spirite is distributed to euery one, according to the measure of the gift of Christ. And it is to be known, that he is called the Spirite of Christ, not only in respect that the eternall Worde of God is with the same Spirite ioyned with y^e Father, but also according to his person of Mediator, because if he had not had that power, he had come to vs in vaine. After which meaning he is called the second Adam giuen from heauen, to be a quickening Spirit: whereby Paul compareth the singular life that the sonne of God breatheth into the 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 fauour of Christ and the loue of God, he ioyneth withall the common partaking of the Spirite, without which no man can taste neither of the fatherly fauour of God, nor of the bountifulnesse of Christ. As also he saith in another place: The loue of God is powred out into our heartes by the holy Spirite that is giuen vs.

3 And here it shalbe profitable to note, with what titles the Scripture setteth our the holy Spirite, where it entreateth of beginning & whole restoring of our saluation. First, he is called the Spirite of adoption, because he is a witness vnto vs of the free goodwill of God, wherewith God the Father hath embraced vs in his beloued onely begotten Sonne, y^e he might be a father vnto vs, and doeth encourage vs to pray boldly, yea and doth minister vs wordes to crie without feare, Abba, Father: by the same reason he is called the earnest pledge, and seale of our inheritance, because he so giueth life from heauen to vs wandring in the worlde, 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 righteousnes. And forasmuch as by his secret watering he maketh vs fruitful to bring forth the buddes of righteousnesse, he is oftentimes called water, as in Esaie: Al ye that thirst come to the waters. Againe: I wil poure out my spiriz vpon y^e thirstie, & floods vpon the drie land: wherwith agreeth that saying of Christ, which I did euen now allege. 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 Ezechuell where the Lord promiseth cleane waters wherwith he will wash his people from filthinesse. And forasmuch as hee restoreth

Rom. 8. 9.

Rom. 8. 11.

Iohn. 7. 37.
Ephc. 4. 7.

1. Cor. 12. 45.

Rom. 5. 5.

Gal. 4. 6.
2. Cor. 1. 21.

Rom. 8. 10.

Esa. 55. 1.
Esa. 44. 2.
Iohn. 7. 17.

Eze. 36. 25.

and nourisheth into liuely quicknes, them vpon whome he hath powred y liquor of his grace, he is therefore called by the name of oile and anoyntment. Againe becaufe in continually seething out & burning vp the vices of our lust, he setteth our hearts on fire with the loue of God and zeale of godlinesse, he is also for this effect worthily called fire. Finally, he is described vnto vs as a fountaine, from whence doe flowe vnto vs all heauenly riches, or the hand of God, wherewith he vseth his power: becaufe by the breath of his power he so breatheth diuine life into vs, that we are not now stirred by our selues, but ruled by his stirring & mouing: so that if there be any good things in vs, they be the fruites of his grace: but our owne giftes without him, be darknesse of minde, & peruerfnesse of heart. This point is set out plainly ynough, that til our mindes be bent vpon the holy Ghost, Christ lyeth in a maner idle, becaufe we coldly espie him without vs, yea & farre away from vs. But wee knowe that he profiteth none other but them whose head he is, and the first begotten among brethren, and them which haue put on Him. This conioyning only maketh that, as concerning vs, he is come not vnprofitably with the name of Sauour. And for prooffe hercof serueth that holy mariage, whereby we are made flesh of his flesh, & bones of his bones, yea and all one with him. But by the Spirite onely he maketh him selfe one with vs: by the grace and power of the same Spirite wee are made his members, so that he containeth vs vnder him, and wee againe possesse him.

4 But forasmuch as faith is his principal worke, to it are for the moste part referred all those things, that wee commonly finde spoken to expresse his force & working: becaufe he bringeth vs into the light of the Gospel by nothing but by faith: as Iohn Baptist teacheth, that this prerogatiue is giue to them that beleue in Christ, that they be the children of God which are borne not of flesh and bloud, but of God: where setting God against flesh and bloud, he affirmeth it to be a supernaturall gift that they receiue Christ by faith, who otherwise should remaine subiect to their owne infidelitic.

Like where vnto is that aunswere of Christ: Flesh and bloud hath not reuealed it to thee, but my Father which is in heauen. These things I doe now but shortly touche, becaufe 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 Spirite of promise. For Paul sheweth that he is an inward teacher, by whose working the promise of saluation pearceth into our minds; which otherwise shoulde but beate the aire or our eares. Likewise, when he sayeth, that the Thessalonians were chosen of God in the sanctification of the spirite and beleeuing of the trueth: by which ioyning of them together, he briefly admonisheth that faith it selfe proceedeth from nothing else but from the holy spirite: which thing Iohn setteth out more plainly, saying: Wee knowe that there abideth in vs of the spirite which he hath giuen vs. Againe, By this we knowe that we dwell in him; and he in vs, becaufe he hath giuen vs of his spirite. Therefore Christ promised to his Disciples the Spirite of trueth which the worlde cannot receiue, that they might be able to receiue the heauenly wisdom. And he assigneth to the same spirite this proper office, to put them in minde of those

things.

1. Ioh. 2. 20.
Luc. 3. 16.
Iohn. 4. 14.
Act. 1. 21.

Ephe. 4. 15.
Rom. 3. 29.
Gal. 3. 27.
Ephe. 3. 30.

Iohn. 1. 13.

Mat. 19. 17.

Ephe. 1. 13.

2. The. 1. 13.

2. Iohn. 3.
24. & 4.
Iohn. 14. 17

things that he had taught them by mouth. Because in vaine should \bar{y} light shewe it selfe to the blinde, vnlesse the same spirite of vnderstanding should open the eyes of their minde: so as a man may rightly call the holy spirite, the keye by which the treasures of the heauenly kingdome are opened vnto vs: and may call his enlightening, the eyesight of our minde to see. Therefore doth Saint Paul so much commend the ministerie of the spirite: because teachers should crie 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 saide, that perfect saluation is found 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 Gospel, and so newe begetting vs, that wee may be newe creatures: and purging vs from vnholly filthinesse, doth dedicate vs to be holy temples to God.

1. Cor. 3. 6.

Luk. 3. 16.

The ij. Chapter.

Of faith, wherein both is see the definition of it, and the properties that it hath, are declared.

BVt all these things shalbe easie to vnderstande, when there is shewed a plaine definition of faith, that the readers may knowe the force & nature thereof. But first it is conuenient to call to minde againe these things that haue bene already spoken, that sith God doeth appoint vs by his lawe what we ought to do, if wee fall in any point thereof, the same terrible iudgement of eternall death that he pronounceth doth rest vpon vs. Againe, that forasmuch as it is not onely heard but altogether about our strength and beyond all our power to fulfil the law, if wee onely behold our selues, and weye what estate is worthie for our desertings, there is no good hope left, but we lie cast away from God vnder eternall destruction. Thirdly, this hath bene declared, that there is but one meane of deliuerance to draw vs out of so wretched calamitie: wherein appeareth Christ the Redeemer, by whose hand it pleased the heauenly father, hauing mercy vpon vs of his infinite goodnesse and clemencie, to succour vs, so that wee with sounde faith embrace this mercy, and with constant hope rest vpon it. But now it is conuenient for vs to weye this, what maner of faith this ought to be, by which all they that are adopted by God to be his children, doe enter vpon the possession of the heauenly kingdome; forasmuch as it is certaine \bar{y} 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 study must wee looke about for, and search out the naturall propertie of faith, by howe much the more hurtful at this day is the errour of many in this behalfe. For a great part of the world, hearing the name of faith, conceiueth no hier thing, but a certeine common assent to the historie of the gospel, Yea when they dispute of faith in the scholes, in barely calling God the obiect of faith; they do nothing but (as we haue said in another place) by vain speculation rather draw wretched soules out of the right way, than direct them to \bar{y} true marke. For wheras God dwelleth in a light \bar{y} none can attaine to, it behoueth of necess-

1. Tim. 6. 16.

fitic that Christ become meane betweene vs & it. For which cause he calleth himselfe the light of the world: & in another place, The way, the truth, and the Life, because no man commeth to the father (which is the fountaine of life) but by him: because he only 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 knowen, but Christ: and in the xx. chapter of the Actes he saith, that he preached faith in Christ, &c. And in another place he bringeth in Christ speaking after this maner, I will send thee among the Gentiles, that they may receiue forgiveness of sinnes, & portion among holy ones, by the faith which is in mee. And Paul testifieth, y^e the glory 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 in deede y^e faith hath respect onely to the one God, but this also is to be added, that it acknowledge him whome hee hath sent, euen Iesus Christ. Because God himselfe should haue lyen secret & hidden farre from vs, vnlesse the brightnes of Christ did cast his beames vpon vs. For this entent the father left all y^e 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 saide, that we must be drawn by y^e spirit, that we may be stirred to seeke Christ, so againe we ought to be admonished, that the inuisible father is no where else to be sought but in this image. Of which matter Augustine speaketh excellently wel, which intreating of the marke that faith should shoote at, saith that we must knowe whether we must go and which way: and then by and by after he gathereth that the safest way against all errors is he that is both God and man. For it is God to whome we goe, & man by whome we go: and both these are founde no where but in Christ. Neither doth Paul when he speketh of faith in God, meane to ouerthrowe that which he so oft repeateth of faith that hath her whole stay vpon Christ. And Peter doth most fully ioyne them both together, saying that by him we beleue in God.

2 Therefore this euil, euen as innumerable other, is to be imputed to the Schoolemen, which haue hidden Christ as it were with a veile drawn before him, to the beholding of whome vnlesse we be directly bent, we shall alway wander in many vncertaine mazes. But beside this that with their darke definition they do deface and in a maner 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 do with great hurte deceiue the silly people, yea (to say truly and plainly as the thing is in deede) this deuise doth not only burie but vtterly 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 only of God, but of the will of God. For neither do we obtaine saluation by this that we either are readie to embrace for true whatsoeuer y^e Church appointeth, or that we do commit to it all the office of searching and knowing: but when wee 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 submit-

Iohn. 8. 12.
Iohn. 14. 6.
Luk. 10. 12.

1. Cor. 2.
Act. 20. 17.
2. Cor. 4. 6.

Lib. 11. de
cui. Dei. c. 2

1. Pet. 1. 21.

submitting of our sense, we attaine an entrie into the kingdome of heauen. For when the Apostle saith, that with the heart we beleue to righteousnes, Rom. 10. 10. 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 hee requireth an expressed acknowledging of Gods goodnesse, in which consisteth our righteousnesse.

3 In deede I deny not (such is the ignorance wherewith we are compassed) that there now be and hereafter shalbe many things wrapped and hidden from vs, till hauing put of the burden of our flesh we come neerer to the presence of God: in which very thinges that be hidden from vs, nothing is more profitable than to suspend our iudgement, but to stay our minde in determined purpose to keepe vnitie with the Church. But vnder this colour to intitule 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 y^e Church. And we see what a maze they haue framed with this their hidden implicatiō, that any thing whatsoever it be without any choise, so that it be thrust in vnder title of the Church, is greedily receiued of the ignorant as it were an oracle, yea sometime also most monstrous errorres. Which vnaduised lightnesse of beliefe, whereas it is a most certaine downfall 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 do they faine, that truth is holden in error, light in blindnes, true knowledge in ignorance. But because we will not tarry long in confuting them, we doe onely warne the readers to compare their doctrine with ours. For the very plainesse of the trueth it selfe will of it selfe minister a confutation ready enough. For this is not the question among them, whether sayth be yet wrapped with many remnantes of ignorance, but they definitiuely say that they beleue a right, which stande amased in their ignorance, yea and do flatter themselues therein, so that they doe agree to y^e authority and iudgement of the Church, concerning thinges vnknown. As though the Scripture did not euery where teach, that with faith is ioyned knowledge. Iohn. 17. 3.

4 But we do grant, that so long as we wander from home in this worlde, our faith is not fully expressed, not onely because many thinges are yet hidden from vs, but because being compassed with many mistes of errorres, we attaine not all thinges. For the highest wisdom of the most perfect is this, to profit more and proceede on further forward with gentle willingnesse to learne. Therefore Paul exhorteth the faithfull, if vpon any thing they differ one from an other, to abide for reuelation. And truly experience teacheth, that till we be vnclodded of our flesh, we attaine to knowe lesse than were to be wished, and dayly in reading wee light vpon many darke places which doe conuince vs of ignorance. And with this bridle GOD holdeth vs in modestie, assigning to euery one a measure of faith, that euen the very best teacher may be ready to learne. And notable examples of this vnexpressed faith, we may marke in the Disciples of Christ, before y^e they had obtained to be fully enlightned. We see, howe 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 Phil. 3. 15.

at the womens information they ranne to the graue, the resurrection of their master was like a dreame vnto them. Sith Christ did before beare witness of their faith, we may not say that they were vtterly 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 that still possessed their mindes so wrapped their faith in darkenesse, that they were in a maner amafed at it. Whereupon it is sayd, that they then at the last beleued when they had by triall of the thing it selfe proued y^e truth of the words of Christ, not that they then beganne to beleue, but because the seede of hidden faith which was as it were dead in their heartes, then receiuing liuelinesse, did spring vp. There was therefore a true faith in them, but an vnexpressed faith, because they reuerently embraced Christe for their onely 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 in deed 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 y^e 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 theselues to Christ, beareth the name of faith where it was in deede but the beginning of faith. So the courtier that beleued Christs promise, concerning the healing of his sonne 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, & then submitted himselfe to his authoritie to receiue his doctrine. Albeit it is to be knowen, that he was so tractable and 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 scholars of Christ. A like example doth Iohn set forth in the Samaritans, which so beleued the womans report, that they ranne earnestly to Christ, which yet when they had heard him, said thus: Now we beleue not because of thy report, but we haue heard him, and we know that he is the Sauour of the world. Hereby appeareth that they which are not yet instructed in the first introductions, so y^e they be disposed to obedience, are called faithfull, in deede nor 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 Papistes haue imagined. For if Paul seuerely condemneth them which alway learning, yet neuer come to the knowledge of truth, howe much more greuous reproche doe they deserue that of purpose

Iohn. 4. 3.

Iohn. 4.

2. Tim. 3. 7.

purpose studie to know nothing?

6 This therefore is the true knowledge of Christ, if wee receiue him such as hee is offered of his father, that is to say, clothed with his Gospell. For as he is appoin ted to bee the marke of our faith, so we can not goe the right way to him, but by the Gospell going before to guide vs. And truly there are opened to vs y^e treasures of grace, which being shut vp, Christ shold litle profit vs. So Paul ioyneth faith an vnseparable companion to doctrine, where he saith: Ye haue not so learned Christ, for yee haue bene taught what is the trueth 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 Prophetes, as sufficed to the edification of faith, but because there hath bene deliuered in the Gospell a fuller opening of faith, therefore it is worthilie called of Paul, the doctrine of faith. For which cause also hee saith in an other place, that by the comming of faith the law is taken away, meaning by this worde faith, the newe and vnaccustomed manner of teaching, whereby Christ since he appeared our scholemaster, hath more plainly set foorth the mercie of his father, and more certainly testified of our saluation. Albeit it shalbe y^e more easie and more conuenient order, if we descend by degrees from the generaltie to the specialtie. First wee must bee 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 Esay God crieth our: Heare me and your soule shall liue. And that the same is the fountaine of faith, Iohn sheweth in these wordes: these thinges are written that yee may beleue. And the Prophete 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. Moreouer, God doeth not without cause in Esay set this marke of difference betweene the children of the Church and straungers, that hee will instruct them all, that they may be taught of him. For if it were a benefite vniuersall to all, why shoulde hee directe his wordes to a fewe? Wherewith agreeth this that the Euangelistes doe commonly vse y^e words Faithfull, and Disciples, as feveral words expressing one thing, and specially Luke verie oft in the Actes of the Apostles. Yea and he stretcheth that name euen to a woman in the ninth chapter of the Actes. Wherefore if faith doe swarue neuer so litle from this marke, to which it ought to bee directly leuelled, it keepeth not her owne nature, but becōmeth an vncertaine lightnesse of beleefe and wandring error of minde. The same Worde is the foundation wherewith faith is vpholden and susteined, from which if it swarue, it falleth downe. Therefore take away the Worde, and then there shall remayne no faith. Wee doe not here dispute whether the ministerie of man be necessarie to sowe the worde of God that faith may bee conceiued thereby, which question we will else where intreate of: but we say that the worde it selfe, howe soeuer it bee conueied to vs, is like a mirrour when faith may beholde God. Whether God doeth therein vse the seruice of man, or worke it by his owne onely power, yet he doeth alway shewe himselfe by his worde to those, whome his will is to drawe vnto him: Wherypon Paul defineth faith to bee an obedience that is giuen to the Gospell. Rom. 1.

Eph. 4. 20.

Rom. 10. 4.

Esa. 55. 3.
Ioh. 10. 13.

Psal. 95. 8.

Act. 6. 1. & 9.
& 26. & 11.
26. & 1. & 3 &

14.

Rom. 1. 5.

And

Phi. 2. 17.

And in an other place he prayseth the obedience of faith in the Philippians. For this is not the only purpose in the vnderstanding of faith, that we know that there is a God, but this also, yea this chiefly, that we vnderstand what will hee beareth vs. For it not so much behooueth vs to knowe what hee is in himselfe, but what a one he will bee to vs. Nowe therefore wee are come to this point, that faith is a knowledge of the will of God, perceiued by the worde. And the foundation hereof is a foreconceiued persuasion of the trueth of God. Of the assurednesse whereof so long as thy minde shall dispute with it selfe, the worde 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, which can neither deceiue nor lie, vnlesse thou further holde this for vndoubtedly determined, that whatsoever proceedeth from him, is the sacred and inuiolable trueth.

Gen. 2. 17. &
4. 10.

7 But because not at euerie worde of God mans hearte 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 me out of the earth. Yet these are such sayings as of them selues can doe 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 trueth of God, how oft soeuer, what soeuer, and in what sort soeuer it speaketh: but now our question is onely, what faith findeth in the worde of the Lorde to leane and rest vpon. When our conscience beholdeth onely indignation & vengeance, how can it but tremble and quake for feare? And how should it but flee God, of whome it is afraide? 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 accompted for faith to know the will of God, of what sorte soeuer it be: But what if in the place of will, whereof many times the message is sorrowfull and the declaration dreadful, we put kindnesse or mercie? Truely so wee shall come neerer to the nature 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 hee hath care and loue of vs. Therefore there needeth a promise of grace, whereby he may testifie that he is our merciful father, for that otherwise 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 & Truth do cleaue together, because neither should it any thing profit vs to knowe that God is true, vnlesse hee did mercifully allure vs vnto him: neither were it in our power to embrace his mercie, vnlesse he did with his owne mouth offer it. I haue reported thy truth and thy saluation, I haue not hidden thy goodnes and thy trueth. Thy goodnes and thy truth keepe me. In another place: Thy mercy to the heauens, thy truth euen to the cloudes. Againe: Al the wayes of the Lord are mercie and truth, to them that keepe his couenant. Againe, His mercie is multiplied vpon vs, and the trueth of the Lorde abideth for euer. Againe: I will sing to thy name vpon thy mercie and trueth. I omit that which is in the Prophetes to the same meaning, that God is mercifull and faithfull in his promises. For we shall

Psal. 40. 11.

Psal. 25. 10.

Psal. 36. 6.

Psal. 107.

Psal. 138.

shall

shall rashly determine that God is mercifull vnto vs, vnlesse himselfe doe reſtifie of himselfe, and preuent vs with his calling, leaſt his will ſhould bee doubtfull and vnknowne. But we haue alreadie ſcene, that Chriſt is the on-ly pledge of his loue, without whome on euery ſide appeare the tokens of hatred and wrath. Nowe forasmuch as the knowledge of Gods goodneſſe ſhall not much preuaile, vnlesse hee make vs to reſt in it, therefore ſuch an vnderſtanding is to be baniſhed as is mingled with doubting, and doth not ſoundely agree in it ſelfe, but as it were, diſputeth with it ſelfe. But mans wit, as it is blind and darkened, is far from attaining and climbing vp to perceiue the verie will of God: and alſo the heart of man, as it wauereth with perpetuall doubting, is farre from reſting aſſured in that perſuaſion. Therefore it behooueth both that our wit bee lightened, and our hearte ſtrengthened by ſome other meane, that the worde of God may be of full credite with vs. Nowe wee ſhall haue a perfect definition of faith, if wee ſay, that it is a ſtedfaſte and aſſured knowledge of Gods kindeneſſe towarde vs, which being grounded vpon the trueth of the free promiſe in Chriſt, is both reueiled to our mindes, and ſealed in our heartes by the holy Ghoſt.

8 But before I proceed any further, it ſhall bee neceſſarie, that I make ſome preambles to diſſolue certaine doubttes that otherwiſe might make ſome ſtoppe to the readers. And firſt I muſt confute that diſtinction y^e ſlicth about in the ſcholes, 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 neceſſarie to ſaluation. Aſthough the holy Ghoſt in lightening our hartes 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 perſuaſion voide of the feare of God. Wee neede to ſtriuē 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 appeare howe vnſkilfully and fooliſhly they rather make a noiſe than ſpeake of it. I haue alreadie touched parte; the reſt I will adde hereafter as place ſhall ſerue. At this preſent I ſay, that there cannot bee imagined a greater abſurditie, than this inuention of theirs. They wil haue faith to bee an aſſent, whereby euery deſpiſer of God may receiue y^e which is vttered out of the Scripture. But firſt they ſhoulde haue ſcene whether euery man of his owne power do bring faith to himſelfe, or whether the holy Ghoſt be by it a witneſſe of adoption. Therefore they do childiſhly plaie the fooles, in demanding, whether faith, which qualitie addeth doth forme, be the ſame faith or an other and a newe faith. Whereby appeareth certainly, that in ſo babling they neuer thought of the ſingular gift of the holy Ghoſt. For the beginning of beleeuing doeth alreadie conteine in it the reconciliation, whereby man approacheth to God. But if they did weye that ſaying of Paul: With the heart is beleeued to righteouſneſſe, they woulde cease to ſaine that ſame cold qualitie. If we had but this one reaſon, it ſhould be ſufficient to ende this contention: that the verie ſame aſſent (as I haue alreadie touched, and will againe more largely reapeate) is rather of the hearte than of the braine, rather of affection than of vnderſtanding.

Rom. 10, 10.

For

Rom. 1. 5.

For which cause it is called the obedience of faith, which is such as \ddot{y} Lorde preferreth no kinde of obedience about it: and that worthily, forasmuch as nothing is more pretious to him than his trueth, which as Iohn the Baptist witnesseth, the beleeuers doe as it were subscribe and seale vnto. Sith the matter is not doubtfull wee doe in one worde 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 an other plainer argument that offereth it selfe to bee alleaged. For whereas faith embraceth Christ as hee is offered vs of the Father: and Christ is offered not onely for righteoufnesse, forgiuenesse of sinnes and peace, but also for sanctification, and a fountaine of liuing water: without doubt no man can euer truly knowe him, vnlesse hee doe therewithall receiue the sanctification of the Spirite. Or, if any man desire to haue it more plainly spoken, Faith consisteth in the knowledge of Christ. And Christ can not be knowne, but with sanctification of his spirite: therefore it followeth, that faith can by no meane be seuered from godly affection.

Ioh. 3. 25.

1. Co. 12. 10.

9 Whereas they are wont to lay this against vs, that Paul saith: If a man haue all faith, so that hee remoue mountaines: if he haue not charitie, he is nothing: whereby they woulde 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 diuerse gifts of the holy Ghost, among the which hee had reckned the diuerse kinds of languages, power and prophetic, and had exhorted the Corinthians to followe the best of these giftes, that is to say, such giftes whereby more profite and commoditie might come to the whole body of the Church: hee streightway saide further, that he woulde shewe them yet a more excellent way. That all such giftes, howe excellent soeuer they bee of them selues, yet are nothing to bee esteemed, vnlesse they serue charitie. For they were giuen to the edifying of the Church, and vnlesse they be applied therevnto, they loose their grace. For prooffe of this he particularly rehearseth them repeting the selfe same giftes that hee had spoken of before, but in other names. And he vseth the wordes Powers and Faith, for all one thing, that is for the power to do miracles. Sith therefore this, whether ye call it power or faith, is a particular gifte of God, which euery vngodly man may both haue and abuse, as the gifte of tongues, as prophetic and other giftes of grace: it is no maruell if it bee seuered from charitie. But all the error of these men standeth in this, that where this worde Faith, hath diuerse 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 mainteinaunce of the same error, shall bee else where discussed. But although for teachings sake, when wee meane to shew what manner of knowledge of God there is in the wicked, we grant that there are diuerse sortes of faith: yet wee acknowledge and speake of but one faith of the godly, as the Scripture teacheth. Many in deede doe beleue that there is a God, they thinke that the Historie of the Gospell & other partes of the Scripture are true (as commonly wee are wont to
 iudge

iudge of such things, as either are reported being done long ago, or such as we our selues haue beene present at and seene.) There be also some that goe further, for both they beleue the word of God to be a most assured oracle, and they doe not altogether despise his commaundementes, and they somewhat after a sorte are moued with his threatninges and promises. It is in deede testified that such hath saich: but that is spoken out by abuse, because they do not with open vngodlines fight against the worde of God, or refuse or despise it: but rather pretend a certaine shewe of obedience.

10 But this image or shadow of faith, as it is of no value, so it is not worthy of the name of faith. From the sounde trueth whereof howe farre it differeth, although it shall be hereafter more largely entreated, yet there is no cause to y contrary, why it should not now be touched by the way. It is sayde that Simon Magus beleueed, which yet within a litle after bewrayed his own vnbeleife. And wheras it is sayde that he beleueed, we doe not vnderstande it as some doe, that he fayned a beleife when hee had none in his heart: but we rather thinke that being ouercome with the maicesty 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 sayde in the Gospell of Luke, that they beleuee for a time, in whome the seede of the worde is choked vp before it bring forth fruite, or before it take any roote at all, it by and by withereth away and perissheth: we dout not that such delited with a certain tast of the word doe 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 themselues, that that reuerence which they shewe to the word of GOD, is most true godlinesse, because they thinke that there is no vngodlinesse but manifest and confessed reproch or contempt of his worde. But what maner of assent soeuer that be, it pearceth not to the very heart to remaine there stablished: and though sometime it seemeth to haue taken rootes, yet those are not liuely roots. The heart of man hath so many secret corners of vanity, is full of so many hiding holes of lying, is couered with so guileful hypocrisie, that it oft deceiueh himself. But let them that glory in such shadowes of faith vnderstand, that therein they are no better than the Deuill. But that first sort of men are farre worse than the Deuill, which doe senselesly heare and vnderstand those things for knowledge whereof the Deuills doe tremble. And the other are in this point equall with the Deuill, that the feeling such as it is wherewith they are touched, turneth onely to terrour and discouragement.

11 I knowe that some thinke it heard, that we assigne faith to the reprobate, whereas Paul affirmeth faith to be the frute of election. Which dout yet is easily dissolued: for though none receiue the light of faith, nor doe truly feele the effectuall working of the Gospell, but they that are fore-ordained to saluation: yet experience sheweth that the reprobate are sometime moued with the same feeling that the elect are, so that in their owne iudgement they nothing differ from the elect. Wherefore it is no absurdity, that the Apostle ascribeth to them the tast of the heauenly giftes, that

Act. 8. 13. &
18.

Luk. 8. 7. &
13.

Iac. 2. 19.

2. Thef. 1. 4.

Christ

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 Lorde, the more to condemne them and make them inexcusable, conueyeth himselfe into their mindes so farre forth, as his goodnesse may be tasted without the spirite of adoption. If any obiect, that then there remaineth nothing more to the faithfull whereby to proue certainly their adoption: I answer that though there be a great likenes and affinitie betweene y^e elect of God, and them that are endued with a falling faith for a time, yet there liueth in the elect onely that affiance 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 y^e seede of life planted in their harts neuer perissheth: 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 meane season y^e faithfull are taught, carefully and humbly to examine themselues, least in steede 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 thā of the founde body, because the holy Spirite doth properly seale the remission of sinnes in the elect only, so that they apply it by special faith to their vse. But yet it is truly said, that the reprobate beleue God to be mercifull vnto thē, 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 deny not, that God doth so farre giue light vnto their mindes, that they acknowledge his grace, but he maketh that same feeling so different from the peculiar testimony which he giueth to his elect, that they neuer come to the founde effect and fruition thereof. For he doth not therefore shewe himselfe mercifull vnto them, for that he hauing truly deliuered them from death, doth receiue them to his safegarde, but onely he discloseth to them a present mercy. But he vouchsafeth to grant to the only elect y^e liuely roote of faith, so that they continue to the ende. So is that obiection answered, if God do truly shewe 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 afterwarde vanisheth away.

12 Allō though faith be a knowledge of Gods kindenesse towarde vs, and an assured perswasion of the truth thereof: yet it is no maruel that the feeling of Gods loue in temporall thinges doth vanish away: which although it haue an affinitie with faith, yet doth it much differ from faith. I graunt, the will of God is vnchangeable, and the truth thereof doth alway stedfastly agree with it selfe, but I denie that the reprobate doe proceede so farre as to attayne vnto that secreete reuelation, which the Scripture sayeth to belong to the electe onely. Therefore I denie that they doe either conceiue the will of GOD as it is vnchangeable, or doe stedfastly embrace the truth thereof, because they abide in a feeling that vanisheth away:

Like

Like as a tree that is not planted deepe enough to take liuely rootes, in proceffe of time waxeth drie, although for a fewe yeares 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 been blotted out of his minde, & soule, so it is no maruell, if God doe shine vpon the reprobate with certaine beames of his grace, which afterwarde he suffereth to be quenched. And there is no cause to the contrarie, but that hee may lightly ouerwash some, and throughly soke other some with the knowledge of his Gospell. This is in the meane time to be holden for trueth, that howe small and weake soeuer 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 printe thereof can neuer bee blotted out of their heartes: as for the reprobate, that they are ouerspred with such a light as afterwarde comineth to nought. And yet the Sprite is not deceitefull, because he giueth not life to the seede that hee casteth in their heartes, to make it abide alwayes incorruptible, as he doth in the elect. I goe yet further, for whereas it is euident by the teaching of y Scripture and by dayly experience, that the reprobate are sometime touched with the feeling of Gods grace, it must needes be that there is raised in their heartes a certaine desire of mutuall loue. So for a time their liued in Saul a godly affection to loue God, by whome he knewe himselfe to be fatherly handled, and therefore was delighted with a certaine sweetnesse of his goodnesse. But as the perswasion of the fatherly loue of God is not fast rooted in the reprobate, so doe they not soundly loue him againe as his children, but are led with a certaine affection like hired seruantes. For to Christ onely was the spirite of loue giuen, to this ende, that he should poure it into his members. And truly that saying of Paul extendeth no further, Rom. 5. 5. but to the elect onely: The loue of God is poured abroad into our hearts by the holy Spirite that is giuen vs, euen the same loue that ingendreth 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, whome yet he ceaffeth not to loue: not that in himselfe hee hateth them, but because his will is to make them afraide with the feeling of his wrath, to the intent to abare their pride of fleshe, to shake of their drousinesse, and to moue them to repentance. And therefore al 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 pray to appease his wrath, to whome yet they flee with quiete assured trust. Hereby it appeareth that it is not true that some doe counterfaite a shewe of faith, whiche yet doe lacke the true fayth, but while they are caried with a so-dayne 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 heart as they ought to haue done. It is likely that they were such to whome (as Iohn witnesseth) Christ did not committe him selfe when yet they beleued in him: because hee knewe them all, and knew what was in man. If many did not fall from the common faith (I call it common, because the faith that lasteth but a time hath a great likeness and affinitie with the liuely & continuing faith) Christ would not haue John 2. 24. saide

Ioh. 8. 31. saide to his Disciples: If ye abide in my worde, then are ye truly my Disciples, and yee shall knowe the trueth, and the trueth 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 sluggishness quench the light that is giuen them. Therefore doeth 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 Mattheu: every tree that my father hath not planted, shall bee rooted vp. In other there is a grosser kinde of lying, y^e are not ashamed to mocke both God and men. Iames inueieth against that kinde of men, that with deceitfull pretence doe wickedly abuse faith. Neither woulde Paul require of the children of God a faith vnfayned, but in respect that manie doe presumptuously challenge vnto themselues that which they haue not, and with vaine coloured deccite do beguile other or sometime themselues. Therefore he compareth a good conscience to a chest wherein fayth is kept, because manie in falling from good conscience, haue suffered shipwracke of their faith.

13 We must also remember the doubtfull signification of the word faith. For oftentimes faith signifieth the sounde doctrine of religion, as in the place that we nowe alleadge, 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 of certaine from the faith. But on the other side hee saith that Timothie was nourished vp with the wordes of faith. Againe, where hee saith that prophane vanities and oppositions, falsely named sciences, are the cause that manie depaite from the faith: whome in an other place he calleth reprobate touching faith. As againe he chargeth Titus, saying, Warne them that they be found in the faith. By soundenesse he meaneth nothing else but purenesse of doctrine, which is easly corrupted and brought out of kinde by the lightnesse of men. Euen because in Christ, whome faith possesseth, are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge: therefore faith is worthily extended to signifie the whole summe of heauenly doctrine, from which it can not be seuered. Contrariwise sometime it is restrained to signifie some particular object, as when Matthew saith, that Christ sawe the faith of them that did let downe the man sicke of the palse through the tiles and Christ himselfe crieth out that hee founde not in Israell so great faith as the Centurion brought. But it is likly that the Centurion was earnestlie bent to the healing of his daughter, the care whereof occupied all his minde: yet because being contented with the onely assent and aunswere of Christ, hee required not Christes bodilie presence, therefore in respect of this circumstance his faith was so much commended. And a litle here before wee haue shewed, that Paul taketh faith for the gift of working miracles, which gifte they haue y^e neither are regenerate by the Spirite of God, nor do hartily worship him. Also in an other place he setteth faith for the doctrine whereby wee are instructed in faith. For where hee 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 weaknesse. In these formes of speech standeth a proporti-

portional 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 harde 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 History, that the foraine nations which had beene transplanted into Samaria and the places bordering thereabout, feared the fained Gods & the God of Israel: which is as much, as to mingle heauen and earth together. But now our question is, What is that faith which maketh the children of God different from the vnbeleeuers, 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 dwelleth in vs. The force and nature thereof I thinke I haue shortly and plainly declared.

14 Now let vs againe go through all the partes of it, euen from the beginning, which being diligently examined, (as I thinke) there shall remaine nothing doutfull. When in defining faith we call it a knowledge, we meane not thereby a comprehending, such as men vse to haue of those things that are subiect to mans vnderstanding. For it is so farre about it, that mans wit must go beyond & surmount it self to come vnto it, yea, & when it is come vnto it, yet doth it not attaine that which it feeleth, but while it is perswaded of that which it conceiueth not, it vnderstandeth more by the very assurednesse of persuasion, than if it did with mans owne capacitie throughly perceiue any thing familiar to man. Therefore Paul saith very well, where he calleth it to comprehend what is the length, bredth, depth, & heighth, & to know the loue of Christ that farre surmounteth knowledge. For his meaning was to signifie, that the thing which our minde conceiueth by faith, is euery way infinite, and that this kinde of knowledge is fare hyer than all vnderstanding. But yet because the Lorde hath disclosed to his Saintes the secrete of his will which was hidden from ages and generations, therefore by good reason faith is in Scripture sometime called an acknowledging: and Iohn calleth it a certaine knowledge, where he testifieth, that the faithfull do certainly know that they are the children of God. And vndoubtedly they knowe it assuredly: but rather by beeing confirmed by persuasion of Gods trueth, than by being informed by naturall demonstration. And this also the words of Paul do declare saying, that while wee dwell in the bodie, wee are wandering 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 persuasion. For as faith is not contented with a doutfull and rowling opinion, so is it also not contented with a darke & entangled vnderstanding: but requireth a full & fixed assurednes, such as men are wont to haue of things found by experience and proued. For vnbeleefe sticketh so fast and is so decepe rooted in our hearts, 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 perswaded in his heart. Specially

Ephe. 9. 18.
Col. 1. 28.

1. Ioh. 3. 2.

2. Cor. 5. 6.

cially 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 endeuoreth to giue remedy for the aforesaid disease, that God may obtaine to be fully beleueed of vs in his promises. The words of the Lord (saith Dauid) are pure wordes, as the Siluer tried in a fornace of earth, fined seuen times. Againe, The word of the Lorde fined is a shield to all that trust in him. And Salomon confirming the same, & in a maner in the same words, saith: Euery word of God is pure. But sith the whole 119. Psalm entreateth only in a manner vpon the same, it were superfluous to alleage any mo places. Truly so oft as God doth so commend his word vnto vs, he doth therein by the way reproche vs with our vnbeleuingnesse: because that commendation tendeth to no other ende, but to roote vp al peruerse doutings out of our hearts. There bee also many which so conceiue the mercy of God, that they take litle comfort therof. For they be euen therewithall pinched with a miserable carefulnesse, while they dout whether hee will be merciful to them or no, because they enclose within too narrowe bounds the very same mercifulnesse, of which they thinke themselues most assuredly perswaded. For thus they think with themselues, that his mercie is in deede great & plentiful poured out vpon many, offering it selfe & readie for al men: but that it is not certaine whether it wil extend 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 half. Therefore it doth not so confirme the spirit with assured quietnes, as it doth trouble it with vnquiet doubtfulnesse. 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 dout. And that cannot be, but that we must needes truly feele & proue in our selues the sweetenesse thereof. And therefore the Apostle out of faith deriueth assured confidence, & out of it againe boldnesse. For thus he saith, that by Christ we haue boldnesse, 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 minds to shew our selues in the presence of God. Which boldnesse proceedeth not but of assured confidence of Gods good wil & our saluatiō. Which is so true, y^e many times this word Faith, is vsed for Cōfidence.

16 But hereupon hangerh the chiefe stay of our faith, that wee doe not thinke the promises of mercie which the Lord offereth to be true onely in o-ther beside vs, & not at al in our selues: but rather that in inwardly embracing them, we make them our own. From hence proceedeth that confidence which the same Paul in another place calleth peace, vnlesse som had rather say, that peace is deriued of it. It is an assurednes that maketh y^e conscience quiet & chereful before God, without which the conscience must of necessitie be vexed, & in a maner torne in pieces with troublesome trembling, vnlesse perhaps it do forget God & it selfe, and so slumber a litle while. And I may truly say, For a litle 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

Psa. 119. 31.

Pro. 30. 5.

Ephe. 3. 12.

Rom. 5. 1.

that being persuaded with a sound assurednesse that God is his merciful 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 vndouted looking for of saluation: as the Apostle sheweth in these wordes: 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 glorieth that he is heire of the kindgome 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 persuaded (saith he) that neither death, nor life, nor Angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, shalbe able to separate vs from y^e 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 wel lightened, vnlesse we see what is the hope of the eternall inheritance to which we are called. And ech where his common maner of teaching is such, that he declareth that no other wise we doe not well comprehend the goodnesse of God, vnlesse we gather of it the frute of greate assurednesse.

Heb. 3. 13.

Rom. 8. 38.

Eph. 1. 18.

17 But (some man will say) y^e faithfull do find by experience a farre other thing within themselves, which in recording the grace of God toward them, are not only tempted with vnquietnesse, which oftentimes chaunceth vnto them, but also are sometime shaken with most grieuous terrours: so great is the vehemency of temptations to throwe 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 aforesayde doctrine to stand. But truely, when we teach that faith ought to be certaine and assured, wee doe not imagine such a certaintie as is touched with no doubting, nor such an assurednesse as is assailed with no carefulnesse: but rather wee say, that the faithfull haue a perpetuall strife with their owne distrustfulnesse. So farre be we from settling their consciences in such a peaseable quietnesse, as may be interrupted with no troubles at all. Yet on the other side we say, that in what sorte soeuer they be afflicted, they do neuer fal and depart from that assured confidence which they haue conceiued of the mercy of God. The Scripture setteth forth no example of faith more plaine, or more notable than in Dauid, specially if a man beholde the whole continuall course of his life. But yet howe he was not alway of quiete minde, himselfe declareth by innumerable complaintes, 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 angry with his owne vnbeleeuingnesse? Why tremblest thou my soule (sayth he) and why art thou disquieted within me? trust in God. And truly y^e same discouragement was a plaine token of destruction, euen as if he thought himselfe to be forsaken of God. And in an other place we reade a larger confession thereof, where he sayth: I sayd in my ouerthrowe, I am cast out from the sight of thy eyes. Also in an other place he wth disputeth himselfe in carefull & miserable perplexity yea and quarelleth of the very nature of God, saying: Hath

Psa. 42. 68.
43. 5.

Psa. 31. 22.

Psa. 77. 10. God forgotten to haue mercy? will he cast of for euer? And yet harder is that which followeth: But I haue sayde, To die is mine: charges are of the right hande of the hieft. For, as in despaire he condemneth himselfe to destruction, and not only confesseth himselfe to be tossed with douting, but as if he were vanquished in battel, 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 exhortheth his soule to returne to her quietnesse, because he had founde by experience, that he was tossed among troublesome waues. And yet (which is marueilous) in all these assaultes, faith vpholdeth the heartes of the godly, and is truely like vnto a Date tree to endeouour and rise vpward against all burdens, how great foeuer they be: as Dauid when he might seeme to be vtterly ouerwhelmed, yet in rebuking himselfe, ceaseth not to rise vp to God. And truely he that struiuing with his owne weakenesse, resorteth to faith in his troubles, is already in a maner conquerour. Which may be gathered by this sentence and other like: Waite for the Lorde, be strong, he shall strengthen thy heart: wait for the Lord. He reprocheth himselfe of fearefulness, and in repeating y same twise, confesseth himselfe to be somtimes subiect to many troublesome motions. And in the meane time he doth not onely become displeased with himselfe in these faultes, but earnestly endeouureth to amendement. Truly if wee will more neerely by good examination compare him with Achaz, there shalbe found greate difference. Esay was sent to bring remedy to the carefull grieue of the wicked king & hypocrite, and spake vnto him in these wordes: Be in safegarde and be quiet: feare not, &c. But what did Achaz? As it was before sayde, that his heart was moued as the trees of the wood are shaken with winde, though he heard the promise, yet he ceased not to quake for feare. This therefore is the proper reward and punishment of vnbeliefe, so to tremble for feare, that in temptation he turneth himselfe away from God, y doth not open to himselfe the gate by faith. Contrariwise the faithful whom the weighty burden of temptations maketh to stoupe, and in a maner oppresseth, do constantly rise vp, although not without trouble and hardnesse. And because they know their owne weakenesse, they pray withe the Prophet: Take not the worde of trueth away from my mouth continually. By which wordes we are taught, that sometime they become dumme as though their faith were vtterly ouerthrown, yet they faint not, nor turne their backs, but proceede in their battell, & with praier do encourage their slouthfulness, least by fauouring themselues they should growe to vn sensible dulnesse.

18 For the vnderstanding thereof, it is needefull to returne to that diuision of the flesh and the spirite, whereof we made mention in an other place, which doth in this behalfe most clearely appeare. The godly heart therefore feeleth a diuision in it self, which is partly delited with sweetnes by acknowledging of the goodnes of God, and partely griued w bitterness by feeling of his owne misery, partly resteth vpon the promise of the Gospell, and partly trembleth by reason of the testimony of his owne wickednesse: partly reioyseth with conceiuing of life, and partely 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 distrustfulnesse to be altogether filled and possessed with faith. Hereupon proceede those battels, when the distrustfulnesse that abideth in the remnants of the flesh, riseth vp to assaile the faith that is inwardly conceiued. But if in a faithfull minde assurednesse be mixed with doubtfulnesse, come we not then alway to this point, that faith standeth not in a certaine & cleare knowledge, but in a darke & doubtfully entangled knowledge of Gods wil toward vs? No, not so. For though we be diuersly drawn with sundrie thoughts, yet are we not therefore by and by seuered from faith, though we be vexed with tossing vp & downe of distrustfulnes, yet are we not therefore drowned in the bottomlesse depth thereof: and though wee be shaken, yet be we not thrust down out of our place. For this is alway the end of this battel, that faith doth at length with wrastring ouercome those harde troubles wherewith when she is so besieged, she seemeth to be in danger.

19 Let this be the summe of all. So soone as any drop of faith, be it neuer so small, is poured into our hearts, wee by and by begin to beholde the face of God milde and pleasant, and louing toward vs: yet the same wee see from a farre of, & farre distant from vs, but with so sure sight, that we knowe we are not deceiued. From thense forward, how much we profit (as we ought continually to profit) as it were by proceeding further, wee come vnto so much the neerer, & therefore certainer beholding of him, & by very continuance he is made more familiar vnto vs. So we see, that the minde enlightened with the knowledge of God, is first holden wrapped in much ignorance, which by litle & litle is wiped away. Yet the same minde is not so hindered by being ignorant of some thinges, or by darkely seeing y^e which she seeth, but that she enioyeth a cleare knowledge of Gods wil toward 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, sidelong at a narrow window, or as it were but halfe glumming, he wanteth in deede the free beholding of the Sunne, yet he seeth with his eyes an vndouted brightnesse thereof, and receiue the vse of it: so we being bound with the fetters of an earthly body, howsoeuer wee be on eche side shadowed with much darkenes, yet we are sufficiently enlightened vnto perfect assurednesse, by the light of God, extending his beames of light vpon vs, though it be but a litle, to shewe forth his mercie.

20 Both these pointes the Apostle very well teacheth in diuerse places. *1. Cor. 13, 9.* For when he saith, that we know vnperfectly, and prophetic vnperfectly, & see by a darke speaking as by a glasse, he sheweth how slender a litle portion of the true godly wisdom is giuen vs in this present life. For though those wordes do not expressly shewe that our faith is vnperfect so long as wee grone vnder this burden of the flesh, but that it happeneth vnto vs by our owne imperfection y^e 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 capacite, and narrow compasse. And this Paul reporteth of the whole church, but vnto euery one of vs, his owne dulnesse 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

2. Cor. 3. 18.

doth make vs feele, the same Apostle sheweth in another place, where hee affirmeth, that by the Gospel wee beholde the glorie of God with vncouered 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 needes be wrapped together both much douting and fearfull trembling, specially forasmuch as our heart, by a certaine naturall instinct of it selfe, is enclined to vnbeleeuingnesse. Beside that, there be tentations which both infinite in number, and diuerse in kinde, do oftentimes with great sodaine violence assaile vs. But specially our owne conscience oppressed with heauy burden of sinnes lying vpon it, doth sometime lament and grone wth it selfe, and sometime accufeth 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 finde in it selfe any prooffe or matter of his wrath, from thense vnbeleefe doth take weapons & engines to vanquish faith withall: which are alway directed to this ende, y^e wee thinking God to be our aduersarie and hatefully bent against vs, should both not hope for any helpe at his hande, and also be afraid of him as of our deadly enimie.

21 To beare these assaults, faith doth arme and fortifie her selfe with y^e worde of God. And when such a tentation assaileth, that God is our enimy, because he is sharpe against vs: faith on the other side answereth, that euen when he punisheth he is also merciful, because his chastisement commeth rather of loue than of wrath. When faith is striken with this thought, that god is a reneger 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 meruailous wise tossed & vexed, yet at length riseth vp aboue all dangers, & neuer suffereth the confidence of Gods mercy to be plucked away from it: But rather whatsoeuer contentions do trouble & wearie it, in the end they turne to the assurednes of this confidence. And hereof this is a proff: that the holy ones, when they think themselues most of all pressed with the vengeance of God, yet euen then do make their complaints to the same God: and when it seemeth that they shall not be heard at all, euen then neuerthelesse they call vpon him. For to what purpose were it, to make their moane to him from whome they hoped for no comfort: truly they would neuer finde in their hearts to call vpon him, vnlesse they beleued that there were some helpe at his hand prepared for them. So the Disciples, in whom Christ blameth their smalnesse of faith, complained in deed that they perished, but yet they called to him for helpe. And when he rebuketh them for their small faith, yet he doeth not reiect them from the number of his, nor maketh them of the number of the vnbeleeuers, but stirreth them to shake off y^e fault. Therefore we affirme againe y^e which wee haue aboue spoken, that the roote of faith is neuer plucked out of a godly heart, but sticketh so fast in the bottome, that howsoeuer it be shaken & 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 crabbers: and by this token is plainly shewed, that the worde which is an vncorruptible seeede, bringeth soorth fruite like to it selfe, the spring whereof doeth

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Mat. 8. 25.

neuer wither and vtterly perish. For whereas this is the extreemest matter of despeire to the holy ones, to feele according to the consideration of present thinges, the hande of God bent to their destruction: yet Iob affirmeth that his hope shall proceede so farre, that though God do kill him, yet hee will not therefore cease to trust in him. This is the truth therefore: Vnbeliefe reigneth not within the heartes of the godly, but outwardly assaileth them: neither doth she deadly wound them with her weapons, but onely troubleth them, or so hurteeth them, that yet the wound is curable. For faith, as Paul teacheth, serueth vs for a shield that being holden vp 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 can not pearce them to danger of life. Therefore when faith is shaken, it is like as if a strong souldiour with the violent stroke of a dart be compelled to remoue 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 godly minde will attaine to rise thus hie as to say with Dauid, If I walke in the midst of the shadowe of death, I will feare none euill, because thou art with me. It is in deed terrible to walke in the darkenes of death, & it can not be but that the faithfull, how much strength soeuer they haue, must be afraide of it. Yet because this thought surmounteth it, y they haue God present with them, and prouiding for their safery, that feare is ouercome with assurednesse. For (as Augustine sayth) howe great engines soeuer the deuill raiseth vp against vs, so long as he possesseth not the place of the heart, where faith dwelleth, he is cast out of the dores. And so if wee may iudge by the successe, the faithfull not only escape safe from euery battell, so that by and by receiuing fresh courage they are ready to come again into the fiede: but also that is fulfilled which Iohn saith in his canonically Epistle: This is the victorie that ouercommeth the worlde, euen your sayth. For he affirmeth that it shal not onely win the victory in one or few batels, or against some one assault, but also that it shall get the ouerhand of y whole world, although it be a thousand times assailed.

22 There is an other kind of feare and trembling, but such a one as by it the assurednesse of faith is so nothing at all diminished, that therby it is the more soundly stablished. 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 themselues with the same offences: or recording with themselues their own misery, do learne to hange altogether vpon the Lord without whom they see themselues to be more sickell and sooner vanishing than any blast of winde. For when the Apostle, in setting forth the scourges wherewith the Lorde in olde time had punished the people of Israel, putteth the Corinthians in feare that they entangle not themselues with like euils: he doth not therby abate their affiance, but only 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 exhorte him that standeth, to take heede y he fall not, he doth not therby bid vs to wauer, as though we were not fully assured of our stedfastnes, but only he taketh away

arrogant presumption and rash trusting too much in our owne strength, that after the thrusting out of the Iewes, the Gentiles beeing receiued into their place, should not too much outrageously triumph against them. Albeit he speaketh there not only to the faithfull, but also in y^e same saying cōprehendeth the Hypocrites y^e gloried only in outward shewe. For neither doth he admonish euery man particularly, but making a comparison between y^e Iewes and the Gentils, after that he had shewed y^e the Iewes in this that they were reiected, did suffer iust iudgemēt for their vnbeliefe & vnthankfulness, he also exhorted the Gentils that they should not, by being proud and extolling themselves, loose the grace of adoption lately conueyed into them. But as in that generall reiecting of the Iewes, there remained yet some y^e were not fallen from the couenant 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, & so abuse Gods louing kindnes to their own 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 hold downe the rash presumption which out of the remnantes of the flesh creepeth sometime euen into the holy ones, that with vaine confidence it waxe not outrageously wanton: and an other thing to strik the conscience with feare, that it rest not with full assurednes in the mercy of God.

Phil. 2.12.

23 Then, when he teacheth, y^e with feare and trembling we should worke our owne saluation, he requireth nothing else, but that we should accustome vs with much abacing of our selues, reuerently to looke vp vnto the mightines of God. For truly nothing doth so much awake vs to cast all our confidence and assurance of mind vpon the Lord as doth the distrust of our selues and carefulnesse conceiued by knowledge in conscience of our own wretchednes. And according to this meaning is that saying in the Prophete to be taken: In the multitude of thy goodnesse I will enter into thy temple: I will worship in feare. Where he comly conioyneth the boldnes of faith that leaneth vpon Gods mercy with a reuerent feare, which we must needs feele so oft as comming into the sight of Gods maiefty, we perceiue by the glorious brightnesse thereof, how great is our owne filthines.

Psa. 5.8.

Pro. 28.14.

And Salomon sayth truly, where he pronounceth the man blessed, that continually maketh his owne heart afraide, for by hardning thereof men fall headlong into cuil. But such feare he meaneth as may make vs more heedefull, not such wherby we should be troubled and vtterly fal: euen such a feare as when the mind confounded in it selfe, doth recouer it selfe againe in God: when despairing it selfe, it reuiuet by trust in him. Therefore there is no cause to the contrary, but that the faithfull may at one time both be in feare, and also enioy most assured comfort, in respect y^e sometime they turne their eyes to behold their owne vanity, 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 carefulnesse. For wheras the wicked trauaile to procure to themselves a want of grief, that no feare of God might trouble them, yet, the iudgement of God so preffeth them, that they can not attaine that which they desire. So there is nothing to withstand, but that God may exercise them that be his to humility, that

that in fighting valiantly, they may reſtraine themſelues vnder the bridle of modeſty. 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 pleaſure of God, whereby he giueth to them that be his both to will well, and valiantly to goe through with it. According to this meaning ought we to take that ſaying of the Prophete: The children of Iſrael ſhal feare God and his goodnes: becauſe not only, godlines engendreth the reuerence of God, but the very ſweetneſſe and pleaſant taſt of grace, filleth man being diſcouraged in himſelfe with feare and admiration, to make him hang vpon God, and humbly yeelde himſelfe ſubiect to his power.

24 Yet we do not hereby make roome to that moſt peſtilent Philoſophy, which many halfe papiftes at this day beginne to coyne in corners. For, becauſe they can not defende that groſſe doubtfulnes which hath bin taught in ſchooles, they ſie to an other deuife, to make a confidence mingled with diſtruſtfulneſſe. They confeſſe, that ſo oft as we looke vnto Chriſte, wee finde in him full matter to hope well: but becauſe we are alwayes vnworthy of thoſe good things that are offered vs in Chriſt, they woulde haue vs to wauer and ſtagger in beholding of our own vnworthines. Briefly, they place conſcience ſo betweene hope and feare, that it altereth from the one to the other, by enterchangeable times and courſes: & 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 Satan ſeeth y^e thoſe open engines wherewith before time he was wont to deſtroy the aſſurednes of faith, do now nothing preuaile, he endeuoreth by crooked vnderminings to ouerthrowe it. But what maner of confidence ſhall that be, which ſhall now and 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 neceſſite diſtruſt and good hope muſt by enterchangeable courſes reigne in thy minde: As though wee ought to imagine Chriſt ſtanding a farre off, and not rather dwelling within vs. For therefore we looke for ſaluation at his hande, not becauſe he appeareth a farre off vnto vs, but becauſe he hath graſſed vs into his body, & ſo maketh vs partakers not only of all his good things, but alſo of himſelfe. Therefore I thus turne this their argument againſt themſelues: 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 finnes, his ſaluation taketh away thy damnation: hee by his worthines commeth betweene thee and God, that thy vnworthineſſe come not in the ſight of God. Briefly, this is the truth: we ought neither to ſeparate Chriſt from vs, nor vs from him, but with both handes to hold faſt that fellowſhip whereby he hath coupled himſelfe vnto vs. So the Apoſtle teacheth vs: The body in deede (ſayth he) is dead by reaſon of ſinne: but the Spirit of Chriſt that dwelleth in you, is life for righteouſneſſe. According to theſe mens triſeling deuife he ſhould haue ſayde, Chriſte in deede hath life with himſelfe: but you, as you be ſinners, remaine ſubiect to death and damnation. But he ſaith farre otherwiſe. For he teacheth that that damnation

which we deserue of our selues, is swallowed vp by the saluation of Christ, and to proue it, he vseth the same reason that I haue alleaged, 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 marueilous communion dayly more and more groweth with vs into one body, till he be made altogether one with vs. And yet I denie not, as I haue sayde a litle before, that sometime there happen certaine interruptions of faith, as the weaknes therof is among violent sodeine motions bowed hither or thither. So in the thicke mist of tentation the light therof is choked, but what so euer happeneth, it ceaseth not from endeouour to seeke God.

25 And no otherwise doth Bernard argue, when he purposely intreateth of this question in his fift Homely in the Dedication of the temple. Oftentimes (I say) by the benefit of God studying vpon the soule, me thinke I find in it two things as it were contrary. If I beholde the soule it selfe, as it is in it selfe and of it selfe, I can say nothing more truely of it, than that it is vtterly brought to naught. What neede I now to recken vp particularly all the miseries of the soule, how it is loaden with sinnes, covered with darkenesse, entangled with deceitfull entisements, itching with lustes, subiect to passions, filled with illusions, alway enclined to euill, bente to all kindes of vice, finally full of shame and confusion? Now if all the very righteousnes of it being looked vpon by the light of truth be found like a cloth stained with floures, then what shall the vnrighteousnes thereof be accounted? If the light that is in vs be darkenesse, how great shall the very darkenesse be? What then? without doubt man is made like vnto vanity: man is brought to naught: man is nothing. But howe then is he vtterly nothing, whome God doth magnifie? How then is he nothing, towarde whom Gods heart is set? Brethren, let vs take heart againe. Though we be nothing in our owne heartes, peraduenture there may somewhat of vs lie hidden in the heart of God. O father of mercies? O father of the miserable, how doest thou set thy heart toward vs? For thy heart is where thy treasure is. But how be we thy treasure, if we be nothing? All nations are so before thee as if thy were not, they shalbe 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 theselues, yet with thee they are, according to that saying of Paul, not of the workes of righteousness, but of him that calleth. And then he saith, that this coupling together of both considerations is maruellous. Truly those things that are knit together, doe not the one destroy the other. Which also in the conclusion he more plainely declareth in these wordes. Now if with both these considerations we diligently looke vpon our selues what we be, 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 peraduenture it is more encreased. Truly it is perfectly stablished, that we glory not in our selues but in the Lorde. If we thinke thus: if he hath determined to saue vs, we shall by and by be deliuered: now in this

Esa. 64. 6.
Mat. 6. 13.

Rom. 9. 12.

we may take courage. But let vs climbe vp into a hier watche toure, & 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, wee I say be but in the heart of God. Wee be, but by his allowing as worthie, not by our owne worthines.

26 Nowe, the feare of the Lorde, whereof commonly in euerie place witnesse is borne to al 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 hee that will truly worshipping him, will endeuour to shewe himselfe both an obedient sonne and a seruisable seruaunt vnto him. The obedience that is giuen to him as to a father, The Lord by the Prophete 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 seruaunt the lorde. If I be a father, where is my honour? If I be a lorde, where is my feare? But howe soeuer hee 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 minde receiue both those affections. For hee that considereth with himselfe what a father God is vnto vs, hath cause enough, although there were no hels at al, why he should dread his displeasure more greuously than any death. But also (such is the wantonnesse of our fleshe to runne to licentiousnesse of sinning) to restrain the same by all meanes, wee ought therewithall to take holde of this thought, that the Lorde vnder whose power wee liue, abhorreth all iniquitie, whose vengeance they shall not escape, that in liuing wickedly doe prouoke his wrath against themselues.

27 But that which Iohn saith, that feare is not in charitie, but perfecte charitie casteth out feare, because feare conteyneth 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 doe 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 y they looke euerie 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 neckes, but they are made the more ware not to procure it. So saith the Apostle, when he speaketh to the faithfull: Be ye not deceiued: for this cometh y wrath of God vpon the children of vnbelleefe. He threatneth not y Gods wrath wil come vpon the, but putteth the in mind to think vpon this, y the wrath of God is prepared for such wicked doings as he had recited, y they theselues should not be willing also to proue it. Albeit it seldome happeneth that the reprobate be awakened with onely and bare threatenings, but rather being already grosse and vn sensible dul with their owne hardenes, so oft as God thundreth from heauen they harden theselues to obstinacie, but

Pro. 1. 7.
Psa. 100. 11.
Pro. 15. 14.
Mal. 1. 7.
Iob. 8. 28.

1. Iohn 4. 18.

Ephe. 5. 16.
Col. 3. 6.

but when they are once stricken with his hande, then whether they will or no, they bee enforced to feare. This feare they commonly call a seruile feare: and in comparison set it for contrarie to free natured and willing feare which becommeth children. Some other doe suttely thrust in a middle kinde, because that same seruile and constrained affection sometime so subdueth mens mindes, that they come willingly to the feare of God.

28 Nowe wee vnderstande, that in the good will of God, wherevnto faith is said to haue respect, the possession of saluation and eternall life is obtained. For if wee can want no good thing, while God is fauourable vnto vs, it abundantly sufficeth vs to the assurednesse of saluation, when he him selfe doerh assure vs of his loue. Let him shewe his face (saith the Prophet) and wee shall bee safe. Wherevpon the Scriptures determine this to bee the summe of our saluation, that God putting away all enmities, hath receiued vs into fauour. Whereby they shew, y when God is reconciled vnto vs there remaineth no perill, 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 y length or honor or welth of his life, for asmuch as God willed none of these things to bee appointed vnto vs, but is contented with this assurednes, y God wil neuer faile how so euer many things faile vs that perraine 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 worde of God. But what soeuer 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 wee did meane to expresse the summe of blessednes, wee named the fauour of God, out of which spring doe flowe vnto vs all kindes of good things. And this wee may commonly note through out the Scriptures, that when soeuer mention is made not onely of eternall saluation, but also of any good thing in vs, wee bee 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 shalbe accursed, and therefore miserable: But if the fauourable face of God doe shine vnto vs, euen our verie miseries shall bee blessed, because they are turned to helpes of our saluation. As Paul, when hee heapeth vp a rehearfall of all aduersities, yet hee glorieth that hee was not by them seuered from the loue of God: and in his prayers he alway beginneth at the fauour of God, from whence floweth all prosperitie. Likewise Dauid serterh the onely fauour of God against all the terrors that trouble vs. If (saith hee) I shall walke in the midst of the shadowe 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

Psal. 80. 4.

Ephc. 2. 14.

Psal. 63. 4.

Rom. 8. 35.

Psa. 23. 4.

Psal. 33. 17.

29 Wee make the foundation of faith to bee the free promise of God, because faith properly stayeth vpon it. For though faith doe beleue God to bee true in all things, whether hee commaunde or forbid, whether hee promise or threaten, and also obediently receiueh his commaundements, and bewareth of things that he prohibiteth, and hath regard to his threatenings, yet properly it beginneth at the promise, and therein continueth, and therevpon endeth. For faith seeketh for life in God, which is not founde in commaundementes 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, doeth no otherwise promise life, but if we perceiue it to stand in our selues. Therefore if we will nor haue our faith to tremble and wauer, we must stay it with that promise of saluation, which is willingly and liberally offred vs of the Lord, 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 raketh both from the commaundementes and also from the promises of the lawe, because there is nothing that can stablish faith, but that liberall embassage, by which God reconcileth the world to himselfe. Therefore the same Apostle oftentimes maketh a relation of faith and the Gospell together, when hee teacheth that the ministerie of the Gospel 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 righteousnes of God from faith to faith. And no maruel. For sith the Gospel is the ministerie of reconciliation, there is no other testimonie sure enough of Gods good wil toward vs, the knowledge whereof faith requireth. Therefore when we say that faith must rest vpon free promise, wee doe not denie but that the faithfull doe euerie way embrace and receiue the word of God, but wee appoint the promise of mercie to be the proper marke of faith. Euen as the faithfull ought indeede to acknowledge God to bee the iudge and punisher of wicked doings, and yet they properly haue regarde vnto his mercifull kindenesse: for asmuch as hee is described to them to bee considered such a one as is louing and mercifull, farre from wrath, of much goodnesse, gentle vnto all, powring foorth his mercy vpon all his workes.

30 Neither yet doe I regarde the barkinges of Pighius, or such other dogges, 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 obiekt of faith (as they tearme it) is the truth of God, whether hee threaten or pur vs in hope of fauour. Wherefore the Apostle ascribeth this to faith, that Noe feared the destruction of the worlde, when it was not yet seene. If the feare of a punishment shortly to come, was the worke of faith, then ought not the threatnings to bee excluded out of the definition of faith. This is indeede true. But the cauillers doe vniustly accuse vs, as though we denied that faith hath respect to all the partes of the worde of God. For our meaning is onely to shewe those two things, first, that faith neuer steadfastly standeth vntill it come to free promise: and then that wee are no otherwise by it to bee reconciled to God, but because

Rom. 10. 8.

Rom. 1. 6. &
16. 17.

2. Co. 5. 18.

Psa. 86. 5. &
103. 8. 1. 5.

Heb. 1. 1.

cause it coupleth vs to Christ. Both those pointes are worthy to be noted. We seeke such a faith, which may make difference betweene the children of God and the reprobate, betwene y^e faithfull and the vnbeleuing. If a man do beleue that God both iustly commaundeth all that he commaundeth, and truly threatneth, shall hee bee therefore called faithfull? Nothing lesse. Therefore there can be no stedfast stay of faith, vnlesse it be grounded vpon the mercie of God. But nowe to what ende doe 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 bodie of Christ? Therefore there is no inconuenience, if in the definition we doe enforce the principall effect thereof, and do ioine vnto the generall name, in stede of a difference y^e marke y^e seuereth the faithfull from the vnbeleuing. Finally, the malicious haue nothing to find fault withal in this doctrin, but they must wrap vp Paul with vs in y^e same blame, which calleth the Gospel properly the word of faith.

Rom. 10. 8.

31 But herevpon againe we gather that which wee haue before declared, that faith doth no lesse neede the worde than the fruite doth neede the liuely 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 far as God himselfe is witness of his owne goodnes. Which the same Prophet confirmeth in another place, saying: Thy saluation is according to thy worde. Againe, I haue trusted in thy worde, saue mee, 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, vnles faith susteine it selfe, it can neuer giue vnto God his due honour. Paul seemeth to rehearse a certaine slender and common thing of Abraham, that he beleued that God which had promised him y^e blessed seede, was able to performe it. Againe in another place, speaking of him selfe: I know whome I haue beleued, and I am sure that he is able to keep 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 do oftentimes creepe into mans minde, he shal well perceiue

Psa. 9. 11.

Psa. 109. 43.

Rom. 4. 21.

2. Tim. 1. 18.

that they which doe highly esteeme it as it is worthie, haue not a litle profited in faith. We all will confesse that God is able to doe whatsoeuer he will, but when euen the least tentation throweth vs downe with feare, and amazeth vs with horreur, therby appeareth plainly, that we diminish the estimation of Gods power, when we prefer aboue it those things, y^e Satan threatneth against Gods promises. This is the reason why Esay, meaning to print into the harts of the people y^e assurednes of saluation, doth so honorably in-treate 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 tourneth to another thing, and wandreth about in long and superfluous circumstances, rehearsing how maruellously hee Lorde gouerneth the frame of heauen and earth and the whole order of nature, yet is here 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 doe all things be presently set before our eyes, our eares will hardly heare the worde, or will not esteeme it so much as it is worth. Beside that, here is declared his effecti-

effectuall power, because godlineſſe (as wee haue already ſhewed in an other place) doeth alway applie the power of God to uſe and worke, ſpecially it ſetteth before it ſelfe thoſe workes of God, whereby hee hath teſtified himſelfe to be a father. Herevpon 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 bee an euerlaſting preſeruer thereof. And Dauid putteth vs in minde by his owne example, that thoſe benefites which God hath particularly beſtowed vpon eue-ry man, doe afterwarde auaille 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 benefites may recomfort vs, as it is ſaid in an other Pſalme, I haue bene mindfull of olde dayes. I haue ſtudied vpon all thy workes. &c. Again, I will remember the workes of the Lorde, and his meruelles from the beginning. But becauſe without the word 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 beyonde the bondes of the worde. Sara, when ſhe feruently deſired the promiſed iſſue, gaue her bondmaide to her huſbande. It can not be denied but y^e ſhe many wayes ſinned: but nowe I touch only this faulte, that being carried away with her zeale, ſhee did not reſtraine herſelfe within the boundes of Gods worde, yet it is certayne that that deſire proceeded of faith. Rebecca being certified by the oracle of God of the election of her ſonne Iacob, procured his bleſſing by euil craftie means: ſhe deceiued her huſband the witneſſe and miniſter of the grace of God: ſhee compelled her ſonne to lie: ſhe by diuerſe guiles and deceits corrupted the truth of God: Finally in making a ſcorne of his promiſe, ſhe did as much as in her lay, deſtroye it. And yet this act, howe much ſoeuer it was euill, and worthie of blame, was not without faith, for it was neceſſarie that ſhe ſhoulde ouercome many offences, that ſhe might ſo earnestly endeour

Pſa. 100. 43
Pſal. 77. 11.
Gen. 15.

Gen. 26.

to attein that which without hope of earthly profite was full of great troubles and daungers. As we may not ſay that the holy Patriarch Iſaac was altogether without faith, becauſe he being by the ſame oracle of God admo- niſhed of the honour transferred to the younger ſonne, yet ceaſed not to be more fauourably bent to his firſt begotten ſonne Eſau. Truly theſe exam- ples doe teach, that oftentimes errors are mingled with faith, but yet ſo that faith if it bee a true faith, hath alway the vpper hande. For as the particu- lar error of Rebecca did not make voide the effecte of the bleſ- ſing, ſo neither did it make voyde her faith which generally reigned in her minde, and was the beginning and cauſe of that doing. Neuer- theleſſe therein Rebecca vttered howe readie mans minde is to fall ſo ſoone as hee giueth himſelfe, neuer ſo little libertie. But though mans defaulte and weakeneſſe doeth darken Faith, yet it doeth not quenche it: in the meane time it putteth vs in minde, howe carefully wee ought to hange vpon the mouth of G O D, and alſo confirmeth that whiche wee haue taught, that Faith vaniſheth away, vnleſſe it bee vpholden by the worde: as the mindes both of Sara, and Iſaac and Rebecca

had

had become wayne in their crooked wanderings out of the waye, vnlesse they had bene by Gods secrete bridle holden in obedience of the word.

32 Againe, not without cause wee include all the promises in Christe, forasmuch as in the knowledge of him the Apostle includeth all the Gospell: and in an other place he teacheth, that all the promises of God are in him, yea and Amen. The reason whereof is readie to be shewed. For if God promise any thing, hee 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 benefites of Gods liberalitie heaped vpon them, doe thereby wrap, them selues 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 do not with them selues consider his goodness, therefore they can not thereby bee better taught of his mercie than bruit beastes, which according to the measure of their estate, doe receiue the same fruite of Gods libelalitie, and yet they perceiue it not. Neither doeth it any more make against vs, that many times in refusing the promises appointed for them, they doe by that occasion procure to themselues the greater vengeance. For although the effectuall working of the promises do then onely appeare, when they haue founde faith with vs, yet y force and naturall proprietie of them is neuer extinguished by our vnbeleefe or vnthankfulnesse. 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. Wherevpon we must returne to this point, that euery promise is a testifying of Gods loue toward vs. But it is out of question, y no man is loued of God but in Christ, he is the beloued Sonne, in whome the loue of the father abideth & resteth, & then from him powreth it selfe abroad vnto vs: as Paul teacheth, that wee haue obtained fauour in the beloued one. Therefore it must needs bee deriued and come vnto vs by meane of him. For this cause the Apostle in an other place calleth him our peace: in an other place he setteth him out as a bond, whereby God is with fatherly natural kindnes bounde vnto vs. It followeth then y we must cast our eyes vpon him, so oft as any promise is offered vs. And that Paul teacheth no absurditie, y al Gods promises whatsoeuer they be, are confirmed and fulfilled in him. Therebe certaine examples y make for the contrarie, For it is not likely that Naaman the Syrian, when hee required of the Prophet the maner how to worship God aright, was instructed concerning the Mediator: yet his godlines is praysed. Cornelius a Gentile and a Romane, could scarcely vnderstand that which was knowen not to all the Iewes, yea & that very darkely: yet his almes and prayers were acceptable to God. And the sacrifice of Naaman, by the Prophets answeare 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 hee had not had some faith, would not haue taken vpon him the trauel & expenses of so long a journey, to worship. Yet we see, when Philip examined him, howe he bewraied his ignorance of the Mediator. And truly I grant that their faith was partly vnexpressed, not only concerning Christs person, but also concerning his

Rom. 1. 17.
2. Cor. 1. 20.

Mat. 3. 17.

Eph. 1. 7.

Eph. 2. 14.

Rom. 8. 3. &
15. 8.

Ag. 10. 8.
Ag. 8.

2. Kin. 5. 17.

2. Reg. 5. 17.
Ag. 8. 13.

his power & the office committed vnto him of the Father. Yet in the meane time it is certain, that they were instructed in such principles, as gaue them some tast of Christ, although but very small. Neither ought this to seeme strange. For neither would y^e Eunuch haue come in hast to Ierusalem from a farre cuntry 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 doctrin. As for Naaman, it had bene too fond an absurditie for Elizeus when he taught him of smal things, to haue said nothing of the principall point. Therefore although there were among them a dark knowledge of Christ, yet it is not likely that there was no knowledge because they did vse themselues in the sacrifices of the lawe, which must haue bene discerned by the very ende of them, that is Christ, from the false sacrifices of the Gentiles.

33 But this bare & outward declaration of the worde of God, ought to haue largely sufficed to make it be beleued, if our owne blindnesse & stubbornnesse did not withstand it. But our minde hath such an inclination to vanitie, y^e it can neuer cleaue fast vnto the trueth of God, & hath such a dulnes, y^e it is alway blind & cannot see the light therof. Therefore there is nothing auailably done by the worde without the enlightning of the holy Ghost. Whereby also appeareth, that faith is farre above mans vnderstanding. Neither shal it be sufficient that the minde be lightened with the spirite of God, vnlesse the heart be also strengthened & stablished with his power. Wherein the Schoolemen do altogether erre, which in considering of faith, do only take hold of a bare & simple assent by knowledge, leauing out y^e confidence & assurednesse of the heart. Therefore faith is both wayes a singular gift of God, both y^e the mind of man is clenfed to tast the trueth of God, & that his heart is stablished therein. For the holy Ghost not only is the beginner of faith, but also by degrees encreaseth it, vntil by it he bring vs to the heauenly kingdom. That good thing (saith Paul) which was committed to thy keeping, keepe in the holy Ghost which dwelleth in vs. But howe Paul saith y^e the holy Ghost is giuen by the hearing of faith, wee may easily dissolue it. If there had bene but one onely gift of the holy Ghost, then it had bene an absurditie for him to call the holy Ghost the effect of faith, which is the author & cause of faith. But when hee maketh report of the giftes wherewith God garnisheth his Church, & by encreasings of faith bringeth it to perfection, it is no meruaile if he ascribe those thinges to faith which maketh vs fit to receive 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 & hie the heauenly wisdome is, or how great mans dulnesse is in conceiuing the mysteries of God: and partly because they looke not vnto that assured & stedfast constantnesse of heart, that is to say, the chiefe part of faith.

34 But if (as Paul preacheth) no man is witnesse of the will of man, but ¹Cor. 2. 11. the spirit of man that is within him, then how should man be sure of the wil of God? And if the trueth of God be vncertaine among vs, in those thinges y^e we presently behold with our eye, howe should it be assured and stedfast among vs there where the Lord promiseth such thinges as neither eye seeth,

nor wit comprehendeth. But herein mans sharpnesse of vnderstanding is so ouerthrowen and faileth, that the first degree of profiting in Gods schoole, is to forsake his owne wit. For by it as by a veile cast before vs, wee are hindered that we cannot atteine the mysteries of God, which are not disclosed but to litle ones. For neither doth flesh and bloud disclose, nor naturall man perceiue those things that are of the Spirite, but rather to him the learning of God is foolishnesse, because it is spirituallly to be iudged. Therefore herein the helpe of the holy ghost is necessarrie, or rather herein his force only reigneth. There is no man that knoweth the mind of God, or hath ben his counsellor: but the holy spirit searcheth out all thinges, euen the deepe secretes of God, by whome it is brought to passe, that we knowe the minde of Christ. No man (saith he) can come to me: vnlesse my father that sent me, drawe him. Euery one therefore that hath hearde and learned of my father, commeth. Not that any man hath seene the father, but he that is sent of God. Euen as therefore we cannot come vnto Christ, but beeing drawn by the Spirite of God: so when wee be drawn, wee are lifted vp in wit & mind about our vnderstanding. For the soule enlightened by him, taketh as it were a newe sharpnesse of vnderstanding, wherewith it may beholde heauenly mysteries, with brightnesse whereof it was before daseled in it selfe. And so mans vnderstanding receiuing brightnesse by the light of the holy Ghost, doeth neuer til then truely begin to taste of those thinges that belong to the kingdome of God, being before altogether vnfaourie & without iudgement of taste to take assay of them. Therefore when Christ did notably set out vnto two of his disciples the mysteries of his kingdome, yet he nothing preuailed, vntill he opened their senses that they might vnderstande the Scriptures. When the Apostles were so taught by his godly mouth, yet the Spirite of trueth must bee sent vnto them, to poure into their mindes the same doctrine which they had hearde with their eares. The worde of GOD is like vnto the Sunne that shineth vnto all them to whome it is preached, but to no profite among blinde men. But wee are all in this behalfe blinde by nature, therefore it cannot pearce into our minde but by the inward master the holy Ghost, making by his enlightning an entrie for it.

35 In another place, when wee had to entreat of the corruption of nature, we haue more largely shewed how vnfit men are to beleue. Therefore I wil not wearie the readers with repeting the same againe. Let this be sufficient that the spirit of faith is called of Paul faith it self, which the spirite giueth vs, but not which we haue naturally. Therefore he prayeth that God fulfill 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 y it is of mans own motion: and not contented therewith he addeth further, y 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 in deed of outward miracles: but because y reprobate are blind at the beholding of them, he comprehendeth also that inwarde seale, whereof he maketh mention

Mat. 21. 15.
Luc. 10. 21.
Mat. 16. 17.
1. Cor. 2. 14.
Rom. 11. 34.
1 Cor. 2. 10.
Iohn. 6. 43.

Luc. 24. 27.
and 45.
Iohn. 16. 15.

2. Cor. 4. 13.

2. Thef. 1. 11.

in an other place. And God, the more gloriously to set forth his liberality in so noble a gift; vouchsafeth not to graunt it to all vniuersally without difference, but by singular priuilege giueth it to whom he wil. For prooffe whereof we haue alleaged testimonies before. Of which Augustine being a faithfull expositor, crieth out that it would please the Sauiour to teach him, and that the very beleeuing it selfe, is of gift and not of deseruing. No man (saith he) commeth to me, vnlesse my father drawe him, and to whom it is giuen of my father. It is maruellous that two doe heare, the one despiseth, the other ascendeth vp. Let him that despiseth, impute it vnto himselfe: lette him that ascendeth, not arrogantly asigne it to himselfe. In an other place. Why is it giuen to one and not to an other? It greueth me not to say it, this is the depth of the crosse. Out of I wote not what depth of the iudgements of God which we 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, and not him? That is much to me. It is a bottomlesse depth, it is the depth of the crosse. I may cry out with wondering, but not shewe it in disputing. Finally the summe commeth to this, that Christ when hee enlightneth vs vnto faith by the power of his Spirit, doeth therewithall graffe vs into his bodie, that wee may be made partakers of all good thinges.

36 Now it remaineth that that which the minde hath receiued, may be further conueyed into y heart. For the word of God is not throughly receiued by faith, if it swimme in the toppe of the braine, but when it hath taken roote in the bottome of the heart y it may be an inuincible defence to beare and repulse al the engines of tentations. Now if it be true, that y true vnderstanding of the minde is the enlightning thereof, then in such confirmation of the heart, his power much more evidently appeareth, euen by so much as the distrustfulnesse of the heart is greater than the blindnesse of the wit: and as it is harder to haue the minde furnished with assurednesse, than y wit to be instructed with thinking. Therefore the Spirit performeth the office of a seale, to seale vp in our hearts those same promises, the assurance whereof it first emprinted in our wits, and serueth for an earnest to confirme and stablsh them. Sith ye beleued (sayth the Apostle) ye 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 heartes of the faithfull are grauen as with a 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 sayth: God which annointed vs, which hath also sealed vs, and giuen the earnest of his Spirit in our heartes. And in an other place when he speaketh of confidence and boldenesse of hoping well, he maketh the pledge of the Spirit the foundation thereof.

Ephē. 1. 13.

2. Cor. 1. 21.
and 5 5.

37 Neither yet haue I forgotten that which I saide before, the remembrance whereof experiance cōtinually reneweth, that is, that faith is tossed with diuerse doubtings, so that the mindes of the godly are seldom quiet, or at last do not alway enioy a peaseable state: but with whatsoeuer engine they be shaken, either they rise vp out of the very gulf of temptations, or doe abide fast in their standing. Truly this assurednesse onely nourisheth and

Psa. 46. 3.

defendeth faith, when we holde fast that which is sayd in the Psalme: The Lord is our protection, our helpe in trouble, therefore we wil not feare, when the earth shall tremble, and the mountaines shall leape into the heart of the sea . Also this most sweete quietnesse is spoken of in an other place: I lay

Psa. 3. 6.

downe and slept, and rose againe, because the Lorde hath susteined me . It is not meant therby that Dauid was alway with one vndisturbed course framed to a merry cheerefulnesse: but in respect that he tasted the grace of God, according to his proportion of faith, therefore he glorieth that he without feare despiseth al that euer might desquiet the peace of his mind. Therefore the Scripture meaning to exhort vs to faith, biddeth vs to be quiet . In Esaie it is sayde: In hope and silence shall be your strength . In the Psalme: Holde thee still in the Lord, and waite for him. Wherewith agreeth that saying of the Apostle to the Hebrues: Patience is needefull. &c.

Esa. 30. 15.

Psa. 37. 7.

Heb. 10. 36.

38 Hereby we may iudge howe pestilent is that doctrine of the Scholemen, that we can no otherwise determine of the grace of God toward vs, than by morall coniecture as euery man thinketh himself worthy of it. Truly if we shall wey by our workes how God is minded toward vs, I grant 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 wee be armed, if we say that God is fauourable vnto vs vpon this condition, so that the purenesse of our life doe 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 nere vnto doubting. And they do very ill writh to this purpose that testimony of the preacher which they haue oft in their mouths: No man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or loue. For (to speake nothing how this place is in the common translatiō corruptly turned) yet very children can not be ignorant what Salomon meaneth by such wordes: that is, that if any man will iudge by the present state of thinges, whom God hateth, or whom God loueth, he laboreth in vaine, & troubleth himselfe to no profit for his paines: sith all thinges happen alike, both to the righteous and the wicked, to him that offereth sacrifices and him that offereth none. Whereupon followeth, that God doth not alway witnesse his loue to them to whome he maketh all thinges happen prosperously, nor doeth alwayes vtter the hatred to them whom he punisheth. And that he doth to condemne the vanitie of mans wit, sith it is so dull in thinges most needefull to be knowen. As he had written a litle before, that it can not be discerned what the soule of a man differeth from the soule of a beast, because it seemeth to dy in like manner. If any man will gather thereof, that the opinion that we holde of the immortality of soules, standeth vpon coniecture: may he not worthily be counted a mad man? Are they then in their right wittes which gather that there is no certainty of Gods grace, because wee can conceiue none by the carnall beholding of present thinges?

Ecc. 3. 9.

39 But they alleage that it is a point of rash presumption, to take vpon vs an vndoubted knowledge of Gods will. I woulde in dede graunt it

vnto

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 spirite of this world, but the Spirite that is of God, by whose teaching we may knowe 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 robbetrie of God to accuse the reuelation that commeth from him, either to be lying, or vnassured or doutfull, what do wee offende in affirming that it is assured? But they say, that this also is not without great presumptuousnesse, that we dare so glorie of the Spirite of Christ. Who would think that their dulnesse were so great that would be counted masters of y^e world, that they so fowly stumble in the first principles of religion? Surely I would not thinke it credible, vnlesse their owne writings that are abroad did testifie it. Paul pronounceth that they onely are the children of God, that are moued with his spirite: and these men would haue them that be the children of God, to be moued with their owne spirite, and to be without y^e Spirite of God. Paul teacheth that we cal God our Father, as the holy ghost ministreth that worde vnto vs, which onely can beare witnesse to our spirite that we are the children of God: These men, although they forbid vs not to call vpon God, yet doe take away his Spirite, by whose guiding hee should haue bene rightly called vpon. Paul denyeth that they are the seruants of Christ, that are not moued with the Spirite of Christ: these men faine a Christianitie that needeth not the Spirite of Christ. Paul maketh no hope of the blessed resurrection, vnlesse wee feele the holy Ghost abiding in vs: they forge a hope without any such feeling. But peradventure they will answer, that they do not deny that wee ought to be endued with it, but that it is a point of modestie & humilitie not to acknowledge it. What meaneth he then, when he biddeth the Corinthians to trie whither they be in the faith, to proue themselues whither they haue Christ, whome vnlesse a man do 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 do we else but call the promises of Christ in dout, when wee wil be counted the seruants of God without his Spirite, which he hath openly declared, that he would poure out vpon all his? Beside that, wee doe wrong to the holy Ghost, which do seperate from him faith that is his peculiar worke. Sith these are the first lessons of godly religion, it is a token of miserable blindnesse, to haue Christians noted of arrogancie, that dare glorie of the presence of the holy Ghost, without which glorying Christianitie it selfe doth not stand. But they declare by their example how truly Christ saide, that his Spirit is vnknown to the worlde, & is onely known of them with whome he abideth.

40 And because they will not go about to ouerthrowe 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, wee may gather a iudgement of the grace of God, yet the knowledge of perseuerance to the end 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 shal become of vs to morrow we cannot tel. The Apostle teacheth farre otherwise: I am surely persuaded (saith he) that neither Angels, nor powers, nor principalities, neither death, nor life, neither present things nor things to come, shal seuer vs from the loue wherwith 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 y^e commonly come by faith to the faithfull, not those that he himself specially feeleth. But the same Paul in another place putteth vs in feare with mention of our weaknesse & vnstedfastnesse: Let him that standeth (saith he) beware that he fall not. It is true, but not such a feare whereby we should be ouerthrowen, but wherby we may learne to humble our selues vnder the mightie hand of God, as Peter expoundeth it. Then how against order and trueth is it to limit the assurednesse of faith to a moment of time, whose proprietie is to passe beyond the spaces of this life, and extend further to immortalitie to come? Sith therefore the faithfull do impute it to the grace of God, that being lightened with his spirite they do by faith enioy the beholding of the heauenly life: so far is such glorying from presumptuousnes, 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 her proper foundation, so that if the promise be taken away, faith by and by falleth downe or rather vanisheth away: therefore wee 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, & a certaintie of things that are not seene. For by this worde Hypostasis substance (for that terme he useth) he meaneth as it were, an vpholding stay, wher vpon the godly mind leaneth and resteth. As if he should say y^e faith is a certaine & assured possession of those things y^e 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 commonly received. Againe, to signifie that euen to the last day when the booke shal be opened, they are hier than those things that may be perceiued 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 go beyond the capacity of our owne wit, & bend our vnderstanding about all things y^e are in the worlde, yea and climbe 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 prooffe (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 daire things, a presence of things absent, an open shewing of hidden things. For the mysteries of God,

such.

Rom. 8. 38.

1. Cor. 10. 12.

1. Pet. 5. 6.

Heb. 11. 1.

Dan. 7. 10.

Rom. 8. 24.
August. Ho.
in Iohan. 79
95. De peccat.
merit. &
remiss. li. 2.
cap. 31.

such as they be that pertain to our saluation, cannot be seene in themselues & 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 persuaded, that we ought to hold all that he speaketh as it were already done & fulfilled. But how can the minde lift vp it self to receiue such a tast of Gods goodnesse, but that it must needs be therewith wholly kindled to loue God againe? For that flowing plentie of sweetenes which God hath layde vp in store for them that feare him, can not be truly knowen, but that it must therewithal vehemently moue affection: and whose affection it once moueth, it vtterly rauisheth & carrieth him beyond himselfe. Therefore it is no marueile, if into a peruerse & crooked heart neuer entred this affection, by which being conueyed vp into y very heauen, we are suffred to come to the most secretly hidden treasures of god, & the most sacred priuie places of his kingdome, which may not be defiled with the entrance of an vnclane heart. For that which the Schoolemen teach, that charitie is before faith and hope, is a meere madnes. For it is faith onely that first engendreth charitie in vs. Howe much more rightly doth Bernard teach: I beleeue (saith he) that the testimonie of conscience, which Paul calleth the glorie of the godly, consisteth in three things. For first of all it is necessarie to beleeue y thou canst not haue forgiuenes of sins, by y pardon of God: then y thou canst haue no good worke at all, vnlesse he also giue it: last of all y thou canst by no works deserue eternal life, vnlesse it also be giuen freely. A litle after he addeth y these things suffice not, but y there is a certeine beginning of faith, because in beleeuing y sinnes cannot be forgiuen but of God, we ought also to beleeue y they are not forgiuen vs, til also we be persuaded by the testimonie of the holy Ghost, y saluation is layd vp in store for vs: because God forgiuerh sinnes, he himself giueth merites, & he himselfe also giueth rewards, that we may not stay stil in this beginning. But these & other things shalbe to be entreated of in places fit for them. Now let it onely suffice to know what faith is.

42 Nowe whersoever this liuely faith shalbe, it cannot be possible but y it hath with it the hope of eternal saluation: as an vndiuidable companion: or rather that it engendreth 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 abouesaid) be an assured persuasion of Gods truth, that it cannot lye vnto vs nor deceiue vs, nor become void, then they that haue conceiued this assurednesse, truly doe therewithall looke for a time to come that God shall perfourme his promises, which in their persuasion cannot be but true: so that briefely, hope is nothing else, but a looking for those things which faith hath believed to be truly promised of God. So faith beleeueth y God is true, hope looketh for the performance of his truth in conuenient time. Faith beleeueth y he is our Father, hope looketh for him to shewe himselfe such a one toward vs. Faith beleeueth y eternal life is giuen vs, hope looketh that it be one day reuiled. Faith is the foundation whereupon hope resteth, hope nourisheth & sustaineth faith. For as no man can looke for any thing at Gods hande, but he y hath first believed his promises: so againe the weaknesse of our faith must with patient hope & expectation bee sustained and cherished,

Lib. 3. Sen.
dist. 25. &
scipius.
Sci. 1. in An-
nuntiatione
2. Cor. 1. 12.

Rom. 8. 24.

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 y^e Lord, restraineth faith that it fall not headlong with too much hast: hope strengthneth faith, that it wauer not in Gods promises, nor begin to doubt of the trueth of them: hope refresheth faith that it waxe not wearie: Hope stretcheth faith to the vttermost bounde, that it faint not in the mid course, nor in the very beginning. Finally, hope by continually reuuing and restoring, it maketh it nowe and then to rise vp fresher than it selfe to continuance. But how many wayes the helps of hope are necessaric to the strengthening of faith, shal better appeare, if we consider with howe many sortes of temptations they are assailed and shaken, that haue embraced the worde 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 perfourme, that which the Prophet commandeth, that though his promises do tary, yet we should waite stil for them. Sometime he suffereth vs not onely to faint, but also seemeth to be highly displeas'd: here it is much more necessaric to haue hope to helpe vs, that according to the saying of an other Prophet, wee may still looke for the Lorde that hath hidden his face from Iacob. There rise vp all scorners (as Peter saith) that aske: where is his promise or his comming? for as much as since the fathers slept, all things so continue from the beginning of the creation. Yea the flesh & the world do whisper the same thing in our eares. Here must faith stayed with sufferance of hope be holden fast fixed in beholding of eternitie y^e it may accompt a thousand yeres like as one day.

Heb. 2. 3.

Esa. 8. 17.

2. Pet. 3. 4.

Psa. 90. 4.

2. Pet. 3. 8.

2. Pet. 1. 5.

Phil. 1. 10.

Ga. 5. 5.

43 For this conioyning and alliance the Scripture sometimes confoundeth the names of Faith and Hope. For when Peter teacheth that wee are by the power of God preserued 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 already taught, that hope is nothing else but the nourishment & strength of faith. Sometimes they are ioyned together: as in the same Epistle. That your faith & 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, til Gods conuenient oportunitie be opened. All which matter we may better vnderstand by y^e tenth chapter to the Hebrues, which I haue already alleaged. Paul in another place, although he speake vnproperly, yet meaneth the same thing in these words: We looke in the spirit through faith for hope of righteousness, euen because we embracing the testimonie of the Gospel concerning his free loue, do looke for the time when God shal openly shewe that which is nowe hidden vnder hope. And now it is plaine how foolishly Peter Lombard layeth two foundations of hope that is the grace of God, & the deseruing of workes. Hope can haue no other marke to be directed vnto, but faith: & wee haue already declared y^e faith hath one onely marke the mercie of God, to which it ought to looke (as I may so speake) with both eyes. But it is good to heare what a liuely reason he bringeth. If (saith he) thou darst hope for any thing without deseruings, y^e shal not be worthie to be called hope, but presumption. Who (gentle reader) wil not worthily abhorre such beastes, that

say,

say, it is a rash and presumptuous deede, if a man haue confidence that God is true of his worde? For where the Lorde willeth vs to looke for all things at his goodnesse, they say it is presumption to learne and rest vpon it. A maister meete for such scholers as he founde in the mad schoole of filthy bablers. But as for vs, when we see that we are commanded by the oracles of God to conceiue a hope of saluation, let vs gladly presume so much vpon his trueth, as trusting vpon his only mercy, casting away the confidence of workes, to be bolde to hope well. He will not deceiue that sayde: Be it vnto you according to your faith. at. 9. 29.

The iij. Chapter.

That we are regenerate by faith. Wherein is entreated of Repentance.

Albeit wee haue already partely taught howe faith possesseth Christ, & howe by it we enioy his benefites: neuerthelesse this were yet darke, vnlesse we did also make declaration of the effectes that we feele thereby. Not without cause it is sayde, that the sum of the Gospell standeth in repentance and in forgiueneffe of sinnes. Therefore leauing out these two pointes, whatsoeuer we shall say of faith, shalbe but a hungry and vnperfect, yea and in maner vnprofitable disputation of faith. Now forasmuch as Christ doth giue both vnto vs, and wee 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 shalbe to Repentance, because when this article is well perceiued, it shall the better appeare how man is iustified by only faith and meere pardon, and yet how real holines of life (as I may so call it) is not seuered from free imputatiō of righteousness. Now it ought to be out of question, that Repentance doth not only immediatly follow faith, but also spring out of it. For whereas pardon & forgiuenes is therefore offered by the preaching of the Gospell, that the sinner being deliuered from the tyranny of Satan, from the yoke of sinne, 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 errorrs of his former life into the right way, and apply all his study to the meditation of repentance. As for them that thinke that repentance doth rather go before faith than flow or spring soorth of it, as a fruite out of a trec, they neuer knew the force thereof, and are moued with too weake an argument to thinke so.

2 Christ (say they) and Iohn in their preachings doe first exhort the people to repentance, and then they afterward say that the kingdom of heauen is at hande. Such commandement to preach, the Apostles receiued, such order Paul followed, as Luke reporteth. But while they superstitiously sticke vpon the ioyning together of sillables, they marke not in what meaning the wordes hang together. For when y^e Lorde Christ & Iohn do preach in this manner: Repent ye, for the kingdome of heauen is come neere at hande: do they not fetch the cause of repentance from very grace and promise of saluation? Therefore their wordes are asmuch in effect as if they had sayde: because the kingdome of heauen is come neere at hand, therefore

Mat. 3. 2.
Mat. 3. 7.
A. G. 20. 23.

Esa. 40. 3.

repent yee . For Matthew, when he hath shewed that Iohn so preached faith that in him was fulfilled the prophetic of Esay , concerning the voyce crying in the wildernesse , Prepare the way of the Lorde, make streight the pathes of our God. But in the Prophet that voice is commanded to begin at comfort and glad tidings . Yet when we refer the beginning of repentance to faith, we do not dreame a certaine meane space of time, wherein it bringeth it out: but we dreame to shewe that a man can not earnestly apply himselfe to repentance, vnlesse 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 thinges shalbe more plainly discussed in the processe following. Paraduerture 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 account among vertues , because they see that it is neere to true and iust obedience . But our question is not here how diuersly Christ draweth vs vnto him , or prepareth vs to the endeuour of godlinesse: only this I say, that there can be no vprightnesse 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 mercifulnesse, that thou mayest be feared . No man shall euer reuerently feare God, but he that trusteth that God is mercifull vnto him : no man will willingly prepare himselfe to the keeping of the lawe, but he that is perswaded that his seruices please him : which tendernesse in pardoning and bearing with faultes, 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 striken 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 sinnes. But their doting errour is without all colour of reason, which to beginne at repentance do appoint certaine dayes to their newe conuertes, during the which they must exercise theselues in penance : and when those dayes 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 maruelously reioyce to be counted spiritual, and their companions the Iesuits, and such other dregs. Such fruits forsooth that spirit of giddines bringeth forth, to determine repentance within compasse of a few dayes, which a Christian man ought to extende in continuance throughout his whole life.

Psa. 130. 4.

Osee. 6. 1.

3 But certaine learned men, euen long before these times, meaning to speake simply & syncerely of repentance, according to the trueth of Scripture, haue said that it consisteth of two parts, mortification, and viuificatiō. Mortification they expounde to be a sorow 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 he heartily misliketh himselfe, confesseth himselfe to be miserable and lost, and wisheth himselfe to be an other man . Further, when hee is touched with some feeling of the iudgement of G O D (for the one immediatly followeth vpon the other) then he lieth striken and ouerthrowen, then he trembleth, humbled and cast downe,

downe, then hee is discouraged and despaireth. This is the first part of repentance, which they haue commonly called contrition. Viuification they expounde to be the comfort that groweth of faith, when a man ouerthrowne with conscience of sinne, and stricken with feare of God, looking afterwarde vnto the goodnes of God, vnto the mercy, fauour and saluation, that is though Christ, raiseth vp him selfe, 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 cheerefulnesse, which the mind receiue being brought into quietnesse from trouble and feare, therein I agree not with them: forasmuch it rather signifieth a desire to liue holily and godly which groweth of regeneration, as if it were said, that man dieth to him selfe, to begin to liue to God.

4 Some other, because they sawe this word diuersly taken in Scripture, haue made two sortes of repentance: and because they shoulde make them differently knowen by some marke, they haue called the one Repentance of the Law, by which the sinner wounded with the searing iron of sinne, & worne away with feare of the wrath of God, sticketh fast in that trouble & can not wind him selfe out of it. The other Repentance they call of y^e Gospell, by which the sinner is in deede greuously vexed with him selfe, but he riseth vp higher, and taketh holde of Christ, the salue of his sore, the comfort of his feare, the haue of his miserie. Of the repentance of the lawe they put those examples: Cain, Saul, and Iudas. Whose repentance when the scripture rehearseth vnto vs, it meaneth that they acknowledging the greuousnesse of their sinne, were afraide 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, whereinto they being entred into this present life beganne already to suffer punishment, from the face of the wrath of Gods Maiestie. The repentance of the Gospell, wee see in all them, that being galled with the spur of sinne in themselves, but recomforted and refreshed with confidence of the mercie of God, are turned vnto the Lorde. Ezechias was stricken with feare, when he receiued the message of death: but he prayed weeping, and looking vnto the goodnes of God, hee tooke againe good confidence vnto him. The Niniuites were troubled with the horrible threatning of destruction. But they clothed themselves in sackcloth and ashes & praied, hoping that the Lord might be turned to the & turned from the furor of his wrath. Dauid confessed y^e he had too much sinned in numbring y^e people: but he saide further, Lorde take away the wickednesse of thy seruant. Hee acknowledged his offence of adulterie, when Nathan rebuked him, & did cast himselfe downe before the Lorde, but therewithall he also looked for pardon. Such was the repentance of them that at the preaching of Peter were pricked in their heart: but trusting vpon the goodnes of God, they saide furthermore: Ye men and brethren, what shall we do? And such was the repentance of Peter himselfe, which wept indeede bitterly, but he ceased not to hope well.

5 Although all these things be true, yet the verie name of repentance (fo

Gen. 4. 12,
1. Kin. 15. 30
Mat. 27. 4.

4. Reg. 10.
Eid. 38.
Ion. 3. 5.

2. Reg. 2.
2. Reg. 12, 13
& 6.
Act. 2. 37.

(so far as I can learne by the Scriptures) is otherwise to be taken. For where they comprehend faith vnder repētance, it disagreeth 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 & faith as two diuerse things. What then? Can true repentance stande without faith? No: But though they can not bee seuered, yet they must bee distinguished. As faith is not without hope, and yet faith and hope are diuerse things: so repentance and faith, although they hang together with one perpetuall bonde, yet they rather woulde bee conioyned than confounded. And truly I am not ignoraunt, 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 bee declared: The name of repentance in Hebrewē is deriued of conuerting or returning, in Greeke of changing of the minde or purpose, and the thing it selfe doeth not ill agree with eyther deriuations, where of the summe is, that we departing from our felues shoulde turne vnto God, and putting off our olde minde, shoulde put on a newe. Wherefore in my iudgement, repentance may thus not amisse bee 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 olde man, and in the quickening of the spirit. In this sense are to bee taken all the preachings wherein either the Prophetes in olde time, or the Apostles afterwarde exhorted the men of their time to repentance. For this onely thing they trauelled to perswade, that confounded with their owne sinnes, and pricked with feare of the Lordes iudgement, they shoulde fall downe and bee humbled before him, against whome they had offended, and with true amendement returne into his right way. Therefore these wordes, To be turned or returne vnto the Lorde, To repent, or doe penance, are among them vsed without difference in all one signification. And therefore also the holy historie saith, that men repent after the Lorde, when they that liued wantonly in their owne lustes, not regarding him, doe beginne to followe his worde, and are readie at their captaines commaundement to goe whither hee calleth them. And Iohn and Paul vsed these wordes, to bring forth fruites worthie of repentance, for, to lead such a life as may represent and testifye such an amendement in al their doinges.

Actes 10. 31.

Mat. 3. 8.

Rom. 6. 4.

Actes 26. 20.

Ezec. 18. 31.

6 But before wee goe any further, It shall bee profitable that wee doe more plainely set out at large the definition that we haue made. Wherein there bee chiefly three pointes to bee considered. First when wee call it a turning of life vnto God, wee require a transforming, not onely in outward workes, but also in the soule it selfe, which when it hath put of her oldnesse, then beginneth to bring forth the fruites of workes agreeable to her renewing. Which when the Prophete goeth about to expresse, he commaundeth them whome hee calleth to repentance, to make them a newe hearte. Therefore Moses oftentimes meaning to shew howe the Israelites might repent, and so be rightly turned vnto y^e Lorde, teacheth that it bee done with all their heart, and with all their soule (which manner of speaking

king we see often repeated of the Prophetes) and naming it the circumcising of the heart, he shaketh away all inwarde affections. But there is no place whereby a man may better perceiue what is the naturall propriety of repentance than the fourth Chapter of Ieremy. If thou returne to me, O Israell, (saith the Lord) returne to me, plow vp your arable land and sowe not vpon thornes. Be circumcised to the Lord, and take away the vncircumcised skinned of your heartes. See how he pronounceth that they shall nothing preuaile in taking vpon them the following of righteousnes; vnlesse wickednes be first plucked out of the bottome of their heartes. And to moue them throughly, he warneth them that they haue to do with God, with whome there is nothing gotten by dalyng, because he hateth a double heart. Therefore Esay 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 helde poore men fast tied. Where also he very well sheweth in what duties vnfeined repentance properly standeth.

7 The seconde point was, that we taught that repentance proceedeth of an earnest feare of God. For, before that the minde of a sinner be enclined to repentaunce, it must be stirred vp with thinking vpon the iudgement of God. But when this thought is once throughly settled, that God wil one day go vp into his iudgement seate, to require an account of all sayings 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, wherby he may safely appeare at that iudgement. Therefore oftentimes the Scripture, when it exhorreth to repentance maketh mention of the iudgement: as in Ieremy: least peraduenture my wrath go out as fire, and there be none to quench it, because of the naughtines of your workes. In Pauls sermon to the Athenians: And whereas hitherto God hath borne with y 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 wil iudge the worlde in equity. And in many other places. Sometime it declareth by the punishments already extended, that God is a iudge, that sinners should thinke with themselues, that worse thinges hang ouer them if they doe not repent in time. You haue an example thereof in the 29. of Exodus. But because the turning beginneth at the abhorring & hatred of sinne, therefore the Apostle maketh sorowfulness, such as is according to God, the cause of repentance. And he calleth sorowfulness according to God, when we are not only afraine of punishment, but do hate & abhorre sin it selfe, forasmuch as we vnderstand y it displeaseth God. And no maruel. For vnlesse we be sharply pricked, y slouthfulness of our flesh could not be corrected, yea prickings would not suffice for y dulnes and slouthfulness therof, vnles God in stretching out his roddes should pearce more deeply. This is also an obstinacie which must be beaten downe as it were with bectles. Therefore the perversnes of our nature enforceth God to the seuerity that he vseth in threatening, because he should in vaine call vs alluringly with faire speech while we lie a sleepe. I recite not the testimonies y commonly offer theselues to be found.

The feare of God is in an other manner also the beginning of repentance.

For

For though mans life were absolutely furnished with al points of vertues, if it be not applied to the worshipping of God, it may in deede be praised of the worlde, but in heauen it shalbe meere abomination, forasmuch as y^e chiefe part of our righteousnesse is to giue God his due right and honour, whereof he is wickedly robbed, when we bend not our selues to yeelde vs subiect to his gouernment.

8 Thirdly, it remaineth that we declare what is meant by this that wee say, that Repentance consisteth in two partes, that is to say, mortifying of the flesh, and quickning of the spirit. The Prophets do plainly expresse it, although somewhat simply and grossly according to the capacity of the carnall people, when they say: Cease from euill and do goodnes. Again: Be washed, be cleane, take away the euill of your works from mine eyes: Cease to doe peruersly, learne to doe well, seeke iudgement, helpe the oppressed, &c. For when they call men away from wickednes, they require the death of the whole flesh, which is stuffed full of wickednesse and peruersenes. It is in deede an vneacie and hard thing to put of our selues, and to depart from our natural disposition. Neither can it be thought that the flesh is throughly deade, vnlesse all that we haue of our selues be abolished. But forasmuch as all the affection of the flesh is enemy against God, the first entrie to the obeying of his law, is the forsaking of our owne nature. Afterward they expresse the reuiuing by the frutes that follow thereof, as righteousnesse, iudgement and mercy. For it were not enough to do those duties rightly, vnlesse the minde it selfe and the heart haue first put on the affection of righteousnes, iudgement and mercy. That is done when y^e spirit of God hath so soked in new thoughts and affections, our soules first washed with his holines, that they may rightly be counted newe. And truely as we are naturally turned away from God, so vnlesse the forsaking of our selues do goe before, we can neuer go towards that which is right. Therefore we are so oft commanded to put of the olde man, to forsake the worlde and flesh, to bid our lustes farewell, & to be reued in the spirit of our minde. Moreouer the very name of mortification doth put vs in mind how hard it is to forget our former nature: because we therby gather that we are not otherwise framed to the feare of God, nor do learne the principles of godlines, but when we are violently slaine with the word of the Spirit, and so brought to nought 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.

9 Both these things do happen vnto vs by the partaking of Christ. For if we do truly cōmunicate of his death, by y^e power thereof our old man is crucified, and the body of sin dieth, y^e corruption of our former nature may lue no more. If we be partakers of his resurrection, by it we are raised vp into a newnes of life, that may agree with the righteousnes of God. In one worde I expounde repentance to be regeneration, which hath no other marke wherunto it is directed, but that the image of God which was by Adams offence sowlly defaced and in a maner vtterly blotted out, may be reued in vs. So the Apostle teacheth, when he saith: but we representing the glory of God with vncouered face are transformed into the same image, out of glory into glory, as by the spirit of the Lord. Again: Be ye reued in the spirit of

Pls. 34. 15.
Esa. 1. 16.

Rom. 8. 4.

Rom. 6. 6.

1. Cor. 3. 18.
Ephes. 4. 23.

your minde and put on the newe man, which is created according to God in righteoufnesse and holinesse of trueth. Againe in an other place: putting on the newe man, which is renewed after the knowledge and image of him that created him. Therefore by this regeneration wee bee by the benefit of Christ restored into y^e righteoufnes of God, from which we were fallen by Adam. After which maner it pleaseth the Lord wholly to restore all those who he adōpteth into the inheritance of life. And this restoring is fulfilled not in one moment, or one day, or one year, but by continuall, yea and sometimes slowe proceedings God taketh away the corruptions of the fleshe in his elect, cleanseth them from filthines, and consecrateth them for temples to himselfe, renewing all their senses to true purenes, that they may exercise themselues all 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 & apostata Staphilus, which foolishly saith that I confounde the state of this present life with the heauenly glorie, when I expounde by Paul, the image of God to be holinesse and true righteoufnesse. As though when any thing is desired, we shoulde not seeke the whole fulnes & 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 herevnto, God assigneth them the race of repentance wherein to run all their life long.

10 The children of God therefore are so deliuered by regeneration frō the bondage of sin, nor that hauing nowe obtined the full possession of libertie, they shoulde feele no more trouble by their fleshe, but that they shoulde haue remaining a continual matter of strife, wherewith they may be exercised, and not only be exercised, but also may better learne their owne weaknes. And in this point all writers of sound iudgement agree together, that there remaineth in man regenerate a feeding of euill, from whence continually spring desires that allure & 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 couetousnes, or to ambition or to other vices. Neither is it needful to labour much in searching what the olde writers haue thought herein, forasmuch as only Augustine may be sufficient for it, which hath faithfully and with great diligence gathered all their iudgements. Therefore let the readers gather out of him, such certantie as they shall desire to learne of y^e opinion of antiquitie. But there may seeme to be this difference between 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 lustes, y^e they cannot but lust, yet dareth not cal that disease sin: but being content to expresse it by y^e name of weaknes, he teacheth y^e then only it becōmeth sin, when either work or cōsent is added to cōceit or receiuing. y^e is, whē wil yeldeth to y^e first desire: but we account y^e very same for sin, y^e man is tickled with any desire at al against the law of God, Yea we affirme that y^e very corruption that ingendreth such desires in vs, is sinne. We teach therefore y^e there is alway sinne in the holy ones, vntill they be vnclōthed of the mortall body, because there remaineth in their fleshe y^e peruersnes of lusting that fighteth against vprightnes.

And

Col. 3. 10.

1. Cor. 7. 12.

2. Cor. 4. 4.

Lib. ad Bonif. 4. Li. 1. &
2. contra
Iulianum.

And yet he doth not alway forbear to vie the name of Sinne, as when he saith: This Paule calleth by the name of sinne, from whence springe all sins vnto a fleshly concupiscence. Thus asmuch as pertaineth to the holy ones, loofeth the kingdome in earth, and perisheth in heauen. By which words he confesseth, y^e the faithfull are guilty of sinne, in asmuch as they are subiect to the lustes of the flesh.

Eph. 5. 16.

II But this that is saide, that God purgeth his Church from all sinne, that he promisseth that grace of deliuerance by baptisme, and fulfilleth it in his elect, we referre rather to the guiltinesse of sinne, than to the verie 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 hande and are conquerours in the battel) but it ceaseth onely to reigne & not so to dwell in them.

Rom. 6. 6.

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 leauinges, 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 wee affirme that this commeth to passe by the mercie of God, that the holy ones are deliuered from this guiltinesse, which otherwise shoulde iustly bee reckened sinners and guiltie before God. And this sentence it shall not be harde for vs to confirme, forasmuch as their are euident testimonies of the Scripture vpon their matter. For what would we haue more plaine, than that which Paul crieth out to the Romanes chapter 7? First both wee haue in an other place shewed, and Augustine proueth by strong reasons, that Paul their speaketh in the person of a man regenerate. I speake not of this, that hee vseth these wordes Euill and Sinne, that they which will speake against vs may not cauell againste those wordes; but who canne denye, that a striuing 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 miserie? But all these things are reported of this disease by Paul. Againe, wee haue an assured demonstration by the Lawe, by which this whole question may easily be discussed. For wee are commaunded to loue God with all our heart, 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 commaundement that conceiue in their heart 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 thoughtes to enter into them, doe they not shew that they are euen so much voide of the loue of God? Wherefore, who so confesseth not that all the luste of the fleshe are sinnes, and that the same disease of lusting, which they call a feeding, is the well spring of sinne, hee must needs denie that the transgression of the lawe is sinne.

Rom. 7. 6.

12 If any man thinke it an absurditie, that all the desires wherewith man is naturally moued in affection, are vniuersally condemned, where-

Handwritten notes:
I drawd with pen
I lool god giue
I am 5. 16.
I am 7. 6.

as they be put into man by God the author of nature. We answer, that we do 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 verie nature of man, but only outragious & vnbridled motions that fight against the ordinance of God. But now sith by reason of the peruerfenes of nature all her powers are infected & corrupted, that in all her doings appeareth a continual disorder & intemperance, because the desires cannot be fettered from such intemperance: therefore we say that they are corrupt. Or (if you like to haue the whole summe in fewer wordes) we teach that all the desires of men are euil: and we accuse them to be gilty of sinne, not in y 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 & vncleane nature. And Augustine doth not so much vary from this doctrine as Ad Bonif. he appeareth in shewe, 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 stil remaining in the holy ones, the onely giltines is taken away, he plainly sheweth that he doth not so much disagree from our meaning.

13 We will alleage some other sentences, whereby shal better appeare what he thought. In the second booke against Iulian: This lawe of sinne is both releaseth by the spirituall regeneration, & abideth in the mortall flesh, releaseth herein, because the giltines is taken away in the sacrament whereby the faithfull are regenerate: & it abideth, because it worketh the desires against which the faithfull do fight. Againe, Therefore the law of sinne (which was also in the members of so great an Apostle) is releaseth in baptisme, but not ended. Againe. The law of sinne (of which yet remaining the giltinesse, is in baptisme discharged) Ambrose called wickednes: because it is wickednes for the flesh to lust against the Spirit. Againe. Sinne is dead in respect of y giltines wherein it held vs, & euen being dead, it stil rebelleth til it be healed with perfection of burial, And yet plainer in the fifth book. As the blindness of heart is both a sinne, whereby man beleueth not in God: and also a punishment of sinne, whereby a proud heart is chasticed with worthie 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 sinne, because there is in it disobedience against the government of y mind: 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 defection, or in man, when he is borne by infection. Here without any doubtfull speach he calleth it sinne, because when error was once ouerthrowen, and the trueth confirmed, he lesse feared slanderous reportes. As in the 41. Homely vpon Iohn, where doubtlesse he speaketh according to the true meaning of his minde, 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 body to obey the desires thereof. He sayeth not, let it not be, but let it not reigne. So long as thou liuest, sinne must needes be in thy members at least, let reigne be taken from it. Let not that be done which it commandeth. They that defende that lust is no sinne, are wont to obiect that

D d.

saying

Rom. 6.12.

James. 2.

saying of Iames: Lust, after that it hath conceiued, bringeth fourth sinne. But this is easily confuted. For vnlesse wee thinke that he speaketh of onely ill workes or actual sinnes, euil wil it selfe, shall not be accounted sinne. But where he calleth mischieuous deedes & wicked offences y^e offspringes of sin, & giueth vnto them the name of sinne, it doth not by and by follow thereof, but that to lust, is an euil thing & damnable before God.

14 Certaine Anabaptistes 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 innotencie, now ought no more to be carefull for bridling of the lust of the flesh: that the Spirite is to be followed for their guide, vnder whose guiding they neuer go out of the way. It were incredible that mans minde coulde fal to so great madnesse, vnlesse they did openly & prouidly babble abroad this doctrine. Truely it is monstrous. But it is meete y^e such should suffer the punishment of such blasphemous boldnesse, y^e so haue persuaded their minde to turne the trueth of God into a lie. Shall all the choise of honestie & dishonestie, right & wrong, good and euill, vertue & vice, be taken away? Such difference (say they) commeth of the cursednesse of old Adam, from which we are exempted by Christ. So nowe there shalbe no difference betwene fornication & chastitie, plaine dealing & suttletie, trueth & lying, iustice & extortion. Take away vaine feare, say they, the Spirite wil commaund thee no euil thing, so that thou boldly and without feare yelde 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 madnesse of lustes, haue put off all common reason, but what Christ (I beseech you) do they frame vnto vs, and what spirite do they belch out? For we reknowlege one Christ, & his only Spirit whom the Prophets haue commended, whom the Gospell giuen vs doeth preach, of whome we there heare no such thing. That Spirit is no patrone of manslaughter, whoredom, drunkennes, pride, contention, couctousnesse, & guile: but the author of loue, chastitie, sobrietie, modestie, peace, temperance and trueth. It is not a giddie spirit, & runneth headlong without consideration through right & wrong, but is full of wisdom & vnderstanding, that discerneth rightly betweene iust & vniust. It stirreth not vnto dissolute & vnbridled licentiousnesse, but maketh difference betweene lawfull and vnlawfull, and teacheth to keepe measure and temperance: but why do we labour any longer in confuting this beastly rage? To Christians the Spirit of the Lord is not a troublesome phantasie, which either themselues haue brought forth in a dreame, or haue receiued being forged of other: but they reuerently seeke the knowledge of him at the Scriptures, where these two things bee taught of him: First that he is giuen vs vnto sanctification, that hee might bring vs into the obedience of Gods wil, being purged from vncleannesse & defilings, which obedience cannot stand, vnlesse lustes be tamed & subdued, whereunto these men would giue the bridle at libertie. Secondly we are taught that wee are so cleansed by his sanctification, that we are still besieged with many vices & much weakenesse, so long as we are enclosed in the burden of our body: whereby it commeth to passe, that being farre distant from perfection, we haue neede alway to encrease somewhat, and being entangled

rangled in vices, we haue neede daily to wraastle with them. Wherupon also followeth, that shaking of sloth and carelesnesse, we must watch with heedful mindes, that wee be not compassed vnware with the snares of our flesh. Vnlesse peradventure we thinke that we haue proceeded further than \bar{y} Apostle, which yet was wried of the Angel of Saran, that his strength might be made perfect with weakenes: and which did vnfaignedly represent in his flesh that diuision of the flesh & of the spirit.

15 But whereas the Apostle in describing of repentance reckoneth seuen either causes or effectes or partes thereof, he doeth 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, \bar{y} I dare not certainly determine whether they ought to be counted causes or effectes. For both may be defended in disputation. They may be also called affectiones ioyned with repentance: but because, leauing out those questions, we may vnderstand what Paul meaneth, wee shalbe content with a simple declaration of them. He saith therefore, that of the heauinesse which is according to God, ariseth carefulnesse. For he \bar{y} is touched with an earnest feeling of displeasure because he hath sinned against his God, is therewithal stirred vp to diligence & heedefulnes, to winde himselfe clearly 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, not 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 doeth denie that he hath offended, or diminisheth the hainousnesse of his fault, but a purgation which standeth rather in crauing of pardon, than in defence of his cause. Like as the children that are not reprobate when they acknowledge and confesse their faultes, do yet vse entreating, and that it may take place, they protest by all meanes that they can, that they haue not cast away the reuerence \bar{y} they owe to their parents. Finally, they so excuse them, as they go not about to prouoe themselues righteous and innocent, but onely that they may obtaine pardon. Then followeth Indignation, whereby the sinner fretteth inwardly with himselfe, quarelleth 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 striken into our mindes so oft as wee thinke both what wee haue descrued, and how horrible is the seueritie of Gods wrath against sinners. For we must needs then be vexed with a meruailous vnquietnesse, which both instructeth vs to humilitie, and maketh vs more ware against the time to come. Now if out of feare do spring that carefulnesse, whereof he had spoken before, then wee see with what linking they hang together. It seemeth to mee that he hath vsed this worde Desire for diligence in our ductie and readie ehearfulnesse to obey, whereunto the acknowledging of our owne faultes ought chiefly to prouoke vs. And thereunto also belongeth zeale, which he ioyneth immediatly next vnto it. For it signifieth a fearefulnesse, wherwith we be kindled when we be spurred forward with these pricking thoughts: what haue I done? whither had I thrown my self hedlong, if the mercie of God did not help me? The last of all is punishment, for the more rigor that wee be

to our selues, & the straightyer that we examine our owne finnes, so much the more we ought to trust that God is fauour able and merciful vnto vs. And truely it is not possible, but that the soule being striken with horror of the iudgement of God must needs do some execution in the punishing of it selfe. Truely the godly do feele what punishments are shame, confusion, mourning, loathing of themselves, & other affections that spring out of earnest acknowledging of finnes. But let vs remember that there is a measure to be kept, that sorrowe do not swallow vs vp, because nothing more readily happeneth to fearefull consciences than falling to dispaire. And also by that craftie meane whome so euer Satan findeth ouerthrowen with dread of God, he more and more drowneth them in the gulfes of sorrowe, that they may neuer rise vp againe. Truely the feare 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 himselfe, he dispaire 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 verie profitable: Sorrow for finnes is necessarie, if it be not continuall. I counsell you sometime to returne your faute from grieuous and painfull remembrance of your owne wayes, and to climbe vp to the plaine grounde of chearefull remembrance of benefites of God. Let vs mingle hony with wormewood, that the holosome bitternesse may bring vs health, when it shalbe dronke tempered with sweetnesse. And if ye thinke of your selues in humilitie, thinke also of the Lorde in goodnesse.

16 Now it may be also perceiued what be the fruits of repentance, euen the duties of godlinesse toward God, and of charitie toward men, & therewithall a holines and purenesse in all our life. Finally, the more earnestly 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 law, sometime to the duties of the second table. Albeit in other places after that he hath condemned vncleannesse in the very fountaine of the heart, he descendeth afterwarde to outward testimonies y do set out true repentance: of which thing I wil 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 scorne at their follies y go about to appease God with ceremonies, & do shewe that they be meere mockeries, and partly do teache that outward vprightnesse of life is not the principall part of repentance, because God looketh vpon the heart: who so euer is euen meanly exercised in the scripture, shall perceiue of himselfe without any other mans putting in minde, that when we haue to doe with God, we labour in vaine, vnlesse wee beginne at the inward affection of the heart. And the place of Ioel shall not a litle helpe to the vnderstanding of the rest, where he sayth: Teare your hearts and not your garments. Also both those pointes are expressed in these wordes of Iames: Ye wicked doers, cleanse your hands: ye double men, purge your heartes. Where in dede there is an addition ioyned to the firste parte, but after is shewed

Heb. 12. 3.

Sermon 11.
in Cant.

Ioel. 2. 13.

Iac. 4. 8.

the verie fountaine and beginning that they must wipe away their secrete filthinesse, that there may be an altar set vp to God in the very heart. Beside this there are also certaine outward exercises which wee vse priuately as remedies to humble our selues or to tame our flesh, & publikely for the declaration of repentance. And they proceed from that punishment of which Paul speaketh, for these are the properties of an afflicted minde, to be in lothsomenesse, mourning & weeping, to flee gorgeousnesse & all trimming, and to forsake all delites. Then he that seeleth how great an euill is the rebellion of the flesh, seeketh all remedies to bridle it. Moreouer he that well bethinketh him how grieuous a thing it is to haue offended the iustice of God, cannot rest vntil he haue in his owne humilitie giuen glorie to God. Such exercises the old writers do oftentimes rehearse, when they speake of the fruites of repentance. But albeit they do not place the whole force of repentance in them, yet the readers shal pardon me, if I speake what I think: it seemeth vnto me that they stand too much vpon them. And if any man will wisely wey it, I trust he will agree with mee, that they haue two wayes gone beyond measure. For when they so much enforced, & with immeasurable commendations aduanced that bodily discipline, this in deede they obtained, that the people did the more earnestly embrace it, but they in a maner darkened that, which ought to haue beene of much greater importance. Secondly, in giuing punishments they were somewhat more rigorous than ecclesiasticall mildnesse may beare, as we shal haue occasion to shewe in an other place.

17 But because many when they heare weeping, fasting & ashes spoken of, both often in other places & specially in Iael, they measure the chiefe part of repentance by fasting & weeping: therefore their errour 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 & fasting are not ioyned as continuall or necessarie effectes thereof, but are spoken of in respect of a special circumstance. Because he had prophecied, that thier hanged ouer the Iewes a most grieuous destruction, therefore he counselleth them to prevent the wrath of God, not only in repenting, but also in vntering tokens of their sorrowe. For as a man standing to be arraigned, vseth humbly to abace himselfe with an ouergrown beard, vncombed haire & black apparel, to moue the iudge to pitie: so it behoued them when they stooode accused before the iudgement seate of God in piteous array to beseech him not to extend his rigor. But although ashes and sackcloth did paraduenture mote fitly agree with those 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 calamitie. For when he maketh any danger to appeare, he doth after a certaine manner giue warning, that he is prepared or armed to reuenge. Therefore the Prophet did well, when he exhorted his contremen to weeping and fasting, that is to the sorrowfull manner of accused men, whose offences he said a litle before, were had in examination. Euen as the Pastors of the Church should not doe ill at this daye, if when they see any ruine hanging ouer the neckes of their people, they woulde cry out vpon

them to make hast to fasting and weeping: so that they woulde with greater and more inward care and diligence, alway enforce that which is the principal point, that they must cut their heartes and not their garmentes. It is out of doubt, that fasting is not alway ioyned with repentance, but is appointed peculiarly for times of miserable plagues: and therefore Christ ioyneth it with wayling, when he acquiteth 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 & sobrietie, that in the whole course thereof there may appeare a certaine kind of fasting. But because all this matter shalbe to be declared againe in the place where we shall entreate of the discipline of the Church, therefore I do now the more slenderly touch it. But this one thing I wil adde here by the way: when the name of repentance is applyed to this outward profession, then it is vnproperly 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 & giltnesse. So to do penance in ashes & sackcloth is nothing else, than to viter a displeasidnes when God is angry with vs for grievous offences. And this is a publike kinde of confession, whereby we condemning our selues before the Angels & the worlde, do preuent the iudgement of god. For Paul rebuking their slouthfulnes that tenderly beare with their own faults, saith: if we did iudge our selues, wee should not be iudged of God. But it is not alway necessaric to make men openly of counsell and witnesses of our repentance: but to confesse priuately to God is a parte of true repentance which cannot bee omitted. For there is nothing more vnreasonable than to looke to haue God to pardon vs the sinnes in which we flatter our selues and do hide them by Hypocrisie, leaist he should bring them to light. And it behoueth vs not onely to confesse those sinnes which we daily commit, but more grievous offences ought to drawe vs further, & to call againe into our remembrance things that seeme long ago buried. Which lesson Dauid giueth vs by his example. For beeing touched with shame of his newly committed fault, hee examineth himselfe euen to the time when he was in his mothers wombe, & confesseth that euen then hee was corrupted & infected with the filthinesse of the flesh. And this he doth not to diminish the haynousnes of his fault, as many hide themselues in the multitude, and seeke to escape punishment by wrapping other wth them. But Dauid doeth farre otherwise which with simple plainnes enforceth his fault in saying, that being corrupt from his first infancie, he hath not cessed to heape euils vpon euils. Also in another place he likewise so examineth his passed life, that he craueth the mercie of God for the sins of his youth. And truly then onely shall wee prooue our drowines to be shaken away from vs, if groning vnder our burden and bewailing our euils, wee aske reliefe of God. It is moreouer to be noted, that the repentance which we are commaunded continually to apply, differeth from that repentance, that listeth vp as it were from death, them that eyther haue filthily fallen, or with vnbridled licentiousnesse haue throwen foorth themselues to sinne, or after a certaine manner of rebellious reuolting, haue shaken off the

Mat. 9. 15.

Mat. 11. 21.

Luc. 10. 13.

1. Cor. 11. 3.

Psa. 51. 7.

Psa. 25. 9.

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 rehearseth that the people did penance, it meaneth that they were turned from their idolatry and other grosse offences. And in like manner Paul threateneth mourning vnto sinners that haue not done penance for their wantonnesse, fornication and vnchastity. This difference is to be diligently marked, least while we heare y^e few are called to penance, a more than carelesse assurednesse should crepe vpon vs, as though the mortifying of the fleshe 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, do not suffer vs to release. Therefore the speciall repentance which is required but of some, whom the Deuill 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.

2. Cor. 12. 29

19 Nowe if that be true, which is most evidently certaine, that all the summe of the Gospell is contained in these two principall pointes, Repentance and forgiuenesse of sinnes: do we 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 righteousnesse? Iohn the Angel sent before the face of Christ to prepare his wayes, 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; & al that was theirs, to be damnable before the Lorde, that they might with all their heartes 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 hande, he meant forgiuenesse 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 forgiuenesse of sinnes. And what is that els, but that they being oppressed and wearied with the burden of sinnes, should turne to the Lorde, and conceiue good hope of forgiuenesse and saliation? So Christ also beganne his preachings: The kingdom of God is come neere at hand: repent ye and beleue the Gospell. First he declareth that the treasures of Gods mercy are opened in him, and then hee requireth repentaunce, and last of al confidence in the promises of God. Therefore when hee meant briefly to comprehend the whole summe of the Gospell, he sayde that he must suffer and rise againe from the dead, and that repentance and forgiuenesse of sins must be preached in his name. The Apostles also preached the same after his resurrection, that he was raised vp by God, to giue to Israell repentance and forgiuenesse of sinnes. Repentance is preached in the name of Christ, when men doe heare by the doctrine of the Gospel that all their thoughtes, their affections, and their endeouours are corrupt and faulty, and that therefore it is necessarie that they be borne againe if they will enter into the kingdome of God. Forgiuenesse of sinnes is preached when men are taught y^e Christ is made to them redemption, righteousnes, saluation and life: in whose name they are freely accounted righteous

Mat. 11. 10.
Mat. 3. 2.Mat. 1. 4.
Luc. 3. 3.

Mar. 1. 15.

Luk. 24. 26.

Rom. 1. 30.

and innocent in the sight of God, whereas both these graces are received by faith, as I have in an other place declared: yet because the goodnes of God whereby finnes are forgiven, is the prooffe object of faith, therefore it shall be good that it be diligently distinguished from repentance.

20 Now as the hatred of sinne, which is the beginning of repentance, openeth vs the first entrie vnto Christ, which sheweth himselfe to none but to miserable and afflicted sinners, which grone, labour, are laden, are hungry and thirsty, and pine away with sorrow and miserie: so must wee endeavour toward 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 euery one should turne himselfe from his wickednesse. The Scripture is full of such sayings. Wherefore when God offereth forgiveness of finnes, he likewise vseth to require on our part repentance, secretly declaring thereby, that his mercy ought to be to men a cause to repent them. Doe (sayth he) iudgement and righteousness, because saluation is come neere at hande. Againe, There shall come to Si-on a redeemer, and to them that in Iacob repent from their finnes. Againe, Seeke the Lord while he may be found: call vpon him while he is neere. Let y wicked leaue his way & the wickednes of his thoughts, & 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 trauaile if they will obtaine grace. Therefore so long as we shall dwell in the prison of our body, we must continually wastle with the vices of our corrupt flesh, yea with our own naturall soule. Plato saith in certain places, that the life of a Philosopher is a meditation of death, but we may more truly say, that the life of a Christian man is a perpetuall studie and exercise of mortifying the flesh, till it being vtterly slaine, 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 towarde God, that being grafted into the death and life of Christ, he should studie vpon a continuall repentance: as truly they can not otherwise do, that haue a naturall hatred of sinne: for no man euer hated sinne, vnlesse hee 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.

21 Now that Repentance is a singular gift of God, I thinke it be so well known by the doctrine aboue taught, that I neede not to repete a long discourse to proue it againe. Therefore the Church prayseth and hath in admiration the benefit of God, that he hath giuen the Gentiles repentance vnto saluation. And Paul commaunding Timothee to be patient and milde towarde the vnbeleeuers, saith: If at any time G O D giue them repentance that they may repent from the snares of the Deuill. God in deede affirmeth that he willethe the conuersion of all men, and directeth his exhortations generally to all men: but the effectual working thereof hangeth vpon the

Sprite.

Esa. 61. 1.
Mat. 11. 5.
Luk. 4. 18.
Mar. 9. 14.

Aa. 3. 26 &
5. 31.

Esa. 56. 1. &
59. 20. & 55.
6.

Aa. 2. 38.

Id cum alib.
tum in Phæ-
done multis
disputat.

Aa. 3. 16.

2. Tim. 2. 25.

Spirite 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 wee are not without cause called, the worke of God created to good workes, which hee hath prepared that wee shoulde walke in them. Whom soeuer the Lords will is to deliuer from death, those he quickeneth with the spirite of regeneration: not that repentance is properly y^e 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 heartes were hardened by God. The Apostle also meaning to exclude apostataes from hope of saluatiō, appointeth this reasoⁿ, that it is impossible for them to bee renewed vnto repentance: because God in renewing them whome he will not haue perishe, sheweth a token of his fatherly fauour, and in a manner draweth them vnto him with y^e beames of his cheerefull and merie countenance: on the other side with hardening them, he thundereth against the reprobate, whose wickednesse is unpardonable. Which kinde of vengeance the Apostle threateneth to wilfull apostataes, which when they depart from the faith of the Gospell, doe make a scorne of God, reprochfully dispise his grace, and defile and tread vnder feet the blood of Christ, yea as much as in them is they crucifie him againe. For he doeth not (as some fondly rigorous men woulde haue it) cut of hope of pardon from all wilfull sinnes: but teacheth that apostasie is vnworthie of all excuse: so that it is no maruell that G O D doeth punish a contempte of himselfe so full of sacriledge, with vnapeasable rigor. For he saith that it is impossible, that they which haue once beene enlightened, haue tasted of the heauenly gift, haue beene made partakers of the holy Ghost, haue tasted of the good worde of God and the powers of the worlde to come, if they fall, shoulde be renewed to repentance, crucifying againe of newe, and making a scorne of the sonne of God. Againe in another place: If (saith hee) wee willingly sinne after knowledge of the truth receiued, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sinnes, but a certaine dreadfull expectation of iudgement, &c. These also bee the places, out of the wrong vnderstanding whereof, the Nouatians in old 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 Apostolike spirit. But because we contende with none but with them that allowe it, it is easie to shewe, how these sentences doe nothing maintaine their error. First it is necessarie that the Apostle agree with his maister, which affirmeth that all sinne and blasphemie shall be forgien, except the sinne against the holy Ghost, which is not forgien neither in this worlde nor in the worlde to come. It is certaine (I say) that the Apostle was contented with this exception, vnlesse wee will make him an aduersarie to the grace of Christ. Wherevpon followeth, that

pardon is denied to no speciall offences, but onely to one, which proceeding of a desperate rage, cannot be ascribed to weakenes, and openly sheweth that a man is possessed of the Deuill.

22 But to discusse this, it behoueth to enquire what is that same so horrible offence, that shall haue no forgiuencesse. Whereas Augustine in one place defineth it an obstinate stiffenes euen vnto death; with despeire of pardon, that doeth not well agree with the verie wordes of Christ, that it shall not be forgiuen in this worlde. 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 hee sinneth against the holy Ghost, that enuieith the grace bestowed vpon his brother: I see not from whence that is ferched. But let vs bring a true definition, which being once proued with sure testimonies, shall easily by it selfe ouerthrowe all the rest. I say therefore, that they sinne against the holy Ghost, which of set purpose resist the truth of God, with brightnesse whercof they are so daseled, that they can not pretende ignorance: which they doe onely to this end to resist. For Christ meaning to expound that which he had saide, immediatly addeth: He y^e speaketh a worde against the sonne of man, it shall be forgiuen him: but he that blasphemeth against the holy Ghost, shall not be forgiuen. And Matthew for the blasphemie against the holy Spirit, putteth the spirite of blasphemie. But how can a man speake a reproch against the Sonne, but it is also spoken against the holy Ghost. They that stumble vnware against the trueth of God, not knowing it, which doe ignorantly speake euill of Christ, hauing yet this minde, that they would not extinguish the trueth of God disclosed vnto them, or once with one worde offend him, whome they had knownen to be the Lordes anointed: 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 y^e doctrine of y^e Gospel, they wold be ready to worship with all their heart. But they whose conscience is conuincid, that it is the worde of God which they forsake and fight againste, and yet cease not to fight against it, they are said to blaspheme the holy Ghost: forasmuch as they wrastle against the enlightening that is the worke of the holy Ghost. Such were many of the Iewes, which when they coulde not resist the Spirit that spake by Stephen, yet indeuoured to resist. It is no doubt but that many of them were caried vnto it with zeale of the lawe, but it appeareth that there were some other that of malicious wickednes did rage againste God himselfe, that is to say against the doctrine, which they were not ignorant to be of God. And such were those Pharisees, against whome the Lord inuieith, which to ouerthrow the power of the holy Ghost, defamed him with the name of Beelzebub. This therefore is the spirit of blasphemie, when mans boldnes of set purpose, leapeth foorth to reproch of the name of God. Which Paul signifieth when he saith, that he obtained mercie, because he had ignorantly committed those things through vnbeleefe, for which otherwise he had bene vnworthie of Gods fauour. If ignorance ioyned with vnbeleefe was the cause that he obtained pardon, therevpon followeth, that there is no place for pardon, where knowledge is ioyned to vnbeleefe.

23 But if thou marke it well, thou shalt perceiue that the Apostle speaketh

keth not of one or other particular fall, but of y^e vniuersall departing where-
 by the reprobate doe forsake saluation. And it is no maruell, that they who
 Iohn in his canonically Epistle affirmeth not to haue bene of the elect, from
 whom they went out, doe feele God vnappeasable. For hee directeth his
 speach against them, that imagined, that they might returne to the Christi-
 an religion, although they had once departed from it: and calling the 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 licentiousnes of life transgresse the worde of the Lord, but they
 that of set purpose cast away his whole doctrine. Therefore the deceite is in
 these wordes of falling and sinning. Because the Nouatians expounde Fall-
 ing to be, if a man being taught by the lawe of the Lorde, that he ought not
 to steale or to commit fornication, absteineeth not from stealing or fornication.
 But contrariwise I affirme, that there is a secret comparison of contraries,
 wherein ought to be repeted all things contrarie to that whiche was first
 spoken, so that here is expressed not any particular faulte, but the whole
 turning away from God, and (as I may so call it) the Apostasie of the whole
 man. Therefore when he saith, they which haue fallen after y^e they haue
 once bene enlightened, and haue tasted the heauenly gift, and bene made
 partakers of the holy Ghost, and also tasted the good worde of God and the
 powers of the worlde to come: it is to bee vnderstanded of them, that
 with aduised vngodlinesse haue choked the light of the holy spirite, haue
 spit out againe the tast of the heauenly gift, haue enstraunged themselves
 from the sanctification of the holy Ghost, haue troden vnder foot the
 word of God and the powers of the worlde to come. And y^e more to expresse
 that aduised purpose of wickednes, in an other place afterward hee addeth
 this word by name Wilfully. For when he saith, that there is left no sacrifice
 for them that sinne willingly after knowlege 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 who'e Epistle, where
 he declareth the priesthoode of Christ) but he saith, that there remaineth
 no other when y^e is once forsaken: and it is forsaken, when the truth of the
 Gospell is of set purpose renounced.

24 But whereas some doe thinke it too harde and too far from the tender
 mercifulnesse of God, that any are put away that flee to beseeching the
 Lorde: that is easily aunswered. For he doeth not say, that pardon is
 denied them if they turne to the Lorde: but hee vtterly denieth, that they
 can rise vnto repentance, because they are by the iust iudgement of God
 stricken with eternall blindness for their vnthankfulness. And it maketh
 nothing to the contrarie that afterwarde he applieth to this purpose the
 example of Esau, which in vaine attempted with howling & weeping to
 recouer his right of the first begotten. And no more doth that threatening
 of the Prophete, 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 carelesnes of the wicked wherewith being bounde, they are compelled
 in extremitie to looke vnto that which before they carelesly neglected,
 that

2. Ioh. 1. 19.

Heb. 6. 4.

Heb. 10. 16.

Zach. 7. 13.

that there is no good thing for them but in the Lords helpe. But this they do not so much call vpon, as they moune that it is taken from them. Therefore the Prophete 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 else God should disagree with himselfe, which crieth by the Prophete 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 remedie for their euils, and yet doe flee from his presence, is vnproperly called Conuersion and prayer.

25 But a question is moued, whereas the Apostle denieth that God is appeased with fained repentance, howe Achab obtained pardon & turned away the punishment pronounced vpon him, whome yet it appeareth by the rest of the course of his life to haue bene onely stricken amased with souden feare. Hee did indeede put on sackcloth, scattered ashes vpon him, lay vpon the grounde, and (as it is testified of him) hee was humbled before God: but it was not enough to cut his garmentes when his hart remained thicke and swollen with malice. Yet wee see howe God is turned to mercie. I aunswere that so sometime hypocrites are spared for a time, but yet so that euer the wrath of God lieth 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 hee thereby, but that he shoulde not feele it a liue in earth? Therefore the course of GOD although it were hidden, yet had a fast abiding place in his house, and he himselfe went into eternall destruction. This same is to bee scene in Esau.

Gen. 27. 18. For though hee had a repulse, yet a temporall blessing was graunted him at his weeping. But because the spirituall inheritance, by the oracle of God coule not rest but with one of the brethren, when Iacob was chosen and Esau refused, that putting away did exclude the mercie of God: this comfort was left him as to a beastly man, that hee shoulde bee far with the fat of the earth and the deawe of Heauen. And this is it that I said euen now, that it ought to bee referred to the example of the other, that wee shoulde learne the more chearefully to applie our minds and endeuours to repentance, because it is not to be doubted that when we are truly and hartily turned, God will bee readie to forgiue vs, whose mercifulnesse extendeth it selfe euen to the vnworthie, so long as they shewe any greefe at all. And therewithall wee bee also taught, howe terrible iudgement is prepared for all the obstinate, which now make it a sporte with no lesse shamelesse face than yron hearte to despise and set nought by the threatninges of God. After this manner hee ofentimes reached out his hande to the children of Israell, to releue their miseries, although their crimes were counterfait, and their heartes 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 perpetuall lawe thereby, but rather riseth sometimes more rigorously against Hypocrites, and doubleth their peines, that thereby may appeare how much faining displeaseth him. But (as I haue sayd) he sheweth some examples of his readines to giue pardon, by which the godly may be encouraged to amendement of life, & their pride may be the more greuously condemned, that stubbornely 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 Gospel. Where is entreated of Confession and satisfaction.

NOwe I come to discusse those thinge, which the Schoole Sophisters haue taught of repentance. Which I will runne ouer in as fewe words as may be, because I mind not to go through all, least this booke, which I labour to drawe into a short abridgement, should growe to a huge greatnesse. And the Sophisters haue entangled it in so many volumes, beeing a matter otherwise not very harde, that a man shall hardly finde howe to get out, if he once fall into their dregges. First, in defining it, they shewe that they neuer vnderstoode what repentance was. For they take holde of certaine sayings of the old writers, which doe nothing at all expesse 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 sorry to haue committed. Againe: that it is a sorrowe of heart, and bitterness of soule, for the euils that a man hath committed or to which he hath consented. But, to grant these things well sayd of the fathers, (which a contentious man might easily enough denie) yet they were not spoken to this entent to describe repentance, but only to exhort them to whom they wrote, that they should not fall again into the same offences, out of which they had bene drawne. But if we list to turne all such titles of commendation into definitions, then other may also be adioyned as rightfully as they. As this of Chrysostome, Repentance is a medicine that destroyeth sinne, a gift giuen from heauen, a maruellous vertue, a grace surmounting the force of the lawe. Yea and the doctrine which they afterwarde teach, is somewhat worse than these definitions. For they sticke so earnestly in outwarde exercises, that a man can gather nothing els 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 maruellous silence of the inward renewing of the minde that draweth with it correction of life. There is in deede much talke among them of Contrition and Attrition, they torment soules with many doubtles, and do thrust into them much trouble and caurefulness: but when they seeme to haue thoroughly wounded the hearts; they heale the bitterness with a light sprinkling of ceremonies.

And

The first is out of Gregory, & is rehearsed lib. 4. Sent. Dist. 14. cap. 1. The 2. out of Amb. & refer. illic, & in Decr. Dist. 3. de pœnitent. c. Pœnit. prior. The 3. out of August. refer. ea Dist. c. Pœni. post. The 4. out of Amb. refer. Dist. 1. Pœni. c. Vera pœnit.

Lib. 4. Sen.
16. ca. 1. de
Pœnit. disti.
1. c. perfectæ
pœnitentiæ.

And when they haue thus curiously defined repentance, they diuide it into contrition of heart, confession of mounth, and satisfaction of worke, no more logically than 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 proue by the definition (which kinde of argument is of force among logicians) that a man may weepe for his sinnes 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 himselfe for that which he was sorry to haue committed, &c. although he doe not confesse with his mouth: how will they mainraine their diuision? For if that true penitent man doe not confesse, then repentance may be without confession. But if they answer, that this diuision is referred to repentance, in respect that it is a sacramēt, or is meant of the whole perfection of repentance, which they comprehend not in their definitions, then is there no cause to blame mee, but let them lay the fault in themselues that make not a purer and plainer definition, I truly (according to my grosseness) 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 admitte that to be their masterlike licence. Nowe let vs particularly consider all the partes in order. Whereas I do negligently leape ouer as trifles those things that they with great grauity of countenance do publish for mysteries, I do it not vnwittingly, (neither were it very painefull for me to confute all y^e they thinke theselues to haue deeply & suttly disputed) but I would thinke it against conscience to weary the readers with such trifles without any profit. Truly it is easie to knowe by the questions which they moue and tossē, and wherewith they miserably encomber themselues, that they prate of things that they knowe not. As for example: whether the repentance of our sinne pleaseth God, when obstinacie endureth in o^rther. Againe: whether the punishments layed vpon man by God, do auaille to satisfaction. Againe: whether repentance may be oftentimes reiterate for deadly sinnes: where they fowly and wickedly define, that penaunce is daily done but for veniall sinnes. Likewise they very much torment themselues with a grosse errour, vpon the saying of Hierome, that repentance is a second board after shipwracke. Wherin they shew that they neuer waked from their brutish dulnes, to feele so much as a farre of the thousandth part of their faultes.

2 But I would the readers should note, that here is not a quarel about the shadowe of an asse, but the most earnest matter of all other is entreated of, that is to say, forgiueneffe of sinnes. For whereas they require three things to repentaunce, contrition of heart, confession of mouth, and satisfaction of worke: they doe therewithall teach that those three things are necessarie to the obreyning of forgiueneffe of sinnes. But if it behoue vs to knowe any thing at all in all our religion, this truly behoueth vs most of all, I meane to vnderstande and knowe well by what meane, with what lawe, vpon what condition, with what easinesse or hardenesse the forgiueneffe of sinnes is obtained. If this knowledge stand not plaine and certaine, the conscience shal haue no rest at all, no peace with God, no confidence or assurednesse, but continually trembleth, wauereth, is troubled, is tormented,

is vexed, horribly dreadeth, hateth and fleeth the sight of God. But if the forgiuenesse of finnes hang vppon those conditions to whiche they doe binde it, then nothing is more miserable, nothing in more lamentable case than wee. They make Conitricion the firste parte of obteyning pardon, and they require that to bee a true contritricion, that is to say perfect and full: but in the meane time they do not determine when a man may be assured, that hee hath to the full measure perfectly performed this contritricion. Truely I graunt that euery man ought diligently and earnestly to enforce himselfe, with bitterly weeping for his finnes, to whet himselfe more and more to a lothing and hatred of them. For this is a sorrowe not to bee repented, that breedeth repentance vnto saluation. But when there is such a bitterness of sorrowe required as may proportionally aunswere the greatnesse of the fault, and such as may in balance counterpaife with the trust of pardon, here the pure consciences are maruellously tormented and troubled, when they see them selues changed with a due conitricion of sins, and doe not so atteine the measure of that due, that they can determine with themselues, y they haue duely performed so much as they duely ought. If they say that wee must doe as much as lieth in vs, then come wee still to the same point that we were at before: for how dare any man assure himselfe that hee hath employed all his force to bewaile his finnes? So when the consciences hauing long wrestled with themselues, and long beene exercised with battels, doe at length finde no hauen to rest in, yet somewhat to ease themselues, they enforce themselues to a sorrowe, and wring out teares to make perfect their contritricion.

3 But if they say that I flander them: Let them come forth and shewe any one man, that by such doctrine of contritricion hath not either bene driuen to despeire, or hath not set for his defense a counterfaiting of sorrowe in steede of true sorrowe, against the iudgement of God. Wee haue also our selues saide in one place, that forgiuenesse of sins neuer commeth without repentance, because none but the afflicted and wounded with conscience of finnes, can syncerely call vpon the mercie of God: but wee haue therewithall further saide, that repentance is not the cause of the forgiuenesse of finnes. As for those tormentes of soules, which they say must bee performed of duetic, wee haue taken them away: wee haue taught the sinner not to looke vppon his owne contritricion nor his owne teares, but to fasten both his eyes vpon the onely mercie of God. Wee haue onely put him in minde that Christ called the laboring and loden, when hee was sent to publishe glad tidings to the poore, to heale the contrite in hart, to preach remission to captiues, to deliuer prisoners, and to comfort them y mourne. From which should be excluded both the Pharisees, y filled with their owne righteousness, doe not acknowledge their owne pouertie, and also the despisers that carelesse of Gods wrath doe seeke no remedie for their euils. For such doe not labour, nor are loden, nor contrite in heart, nor bond, nor captiue. But there is great difference betweene teaching a man to deserue forgiuenes of sins with due and full contritricion, which the sinner can neuer performe: and instructing him to hunger and thriste for the mercie of GOD, that by the acknowledging of his owne miserie, by his owne

Matr. 11. 18.
Esay 61.
Luk. 4. 18.

vnquietnesse, wearinesse and captiuitie, it may bee shewed him, where hee ought to seeke for releefe, rest and libertie: and finally, he may bee taught in the humbling of himselfe, to giue gorie to God.

4 Concerning confession, there hath beene alwayes great strife betweene the Canonistes and Scholediuiues: while the one sorte affirme, that confession is commaunded by the speciall commaundement of God, and the other sorte denie it and say, that it is commaunded onely by the Ecclesiasticall constitutions. But in this contention hath appeared the notable shamelesnes of the diuines, that haue corrupted and violently wrested as many places of Scripture, as they alleadged for their purpose. And when they saw that they could not so obtaine y^e which they required, they which would be thought more suttle than the rest escaped away with this shift, that confession came from the lawe of God, in respect of the substance of it, but afterwarde receiued forme of the lawe Positiue. Euen as the foolishest fort among the lawyers doe 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 and exceptions receiued forme giuen them by the Ciuill lawe. But let vs see by what argumentes they proue this confession, either Formed or Vnformed to bee the commaundement of God. The Lord (say they) sent the leproous men to the Priestes, But what? Sent he them to confession? Who euer hearde it spoken, that the Leuiticall priestes were appointed to heare confessions? Therefore they flie to Allegories, And say: It was commaunded by the Law of Moses, that the priestes shoulde discerne 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 drawe to them the knowledge of naturall and fleshly leprosie? 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. Nowe I aunswere: sith the priesthoode is remoued, it is necessarie that the Lawe be remoued also. All priesthoodes are remoued to Christ, and fulfilled and ended in him, therefore to him onely all the right and honour of priesthoode is also remoued. If they loue so well to followe allegories, let him set Christ before them for the onely prieste, and heape vpon his iudgement seate the free iurisdiction of all thinges: this wee can easily bee contentent to suffer. Moreouer their allegorie is verie vnfit, that setteth among the ceremonies that lawe which is merely politike. Why then did Christe sende the leproous men to the Priestes? That the Priestes shoulde not cauill that he did breake the lawe that commaunded the man healed of the leprosie, to bee shewed before the Priest and purged with offering of sacrifice: therefore he commaunded the leproous men being cleansed, to doe that which belonged to the lawe. Goe (saith hee) and shewe your selues to the priest, and offer the gifte that Moses hath commaunded in the Lawe that it shoulde bee for a witnessse vnto them. And truly this miracle shoulde haue bene a witnessse vnto them, for they

Gen. 3. 9.

Mat. 8. 4.
Luk. 5. 15.
Deut. 17. 8.

Heb. 7. 11.

they had pronounced them leprous, & now they pronounce them healed. Are they not whether they will or no compelled to become witnesses of Christes miracles: Christ leaueth to them his miracle to be examined, they cannot deny it. But because they still dally with it, therefore this worke is for a witness vnto them. So in another place: This Gospel shalbe preached in all the world, for a witness to all nations. Again: Ye shalbe led before kings & gouernours, for a witness to them, that is: that in the iudgement of God they may be more strongly conuincid. But if they had rather folow Chrysofome: he also teacheth that Christ did this for the Iewes sake, y^e 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 y^e he leaueth the right of the law whole to the priesstes as to the professed enemies of the Gospell, which were alway bent to carpe against it, if their mouth had not bene stopped. Wherefore that the popish sacrificing priesstes may stil keepe this possession, let them openly take partes with them which must of necessitie be restrained by force, that they speake not ill against Christ. For this nothing belongeth to his true ministers.

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 prooue that I can make a fairer shewe of them for my side, than they can for theirs. They say, The Lorde commanded his Disciples, that when Lazarus was raised vp, they shoulde vnbind & loose him from his bonds. Here first they lie: for it is no where read that the Lord said this to the Disciples: and it is much more likely that he said it to the Iewes that stooode by him, that the miracle might be made the more eident without suspicion of fraud, & his power appeare the greater, y^e without any touching, with his only worde he raised vp dead men. For thus I expound it: that the Lord, to take away al wrongful opinion from the Iewes, willed them to roll away the stone, to feele the sinke, to behold assured tokens of death, to see him rising by the onely power of his worde, and them first to feele him liuing. And this is the iudgement of Chrysofome. But let vs graunt that this was spoken to the Disciples: what will they get thereby? That the Lord gaue his Apostles power to loose. But howe much more fitly & more handsomly might these things be applied by way of allegorie, to say that by this signe the Lorde meant to instruct his faithfull, to loose them that he had raised vp: that is, that they should not call into remembrance those sinnes 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 forgiuen: that they should not be rigorous to punish, & lightly offended, where he is merciful & easily entreated to spare: Truly, nothing ought to moue vs more to readinesse to forgiue, than the example of the Iudge that threateneth that he wil be vnapeasable to them that be too rigorous & vngentle. Now let them goe and boast of their allegories.

6 But nowe they ioyne more neere hande with vs, when they fight (as they thinke) with open sentences. They that came to Iohns baptisime, did confesse their sinnes, and Iames willeth that wee confesse our sinnes one to

E c.

another.

Mat. 24. 14.
Mat. 10. 18.Hom. 12. de
muliere Cha
nanga.

Ioh. 11. 44.

Ser. contra
Iudas, Gen-
tiles & he-
retic.

an other. No marueile if they that woulde be baptised did confesse their finnes, for it was said before that Iohn preached y^e baptisme of repentance, and baptised in water vnto repentance. Whome should he then haue baptised, but them that had confessed themselues sinners? Baptisme is a token of the forgiuenesse of finnes: and who shoulde be admitted to this token but sinners, & they that acknowledge themselues to be such? Therefore they confessed their finnes, that they might be baptised. And not without a cause doth Iames bid vs confesse one to another. But if they did marke what followeth next after, they woulde vnderstande, that this also maketh litle for them. Confesse (saith he) one to another your finnes, & pray one for another. He ioyneth together mutual confession & mutual prayer. If we must confesse to priestes only, then must we also pray for priestes only. Yea, What and if it might follow of the wordes of Iames that onely priestes 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 worde is in Greeke Allelous, mutually, interchangeably, by turnes, or (if they so like best to terme it) by way of reciprocation one to another. But so interchangeably none can confesse, but they that are meete to heare confessions. Which prerogatiue sith they vouchsaue to grant onely to priestes, we do also put ouer the office of confessing ro them only. Therefore away with such triflings, & let vs take the very meaning of the Apostle which is simple & plaine: that is, that we should lay our weakenes one in anothers bosome to receiue mutual counsel, mutuall compassion, & mutuall comfort one of another: then that we being naturally priuie to the weakenesse of our brethren, should pray for them to the Lord. Why do they then alleage Iames against vs, which do so earnestly require the confession of the mercy of God? but no man can confesse Gods mercie, vnlesse he haue first confessed his owne misery. 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 Lorde hath concluded all vnder finnes, that all mouthes might be stopped, and all flesh humbled before God, and he onely iustified and exalted.

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 wee graunt in deede to be very auncient, but such as wee are able to proue in olde time to haue bene at libertie. Truely euen their owne cronicles declare, that there was no certaine law or constitution of it before the times of Innocent the thirde. Surely, if they had had a more ancient lawe, they would rather haue taken hold therof, than haue bene contented with the decree of the counsel 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 father vpon the most auncient Councels, that they may with verie reuerence of antiquitie dasel the eyes of y^e simple. In this point, it came not in their minde to thrust in such a false pack. Therefore by their own witnessse, there are not yett passed three hundred yeres since Innocent the third laid y^e snare vpon men, & charged them with necessitie of Confession. But, to speake nothing of the time: the very barbarousnes of the wordes minissheth the credite of that

lawe.

Gal. 3. 12.
Rom. 3. 9.

This was
the 183.
Pop.

Lawe. For where these good fathers commaund euery one of both kindes, male and female, once euery yeare to confesse al his sinns to his owne priest, pleasant men doe merily take exception, that in this commaundement are contayned onely Hermaphrodites, and say that it belongeth not to such a one as is either male or female only. Since that time, a more grosse beastlines hath bewraied it self in their scholers, y^e can not expound what is meant by his own priest. Whatsoeuer al the Popes hyred babblers do prate, we hold both that Christ was neuer the author of this lawe that compelleth men to reckon vp their sinnes, and also that there passed a thousand & two hundred yeares from the resurrection of Christ before that any such lawe was made. And so, that this tyranny was then first brought in, when all godlinesse and learning being destroyed, the visiors of Pastors had without choise taken all licentiouinesse vpon them. Moreouer there are euident testimonies both in histories and other auncient writers, which teach that this confession was a politike discipline redeemed by the Bishops, not a lawe made by Christ or his Apostles. I wil alleage but one out of many, which shalbe a plaine proufe thereof. Sozomenus reporteth that this constitutiō of bishops was diligently kept in all the west Churches, but specially at Rome. Whereby he sheweth that it was no vniuersall ordinance of all Churches. But he sayth that there was one of the priestes peculiarly appointed to serue for this office. Whereby he doth sufficiently confute that which these men do falsly say of the keyes giuen for this vse vniuersally to the whole order of priesthoode. For it was not the common office of all priests, but the speciall dutie of some one that was chosen thereunto by the bishop. The same is he, whom at this day in all cathedrall Churches they call Penitentiarie, the examiner of hainons offences, and such whereof the punishment pertaineth to good example. Then he sayth immediatly after, that this was also the manner at Constantinople, till a certine woman faining that she came to confession, was found so to haue coloured vnder that pretence the vn honest 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. Here, here let these asses lift vp their eares. If auricular confession were the lawe of God, how durst Nectarius repell and destroy it? Will they accuse for an heretike and chismaticke Nectarius a holy man of God, allowed by the consenting voyces of all the olde fathers? But by the same sentence they must condemne the Church of Constantinople, in which Sozomenus affirmeth that the manner of confessing was not only let slip for a time, but also discontinued euen till within time of his remembrance. Yea let them condemne of apostasie not only the Church of Constantinople, but also all the east Churches which haue neglected that lawe, which (if they say true) is inuiolable and commanded to all Christians.

8 This abrogation Chrysofome, which was also bishop of Constantinople, doth in so many places euidently testifie, that it is maruell y^e these dare mutter to the contrary. Tell (saith he) thy sinns that thou maiest do them a way, if thou be ashamed to tell any man the sinns that thou hast done, tel the daily in thy soule. I do not say, Confesse them to thy fellow seruant, that may reproch thee: tell them to God that taketh care of them. Confesse thy sinns

Tripert. hist.
lib. 9.

Hom. 2. in
Psal. 50.

Ser. de Penitentiis & confessionibus.

Hom. 5. de incomprehensibili natura. Anomozos.

Homi. 4. de Lazaro.

vpon thy bed, that there thy conscience may daily recognise her euils. Againe: But now it is not necessary to confesse when witnesses be present: let the examination of thy sinnes be done with thy thought: let this iudgement be without witness: let only God see thee confessing. Againe: I do not lead thee into a stage of thy fellow seruants, I do not compel thee to disclose thy sinnes to men, rehearse & vtter thy conscience before God. Shew thy wounds to the Lord the best surgion, and aske salue of him. Shew to him that wil reproch thee with nothing, but will most gently heale thee. Againe: Tell not man, least he reproch thee, for neither is it to be confessed to thy fellowe seruant, that may vtter it abroade, but to the Lord. To the Lord shewe thy woundes which hath care of thee, that is both gentle and a Phisition. Afterward he bringeth in God speaking thus: I compell thee not to come into the mids of a stage, and call many witnesses, tel thy sinne to me alone priuately, that I may heale thy fore. Shall we say that Chrysofome did so rashly, when he wrote this and other like things, that he would deliuer mens consciences from these bonds wherwith they be bound by the law of God? not so. But he dare not require that as of necessitie, which he doth not vnderstande to be commaunded by the word of God.

9 But that the matter may be made the plainer & easier, first we wil faithfully rehearse, what kind of confession is taught by the word of God: & then we will also declare their inuentions, but not all (for who could drawe drie such an infinite sea?) but onely those wherein they comprehend the sum of their secret confession. Here I am loth to rehearse how oft the olde translator hath giuen in translation this word Confes in steede of Praise: which the grossest vnlearned men commonly know: sauing that it is good to haue their presumptuousnesse bewraied, that doe giue away that which was written of the praises of God, to their owne tyrannicall commandement. To proue that confession auaieth to cheare the mindes they thrust in that place of the Psalme: In the voice of reioysing and confession. But if such chang may serue, then we shall haue what we list, proued by what we list. But seing they are so become past shame, let the godly readers remember that by the iust vengeance of God they haue bin cast into a reprobate minde, that their presumption should be the more detestable. But if we will rest in the simple doctrine of y Scripture, we shall not be in danger of any such deceits to beguile vs. For therein is appointed one order of conf. fting, that forasmuch as it is the Lord y forgiueth, forgetteth, and putteth away sins, therefore we should confesse our sinnes to him for to obtaine pardon, he is the Phisician, therefore let vs shewe our diseases vnto him. It is he y is grieved & offended, therefore let vs seeke peace at his hand. He is the knower of hearts, and priuie to all thoughts, therefore let vs make hast 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 (saich Dauid) made my sinne knowen vnto thee, and haue not hidden my vnrighteousnes. I haue said, I wil confesse against me my vnrighteousnes to y Lord, and thou hast forgiuen y wickednes of my heart. Such is the other confession of Dauid. Haue mercy vpon me O God, according to thy great mercie. And such is the confession of Daniell: We haue sinned, Lorde we haue done peruersly, we haue committed iniquities, and haue bin rebellious

Psa. 13. 5.

Psa. 51. 3.

Wad. 9. 5.

in swauing from thy commandements. And such are other confessions that are commonly found in the Scriptures, the rehearsal whereof would almost fill a great volume. If we confesse our sinnes (saith Iohn) the Lord is faithfull to forgiue vs our sinnes. To whome should we confesse: euen to him: that is, if we fall downe with a troubled & humbled heart before him, if heartily accusing and condemning our selues before him we pray to be acquitted by his goodnes and mercy.

1. Ioh. 1. 9.

to He that heartily & before God shall embrace this confession, shall vndoubtedly haue both a tongue readie to confesse, so oft as it shalbe needfull for him to publish the mercy of God before men, & not onely to whisper the secret of his heart to one man, & once & in his eare: but oft & openly, & in the hearing of all the world simply to rehearse both his owne shame and the magnificence & glory of God. After this maner when Dauid was rebuked of Nathan, he was pricked with the sting of conscience, & confesse d his sinne before both God & man. I haue (saith he) sinned to the Lorde, that is to say, now I alleage nothing for my excuse, I vse no shiftes, but that al men may iudge me a sinner, and that the same thing which I 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 Lord 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 y this help was necessary for them that euery man might be y better brought to a iust reknowledging of himselfe. And meete it is that with the confessiō of our owne misery wee should among our selues, & before all the worlde glorifie the goodnes and mercy of our God.

2. Sa. 12. 13.

Leu. 16. 19.

It And it is conuenient that this kinde of confession be both ordinary in the church, & also extraordinarily vsed in special maner, if it happen at any time the people to be guilty of any generall fault. Of this seconde kinde wee haue an example in that solemne confession which al the people vsed by the meanes and guiding of Esdras & of Nehemias. For whereas that long banishment, the destruction of the City & Temple, the dissoluing of religion, was the punishment of the common reuolting of the al: they could not acknowledge the benefit of deliuerance in such sort as was meete, vnlesse they did first condemne themselues. Neither maketh it matter, if in a whole Congregation some fewe sometime be innocent. For sith they be the members of a feeble and diseased body, they ought not to boast of healthfulnesse. Yea it is not possible but they must also themselues gather some infection & beare part of the blame. Therefore so oft as we be afflicted, either with pestilence or war, or barennesse or any other plague: if it be our duety to fly to mourning, to fasting, and to other signes of gikinesse: then confession it self, wherupon all these things do hang, is not to be neglected. As for the ordinary confession, beside that it is commended by the Lordes owne mouth, there is no wise man that considering the profit therof, dare disalow it. For where as in all holy assemblies we make our apparance in the sight of God and the Angels: what other beginning may there be of our pleading, but our re-

Neh. 1. 7.

knowledging of vnworthinesse? But that (some man wil say) 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 drouinesse, or sluggishnes, you wil 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 themselues. For though the ceremonie that y^e Lorde commanded the Israelites, was parcel of the nurture of the law, yet in some maner it also belongeth to vs. And truely we see that this vse is in wel ordered churches profitably obserued, that euery Sunday the minister shoulde rehearse a forme of confession in the name of himselfe & of all the people, wherein he accuseth all of wickednes, and craueth pardon of the Lord. Finally with this keye the gate to prayer is opened as well priuately to euery man, as vniuersally to all men.

Iac. 5. 16.

12 Moreouer the Scripture alloweth two formes of priuate confession, one that is made for our owne sake, whereof that saying of Iames is spoken, that we shoulde confesse our finnes one to another, for his meaning is, that disclosing our wickednesses one to another, wee should one helpe 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 any thing bene offended by vs. Now in the first kinde of confession, although Iames in this hath assigned no man by name, into whose bosome we should vnload our selues, leaueth vs a free choise, to confesse to him y^e shall seeme meetest vnto vs of all the flocke of the church: yet wee ought principally to choose the Pastors, because they are for the most parte in comparison of the other to be iudged meetest. I say that they are meetest in comparison of the rest, because the Lorde appointeth them by the very calling of their ministerie, at whose mouth we should be instructed to subdue & correct our finnes, and also may receiue comfort by trust of pardon. For as the office of mutuall admonishment & reprouing is committed to all men, yet it is specially enioyned to the ministers. So when as we all ought to comfort & confirme one another in confidence of Gods mercy: yet wee see that the ministers, to assure our consciences of the forgiuenes of finnes, are ordeyned as it were witnesses and pledges thereof, in so much that they be saide to forgiue finnes and loose soules. When thou hearest this to be ascribed vnto them, thinke that it is for thy profit. Therefore let euery one of the faithfull remember this to be his duetic, if he be priuately, so vexed & troubled with the feeling of finnes that he cannot winde out himselfe 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 helpe of him, whose duetic it is both publicly and priuately to comfort the people of God with the doctrine of the Gospel. But alway this moderation is to be vsed, where God appointeth no certentie, 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 onely that shall vnderstande themselues to haue neede of it. Then that euen they y^e vse it for their neede, shoulde not be compelled by any commaundement, or trayned by any

Mat. 16. 19.

Mat. 18.

Iohn. 3. 23.

deceit,

deceite, to reckon vp all their finnes, but so farre as they shall thinke it be-houefull for them, that they may receiue sounde frute of comfort. Faithfull Pastors ought not only to leaue this liberty to y^e churches, but also to main-taine it, and stoutly stande in defence of it, if they will haue tyranny absent from their ministrie and superstition from the people.

13 Of the other sort of confession Christ speaketh in Mattheue. If thou offer thy gift at the altar, and there remembrest that thy brother hath any thing against thee, leaue thy gift there, and go, & first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. For so charity y^e hath bin appaired by our fault, is to be repaired by acknowledging and crauing pardon of the offence that we haue committed. Vnder this kinde is contained their confession that haue sinned euen to the offending of the whole church. For if Christ maketh so great a matter of the priuate offence of one man, to forbid from holy mysteries all them that haue sinned against their brother, til they be with iust amendes 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 cōmunion, when he had yelded himselfe obedient to correction. Also this forme of confession was vs'd in the old church, as Cyprian maketh mention. They do penance (saith he) in due time, & then they come to confession, and by laying on of the hands of the bishop and y^e Clergy, they receiue leaue to come to the communion. Any other order or forme of confessing, the Scripture vtterly knoweth not, & it is not our dutie to 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 sheep should present themselues to their shepheard when they meane to be partakers of the holy supper, that I would most gladly haue it euery where obserued. For both they that haue an encombred conscience, may from thence receiue singular profit, & 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, y^e power of the keyes hath place: that is, either when the whole church with soleimne reknowledging of their faultes craueth pardon: or when a priuate man, y^e 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 weaknes vnto him. But there are diuerse wayes of taking away offence, because although thereby also the peace of conscience is prouided for, yet the principall end is, y^e hatred should be taken away, and mens mindes knit together with a bond of peace. But this vse that I haue spoken of, is not to be dispised, that we may the more willingly confesse our finnes. For when the whole church standeth as it were before the iudgement seate of God, confesseth it selfe guilty, and hath one onely refuge vnto the mercy of God: it is no slender or light comfort to haue there present Christs embassadour, ha-uing cōmandement of reconciliation, of whom it may heare absolution pronounced vnto it. Here the profitableness of the keyes is worthily commēded, whē this embassage is performed rightly, & with such order & religiousnes

as becometh it. Likewise when he that had in a manner estranged himselfe from the Church, receiveth pardon and is restored into brotherly vnity: how great a benefit is it that he vnderstandeth himselfe to be forgiuen by them, to whom Christ hath sayde: To whomsoever ye forgiue sinnes in earth, they shall be forgiuen in heauen. And of no lesse effectualnes and profit is priuate absolution, when it is asked by them that haue neede of speciall remedy to reliefe their weakenes. For it happeneth oftentimes, that he which heareth the generall promises that are directed to the whole congregation of the faithful, remaineth neuertheles in some dout, and hath stil an vnquiet mind, as though he had not yet obtained pardon: and y^e same man, if he haue disclosed to his person the secret sore of his mind, and heareth peculiarly directed to himselfe that saying of the Gospel, Thy sins are forgiuen thee, be of good hope, stablisheth his minde vnto assurednesse and is deliuered from y^e trembling, wherewith he was before tormented. But when we speake of y^e keyes, we must take heede that we dreame not of a certain power seuered from the preaching of the Gospel. In an other place we shall haue occasion more fully to declare this matter againe, where we shall entreate of the gouernment of the church: and there shall we see that all the power to bind and to loose, which Christ hath giuen to his church, is bound to the worde. But this is most true in the mystery of the keyes, the whole force whereof standeth in this, that the grace of the Gospell be publicly and priuately sealed vp in the heartes of the faithfull, by them whom the Lord hath ordeined: which can not be done but by onely preaching.

15 But what say the Romish diuines? They decree that euery one of either kinde, so soone as they come to the yeres of discretion, must yearly once at the least confesse all their sins to their own priest: and that their sin is not forgiuen, vnlesse they haue firmly conceived an entent to confesse it: which intent if they perform not when occasion is offered that they may do it, there is now no more entry open for them into Paradise. And y^e the priest hath y^e power of the keyes, wherewith he may loose and bind a sinner: because y^e word of Christ is not in vaine. Whatsoever ye binde, &c. About this power they stoutly fight among themselues. Some say that there is but one keye in substance, that is the power to bind and loose, and as for knowledge, that it is in deede requisite for a good vse, but that it is onely as an accessary and is not essentially ioyned with the other. Some other, because they sawe this to be too much an vnbridled licence, haue reckned vp two keyes, discretion & power. Other again, 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: & power, which they should practise in executing of their sentence: and y^e knowlege standeth by as a counseller. But they dare not simply expound this binding and loosing to be to forgiue and put away sinnes, because they heare the Lorde crying out in the Prophet: It is I, and none other but I: it is I, it is I that put away thy sinnes, O Israel, But they say it is the priestes office to pronounce who be bound or loosed, and to declare whole sins are forgiuen or retained: and that he doth declare it, either by confession when he absolucth and retained sinnes, or by sentence when he excommunicated and

receiueth

Mat. 18. 19.
Iohn. 20. 23

Mat. 9. 2.

C. Omnis.
vtriusque se
xus. De sū-
ma trinitate
& fide cath.
It is a decree
of Pope In-
nocentius,
in the coun-
sell of Late-
rane, & is re-
cited,
Lib. 4. Sentē.
14. ca. 2. lib.
4. Sent. diff.
19. ca. 2.
Mat. 18. 19.

Esa. 43. 11.
and 25.

receiueth againe to partaking of y Sacraments. Finally, when they vnderstande that they be not yet out of this doubt, but that it still may be obiected against them, that oftentimes their priestes do binde and loose men vnworthy, which are not therefore bound or loosed in heauen: then (which is their last refuge) they answer that the giuing of the keyes, must be construed with a limitation, that is to say, that Christ hath promised, that before his iudgement seat such sentence of the Priest shalbe allowed as hath bin iustly pronounced, according as the deseruings of him that is bounde or loosed, did require. Moreouer they say, y these keyes are giuen by Christ to all Priests, and are deliuered to them by their Bishoppes, at the time of their promoting to priesthoode: but the free vse of them, remaineth onely with such as doe exercise Ecclesiasticall offices: and that the excommunicate and suspended Priestes haue in deede the keyes, but rusty and bound vp. And they that say these things may wel seeme modest and sober in comparison of the rest, which vpon a newe anuielde haue forged new keyes with which they say the treasure of the church is locked vp. These keyes we shall hereafter trie in place fit for it.

16 Now I will in fewe wordes answer 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, forasmuch as wee will consider that when place serueth. But where they charge men with a lawe of reckning vp all their sinnes: where they say that sinne is not forgiuen but vpon condition, if there be 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 sinnes be reckned vp? But Dauid, (Who as I thinke) had well studied vpon the confession of his sinnes, Psa. 19. 13. yet cryed out: who shall vnderstand his errours? Lord cleanse me from my secret sinnes. And in an other place. My iniquities haue passed about my head, & like a weightie burden haue waxed heauie about my strength. Psa. 38. 5. Truly he vnderstoode how great was the bottomelesse depth of our sinnes: how many were y sortes of our mischieuous doings, how many heades this monster Hydra did beare, 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 cryed vnto the Lord: I am ouerwhelmed, I am buried and choked, the gates of hels haue compassed me, let thy hand drawe me out, which am drowned in the great pit, and am fainting and ready to die. Who now may thinke vpon the numbring of his sinnes, when he seeth that Dauid can make no number of his?

17 With this butcherie, the soules that haue bin touched with any feeling of God, haue bin more cruelly vexed. First they called themselues to account: then they deuided sinnes into armes, into boowes, into branches, and into twigges, according to these mens rules: then they weyed the qualities, quantities, and circumstances. And so the matter went a litle forward. But when they had proceeded a litle further, than was on eche side skie, and on eche side sea, no hauen, no safe roade: the mo that they had passed ouer, the greater heape alway did thrust it selfe into their sight, yea they rose vp as hie mountaines, & there appeared no hope, not so much as after

long compassings, any way to escape. And so they did sticke fast betweene the sacrifice and the stone, & at last was found no other issue but desperation. Then these cruel butchers, to ease the woundes that themselues had made, laide certaine gentle plaisters, y^e euery man should do as much as he could. But new cares again rose vp, yea new torments did flea the silly soules, as to thinke: I haue not employed time enough, I haue not endeouored my selfe with such diligence as I ought, I haue passed ouer many things by negligēce, and the forgetfulness y^e cometh by negligēce is not excusable. Then were there ministred other plaisters to assuage such paines, as, Repent thee of thy negligēce: if it be not altogether carelesse, it shalbe pardoned. But al these things can not close vp the wound, and are not so much easment of the euil, as poyson covered with honie, that they should not with their bitternesse offend the first tast but enter into the bowels before that they be perceiued. Therefore this terrible saying alway calleth vpon them & foundeth in their cares: Confesse all thy sinnes. And this horrour 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 yere, 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 faultes but of one day, his memory is confounded therewith, so great a multitude and diuersity presenteth it selfe. For I speake not of grosse and blockish hypocrits y^e 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 when they see themselues oppressed with the examination that they haue made, do adde also this saying of Iohn: If our owne heart do accuse vs, God is greater then our hearte: and so they quake for feare at the sight of that iudge, whose knowledge farre surmounteth our vnderstanding.

1. Ioh. 3. 20.

18 But whereas a great part of the worlde rested them vpon such flatteries, wherewith so deadly a poyson was tempered, this came not so to passe, because they beleeued that God was satisfied, or because they themselues were fully satisfied: but y^e the anchor cast as it were in the midde sea, should rest a litle from sayling, or as a wayfaring man weary and fainting, should lie downe in the way. I labour not much in prouing this. For euery man may be witness to himselfe. I will in a short summe shewe, what manner of lawe this was. First simply it is impossible, and therefore it can do nothing but destroy, damne, confound, and cast in ruine & desperation. And then when it hath ledde sinners from the true feeling of their sinnes, it maketh them hypocrites and ignorant of God and themselues. For while they are wholly busied in reckning vp of their sinnes, in the meane time they forget the secret sinke of vices, their hidden Iniquities, and inward filthines, by knowledge whereof they should chiefly haue weyed 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. Lorde be mercifull to me a sinner: as if he should say: All that euer I am, I am altogether a sinner, and I can not attayne with witte or expresse with tongue the greatnesse of my sinnes: let the bottomlesse depth of thy mercy swallowe vp the bottomlesse

Luc. 18. 23.

bottomlesse depth of my sin. But then thou wilt say, what? are not all our finnes to bee confessed? is no confession acceptable to God, but that which is knitte vp in these two wordes, I am a sinner? No, but rather wee muste endeouour our selues as much as in vs lieth, to powre out our hearte before y^e Lorde, and not onely in one worde confesse our selues sinners, but also truely and heartily acknowledge our selues to be such: and with all our thought recorde, howe great and diuerse is our filth of finnes, not onely that wee bee vnclane, but what, howe great, and in howe many partes is our vnclannesse: not onely that wee be detters, but with howe great dettes we be loden, and howe many wayes charged: not onely that we be wounded, but also with howe many and deadly strokes we be wounded. With this reknowledging when the sinner hath wholic powred out himselfe before God, let him earnestly & sincerely thinke, that yet there remaine moe sins, and y^e the secret corners of their euils are so deepe, that they cannot be throughly disclosed. And he crieth out with Dauid: Who vnderstandeth his errors? Lord cleanse me from my hidden finnes. Nowe where they affirme that finnes are not forgiuen 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 forgiuenesse of finnes, than alwayes hath beene. It is not read that all they haue confessed their finnes in the care of some priest, y^e we read to haue obtained forgiuenes of finnes at Christs hand. And truely they coulde not confesse, where there were neither any priestes confessors, nor any confessing at all. And in many ages after, this confession was vnheard of, at which time finnes were forgiuen without this condition. But that we may not neede to dispute longer about this, as about a doubtrfull matter, the word of God is plaine, which abideth for euer: When soeuer the sinner repenteth, I will no more remember all his iniquities. He that dare adde any thing to this word, bindeth not finnes, but the mercie of God. For whereas they say, that iudgement can not be giuen but when the cause is hearde, we haue a solution in readinesse, that they doe presumptuously take that vpon themselues, which haue made themselues iudges. And it is a maruel that they do so boldly frame to themselues such principles, as no man in his right wit will graunt. They boast that the office of Binding & Loosung is committed to them, as though it were a certaine iurisdiction ioyned with Inquisition. Moreouer their whole doctrine crieth out, that this authoritie was vnknown to the Apostles. Neither doeth it belong to the priest, but to him which desireth absolution, to know certainly whether the sinner be looscd or no: forasmuch as hee that heareth can neuer knowe whether the reckening be iust and perfecte. So shoulde there be no absolution but such as is restrained to his wordes that is to be iudged. Moreouer the whole order of loosung standeth of faith and repentance, which two things are hidden from the knowledge of man, when sentence must be giuen vpon an other man. It followeth therefore that the assurance of binding and loosung is not subiect to the iudgement of an earthly iudge: because the minister of the worde, when he doeth his office, can not giue absolution but conditionally: but that this is spoken for the finnes sake,

Whose

Whose finnes ye forgiue,&c. that they shoulde not doubt that the pardon which is promised by the commaundement and worde of God, shalbe ratified in heauen.

19 Therefore it is no meruell, if wee condemne and desire to haue vterly taken away this Auricular confession, a thing so pestilent and so many wayes 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 wickednesses, sacrileges and errours, who wil not thinke that it ought to bee presently abolished? They doe indeede reckon vp some good vses, which they boast vpon as verie profitable, but these either false or of no value at al. One onely they commend with a singular prerogatiue, that shame is a great punishment of him that confesseth, whereby the sinner both is for a time to come made warer, and preuenteth the punishment of God in punishing himselfe. As though wee did not humble a man with shamefastnes enough when wee call him to that hie iudgement seate of heauen, I meane to the hearing of God. It is forsooth verie well profited, if for shame of one mans knowledge wee cease to sinne, and bee not ashamed to haue God witnes of our euill conscience. Although the verie same is also moste false, for it is to bee seene that by nothing groweth greater confidence or licentiousnesse to sinne, than when men hauing made confession to a priest, thinke they may wipe their mouth and say, I did it not. And not only they are made all the yeare long the boulder to sinne: but all the rest of the yere bearing themselues bolde vpon confession, they neuer sigh vnto God, they neuer returne to themselues, but heape finnes vpon finnes till they vomit vp all at once as they thinke. And when they haue once vomited them vp, they thinke them selues discharged of there 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 forgetfulnessse when they haue made the prieste priuie. Moreouer who doth merily see the day of confession at hand? Who goeth to confession with a cheerefull hearte, and commeth not to it rather against his will, and as it were drawing backwarde, like as if he were taken by the necke and drawn to prison? vnlesse peraduenture it be the verie priestes, that vse ioyfully to delight themselues with mutuall rehearsals of their doings, as it were with meric tales? I wil 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 out of the Church, yea out of the remembraunce of his flocke: then we be thereby put in minde what is needfull to bee done at this day vpon infinite whoredomes, adulteries, incestes, and bawderies.

20 Where the Confessioners alleadge for this purpose the power of the keyes, and doe thereupon set the peupe and proue of their kingdome, as the prouerbe is: it is to be seene howe much they ought to auail. Then (say they) are the keyes giuen without cause? Is it saide without cause: Whatsoeuer you loose vpon earth, shall be also loosed in heauen? Doe we then make the worde of Christe void? I aunswere there was a weightie cause why the keyes shoulde bee giuen, as both I haue euen nowe alreadie

decla-

declared, and shall more plainly shewe againe when I come to entreate of Excommunication. But what if I do with one swerd cut of the hold of all y they require, that is with saying, that sacrificing priestes are not the vicars nor successors of the Apostles? But this shall also bee to be intreated of in an other place: but nowe they raise vp an engine whereby they woulde most of all defende themselues, and thereby may all their buildinges bee ouerthrowen. For Christ did not giue his Apostles the power to binde and loose, before that hee gaue them the holy Ghost. Therefore I say, that none haue the power of the keys that haue not firste receiued the holy Ghost. I denie that any man can vse the keys, but hauing the holy Ghost going before, and teaching him and informing him what is to bee done. They trifling say, that they haue the holy Ghost. But indeede they denie it, vnlesse peraduenture they faine (as they doe faine indeede) the holy Ghost to bee a vaine thing and a thing of nothing, but therein they shal not be beleued. And by this engine they are vtterly ouerthrowen, that of whatsoeuer dore 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 keys. If they aunswere 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 cokedly vtter the same by their doctrine. It is therefore to bee gathered, that no priestes haue power of the keys which doe commonly without consideration loose those things that the Lorde woulde haue to bee bounde, and binde those things that the Lorde commaunded to be loosed.

21 Whereas they see themselues conuincid by moste cleere experimentes, that they do without choise loose & bind the worthie and vnworthie, they vsurpe a power without knowledge. And though they dare not denie that knowledge is requisite for a good vse, yet they write that the verie power is giuen to euill disposers of it. But this is the power, whatsoeuer thou bindest or loosest in earth, shall bee bounde 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 deseruings of him that is bounde or loosed. And wee also confesse, that none can bee bounde or loosed, but they that are worthie to bee bound or loosed. But the messengers of the Gospel and the Church haue the worde, by which they measure this worthinesse, in this worde the messengers of the Gospell, may promise to all men forgiueneesse of sinnes in Christ by faith, they may proclaime damnation into all and vpon all that embrace not Christ. In this worde the Church pronounceth that fornicatours, adulterers, theeues, mansleyers, couetous men, vniust men, haue no part in the kingdome of God, and bindeth such with moste sure bondes. With the same worde the Church looseth them whome it comforteth being repentant. But what power shall this bee, not to knowe what is to bee bounde or loosed, and not to bee able to binde or loose without knowledge? Why then doe they say that they lose by authoritie giuen vnto them, when the loosing is vncertaine? What haue wee to do with this imaginatiue power, if there be no vse of it? But I haue it already

die proued that either there is no vse of it, or so vncertaine an vse as may be accompted for none at all. For whereas they confesse y^e there is a great part of Priestes that doe not rightly vse the keyes, and that the power without lawfull vse is of no effecte. Who shall assure mee that he of whom I am loosed is a good vsfer of the keyes? if he be an euill vsfer of it, what hath he else but such a voide disposing of them, as to say, what is to be bounde or loosed in thee I know not, forasmuch as I lacke the right vse of the keyes, but if thou deserue I loose thee. But so much might doe, I will not say a lay man (for they could not beare that with patient eares) but a Turke or a Deuill. 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 deseruings bee so. We see therefore what they meant, when they defined the keyes to be the authoritie of discerning, and power of executing: and that knowledge is adioyned for a counseller, and like a counseller serueth for a good vse: vndoubtedly euen they desired to raigne at their owne wil, licentiously without God and his word.

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 hangerh vpon faith shall alway remayne doubtfull: and then that sinners shall haue either none or a colde comfort, because the minister himselve which is no competent iudge of their faith, cannot be assured of their absolution: wee haue aunswere thereunto in readinesse. For they say that no sinnes are forgiuen by the prieste, but such whereof himselve hath bene the hearer: so by their opinion, the forgiuenes hangerh vpon the iudgemēt of the priest, and if he doe not wisely discern who be worthie of pardon, y^e whole doing is voide and of no effect. Finally the power wherof they speak, is a iurisdiction adioyned to examination, whereunto pardon and absolution is restrained. In this point is found no sure ground, but rather it is a bottomlesse depth. For where the confession is not founde, the hope of pardon is also lame, and then the priest himselve must needs sticke in suspense while he can not tell, whether the sinner doe faithfully reckon vp all the euill deedes. Finally (such is the ignorance and rudenesse of priestes) the most part are no fitter to doe this office, than a shoemaker to plowe the ground, and the rest in a maner all ought worthily to suspect themselues. Herevpon therefore riseth the perplexitie and doubtfulnessse of the Popes absolution, because they will haue it grounded vpon the person of y^e Priest, and not only that, but also vpon knowledge, y^e he may iudge only of things informed, examined and proued. Nowe if a man should aske of these good docters, whether a sinner be reconciled to God, when some sinnes are forgiuen: I see not what they haue to aunswere, but that they shall bee compelled to confesse that all is vnprofitable, that the priest pronounceth of the forgiuenes of those sinnes that he hath hearde rehearsed, so long as the other sins are not deliuered frō condemnation. On the behalfe of him that confesseth howe hurtful carefulnesse holdeth his conscience bound, appeareth hereby that when he resteth vpon the priestes discretion, as they call it, hee can determine nothing certainly by the worde of God. The doctrine that we teach is free and cleare from all these absurdities. For the absolution is condi-

ditionall, that the sinner should trust that God is mercifull vnto him, so that hee syncerely seeke the cleansing of his sinnes in the sacrifice of Christ, & obey the grace offered him. So he can not erre, which according to the office of a preacher, proclaimeth that which is giuen him in instructions by the worde of God. And the sinner may embrace a sure and cleare absolution, when that simple condition is annexed of the embracing the grace of Mat. 9. 29. Christ, according to that generall doctrine of the maister himselfe, Bee it done to thee according to thy faith. Which hath bene wickedly despised in the Papacie:

23 How foolishly they confounde those thinges that the Scripture teacheth of the power of keyes, 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 gouernment of the Church. But let the readers remember that those thinges are wrongfully wrested to Auricular and secrete confession, which are spoken by Christ partly of the preaching of the Gospell, & partly of excommunication. Wherefore when they object that the power of loosing is giuen to the Apostles, which priestes may vse in forgiuing sins acknowledged vnto them, it is plaine that they take a false and fonde principle, because the absolution that serueth faith, is nothing else but a witnessse of pardon taken out of the free promise of the Gospell. As for the other confession, that hangerth 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 proue that it sufficeth not to confesse sins either to God onely or to lay men, vnlesse a priest be the hearer of them, their trauell therein is but lewde, and such as they may bee ashamed of. For when the ancient fathers counsell sinners to vnburden themselves to their owne pastour, it can not be expounded of particular rehearfall which then was not in vse. Then, Lumbard and such like (such was their sinister dealing) seeme offer purpose to haue giuen themselves to fained books, by pretence wherof 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 doeth not so much forgiue sinnes as pronounce and declare them forgiuen. Albeit in the word of declaring they fliey bring in a grosse error, thrusting a ceremonie in steede of doctrine. But whereas they patche vnto it, that he is absolved in the face of \bar{s} Church that had already obtained pardon before God: they do inconueniently draw to the peculiar vse of euerie particular man, that whiche wee haue already sayde to bee appointed for the common discipline, where the offence of a hainous and notorious fault is to bee taken away. But by and by after, they depraue and corrupt moderation, adding another manner of forgiuing, with an enioyning of penaltie and satisfaction, wherein they presumptuously claime to their owne sacrifices a power to parte that in halves, which G O D hath in all places promised vs whole together. For when hee simple requireth repentaunce and faith, this partition or exception is a verie robbrie of God. For it is in effect asmuch

as if the priest taking vpon him the person of a Tribune, should become intercessour to God and woulde not suffer God of his meere liberalitie to receiue him into fauour, that hath lien prostrate before the Tribunes seats and there hath bene punished.

24 The whole summe commeth to this point, that if they will make God the authour of this counterfaite confession, therein is their falsehood condemned, as I haue prooued them false forgers in the fewe places that they alleadge. But sith it is euident that it is a lawe made by men, I say y^e it is both tyrannicall and made iniuriously against God, who binding mens consciences to his worde, will haue them free from the bondage of men. Now when for the obteneing of pardon, there is a necessitie prescribed of that thing which the Lorde woulde to bee free, I say that this is a sacrilege 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 tyrannie was first brought in, when the worlde was oppressed with filthie barbarousnesse. I haue also taught that it is a pestilent lawe, that either throweth downe headlong into desperation the poore soules in whome soeuer abideth a feare of God: or where there reigneth carelesnes, delighteth them with vaine flatteries, and so maketh the 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 deceitful colors.

25 The third place in Repentance they assigne to satisfaction, whereof all that euer they babble may bee ouerthowen with one worde. They say that it is not enough for him that repenteth, to absteine from his former euils, and change his behauiour into better, vnlesse he make satisfaction to God for those things that hee hath done: And that there bee many helpes by which wee may redeeme sinnes, as weepings, fastinges, oblations and the workes of charitie. With these we must winne the Lorde to bee fauorable, with these wee must pay our debtes to the righteousnes of God, with these wee must make amendes for our defaultes, with these wee muste deserue pardon. For although by the largenes of his mercie hee hath forgiuen our fault, yet by the discipline of his iustice he reteineth the peine, & that this is the paine that must bee redeemed with satisfactions. But in effect all that they say commeth to this point, that wee doe in deede obtene pardon of our sinnes at the mercifulnesse of God, but by meanes of the deseruing of our works, by which the offence of our sinnes may be recompensed, that due satisfaction may bee fully made to Gods righteousnes. Against such lies, I set the free forgiuenesse of sinnes, than which there is nothing more euidently spoken of in the scripture. First, what is forgiuenes, but a gift of meere liberalitie? For the creditor is not said to forgiue, y^e acknowledgeth by acquitance that the mony is paid, but he y^e without any payment willingly of his owne liberalitie cancellerth the debtors bond. Secondly, why is this word, Freely, added, but to take away al opinion of satisfaction? With what confidence therefore doe they yet set vp their satisfaction, that are stricken downe with so mightie a thunderbolt? But what? when the Lord crieth out by Esay, It is I, it is I, that doe put away iniquities for mine owne sake, and will

Lib. 4. Sentent. Destin. 10. ca. 4. c. Nō sufficit. de pont. ca. med. eadem. dist. ca. nul. lux. eadem dist.

Esay. 53. 3. Rom. 5. 8. Col. 2. 14. Tit. 3. 5.

Esay. 43. 15.

will not be mindfull of thy finnes: doeth he not openly declare, that he fetcheth the cause & fundation of forgiueneſſe onely from his owne goodnes? Moreouer whereas the whole Scripture beareth this witneſſe of Christ, that forgiueneſſe of finnes is to be receiued by his name, doth it not thereby exclude all other names? How then do they teache that it is receiued by the name of ſatisfactions? Neither can they denie 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 wee bring nothing, we allege nothing of our owne, but reſt vpon the onely commendation of Christ. As Paul, where he affirmeth that God is reconciling \bar{y} world to him ſelfe in Christ, for his ſake not imputing to men their finnes, he immediatly ſheweth the meane & maner how: becauſe he that was without ſinne, was made ſinne for vs.

26 But (ſuch is their peruerſneſſe) they ſay that both forgiueneſſe of finnes and reconciliation are perſourmed both at one time, when we are in Baptiſme receined into the fauour of God by Christ: that after baptiſme we muſt riſe againe by ſatisfactions, and that the blood of Christ profiteth nothing, but ſo far as it is diſtributed by the keyes of the Church. Neither do I ſpeake of a doubtful matter, for aſmuch as they haue in moſt euident writings bewrayed their owne filthineſſe, & not one or two of them, but al \bar{y} Schoolemen vniuerſally. For their maſter after that he had confeſſed that Christ had payed the penaltrie of finnes vpon the tree, according to the doctrine of Peter, immediatly correcteth his ſaying with adding this exception, that in baptiſme all temporal penalties of finnes are releaſed, 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, wee haue an aduocate with the Father, euen Ieſus Christ, which is the propitiation for our finnes. I write vnto you children, becauſe your finnes are forgiuen you for his names ſake. Truely, he ſpeaketh to the faithfull, to whome when he ſetteth forth Christ to be the propitiation of finnes, he ſheweth that there is no other ſatisfaction, by which God beeing diſpleaſed, may be made fauourable and appeaſed. He doeth not ſay: God was once reconciled vnto you by Christ, nowe ſeek you other meanes, but he maketh him a perpetuall aduocate, alway to reſtore vs by his interceſſion into the fauour of his father: a perpetuall propitiation, by which our finnes may be cleaſed away. For this is euer true that the other Iohn ſaide: Beholde, the Lambe of God, beholde him that taketh away the finnes of the world. He taketh them away (ſaith he) himſelfe and none other, that is to ſay: for aſmuch as he alone is the Lambe of God, he alone alſo is the oblation for finnes, he alone the propitiation ſacrifice, he alone the ſatisfaction. For wher as the right and power to forgiue belongeth properly to the father, in the reſpect that he is diſtinguiſhed from the ſonne, as wee haue already ſcene: Christ is here 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 ſoloweth, that we ſhall no otherwiſe be partakers of the ſatisfaction made by Christ, vnleſſe the ſame honour remaine whole with him, which they doe wrongfully take to themſelues that goe about to appeaſe

Aq. 10. 43.

2. Cor. 5. 19.

Lib. 3. Sentent. diſt. 9.

1. Pet. 2. 24.
2. Tim. 1. 9.1. Iohn. 2.
2. & 12.

Iohn. 1. 36.

God with their owne recompensings .

27 And here it is good to consider two things : that Christ may haue his due honour kepte vnto him whole and vnminished : and that the consciences being assured of the forgiuennesse of sinne, may haue peace with God. Esay saith, that the father hath layed the iniquities of vs all vpon his sonne, that we shoulde be healed by his stripes. Which thing Peter rehearsing in o-
 ther wordes saith: that Christ did in his body bear our sinnes vpon the tree. Paul writeth that sinne was condemned in his flesh, when he was made sinne for vs. That is to say, that the force and curse of sinne 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. Here those triflings are in no case to be heard, that after the first purging, euery one of vs doth none otherwise feele the effectualnesse of the passion of Christ, than after the measure of satisfactorie repentance: but so oft as we fall, we be called backe to the onely satisfaction of Christ. Nowe set before thee their pestilent follies, as for example: That the grace of God worketh alone in the first forgiuennesse of sinnes: that if we afterwarde fall, to the obtaining of a seconde forgiuennesse our workes doe worke with it. If these things may haue place, do these things that are here before assigned to Christ remaine safe vnto him? It his a meruellous great difference, between this that our iniquities are layed vpon Christ, that they should be cleansed in him, and this that they are cleansed by our own workes: betwene 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 mannes conscience, to heare that his sinnes are redemed by satisfactions? When shall he certainly knowe the measure of his satisfaction? Therefore he shal alway dout whether he haue God mercifull or no, he shall alway be vexed, and alway quake for feare. For they that rest vpon light petie satisfactions, doe too contemptuously esteeme the iudgement of God, and doe litle consider howe great is the grieuousnesse of sinne, as we shall declare in another place. But although we graunt them to redeeme some sinnes with iust satisfaction: yet what will they doe when they are oppressed with so many sinnes, for satisfaction whereof an hundred liues although they were wholly applyed thereunto cannot suffice? Beside that, all the places wherein the forgiuennesse of sinnes is affirmed, doe not belong to yonglinges, but to the already regenerate children of GOD, and them that haue bene long nourished in the bo-
 some of the Church. That embassage which Paul so honourably extol-
 leth, I beseech you in the name of God, be ye reconciled vnto God, is not directed to strangers, but to them that had bene already regenerate. But hee, bidding satisfactions farewell, sendeth them to the crosse of Christ. So when Coloss. 1. 20. he writeth to the Colossians, that Christ by the blood of the crosse hath pacified all things in heauen or in earth, he restraineth not this to the onely moment wherein we are received into the Church, but extendeth it to our whole course. Which easily appeareth by the processe of the text, where he saith, y the faithful haue a redemption by y blood of Christ, that is forgiuennesse of sinnes. Albeit it is superfluous to heape together mo places, that
 readily

Esa. 53. 4.
 1. Pet. 2. 24.
 Rom. 8. 3.
 Gal. 3. 13.

2 Cor. 5. 20.

Coloss. 1. 20.

readily offer themselves to be founde.

28 Here they flee to the sanctuary of the foolish distinction, that some sinnes are venial, and some deadly: that for deadly sinnes is great satisfaction due, that venial sinnes are purged with more easie remedies, as with saying of the Lordes prayer, with sprinkling of holy water, with absolution at the masse. So they mocke and trifle with God. But whereas they alway haue in their mouth venial and deadly sinne, yet they could neuer discern the one from the other, sauing that they make vngodlinesse and vncleannes of heart a veniall sinne. But we (as the Scripture the rule of right and wrong teacheth vs) doe pronounce, that the rewarde of sinne is death, and that the soule that sinneth is worthy of death. But that the sinnes 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 know how vniustly they slaunder this our doctrine. For they say, that it is the Stoikes strange conclusion, concerning the equalitie of sinnes. But they shall easily be conuincd by their owne mouth. Fo I demaunde of them, whether among the very same sinnes that they cōfesse to be deadly, they do not acknowledge one to be greater than an other. It doth not therefore immediatly followe, that sinnes are equall, because they are altogether deadly. When the Scripture definitiuely saith, that the rewarde of sinne is death, that the obedience of the lawe is the way of life, and that the transgression of the law is death, they can not escape this sentence. What ende of satisfiing then will they finde in so great a heape of sinnes? If the satisfaction of one day be the satisfaction of one sinne, while they are about that one satisfaction, they wrappe themselves in many sinnes, sith the iustest man passeth no one day wherein he falleth not many times. Now when they shal prepare themselves to make satisfaction for these sins, they shall heape vp great numbers, yea rather innumerable. Then the hope of satisfiing being cut of, what do they stay vpon? how dare they still thinke of satisfiing?

Rom. 6. 23.
Eze. 18. 20.
Rom. 8. 1.

Pro 24. 16.

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 penaltie. They confesse that the fault is forgiuen by the mercie of God, but that when the fault is forgiuen, the penaltie remaineth which the righteousness of God requireth to be payed: and that satisfactions doe properly belong to the release of the penaltie. Good God, what a skipping lightnesse is this? now they confesse that the forgiuenesse of the fault lieth freely open for men, which sometime they teach men to deserue with prayers and weepings, and all other kindes of preparations. But yet still all that is taught vs in the scripture concerning the forgiuenesse of sinnes, doth directly fight against this distinction. Which although I thinke that I haue alreadie more than sufficiently confirmed, yet I will adde some other testimonies wherwith these winding snakes may be holden so fast, that they shall not bee able once to folde in the toppe of their taile. This is the newe Testament which the Lorde hath couenanted with vs in his Christ, that he will not remember our iniquities. What he meant by these wordes, we learne by an other Prophet, where the Lorde sayth: If the righteous turne away from his righteousness,

Ier. 31. 31.

Eze. 18. 24.

Esa. 38. 17.

I will not remember all his righteoufnesses. If the wicked departe from his wickednesse, I will not remember all his iniquities. Whereas he sayth that he will not remember their righteoufnesse, this is asmuch to say, that he wil haue no regard of them in respect to reward them. Therefore not to remember sinnes, is asmuch as not to call them to punishment. The same thing is called in an other 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 lude it. By such maners of spech the holy Ghost doth plainly expresse his meaning vnto vs, if we would apply vnto him willing eares to learne. Truly if God do punish sins, he imputeth them: if he taketh vengeance, he remembereth them: if he call them to iudgement, he doth not hide them: if he examine them, he doth not cast them behinde his backe: if hee looke vpon them, he hath not wiped them away like a cloud: if he sift them, he hath not cast them into the bottome of the sea. And in this manner doth Augustine expounde it in plaine wordes. If God haue couered sinnes, then he woulde not looke vpon them: if he would not looke vpon them, then he would not marke them: if he would not marke them, then he would not punish them: he would not know them, he had rather pardon them. Why therefore did he say that sinnes were couered, that they should not be seene? What was meant by this that God did see sinnes, but that he did punish them? But let vs heare also out of an other place of the Prophet, vpon what conditions the Lorde forgiueth sinnes. If (sayth he) your sinnes be as scarlet, they shalbe made white as snow: if they be red like crimosin, they shalbe as woll. And in Jeremy we reade thus: In that day the iniquitie of Iacob shalbe sought for, and shall not be founde: the sinne of Iudah, and it shall not be. Because I will be fauourable to the remnantes that I shall preferue. Wilt thou briefly vnderstand what is the meaning of those wordes? Weye on the other side what is meant by these speeches: that the Lord doth bind vpon iniquities in a sack, doth gather them into a bundell and lay them vpon, and doth graue them with an yron pointell in an Adamant stone. If they signifie (as it is out of doubt) that vengeance shalbe giuen for recompense, then is it also not to be doubted, but that by contrarie sentences the Lord affirmeth, that he remitteth all recompensing of vengeance. Here I must beseech the readers not to harken to my glosses, but onely that they wil suffer the worde of God to take some place.

Esa. 1. 18.

Ier. 50. 20.

Iob. 14. 17.

Ofec. 13. 12.

Ier. 17. 10.

1 Pet. 2. 24.

Esa. 53. 5.

Rom. 3. 24.

1. Cor. 1. 30

Eph. 1. 7.

Colos. 1. 14

30 What, I pray you, had Christ don for vs, if we should still be compelled to suffer paine for sinnes? For when we say that he did beare all our sins in his body vpon the tree, we meane nothing else thereby, but that he suffered all the paine and punishment that was due vnto our sinnes. And y same hath Esaye more liuely declared where he sayth: the chastisement (or correction) of our peace, was vpon him. What is the correction of our peace but the paine due to sinnes? and which we should haue suffred before that we could be reconciled to God, vnlesse y he had entred into our steed? Lo, thou seest plainly, that Christ suffred the paines of sinnes, to deliuer them that be his from them. And so oft as Paul maketh mention of the redemption performed by Christ, hee vseth to call it in Greeke *Apolutrosin*, whereby hee meaneth not redemption, as it is commonly taken, but the very price

price and satisfaction of redemption. After which manner he writeth, that Christ gaue himselfe *Antilyron*, a price of ransome for vs. What propitiation is there with the Lord (saith Auguſtine) but sacrifice? And what sacrifice is there, but that which is offered for vs in the death of Christ? But that which is appointed in the law of Moses for cleansing the offences of sinnes, ministreth vs a strong battell ramme. For the Lord doeth not there appoint this or that maner of satisfying, but requireth the whole recompence in sacrifices. Whereas yet in other things, he doeth most diligently and in most exact order set out all the ceremonies of expiation. Howe commeth it to passe, that he commaundeth to recompence faultes committed, with no workes at all, but requireth onely sacrifices for satisfaction: but because his will is so to declare, that there is onely one kinde of satisfaction, whereby his iudgement is appeased? For the sacrifices that the Israelites did then offer, were not weyed by the worke of men, but were esteemed by their truth, that is to say, by the onely sacrifice of Christ. But what maner of recompence the Lorde receiueth of vs, Osee hath very well expressed in few wordes. Thou shalt (sayth he) take away iniquitic, O God. Loe, here is forgiuenesse of sinnes. And wee shall pay thee values of our lippes: Loe, here is satisfaction. I knowe that they yet doe suttly slip away, when they make distinction betweene euerlasting paine, and temporall paines. But when they teach that temporall paine is any kinde of punishment that god taketh as well of the body as of the soule; except onely euerlasting death; this restraining of it doeth litle helpe them. For the places that wee haue aboue recited, do expressly meane this, that God receiueth vs into fauour with this condition, that in pardoning the fault, he pardoneth all the peine whatsoeuer we had thereby deserued. And so oft as Dauid or the other Prophets do craue pardon of sinnes, they do also therewithall pray to be releas'd of the peine. Yea, the very feeling of Gods iudgement doeth driue them thereunto. Againe, when they promise mercie at the Lords hand, they do in manner alway of purpose preach of the peines and the forgiuenesse thereof. Truely, when the Lord in Ezechiel pronounceth that he wil make an end of the exile in Babylon, and that for his own sake, not for the Iewes sake, he doeth sufficiently shewe that both are of free gift. Finally, if wee be deliuered by Christ from giltinesse of fault, the peines that come thereof, must needs cease.

31 But forasmuch as they do also arme themselues with testimonies of Scripture, let vs see what manner of argumentes those be that they alleage. Dauid (say they) being rebuked by Nathan the Prophet of adultrie & manslaughter, receiued pardon of his sinne, and yet he was afterwarde punished by the death of his sonne that he had gotten by that adulterie. Wee are taught to redeeme with satisfactions such peines as were to be extended after forgiuenesse of the fault. For Daniel aduised Nebuchadnezer to redeeme his sinnes with almes. And Salomon writeth that for equitie and godlines, iniquities are forgiuen. And in another place, that with charitie the multitude of sinnes is couered. Which sentence Peter also confirmeth. Againe, in Luke the Lorde sayeth of the woman that was a sinner, that many sinnes are forgiuen her, because shee hath loued much. Howe peruersly and

wrongfully they euer wey the doings of God. But if they had marked (as they should not haue oucrpassed 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 tende to reuengement. But because, it not a litle behoueth vs all to vnderstand whereunto the chasticements haue respect, wherewith God correcteth vs for our sinnes, and how much they differ from those examples wherewith he pursueth y wicked and reprobate with indignation: therefore I thinke it shalbe not beside the purpose to comprehend it shortly in a summe. For the order of plaine teaching, let vs cal the one kinde of iudgement, the iudgement of Reuenge, the other of Chastisement. It is to be vnderstanded, that God so punisheth his enimies 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 doing of a iudge, the other of a father. For the iudge when he punisheth an euil doer, he hath regarde to the offence, and punisheth the very fault: when the father somewhat rigorously correcteth his child, he doeth it not to be reuenged on him, or to punish him, but rather to teache him, & make him warier in time to come. Chrysostome in a certaine place vseth a similitude somewhat differing from this, but yet it commeth 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 chasticed as a free man and as a sonne, needing correction. To the one his correction serueth for prooffe & amendement, to the other for a scourge and punishment.

32 But that we may haue the whole matter shortly & in a readie summe, let this be the first of two distinctions. Wheresoever 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 commonly euery where sufficiently expressed in y worde of God. For whatsoeuer afflictions the wicked suffer in this present life, therein is painted out vnto vs as it were a certaine entrie of hell, fro whence they do alreadie see a farre off their eternall damnation: and they are so far from being amended or taking any profit thereby, that rather by such beginnings they are prepared to the most cruel hell that at length abideth for them. But the Lord chasticing 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 mind, so they haue alway prayed to escape the first kind of scourges. Chastice me Lorde (saith Ieremie) but in thy iudgement, not in thy wrath, least thou destroy mee. Poure out thy wrath vpon the nations that haue not knowen thee, and vpon the kingdomes

Iob 3.17.
Prou. 3.11.
Heb. 12.5.

Psa. 118.18.

Psa. 119.17.

Iere. 10.14.

kingdomes that haue not called vpon thy name. And Dauid sayeth: Lorde Psa. 6. 2. & 38. 2. rebuke mee not in thy wrath, nor correct me in thine anger. And it maketh nothing to the contrary, that oftentimes it is said, that the Lorde is angry with them that be his, when he punisheth their sinnes. As in Esay: I wil confesse to thee O Lord, because thou hast benee angry with me: thy wrath is turned, & thou hast comforted me. Esa. 12. 7. Againe Abacuc. Thou that hast benee angry shall remember mercie. And Michee: I wil beare the wrath of the Lord, because I haue sinned against him. Hab. 3. 2. Mich. 7. 9. 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 sorrowe, in considering the purpose of God. For after the same manner it is said that he doeth defile his owne inheritance, which yet (as we knowe) he wil neuer defile. But that is spoken not in respect of the purpose or meaning of God that punisheth, but of the vehement feeling of sorrowe which they feele that suffer any of his seueritie whatsoeuer it be. 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 hel. So he testifieth that they haue deserued his wrath, and so it behoueth that they should loath themselues in their euils, and be touched with the greater care to appease God, and carefully make hast to craue pardon. But euen in the very same doing he sheweth a more eident testimonie of his fauourable kindnesse than of his wrath. For the couenant continueth that was made with vs in our true Salomon: the trueth wherof he that cannot decerne, hath affirmed, that it shall neuer be made void. If (saith he) his children forsake my law, & walke not in my iudgements: if they defile my statutes, and keepe not my commaundements. I will visite their sinnes with a rodde and with stripes: but I will not take away my mercie from him. Psa. 89. 31. Of which mercie to make vs assured, he sayeth, that the rodde wherewith he 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 deadly horror, that feele the hand of God to be against them. How great regard he hath of this lenitie in chastising his Israel, he sheweth in the Prophet: I haue purged thee (saith he) in fire: But not as Siluer, for then thou shouldest haue benee all consumed. Albeit he teacheth that chasticementes serue him for to cleanse him, but he further sayeth, that he vseth the same so temperatly, that he bee not too much consumed by them. 2 Sam. 7. 14. And that is needefull. Esa. 48. 10. For the more that euery man reuerently feareth GOD, and giueth himselfe to followe godlinesse, so much the tenderer he is to beare his wrath. For the reprobate, although they groane vnder his scourges, yet for that they weye not the cause, but rather turne their backe both to their owne sinnes and to the iudgement of GOD, by that slouthfulnesse they gather a hardnesse: or because they murmure and kicke against him, and do make an vprore against their iudge, that furious sudden rage astonieth them with madnesse and furor. But the faithfull being admonished by his correction, by and by descend to consider their sinnes, and being striken with dread and horror, they slee in humble wise to pray to him for pardon, vnlesse the

Lorde did aswage these sorrowes wherewith the poore soules torment themselves, they woulde faint a hundred times euen in small tokens of his wrath.

33 Then let this be the second distinction, that when the reprobate are stricken with the scourges of God, they doe already after a certaine maner begin to suffer peines by his iudgement, and though they shall 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 shoulde prooue God to be a iudge and reuenger. But children are beaten with roddes, not y they should thereby be punished of God for their sinnes, but that they shoulde thereby profit to amendment. Therefore wee take it that they rather haue respect to y time to come, than to the time past. This I had rather expresse in Chrysostomes wordes than mine owne. For this (saith he) God doth lay peine 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 peine, a chastisement and no damnation. Put not away the scourge, if thou wilt not be put away from the inheritance, &c. Knowe ye brethren that all this miserie of mankinde when the world groneth is a medicinall sorrowe, and not a penall sentence, &c. These sentences I haue therefore thought good to alleage, that the maner of speach that I haue aboute written, should not seeme to any man newe and vnused. And hereunto serue all the complaints full of indignation wherein the Lorde oftentimes doeth expostulate of the vnkindnesse of the people, for that they stiffely despised all punishments. In Esay he saith: To what purpose should I strike you any more: from the sole of the foote to y crowne of the head, there is no whole place. But because the Prophets are full of such sayings, it shalbe 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, he corrected him to amendement. According to this meaning is that to be taken which Paul saith, when we are iudged of the Lorde, wee are corrected, y we should not be damned with this worlde. That is, when wee that be the children of God are afflicted with the hande of our heauenly father, this is no peine 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 peines wherewith men are a like chasticed by God, are diuersly to be considered: because to the holy ones they are batels and exercises after the forgiuenesse of their sinnes, to the reprobate they are without forgiuenesse peines of wickednesse. In which place hee rehearseth how peines were layde vpon Dauid and other godly men, and saith, that the same tended to this end, that their godlinesse should by such humbling of them, be exercised and prooued. And where Esay saith, that the Iewish people had their iniquitie forgiuen them, because they had receiued full chastisement at the Lords hand: this prooueth not that y pardon of sinnes hangeth vpon the ful payment of the peine: but it is in effect

as much

In ferm. de
penitent. &
confess.

Esā. 1. 5.

1. Sam. 15. 23

2. Sam. 12. 18

1. Cor. 11. 32

Lib. de pec-

cat. meri-

10, ac remis.

2. cap. 33. &

34.

Esā. 40. 2.

asmuch as if he had sayde: Because ye haue already suffred paines enough, and by the greuoufnesse and multitude thereof haue ben now pined away with long mourning and sorrow, therefore it is now time that receiuing the tidings of full mercy, your heartes 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 hee 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 beganne at the house of the Lord, in which his name is called vpon. What should the children of God doe, if they did beleene the seueritie of God that they feele to be his vengeance? For he that being striken with the hande of God, imagineth God a punishing iudge, cannot conceiue him but angrie and enemie vnto him, and detest the very scourge of God as a curse & damnation. Finally, he can neuer be perswaded that God loueth him, that shall thinke him so minded toward him, that he is stil minded to punish him. But he only profiteth vnder the rod of God, that thinketh him to be angrie with his sinnes, 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 ben troubled in thy indignation, thou hast set our iniquities in thy sight, and our secretes in the light of thy countenance: because all our dayes are gone away in thy wrath: our yeres are consumed as the worde 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 Lorde, 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 harde tentation, when God sparing the vnbeleeuers and winking at their faultes, seemeth more rigorous against them that be his. Therefore he gaue them a cause of comfort, the admonishment of the law, whereby they should learn, that it is done to prouide for their saluation when they are called again into the way, and the wicked are caried hedlong into their errors, whose ende is the pit. And it is no difference whether the peinc be euerlasting or during for a time. For as well warre, famine, pestilence, and sicknes, as the iudgement of eternall death are y curses of God, when they are layd vpon men to this end, to be instrumentes of the Lordes wrath & vengeance against the probate.

35 Now (as I thinke) all men doe perceiue whereunto tended that chastisement of the Lord vpon Dauid: euen to be an instruction that God is greuously displeas'd with manslaughter and adulterie, against which hee had shewed so great an indignation in his beloued and faithful seruant: that Dauid should be taught to be no more so bold to doe 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 sore pestilence, for Dauids disobedience whereunto he was fallen in numbring the people. For he did in deede freely forgie to

1. Pet. 4. 17.

Ierc. 25. 29.

Psa. 88. 17.

Psa. 90. 7.

Psa. 94. 12.

Psa. 88. 17.

2. Sa. 24. 25.

she hath loued much. In which wordes (as you see) hee maketh not her loue the cause, but the prooue of the forgiuenes of her sinnes. For they are deriued vpon a similitude of that dettour, to whome fise hundred was forgiuen, to whome he did not say that therefore it was forgiuen, because hee had loued much: but therefore loued much, because it was forgiuen. And herevnto must that similitude be applied in this sort: Thou thinkest this woman to be a sinner: but thou oughtest to knowe that she is none such, forasmuch as her sinnes be forgiuen her. And that her sinnes be forgiuen her, her loue ought to prooue vnto thee, whereby shee rendereth thanke for this benefit. It is an argument gathered of the following effect, whereby any thing is proued by signes ensuing. By what meane shee obtained forgiuenesse of sinnes, the Lorde openly testifieth: Thy faith, saith hee, hath saued thee. Therefore wee obtaine forgiuenesse by faith: By charitie we giue thanks, and testifie the bountifullnes of the Lorde.

38. As for those things that are commonly found in the bookes of old writers concerning satisfaction, they litle mooue me. I see in deed 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 hardlie: but I will not graunt that they were so rude and vnskilfull as to haue written those things in that sense that the newe Satisfactionars doe reade them. Chrysofome 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 aunswere is pardoned. Which wordes howsoever they be wrested; yet they can neuer be made to agre with y Scholers doctines. In the booke of Ecclesiasticall doctines, which is fathered vpon Augustine, is red 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 bee giuen in recompence of sinnes committed, was euen in those times laughed to scorne: forasmuch as they referre all satisfaction to a heedefulnesse in abstaining from sinnes in time to come. I will not alleadge that which the same Chrysofome saith, that hee requireth of vs no more, but that wee shoulde confesse our sinnes vnto him with teares sith such sentences are manie times found in his writings and others. Augustine indeede in some places calleth the workes of mercie, remedies to obtaine forgiuenesse of sinnes: but because no man shoulde stumble at that litle worde, hee himselfe preuenteth it in an other place. The flesh of Christ (saith hee) the true and onely sacrifice for sinnes, not only these sinnes that are wholly put away in baptisme, but also these that afterwarde creepe in by weakenesse: for which the whole Church crieth out at this day, Forgiue vs our trespasses. And they are forgiuen by that singular sacrifice.

39 They haue for the most part called satisfaction, not a recompence to be rendred to God, but an open declaration whereby they that had bene excommunicate when they woulde be receiued againe to the communion, did ascertain the Church of their repentaunce. For there were ioyned vnto them when they did repent certaine fastings and other things, where-

Hom. 3. in
Psal. 50.

Hom. 10. in
Gen.
Enchi. ad
Laurentium.
Mat. 6. 12.

by they might perswade men that they were truly and heartily weary of their former life, or rather blotte out the remembrance of their former doings: and so they were sayde 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 very vipers birthes, by which is brought to passe, that there remaineth not so much as a shadowe of that better forme. I know that the olde writers do sometime speake somewhat hardly, and as I sayd euen now, I do not deny that parauenture they erred herein. But those things that were besprinkled with a few spots, when they are once handled with these mens vnwashed handes, are altogether defiled. And if we must contende with the authoritie of old writers: good God, what old writers do they thrust vnto vs? A good part of those wherewith Peter Lombarde their champion hath botched vp his patched Sentences, is gathered out of y vnfaury dotages of certain monks that are carried about vnder the name of Ambrose, Hierome, Augustine, and Chrysofome. As about this present question he taketh in a maner al out of Augustines booke of repentance, which is foolishly botched of good and bad by some scraper together. It beareth in deede the name of Augustine, but such a booke as no man being but meanelly learned, would vouchsafe to acknowledge for his. But Wheras I do not so narrowly examine their follies, lette the readers pardon me whome I would ease of that tediousnesse. For to me it should not be very laboursome, and yet very pausible to bewray to their great shame those things that they haue heretofore boasted vpon as mysteries, but because my purpose is to teach frutefully, therefore I passe them ouer.

Cap. 65. and is rehearsed in the Decrets, Cap. in actionibus de pœnit. distin. 1.

The v. Chapter.

Of the supplyings which they adde to satisfactions, as pardons and purgatorie.

OVt of this doctrine of satisfactions do flowe indulgences or pardons. For they say that y which our power wanteth to make satisfactiō, is supplied by these pardons. And they runne so farte foorth into madnesse, that they define them to be the distribution of the merites 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 worthie the trauayle to stande vpon confuting such trifling errors, which are already shaken with many battelrammes, and of themselues growe into decayed age, and bend toward falling: yet because a short confutation of them shalbe profitable for some that be ignorant, I will not altogether omitte it. As for this that pardons haue so long stand safe, and haue so long bene vn-punished, hauing bene vsed with so outragious and furious licentiousnesse: this may serue to teach vs in howe darke a night of errors, men in certaine ages past haue bin drowned. They sawe themselues to be openly and vn-colouredly scorned of the Pope and his Bulbearers, gainefull markets to be made

made of the saluation of their soules, the price of saluation to be valued at a few pence, & nothing set out to be freely giuen: that by this colour they be wyped of offerings to be filthily spent vpon brothels, bawdes and banquetings, that the greatest blowers abroad of pardons are the greatest dispisers of them: that this monster doth daily more and more with greater licentiousnesse ouerrunne the world, and growe into outrage, and that there is no ende, new leade daily brought, and new mony gotten. Yet with hyc reuerence they receiued, they worshipped and bought pardons, and such as among the rest sawe somewhat farther, yet thought them to be godly deceits, whereby men might be beguiled with some profit. At the length, since the worlde suffred it selfe to be somewhat wiser, pardons waxe colde, and by litle and litle become frosen, till they vtterly vanish away.

2 But forasmuch as many that see the filthy gaminges, the deceites, theftes, and robberies, wherewith the pardoners haue heretofore mocked & beguiled vs, yet see not the very fountain of vngodlines from whence they spring: it is good to shewe not onely of what sort pardons be, but also what they be, when they are wiped from all spottes. They call the treasure of the church, the merites of Christ and of the holy Apostles and Martyrs. The principall custody of this barme (as I haue already touched) they faine 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 sometime plenary pardons, sometime pardons for certaine yeres: from the Cardinals, pardons for a hundred dayes: from Bishops, pardons for fourty dayes. But they be (as I may naturally describe them) y^e profaning of the bloud of Christ, Satans mockery, 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 bloud of Christ be more filthily prophaned, than when it is denied to suffice the remission of sinnes, to reconciliation and satisfaction, vnlesse the want thereof as being withered and wasted, should be otherwise supplied and profited? The law and all the Prophets (saith Peter) beare witnessse of Christ, that by him forgiueneffe of sinne is to be receiued; Pardons giue remission of sinnes by Peter, Paul and the Martyrs. The bloud of Christ (sayth Iohn) cleanseth vs from sinne: Pardons do make the bloud of Martyrs the washing away of sins. Christ (sayth Paul) which knew not sin, was made sin for vs, that is, the satisfaction of sin, that wee might be made the righteousnesse of God in him: Pardons doe sette the satisfaction of sins in the bloud of Martyrs. Paul cryed 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 another place he sayth that Christ purchased the church with his bloud: the pardons appoint an other price of purchase in the bloud of Martyrs. The Apostle sayth, that Christ with one oblation made perfect for euer them that were sanctified: the pardons cry out to the contrary and say, that sanctification is made perfect by the Martyrs, which otherwise were not sufficient. Iohn sayth that all the saintes washed their gownes in the bloud of the lambe: the pardons teach men to wash their gownes in bloud of saintes.

Act. 10. 43.

1. Iohn. 2. 7.
2. Cor. 5. 21.

1. Cor. 1. 13.

Act. 20. 18.
Heb. 10. 14.

Reue. 7. 14.

3 Leo Bishoppe of Rome, writeth notable wel to the Palestines against these sacrileges. Although (saith he) the death of manie saintes hath bene precious in the sight of the Lorde, yet the killing of no innocent hath bene the propitiation of the world. The righteous receiued, but gaue not crownes: and out of the valiantnesse of the faithfull are grauen examples of patience, not giftes of righteoufnesse. For their deathes were euerie one singular to themselues, and none of them did by his ende pay the dette of an other, for asmuch as there is one Lord Christ, in whom all are crucified, all are dead, buried, and raised vp againe. Which sentence (as it was worthie to bee remembered) he repeated in an other place. There can nothing bee required more plaine to destroye this wicked doctrine. Yet Augustine speaketh no lesse fidly to the same effect. Though (saith he) we die brethren for brethren, yet the bloude of no Martyrs is shed for the forgiuenesse of sinnes. Which thing Christ hath done for vs, neither hath he therein done that for vs, that wee shoulde followe him, but hath giuen vs a thing to reioyce 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 for vs hath taken vpon him punishment without euil deseruings, y we by him might without good deseruings obtaine grace not due vnto vs. Truly whereas al their doctrine is patched together of horrible sacrileges & blasphemies, yet this is a more monstrous blasphemie than all the other. Let them remember themselues, whether these be not their decrees y the Martyrs haue by their death done more to God, and deserued more, than was needful for themselues: and y they had remaining so great a plentie of deseruings, as did also ouerflow vnto other: and y therefore, least so great goodnesse should be superfluous, their blood is mingled with the blood of Christ, and of both these bloods is made the treasure of the Church, for the remission and satisfaction of sinnes. And that so is the saying of Paul to bee taken: I supplie in my bodie those thinges that want of the sufferings of Christ for his bodie, which is the Church. What is this else but to leaue Christ onely his name, otherwise to make him but a common petie saint, y may scarcely among the multitude be knowne from the rest: He onely, only should haue bene preached, he only set forth, he only named, he only ben looked vnto, when the obtaining of forgiuenesse of sin, satisfaction, and sanctification are entreated of: But let vs heare their curtalled arguments. Least the bloude of y Martyrs should 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 bloude? by despising this present life, to testifie that they sought for a better life? by their steadfastnesse to strengthen the faith of the Church, & ouercome the stubbornnesse of the enemies? But this is the matter indeed: they acknowledge no profite of the Martyrs death, if Christ onely be the propitiator, if hee onely dyed for our sinnes if he only was offered vp for our redemption. So (say they) Peter and Paul might neuer thelesse haue obtained the crowne of victorie, if they had died in their beddes. And whereas they haue fought euen to the shedding of their bloude, it woulde not agree with the iustice of God to leaue y same barren and fruitles. As though God could not tell how to encrease in his seruants their glorie, according to

Epi. 81.
Pla. 146. 15.Epi. 95.
Tract. 11
Iohn. 8. 3.Lib. 4. ad
Bonif. cap. 4

Col. 1. 24.

the measure of his giftes. But the Church receiueth in common together profite enough, when it is by their triumphes encouraged to a zealous desire to fight.

4 But howe maliciously doe they wrest that place of Paul where hee saith, that hee supplieth in his bodie those thinges that wanted of the sufferings of Christ? for hee referreth not the default of supplying, to y^e worke of redemption, satisfaction, and expiation: but to those afflictions where-with all the members of Christ, that is to say, all the faithfull must be exercised so long as they shall be in this fleshe. He saith therefore, that this remaineth of the sufferings of Christ, that hee dayly suffereth in his members the same that hee once suffered in himselfe. Christ vouchsafueth to doe vs so great honour, to reckon and accompt our afflictions his owne. Whereas Paul addeth these wordes, For the Church, hee meaneth not for y^e redemption, for the reconciliation, for the satisfaction of the Church, but for the edifying and profite of the Church. As in an other place he saith, that hee suffereth all thinges for the electes sake, that hee may obtaine the saluation which is in Christ Iesu. And he wrote to the Corinthians, that hee suffered all the troubles that hee suffred, for their comfort and saluation. And immediately in the same place expoundeth himselfe, when he saith further, that hee was made a minister of the Church, not for redemption, but according to the dispensation that was committed vnto him, to preach the Gospel of Christ. If they yet require an other expositour, let them heare Augustine. The sufferings of Christ (saith hee) are in Christ onely as in the heade: & both in Christ and the Church, as in the whole body. Whereby Paul being one member saith, I supplic in my bodie that which wanteth in the sufferings of Christ. Therefore if thou what soeuer thou bee 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 of Christ. But wherevnto the sufferings of y^e Apostles taken for the Church of Christ doe tende, hee expoundeth in an other place where hee saith: Christ is to me the gate vnto you: because yee are the sheepe 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 wee to giue our soules for our brethren, to edifie peace, and to confirme faith. These are Augustine wordes. But God forbid, that Paul shoulde haue thought that any thing wanted in the sufferings of Christ, as concerning all fulnes of righteousnesse, saluation and life: or that hee meant to adde any thing therevnto, which so plainly and honorablie preacheth, that y^e abundance of grace was so largely powred out by Christ, that it farre surmounted all the force of sinne. By it onely all the saintes haue bene saued, and not by the merite of their owne life or death, as Peter expressly testified: so that hee shoulde bee slanderous against God and Christ, that shoulde repose the worthines of any faint any where else than in the onely mercy of God. But why doe I tarie herevpon any longer, as vpon a matter yet doubtfull, sith the verie bewraying of such monstrous errours is a sufficient confutation of them?

5 Nowe (to passe ouer such abominations) who taught the Pope to enclose

enclose in lead and parchement the grace of Iesus Christ, which the Lord willed to be distributed by the worde of the Gospel? Truly either the Gospel of God must be false, or their pardons false. For, that Christ is offered vs in the Gospel, with all abundance of heavenly benefits, with all his merites, wth all his righteousnes, wisdom and grace, without any exception, Paul witnesseth where he saith, that the word of reconciliation was deliuered to the ministers, wherby they might vse this forme of message, as it were Christ giuing exhortation by them: we beseech you, be ye so reconciled to God. Hee hath made him that knewe no sinne, to be made sinne for vs, that wee might be made the righteousnesse of God in him. And the faithfull knowe of what value is that common partaking of Christ, which (as the same Apostle witnesseth) is offered vs to be enjoyed in the Gospel. Contrariwise the pardons do bring out of the storehouse of the Pope, a certaine pittance of grace, and fasten it to lead, parchement, yea and to a certaine place, and seuer it from the word 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 coulde beare, they which felt themselues aboute measure oppressed with penance enjoyned them, required of the church a release. The mitigation that was granted to such, was called an indulgence or pardone. But when they turned satisfactions from the Church to God, and said that they were recompenses wherby men may redeeme themselues from the iudgement of God, then they therewithal 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 al.

6 Now let them no more trouble vs with their purgation, because it is with this axe already broken, hewed down, & ouerthrowen from the very foundations. For I do not agree to some men, y^e think best to dissemble in this point, & make no mention at all of Purgatorie, wherupon (as they say) great contentions do arise, but small edification is gotten. Truly I my selfe would also think such trifles worthie to be negligently passed ouer, if they did not account them earnest matters. But forasmuch as purgatorie is builded of many blasphemies, & is daily vpholden with newe blasphemies, & raiseth vp many & grieuous offences, truly it is not to be winked at. This paradventure might after a sort haue bene dissembled for a time, that it was inuented by curious and bold rashnes without the worde of God: that men beleueed of it by I wot not what reuelations, fained by the craft of Sathan: that for the confirmation of it, certaine places of Scripture were fondly wrested. Albeit the Lorde giueth not leaue to mans presumptuousnes so to breake into the secret places of his iudgements, and hath seuerely forbidden men to enquire for trueth at dead men, neglecting his worde, and permitteth not his worde to be so vnreuerently defiled. But let vs graunt, that all those thinges might for a while haue bene borne with, as thinges of no great importance. But when the cleansing of finnes is sought else where than in the bloude of Christ, when satisfaction is giuen away to any other thing, then it is moste 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 Pur-

gatorie is the damnable deuise of Sathan, that it maketh void the Croffe of Christ, that it layeth an intollerable slander vpon the mercie of God, that it feebleth 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 immediatly ouerthrowen by the verie rootes. But if in our former discourse it is more than euident that the blood of Christ is the only satisfaction, propitiatorie sacrifice, and cleansing for the finnes of the faithfull: what remaineth but that purgatorie is a mere & 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 saame spring of vngodlinesse.

7 But it is good to wring out of their handes such places as they haue falsely & wrongfully taken out of the Scripture. When (say they) the Lorde affirmeth that the sinne against the holy Ghost shoulde not bee forgien in this world, nor in the world to come, thereby he sheweth that there is a forgienesse of some finnes in the worlde to come. But who seeth not that the Lorde there speaketh of the fault of sinne? Nowe if it be so, what is that to their purgatorie, forasmuch as by their opinion the paine is there suffred of those finnes, wherof they deny not the fault to be forgien in this present life? But y they may no more carp against vs, they shal haue yet a plainer solution. When the Lord meant to cut off all hope of pardon from so hainous wickednesse, he thought it not ynough to say that it should neuer be forgien: but the more to amplify it, he vsed a diuision, wherin he comprehended both the iudgement y euery mans conscience feeleth in this life, & the last iudgement y shalbe openly pronounced at the resurrection: as though hee should haue said: Beware ye of malicious rebellion, as of most present damnation. For he that of set purpose shal endeouour to quench the light of y holy Ghost, shal not obtaine pardon, neither in this life which is giuen to sinners for their conuersion, nor in the last day when the lambs shalbe seuered by the Angels of God from the goates, & the kingdome of heauen shalbe clensted from all offences. Then they bring forth y parable out of Matthew: Agree with thine aduersarie, least he deliuer thee to the Iudge, & the Iudge to the Sargeant, & the Sargeant to the prison, from whence thou shalt not get out, vntil thou hast payed the vtermost farthing. If in this place y iudge do signifie God, & the aduersarie plaintife the Diuel, the Sargeant the Angel, & the prison purgatorie, I wil gladly yeld vnto them. But if it be euident to all men, y Christ meant there to shewe into howe many daungers & mischieues they cast themselues, that had rather obstinately pursue the extremitie of the law, than deale according to equitie & good right, to the end to exhort his disciples the more earnestly to agreement with equitie: where then I pray you shal Purgatorie be found?

8 They fetch an argument out of the saying of Paul, where he affirmeth, that the knees of things in heauen, earth & hels, shall bowe to Christ. For they take it as confessed, that hels cannot there be meant of those that are adjudged 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

Mat. 12. 52.
Mar. 3. 28.
Luc. 12. 10.

Mat. 5. 15.

Phil. 2. 10.

Apostle did by kneeling meane the true godly worshipping . But sith hee reacheth only, that there is a dominion giuen to Christ, wherby all creatures are to be subdued, what prooffe is there to the contrary , but that we may by hels vnderstande the Deuils , that shalbe brought before the iudgement of God, to acknowledge him their iudge with feare & trembling? Like as Paul himselfe expoundeth the same prophecy in another place. All (sayeth he) Rom. 13. 10. shalbe brought before the iudgement seat of Christ. For it is written: So truly as I liue, euery knee shall bowe to me. &c. But we may not so expounde that which is in the Reuelation : I haue heard al creatures, both these things that are in heauen, and those that are vpon the earth, & these that are vnder the earth, and those that are in the sea, and all those y^e are in them, I haue heard them al say to him that sitteth on the Throne and to the Lambe, Blessing, & honor, and glory, & power, for euer & euer. That I do in deede easily grant, but what creatures doe they thinke to be here rehearsed? For it is most certaine, that there are contained creatures both without reason and without sense. Whereby is affirmed nothing else, but that all the partes of the world, from the hiest top of the heauens, to the very middle point of the earth, do in their maner declare y^e glory of their creator. As for that which they alleage out of the hystory of the Machabees, I will not vouchsafe to answer it, least I should seem to reckon that work in the number of the holy books . But Augustine receiued it for Canonical. 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 lawe , the Prophetes and the Psalmes , of which the Lorde himselfe hath witnessed as of his witnesses , saying : It was necessarie, that al thinges should be fulfilled that are written in the lawe, and the Psalmes , and Prophetes concerning me. But it hath bin receiued of the Church not vnprofitably, if it be soberly read or heard. And Hierom teacheth without any doubting that the authority thereof is of no force to prouing of doctrines. And it evidently appeareth by that olde booke, which is entituled vnder the name of Cyprian, concerning the exposition of the Creede, that it had no place at all in the olde Church. But why do I here striue without cause ? As though the author himselfe doth not sufficiently shew, how much he is to be credited, when in y^e end he craueth pardon, if he haue spoken any thing not well. Truly he that confesseth his writings to neede pardon , sayth playnely that they are not the oracles of the holy Ghost . Beside that, the godlinesse of Iudas is prayed 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 doeth the wryter of that hystorie referre that which Iudas did to bee a price of redemption, but that they might be partakers of the eternall life with the other faithfull, that had dyed for their country and religion. This doing was indeede not without superstition and preposterous zeale , but they are more than fooles, that drawe a sacrifice of the lawe so farre as vnto vs : forasmuch as we knowe that thinges do cease by the comming of Christ , that then were in vse.

9 But they haue an inuincible bulwarke in Paul, which can not so easily be battered . If any man (sayth he) builde vpon this foundation, gold, siluer, precious stones, timber, heye, stubble , the Lord shall shewe euery mans worke

what it is: because it shalbe reuealed in fire, & the fire shall trie euery mans worke what it is. If any mans worke do burne, it shal suffer losse, but he shalbe safe, but as through the fire. What fire (say they) can that be, but the fire of Purgatorie? by which the filthinesse of sinne are clenfed 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 Lorde trieth them that be his, that they should not rest in the filthines of the flesh: & 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 y I vtter it, I would haue them answere me, whether the Apostles and all the saintes must haue gone through this fire of Purgatorie? I knowe they will say, nay. For it were too much inconuenient that they must haue needed to be purged, whose merites they dreame to ouerflow aboue measure to all the members of the church. But the Apostle affirmeth it. For he doeth not say y the worke of some shalbe 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, & stubble. And the Metaphore hath an apparant rescue: that as wood so soone as it is put in the fire, consumeth & wasteth, so cannot those doctrines continue when they come to be examined. Now no man is ignorant y such triall commeth of the holy Ghost. Therefore to followe the true cause of his metaphore, & match the partes together with iust relation, hee called the triall 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 & finenesse: so the Lords trueth, the more exactly it is weyed with spirituall examination, so much the greater confirmation of credit it receiuet. As hey, wood, & stubble put to the fire, are brought to sudden consuming, so the inuentions of men not stablished by the worde of God, cannot beare y triall of the holy Ghost, but they by and by fal away & 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 y spirit of the Lord: it followeth y the holy Ghost is the fire wherewith they shalbe proued, whose prooffe Paul, according to y common vse of the Scripture, calleth The day of the Lord. For it is called y day of the Lord, whensoever he doeth any way shewe his presence to men. But then his face principally shineth, when his trueth shineth vpon vs. Nowe haue we proued, that Paul meneth no other fire, but the trial of y holy ghost. But how are they saued by y fire, y suffer losse of their work? That shal not be hard to vnderstand, if we consider of what kind 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 swariung from the chief & necessary articles of faith, do erre in points that be smaller and lesse perillous, mingling their owne deuises with the worde of God. Such I

Chrysoft.
August., &
others.

Enchir. ad
Laurent. 68.

say, must suffer losse of their worke, hauing their deuises destroyed. But themselves are saued, but as by the fire: that is to say, not that their ignorance & error is allowable before the Lord, but because they are cleansed from it by the grace and power of the holy Ghost. Therefore, whosoever haue defiled the golden finesse of Gods word with this dong of purgatorie, they must needs suffer losse of their worke.

10 But they wil 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 worke, that in the building of the church, doe lay any thing vpon the foundation that agreeth not with it. Therefore when the aduersaries object against me, that it hath bene vsed aboue a thousand & three hundred yeares, 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 here they doe not onely want testimonies of Scripture but also all y^e examples of holy men that there are red, do shew no such thing. Of the mourning & order of funerals there are sometimes found many & 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 bene expressly spoken. But the very olde fathers themselves that prayed for the dead, did see that herein they wanted both commandement of God, & lawful example. Why then durst they so do? In this I say, they did suffer somewhat as men: & therefore I affirme that that which they did, ought not to be drawn into example. For where as the faithful ought to enterprise the doing of nothing, but vpon assured conscience, as Paul teacheth: this assurednesse is principally required in prayer. But it is likely that they were led by some reason vnto it: they sought some comfort to relieue their sorrowe: and it seemed vnnatural not to shewe before God some testimonie of their loue toward the dead. How mans wit is enclined to this affection, all men know by experience. Also y^e received custome was like a burning brand to set many mens mindes on fier. We know that with all nations & in all ages there were funerals done for the dead, & their soules yerely purged. For though Sathan beguiled foolish men with these deceits: yet he tooke occasion so to begile 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 y^e Gentiles before the iudgement seat of God, for neglecting the care of y^e life to come, which they professed themselves to belecue. Now Christians, because they would not be worse than Heathen men, were ashamed to do nothing for the dead, as though they were vtterly destroyed. Hereupon came y^e ill aduised diligence: because if they were slowe in looking to the funerals, in bankettings and offerings, they thought that they had put themselves in danger of a great reproche. And that which first proceeded from a wrongful following of the Heathens example, was so multiplied by often new encreases, that now it is the principall holinesse of Papistrie, to helpe the dead in distresse. But the Scripture ministreth another much better & perfecter comfort, when it testifieth, that the dead are blessed that die in the Lorde. And it addeth a reason: because from thenceforth they rest from their labours. And we ought not so much tenderly to followe our owne affection of loue, to set

Reue. 14. 13.

vp a wrongful maner of praying in the church. Truly he y^e hath but meane wisdom, doth soone perceiue that all that is red hereof in the old writers, was done to beare with the common vsage, & the ignorance of the people. They themselues also, I grant, were caried away into errour euen as vnadvised lightnes of beliefe is wont to rob mens wits of iudgement. But in y^e meane time the verie reading of them doth shew, howe doutingly 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 exanuned 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 doutings, that of right it ought with the coldnes therof 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 careful. For this is one piller of it, that this doing is not to be despised, because it is a custome growen in vse, that the dead should be prayed for. But though I grant to the old writers of the church, y^e it is a charitable vse to help the dead: yet wee must still hold one rule which cannot deceiue: that it is not lawfull for vs in our prayers to vse any thing of our own, but our requestes must be made subiect to the worde of God: because it is in his wil to appoint what he wil haue to be asked. Now where as the whole law and the Gospel 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 errour: I say there is great difference betweene them & it. They vsed a memoriall of the dead, least they should seeme to haue cast away all care of them: but they did therewithall confesse y^e they doubted of their state. As for purgatory, they so affirmed nothing that they held it for a thing vncertaine. These men require to haue y^e which they haue dreamed of purgatorie, to be holden w^out question for an article of faith. They slenderly & only 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, & with importunate praising it, do make it to be preferred aboue all dutiful works of charitie. Yea, and it were not hard for vs to bring forth some testimonies of the old writers, y^e do manifestly ouerthrow all those prayers 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 receiue the rest that followeth after death, if he be worthe when he dieth. And therefore he testifieth, that all the godly do immediatly after death enioy the blessed rest as well as the Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs. If their estate be such, what I beseech you, shal our prayers 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 parte so monstrous, that they can haue no honest coulour to excuse them. Also I let passe those most filthie byings and sellings that they haue vsed, while the worlde was in such grosse senselesse ignorance. For both I shoulde neuer make an

ende,

ende, 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 exhorteeth vs therunto.

WE haue already sayde, that the marke whereunto regeneration tendeth, is that in the life of the faithfull there should appeare an agreement and consent betwene the righteousness 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 forward and helpes, therefore it shall be profitable to gather out of diuerse places of the Scripture an order of framing of life, that they that haue a desirous minde of amending, may not wander out of the way in their endeuour. Nowe when I take vpon me the framing of a Christian mans life, I am not ignorant that I enter into a manifold and plenteous argument, and such as may with the greatnesse thereof fil a long volume, if I would absolutely entreat of it in al points. For we see into what great length are stretched the exhortatorie orations of olde writers, made onely euery one of one seuerall vertue. And that is not done with too much idle babbling. For what so euer 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 can not seeme to haue discoursed well of it, vnlesse he haue spoken much. But my minde is not to stretch so farre the institution of life, which I promise to teache, as peculiarly to goe through euery speciall vertue, and wander abroad into exhortations. Lette such thinges be fetched out of other mens writings, and specially out of the Homelies of the olde fathers. It shall be enough for me to shewe an orderly trade, whereby a godly man may be guided to a right marke of framing his life, and shortly to appoint out a certaine vniuersal rule, by which he may well trie what be his duties. There shall paradventure 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 naturally loue shortnesse, and paradventure if I would speake more at large, it would not frame well with mee. And if a longer manner of teaching were neuer so much pleasing, yet I would scarce haue minde to put it in proofe. But the course of this present worke requireth to knit vp a simple doctrine with as greate shortenesse as I may. As the Phylosophers haue their certaine endes of right and honestie, from which they deriue particular duties and all the companie 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 Phylosophers orders. This onely is the difference, that they (as they were vaine-glorious men) haue diligently endeouored to attaine an exquisite plainenes of order, to shewe forth the ready aptnesse of their witte. But the Spirit of God, because he taught without curious affectation, 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 partes. The first, that there be powred & brought into our mindes a loue of righteousness, 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 righteousness. In commendation of righteousness it hath both very many and very good reasons: of which we haue herebefore in diuerse places spoken of some, and other some we shall in this place briefly touch. At what foundation may it better beginne, than when it putteth vs in minde 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 gathered 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 holinesse must be the bonde thereof. Not that by the merite of holinesse we come into common with him: (whereas rather we must first cleaue vnto him, that being endued with his holinesse, we may followe whither he calleth) but because it greatly perreineth to his glory, that he haue no felowshippe with wickednesse and vncleannesse. Therefore also it teacheth, that this is the ende of our calling, which we ought alway to haue respect vnto, if we will answere God that calleth vs. For to what purpose was it, that we should be drawn out of the wickednesse and filthinesse of the worlde, if we giue our selues leaue all our life long to wallowe in them still? Moreouer it also admonisheth vs that to the end we may be reckned among the people of God, we must dwell in the holy city Hierusalem. Which as he hath halowed to himselfe, so is it vnlawfull that it be vnholily profaned by the vncleannesse of the inhabitantes. From hence came these sayings, that they shall haue a place in the tabernacle of God that walke without spot, and study to followe righteousness, &c. Because it is not meete that the Sanctuarie whereon he dwelleth, shoulde bee like a stable ful of filthinesse.

3 And the better to awake vs, it sheweth that God the father, as he hath ioyned vs to himselfe in his 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 manners, is in them onely 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 onely teacheth vs to referre our life to God, the author of it, to whome it is bonde: but also when she hath taught that we are swarued out of kinde from the true originall and state of our creation, shee immediatly addeth, that Christ by whome wee came againe into fauour with God, it set before vs for an example, that we should expresse the forme thereof in our life. What may a man require more effectually then this one thing? Yea what may a man require more than this onely thing? For if the Lorde hath by adoption made vs children with this condition, that our life should resemble Christ the bonde of our adoption: if wee doe

Psa. 35. 8.
Psa. 15. 2, &
23.

not giue and auowe our selues to righteouſnes, wee doe not onely with moſt wicked breach of allegiance depart from our creatour, but alſo we forſweare him to be our ſauour. Then the ſcripture taketh matter of exhortation out of all the benefites of G O D, which ſhee rehearſeth vnto vs, and all the partes of our ſaluation. And ſheweth that ſith God hath ſhewed himſelfe a father vnto vs, we are worthie to be condemned of extreme vnthankfulneſſe, if we doe not likewise in our behalfe ſhewe our ſelues children vnto him. Sith Chriſt hath cleaſed vs with the waſhing of his bloode, and hath made vs partakers of this cleaſing by baptiſme, it is not ſeemely that wee ſhould be spotted with new filthineſſe. Sith he hath graſſed vs into his bodie, we muſt carefully take heede that we ſprinckle not any ſpot or blot vpon vs that are his members. Sith he himſelfe that is our heade, is aſcended into heauen, it behooueth vs that laying away earthly affection, we do with all our heart aſpire to heauenwarde: Sith the holy Ghoſt hath dedicated vs temples to God, we muſt indeuour that Gods glorie may bee honourable ſet out by vs, and muſt not doe any thing whereby we may bee prophaned with filthines of ſinne: Sith both our ſoule and our bodie are ordeined to heauenly incorruption and an vnperishing crowne, we muſt diligently trauele, that the ſame may be kept pure and vncorruptd vnto the day of y Lord. Theſe (I ſay) be the beſt layde foundations to builde a mans life, and ſuch as the like are not to bee founde among the Phyloſophers, which in commendation of vertue do neuer climbe aboute the naturall dignitie of man.

4 And here is a fit place to ſpeake vnto them, that hauing nothing but the title and badge of Chriſt, yet woulde 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 al they haue not rightly learned Chriſt, that are not taught that they muſt caſt away the old 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 pre-
tende 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 conceited 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 holde it in the moſt inward affection of y hart. Therefore either let them ceaſe, to the ſlauder of God, to boaſt of that which they are not, or let them ſhewe themſelues not vnworthie ſchoolers for Chriſt their maiſter. Wee haue giuen the firſt place to the doctrine wherein our religion is contained, becauſe our ſaluation beginneth at it: but the ſame muſt bee powred into our heart, and paſſe into our manners, yea and transforme vs vnto it, that it be not vnfruitfull vnto vs. If the Phyloſophers doe iuſtly chaſe againſt them, and doe with ſhamefull reproche driue them from their companie, that profeſſing an arte that ought to be ſchoolemaſters of life, doe turne it into a Sophiſticall babbling: with howe much better reaſon ſhall wee deteſt theſe trifling Sophiſters, that are contented to role the Goſpell vpon the toppe of their tongues, the effectuall working whereof ought to pearce into the innermoſt affections of the hart,

Mal. 1. 6.
Eph. 5. 1.
2. Ioh. 3. 1.
Eph. 1. 5.
Heb. 10.
1. Cor. 6.
1. Cor. 6.
1. Pet. 1. 2 5.
Ioh. 1 5. 3.
Eph. 5.
Col. 3.
2. Cor. 6.
1. The. 5. 15.

Eph. 4.

to rest in the soule, and to alter the whole man a hundred times more, than the cold exhortations of Phylosophers?

5 Yet doe I not require that the manners of a Christian man sauour of nothing but the absolute Gospell: which neuerthelſſe both were to bee wiſhed and we muſt indeuour vs toward it. But I do not ſo ſeuèrly require a goſpellike perfection, that I would not acknowledge him for a Christian y^e 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 manie haue hitherto but a litle way proceeded towarde it, who yet ſhoulde be vniuſtly caſt away. What then? let that bee ſet for the marke before our eyes, to which alone all our endeuour may be directed. Let that bee appointed the goale for vs to run and trauell vnto. For it is not lawefull for thee ſo to make partition with God, to take vpon thee part of theſe things that are commaunded thee in his worde, and to leaue part at thine owne choiſe. For firſt of all he euerywhere commendeth integritie as the cheefe part of worſhipping him; by which worde he meaneth a pure ſimplicite of minde that is without all deceitfull colour and faining: againſt which a double heart is ſet as contrarie: as if it ſhoulde be ſaid, that the beginning of liuing vprightly is ſpirituall, when the inward affection of the mind is without faining 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 freſhneſſe of running, as he perfectly ought to doe, 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 begon. No man ſhal go ſo vntowardly, but he ſhal euery day get ſome ground, though it be but litle. Therefore let vs not ceaſe to trauel ſo, that we may continually proceed ſomewhat in the way of the Lorde. And let vs not deſpeire vpon the ſlenderneſſe of our going forward, for howſoeuer the ſucceſſe anſwere not our deſire, yet we haue not loſt our labour when this day paſſeth yeſterday; ſo that with pure ſimplicite we looke vnto our marke, and long towarde the ende of our courſe, not ſoothingly flattering our ſelues, nor tenderly bearing with our owne euils, but with continual endeuour trauelling to this, that wee may ſtill become better than our ſelues, til we attaine to goodneſſe it ſelſe: which indeed we ſeek for and ſolow all our life long; but we ſhal then only attaine it, when being vncllothed of the weakenes of the fleſh, we ſhal be receiued into the full fellowſhip thereof.

The vij. Chapter.

The ſumme of a Chriſtian life: where in is untreated of the forſaking of our ſelues.

Albeit that the law of the Lorde haue a moſt aptly well diſpoſed order to frame a mans life, yet it ſeemed good to the heauenly ſchoolemaſter to inſtruct men yet with a more exact trade to the ſame rule y^e hee had ſet forth in his law. And the beginning of that trade, is this: that it is the duty of y^e faithfull to yeld there bodies to God a liuing, holy and acceptable ſacrifice vnto him; and that therein ſtandeth the true worſhipping of him. Here-
vpon

vpon is gathered occasion to exhort men, that they do not apply themselves to the fashion of this worlde, but be transformed in renewing of their mind, that they may prooue what the will of God is. Now this is a great thing, that we be consecrate and dedicate to God: that we shoulde from thence forth thinke, speake, imagine, or doe nothing but to his glorie. For the thing that is consecrate, can not 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 wherevnto 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 ende 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. Wee are Gods: therefore let his wisdom and will gouerne all our doings. Wee are Gods: therefore let all the partes of our life tend toward him as their onely lawfull end. Oh how much hath he profited, that hauing learned that himselfe is not his owne, hath taken from him selfe the rule and gouernment 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 onely to followe God going before him. Let this therefore be the first steppe, that man depart from him selfe, that he may apply all the force of his wit to the obeying of the Lord. Obeying I call not onely that which standeth in obedience of the worde, but y^e whereby the minde of man, voide from his owne sensualitic of flesh, bendeth selfe wholly to the will of Gods spirite. Of this transformation (which Paul calleth renewing of the minde) whereas it is the first entrie into life, all the Phylosophers were ignoraunt. For they make onely Reason the gouernesse of man: they thinke she onely ought to be heard: finally to her onely they greue & assigne the rule of maners. But the Christian Phylosophie biddeth her to giue place, and to yelde and be subiect to the holy Ghost: so that man now may not liue himselfe, but beare Christ liuing and reigning in him.

Rom. 14. 8.

Eph. 4. 23.

Gala. 1. 20.

2 Herevpon followeth also this other pointe, that wee 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 aduancement of his glory. This is also a profe of great profiting, that in a maner forgetting our selues, & altogether leauing the regard of our selues, we trauell to employ our study to God & his commandments. For when the scripture biddeth vs to leaue priuie regard of our selues, it doth not only race out of our minds y^e couetousnes of hauing, the greedy seeking for power and fauour of men: but also rooteth out ambition and all desire of worldly glorie, and other more secrete pestilences. Truly a Christian man must be so fashioned and disposed, to thinke throughout all his life, that he hath to doe with God. In this sort, as hee shall examine all his doings by Gods will and iudgement: so hee shall reuently direct vnto him al the earnestly bent diligence of his mind. For hee that hath learned to looke vpon God in all things that hee hath to doe, is therewithall turned away from all vaine thoughtes. This is that forsaking of our selues,

selues,

selues, which Christ euen frō their first beginning of instruction so earnestly gaue in charge to his Disciples: which when it once hath gotten possession in y heart leauerh no place at al, first neither for pride, nor disdainfulnesse, nor vaine glorious boasting, then neither for couetise, nor filthie lust, nor riotousnesse, nor deintinesse, nor for other euils that are engendered of the loue of our selues. Contrariwise, wheresocuer it reigneth not, there either most filthie vices doe rage without shame, or if there be any spice of vertue, it is corrupted with peruerse desire of glorie. For shewe me a man, if thou canst, that vnlesse he haue forsaken himselfe according to the commaundement of the Lorde, will of his owne free will vse goodnesse amonge men. For all they that haue not bene possessed with this feeling, if they haue followed vertue, they haue done it at the least for praises sake. And all the Phylosophers that euer most of all affirmed that vertue was to be desired for it selves sake, were puffed vp with so great pride, that it appeared y they desired vertue for no other thing, but that they might haue matter to be proude vpon. But God is so nothing at all delited, neither with those gapers for the peoples breath, nor with these swelling beastes, that hee pronounceth that they haue already receiued their rewarde in the worlde, and maketh harlottes and publicanes neerer to the kingdome of heauen, than them. And yet wee haue not thoroughly declared with howe many and how great stoppes man is hindred from that which is right, so long as hee hath not forsaken him selfe. For it was truely saide 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 regarde of thy selfe, to bende thy minde to seeke those thinges that the Lorde requireth of thee, and to seeke them therefore onely because they please him.

3 In an other 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 wee shoulde denie all vngodlinesse, and worldly lustes, and that we should liue sober minded, rightcoulsly and godly in this present worlde, looking for for the blessed hope and glorious appearing of the mightie G O D, and of our Sauour Iesus Christ, which gaue himselfe for vs to redeme vs from all vnrightcoulnesse, and to purge vs a peculiar people vnto himselfe feruently giuen vnto good workes. For after that hee hath set forth the grace of God to encourage them, to make readie the waye for vs to worshippe God, he taketh away two stoppes that doe most hinder vs, that is to say, vngodlinesse, whereunto we are naturally too much inclined, and Worldly desires, which extende further. And 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 effecte as much as the affections of the fleshe. Therefore hee 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 hee bringeth into three partes, sobrietie, rightcoulnesse, & godlines: of the which sobrietie without doubt signifieth as wel chastitie and temperance, as a pure and measurable sparing vse of temporall thinges, and

a patient sufferance of pouertie . Righteousnesse containeth all the duties of equitie, to giue euery man his owne . The third is Godlinesse, that seuereth vs from the defilinges of the worlde, and with true holinesse ioyneth vs to God. These things, when they be knit together with an vnseparable knot, make a full perfection . But forasmuch as nothing is more heard, than forsaking the reason of the flesh, yea subduing and renouncing her desires, to giue our selues to GOD and our brethren, & to study for an angelike life in the filthy state of this earth: therefore Paul, to loose our mindes from all snares, calleth vs backe to the hope of blessed immortalitie, admonishing vs not to striue 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 entisementes that blinde vs, & make vs not to aspire as we ought to the heavenly glorie: yea & he teacheth that we must trauaill as men being from home in this worlde, that the heavenly inheritance be not lost or fall away from vs.

4 Now in these wordes we perceiue, that the forsaking of our selues hath partly respect to men, and partly, yea chiefly to God. For wheras 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 greueth such commandements as our mind is not able to receiue, but first being made voyde of naturall sense. For (with such blindenesse wee runne all into loue of our selues) euery man thinketh himselfe to haue a iust cause to aduance himselfe, and to dispise all other in comparison of himselfe. If God haue giuen vs any good gift, by and by bearing our selues bold thereof, we list vpon our courage, and not onely swell, but in a manner burst with pride . The vices wherwith 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 gifts, which we prayse in our selues, or better do appeare in other, least we should be compelled to giue place to them, we do with our eniuousnesse deface them and finde faulte with them . If there be any faultes in them, we are not contented seuerely and sharpely to marke it, but wee also odiously amplifie it. Hereupon groweth that insolence, that euery one of vs, as though he were priuileged from the common estate, would be hier than the rest, and carelesly and proudly set light by euery man, or despise them as inferiours . The poore yeld to the rich, base people to gentlemen, seruants to their masters, vnlearned to the learned: but there is no man that doeth 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 themselues, they iudge vpon the wittes 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 thinges gentle and louely: but howe many a one is there that keepeth that continuall course of modestie, when he is pricked and stirred to anger? And there is no remedy hereof, but that the most hurtful pestilence of loue, of soueraigntie and selfeloue be rooted out of the bottome of their hartes, as it is rooted out by the doctrine of

Rom. 12. 20.
Phil. 2. 3.

1. Cor. 4. 7.

of the Scripture. For there we are so taught, that wee must remember that the good giftes that God hath giuen vs, are not our owne good thinges, but the free giftes of God, whereof if any be proud, they bewray their owne vnthankfulnesse. Who maketh thee to excell? Paul sayth, if thou hast receiued all thinges, why doest thou boast as if they were not giuen thee? Then, that wee 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 shalbe much matter to abace our selues. Againe, wee 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 leudnesse for vs, to take from them that honor, that God hath vouchsafed to giue them. As for their faultes, wee are taught to winke at them, not to cherish them with flattering, but that we shoulde not by reason of those faultes triumphe against them, to whome wee ought to beare good will and honour. So shall it come to passe, that with what man so euer wee haue to doe, we shal behaue our selues not onely temperately and modestly, but also gently and friendely. As a man shall neuer come any other way to true meekenesse, but if he haue a heart endued with abacing of himselfe, and reuerencing of other.

1. Cor. 13. 4.

5 Now how hard is it, for thee to do thy dutie in seeking the profite of thy neighbour? Thou shalt herein labour in vaine, vnlesse thou depart from regarde of thy selfe, and in a maner put of thy selfe. For how canst thou performe these thinges that Paul teacheth to be the workes of charitie, vnlesse thou forsake thy selfe, to giue thy selfe wholly to other? Charitie (sayth he) is patient and gentle, not proude, not disdainfull, enuieth not, swelleth not, seeketh not her owne, is not angry, &c. If this one thing be required, that we seeke not the thinges that are our owne, we shall doe no small violence to nature, which so bendeth vs to the onely loue of our selues, that it doeth not easily suffer vs negligently to passe ouer our selues and our own thinges, to watch for other mens commodities, yea to depart with our owne right to resigne it to an other. But the Scripture, to leade vs thither as it were by the hande, warneth vs that what so euer gracious giftes we obtaine of the Lord, they are committed vnto vs vpon this condition, that they shold be bestowed to the common benefit 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 thinges of G O D deliuered, committed to our trust vpon this conditio, that they shoulde be disposed to the benefit of our neighbours. But the Scripture goeth yet further, when it compareth them to the powers wherewith the members of mans bodie are endued. No member hath his power for himselfe, nor applyeth it to his priuate vse: but poureth it abroad into the other members of the same body, and taketh no profit thereof, but such as proceedeth from the common commoditie of the whole bodie. So whatsoeuer a godly man is able to doe, hee ought to be able to do it for his brethren, in prouiding none otherwise priuately for himselfe, but so that his minde 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 wee may helpe our neighbour, we are the Bailies thereof, and bounde to render accompr 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 onely 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 shoulde not happen to be ignorant that this is the true lawe of disposing all the giftes that wee receiue of God, he hath in y^e old time set the same lawe euen in the smallest giftes of his liberalitie. For he commaunded the first frutes of corne to be offered vnto him, by which the people might testifie that it was vnlawfull for them to take any fruite of the goods that were not first consecrate to him. If the giftes of God be so only then sanctified vnto vs, when we haue with our owne hande dedicated them to the authour thereof, it is euident that it is an vntrue abuse thereof that doeth not sauour of such dedication. But it shall bee vaine for thee to goe about to enrich the Lord with communicating to him of thy things. Therefore sith thy liberalitie can not extende vnto him, as the Prophet saith, thou must vse it toward his saints that are in earth. Therefore almes are compared to holy oblations, that they may nowe be correspondent to these of the law.

E. 10. 22. 29.
& 23. 19.Psa. 16. 3.
Heb. 13. 16.

6. But that wee shoulde 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 and not moued to anger. The Lorde commaundeth to doe good to all vniuersally, of wh^o a great part are most vnworthie, if they be considered by their owne deseruing. But here the scripture helpeth with a verie good meane, when it teacheth that we must not haue respect what men deserue of them selues, but that y^e image of God is to be considered in all men, to which we owe all honour and loue. But the same is most diligently to be marked in them of the householde of faith, in so much as it is in them renewed and restored by the spirit of Christ. Therefore whatsoeuer man thou light vpon, that needeth thy helpe, thou hast no cause to withdrawe thy selfe from doing him good. If thou saye that hee is a 'straunger: but the Lorde hath giuen him a marke, that ought to bee familiar vnto thee. by the reason that hee forbiddeth thee to despise thine owne flesh. If thou say that he is base and naught worth: but y^e Lord sheweth him to be such a one, to wh^o he hath vouchsafed to giue y^e beautie of his image. If thou say y^e thou owest him nothing for any thing that he hath done for thee: but God hath set him as it were in his place in respect of whome, thou knowest so many and so great benefites wherewith he hath bound thee vnto him. If thou say that he is vnworthie that thou shouldest labour anie thing at all for his sake: but the image of God whereby he is commended to thee, is worthie that thou shouldest giue thy selfe and all that thou hast vnto it. But if he haue not onely deserued no good at thy hand, but also prouoked thee with wronges and euill doings: euen this is no iust cause why thou shouldest cease both to loue him and to doe for him the ductifull workes of loue. Thou wilt say, he hath farre otherwise deserued of me. But what hath the Lorde deserued? Which when he commaundeth thee

1. Cor. 13. 4.

Gal. 6. 10.

Esay. 5. 7.

Mat. 6. 24. &
18. 35. j

Luk. 17. 3.
Mat. 5. 44.

thee to forgiue all wherein hee hath offended thee, truly he willett the same to bee inputed to him selfe. Truly this is that onely waye to come to that which is vtterly againste the nature of man, much more is it harde for man. I meane, to loue them that hate vs, to recompence euill with doing good, to render blessings for reproches: if wee remember that wee must not consider the malice of men, but looke vpon the image of God in them, which defacing and blotting out their faults, doth with the beautie and dignitie of it selfe allure vs to imbrace it.

7 Therefore this Mortification shall then onely take place in vs, when we performe the dueties of charitie. But it is not he that performeth them, that onely doeth all the duetifull workes of charitie, although hee leaue none of them vndone, but he that doeth them of a syncere affection of loue. For it may happen, that a man may fully performe to all men all that he oweth, so much as concerneth outward dueties: and yet he may bee 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 churlishnesse of wordes they vpbraide it. And wee be come to such wretchednesse in this vnhappie worlde, that almost no almes are giuen of anie men, or at least of the most part of men, without reproching. Which peruerfnesse shoulde not haue bene tollerable among the verie heathen. For of Christians is somewhat more required than to shewe a cherefulness in countenance, and make their doinges louely with gentlenesse of wordes. First they must take vpon them the personage of him whome they see to neede their helpe, and then so pitie their case, as if themselues did feele and suffer it: so that they may be caried with feeling of mercie and gentlenesse euen as they would be to helpe themselues. Hee that shall come so minded to helpe his brethren, will not onely not defile his doings with any arrogance or vpbraiding, but also neither will dispise his brother to whome hee doeth good as one needing his helpe, nor tread him vnder foot as one bound vnto him: no more than we vse to reproch a sicke member, for easing wherof the whole bodie laboureth, or to thinke it specially bounde to the other members, because it hath drawen more helpe vnto it than it hath recompensed. For it is thought that the common interparting of dueties betweene members of one bodie, hath no free kinde of gifte, but rather that it is a payment of that which being due by the lawe of nature it were monstros to deny. And by this reason it shall followe, that hee may not thinke himselfe discharged that hath performed one kinde of ductie, as it is commonly vsed, that when a rich man hath giuen any thing of his owne, hee leaucth other charges to other men, as not belonging to him. But rather euerie man shall thinke thus with himselfe, that hee is altogether detter to his neighbours, and that hee must determine none other ende of vsing his liberalitie, but when abilitie fayleth, which howe large soeuer it bee, must bee measured by the rule of charitie.

8 Nowe let vs more fully declare the principall parte of forsaking our selues, which wee saide to haue respect to God. Wee haue sayde much of it already, which it were superfluous to rehearse againe: it shall be sufficient to entreate of it so farre as it frameth vs to quietnesse of minde and suffe-

rance. First therefore in seeking the commodity or quietnesse of this present life, the Scripture calleth vs hereunto, that resigning vs and our things to the Lords will, we should yeeld vnto him the affections of our heart to be tamed and subdued. To couet wealth and honors, to compasse authoritie, to heape vp riches, to gather together all such follies as serue for royaltie & pompe, our lust is outragious, and our greedinesse infinite. On the other side of pouertie, ignobilitie, and base estate, wee haue a maruiculous feare and maruiculous hatred, that moue vs to traucile by all meanes to eschue them. Hercby a man may see, how vnquiet a minde they haue, how many shiftes 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 couetousnesse requireth, and on the other side to escape pouertie & 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 Lorde: and therefore let them safely and boldly rest themselues vpon it.

For howsoeuer the flesh thinke it selfe sufficient of her selfe, when shee either trauaileth by her owne diligence, or endeuoureth with her owne studie, or is holpen by the fauour of men, to the attaining of honor & wealth: yet it is certaine, y al these things are nothing, & that we shall nothing preuaile with wit or trauaile, but in so much as the Lord shal prosper both. But on the other side his only blessing findeth a way through all stops, to make all things proceede with vs to a ioyful & luckie end. Then howsoeuer wee may most of all obtaine any glorie or wealth without it (as we daily see the wicked to get heaps of great honors & richesse) yet for as much as they vpon whom resteth the curse, do feele no parcel of felicitie, wee can obtaine nothing without his blessing y shal not turne vs to cuil. And it is not at all to be coueted, that maketh men more miserable.

9 Therefore if we belecue that all the meane of prosperous successe and such as is to be wished, consisteth in the onely blessing of God, which being absent, all kindes of miserie and calamitie must happen vnto vs: this remaineth also, that wee do not greedily endeuour to wealth and honors standing vpon our owne finenesse of wit or diligence, not leaning to the fauour of men, nor trusting vpon a vaine imagination of fortune, but that wee alway looke vnto the Lord, to be led by his guiding to whatsoeuer lot he hath prouided. So first it shall come to passe, that we shall not violently rush to the catching of richesse and inuading of honours, by wrong, by guile and euill craftie meanes, or extortion with doing iniurie to our neighbours, but shall onely followe those fortunes that may not leade vs from innocencie. For who may hepe 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 doeth rightly, so it calleth backe all them of whome it is desired, from crooked thoughtes, and corrupt doinges. Then wee shalbe bridled that wee burne not with vnmeasurable desire of growing rich, nor ambitiously gape for honours. For with what face may a man trust to be holpen of God, to obtaine those things that hee desireth against his worde? For God forbid that God shoulde giue the helpe of his

bleſſing to that which he curſeth with his owne mouth. Laſt of all, if it ſucceede not according to our wiſh & hope, yet wee ſhalbe reſtrained from impatience, and from curſing our eſtate whatſoever it be: becauſe wee knowe that that is to murmure againſt God, at whoſe will richesse and pouertie, baſeneſſe and honours are diſpoſed. Briefely, he that reſteth himſelfe in ſuch ſort as is aforeſaide vpon the bleſſing of God, neither will by euill ſutures hunt for thoſe things that men are wont outragiouſly to couer, by which craftie meanes he thinketh that he ſhall nothing preuaile: nor if any thing happen proſperouſly will inpute it to himſelfe, and to his owne diligence, endeuour or to fortune, but will aſſigne it to God the authour. But if while other mens eſtates do flouriſh, he go but ſlenderly forward, yea or ſlide backward, yet he wil beare his ill fortune with greater quietneſſe and moderation of minde, than a prophane man wil beare a meanly 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 hieſt toppe of wealth and authoritie: becauſe he accounteth that his things are ordered by God as is auailable for his ſaluation. So we ſee that Dauid was minded, and yeldeth himſelfe to bee ruled by G O D, he declareth himſelfe to bee like to a weined childe, and that hee walketh not in high things or maruiculous aboute himſelfe.

Pſa. 131.

10 And the godly mindes ought to haue that quietneſſe & ſufferance not onely conſiſting in this behalfe: but alſo it muſt extend to all chances whereunto our preſent life is ſubiect. Therefore no man hath rightly forſaken himſelfe, but he hath ſo reſigned himſelfe vp wholly to the Lord, that he ſuffreth 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. Howe neceſſarie this affection is, ſhal hereby appeare, if you conſider to how many chances we be ſubiect. Diuerſe kindes of diſeaſes do trouble vs, ſometime the peſtilence cruelly reigneth, ſometime wee are ſharply vexed with calamities of warre, ſometime froſt or haile deuouring the hope of the yere, bringeth barrenneſſe, that driueth vs to dearth: ſometime our wiſe, parents, children or kinsfolkes are taken away by death, our houſe is conſumed with fire: theſe be the things at chancing whereof men curſe their life, deteſt the day of their birth, haue heauen & light in execration, murmure againſt god, and (as they be eloquent in blaſphemies) accuſe him of vniuſtice & crueltie. But a faithfull man muſt euen in theſe chances beholde the mercifull kindeſſe and fatherly tenderneſſe of God. Therefore whether he ſee his houſe deſtroyed, his kinsfolke ſlaine, yet he wil 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 downe with haile, he ſee famine at hand, yet he will not diſpaire, nor ſpeake hatefully of God, but wil remaine in this confidence, Wee are yet in the Lordes protection, and ſheepe brought vp in his paſtures: hee therefore will finde vs foode euen in extremeſt barrenneſſe. Or if he bee troubled with ſicke- neſſe, euen then hee will not bee discouraged with bitterneſſe of ſorrowe

Pſa. 79. 13.

to burst out into impatience and quarell thus with God: but considering the righteoufnesse and lenitie in Gods correction, he will call himselfe backe to patience. Finally, what so euer shall happen, because he knoweth it ordained by the hande of God, hee will take it with a well pleased and thankfull minde, least he should stubbornely resist his authoritie, into whose power he hath yelded himselfe and all his. Therefore let that foolishhe 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 angry, because she was blind and vnaduised, that blindly wounded both the deseruing and vndereruing. For contrariwise this is the rule of godlinesse, that the onely hande of God is the iudge and gouernes of both fortunes, and that it runneth not forwarde with vnaduised sodaine rage, but with most orderly iustice dealeth among vs both good things and euill.

The viii. Chapter.

Of the bearing of the crosse, which is a part of the forsaking of our selues.

BVt a Godly minde must yet climbe vp hier, euen to that wherunto Christ calleth his disciples, that euery one take vp his crosse. For all whome the Lorde hath chosē and vouchsafed to receiue into his companie, must prepare themselves to a harde, trauailesome and vnquiet life, and full of many and diuerse kindes of incommodities. So it is the will of the heauenly father, to exercise them in such sorte, that he may haue a true prooffe of them that be his. Beginning at Christ, his first begotten sonne, he proceedeth with this order towarde all his children. For whereas Christ was the best beloued sonne aboue the rest, and in whome the fathers minde was fully pleased, yet we see howe he was not tenderly and deintily handled: so that it may be truely sayde, 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 kinde of continuall crosse. The Apostle sheweth the cause thereof to be, that it behoued that he should learne obedience by those things that he suffred. Why then should we priuelege our selues from that estate, wherunto it behoued Christ our head to be subiect, specially sith he became subiect thereunto for our cause, to shewe vs an example of patience in himselfe? Therefore the Apostle sayeth that this is the appointed ende of all the children of God, to be fashioned like vnto him. Whereupon also in hard & sharp chaunces, which are reckned aduersities and euils, ariseth a great comforte vnto vs, that we communicate with the sufferings of Christ: that as he entred out of a maze of all troubles into the heauenly glory, so we may by diuerse tribulations be brought into the same glory. For so sayth Paul himselfe, that when we learne the communicating of his afflictions, we doe also conceiue the power of his resurrection: and when we are fashioned like vnto death, we are so prepared to the fellowshipe of his glorious rising againe. Howe much may this auaille to assuage all the painefulnesse of the crosse, that the more we are afflicted with aduersities, so much the more sure is our fellowshipe with Christ confirmed? by communicating whereof, our sufferings

Mar. 16. 24.

Mat. 3. 17. &
17. 5.

Rom. 8. 2.

Act. 14. 22.
Philip. 3. 10.

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 need to take vpon him to beare the crosse, but to testifie and proue his obedience to his father: but we for diuerse causes, haue neede to lead our life vnder a continuall crosse. First(as we be naturally bent to attribute all things to our flesh)vntlesse our weakenes be shewed vs as it were before our eyes, we doe easily esteeme our owne strength aboue due measure,and dout not that whatfoeuer happen,it wil continue vnbroken and vnouercome against all harde assaultes . Whereby we are caried into a foolish and vaine confidence of flesh, and then trusting thereupon, we stubbornly waxe proude against G O D himselfe , as though our owne powers without his grace did suffice vs. This arrogancy he can no way better beate down, than when he proueth vnto vs by experience,not only how feeble, but also howe fraile we be . Therefore he afflicteth vs either with shame, or pouerty, or losse of children,or sicknes,or other calamities,which we being vnable to beare in respect of our selues , do by and by sinke downe vnder them . Being so humbled we learne to call vpon his strength , which only maketh vs to stande vpright vnder the heauy burden of afflictions. Yea the most holy, how well soeuer they knowe that they stande by the grace of God and not by their owne force , yet are too much assured of their owne strength and constancy,vntlesse by the triall of the crosse,he bring them into a more inwarde knowledge of themselues. The slouthfulnes crept into Dauid: I sayde in my rest, I shall neuer be moued, Lorde, thou hadst stablished in thy good pleasure a strength to my hill, thou hiddest away thy face, I was stricken. For he confesseth that with sluggishnesse in prosperity his senses were dulled, that not regarding the grace of God , vpon which he shoulde haue hanged, he leaned vnto himselfe, to promise himselfe perpetuall continuance . If this'chaunced to so great a Prophete:which of vs ought not to be fearefull, that we may be heedefull? Therefore whereas in prosperitie they flatter themselues with opinion of a greater constancy and patience, when they are once humbled with aduersity , they learne that their former opinion was but hypocrisie . The faithfull(I say)being admonished by such examples of their diseases,do therby profit to humility,that being vnclouted of the wrongfull confidence of the flesh, they may resort to y^e 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.

Psa. 30. 8.

Rom. 5. 3.

3 And this is it that Paul teacheth , that by troubles is engendred patience, by patience prooffe . For whereas God hath promised the faithful 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 own strength they were not able to do. Patience therefore bringeth a proff by experience to the holy ones,that God when neede requireth, wil in deede 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 proued to be constant and sure . We see nowe how many good things do come vnto vs in one knot by the crosse . For,ouertrowning the opinion that we falsly presume

presume

presume of our owne strength, & disclosing our hypocrisie that deliteth vs, it shaketh away the hurtfull confidence of the flesh, and teacheth vs being so humbled, to rest vpon God only, by which it commeth to passe, that we neither be oppressed nor fall downe. And after victory foloweth hope, inasmuch as the Lord in performing that which he hath promised, stablisheth the credit of his truth for time to come. Truly, although there were no more reasons but these, it appeareth how much the exercise of the crosse is necessary 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 knowe thine owne weakenes. To feele thine owne weakenesse, 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 heart vpon God, that being vpholden by his helpe, thou maist continue vnouercome to the last ende: to stande fast by his grace, that thou maist vnderstande that he is true in his promises: to knowe by prooffe the truth of his promises, that thy hope may be strenched 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 towards him, other than the same that he giueth them: but so it pleaseth him by open examples to make approued by witnesses, 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 y strength of suffrance and constancie, wherewith he hath furnished his seruants, it is saide that he trieth their pacience. And from hence came these sayings: that God tempted Abraham, & had prooffe of his godlinesse, by this that he refused not to offer vp in sacrifice his own & only sonne. Therefore Peter teacheth, that our faith is so proued in troubles, as gold is tried in a furnace: And who can say that it is not expedient, that the moste noble gift of pacience, which a faithful man hath receiued of his God, should be brought forth into vse, that it may be made certainly knowen & manifest? For otherwise men will not esteeme it as it is worthie. Now if God himselfe doth rightfully when he ministreth matter to stirre vp the vertues that he hath giuen to his faithfull, that they should not lie hidden, yea lie vnprofitable & perish: then is there good reason of the afflictions of the holy ones, without which their pacience should be nothing. I say also y by the crosse they are instructed to obedience, because they are so taught to liue not after their owne wish, but after the wil of God. Truly if all things should flowe vnto them after their owne minde, they would not know what it were to follow God. And Seneca rehearseth that this was an olde Prouerb, 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 yelded his hande and backe to Gods correction. Nowe if it be most righteous, that wee should shewe our selues in all things obedient to the heauenly father, then wee ought not to refuse, that he should by all meanes accustome vs to yeeld obedience vnto him.

5 But yet we perceiue not howe necessarie this obedience is for vs, vnlesse wee do also consider, how wanton our flesh is to shake off the yoke of

Gen. 12. 1.

1. Pet. 1. 7.

De vita beata cap. 15.

God, so soone as it hath been but a litle while deintily and tenderly handled. The same happeneth vnto it, that chaunceth to stubborn horses, which if they be a few dayes pampred idelley, they cannot afterwarde for fearcenesse be tamed, neither do knowe their rider, to whose gouernement they somewhat before obeyed. And this is continuall in vs that God complaineth to haue bene in the people of Israel, that being well fed & couered wth fatnesse, we kicke against him that fed & nourished vs. The liberalitie of god should in deede haue allured vs to consider and loue his goodnesse, but forasmuch as our euil nature is such, that we are alway corrupted with his tender vsage, it is more than necessaric for vs, to be restrained by some discipline, that we runne not outragiously into such a stubborne wantonnesse. So that we should not grow fierce with vnmeasurable abundance of richesse, y^e we should not waxe proud being lifted vp with honors, that wee should not become insolent, being puffed vp with other good giftes, either of the soule, bodie, or fortune, the Lorde himselfe, as he foreseeeth it to be expedient, preuenteth it, & with the remedie of the crosse subdueth & bridleth the fearcenesse of our flesh, & that diuerse ways, so much as is healthful for euery man. For all are not alike sicke of al one diseases, or do alike neede of hard healing. And thereupon is to be seene how some are exercised with one kind of crosse, and some with another. But whereas the heavenly Phisician handleth some more gently, & purgeth some with sharper remedies, when hee meaneth to prouide for the health of all: Yet he leaueth none free or vntouched, because he knoweth all without exception to be diseased.

6 Moreouer, the most merciful father needeth not onely to preuent our weakenes, 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 dout we shal finde that wee haue don somewhat worthie of chasticement. Yet we ought not chiefly to ground our exhortation to pacience vpon the acknowledging of sinne. For the Scripture ministreth vs a farre better consideration, when it saith, that the Lorde correcteth vs with aduersities, y^e wee should not bee damned with this worlde. Therefore we ought euen in the very sharpnes of tribulatiōs to acknowledge the kindnes & goodnes of our father toward vs, forasmuch as euen then hee 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 world. That thought shal lead vs to that, which y^e Scripture teacheth in another place: My sonne, refuse not the Lords correction, nor be wearie when thou shalt be rebuked of him. For whom the Lord loueth, he correcteth, & embraceth him as a father doth his child. When we know his rod to be the rod of a father, is it not our ductie rather to shewe our selues obedient children and willing to learne, than with obstinacie to doe like desperate men, that are hardened with cuill doings? The Lorde leaseth vs, vnlesse he call vs backe by correction when wee are fallen away from him: so that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues rightly sayeth that wee are bastards, and not children if wee be out of correction. Therefore wee are moeste frowarde, if wee cannot suffer him when he declareth his good will 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 bondslaves of a rooted and hardned wickednes, are made the worse and more obstinate wth whipping: the faithfull, like children hauing an honest freedome of nature, do thereby profit to repentance. Now must thou choose of whether number thou wilt be. But because I haue spoken of this matter in an other place, I am content to touch it briefly, and so will make an ende.

7 Moreouer it is a singular comfort, when we suffer persecution for righteousness. For then we ought to thinke, how great an honor God vouchsafeth to grant vs, that he so garnisheth vs with y^e peculiar marke of his sculdours. I meane that they suffer persecution for righteousness, not onely that suffer for defense of the Gospel, but also that are troubled for any defense of righteousness. Whether therefore in maintaining the trueth of God against the lies of Sathan, or in taking in hande the defense of good men and innocentes against the wronges 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 daunger: let it not be grieuous or loathsome vnto vs to employ our selues for God, or let vs not thinke our selues miserable in those things in which he hath with his owne mouth pronounced vs blessed. Po-
uerty in deede, 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 fauour of our God breatheth vpon vs, there is none of all these things, but it turneth to our felicity. Therefore let vs rather be content with the testimony of Christe, 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 worthy 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 in dede brought to pouerty thereby among men, but so riches do truly growe vnto vs in heauen before God. If we be thrust out of our houses, we are the more inwardly receiued into the household of God. If we be vexed and dispised, we take so much the deeper rootes in Christ. If we be noted with reproches and shame, we are infomuch the more honorable place in the kingdom of God. If wee be slaine, so is the entrie made open for vs vnto blessed life. Lette vs be ashamed to esteeme lesse these thinges, vpon which the Lorde hath set so greate a price, than shadowish and fickle enticing pleasures of present life.

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 righteousness, we are too much vnthankfull if we do not gladly & cheerefully receiue them at the Lords hand: specially sith this is the kind 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 we trust in the liuing God. As in an other place he teacheth vs after his example to walke through sclander and good report. Yet there is not required of vs such a cheerefulnesse as may take away all feeling of bitterness and sorrowe,

Mat. 5. 15.

1. Pet. 4. 12.

1. Tim. 4. 10

2. Cor. 6. 8.

or else the patience of the holy ones in the crosse were no patience, vnlesse they should be both tormented with sorrowe and vexed with griefe. If there were no hardines in pouerty, no paine in sickenes, no griefe in shame, no horrour in death, what valiantnes or temperance were it to beare them indifferently? But when euery one of these doth with the natural bitternes thereof bite the heartes of vs all, herein doth the valiantnes of a faithfull man shewe it selfe, if being assayed with the feeling of such bitternes, how grievously soeuer he be troubled with it, yet with valiantly resisting he ouercometh it, his patience vttereth it selfe herein, if being sharply prouoked, hee is yet so bridled with y^e feare of God, that he bursteth not out into any distemper. His cheerefulness appeareth herein, if being wounded with sadnes and sorrow, he resteth vpon the spirituall comfort of God.

2. Cor. 1. 8.

9 This conflict, which the faithful do sustaine against the naturall feeling of sorrow, while they study for patience and temperance, Paul hath very well described in these wordes. We are put to distresse in all things, but we are not made sorrowfull: we labour, but we are not left destitute: we suffer persecution, but we are not forsaken in it: we are throwen downe, but we perish not. You see how to beare y^e crosse patiently, is not to be altogether astonished & without all feeling of sorrowe. As the Stoikes in olde time did foolishly describe a valiant harted man, to be such a one, as putting of all nature of mā, was a like moued in prosperitie and in aduersitic, in sorrowfull and ioyfull state, yea such a one as like a stone was moued with nothing. And what haue they profited with this hie 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 to 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 onely to grone and weepe, but also to be sad and carefull. But these strange conclusions doe commonly proceede from idle men, which busying themselues rather in speculation than doing, can do nothing but breed vs such new found doctrines. But we haue nothing to do with that stony Phylosophie, which our maister and Lord hath condemned not onely by his word but also by his example. For he mourned and wept both at his owne & other mens aduersities. The word (sayth he) shall reioyce, but you shall mourne & weepe. And because no man should finde fault therewith, by his open proclamation, he hath pronounced them blessed that mourne. And no maruel. For if all weeping be blamed, what shall we iudge of the Lorde himselfe, out of whose body dropped bloody teares? If euery feare be noted of infidelity, what shal we iudge of that quaking feare, wherwith we read that he was not slenderly stricken. If all sadnes be misliked, howe shall we like this, that he confesseth his soule to be sad euen to the death.

Iohn. 17. 20

Mat. 5. 4

Luk. 22. 44

10 This I thought good to speake to this ende, to call godly mindes from despeire: that they should not therefore altogether forsake the study of patience, because they can not put of y^e 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 stocke. For the Scripture giueth to the holy ones the praise of patience, when they are so troubled with hardnes of aduersities, that

that yet they be not overcome nor thrown downe with it: when they be so pricked with bitterneffe, that they be also delited with spirituall ioye: 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 still in their heartes, that naturall sense eschueeth and dreedeth those things that it knoweth to be against it: but the affection of godlinesse trauaileth euē through all those difficulties to the obeying of Gods will. This repugnancie the Lorde expressed when he sayde thus to Peter: When thou wast young thou didst girde thy selfe and didst walke whither thou wouldest: But when thou art old, another shall girde thee and lead 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 drawn vnwillingly and resisting vnto it. Else his martyrdom should haue but small prayse. But howsoeuer he did with greate cheerefulness of heart obey the ordinance of God, yet because he had not put of the nature of man, he was doubly strained with two sortes of wils. For when he did by himselfe consider the bloody death that he should suffer, being striken with horrour therof, 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 endeouour if we will be the Disciples of Christ, that our mindes be inwardly filled with so great a reuerence and obedience to God, as may tame and subdue to his ordinaunce all contrary affections. So shall it come to passe, that with whatsoeuer kinde of crosse we be vexed, euē in the greatest anguishes of minde, we shall constantly keepe patience. For aduersities shall haue their sharpnesse, wherewith we shalbe bitten: so when we are afflicted with sickenes, we shall both grone and be disquieted & desire health: so being pressed with pouerty, we shalbe pricked with the stinges of carefulnesse and sorrowe: so shall we be striken with griefe of shame, contempt and iniury: so shall we yelde due teares to nature at the buriall of our friendes: but this alway shalbe the conclusion, But the Lord willed so. Therefore let vs follow his wil. Yea euē 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.

II But forasmuch as we haue taken the chief cause of bearing the crosse, out of the consideration of the will of God, we must in fewe wordes define what difference is betweene Philosophicall and Christian patience. Truly very fewe of the Philosophers climbed to so hie a reason, to vnderstand that the hand of God doth exercise vs by afflictions, & to thinke y^e God is in this behalfe to be obeyed. But they bring no other reason, but because we must so do of necessity. What is this else, but to say that thou must yeelde 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 equitie, then the care of our saluation. These therefore be the Christian exhortations to patience,

whether pouerty, or banishment, or prisonment, or shame, or sickenesse, or losse of parentes, or children, or any other like thing do grieue vs, we must thinke that none of these thinges 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 & dayly offences deserue to be chastised moresharply, and with more grieuous correction, than such as the mercifull kindnesse of God layeth vpon vs? Is it not most great equity, that our flesh be tamed, and as it were made acquainted with the yoke, that shee doe 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 righteousnesse in our afflictions, we can not without vnrighteousnes either murmure or wrastle against it. Wee heare not now that colde songe: 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 impatiencie is a stubbornnes against the righteousnesse of God. But now, because that thing onely is worthy to be loued of vs, which we know to be to our safety and benefit, the good father doth this way also comforte vs, when he affirmeth that euen in this that he afflicteth vs with the crosse, he prouideth for our safety. But if it be certaine that troubles are healthfull for vs, why should wee not receiue them with a thankfull and well pleased minde? Therefore in patiently suffering them, we doe not forceably yelde to necessity, but quietly agree to our owne benefit. These thoughts (I say) do make that how much our minds are grieued in the crosse with naturall feeling of bitternessse, so much they be cheared with spirituall gladnes. Wherupon also followeth thankesgiuing, which can not be without ioy. But if the prayse of the Lorde and thankesgiuing proceedeth of nothing but of a cherefull and ioyfull heart, and there is nothing that ought to interrupt the same praying of God and thankesgiuing in vs: hereby appeareth how necessary it is that the bitternessse of the crosse be tempered with spirituall ioye.

The ix. Chapter.

Of the meditation of the life to come.

BVt with whatsoeuer kinde of trouble we be distressed, we must alwaye 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 howe much wee be by nature inclined to the beastly loue of this worlde, he vseth a most fitte meane to drawe vs backe, and to shake off our sluggishnesse, that we shoulde not stucke 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 shoulde be nothing inferiour to ours, vnlesse there remaine to vs a hope of eternitie after death. But if you examine the deuises, studies and doinges of euery man, you shall finde nothing therein but earth. Hereupon groweth that senselesse, that our minde beinge daseled with yaine glistening of richesse, power and

and honours, is so dulle that it cannot see farre. Our heart also being possessed with couetousnesse, ambition and lust, is so weied downe, that it cannot rise vp higher. Finally all our soule entangled with inticementes of the flesh seeketh her felicitie in earth. The Lorde to remedie this euill, doeth with continuall examples of miseries teach this of the vanitie of this present life. Therefore y they should not promise themselues in this life a sound and quiet peace, hee suffereth them to bee many times disquieted and troubled either with warres; or yprores, or robberies, or other iniuries. That they shoulde not with too much greedinesse, gape for fraile and transitorie richesse, or rest in the richesse that they alreadie possesse, sometime with banishment, sometime with barrennesse of the earth, sometime with fire, sometime by other meanes hee bringeth them to pouertie, or at least holdeth them in measure. That they should not with too much ease take pleasure in the benefits of Mariage, he either maketh them to be vexed with the frowardnes of their wiuies, or plucketh them downe with ill children, or punisheth them with want of issue. But if in all these thinges he tenderly beareth with them, yet least they should either swell with foolish glorie, or immeasurably reioyce with vaine confidence, he doeth by diseases & dangers set before their eyes, howe vnstable, and vanishing be all the goods 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 wayes miserable, and in no point fully blessed; and that all those that are reckened the good things thereof are vncertaine, fickle, vaine, and corrupted with manie euils mixed with them. And hereuppon 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 eyes to heauen. For thus we must beleue. That our minde is neuer truly raised to the desire and meditation of the life to come, vnlesse it haue first conceiued a contempt of this present life.

2 For betweene these two there is no meane, the earth must eyther become vile in our sight, or holde vs bounde with intemperate loue of it. Therefore if we haue any care of eternitie, we must diligently endeouour 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 behouefull for vs to be nowe and then called away, that we bee not bewitched with such allurements. For what, I pray you, would be done if we did here enjoy a continuall concourse of good thinges and felicitie, sith we cannot with continuall spurres of euils be sufficiently awaked to consider the miserie thereof? Not onely the learned doe know, but also the common people haue no Proverbe more comon than this, that mans life is like a smoke or shadow: and because they sawe it to be a thing verie profitable to be knowen, they haue set it out with manie notable sentences. But there is nothing that wee doe either more negligently consider, or lesse remember. For we goe about all thinges, as though we woulde frame to our selues an immortalitie in earth. If there be a corpes caried to buriall, or if wee walke among graues, then, because there is an image of death before our eyes, I graunt we do miserably

lously well discourse like Philosophers vpon the vanitie of this life . Albeit we do not y continually , for many times al these things do nothing moue vs. But when it happeneth, our Philosophie lasteth but a while, which so soone as we turne our backes , vanisheth away , and leaueth no steppe 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 immortalitie. If any man in the meane time tell vs of the Prouerb, that man is a creature of a dayes continuance, we gaunt it indeede : but so heedelesly, that still the thought of cuerlasting 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 al the examples of experience that may bee, to be conuincd of the miserable estate of earthly life? forasmuch as euen when wee are conuincd, we scarcely cease to stande amased with peruerse and foolish admiration of it , as though it contained the vttermost ende of good things. But if it bee necessarie that God instructe vs , it is our duetie likewise on our behalfe to harken to him when hee calleth and awaketh our dulnesse, that dispising the worlde wee may with all our harts endeuour 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 vnthankfulness toward God. For this life, howsoever it is full of infinite miseries, is yet worthily reckened among the not slender blessings of God . Therefore if wee acknowledge no benefite of God in it, wee are guiltie of no small vnthankfulness toward God him selfe . But specially it ought to be to y faithful a testimonie of Gods good wil, forasmuch as it is wholly directed to the furtherance of their saluation . For before that he openly deliuer vnto vs the inheritance of eternal glory, his will is to shew him selfe a Father vnto vs by smaller exâples: and these be y benefites y are daily bestowed vpon vs. Sith therefore this life serueth vs to vnderstand y goodness of God, shal we disdain it as though it had not a crum of goodness in it? We must therefore put on this feeling & affection, to reckon it among y gifts of goodness y are not to be refused. For though there wâted testimonies of scripture, of which there are both many most euident, very nature it selfe doth exhort vs to giue thanks to y Lord, for that he hath brought vs into the light of it, y he granteth vs the vse of it, that hee giueth vs all necessarie succours for the preservation of it. And this is a much greater reason, if we consider that we are in it after a certaine maner prepared to the glory of the heauenly kingdome . For so the Lorde hath ordeyned that they which in time to come shall bee crowned in heauen, must fight certaine battels in earth, that they should not triumphe, till they had ouercome the hard aduentures of the battell, and obtained the victorie. Then an other reason is, that wee doe by diuerse benefites beginne therein to tast the sweetnesse of Gods liberalitie, y our hope and desire should be whetted to long for the reueiling thereof. When this is determined, that it is a gifte of Gods clemencie, that we liue this earthly life, for which as we be bound vnto him, so we ought to be mindfull and thankfull: then wee shall in fit order come to consider the most miserable estate

estate thereof, to this end that wee may be deliuered from too much greedinesse of it, wherevnto as I haue before saide, we are of our selues naturally enclined.

4 Nowe 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 truely, that thought it best not to bee borne, and the next, to die quickelic. For what coulde they being destitute of the light of God and true religion, see therein but vnhappie and miserable? And they did not without reason, that mourned and wept at the birthes of their friends, and solemnly reioysed at their burials, but they did it without profire, because, being without the right doctrine of faith, they did not see howe that may turne to good to the godlie, which is of it selfe neither blessed nor to be desired: and so they ended their iudgement with desperation. Let this therefore bee the marke of the faithfull in iudging of mortall life, that when they vnderstande it to be of it selfe nothing but miserie, they may resorte wholly the more freshly and readily to the eternall life to come. When wee 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 worlde bee an entering into life, what is the world but a graue? to abide in it, what is it else but to bee drowned in death? If to be deliuered from the bodie is to be set in perfect libertie, what is the bodie else but a prison? If to enioy the presence of God is the hiest summe of felicitie, is it not miserable to lack it? But til we be escaped out of \bar{y} world, we wander abrod from the Lord. Therefore if the earthly life be cōpared with \bar{y} heavenly life, doubtles it ought to be despised & troden vnder foot. But it is neuer to be hated, but in respect that it holdeth vs in subiection to sinne, & yet \bar{y} hatred is not properly to be laid vpon our life. But howsoeuer it be, yet we must bee so moued either with wearinesse or hatred of it, that desiring the ende of it, wee may bee also readie at the will of the Lorde to abide in it, so that our wearinesse may be farre from all grudging and impatience. For it is like a place in battell array, wherein the Lorde hath placed vs, which we ought to keepe till he call vs away. Paul in deed lamenteth his state that he is holden bound in the bondes of the bodie longer than he wished, & sigheth with feruent desire of his redemption: neuerthelesse to obey the commaundement of the Lorde, he professed himselfe readie to both, because he acknowledgeth himselfe to owe this vnto God, to glorifie his name, eyther by death or life: and that it is in God to determine what is most expedient for his glorie. Therefore if wee must liue and die to the Lorde, let vs leaue to his will the time of our life and death: but so that wee bee still feruent in desire of death, and be continually occupied in meditation thereof, and despise this life in comparison of the immortalite to come, and wish to forsake it when it shall please the Lorde because of the bondage of sinne.

5 But this is monstrous, that insteede of that desire of death, many that boast themselues to bee Christians, are so afraid of it, that they tremble at euerie mention of it, as of a thing betokening vnluckily and vnhappy.

Truely

Truely it is no meruell, if naturall sense in vs doe quake for feare when wee heare of the dissoluing of vs. But this is in no wise tolerable, that there bee not in a Christian mans brest the light of godlinesse, that shoulde with greater comforte ouercome and suppress that feare, howe great soeuer it bee. For if we consider that this vnstedfast, faultie, corruptible, fraile withering, and rotten tabernacle of our bodie, is therefore dissolued, that it may afterwarde be restored againe into a stedfast, perfect, vncorruptible and heauenly 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 inhabite our countrie, as a heauenly countrie, shall we obtaine no comfort thereby? But there is nothing that desireth not to abide continually. I graunt, and therefore I affirme, that wee ought to looke vnto the immortalitie to come, where wee may attaine a stedfast state that no where appeareth in earth. For Paul doeth verie well teach, that the faithfull ought to go cherefully to death: not because they would be vnclouted, but because they desire to be newly clothed. Shall bruit beastes, yea and lifeles creatures; 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 wee 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 beyond this rottennes of earth? But it pertaineth not to my present purpose, nor to this place, to speake against this peruersnesse. And in the beginning I haue already professed, that I would not here take vpon me the large handling of common places. I would counsell such feareful mindes to read Cyprians booke of mortalitie, vnlesse they were meet to be sent to the Phylosophers, that they may begin to be ashamed when they see the contempt of death that those do shew. But this let vs holde for certainly determined, that no man hath well profited in Christ his schoole, but he that doeth 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 gladnes. Reioyce (saith ihe Lord) and lift vp your heades, for your redemption commeth neere at hande. 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 breed nothing but sorrow and discouragement? If it be so, why doe we still boast of him as of our schoolemaister? 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 wishe for the comming of the Lorde, not onely with wishing, but also with groning and sighing, as a thing most happie of all other. For he shall come a redeemer to vs, to draw vs out of the infinit gulfe of euils and miseries, and to lead vs into that blessed inheritance of his life and glorie.

6 This is certainly true: all the nation of the faithfull, so long as they dwel in earth, must be as sheep appointed to slaughter, that they may be fashioned like Christ their head. Therefore they were in most lamentable case, vnles they had their mind raised vp into heauen, & surmounted al y is in the world, and passed ouer y present face of things. Contrariwise when they haue

2. Cor. 5. 1.
Rom. 8. 19.

Tit. 2. 12.
Luk. 22. 18.

Rom. 8. 36.
1. Co. 15. 19.

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 & sumptuousnes of al things, if they see them to flow in plentiful store of all delightes, beside that if they be spoiled by their wickednesse, if they susteine reprochfull dealings at their pride, if they be robbed by their couctousnesse, if they bee vexed by any other outrage of theirs: they will easily vphold themselues in such aduersities. For that day shalbe before their eyes, when the Lord shal receiue his faithfull into the quiet of his kingdome, when he shal wipe al teares from their eyes, when he shall cloth them with the robe of glorie and gladnes, when he shall feed them with the vnspeakeable swetnesse of his deinties, when he shall aduance them to the fellowship of his hie estate: finally when he shall vouchsaue to interparten his felicitie with them. But these wicked ones that haue flourished in the earth, he shall throw into extreme shame, he shall change their delightes into tormentes, their laughing and mirth into weeping and gnashing of teeth, he shall disquiet their peace with terrible torment of conscience, he shall punish their deintinesse with vnquenchable fire, & shall put their heades in subiection to those godly men, whose patience they haue abused. For this is rightcousnesse (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 Lorde Iesus shall be reuealed from heauen. This truly is our onely comfort, which if it bee taken away, we must of necessitie either despire, or flatteringly delight our selues with the vaine comfortes of the worlde to our owne destruction. For euen y^e Prophet confesseth y^e 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, & bended his eyes to the last end of the godlie and the wicked. To conclude in one worde then onely the crosse of Christ triumpheth in the heartes of the faithfull vpon the Deuill, flesh, sinne, and the wicked, when our eyes are turned to the power of the resurrection.

Esay. 25. 18.
Reu. 7. 17.

1. The. 16.

Psal. 73.

The x. Chapter.

Howe we ought to vse this present life, and the helpes shereof.

BY such introductions the Scripture doeth also well informe vs what is y^e right vse of earthly benefites: 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 than for necessitie. Therefore we must keepe a measure, y^e we may vse them with a pure conscience, either for necessitie or for delight. That measure the Lord appointeth by his word, when he teacheth that this life is to them that be his, a certaine iorney through a straunge countrey, by which they trauell towarde the kingdome of heauen. If wee must but passe through the earth, doubtlesse we ought so farre to vse the good things of the earth, as they may rather further than hinder our iourney. Therefore Paul doeth not vnprofitably counsell vs so to vse this world, as though wee vsed it not: and to buy possessions with such a minde as they vse to bee sould. But because this place is slipperie, and so slope on both sides,
that

that it quickly maketh vs to fal, let vs labour to fasten our foote there, where wee may stande safely. For there haue beene some, that otherwise were good and holy men, which when they sawe intemperance and ryot continually to range with vnbridled lust, vnlesse it be sharply restrained, & were desirous to correct so great a mischeefe, they could find none other way, but suffered man to vse the benefites of the earth, so farre as necessitie required. This was indeed a godly counsell, but they were to seuer. For (which is a verie perilous thing) they did put streighter bonds vpon consciences, than those wherewith they were bounde by the worde of God. And they expound necessitie, to abstaine from all things which a man may be without. And so by their opinion, a man might scarcely take any more food than bread & water. And some bee yet more seuer: as it is red of Crates the Thebanc, y^e did throw his goods into the sea, because if they were not destroyed, he thought that he shoulde bee destroyed by them. Many at this day, while they seeke a pretence whereby the intemperance of the fleshe in vse of outward things may be excused, and while they goe about to prepare a way for the flesh raging in wantonnesse, doe take that as a thing confessed, which I doe not graunt them, that this libertie is not to be restrained with any limitation of measure, but that it is to be left to euerie mans conscience to vse as much as he seeth to be lawfull for him. Truly I confesse, that consciences neyther ought nor can in this pointe bee bounde by certaine and precise formes of lawes. But for asmuch as the Scripture teacheth generall rules of lawfull vse, wee must surely measure the vse according to thesē rules.

2 Let this be a principle: that the vse of Gods gites swarueth not out of the way, when it is referred to that ende, wherevnto the author himselfe hath created and appointed them for vs, for as much as hee hath created them for our good and not for our hurt. Therefore no man can keepe a righter way than hee that shall diligently looke vnto this ende. Nowe if wee consider to what ende hee hath created meates, wee 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 an other ende, which is comlinesse and honestie. In herbes, trees, and fruites, beside diuerse profitable vses, there is also a pleasantnesse of sight, and sweetnesse of smell. For if this were not true, the Prophete woulde not reckon among the benefites of God that wine maketh glad the heart of man, and that oyle maketh his face to shine: the Scripture woulde not cchewhere, to set soorth his liberalitie, rehearse that hee hath giuen all such things to men. And the verie naturall qualities of things doe sufficiently shewe, to what ende and howe farre wee may vse them. Shall the Lorde haue set in floures so greate a beautie, as presenteth it selfe to our eyes: shall he haue giuen so great a sweetnesse of sauour as naturally floweth into our smelling: and shall it bee vnlawfull either for our eyes to take the vse of that beautie, or for our smelling to feele that sweetnesse of sauour: what? Hath he not so made difference of colours, that hee hath made some more acceptable than other? what? Hath hee not giuen to golde and siluer, to iuoric and marble, a speciall grace whereby they might be made more precious than other metalles or stones? Finally, hath hee not made many things commendable

dable vnto vs without necessarie vse?

3 Therefore away with that vnnaturall Philosphie, which in granting vs of y^e creatures no vse but of necessitie, not only doth niggardly bereaue vs of the lawfull vse of Gods liberalitie, but also can not take place, vnlesse it first haue spoyled man of al his senses & made him a blocke. But on the other side we must with no lesse diligence prouide a stay for the lust of the fleshe, which if it be not brought into order, ouerfloweth without measure: and it hath (as I haue said) defenders of it, which vnder pretence of allowed libertie do grant vnto it all things. First there is one bridle put in the mouth of it, if this be determined, that all things are created for vs to this ende, that wee should knowe the authour of them, and giue him thanks for his tender kindnesse towarde vs. Where is thy thanks giuing, if thou so gluttonously fill thy selfe with deintie meates or with wine, that thou either bee made senselesse, or vnfit to doe the duties of godlinesse and of thy calling? Where is the reknowledging of God, if thy flesh by too great abundance boyling in filthie lust, doth with her vncleannesse infect thy minde, y^e thou canst not see any thing that is right or honest? In apparell, where is thankfulnessse to God, if with costly gorgeousnesse thereof we both fall in admiration of our selues and disdaine other? If with the trimnesse and cleannessse of it, we prepare our selues to vnchastitie? Where is the reknowledging of God, if our minde be fixed vpon the gainnesse of our apparell? For many so giue all their senses to bodily delites, that the minde lieth ouerwhelmed. Many are so delited with marble, gold, and paintings, that they become as it were men made of marble, that they be as it were turned into metalles, and be like vnto painted images. The smell of the kitchen, or sweetenesse of fauour so dulleth 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 licenciousnesse of abusing is somewhat restrained, & that rule of Paul confirmed, that we be not too carefull of the flesh, for the lustes therof, to which if we grant too much, they boile out aboue measure and temper.

Rom. 13. 14.

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 therupon follow two rules: the one, that they which vse this world, should be so minded as though they vsed it not, they that mary wiues, as though they did not mary: they y^e bye as though they did not bye, as Paul reacheth. The other, that they should learne as well to beare pouertie, quietly and patiently, as abundance moderately. Hee that biddeth thee to vse this world as though thou didst not vse it, doth cut away not only the intemperance of gluttony in meat & drinke, & too much deintinesse, sumptuousnesse, pride, hautinesse, and nicenesse, in fare, building, & apparel, but also all care and affection that may either withdrawe thee or hinder thee from thinking of the heauenly life, or from studie to garnish thy soule. But this was long ago truely said of Cato: that there is great carefulnesse of trimming our body, and great carelesnesse of vertue. And it is an olde prouerb, 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 truely it must be

1. Cor. 7. 3.

subiect to this law, to beare verie little with their owne affections, but contrariwise still call vpon them selues with continually bent minde, to cut off all shewe of superfluous plentie, much more to restraine riotous excesse, & to take diligent heede, that they do not of helpes make to them selues hindrances.

5 The other rule shalbe, that they that haue but small and slender riches, may learne to lack patiently, that they be not carefully moued with immeasurable desire of them: which pacience they that keepe, haue not a litle profited in the Lords schole: as he that hath not at least somewhat profited in this behalfe, can scarcely haue any thing whereby to proue himself the scholar of Christ. For beside this that the most part of other vices do 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 wilbe ashamed of a poore cote, wilbe proude of a costly cote: he that will not be content with a hungrie supper, will be disquieted with desire of a deintier, & woulde also in temperately abuse those deinties if he had them: he that hardly & vnquietly beareth a priuate and base estate, wil not abstaine from pride if he climbe to honours. Therefore let all them that haue an vnfained zeale of godlinesse, endeouour to learne by the Apostles example, to be ful and hungry, to haue store and suffer want.

Phil. 4. 12.

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 y^e precepts of charitie. For the Scripture decreeth that all earthly things are so giuen vs by the bountifulnes of God, and appointed for our commoditie, that they may be as thinges deliuered vs to keepe, whereof wee must one daye yeld an account. We must therefore so dispose them, that this saying may continually sound in our cares, yeld an account of thy bailiwike. Therewithal let this also come in our mind. Who it is that asketh such an account, euen he that hath so much commended abstinence, sobrietie, honest sparing, and modestie, and abhorreth riotous sumptuousnes, pride, ostentation and vanitie, which alloweth no other disposing of goods, but such as is ioyned wth charitie: which hath already with his owne mouth condemned all those delitefull thinges that do withdraw a mans mind from chastitie and cleanness, or do dull his wit with darknesse.

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 eye to his calling. For he knoweth with how great vnquietnesse mans wit boileth, with how skipping lightnesse it is caried hither and thither, howe greedie his ambition is to holde diuerse things at once. Therefore that all thinges shoulde not be confounded with our follie and rashnesse, he hath appointed to euery man his duties in seuerall kindes of life. And that no man rashly runne beyond his bonds, he hath named all such kindes of life, vocations. Therefore euery mans seuerall kind 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 & Philosophie. There is no deede accounted more noble, euen among the Philosophers, than
for

for a man to deliuer his countrey from tyrannie : but by the voyce of Gods iudgement the priuate man is openly condemned that layeth hande vpon a tyrant. But I will not tarry vpon rehearsing of examples. It is sufficient if we knowe that the calling of the Lord is in euery thing the beginning and foundation of well doing : to which he that doth not direct himselfe , shall neuer keepe a right way in his doings . Hee may peradventure sometime doe somewhat seeming worthy of prayse: but what so euer that be in the sight of men, before the throne of God it shall be reiected: moreouer there shall be no conuenient agreement in the partes of his life . Therfore our life shall then be best framed, when it shall be directed to this marke : For then, no man carried with his owne rashnes wil attempt more than his calling may beare, because he knoweth that it is not lawfull to passe beyond his boundes. He that shall be a man of base estate, shall contentedly liue a priuate life, least 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 know that in all these things, God is his guid . The more willingly the magistrate will execute his office : the housholder will binde himselfe to his dutie : euery man in his kind of life will beare and passe through the discommodities, cares , tediousnesse , and anguishes thereof : when they are perswaded that euery mans burden is layde vpon him by God. Hereupon also shall grow singular comfort, for as much 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 xi. 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 , howe there remaineth for men being accursed by the lawe one onely helpe to recouer saluation : againe, what Faith is , and what benefites of God it bestoweth vpon man, and what frutes it bringeth forth in him . The summe of all was this, that Christ is giuen vs by the goodnesse of God , and conceiued and possessed of vs by fayth, by partaking of whome we receiue principally two graces: the first, that being reconciled to God by his innocencie , wee may nowe in steede of a iudge haue a mercifull father in heauen: the second, that beeing sanctified by his Spirite, wee may giue our selues to innocencie and purenesse of life . As for regeneration, which is the seconde grace , wee 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 Fayth by which alone we receiue freely giuen righteousness by the mercie of God, is not idle from good works: 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 , and so discussed that we must remember that this is the chiefe stay of vpholding religion, that we may be the more careful and heedeful about it. For vnlesse thou first knowe, in what state thou art with God, and what his iudgement

is of thee: as thou hast no ground to stablish thy saluation, so hast thou also none to raise thy reuerent feare toward God. But the necessity of this knowledge shall better appeare by knowledge it selfe.

2 But that we stumble not at the first entrie, (which we should doe if we shoulde enter disputation of a thing vnknown) let vs first declare what is meant by these speeches, Man to be iustified before God, To be iustified by faith or by workes. He is sayde to be iustified afore God, that is pronounced by the iudgement of God both iust and accepted for his owne righteousnes sake. For as wickednesse is abhominable before God, so a sinner can not finde fauour in his eyes, in respect that he is a sinner, or so long as he is accounted such a one. Therefore wheresoeuer sinne is, there also appeareth the wrath and vengeance of God. He is iustified that is not accounted in place of a sinner but of a iust man, and by reason thereof he standeth fast before the iudgement seate of God when all sinners fal. As if an innocent be brought to be arained before the seat of a righteous iudge, when iudgement is giuen according to his innocencie, he is said to be iustified before y iudge: so he is iustified before God that being exempt out of the number of sinners hath God a witnessse and affirmer of his righteousnesse. Therefore after the same manner a man shalbe sayde to be iustified by workes, in whose life there is founde such cleanness and holinesse, as may deserue the testimonie of righteousnes before the throne of God: or he that with the vprightnesse of his workes is able to answere and satisfie Gods iudgement. Contrariwise he shalbe sayde to be iustified by faith that being excluded from the righteousnes of workes, doth by faith take hold of the righteousnes of Christ: wherewith when he is clothed, he appeareth in the sight God, not as a sinner, but as righteous. So we simply expounde iustification to be an acceptation, whereby God receiuing vs into fauour taketh vs for righteous. And we say that the same consisteth in forgiueneffe of sins, and imputation of the righteousnesse of Christ.

3 For confirmation hereof there are many and euident testimonies of Scripture. First it can not be denied, that this is the proper & most vsed signification of the word. But because it is too long to gather all the places and compare them together, it shalbe enough to put the readers in mind of the, for they may of themselues easily marke them. But I will bring forth some, where this iustification that we speake of is expressly entreated of by name. First where Luke sayeth that the people when they had hearde Christe did iustifie God. And where Christ pronounceth that wise dome is iustified by her children: he doth not meane there, that they doe giue righteousnesse, which alway remaineth perfect with God, although all the worlde goe 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. Again when Christ reprocheth the Pharisees, that they iustifie themselues, hee doth not meane that they obtaine righteousnesse by well doing, but doe vaine gloriously seeke for the fame of righteousnesse, whereof in deede they be voyde. They that are skilfull of the Hebrue tongue doe better vnderstande the sense of this phrase: in which tongue they are

not

Luc. 7. 21.
Luc. 7. 37.

Luc. 17. 15.

not only called wicked doers, that are gilty in their conscience of any wicked doing, but also they that come in danger of iudgement of condemnation. For when Berfabē saith that shee and Solomon shalbe wicked doers, she doeth not therein acknowledge any offence, but complaineth that she and her sonne shalbe put to shame, to be numbred among the reprobate and condemned. But by the procelle of the text it easly appeareth, that the same word in Latine also, cannot otherwise be taken but by way of relation, and not to signifie any qualitie. But as concerning the matter that wee are now in hand with: where Paul saith, that the scripture did foresee, that God iustificth the Gentiles by faith, what may a man vnderstande thereby, but that God doeth impute righteousness by faith? Againe, when he saith that God iustificth the wicked man that is of the faith of Christ, what meaning can be thereof, but by the benefite of faith to deliuer them from the damnation which their wickednesse deserued? And yet he speaketh more plainly in the conclusion, when he cried out thus, Who shall accuse Gods elect? It is God that iustificth, 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 whome 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 giltynesse as allowing his innocencie. Sith therefore God doth iustifie vs by the intercession of Christ, he doeth acquite vs, not by allowance of our owne innocencie, but by imputation of righteousness, that wee may be counted for righteous in Christ, which are not righteous in our selues. So in the 13. Chapter of the Actes, in Paules sermon: by him is forgiuenesse of sinnes preached vnto you, and euery one that beleueth in him is iustified from all those things, from which you could not be iustified in the lawe of Moses. You see that after forgiuenesse of sinnes, 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 law, you see that it is the meere beneficiall gift of Christ, you see that it is received by faith. Finally, you see that there is a satisfaction spoken of where he sayeth that wee are iustified from sinnes by Christ. So when it is saide that the Publicane came iustified out of the Temple, we cannot say that he obtained righteousness by any deseruing of workes. This therefore is said, that after pardon of his sinnes obtained, he was counted for righteous before God. He was therefore righteous, not by approuing of workes, but by Gods free absolution. Wherefore Ambrose saith very well, that calleth the confession of sinnes a lawfull iustification.

4 But to leaue striuing about the worde: If we looke vpon the thing it selfe, as it is described vnto vs, there shall remaine no more doubt. For truly Paul doeth 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 ŷ is said in another place, that God doth freely iustifie. In the 4. Chapter to the Romanes, he first calleth it an imputation of righteousness, and sticketh

1. Reg. 1. 21.

Gal. 3. 8.
Rom. 3. 26.

Rom. 8. 33.

Act. 13. 38.

Luc. 18. 14.

In Psal. 118.
Homil. 10.Rom. 3. 24.
Rom. 4. 6.

not to say that it consisteth in forgiueneſſe of finnes. That man (ſaid he) is called of Dauid a bleſſed man, to whom God accounteth or imputeth righteousneſſe without workes, as it is written: Bleſſed are they whoſe iniquities are forgiuen, &c. Truly he there doth entreate not of one part of iuſtification, but of all iuſtification wholly. And he teſtifieth that Dauid in y^e place maketh a definition of iuſtification, when he pronounceth that they are bleſſed to whome is giuen free forgiueneſſe of finnes. Whereby appeareth y^e this righteousnes 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 Goſpel, that we ſhoulde 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 al 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 maner of reconciliation, doubtleſſe he meaneth nothing els by the word reconciling but iuſtifying. And that which he ſayeth in another 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 ſelues.

1. Cor. 5. 18.

Rom. 5. 19.

5 But where as Oſiander hath brought in, I wote not what monſter of eſſentiall righteousneſſe, whereby, although his will was not to deſtroy free righteousnes, 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 worth the labour to confute this doting error. Firſt this ſpeculation is but of mere & hungrie curioſitie. He doth in deede heape together many teſtimonies of Scripture, to proue y^e Chriſt is one with vs, & we one with him, which needeth no prooſe: but becauſe he keepeth not this bond of vnitie, he ſnareth himſelfe. But wee which hold y^e we are made all one with Chriſt by the power of his Spirit, may eaſily vndo al his knottes. He had conceiued a certain thing very neare to the opinion of Manichees, to deſire to conuey the ſubſtance of God into men. Hereupon riſeth another inuention of his that Adam was fashioned after the image of God, becauſe euen before the fall Chriſt was ordained y^e paterne of the nature of man. But becauſe I would be ſhort, I will tarry vpon the matter that I haue preſently in hand. He ſaith y^e we are one with Chriſt. We grant. But we denie that the ſubſtance of Chriſt is mingled with ours. Moreouer wee ſay that this principle, that Chriſt is righteousneſſe to vs, becauſe he is an eternal God, the fountaine of righteousnes and the very ſelfe righteousnes of God, is wrongfully drawn to defend his deceits. The readers ſhal pardon mee, if I do now but touche theſe things that the order of teaching requireth to be differred into another place. But although he excuſe himſelfe from meaning nothing els 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 righteousnes y^e is purchaced for vs by the obedience and ſacrifice of Chriſt, but faineth that we are ſubſtancially righteous in God, as wel by ſubſtance as by qualitie poured into vs. For this is the reaſon why he ſo earneſtly affirmeth, that

that not onely Christ, but also the father & the holy Ghost doe dwell in vs. Which although I grant to be true, yet I say that he wrongfully wresteth it. For he should haue considered the manner of dwelling, that is, that the father & the holy Ghost are in Christ, & as the fulnesse of the Godhead dwelleth in him, so do we possess whole God in him. Therefore all that he saith seuerally of the father & the holy Ghost, tendeth to no other ende but to draw the simple from Christ. And then he thrusteth in a mixture of substances, whereby God pouring himself into vs, doth make vs as it were a part of himself. For he reckoneth it almost a matter of nothing, that it is wrought by the power of the holy Ghost, y^e we growe into one with Christ, & y^e he is our head & we his members, vnlesse his very substance be mingled with vs. But in the father & the holy ghost (as I haue said) he doth more openly bewray what he thinketh, euē this, that we be iustified not by the only grace of the Mediator, & that righteoufnesse is not simply or perfectly offered vs in his person, but that we are made partakers of the righteoufnes of God, when God is essentially made one with vs.

6 If he did say no more, but that Christ in iustifying vs, is by essentiall conioyning made ours: and that not only he is our head, in that he is man, but also that the substance of the diuine nature is poured into vs: Hee should with lesse hurt feede himself deintily, & peraduenture so great a contention should not haue bene raised for this douting error. But sith this beginning is like a cuttle that with casting out of blacke and thicke bloud hideth her many trailes, we must needes earnestly resist vnlesse wee wil wittingly & willingly suffer that righteoufnes to be taken from vs, which onely bringeth vs confidence to glory of saluation. For in all this discourse, the name of righteoufnesse, and this worde iustifying, extende to two partes: that to be iustified is not onely to be reconciled to God with free pardon, but also to be made righteous, that righteoufnesse is not a free imputation but a holines and vprightnesse, which the substance of God remaining in vs doth breath into vs. Then he stoutly denieth, that Christ is our righteoufnesse in respect that becing a priest he did with sauisfactorily purging sinnes appease his father towarde vs, but in respect that hee is eternall God and life. To prooue that first point, that God doeth iustifie not onely by forgiuing but also by regenerating, he asketh whether God doth leaue them whome hee doth iustifie such as they were by nature, changing nothing of their vices. The answer hereof is very easie: that as Christ cannot be torne in partes, so these two things which we together and ioynly receiue in him, that is to say righteoufnesse and sanctification, are inseparable. Therefore, whome soeuer God receiueh into fauour, he doeth also therewithall giue them the spirite of adoption, by the power wherof he newly fashioeneth them after his image. But if the brightnes of the sunne cannot be seuered from the heate thereof, shall wee 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 & fruitfulnessse to the earth, with his beames he giueth light and brightnesse. Here is a mutuall and vnseparable 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 thrusteth in. For because God doth in deede renew them to the obseruing of righteoufnesse whome he freely accounteth for righteous, therefore Osiander confoundeth that gift of regeneration with this free acceptation, and affirmeth that they be all one & the selfesame 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

1. Cor. i. 30. Christ was giuen vs vnto righteoufnes & sanctification. And whensoever he reasoneth to proue by the saluation purchased for vs by the fatherly loue of God, & by the grace of Christ. y we are called to holinesse & cleannesse, hee plainly 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 allegeth. Where Paul saith that faith is accounted for righteoufnes to him that worketh not, but beleueth in him y iustificieth the wicked man, he expoundeth it to make righteous. With like rashnesse, he depraueth all the fourth Chapter to the Romanes, & sticketh not with like false colour to corrupt that place which I euen nowe alleged, Who shall accuse the elects of God? it is God that iustificieth: where it is plaine that he speaketh simply of guiltinesse and acquiting, and the meaning of the Apostle hangeth vpon a comparing of contraries. Therefore Osiander is founde too fond a babler, as well in that reason as in alleging the testimonies of Scripture. And no more rightly doeth he speake of the name of righteoufnesse, in saying that faith was accounted to Abraham for righteoufnesse, after that embracing Christ (which is the righteoufnesse of God and God him selfe) he excelled in singular vertues, whereby appeareth that of two whole places he hath wrongfully made one corrupt place. For the righteoufnesse 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. Wherevpon followeth, that in iustification there is no place for works, as Paul very well affirmeth.

7 As for this that Osiander obiecteth, that the power of iustifying is not in faith of it selfe, but in respect that it receiuerh Christ, I willingly grant it. For if faith did iustifie of it selfe, or by inwarde force, as they call it and as it is alway feeble and vnperfect, it could not work iustification but in part, so should the iustification be maimed, that should giue vs but a piece of saluation. As for vs, we imagine no such thing, but in proper speaking do say that God onely iustificieth: and then we giue the same to Christ, because he was giuen vs vnto righteoufnesse: and faith we compare as it were to a vessel. For except we came emptie with open mouth of our soule to craue the grace of Christ, we cannot be able to receiue Christ. Wherevpon we gather that we do not take from Christ the power of iustifying, when wee teache that he is first receiued by faith, before that his righteoufnesse 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

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 on-ly the instrument to receiue righteousnesse, is vnfitly mingled with Christe, which is the material cause and both author and minister of so great a benefi-
fit. Now is this doubt also dissolued. How this worde Faith ought to be vn-derstanded when we entreate of iustification.

8 In the receiuing of Christ he goeth further: for he sayeth, that the in-warder worde is received by the ministracion of the outwarder worde, there-
by to drawe vs from the priesthoode of Christ and the person of the Media-
tour to his outwarder Godheade. As for vs, we deuide not Christ, but wee
say that he is the same eternall worde of God, which reconciling vs to God
in his flesh, gaue vs righteousnesse: and we confesse that otherwise he could
not haue fulfilled the office of Mediatour, and purchased vs righteousnesse,
vnlesse he had bene eternall God. But this is Osianders doctrine, where
as Christ is both God and man, that he was made righteousnesse to vs, in
respect of his nature of Godheade, and not of manhoode. But if this pro-
perly belong to the Godheade, then it shall not be peculiar to Christe, but
common with the father and the holy Ghost, for as much as there is not
one righteousnesse of the one, and an other of the other. Moreouer that
which was naturally from eternitie, could not be conueniently sayde to be
made to vs. But although we graunt this, that God was made righteousnesse
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 Godheade, yet here he is specially sig-
nified by his proper title, by which he is seuerally discerned from the father
and the holy Ghost. But he foolishly triumpheth in that one worde of
Hieremie, where he promiseth that the Lorde Iehoua shalbe our righte-
ousnesse, but out of that hee shall gather nothing, but that Christ which is
righteousnesse, is God openly shewed in the fleshe. In an other place wee
haue rehearsed out of Pauls sermon, that GOD purchased to himselfe the
Church with his bloude, if any man gather thereupon, that the bloud wher-
with sinnes were purged was diuine, and of the nature of Godhead, who can
abide so foule an errour? But Osiander thinketh that with this so childishe a
cauillation he hath gotten all thinges, he swelleth, he leapeth for ioy, and
stuffeth many leaues full with his bigge wordes: when yet there is a plaine
and ready solution for it in saying that the worde Iehoua in deede when
he is made the issue of Dauid shall be the righteousnesse of the godly: But
Esaie teacheth in what sense, saying: My iust seruant shall with knowledge
of himselfe iustifie many. Lette vs note that the father speaketh: that
he giueth to the sonne the office of iustifying: he addeth a cause, for that he
is iust, and setteth the manner or meane as they call it in the doctrine wher-
by Christe is knowen. For it is a more commodious exposition to take
this worde *Daab* knowledge passiuely. Hereupon I gather firste that
Christ was made righteousnesse when he did put on the forme of a seruant:
secondely that he did iustifie vs in respect that hee shewed himselfe obedi-
ent to his father: and that therefore he doeth not this for vs according to

Ie. c. 15.

Act. 20. 28.

Isa. 53. 11.

his nature of Godhead, but according to the office of dispensation committed vnto him. For although God alone is the fountaine of righteousness, 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 righteousness, 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 obiekt that this is a worke of such excellencie, that it is about the nature of man, and therefore can not be ascribed but to the nature of God, the first I grant: but in the seconde I say that he is vnwisely deceiued. 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 thinges according to his nature of manhood. For if it be demanded howe we be iustified, Paul answereth, by y obedience of Christ. But did he any otherwise obey than by taking vpon him the shape of a seruant? whereupon we gather that righteousness was giuen vs in his flesh. Likewise in the other wordes (which I maruell that Oslander is not ashamed to allege so often) he appointeth the fountaine of righteousness no where els but in the flesh of Christ. Him that knewe no sinne he made sinne for vs, that we might be the righteousness of God in him. Oslander with full mouth aduanceth the righteousness of God, and triumpheth as though he had proued that it is his imaginatiue Ghost of essentiall righteousness: when the wordes sounde farre otherwise, that we be righteous by the cleansing made by Christ. Very young beginners should not haue bene 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 glory of men. I knowe 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 do perceiue that nothing els is meant in this place but that we stand vpright before the iudgment seate of God, being vpholden by the cleansing sacrifice of Christes death. And there is not so great importance in the worde, so that Oslander do agree with vs in this point that we are iustified in Christ, in this respect that he was made a propiciatorie sacrifice for vs, which can not agree with his nature of Godhead. After which sorte, when Christe meaneth to seale the righteousness and saluation that he hath brought vs, he setteth before vs an assured pledge thereof in his flesh. Hee doeth in deede call himselfe the liuely bread, but expressing the manner here, he addeeth that his flesh is verily meate, and his blood is verily drinke. Which maner of teaching is seene in the sacramentes, which although they directe our faith to whole Christ, and not to halfe Christ, yet they do there with all teach that the matter of righteousness and saluation remaineth in his flesh: Not in that that hee is onely man, hee either iustificieth or quickneth of himselfe, but because it pleased G O D to shewe openly in the mediator that which was hidden and incomprehensible in him selfe. Whereupon I am wont to say, that Christ is as it were a fountaine set open for vs, out of which

Rom. 5.19.

Iohn. 10.

we may drawe that which otherwise should without fruite lie hidden in that close and deepe spring that riseth vp vnto vs in the person of the mediatour. In this manner and meaning, I doe not denie that Christ as he is God and man dorth iustifie vs, and that this is also the worke of the father and the holy Ghost as well as his. Finally, that the righteousnesse whereof Christ maketh vs partakers, in the eternall righteousnesse of the eternall God, so that he yelde to the sure and plaine reasons that I haue alleged.

10 Nowe that he shoulde not with his cauillations deceiue the vnskillfull, I graunt that we want this incomparable benefite, till Christ bee made ours. Therefore we set that conioyning of the heade and the members, the dwelling of Christ in our hearts, and that mystical vnion, in the hiest degree: that Christ being made ours, may make vs partakers of the gifts wherewith he is endued. Therefore wee doe not beholde him a farre off out of our selues, that righteousnes may be imputed vnto vs, but because wee haue put on him, & are grafted into his body: finally because he hath vouchsafed to make vs one with him, therefore we glorie that we haue a fellowship of righteousnesse with him. So is Oslanders slaunderous cauillation confuted, where he saith that we count faith righteousnesse, as though wee 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 Oslander refusing this spirituall conioyning, enforceeth a grosse mingling with the faithfull, and therefore he odiously calleth all them Zuinglians that subscribe not to his fantastickall errour, concerning essentiall righteousnes: because they do not thinke that Christ is substantially eaten in the Lordes supper. As for me, I count it a great glorie to be so reproched of a proude man and giuen to his owne errors. Albeit he touched not me onely, but also other writers well knowne to the world, whome he ought to haue modestly reuerenced. It mooueth me nothing, which meddle not with mine owe priuate cause: & so much the more sincerely I handle this cause, being free from all corrupt affection. Where as therefore he so importunatley requireth essentiall righteousnesse, and the essentiall dwelling of Christ in vs, it tendeth to this end: First y God should with a grosse mixture poure himselfe into vs, as he faineth a fleshly eating of Christ in the supper: secondly that God should breath his righteousnesse into vs, whereby we may be really righteous with him: for by his opinion, this righteousnesse is as well God him selfe, as the goodnesse or holinesse, or purenesse of God. I will not spende much labour in wiping away the testimonies that he bringeth, which he wrongfully wresteth from the heauenly life to this present state. Through Christ (saith Peter) are giuen vs y precious and most great promises, that we should be made partakers of the nature of God: As though we were nowe such as the Gospel promised that we shall be at the last comming 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 doe 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

11 But in the seconde point lurketh more poison, where he teacheth y we are righteous together with God. I thinke I haue already sufficiently proued, that

that although this doctrine were not so pestilent, yet because it is colde and fruitelesse, and of it selfe so vaine that it melteth away, it ought worthilie to bee vnfauoric to sounde and godly Readers. But this is an vntollerable wickednesse, vnder pretense of double righteoufnesse, to enfeeble the earnest assurance of saluation, and to carie vs aboute the cloudes, that we shoulde not embrace by faith the grace of propiciation, & call vpon God with quiet mindes. Ofiander scorneth them, that teach that this worde Iustifying is a lawe terme: because, we must bee 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 worlde to himselfe, not imputing to men their sinnes? For, him that had done no sinne, he made sinne for vs, that hee might bee the righteoufnesse of God in him. First I winne thus much, that they be iudged righteous that be reconciled to God. The maner howe is declared, for that God iustifieth by forgiuing: as in another place iustification is set as contrarie to accusation, which comparing of the as contraries, doeth clearely shew that it is a phrase borrowed from the vse of the lawe. And there is no man being but meanely practised in the Hebrew tongue, if hee haue a sober braine, that is ignoraunt that this phrase came from thence, and wherevnto it tendeth, and what it meaneth. Nowe where Paul saith that Dauid described the righteoufnesse without workes, in these wordes, Blessed are those whose sinnes are forgiuen: Let Ofiander aunswere me whether this be a full definition or but halfe a one. Truly Paul bringeth not in the Prophete for a witnesse, as though he taught that forgiuenesse of sinnes is but a part of righteoufnesse, or a thing that ioyneth with other to the iustifying of man: But he includeth whole righteoufnesse in free forgiuenesse, pronouncing the man blessed, whose sinnes are couered, to whome God hath forgiuen iniquities, and to whome hee imputeth no transgressions. He doth measure and iudge such a mans felicitie therby, because hee is not this way righteous indeed, but by imputation. Ofiander taketh exception and saith, that this shoulde bee slaundersous to God, and contrarie to his nature, if he shoulde iustifie them that indeed remaine still wicked. But wee must remember, as I haue already saide, that the grace of iustifying is not scuered fro regeneration although they be scuerall things. But because it is more than sufficiently knowen by experience, that there abide alwayes in the righteous some remnantes of sinne, it must needes bee that they be farre otherwise iustified than they bee reformed into newenes 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, & sometime slowly proceedeth in it, that they be alway before his seate in daunger of y iudgemēt 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 righteoufnesse coulde appease our consciences, till they be satisfied that God is fully pleased with vs, because wee bee righteous in his sight without exception. Wherevpon followeth, that the doctrine of iustification is misturned, yea ouerturned from the verie foundation, when doubting is cast into mens mindes, when the affiance of saluation is shaken,

when

Rom. 4. 7.
Psa. 32. 1.

when the free and dreedelesse inuocation is hindered, yea when quiet and tranquillitie with spirituall ioy is not stablished. Wherupon Paul gathereth an argument by contraries, to proue, that the inheritance is not by the lawe. For by this meane faith shoulde be made voyde, 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 sortes of righteoufnesse) is very well expressed by Paul: For speaking of his reall righteoufnes in deede, or of the vprightnes wherewith he was endued (which Osiander nameth essentiall righteoufnes) he lamentably cryeth out: Wretch that I am: who shal deliuer me frō the body of this death? But fleeing to the righteoufnes which is grounded vpon the onely mercy of God, he gloriously triumpheth ouer both life, death, reproches, hunger, sworde, and all aduersities. Who shall accuse the electes of God whom he iustifieth? For I am surely perswaded, that nothing shall seuer vs from his loue in Christ. He plainly publisheth, that he hath the righteoufnes 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 glory. This diuersity is sufficiently knowen, & so familiar to all the holy ones, that grone vnder the burden of iniquities, and yet with victorious confidence, do mount vp aboue al feares. As for this that Osiander obiecteth, that it disagreeeth with the nature of God, it falleth vpon himselfe. For although he clotheth the holy ones with a double righteoufnes as it were with a furred garment, yet he is compelled to confesse y without forgiuenesse of sinnes they neuer pleased God. If that be true, then at least let him graunt, that they which are not righteous in deede, are accounted righteous according to the appointed proportion of imputation, as they call it. But how farre shall a sinner extend this free acceptation that is put in place of righteoufnes? shall he measure it by ʒ pound or by the ounce? Truly he shall hang doutfull and wauering to this side and that side, because he may not take vnto him so much righteoufnesse 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 stande stedfast, that thou mayest 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 aunswere may not be in force, I will haue mercy vpon whom I wil haue mercy. And yet the intercession of Moses which God did put to silence with this saying, tended not to this ende that he should spare none, but that hee should acquite altogether, taking away their condemnation although they were guilty of offense. And we do say that they which were lost haue their sinnes buried and so are iustified before God: because, as God hateth sin, so he can loue none but them whom he iustifieth. But this is a maruellous manner of iustifying, that they being couered with the righteoufnesse of Christ stande not in feare of the iudgement which they haue deserued, and when they worthily condemn themselues are accounted righteous without themselues.

Gala. 3.18.

Rom. 7.24.

Rom. 8.33.

Psa. 51.6.

Exo. 21.19.

12 But the readers are to be warned, that they take good heede to the mystery

mysterie which he braggeth that he will not hide from them. For after that he hath long and largely trauailed to proue that wee doe not obtaine fauour with God by the only imputation of the righteousnes of Christ, because this should be impossible for him to count them for righteous that are not righteous, (I vse his owne wordes) at length hee concludeth that Christ was giuen vs vnto righteousnesse, not in respect of his nature of manhoode but of his nature of Godheade: and that although this righteousnesse can not be founde but in the person of the Mediatour, yet it is the righteousnesse not of man but of God, he doth nowe binde vp his rope made of two righteousneses, but he plainly taketh away the office of iustifying from Christes nature of manhoode. But it is good to see howe he disagreeeth. It is sayde in the same place, that Christ was made vnto wisdome, which belongeth to none but to the eternall worde. Therefore Christ in that he is man is not wisdome. I answere that the onely begotten sonne of God was in deede his eternall wisdome, but in Pauls wrytings that name is giuen him in diuerse wise, because all the treasures of wisdome and knowledge are layde 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 manhoode: because although he shined a light in darkenes, before that he did put on flesh, yet it was a hidden light til the same Christ came forth in the nature of man, the shining sunne of righteousnesse, which therefore calleth himselfe the light of the worlde. Also it is foolishly obiected of him, that the power of iustifying is farre aboute both Angels and men: forasmuch as this hangeth not vpon the worthinesse of any creature, but vpon the ordinance of God. If Angels will take vpon 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 redeem vs from the curse of the lawe. Also he doth sleaundersly cauill, that they which denie that Christ is our righteousnesse according to his nature of Godheade, doe leaue but one part of Christ, and (which is worse) do make two gods, because although they confesse, that God dwelleth in vs, yet they say again that we are not righteous by the righteousnes 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 do not by & by take away y^e honor from whole Christ as he was openly shewed God in y^e flesh, but we only make a distinction how the righteousnes of God is conueied vnto vs, that we may enjoy it. In which point Oslander hath too sowlly erred. Neither do we deny that that which is openly giuen vs in Christ, procedeth from the secret grace & power of God: and we striue not against this, that the righteousnesse which Christ giueth vs is the righteousnesse of God that procedeth from God: but we holde this stedfastly, that we haue righteousnesse and life in the death & resurrection of Christ. I ouerpasse that heaping together of places whereof he may wel be ashamed, wherewith he hath tediously combed the readers without choise and without common reason, to proue that wherefoeuer is made mention of righteousnes, there ought to be vnderstanded this essentiall righteousnesse. As where Dauid calleth vpon the righteousnes of God to helpe him: where-

Col. 2. 3.

Iohn 8. 12.

Gal. 3. 13.

Heb. 2. 14.

as hee doeth in same about a hundred times, Osiander sticketh not to corrupt so many sentences. And nothing stronger is the other obiection, y^e that is properly and rightly called righteousnesse, whereby we be moued to do 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 righteousnesse: but we must first see whether hee doe this by him selfe & immediatly, or by the hand of his sonne, with whom he hath left al^l y^e fulnesse of his holy spirite, that with his abundant store he should supplie the neede of his members. Moreouer although righteousnesse come vnto vs out of the secreete fountaine of the godheade, yet it followeth not that Christ which sanctified himselfe in the fleshe for our sakes, was righteousnesse vnto vs according to his nature of godhead. No lesse sonde is y^e which he saith, that Christ himselfe was righteous by the righteousnesse of God. Because vnlesse the wil of his father had moued him, he could not himselfe haue satisfied the office comitted vnto him. For though we haue in another place saide, that all the deseruings of Christ himselfe do proceede from the mere good will of God, yet that maketh nothing to that fantastick thing, wherwith Osiander bewitcheth both his owne & simple mens eyes. For who would suffer a man to gather this conclusion, y^e because God is the fountain & beginning of our righteousnes, therefore we be essentially righteous, and y^e essence of Gods righteousnesse dwelleth in vs? In redeeming y^e Church (saith Esay) God did put on his righteousnes as a harnessse: but did hee so to spoile Christ of his armure which he had giuen 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 wordes, saying that he gaue vs saluation in the shewing of his righteousnes. But this doth not ouerthrow y^e which he teacheth in another place, that we are righteous by the obedience of one man. Finally whosoever wrappeth vp a double righteousnes, that poore soules may not rest in the meere only mercie of God, he doth in a mockerie crowne Christ with thornes.

Phil. 2. 13.

Iohn 17. 19.

Esa. 59. 17.

Rom. 3. 23.

Rom. 5. 19.

13 But for asmuch as a great part of men, imagineth righteousnesse to bee made of faith and workes, let vs first shewe this also, that the righteousnes of faith and workes doe so differ, that when the one is stablished, the other must needes be ouerthrowen. The Apostle saith that hee esteemed all things as dong, that he might winne Christ and finde in him the righteousnes that is of God by faith, counting not his righteousnesse that which is by the lawe, but that which is by the faith of Iesu Christ. You see that here is also a comparison of contraries and y^e here is declared that he which will obtaine the righteousnes of Christ, must forsake his owne righteousnes. Therefore in another place he saith, y^e this was the cause of fal to the Iewes y^e going about to stablish their owne righteousnes, they were not subiect to the righteousnes of God. If in stablishing our owne righteousnes we shake away the righteousnes of God, therefore to obtaine Gods righteousnesse our owne must bee vtterly abolished. And hee sheweth the same thing, when hee sayth, that our glorying is not excluded by the lawe, but by faith. Wherevpon followeth that so long as there remayneth any righteousnesse of

Phil. 3. 8.

Rom. 10. 3.

Rom. 3. 27.

Rom. 4. 1.

of workes, howe little soeuer it be, there still remaineth to vs some matter to glorie vpon. Nowe if faith exclude all glorying, then the righteousnesse of workes can no wise be coupled with the righteousnesse of faith. To this effect he speaketh so plainly in the fourth Chapter to the Romaines, that he leauech no rume for cauillations or shiftes: If (saith he) Abraham was iustified by workes, he hath glorie. And immediatly he addeth: but hee hath no glorie in the sight of God. It followeth therefore that he was not iustified by workes. Then he bringeth an other argument by contraries, when rewarde is rendered to workes, that is done of debt and not of grace. Therefore it is not of the deseruings of workes. Wherefore farewell their dreame, that imagine a righteousnesse made of faith and workes mingled together.

14 The Sophisters thinke that they haue a subtle shifte, that make to themselves sport and pastime with wresting of Scripture and with vaine cauillations. For they expounde workes in that place to bee those which men not yet regenerate doe onely literally and by the endeouour of free wil with out the grace of Christ: and doe say that it belongeth not to spiritual 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 giftes of Christ and fruites of regeneration. For they say that Paul spake so for none other cause, but to conuince the Lewes, trusting vpon their owne workes, that they did foolishly presume to claime righteousnesse to themselves, such the onely spirit of Christ doeth giue it vs, and not any indeouour by our owne motion of nature. But they do not marke that in the comparison of the righteousnesse of the law & the righteousnesse of the Gospel, which Paul bringeth in in another place, all workes are excluded with what title soeuer they be adorned. For hee teacheth that this is the righteousnesse of the lawe, that he should obtaine saluation that hath performed that which the lawe commaundeth: and that this is the righteousnesse 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 righteousnesse are seuerall benefites of Christ. Wherevpon followeth that the verie spirituall workes come not into the account, when the power of iustifying is ascribed to faith. And where Paul denieth (as I euen nowe alleadged) that Abraham had any thing wherevpon to glorie before God, because he was not made righteous by workes: this ought not to be restrained to the literall and outwarde kinde of vertues, or to the endeouour of free will. But although the life of the patriarch Abraham were spirituall and in maner Angellike, yet he had not sufficient deseruings of workes to purchase him righteousnes before God.

Gal. 3. 11.

15 The Schoolemen teach a litle more grossly that mingle their preparations: but these doe lesse infect the simple and vnskilfull with corrupt doctrine, vnder pretence of Spirite and grace hiding the mercie of GOD which onely is able to appease trembling consciences. But we confesse with Paul that the doers of the lawe are iustified before God: but because we are all farre from the keeping of the lawe, herevpon wee gather, that the works which shoulde most of all haue auailed to righteousnesse, doe nothing help vs because we lacke them. As for the common Papistes or Scholemen, they

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are in this point doubly deceiued: both because they call faith an assurednesse of conscience in looking for rewarde at the hande of God for desertings, and also because they expounde the grace of God not to be a free imputation of righteousness, but the holy ghost helping to the endeuour of holinesse. They read in the Apostle that he which commeth to God, must first belieue y^e there is a God, & then that he is a render of rewarde 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 proued by their owne writings. For Lombard expoundeth, that iustification by Christ is giuen vs two wayes. First (saith he) the death of Christ doth iustifie vs, when by it charitie is stirred vp in our hearts, by which we are made righteous. Secondly that by the same death sinne is destroyed, whereby Sathan helde vs captiue, so y^e now he hath not whereby to condemne vs. You see how he considereth the grace of God principally in iustification, to be so farre as we are directed to good woorkes by the grace of the holy Ghost. He would forsooth haue followed the opinion of Augustine: but he followeth him a farre off, & goeth farre 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 worse to worse, til with headlong fall at length they be rolled downe into a Pelagian error. And the verie sentence of Augustine, or at least his manner of speaking is not altogether to be receiued. For though he singularly well taketh from man all praise of righteousness, and assigneth it wholly to y^e grace of God, yet he referreth grace to sanctification, whereby we are renued into newnesse of life by the holy Ghost.

16 But the Scripture, when it speaketh of the righteousness of faith, lea-
deth vs to a farre other ende, that is to say, that turning away from the loo-
king vpon our owne woorkes, we should only looke vnto the mercie of God &
perfection of Christ. For it teacheth this order of iustification, that first god
vouchsaueth to embrace man being a sinner with his meere & free goodnes,
considering nothing in him but miserie whereby he may be moued to mer-
cie, forasmuch as he seeth him altogether naked & voide of good woorkes,
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
woorkes casteth all the sunnne 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 y^e he is re-
conciled to God: y^e obtaining forgiveness of sinnes by meanes of the righte-
ousnes of Christ, he is iustified: & although he be regenerate by the spirit of
God, he thinketh vpon continuall righteousness layde vp for him not in the
good woorkes to which he applyeth himselfe, but in the only righteousness 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 dis-
posed 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
truely declared & surely proued.

17 Here it is good to remember the relation that we haue before saide

to be betweene faith and the Gospel: because it is saide for this cause y^e faith iustificth, for that it receiueth & embraceth the righteousness offered in the Gospel. And whereas it is said to be offered by the Gospel, thereby all consideration of workes is excluded. Which thing Paul declareth many times else where, but most plainly in two places. For, to the Romans, comparing the law and the gospel together he saith: the righteousness that is by the law is thus, the man that doth these things shall liue in them. But the righteousness that is of faith offereth saluation, if thou beleeue in thy heart & confesse with thy mouth the Lord Iesus, & that the father hath raised him vp from the dead. See you not how he maketh this the difference of the lawe & the Gospel, that the law giueth righteousness to workes, and the gospel giueth free righteousness without helpe of workes? it is a notable place, and that may deliuer vs out of many hard doubtcs, if wee vnderstande that the same righteousness that is giuen vs by the gospel is free from al conditions of the law. This is the reason, why he doth more then once with great seeming of contrarietie set the promise by way of opposition against the law, as if the inheritance be of the law, 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 gospel, something different and diuerse from the promises of the law, vnlesse we wil 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 law hang vpon the condition of workes? Neither let any man here carpe against mee, and say, that in this place the righteousness is reiectcd which men of their owne force and freewill would compell God to receiue: forasmuch as Paul without exception teacheth that the law in commaunding profiteth nothing: because there is none not onely of the common multitude, but also of the perfectest, that fulfillerh it. Loue vndoubtedly is the chiefe point of the law: when the Spirite of GOD frameth vs vnto it, why is it not to vs a cause of righteousnesse, but for that euen in the holy ones it is vnperfect, and therefore of it selfe deserueth no rewardc.

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 lawe is not of faith: but the man that doth these things shall liue in them. Howe could this argument otherwise stand together, vnlesse wee agree vpon this point, that workes come not into the account of faith, but are vtterly to be seuered from it? The law (saith he) differeth from faith. Why so? because workes are required to the righteousness therof. Therefore it followeth that workes are not required to the righteousness of faith. By this relation it appeareth, 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 Gospel giueth. And the Gospel differeth from the law in this point, that it bindeth not righteousness to workes, but setteth it in the only mercy of god. Like hereunto is that which he affirmeth to the Romanes, that Abraham had nothing to glory vpon, because faith was imputed to him vnto righteousness, & he addeth a confirmation, because then

Rom. 10. 5.

Gal. 3. 13.

Rom. 8. 2.

Gal. 3. 12.

Rom. 4. 3.

then there is place for the righteouſnes of faith, when there are no workes to which a reward is due. Where be workes (ſaith he) due reward is rendered vnto them: that which is giuen to faith is freely giuen. For the verie meaning of the words that he vſeth in that place ſerue to proue the ſame.

Whereas he adioyneth within a litle after, y therefore we obtaine the inheritance by faith as according to grace, hereupon he gathereth that the inheritance is of free gift, becauſe it is received by faith: and how commeth y, but becauſe faith without any help of workes leaneth wholly vpon y mercie of God? And in the ſame meaning, without doubt hee teacheth in another place, that the righteouſnes of God was openly ſhewed without the law, although it haue witneſſe borne of it by the law & 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. Rom. 3. 21.

19 By this time the reader perceiueth with what equitie the Sophiſters do at this day cauil at our doctrine, when wee ſay, that man is iuſtified by faith only. They dare not deny 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 wil they anſwere to theſe words 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 cauillations will they mocke out, that which he ſaith in another place, that the righteouſnes of God is manifeſtly ſhewed in the Goſpell? If righteouſnes be manifeſtly ſhewed in the Goſpel, ſurely therein is contained not a torne or halfe righteouſnes, 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 excluſiue word, Only. Doeth not he perfectly enough giue all things to onely faith, that taketh all thinges from workes? What, I pray you meane theſe ſayings: that righteouſneſſe was manifeſtly ſhewed without the lawe; that man is iuſtified freely and without y workes of the lawe? Here they haue a wittie ſhift to eſcape withall, which although they deuifed it not themſelues but borrowed it of Origen & certaine of the olde writers, yet is verie fooliſh. They prate that the ceremoniall workes of the lawe, not the morall, are excluded. They profit ſo with continuall brawling, that they knowe not the verie firſt rules of Logike. Do they thinke that the Apoſtle doted when he alleaged theſe places to proue his ſaying? The man that ſhall do theſe things ſhall liue in them: and, Cursed is euery one that fulfilleth not all thinges that are written in the volume of the lawe. Vnleſſe they be madde, they will not ſay that liſe was promiſed to the keepers of Ceremonies, or curſe threatened onely to the breakers of them. If theſe places be to be vnderſtanded of the morall law, it is no doubt that the morall workes alſo are excluded from the power of iuſtifying. To the ſame purpoſe ſerue theſe arguments y he vſeth: becauſe the knowledge of ſinne was by the lawe, therefore righteouſneſſe is not by the law. Becauſe the law 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 reward of worke, but is giuen being not due. Rom. 4. 2. Rom. 1. 17. Gal. 3. 21. & 24.

Because

Gal. 3.21.

Because we are iustified by faith, therefore glorying is cut off. If there had bene a law giuen that might giue life, then righteousness 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 manners: but verie children woulde hisse out so great shamelesnesse. Therefore let vs holde this for certaine, that the whole lawe is spoken of, when the power of iustifying is taken away from the law.

Gal. 3.7.

20 But if any man marueile why the Apostle vsed such an addition, not being content with onely naming works: 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 any righteousness of workes, but that which he hath allowed? Who dare claim any reward as due vnto them, but such as he hath promised? They haue therefore this of the bountifullnes of God, that they are counted worthie both of the name & rewarde of righteousness: & they be of value only for this cause, when the purpose of him y^e doeth them is by them to shewe his obedience to God. Wherefore the Apostle in another place, to proue y^e Abraham could not be iustified by works, allegeth that the law was giuen, almost foure hundred & thirtie yeres after the couenant made. Vnlearned men would laugh at such an argument, because there might be righteous workes before the publishing of the lawe. But because he knewe that there was no such value in workes but by the testimonie and vouchsauing of God, therefore he taketh it as a thing confessed, that before the lawe they had no power to iustifie. Wee vnderstande why he namely expresseth the worke of the lawe, when he meaneth to take away iustification from any workes because controuersie may be moued of those & none other. Albeit sometime he excepteth all workes without any addition, as when he sayeth that by the testimonie of Dauid blessednes is assigned to that man, to whom the Lord imputeth righteousness without workes. Therefore they can with no cauillations bring to passe, but y^e we shal get this general exclusiue, only. And they do in vaine seeke y^e trifling suttletie, that wee are iustified by that only faith which worketh by loue, so that righteousness must stande vpon loue. We grant in deede with Paul, y^e no other faith iustificieth, but that which is effectually working with charitie: but that faith taketh not her power of iustifying from that effectualnes 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 al that which the Apostle so earnestly presleth, should fall to nought. To him that worketh (saith he) the rewarde is not reckened according to grace, but according to det. But to him that worketh not, but beleueth in him that iustificieth the vnrighteous, 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 workes to which any rewarde is due: and that onely then faith is imputed vnto righteousness, when righteousness is giuen by grace that is not due.

Rom. 4.6.

Ga. 5.6.

Rom. 4.4.

21 Now let vs examine how true that is, which is saide in the definition, that the righteousness of faith is the reconciliation with God, which consisteth

sisteth vpon the only forgiueneſſe 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 Lorde is not ſhortned, that he is not able to ſaue: nor his eare dulled that he cannot heare: but your iniquities haue made diſagreement betweene you and your God, & your finnes haue hidden his face from you that he heareth you not. We heare that ſinne is the diuiſion betweene man & God, & the turning away of Gods face from the ſinner. Neither can it otherwiſe be. For it is diſagreeing from his righteouſnes to haue any fellowſhip with ſin. Wherefore the Apoſtle teacheth y^e man is enimie to God til he be reſtored into fauour by Chriſt. Whom therefore the Lorde receiueth 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 forgiueneſſe of finnes. For if they whome the Lord hath reconciled to himſelfe be iudged by their works, they ſhalbe found ſtil ſinners in deede, who yet muſt be free & cleane from ſinne. It is certaine therefore that they whome God embraceth, are no otherwiſe made righteouſ, but becauſe they are cleaſed by hauing the ſportes of their finnes wiped away by forgiueneſſe, that ſuch a righteouſneſſe may in one worde be called the forgiueneſſe of finnes.

22 Both theſe are moſt clearly to be ſeene by theſe words of Paul, which I haue alreadie alleaged: God was in Chriſt reconciling the worlde to himſelfe, not imputing their finnes to man, and he hath left with vs the word of reconciliation. And then he addeth the ſumme of his meſſage, y^e him which knewe no ſinne he made ſinne for vs, that we might be made the righteouſnes of God in him. Here he nameth righteouſnes 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 righteouſneſſe 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 Romanes he proueth by the teſtimonie of Dauid, that righteouſnes is imputed to man without works, becauſe Dauid pronounceth the man bleſſed whoſe iniquities are forgiuen, whoſe finnes are covered, to whom the Lord hath not imputed his offences. Without doubt by bleſſednes he there meaneth righteouſneſſe. As ſith he affirmeth the ſame to ſtand in the forgiueneſſe of finnes, there is no cauſe why we ſhould otherwiſe define it. Therefore Zacharie the father of Iohn the Bapriſt ſingeth that the knowledge of ſaluation conſiſteth in y^e forgiueneſſe of finnes. 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 manner: by him forgiueneſſe of finnes is preached vnto you, & euery one that belieueth in him is iuſtified from all theſe thinges, from which ye could not be iuſtified in the law of Moſes. The Apoſtle ſo knitteth the forgiueneſſe of finnes with righteouſnes, that he ſheweth that they be both all one. Whereupon he rightfully reaſoneth that the righteouſnes is freely giuen vnto vs, which we obtaine by the louing kindnes of God. Neither ought it to ſeeme a ſtrange vnused ſpeech, that the faithfull

are righteous before God, not by workes, but by free acceptance: sith both it is so oft found in the Scripture, and the old authors also doe sometime so
 De ciuit. dei
 ca. 27.
 Sermon. 23. in
 cant. Ser. 22.
 speak. For Augustine saith thus in one place: The righteousness of y^e saintes in this worlde standeth rather in forgiuenesse of sinnes, than in perfection of vertues. Wherwith agreeth the notable sentences of Bernard: Not to sin is the righteousness of God: but the righteousness of man, is the mercifull kindnes of God. He had before affirmed that Christ is to vs righteousness in absolution, and therefore that they only are righteous that haue obtained pardon by mercy.

23 Hereupon also followeth this, that by the onely meane of Christes 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 worthie to be heede fully marked. For that trifling error vanisheth away, to say y^e man is therefore iustified by faith, because faith taketh parte of the Spirit of God by which he is made righteous, which is so contrary to the doctrine aboue taught, that they can neuer be made to agree together. For it is no dout y^e he is void of his own righteousness, that is taught to seeke
 2. Cor. 5. 21
 righteousness without himself. This the Apostle affirmeth most plainly wheⁿ he writeth y^e he which knew no sinne was made for vs a propitiatorie sacrifice to cleanse away sinne, y^e we might be made the righteousness of God in him. You see y^e our righteousness is not in vs but in Christ, & y^e it belongeth to vs onely by this title, because we be partakers of Christ, because we possesse
 Rom. 8. 3.
 all his riches with him. And it maketh nothing to the contrary that in another place he teacheth, y^e sinne was condemned of sinne in y^e flesh of Christ, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in vs: where he meaneth no other fulfilling, but y^e which we obtaine by imputation. For y^e Lord Christ doth in such sort communicate his righteousness with vs, that after a certain maruellous maner, he poureth the force thereof into vs, so much as pertaineth to the iudgement of God. It appeareth y^e he did no otherwise meane,
 m. 6. 19.
 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 y^e hereby only we are accounted righteous, because y^e obedience of Christ is imputed vnto vs as if it were our own? Therefore methinkes y^e Ambrose hath excellently well shewed, howe there is an example
 Lib. 2. de
 Iac. & vita
 beata,
 of this righteousness in the blessing of Iacob. For as Iacob hauing not of himselfe deserued the preeminencie of y^e first begotten sonne, hid himself in the apparel of his brother, & being clothed wth his brothers cote y^e sauoured of a most sweet smel, he crept into the fauor of his father, & receiued y^e blessing to his own comoditie vnder the person of another: so wee do lye hidden vnder the precious purenes of Christ our elder brother, that we may get a testimony of righteousness in the sight of God. The wordes of Ambrose are these: Whereas Isaac smelt the saueur of the garments, peradventure this is meant thereby, that we are not iustified by workes but by faith: because fleshy weakenesse hindereth workes, but the brightnes of faith which meriteth forgiuenesse of sinnes, ouershadoweth the error of deedes. And

truly

truely so it is. For, that we may appeare before the face of God vnto saluation, it is necessary for vs, to smell sweetely 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 up our mindes to the iudgement seat of God.

Although it appeareth by most euident testimonies, that all these things are true, yet we shall not clearely perceiue how necessaric they be, vntill we haue set before our eyes those things that ought to be the groudes of all this disputation. First therefore let vs remember this, that wee purpose not to speake of the righteousnes of a worldly iudiciall court, but of the heavenly iudgement.seate: that we shoulde not measure by our owne small portion, by what vprightnesse of workes Gods iudgement may be satisfied. But it is maruelous to see with what rashnes and boldnes it is commonly debated. Yea and it is to be seene howe none doe more boldly or with fuller mouthes (as the saying is) prate of the righteousnesse of workes, than they that are either monstrously sicke of open outward diseases, to be readie to burst with inward vices. That cometh to passe because they thinke not vpon the righteousnesse of God, whereof if they had neuer so litle feeling, they would neuer make so great a mockery of it. And truely 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 & absolute, & defiled with no vncleanes: such as neuer was and neuer shal be able to be found in man. It is in deede easie and ready for euery man in Schooles to talke vainely vpon the worthinesse of workes to iustific men: But when they come iuto the sight of God, such dalliance must auoide, because there is earnest doing vsed, and no trifling strife about wordes. To this, to this I say, we must apply our mind, if we will profitably enquire of true righteousnesse: how we may answer the heavenly iudge when he calleth vs to accout. Let vs think him to be a iudge, not such a one as our owne vnderstandings doe of themselves imagine: but such a one as he is painted out in the Scripture, with whose brightnesse the starres shalbe darkened, by whose strength the hills doe melt away, by whose wrath the earth is shaken, by whose wisdom the wise are taken in their subtlety, by whose purenesse all things are proued vnpure, whose righteousnesse the Angels are not able to beare, which maketh the innocent not innocent, whose vengeance when it is once kindled pearceth to the bottome of hel. If he (I say) sit to examine mens doinges, who shall appeare assured before his throne: who shall dwell with a deuouring fire: sayth the Prophet. Who shall abide with continuall burnings: he that walketh in righteousnesse and speaketh truth, &c. But let such a one come forth, whatsoeuer he be. But that answer maketh, that none commeth forth. For this terrible saying soundeth to the contrary: Lord if thou marke iniquities, Lord, who shall abide it? truely all must needes immediatly perish, as it is written in another place: Shall man be iustified if he be compared with GOD, or shall he be purer than his maker: Beholde they that serue him are not faithfull, and he hath

Esa. 33. 14.

Psa. 130. 3.

Iob. 4. 17.

found peruersnes in his Angels. How much more shal they that dwell in houses of clay, and that haue an earthly foundation, be consumed with moethes? they shalbe cut downe from the morning to the euening. Beholde among his Saintes there is none faithfull, & the heauens are not cleane in his sight: how much more is man abhominable and vnprofitable, which drinketh iniquitie as water? I graunt in deede that in the booke of Job, is mention made of a righteousnesse that is hyer than the keeping of the lawe. And it is good to vnderstande this distinction: because although a man did satisfie the law, yet he could not so stande to the triall of that righteousnesse that passeth all senses. Therefore although Job be cleare in his owne conscience, yet he is amased, and not able to speake because he seeth that very angelike holinesse can not appease God, if he exactly weye their workes. But I therefore wil at this time ouerpasse that righteousnesse 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 Lorde hath willed vs to be awaked do not torment vs with horrible feare, and among other this generall curse, Cursed is euery one that doeth not abide in all the things that are written in the booke. Finally all this discourse shalbe but vnfaury and cold, vnlesse euery man yelde himselfe guiltie before the heauenly iudge, and willingly throwe downe and abase himselfe, being carefull how he may be acquitted.

2 To this, to this I say, we should haue lifted vp our eyes, to learne rather to tremble for feare, than vainely to reioyce. It is in deede easie, so long as the comparison extendeth no further than men, for euery man to think 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 cometh to naught. And in y same case altogether is our soule in respect of God, as mans body is in respect of the heauen. For the sight of the eye, so long as it continueth in vewing things that lie neere vnto it, doth shewe 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 therof, it feeleth no lesse feblenes 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 superiour to other men: but that is nothing to God, by whose wil this knowledge is to be tried. But if our wildenes can not be tamed with these admonitiōs, he will answere to vs as he sayd to the Pharisees: you be they that iustifie your selues before men: but that which is hie to men is abhominable to God. Now go thy way and proudly boast of thy righteousnes among men, while God from heauen abhorreth it. But what say the seruantes of God that are truly instructed with his Spirit? Enter not into iudgement with thy seruant, because euery liuing man shall not be justified in thy sight. An other faith, although in somewhat diuerse meaning: Man can not be righteous with God: if he will contend with him, he shall not be able to answere one for a thousand. Here we now plainly heare what is the righteousnesse of God; euen such as can be satisfied with no workes of men, to whome when it examineth vs of a thousande offences, we can not purge our selues of one. Such a righteousnesse had

Job. 15. 15.

Deu. 27. 26.

Luk. 16. 15.

Psa. 43. 2.
Job. 9. 8.

had that same chosen instrument of God Paul conceiued, when he professed that hee knew himselfe gilty in nothing, but that he was not thereby ^{1. Cor. 4. 4.} justified.

3 And not only such exāples are in the holy Scriptures, but also all godly wryters do shewe that they were alway of this minde. So Augustine sayth. ^{Ad Boni. lib. 3. cap. 5.} All the godly that grone vnder this burden of corruptible flesh, and in this weaknesse of life haue this onely hope that wee haue one mediator Iesus Christ the righteous, and he is the appeasement for our sinnes. What saith he? If this be their only hope, where is the confidence of workes? For when he calleth it onely, he leaueth none other. And Bernard saith. ^{Super can. ser. 61.} And indeed where is safe and stedfast rest and assurednesse for the weake, but in the woundes of our Sauour? and so much the surer I dwell therein as hee is mightier to saue. The worlde rageth, the bodie burdeneth, the deuill lieth in waite. I fall not, because I am buildd vpon the sure rocke. I haue sinned a greuous sinne, my conscience is troubled, but it shall not be ouertroubled, because I shall remember the woundes of the Lorde. And here vpon afterwarde he concludeth: Therefore my merite is the Lordes taking of mercie, I am not vtterly without merite, so long as hee is not without mercies. ^{In psal. qui habitat ser. 15.} But if the mercies of the Lord be many, then I also haue as many merites. Shall I sing mine owne righteousnesse? Lorde I will remember onely thy righteousness. For that is also my righteousnesse, for hee is made vnto mee righteousnesse of God. Againe in an other place, ^{In cant. ser. 13.} This is the whole merite of man, if hee put his whole hope in him that saucth whole man. Likewise where retaining peace to himselfe hee leaueth the glorie to God. To thee (saith hee) let glorie remaine vnminished: it shall bee well with mee, if I haue peace. I forswere glorie 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 an other place he saith: Why shoulde the Church be carefull of merites, which hath a surer and safer way to glorie vpon the purpose of God? So there is no cause why thou shouldest aske, by what merites we hope for good thinges, specially when thou hearest in the Prophete, I will doe it, not for your sakes, but for mine owne sake, saith the Lorde. ^{Eze. 36. 22. & 32.} It sufficeth for merite, to knowe that merites suffice not. But as it sufficeth for merite not to presume of merites, so to be without merits sufficeth to iudgement. Whereas hee freely vseth this worde Merites for good workes, wee must therein beare with the custome. But in the end his purpose was to make hipocrites afraid, that wildly range with licentiousnesse of sinning against the grace of God. As afterwarde he expoundeth himselfe saying: Happie is the church that neither wanteth merits without presumption, nor presumption without merites. It hath where vpon to presume, but not merites. It hath merits, but to deserue, not to presume. Is not the verie not presuming a deseruing? Therefore it presumeth so much the more boldly, because it presumeth not, hauing large matter to glorie vpon, euen the manie mercies of the Lorde.

4 This is the the truth. The exercised consciences perceiue this to bee 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

seemed most bright in the night season, doe loose their brightnes, with sight of the sunne, what thinke we shalbe come euen of the rarest innocencie of man, when it shall be compared with the purenesse of God? For that shalbe a most seuerer examination, that shal pearce into the most hidden thoughts of the heart, and (as Paul saith) shall reueale the secretes of darkenes, and disclose the hidden thinges of the heart, which shall compell the lurking & unwilling conscience to vtter all thinges that now are fallen out of remembrance. The Deuill our accuser will presse vs, which is priuie to all the wicked dedes that he hath moued vs to doc. There the outwarde pompous shewes of good workes which now onely are esteemed, shall nothing profit vs. Onely the purenesse of will shall be required. Wherefore the Hypocricie, not only whereby euerie man knowing himselfe guiltie before God desireth to boast himselfe before men, but also wherewith euery man deceiueth him selfe before God (as we be all inclined to stroke and flatter our selues) shall fall downe confounded, howsoeuer it nowe be proude with more than drunken boldnes. They that bend not their wit to such a sight, may indeed for a short time sweetely and pleasantly frame a righteousnes to themselues, but it is such a righteousnesse as shall bee by and by shaken away from them at the iudgement of God: like as great riches heaped vp in a dreame doe vanish 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 righteousnesse, shal certainly finde that all the workes of men, if they be iudged by their owne worthines, are nothing but defilings and filthines: that that which among the common people is accompted righteousnes, is before God mere wickednes: that that which is iudged puritie, is vnclennesse: that that which is reckened glory, is but shame.

5 From this beholding of the perfection of God, let it not greue vs to descend to looke vpon our selues without flatterie or blind affection of loue. For it is no meruell if we be all so blinde in this behalfe, for asmuch as none of vs doth beware of the pestilent tendernesse towarde himselfe, which (as the Scripture crieth out) naturally sticketh fast in vs all. To euery man (saith Salomon) his owne way is right in his owne eyes. Againe. All the wayes of man seeme cleane in his owne eyes. But what? Is he acquitted by this blindness? No, But (as he further saith in the same place) the Lorde weyeth the heartes, that is to say, while man flattereth himselfe by reason of the outwarde visor or righteousnes that he beareth in resemblance, in the meane time the Lorde with his balance examineth the hidden vnclennes of the heart. Therefore sith we see nothing profit with such flatteries, let vs not wilfully mocke our selues to our owne destruction. But that wee may trie our selues rightly, we must necessarily call backe our conscience to y^e iudgement seat of God. For we do altogether neede his light to disclose the secret foldings of our peruersnesse, which otherwise lie too decpely hidden. For then and neuer till then, we shal clerely perceiue what is meant hereby: that man being rottennesse and a worme, abhominable and vaine, which drinketh wickednes as water is far from being iustified before God. For who shoulde make that cleane that is conceiued of vnclane seede? nor one man. Then shall we also finde that by experience, which Iob saide of himselfe: If I will

1. Cor. 4. 5.

Pro. 21. 3, &
16. 2.Iob. 15. 16.
Iob 14. 4.
Iob. 9. 30.

goe about to shewe my selfe innocent, mine owne mouth shall condemne me: if I will shewe my selfe righteous, it will prooue me wicked. For that is not meant of one age onely, but of all ages, which the Prophete in old time complained of Israel, that all went astray like sheepe, that euery one turned aside to his owne way. For he there comprehendeth althē, to whom y grace of redemption should come. And the rigorousnes of this examination ought to proceede so far, till it subdue vs, so that we be fully throwne downe withall, and by that meane prepare vs to receiue the grace of Christ. For hee is deceiued that thinketh himselfe able to receiue the enoying of this grace, vntill hee haue first throwne downe all hawtinesse of minde. This is a known saying: that God confoundeth the proude, and giueth grace to the humble. Esay. 53. 6.

6 But what way is there to humble our selues, but that we being altogether needie and emprie, shoulde giue place to the mercie of God? For I doe not call it humblenesse, if we thinke that we haue any thing remaining with vs. And hitherto they haue taught a very hurteful hypocritie that haue ioyned these two things together, that wee must thinke humbly of our selues before G O D, and that we must make some account of our owne righteousness. For if we confesse to God contrarie to our owne thinking, we doe wickedly lie vnto him: but we can not thinke as we ought, but that by & by al 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 al pride and taken to thee perfect humblenesse: then, y the same humblenesse is not a certaine modestie wherby thou giuest ouer to the Lord a haire breedth of thine own right, as they are called humble before men that do neither presumptuously aduaunce themselues; nor reprochfully triumph ouer other, although they stand vpon some estimation of their owne excellencie: but an vnfeined submission of a mind throwne downe with feeling of his owne miserie and needinesse. For it is so echwhere described in the word of God. When the Lord saith thus in Zephanias: I will take away out of thee him that outragiously reioyseth, & I will leaue in the middes of thee the afflicted man & the poore man, and they shall trust in the Lorde: doeth he not there plainely shewe who be humble? euen they y lie afflicted with knowledge of their own pueritie. On the other side hee calleth the proude, outragious reioysers, because men ioying in prosperitie are wont to reioyce without measure. But to the humble whome he purposeth to saue, hee leaueth nothing but to trust in the Lorde. And likewise it is sayde in Esay: Whome shall I looke vnto, but to the poore and contrite in spirite, and him y feareth my words? Againe: The high and excellent, that inhabiteth eternitie, his name is holy, that dwelleth on hie, and in the holy place, and with the contrite and humble spirite, to quicken the spirite of the humble and the hearte of the contrite. When thou so oft hearest the name of contrition, vnderstand thereby the wound of the heart, that suffereth not a man thrown downe on the ground to rise againe. With such contrition ought thy heart to be wounded, if thou wilt according to the saying of G O D bec aduaunced with the hum- 1. Pet. 5. 5.

Psal. 18. 28.

Zeph. 3. 12.

Esay. 6. 6.
Esay. 57. 5.

humble: If that be not done, thou shalt be brought low with the mighty hand of God to thy shame and disgracement.

7 And our best Schoolemaster thinking it not enough to shewe it out in wordes, hath also set out vnto vs in a parable the image of true humilitie as in a painted table. For he bringeth foorth a Publicane that standing a farr off, not daring to lift vp his eyes to heauen, with much knocking his brest, prayeth in this wise: Lorde be mercifull to me a sinner. Let vs not thinke these to be tokens of fained modestie, that hee dare not looke vp to heauen, nor to come nerer, that with knocking his brest he confesseth himselfe a sinner: but let vs knowe that they bee testimonies of inwarde affection. On the other side he setteth the Pharisee, which thanketh God that he is not of the common sorte of men, either an oppresser, or an vnrighteous man, or an adulterer, because he fasted twise on the Sabbath, & gaue tithes of all that hee possessed. He 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 vnfaouered and in hatred. The Publicane by acknowledging of his owne wickednesse is iustified. Hereby we may see, howe great is the estimation of our humbling vs before God: so that the heart cannot be open to receiue his mercie, vnlesse it bee first void of all opinion of his owne worthinesse. When this opinion hath possessed the place, it shutteth vp the way for Gods mercie to enter. And that no man shoulde 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 heart, to preach libertie to the captiue, & deliuerance to them that were shut vp in prison, and to comfort them that mourne: to giue them glorie for ashes, oyle for mourning, the robe of praise for the spirite of sorrow. According to this commission, he callerh none but them that labour and are loden to take parte of his liberalitie. And in an other place he saith: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners.

8 Therefore if we will giue place to the calling of Christ, let al arrogancie & carelesnes depart far away frō vs. Arrogancie groweth of a folish persuasion of our owne righteousness, when a man thinketh himselfe to haue somewhat, by the deseruing whereof he may bee commended before God, carelesnesse may bee euen without any persuasion of workes. Form any sinners, because being dronke with sweetnesse of vices they thinke not vpon the iudgement of God, lie as it were senselesly amased with a disease of drouines, that they aspire not to the mercie offered them. But we must no lesse shake off such dull sluggishnesse, than we must cast away all vaine confidence of our selues, that wee may without incombrance hasten to Christ, that we being empty and hungrie may be filled with his good things. For wee shall neuer sufficiently haue trust in him, vnlesse we vtterly distrust of our selues, wee shall neuer sufficiently raise vp our courages in him, vnlesse they be first throwne downe in our selues. Wee shall neuer sufficiently haue consolation in him, vnlesse wee be first desolate in our selues. Therefore we be then mete to take holde of and obtaine the fauour of God, casting away all trust of our selues, but trusting vpon the onely assurednesse of his goodness, when (as Augustine saith) forgetung our owne deseruings, we imbrace the giftes of Christ.

Be-

Luk. 13. 3.

Esfay. 61. 1.

Mat. 11. 38.
Mat. 9. 13.De verbis A-
post. cap. 8.

Because if he sought deseruings in vs, we shoulde not come to his giftes. Wherewith Bernard very wel accordeth, comparing proude men to vnfaithfull seruantes, that arrogantly claime any thing be it neuer so litle to their owne deseruings: because they do wrongfully keepe to themselues the praise of grace passing by them, as if a wall would say that it bringeth forth the sun-beame which it receiueh through a windowe. But, not to tary longer here-vpon, let vs take a short but a generall & sure rule, that he is prepared to take part of the fruits of Gods mercy, that hath vtterly empyed himselfe, I will not say of righteousnesse, which is none at all, but of the vaine and windy image of righteousnes. Because euery 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.

AND here are alway two things to be principally looked vnto: y^e is to say, that there may remaine to the Lorde his glory vnminished, & as it were wholly and perfectly maintained, and to our consciences an vntroubled quietnes and calme tranquillitie before his iudgement. We see how oft and how earnestly the Scripture exhorteth vs, to giue onely to God a confession of praise, when we entreate of righteousnes. And the Apostle testifieth, that this was the Lords principal purpose of giuing vs righteousnes in Christ, y^e he might shew his owne righteousnes. And what a shewing y^e shold be, he declareth immediatly after: that is, if he alone be knowen to be righteous, & that iustified him that is of the faith of Iesus Christ. Thou seest y^e the righteousnes of God is not sufficiently set out, vnlesse hee alone be accounted righteous, and do communicate the grace of righteousnes to them that deserue it not. By this meane he will haue euery 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 glory of God. So in Ezechiel he teacheth how much we glorifie his name by reknowledging of our owne wickednesse. You shall remember (sayth he) the wayes 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 knowe that I am the Lord, when I shall do 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 doe we to our great hurt attempt to steale away from the Lorde any parcell be it neuer so small of the praise of his free goodnes? Likewise Ieremie when he cryeth out, Let not the wise man glorie 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 y^e somewhat is diminished from Gods glory, if man glory in himselfe? To this purpose truly doth Paul apply those wordes, when he teacheth that all the partes of our saluation are reposed in Christ, that wee should not glory but in the Lorde. For his meaning is that he riseth vp against God and darkeneth his glory, whosoever thinketh that he hath any thing.

Ser. 15. in ca.

Rom. 3. 25.

Eze. 20. 42.

Iere. 9. 13.

1. Cor. 1. 30.

thing be it neuer so litle of his owne.

2. This is the truth, we neuer truly glory in him, vnlesse we be vtterly put from our owne glory. On the other side, this is to be holden for a catholike principle, that all they glory against God that glory in themselues. For Paul iudgeth that onely by this meane the world is made subiect to God, when all matter to glory vpon is vtterly taken from men. Therefore Esaie, when he declareth that Israell shall haue their iustification in God, sayeth also that they shall there also haue their prayse: as though he shoulde say, that the Lorde to this ende iustificeth the elect that they should glorye in him and in nothing else. But how we ought to be praised in the Lorde, he had taught in the verse next before: that is, that we should sweare that our righteousnes and strength are in the Lorde. Not that there is not required a bare confession, but confirmed with an othe, that a man shoulde not thinke that he shall be discharged with I wote not what fained humilitie. And let no man here allege for excuse that he doth not glory when without arrogance he reknowledgeth his owne righteousnesse: for there can be no such estimation but it engendreth confidence, nor confidence but it breedeth glory. Therefore let vs remember that in all the disputation of righteousnesse wee must haue regarde to this ende, that the prayse thereof remaine with the Lorde whole and perfect. Forasmuch as for declaration of his righteousnes (as the Apostle testifieth) he hath poured out his grace vpon vs, that he might be iust and iustifying him that is of the faith of Christ. Wherefore in an other place, when he had taught that the Lord gaue vs saluation, to set out the glory of his name, afterward as it were repeting the same thing he addeth: ye are saued by grace and by the gift of God, not by workes, that none shoulde 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 darkenesse into his maruelous light, without doubt his meaning is so to make the onely prayses of God to sounde in the eares of the faithfull, that they shoulde with deepe silence oppresse all arrogancie of the flesh. In a summe, man can not without robbery of God challenge to himself any one crum of righteousness: because euen so much is plucked & taken away from the glory of Gods righteousness.

3 Now if we ask by what mean the conscience may be quited before God, wee 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 shal say: I haue cleansed my heart, I am made cleane from my sinne? Truly there is no man that shall not be ouerwhelmed with infinite filthinesse. Therefore let euen the perfectest man descende into his owne conscience, and call his doinges to account: what end shall he haue? Shall he sweetly rest as though all things were in good order betweene him and GOD? and shall he not rather be vexed with terrible tormentes, when he shall 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 iudgement, or be beseeched with the terrours of hell. Therefore we profit nothing in disputing of righteousness vnlesse we stablish such a righteousness, with the stedfastnesse wherof our soule may be stayed in the iudgement

ment

Rom. 2. 19.
1. 2. 4. 5. 25.

Rom. 3. 26.
Eph. 1. 2.
Eph. 1. 8.

Pro. 30. 9.

ment of God. When our soule shal haue whereby it may both without feare appeare before the face of God, and receiue his iudgement, vnshaken, then and not till then let vs know that we haue founde an vnfaigned righteousnes. 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 inheritaunce be of the law, faith is made voide, the promise is made abolished. Hee first inferreth that faith is disanulled and made void if the promise of righteousnesse haue respect to the deseruings of our works, or doe hang vpon the keeping of the lawe. For so coulde neuer any man assuredly rest in it: because it coulde neuer come to passe y any man might assuredly determine with him selfe that he had satisfied the lawe, as indee neuer any man doeth by workes fully satisfie it. Whereof, that we should not neede to seeke far for testimonies to prooue it, euerie man may be a witnessse to himselfe that will with a right eye behold himselfe. And hereby appeareth, in how deepe and darke corners hypocrisie buried the mindes of men, while they so carelesly beare with them selues, that they sticke not to set their own flatteries against y iudgemēt of God, as though they wold bind to a stay his iudiciall proceeding. But the faithfull that doe sincerely examine themselves, are greued and tormented with a farre other manner of carefulnes. Therefore there should so enter into all mindes a doubting, and at length a verie despeire where ech man for himselfe should make account, with how great a burden of debt he is still ouerpressed, and how far he is frō the condition wherwith he is charged. Loec, how faith is by this meane alreadie expressed & extinguished. For to wauer, to varie, to be carried vp & down, to stick fast in douting, to be holden in suspense, to stagger, & at length to despeire, is not to trust: but to strengthen thy mind with cōstant certainty, and perfect assurednes, and to haue wherevpon 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 voide. For if the fulfilling thereof do hang vpon our deseruing, when shal we come thus far as to deserue the bountifullnes of God? Also this seconde 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 stablishe the promise. For it is abundantly wel stablised when it resteth vpon the onely mercie of God: because his mercie & trueth are with a perpetual 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 y cause thereof to be in his mercie. 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 mere mercie. Therefore we must herein stay, and deeply fasten al our hope and not to looke to our owne workes, to seeke any helpe of them. And that you should not thinke that I herein speake any newe thing: Augustine doth also teache that wee ought so to doe. Christ (saith hee) shall reigne for euer in his seruantes, G O D hath promised it. God hath saide it, and if that bee not enough, G O D hath sworne it. Therefore forasmuch as the promise is stablised, not according

Rom. 4. 14.

Psal. 119. 76.

In Psal. 88.
tractatu pri-
ore.

to our deseruings, but according to his mercie, no man ought to speake fearfully of γ of which he can not dout. 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 al our cōfidence, this is our only cōfort, this is γ whole ground of our hope, but being assured of the possibilitie, what say we of his will? Who knoweth whether he be worthie of loue or hatred? Who hath knowen the Lords meaning? Or who hath beene his counsellor? Here nowe faith must of necessitie helpe vs, here must his trueth succour vs, that that which is hidden from vs in the heart of the father, may be reueiled by the Spirite, and his Spirite testifying it may perswade our heartes that wee 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. Briefly 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 wherefoeuer there is anie doubting or vncertaintie it pronounceth that they be void. Againe it pronounceth that they doe nothing but stagger and wauer, if they rest vpon our owne workes. Therefore wee must needes either lose righteousnesse, or wee must not consider our owne workes, but onely faith must take place, whose nature is this, to lifte vp her eares & shut her eyes, that is to say, to bee heedfully bent to the promise onely, and to turne away her thought from all mans worthinesse or deseruing. So is that notable prophetic of Zacharie fulfilled, that when the wickednesse of the lande shall be done away, a man shall call his friende vnder his vine and vnder his figge tree, where the Prophete declareth that the faithfull do no otherwise enioy true peace but after obtaining of the forgiuenes of sinnes. For this cauillation is to bee remembered in the Prophetes, that when they speake of the kingdome of Christ, they set out the outwarde blessings of God as figures of the spirituall things. Wherevpon Christ is called both the king of peace and our peace, because hee appeaseth all the troublesome motions of conscience. If we seeke by what meane he doth it, wee must needes come to the sacrifice by which God is appeased. For hee shall neuer cease to tremble for feare that shall not determine that God is appeased by the onely satisfactorie cleansing wherein Christ hath susteyned his wrath. Finally peace is no where else to be sought for but in the terrors of Christe our redeemer.

5 But why doe I vse so darke a testimonie? Paul euery where denieth that there is peace or quiet ioye 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 G O D is powred into our heartes by the holy Ghost: as if he had saide, that our consciences cannot otherwise be quieted, vnlesse we be certainly perswaded that we please God. Wherevpon also in another place he crieth out in the person of al the godlie, Who shall seuer vs from the loue of God, which is in Christ? because wee shall tremble euen at euery litle breath, till wee be arriued into the haue: but wee shall be without care euen in the darkenesse of death, so long as the Lorde shall shewe himselfe a pastor to vs. Therefore whosoever

prate

In dedicat.
templi. ser. 5.

Eccle. 9. 1.
1. Cor. 2. 16.

Zach. 3. 9.

Esa. 9. 6.
Eph. 2. 14.

Rom. 5. 1.

Rom. 5.

prate that we are iustified by faith, because being regenerate we are iust by Psal. 33. 4
 liuing spiritually: they neuer tasted the sweetnesse of grace, to consider that
 God will be mercifull vnto them. Wherevpon also followeth, that they doe
 no more know the manner of praying rightly, than Turkes and whatsoeuer
 other prophane Natiōs. For (as Paul witnesseth) it is no true faith vnlesse it
 reache & put vs in minde of that most sweete name of Father, yea vnlesse it
 open our mouth freely to cry out Abba father. Which in another place he Gal. 4. 6.
 more plainly expresseth, where he saith that in Christ we haue boldnesse &
 entrie in confidence by the faith of him. Truly this commeth not to passe
 by the gift of regeneration: which as it is alway vnperfect in the flesh, so it
 containeth in it self manifold matter of douting. Wherefore we must of ne-
 cessitie 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 meereely passiue,
 bringing nothing of our owne to the recouering of the fauour of God, but
 receiuing of Christ that which we want.

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 beeing entred into profession by sacra-
 ments, denying God with vncleannesse of life, whome they confesse with
 mouth, they are Christes no further than in name: or they be hypocrites,
 which couer the wickednesse of their heartes, with vaine deceitfull colours:
 or being regenerate by the spirite of God, they endeouour themselues to true
 holynesse. 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 founde
 one sparle of goodnes, vnlesse peradventure we wil accuse the Scripture of
 falshod, when it setteth out all the sonnes of Adam with these titles, y they
 be of froward and stubborne heart, that al the imagination of their heart is
 euil from their infancie, that their thoughts be vaine, that they haue not the
 feare of God before their eyes, that none of them vnderstandeth or seeketh
 God, briefly that they be flesh, by which worde are vnderstanded all those
 workes which Paul rehearseth, fornication, vncleannesse, vnchastitie, riot-
 ousnesse, worshipping of idoles, witchcraftes, enmities, contentions, emu-
 lations, angers, dissentions, sectes, enuiues, manslaughters, and whatsoeuer
 filthinesse and abomination may be deuised. This forsooth is the worthi-
 nes, with confidence whereof they must be proued. But if any among them
 excell with such honestie of manners as may haue some shewe of holynesse
 among men: yet because wee knowe that God regardeth not the outwarde
 glistering, we must search the verie fountaine of workes if we will haue them
 to auaille any thing to righteousnesse. We must (I say) throughly looke into
 them, from what affection of heart these workes proceede. But although

here lieth open a most large field to discourse in, yet because the matter may be declared in very fewe wordes, I wil follow as much as I may a briefnes in teaching.

2 First I deny not that whatsoeuer excellent giftes appeare in the vnbelieuers, they are the gifts of God. Neither do I so differ from comon judgement, that I would affirme that there is no difference betweene the iustice; temperance and equitie of Titus and Traianus, & 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 special 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 appeareth euen in the dead image thereof. For what thing shal there remaine wel ordered in the world, if we confound these together? Therefore such a difference betweene honest & vn honest doings, the Lorde hath not onely engrauen in the mindes of all men, but also doeth oft confirme it with the dispensation of his prouidence. For wee see how he extendeth many blessings of this present life to them that among men do followe vertue. Not because that outward image of vertue deserueth so much as the least benefite of his: but so it pleaseth him to declare by prooffe howe much true righteousnes pleaseth him, when he suffreth euen outward & fained righteousnes not to be without reward. Whereupon followeth that which we euen now confessed, that these vertues, such as they be, or rather images of vertues, are the gifts of God, for asmuch as there is nothing in any wise praiseworthy, which proceedeth not from him.

Lib. 4. cont.
Iulianum.

3 But neuertheles it is true which Augustine writeth, that all they that are strangers from the true religion of the one God, howsoeuer they be accounted worthy of admiration for opinion of vertue, are not onely worthy of no reward, but rather are worthy of punishment, because they doe with defiling of their heart, bespot the pure good things of God. For though they be the instruments of God, to preserue the fellowship of men with iustice; continencie, temperance of mind, valiantnes, & wisdom: yet they do very euilly execute these good workes of God: because they are restrained from euil doing, not by sincere loue of goodnes, but either by only ambition, or by loue of themselves, or by some other crooked affection. Whereas therefore they are corrupt by the verie vncleannes of heart, as by their beginning, they are no more to be reckened among vertues, than those vices, which are wont to deceiue by reason of neerenes & likenesse of vertue. Finally when we remember, that the ende of that which is right, euer is that God be serued: whatsoeuer tendeth to any other end, forthwith worthily 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 wrongful end it is sinne. He concludeth therefore that all the Fabricij, Scipioes, & Catoes, 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 righteousnes was not in them: forasmuch as dueties are not weyed by the doings, but by the endes.

4 Moreouer if it be true which Iohn sayeth, that there is no life without the sonne of God: who so haue no part in Christ, what maner of men so euer they be, whatsoeuer they doe or goe about, yet they runne forward with their whole course into destruction and the iudgement of eternal death. After this reason, is that sayde of Augustine. Our religion discerneth the righteous from the vnrighteous, not by lawe of workes: but by the very lawe of faith, without which, those that seeme good, workes are turned into sinnes. Wherefore the same Augustine saith very well in an other 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 certain that they are euil trees, forasmuch as without the communicating of Christ there is no sanctification. They may therefore beare faire fruites and beautifull to the eye, yea and sweete in tast, but in no wise good fruites. Herby we easily perceiue that whatsoeuer man thinketh, purposeth, or doth, before that he be reconciled to God by faith, is accursed, and not onely of no value to righteousness, but of certaine deseruing to damnation. And why dispute we hereof as of a doutfull thing, sith it is already proued by the witnessse of the Apostle, that it is impossible that any man may please God with out faith?

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 euery 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 lightneth vs with the knowledge of himselfe, he is said to raise vs from death, & to make vs a newe creature. For we see that oftentimes, specially of the Apostle, the goodnesse of God is set forth vnto vs by this title, God (sayth he) which is rich in mercy, for the great loue wherewith he loued vs, euen when we were dead by sinnes, hath made vs aliuie together in Christ, &c. In an other place, where vnder the figure of Abraham he entreateth of the general calling of the faithfull, he sayth: 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? Wherefore the Lord strongly beateth down this arrogancie, in the history of Iob, in these wordes: who preuenteth me, & I shall render it him? for all things are mine. Which sentence Paul expounding applieth it to this, that we should not thinke that we bring any thing to the Lorde but meere shame of needines and emptines. Wherefore in the place aboue cited, to proue that wee 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 doe good proceedeth out of regeneration? For as we are made by nature, oyle shall sooner be wrong 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. 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 and loue of God our sauour towarde vs hath appeared, because he hath saued vs, not by the workes of righteousnesse which we haue done, but according to his owne mercy: that being iustified by his grace, we might be made the heires of eternall life. By this confession we dispoil man of al righteousness euen to the least litle peece thereof, till he be by only mercy regenerate into hope of eternall life: forasmuch as if the righteousness of workes do bring any thing toward the iustifying of vs, it is falsly said y^e we are iustified by grace. Truly the Apostle had not forgotten himselfe, when he affirmed iustificatiō to be of free gift, which in an other place reasoneth that grace is now not grace, if workes do any thing auail. And what other thing doth the Lord meane, when he saith y^e he came not to cal righteous men but sinners? If only sinners are receiued, why seeke we an entry by fained righteousness?
- 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 prouing of this thing as though it were doubtful or darke. But because our enuiousnes is such, as vnles it be most straightly thrust out of place, it neuer yeeldeth to God that which is his, I am compelled to rary somewhat the longer vpon it. Yet forasmuch as y^e Scripture is clere enough in this matter, I wil in fighting rather vse the words therof then mine own. Esay, when he hath described y^e vniuersal destruction of mankind, doth immediatly after very fitly adioyn the order of restoring. The Lord hath seen, & it sened euil in his eyes. And he saw, that there is no man: and he marued 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, discoursing of the reconciling of sinners to himself, saith: I will espouse thee to me for euer, in righteousness, iudgement, grace and mercie. I will say to her that hath not obtained mercie, thou hast obtained mercy. If such couenant, which it is certaine to be the first conioyning that we haue with God, standeth vpon the mercie of God, there is left no foundation of our owne 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 madnesse to thinke so, what acceptable thing to God can proceede from his enemies, whome he wholly abhorreth with all their doinges? That al we, I say, are the deadly and professed enemies of our God, the truth it self testifieth, til being iustified, we are receiued into friendshippe. If iustification be the beginning of loue, what righteousness of workes shall go before it? So Iohn, to turne away that pestilent arrogance, doth diligently put in minde howe we did not first loue him. And the selfe same thing the Lord had long before taught by his Prophet: I wil loue them sayth he, with a free loue, because mine anger is turned. Certainly his loue is not prouoked by workes if it hath of his owne accorde inclined it selfe

2. Tim. 1. 9.

Tit. 3. 4.

Rom. 11. 6.

Matt. 9. 13.

Esa. 56. 15.

Osee. 2. 19.

Rom. 5. 6.

Colo. 1. 21.

1. Iohn 4. 10.

Osee. 14. 15.

felfe vnto vs. But the rude common sort of men thinke it to be nothing els, but that no man hath deserued that Christ should performe our redemption: yet that to the entering into the possession of redemption, wee be holpen by our owne workes. Yea but howsoeuer we be redeemed of Christ, yet till we be by the calling of the Father graffed into the communion of him, wee are both heires of darkeness and death, and the enimies of God. For Paul teacheth that wee are not cleansed and washed from our vncleanneses 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 & 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 wee 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.

1. Cor. 6. 11.

1. Pet. 1. 2.

7 Vnder this sort are comprehended they which haue in the diuision aboue set bene noted for the second and third sort of men. For the vncleannesse 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, this 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 forth, but that which is accursed in his iudgment: With this foolish boldnes in deed, both all wicked men are puffed vp, and specially hypocrites, because howsoeuer they knowe that their whole hart swarmeth full of filthinesse, yet if they do any works y haue a shew of goodnes, they think them worthe y God should not despise them. Hereof groweth y pernicious error, y being proued gilty of a wicked & mischieuous minde, yet they cannot be driuen to confesse themselues voide of righteousness: but euen when they acknowledge themselues vnrighteous, because they cannot deny it, yet they arrogantly claime some righteousness vn to them. This vanitie y Lord excellently wel confuteth by the prophet: Aske (saith he) the priests, saying: if a man carrie sanctified flesh in y hem of his garment, & putteth to it bread or other meat, shal it be sanctified? The priestes answered: No. And Hagge said. If a defiled man in soule touch any of such these things, shall it be defiled? The priests answered: it shalbe defiled. Hagge said: So is this people before my face, saith the Lord: & so all the works of their handes, and all things y they offer to mee shalbe defiled. I would to God y this saying might either get ful credit with vs, or wel be setled in our remembrance. For there is no man, though he be otherwise in his whole life neuer so hainous a wicked doer, y 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 deeds of the law, douteth not y it shalbe accounted to him for righteousness. But y Lord crieth to the contrarie, y there is no sanctification gotten thereby, vnlesse the heart be first wel cleansed. And not contented therewith, he affirmeth that al the works whatsoever they be that proceede from

Hag. 2. 12.

sinners, as are defiled with vncleannes of the heart. Therefore let the name of righteousnes depart from these woorkes which are by the Lordes owne mouth condemned of filthines. And with how fit a similitude doth he shewe the same? For it might haue bene objected, that whatsoeuer the Lorde had commanded, was inuiolably holy. But he on y contrary side setteth against them, that it is no marueil, if those things, that are hallowed by the lawe of the Lord, are defiled with the filthinesse of naughtie men: whereas an vncleane hand prophaneeth a holy thing with touching it.

8 The same matter he excellently well handleth in Esaye, Offer not (saith he) sacrifice in vaine: incense is abomination to me: my soule hateth your Calendes & solemnities. They are become tedious to me, and I haue bene wearie with bearing them: when you shall holde vp your hands I will turne away mine eyes from you: when you shall multiply prayer I will not heare: for your hands are full of bloud. Be washed, be cleane, take away the euil of your thoughts. What meaneth this y the Lorde so lotheth the obeying of his owne law? Yea, but he here refuseth nothing that is of the naturall obseruing of the law, the beginning wherof he euery where teacheth to bee the vnfained feare of his name. When that is taken away, whatsoeuer things are offered him are not onely trifles, but stinking and abominable filthinesse. Nowe let the hypocrites goe, and keeping peruerfnesse wrapped vp in their heart, endeouour to deserue the fauour of God with woorkes. But by this meane, they shall more and more prouoke him to wrath. For to him the sacrifices of wicked are abominable, and the onely prayer of vpright men pleaseth him. Therefore we hold that out of dout, which ought to bee most commonly knowen to him, that is euen but meanly exercised in the Scriptures, that euen those woorkes that glister moste gloriously in men not yet truely sanctified, are so farre from righteousnes in the sight of the Lord, that they be iudged sinnes. And therefore they haue said moste truely that haue taught that fauour with God is not procured to any person by woorkes: but contrariwise that woorkes do then please, & neuer til 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 hand. Moses writeth that the Lord had respect to Abel & to his woorkes. See you not how he declareth that God is fauourable to the men, before that he hath respect to their woorkes? Wherefore the cleansing of the heart must go before, that the woorkes which come from vs, may be louingly received of God: because this saying of Ieremie is alway in force, that the woorkes of God haue respect vnto truth. And that it is only faith by which the hearts of men are clenfed, the holy Ghost hath affirmed by the mouth of Peter: whereby it is certaine, that the first foundation is in true and liuely faith.

9 Now let vs looke what righteousnes they haue, whome wee haue set in the fourth degree. We graunt that when God by the meane of the righteousnes of Christ, reconcileth vs to himselfe, and giuing vs free forgiuennesse of sinnes, accounteth vs for righteous, with such mercie is also conioyned this his beneficiall doing, that by his holy spirite he dwelleth in vs, by the power wherof the lustes of our flesh are daily more & more mortified, but we are sanctified: that is to say, hallowed to the Lorde vnto true purenes

Esa. 1. 13.

Pro. 15. 8.

Aug. lib. de
pæn. & Gre.

Gen. 4. 4.

Aq. 15. 6.
Iere. 5. 3.

of life, when our hartes are framed to the obedience of the lawe: that this may be our chiefe will, to serue his will, and by all meanes to aduance only his glory. But euen while by the guiding of the holy Ghost we walke in the wayes of the Lorde, least yet we forgetting our selues should waxe proude, there are left certaine remnantes of imperfektion, which may minister vs matter of humilitie. There is none righteous, (saith the Scripture) that doth good and sinneth not. What maner of righteousness therfore 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 vncleanesse of the flesh, and hath as it were some dregges mingled with it. I say, let a holy seruant of God choose out of all his life the most excellent thing that he shall thinke that he hath done in the whole course thereof, and let him well consider all the partes of it, without dout he shall finde somewhere somewhat fauoring of the rottennes of the flesh, forasmuch as to doing well our cherefull 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 litle spottes: shall they nothing offende the eies of God, before whome euen the starres 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 rewarde of shame.

10 Secondly I say, that if it were possible y we should haue some throughly pure and perfect workes, yet one sinne is enough to blotte out and quench all the remembrance of the former righteousness, as the Prophet saith. With whom also Iames agreeth: He that offendeth (saith he) in one, is made guilty of all. Now sith this mortall life is neuer pure or void from sinne, whatsoever righteousness we should purchase, being from time to time with sinnes following corrupted, oppressed and lost, it should not come into the sight of God, nor be accounted to vs for righteousness. Finally when the righteousness of workes is entreated of, we must not haue respect to the worke of the lawe, but to the commaundement. Therefore if we seeke righteousness by the lawe, we shall in vaine bring forth one or two workes: but a perpetuall obedience of the lawe is there necessary. Wherefore the Lorde doth not but once (as many foolishly thinke) impute to vs for righteousness y same forgiveness of sinnes whereof we haue spoken, that hauing once obtained pardon of our life past, we should afterward seeke righteousness in the lawe: because he should so doe nothing else but bring vs into a false hope, and 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 law threatneth death & iudgement to all them that performe not full righteousness in worke: it shal alway haue wherof it may accuse and condemne vs, vnlesse the mercie of God on the other side did withstand it, to acquite vs from time to time with continual forgiveness of sinnes. Wherefore this standeth alway certain which we sayd at the beginning, that if we be weied by our owne worthinesse, whatsoever we purpose or go about, yet we with all our trauailes and endeouours are worthe of death and destruction.

11 Vpon these two pointes we must strongly stande fast: that there was

neuer any worke of a godly man, which if it were examined by ſeuere iudgment of God, was not damnable. Again, if there be any ſuch ſhewed, (which is not poſſible for man) yet being corrupted and deſiled with the ſins, wherewith it is certaine that the doer of it is loden, it looſerth the grace. And this is the chiefe point of our diſputation. For about the beginning of iuſtification there is no ſtrife betweene vs and the ſounder ſorte of Scholemen, but that a ſinner being freely deliuered from damnation obtaineth righteousneſſe, and that by the forgiueneſſe of ſinnes: ſauing that they vnder the worde of iuſtification comprehend the reuening wherewith we are newly formed by the Spirit of God vnto the obedience of the lawe and they thus deſcribe the righteousnes of a man regenerate, that man being once reconciled to God by the faith of Chriſt, is by good workes iudged righteous before God, and by their deſeruing is accepted. But the Lord contrariwiſe pronounceth that he imputed to Abraham faith for righteousneſſe, not at the time when he yet ſerued Idols, but when he had already many yeares excelled in holineſſe of life. Therefore Abraham had long worſhipped God from a pure heart, and had performed the obedience of the lawe which may be performed of a mortall man, yet he hath righteousneſſe reposed in fayth. Whereupon we gather, according to the argument of Paul, that it was not of workes. Likewise when it is ſayde in the Prophet: The righteous man ſhall liue by faith, it is not ſpoken of wicked & prophane men, whom the Lorde iuſtifieth by conuerting them to the faith, but the ſpeech is directed to the faithfull, and to them is promiſed life by fayth. Paul alſo taketh away all doubt, when for confirming of that ſentence, he taketh this verſe of Dauid: Blessed are they whoſe iniquities are forgiuen. But it is certaine, 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 conſcience. Therefore this bleſſednes we muſt not haue once in our life, but hold it throughout all our life. Laſt of all he teſtifieth that the embaſſage concerning the free reconciliation with God is not publiſhed for one or two dayes, but is perpetuall in the church. Therefore the faithfull haue euen to the ende of their life no other righteousneſſe than that which is there ſet forth. 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, wherewith all our iniquities are couered. Neither doth Paul to the Ephesians ſay, that we haue ſ beginning of ſaluation out of grace, but that we are ſaued by grace, not of workes, that no man ſhold glory.

12 The ſtaring holes which the Scholemen do here ſeek to eſcape by, do not deliuer them. They ſay that good workes are not by inward worthines in themſelues of ſo great value, that they be ſufficient to purchaſe righteousnes: but this, that they be of ſo great value, is of grace accepting them. Then, becauſe they be driuen to confeſſe that the righteousneſſe of workes is in this life alway vnperfect, they graunt that we, ſo long as we liue, do neede forgiueneſſe of ſinnes, whereby the want of workes may be ſupplied: but that the defaults which are committed, are recompenced with workes of ſupererogation. For I anſwere, that that the accepting grace as thy call it, is none other than is free goodneſſe wherewith the father embraceth vs in Chriſt

Rom. 4.13.

Hab. 2.4.

Rom. 4.7.
Pſa. 33.

2. Cor. 5. 18.

Christ, when he clotheth vs with the innocencie of Christ, and accounteth the same ours, that by the beneficiall meane thereof he may take vs for holy, pure, and innocent. For, the righteousnes of Christ (which as it only is perfect, so only can abide the sight of God) must be set in our steede, and be presented at the barre as a suerty. Herewith we being furnished, doe obtaine continuall forgiveness of sinnes in faith. With the purenesse hereof our filthinesse and vncleanesse 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 houre come, when the olde man being slaine and vtterly destroyed in vs, the goodnes of God shall receiue vs into blessed peace with the new Adam, where let vs looke for the day of the Lorde in which in receiuing vncorrupt bodies, we shalbe remoued into the glory of the heauenly kingdome.

13 If these things be true, verily no workes of ours can of themselues make vs acceptable and pleasing to God: neither can the workes themselues please, but in respect that man being couered with the righteousnesse of Christ, pleaseth God, and obtaineth forgiveness of his sinnes. For God hath not promised the rewarde of eternall life to some certaine workes, but only pronounceth that he which doth these thinges, shall liue: setting the notable curse against all them that continue not in all thinges. Whereby the deuiſe of righteousnesse in part is largely contuted, sith no other righteousnes is admitted into heauen, but a whole obseruing of the law. And no whit sounder is that which they are wont to babble of supplying of recompence by workes 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 workes so farre righteous? That which no man of sound iudgement will grant them, they do too shamelesly take for confessed. So oft the Lorde 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 glory, that is, to haue altogether giuen place to God, do boast our selues of I wot not what small peeces of a fewe workes, and go about by satisfactions to redeeme that which wanteth. Satisfactions haue already before bin sufficiētly ouerthrowen, that we ought not now so much as to dream of them. Onely this I say, that they which so play the fooles, do not wey how detestable a thing sinne is before God: for truely they should vnderstande y^e the whole righteousnes of men being layde vpon a heape, is not sufficiēt to make recompence for one sinne. For we see that man was by one offence so cast away and abandoned of God, that he therewithall lost all meane to recouer saluation. Therefore the power of Satisfactiō is taken away, wherwith they flatter theselues, but surely shall neuer satisfie God, to whome nothing is pleasant or acceptable that proceedeth from his enemies. And his enemies are all they to whom he purposeth to impute sinnes. Therefore our sinnes must be couered and forgiven, before that the Lorde haue respect to any worke of ours. Whereupon followeth that the forgiveness of sinnes is of free grace which they do wickedly blaspheme that truit in any satisfactions. Let vs therefore, after the example of the Apostle, forgetting those things y^e are behind vs, and hasting

Leu. 18. 5.

Gen. 3. 17.

Phil. 3. 13.

forwarde to those things that are before vs, run in our race, endeuouring to the price of the hie calling.

14 But how doth the boasting of the works of supererogation agree with that rule which is taught vs, that when wee haue done all thinges that are commaunded vs, we should say that we are vnprofitable seruantes, and that we haue done no more than we ought? To say before God, is not to faime or to lie, but to determine with thy selfe, that which thou art assured of. The Lorde therefore commaunded vs vnfaingly to thinke and consider with our selues, that we doe not any free beneficial doinges to him, but to render due seruice. And worthily. For we are seruantes endetted in so many seruices, as we are not able to discharge, although all our thoughtes and al our members, were turned into dutifull deedes of the lawe. And therefore that which he sayth. When ye haue done all thinges that are commaunded you, &c. is asmuch in effect, as if the righteousnes of one man were more than al y righteousnesse of men. How therefore may we (of whome 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 & say, that nothing withstandeth but that his endeour may proceed beyond necessary duties, which in some behalfe ceaseth those that be from necessary. For this we must altogether holde, that we can imagine nothing that auaileth either to the worship or the loue of God, which is not comprehended vnder the law of God. If it be a part of the law, let vs not boast of voluntary liberality, where we are bound to necessity.

15 And for this purpose that glorying of Paul is out of season alleaged: That among the Corinthians he did of his own will yelde of his right, which otherwise he might haue vsed if he had would, & that he hath employed vpon them not onely so much as he ought of dutie, but also hath giuen them his free trauaill beyond the boundes of duties. But they should haue marked the reason there expressed, that he did this least he should be an offence to the weak. For false and deceitfull workemen did boast them selues with this alluring shewe of liberalitie, whereby they might both procure fauour to their poisonous doctrines, and raise vp hatred to the Gospel, so that Paul was driuen of necessity either to bring the doctrine of Christ into danger, or to meeete with such craftes. Go to: if it be to a christian man an indifferent thing, to run into offence, when he may refraine it, then I grant that the Apostle did somthing of Supererogation for the lord. But if this were by right required of a wise distributor of the Gospel, then I say that he did that which was his dutie to do. Finally although there appeare no such cause, yet this saying of Chrystome is alway true, that all our thinges are in the same case wherein are the proper possessions of bondmen, which it is certaine by the lawe to be due to their Lord. And Christ hath vttered the same in the parable. For he asked what thanke we will giue to a bondeferuant when hauing bene all the day trauailed with sundrie labours he returneth home to vs in the euening. But it is possible, that he 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 hee with his whole abilitie is ours. I speake not of what sort their Supererogations are which these men

will boast of to God: for they be trifles, such as hee neither hath at any time commaunded, nor doth approue them, nor will allowe them when account shall be made before him. In this signification onely we will graunt that they are workes of Supererogation, namely of which it is spoken in the Prophet: *Psal. 1. 12.* who hath required these things at your handes? But let them remember what is in an other place also spoken of these things: *Psal. 55. 2.* Wherefore doe yee weye your siluer and not in bread? Ye spende your labour and not in being satisfied. It is indeede not verie harde for these idle Rabbines to dispute vnder the shadowe in a soft chaire: but when the soueraigne iudge shall sit in his iudgement seate, such windy decrees shall of necessitie vanishe away. This, this was to be sought what affiance of defence wee may bring to his iudgement seat, not what we may talke of in schooles and corners.

16 In this behalfe there are chiefly two pestilences to be driuen out of our mindes: that we put no affiance in the righteousnes of workes: And y we ascribe no part of glorie to them. The scriptures doe euerie where thrust vs from all manner of affiance, when they teach that our righteousneses doe stinke in y sight of God, vnles they receiue a good sauor from the innocencie of Christ, and that they can do nothing but prouoke the vengeance of God, vnlesse they be susteyned by the tendernes of his mercie. Moreouer they so leaue nothing to vs, but that wee shoulde craue the mercie of our iudge with that confession of Dauid, that none shall bee iustified before him, if he require account of his seruantes. But where Iob saith: If I haue done wickedly, woe to mee: but if I doe righteously, yet I will not so lift vp my head: though he meane of that most high righteousnesse of God, wherunto the verie Angels answere not: yet hee 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 yeeld than daungerously striue with the rigorousnesse of God: but he meaneth that hee felt no other righteousnesse in himself, than such as at y first moment should fall before the sight of God. When affiance is driuen away, all glorying must also necessarily depart. For who can giue the praise of righteousnesse to these workes, the affiance wherof trembleth before the sight of God? We must therefore come whither *Esa. 46. 20.* *Esa. 61. 3.* say calleth vs, that all the seede of Israel may be praised & glory 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 any behalfe rest vppon the confidence of workes, nor reioyce in the glorie of them. But this error encouraged foolish men to the puffing vp of this false and lying affiance, that they alway set the cause of their saluation in workes.

14 But if wee looke to the foure kindes of causes, which the Philosophers teach vs to consider in the effect of things, we shall finde that none of them doth accorde with workes in the stablissing of our saluation. For the scripture doth euerie where report, that the cause of procuring the eternall lyfe to vs, is the mercie of the heauenly Father and his free loue towards vs: that materiall cause is Christe with his obedience, by which hee purchased righteousnesse for vs. What also shall wee say to be the formall

Ioh. 3. 16.

or instrumentall cause but faith? And these three causes Iohn comprehendeth together in one sentence, when hee saith, G O D so loued the worlde, that he gaue his onely begotten sonne, that euerie one which beleueth in him may not perish, but may haue euerlasting life. Now the final cause the Apostle testifieth to be both y^e shewing of the righteousnes of God and the praise of his goodnesse: where he rehearseth also the other three in expresse words. For he saith thus to the Romanes: all haue sinned and doe neede the glorie of God: but they are iustified freely by his grace. Here thou hast the head & first fountaine, namely that God embraced vs with his free mercie. Then followeth: By the redemption which is in Christ Iesu.

Rom. 3. 23.

Here thou hast as it were the matter whereof righteousnesse is made for vs through faith in his bloode. Here is shewed the instrumentall cause, whereby the righteousnesse of Christ is applied to vs. Last of all hee ioyneth the ende, when hee 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 wee are receiued of God into fauour by mere mercie: that the same is wrought, by the intercession of Christ: receiued by faith: all to this ende, that the glorie of the goodnesse of God may fully shine. When we see that all the parts of our saluation are so without vs, what cause is there that wee 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 halfe place wth faith and the righteousnes of Christ. But this also they teach, the Scripture crying out against them, which simplie affirmeth both y^e Christ is to vs for righteousnesse and life, and that this benefite of righteousnesse is possessed by onely faith.

18 But whereas the holy men do oftentimes strengthen and comfort themselves with remembrance of their owne innocencie and vprightnesse, and sometime also forbear not to report of it with prayse, that is done two ways: either y^e in comparing their good cause with the euill cause of the wicked, they conceyue thereby assured trust of victorie, not so much for commending of their owne righteousnesse, as for the iust and deserued condemning of their aduersaries: or that euen without comparison of other, while they recorde themselves before God, the purenes of their owne conscience bringeth to them both some comfort and affiance. Of the first of these two wayes, wee shall see hereafter: nowe let vs briefly declare of the latter, how it agreeth with that which we haue aboue saide, that in the iudgement of God we must rest vpon no affiance of workes, and glorie vpon no opinion of them. This is the agreement that the holy ones, when it concerneth the founding and stablishing of their saluation, doe without respect of workes bend their eyes to the onlie goodnesse of God. And they doe not onely bend themselves to it afore all thinges as to the beginning of blessednesse, but do rest therein as in the fulfilling of it. A conscience so founded, raised
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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 of thy minde vpon the mercie of God: it ought not to seeme contrarie to that whereupon it hangeth. Wherefore when we exclude the affiance of workes, we meane onely this that a Christian minde may not bowe to the merite of works as to y^e succour of saluation, but should throughly rest in the free promise of righteousnesse. But we forbid it not to vnderprop & strengthen this faith with y^e signes of the good will 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 manner as it were beames of the face of God, by which wee are enlightened: to beholde that soueraigne light of goodnesse: much more is the grace of good workes, which sheweth that the Spirite of adoption is giuen vs.

19 When therefore the holy ones doe by innocencie of conscience confirme their faith, and gather matter of reioycing, they do nothing but call to minde by the fruites of their calling, that they are adopted of y^e Lord into the place of children. This therefore that is taught by Salomon, that in the feare of the Lorde is stedfast 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 onely of value, if they be taken of the ensuing effect: because both that feare is no where which may stablish a full assurednesse, and the holy ones are priue in their conscience of such an vprightnesse, wherewith are yet mingled many remnauntes of the fleshe. But forasmuch as of the fruites of regeneration they gather an argument of the holy Ghost dwelling in them, they do therby not slenderly strengthen themselues to look for the help 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 goodnesse of God, sealed with no other assurednesse, thā of the promise. For if they beginne to wey it by good workes, nothing shall be more vncertayne nor more weake: for asmuch as if workes be considered by themselues, they shall no lesse by their imperfection shewe prooffe of the wrath of God, than they doe with howsoever imperfecte purenesse testifie his good will. Finally they doe so set 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, & hight of them: as if he should say, Whethersoever the senses of the godly doe turne themselues, howe hie soeuer they climbe, how farre and wide soeuer they extend them, yet they ought not to goe out of the loue of Christ, but holde themselues wholly in the meditation thereof, because it comprehendeth al kindes of measures in it. And therefore he saith that it excelleth and surmounteth aboue all knowledge: & that when we acknowledge howe much Christ hath loued vs, we are fulfilled into all the fulnesse of God. As in an other place, when he glorieth that al the Godly are vanquishers in battel, he by and by addeth a reason, because of him that loued vs.

Pro. 14. 26.

Gen. 24. 40.
2. King. 20. 3

Ephe. 3. 18.

Rom. 8. 37.

20 We see nowe that there is not in the holy ones y^e affiaunce of works; which either giueth any thing to the merite of them (forasmuch as they regarde them none otherwise than as the gifts of God, whereby they reknowledge his goodnesse none otherwise than as signes of their calling, whereby they may think vpon their election) or which withdraweth not any thing fro^e y^e free righteousnesse which we obtaine in Christ, forasmuch as it hangeth vpon it, and standeth not without it. The same thing doeth Augustine in fewe wordes, but verie well set out where he writeth, I do not say to y^e Lord, despise not the workes of my handes, or I haue sought the Lorde with my handes and haue not beene deceiued. But, I do not commend the workes of my handes: for I feare, least when thou hast looked vpon them, thou shalt finde moe sinnes than merits. Only this I say, this I aske, this I desire, despise not the workes of thy handes, beholde in me thy worke, not mine. For if thou beholdest mine, thou damnest mee: if thou beholdest thine, thou crownest me. For also whatsoeuer good workes I haue, they are of thee. Hee 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 owne: secondly, because the same is also ouerwhelmed with multitude of sinnes. Wherupon commeth to passe that the conscience feeleth thereby more feare & 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, hee may make an end of the worke which he hath begonne.

21 But furthermore whereas y^e scripture sheweth that the good workes of the faithfull, are causes why the Lord doeth good to them, that is so to be vnderstanded, that y^e which we haue before set may stand vnshaken, that y^e Effect of our saluation consisteth in the loue of God the Father: the Matter, in the obedience of the Sonne: the iustrument, in the enlightning of the holy Ghost, that is to say, in faith: that the end is the glorie of the so great kindnesse of God. These things withstande not, but that the Lorde may embrace workes as inferiour causes. Bnt whence commeth that? Namely whom the Lorde of his mercie hath appointed to the inheritance of eternall life, them with his ordinarie 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 manner he sometime deriueth eternall life from workes: not for that is to be ascribed to them: but because

Rom. 8. 30. whome 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 towarde that which followeth, after a certaine 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 onely thinking vpon the mercie of God. For what manner 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 doeth he not set righteousnesse in comparison against sinne, as hee setteth life against death? Why doeth he not make righteousnesse the cause of life, as he maketh sinne the cause of death? For so shoulde the comparison of contraries haue stande wel 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

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the deseruinges of men; that life is reposed in the onely mercie of God. Finally in these maners of speaking is rather expressed the order than y cause: because God in heaping graces vpon graces, taketh cause of the first to adde the seconde, that he may leaue nothing vndone to the enriching of his seruantes: and he so continually extendeth his liberalitie, that yet he would haue vs alway to looke vnto the free election which is the fountaine & beginning of it. For although he loueth y giftes which he dayly giueth, insomuch as they spring out of that fountaine: yet it is our part to holde fast that free acceptation, which alone is able to vpholde our soules: as for such giftes of his Spirit as he afterwarde giueth vs, so to adioyne them to the first cause, that they minish nothing of it.

The xv. Chapter.

That those shinges that are commonly boasted concerning the merites of workes, doe overthrow as well the praise of God in giuing of righteousnesse, as also the assurednesse of saluation.

NOwe we haue declared that which is the cheefe point in this matter: that because if righteousnesse be vpholden with workes, it must needs by and by fal downe before the sight of God, it is contened 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 wee be entangled with that generall errour, 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 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 proued that they be of any value with God. But wee haue aboue plainly shewed that the righteousnesse of workes consisteth onely in the perfect and keeping of the lawe. Wherevpon followeth that no man is iustified by workes, but he that hauing climbed vp to the hiest top of perfection cannot be proued guiltie of any offence be it neuer so litle. Therefore it is an other & a seueral question: Howsoever workes suffice not to iustifie a man, whether yet do they not deserue fauor with god?

2 First of the name of merite I must needs say this afore hande, that whosoever first applied it to workes of men compared to the iudgement of God, he did very ill prouide for the purenesse of faith. Truly I doe by my good will abstaine from struiues aboue wordes, but I woulde wish that this sobrietie had alway ben vsed among Christian writers, y they would not haue found in their harts to vse words strange from the scriptures, which ingendered much offence & no fruit. For whereto, I beseech you, was it needful to haue the name of merit brought in, when the price of good workes might be fitly expressed by an other name without offence? But howe much offence that worde containeth in it, is euident with the great hurt of the worlde. Surely as it is most proude it can doe nothing but darken the grace of God, and fill men with frowarde pride. The olde writers of the Church, I graunt, haue commonly vsed it, and I woulde to God they had not with the abusing
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of one little worde giuen to posteritie matter of errour. Howbeit they them selues also doe in manie places testifie, howe in no case they meant to giue any periudice against the trueth. For thus saith Augustine in one place, Let merites of men here holde 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 hee 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 own merits, but of the mercie of God. You see howe taking from men the power of doing well, he also throweth downe the dignitie of merite. And Chrysostome saith, Our workes, if there bee any, which followe the free calling of God, are repayment and debte: but y gifts of God are grace and bountifullnesse and the greatnesse of liberal giuing. But leauing the name, let vs rather looke vpon the thing. I haue verily before alleadged 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 forth with an exposition, he sufficiently mitigateth the hardnesse of the worde, where he saith: Therefore care thou to haue Merites: when thou hast them, knowe that they are giuen: hope for fruite, the mercie of God: and so thou hast escaped all danger, of pouertie, vnthankfulnes, and presumption. Happy is y church which neither wanteth merits without presumption, nor presumptiō without merits. And a litle before he had largely shewed, how godly a meaning he vsed. For of Merites, (saith hee) why should the Church bee carefull, which hath a stedfaster and surer cause to glorie of the purpose of God? God cannot denie himselfe, he will doe that which hee hath promised. If there be no cause why thou shouldest aske, by what merites may wee hope for good thinges? specially sith thou hearest it said, Not for your sakes, but for my sake: it sufficeth to Merite, to know that Merites suffice not.

Eze. 36. 22.

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 vncleannesse: then, what the perfect obseruing of the lawe (if any such coule bee found) shall deserue, when it teacheth that wee shoulde thinke our selues vnprofitable seruantes when wee haue done all thinges that are commaunded vs: because wee shall haue giuen nothing freely to the Lorde, 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 Lorde both calleth ours and testifieth that they are not only acceptable to him, but also that they shall haue rewarde. It is our duetie againe for our part, to bee encouraged with so great a promise, and to gather vp our heartes, that we bee not wearied with well doing, and to yeelde true thankfulnesse to so great bountifullnesse of G O D. 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 wee ought properly to ascribe to our selues. This if wee doe truly and earnestly acknowledge, there vanisheth away not onely all affiaunce but also opinion of Merite. Wee (I say) doe not part the praise of good workes (as the Sophisters doe) betweenc G O D and man: but wee reserue it whole, perfecte, and vnminished to the Lorde. Onely this wee as-

signe

De prædest.
Sanct. In
Psal. 139.
In Psal, 88.

Hom. 33.
in Gen.

Luk. 17. 10.

figne to man, that euen the selfe same workes that were good hee by his vncleanness corrupteth and defleth. For nothing commeth out of man, howe 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: he shall verily espie in them his owne righteoufnesse, but mans dishonesty and shame. Good workes therefore do please God and are not vnprofitable to the doers of them, but rather they receiue for rewarde the most large benefites of G O D: not because they so deserue, but because the goodnesse of God hath of it selfe appointed this price vnto them. But what spitefulnesse is this, that men not contented with that liberalitie of God, which giueth vndue rewards to workes that deserue no such thing, do with ambition ful of sacriledge endeouour further, y that which is wholly of the liberalitie of God, may seeme to be rendered to y merites of men. Here I appeale to the common iudgement of euery man. If any man that hath a taking of profit in a peece of ground by another mans liberall graunt, do also claime to himselfe the title of proprietie: doth he not by such vnthankfulnesse deserue to loose the very selfe possession which he had? Likewise, if a bondslauie being made free of his Lord, do hide the baseness 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 benefite, if wee neither claime to our selues more than is giuen, nor do defraude the author of the benefite of his praise: but rather do so behaue our selues, that that which he hath giuen from him selfe to vs, may seeme after a certaine manner 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.

Libertine, is
he y is free
by manu-
mission, not
by birth.

4 I knowe that the Sophisters do abuse certaine places, to proue therby that the name of Merit toward God is founde in the Scriptures. They alleage a sentence out of Ecclesiasticus, Mercy shal make place to euery man, according to the Merite of his workes. And out of the Epistle to the Hebrewes, 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 deny that they faithfully alleage that which Ecclesiasticus, whatsoeuer writer he were, hath written. For the Greeke copie is thus: *πάση ἰδενμοσύνη ποιήσει τιπον, ἕκαστος γὰρ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἰσθήσει.* He shal make place to euery mercie, & euery man shall finde according to his works. And that this is the true text, which is corrupted in y Latine translation, appeareth both by the framing of these wordes, & by a longer ioyning together of the sentence going before. In the Epistle to the Hebrewes, there is no cause why they should snare vs in one litle worde, when in the Greeke wordes of the Apostle is nothing else but that such sacrifices doe please & be acceptable to God. This alone ought largely to suffice to subdue & beate downe the outragioufnes of our pride, that wee faine not any worthines to workes beyond the rule of Scripture. Now the doctrine of the Scripture is, that al our good workes are continually besprinkled with many filthie spottes, wherewith God may be worthily offended & be angry w vs: so farre is it off, y they be able to win him to vs, or to prouoke his liberalitie

Eccle. 16. 14

Hcb. 13. 6.

toward vs: Yet because he of his tender kindnesse doeth not examine them by extremitie of law, he taketh them as if they were moste pure, and therefore though without merite, he rewardeth them with infinite benefits 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, and that eternall life is the rewarde of faith alone. For the Lorde doeth commonly alway set in heauen the rewarde 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 Lorde heapeth vs with graces vpon graces, is against the doctrine of the Scripture. For though Christ saith that to him that hath, shalbe giuen, and that the faithful & good seruant which hath shewed himselfe faithfull in fewe things, shalbe set ouer many: yet he also sheweth in another place, that the increases of the faithfull are the giftes of his free goodnes. All ye that thirst (saith he) come to the waters: and ye that haue not money, come & byc milke and honie without money and without any exchange. Whatsoever therefore is nowe giuen to the faithfull for help 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 testific the greatnesse of his loue toward vs, he vouchsafeth to grant such honor not only to vs, but also to the giftes which he hath giuen vs.

Mat. 25. 21.
and 29.

Esa, 55, 1.

1. Cor. 3. 11.

1. Cor. 1. 30.

Ephe. 1. 4.
Col. 1. 14. &
20.

Ioh. 30. 28.

5 If these things had in the ages past bene handeled & disposed in such order as they ought to haue bene, there had neuer arisen so many troubles & dissensions. Paul saith, that in the building of Christian doctrine, we must keepe stil that foundation which he had layed among the Corinthians, beside which no other can be layed: and that the same foundation is Iesus Christe. What maner of foundation haue we in Christ? is it, that he was to vs the beginning of saluation: that the fulfilling thereof should follow of our selues? & hath he but only opened the way, by which wee should go forwarde of our owne strength? Not so: but, as he said a litle before, when wee acknowledge him, he is giuen to vs for righteousnesse. No man therefore is well founded in Christ, but he that hath full righteousnesse in him: forasmuch as the Apostle saith not that he was sent to helpe vs to obtaine righteousnes, but that he himselfe might be our righteousnesse. Namely, that we 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 wee are redeemed from the damnation of death, and deliuered from destruction: that in him wee are adopted of the heauenly 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 peril of perishing and of being lost: that being so engrafted in him, wee are already 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 wee be yet fooles in our selues, he is wisdom for vs before God: howsoever wee be sinners, he is righteousnesse for vs: howsoever wee be vnclene, hee is cleannesse for vs: howsoever wee be weake, howsoever vnarmed and lying open in daunger of Satan, yet ours is the power which is giuen
him

him in heauen and earth, whereby he may treade downe Satan for vs, and breake y gates of hels: howsoeuer we stil cary about with vs y body of death, yet he is life for vs: briefly that all his thinges are ours, & we in him haue all thinges, in our selues nothing. Vpon this foundation, I say, it behoueth that we be builded, if we will encrease into a holy temple to the Lorde.

Mat. 28, 18.

6 But the worlde hath a long time benee otherwise taught. For there haue benee found out I wot not what morall good works, by which men may be made acceptable to God before that they be grafted in Christ. As though the Scripture lieth, when it saith, that they are all in death which haue not possessed the Sonne. If they be in death, howe shoulde they bring foorth matter of life? As though it were of no more force, that whatsoeuer is done without faith, is sinne: as though there may be good fruites of an euill tree. But what haue these most pestilent Sophisters left to Christ wherein he may shewe foorth his power? They say that hee hath deserued for vs the first grace, namely the occasion of deseruing: that it is nowe our parte not to faile the occasion offered. O desperate shamelesse of vngodlinesse. Who would haue thought that men professing the name of Christ, durst so strippe him naked of his power, and in a maner tread him vnder foote? This testimonie is ech where spoken of him, that al they are iustified that beleue in him: these fellows 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 whosoever beleueth, is already passed from death into life: that we are iustified by his grace, y we might be made heires of eternall life: that the faithfull haue Christe abiding in them, by whome they cleaue fast to God: that they which are partakers of his life, do sit with him in heauenly places: that they are transplanted into the kingdom 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 obreine 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.

1. Iohn 5. 12
Rom. 14. 23.1. Iohn 5. 12
Iohn 5. 24.
Rom. 3. 24.
1. Ioh. 3. 23.
Eph. 2. 6.
Col. 1. 13.

7 So the Sorbonicall scholes, the mothers of all errours, haue taken from vs the iustification of faith which is the summe of all godlinesse. They grant verily in worde, that man is iustified by formed faith: but this they afterwarde 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 repeted of the Scripture. And not yet contented, they doe in the praise of good works priuily steale from God somewhat to giue away to man. Because they see that good workes litle auaille to aduance man, and that they can not 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, oyle 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 onely the latter Sophisters do teach, but also their Pythagoras, Lombard: whom if you compare with these men, you may say to be sounde witted and sober. It was truly a pointe of maruellous blindenesse, that when they had Augustine so oft in their mouth, they sawe not with how greate carefulnesse that man prouided that no peece of the glorie of good wotkes were it neuer so litle, should bee 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 many 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 al our merite is onely of grace, that it is not gotten by our sufficiencie, but is al made by grace, &c. It is no maruell that Lombarde was blinde at the light of the Scripture, in which it appeareth that he was not so well practised. Yet nothing could be desired more plaine against him and his disciples, than this word of the Apostle, For when he forbiddeth Christians all glorying, he adioyneth a reason why it is not lawful to glorie: because we are that handworke of God, created to all good wotkes, that we shoulde walke in them. Sith therefore there cometh out of vs no good thing, but in so much as we be regenerate: and our regeneration is whole of God without exceptiō: there is no right why we should claime to our selues one ounce in good wotkes. Finally whereas they continually call vpon good wotkes, in the meane time they so instruct consciences, y they neuer dare haue affiance, that they haue God well pleased and fauourable to their wotkes. But contrariwise we, without making any mention of Merite, do yet by our doctrine raise vp the courages of the faithfull with singular comforte, when we teach them that in their wotkes 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 say, vnlesse he doe first with assured confidence of minde determine that he shall please God.

8 Wherefore let vs not suffer our selues to be led so much as one haire bredth away from this onely foundation: which being layd, wise builders do afterwarde well and orderly builde vpon it. For if there be neede of doctrine and exhortation, they put men in minde, that the sonne of God hath appeared to this ende, that he might destroy the wotkes of the deuill: that they should not sinne which are of God, that the time past is enough for the fulfilling of the desires of the Gentiles: that the elect of God are vessels of 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 themselues, and taking vp their crosse, doe followe him. He that hath forsaken himselfe, hath cut off the roote of al euils, that he may no more seeke those things that are his own. He that hath taken vp his crosse, hath framed himselfe to all patience and mildenesse. But the example of Christ conteineth both these and all other dueties of godlines & holinesse. He shewed himselfe obedient to his father, euen to the death: he was wholly occupied in doing the wotkes of God: he with his whole heart breathed out the glorie of Ius father: hee gaue his soule for his brethren: he

both

Li. 2. dist. 28.

In Psal. 144.
Epist. 105.

Eph. 2. 10.

1. Iohn 3. 8.
1. Pet. 4. 3.
2. Tim. 2. 24
Luk. 9. 23.

both did good and wished good to his enemies. If there bee neede of comfort, these wil bring marueilous comfort, that we be in affliction, but wee are not made carefull: that we labour, but we are not forsaken: wee are brought low, but we are not confounded: we are thrown downe, but wee 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 wee be dead with him, we shall also liue together with him: if we suffer with him, wee shall also reigne together with him: that we be so fashioned like to his sufferings, till wee 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, whome, 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 G O D: but we say, that all they that are of God, are regenerate and made a newe creature, that they may passe out of the kingdome of sinne into the kingdome of righteousness, and that by this testimonie they make their calling certaine, and are iudged as trees by the fruites.

1. Cor. 4. 8.

2. Tim. 2. 11. 12.
Phil. 3. 10.

Rom. 8. 29.

2. Pet. 1. 10.

The xvj. Chapter.

A confutation of the slanders, whereby the Papises go about to bring this doctrine in hatred.

WITH this one worde may the shamelesnesse of certaine vngodly men be confuted which slander vs with saying that wee destroye good woorkes, and do drawe men away from the following of them, when wee say that they are not iustified by workes, nor doe deserue saluation: and againe, that wee make too easie a way to righteousness, when wee teach that it lyeth in the free forgiuenesse of sinnes, and that wee doe by this enticement allure men to sinne, which are of their owne will too much inclined thereto alreadie. These slanders (I say) are with that one worde sufficiently confuted: yet I will briefly aunswere to them both. They allege that by y^e iustification of faith, good workes are destroyed. I leaue vnspoken, what manner of men be these zelous louers of good workes which do so backbite vs. Let them haue licence as freely to rayle as they doe licentiously infect the whole worlde with the filthinesse of their life. They faine that they be griued, 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 do wee dreame of a faith voide of good workes, nor a iustification that is without them. This onely is the difference, that when we confesse that faith and good workes do necessarily hang together, yet wee set iustification in faith, not in workes. For what reason we do so, we haue in readinesse easily to declare, if wee doe but turne to Christ vnto whome our faith is directed, and from whome it receiueh her whole strength. Why therefore are wee iustified by faith? because by faith wee take holde of the righteousness of Christ, by which alone wee are reconciled to God. But

1. Cor. 1. 30. this thou canst not take holde of, but that thou must also therewithall take holde of sanctification. For he was giuen to vs, for righteousness, wisdom, sanctification, and redemption. Therefore Christ iustificeth none whome he doeth not also sanctifie. For these benefites are coupled together with a perpetuall and vnseparable knot, that whome he enlighteneth with his wisdom, them he redeemeth: whome he redeemeth, he iustificeth: whome he iustificeth, he sanctifieth. But forasmuch as our question is onely of righteousness and sanctifying, let vs stay vpon these. We may put difference betwene them, yet Christ containeth them both vnseparably in himselfe. Wilt thou therefore obtaine righteousness 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 pieces. Sith therefore the Lorde doeth 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 appeareth how true it is, that wee are iustified not without workes, and yet not by workes: because in the partaking of Christ, whereby wee are iustified, is no lesse contained sanctification than righteousness.

2 That also is most false, that the minds of men are withdrawn from the affection of wel-doing, when wee 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 liberall when he assigneth rewarde to workes, than when he giueth power to doe wel. But this I had rather differre to the place fit for it. Now it shalbe enough to touch how weake their obiection is: which shalbe don two wayes. For first whereas they say that there shalbe 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 entended when men serue God, that they looke to rewarde, or let out to hire or sell their labors to him, they litle 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 cesseth not to worship him. Moreouer, if men be to be pricked forward, no man can put sharper spurres vnto them, than those that are taken of the ende of our redemption and calling: such as the worde of God spurreth men withall, when it teacheth, that it is too wicked vnthankfulnes, 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 sacriledge, if being once cleansed, wee defile our selues with newe filthinesse, and prophane that holy blood: that wee are deliuered from the handes of our enemies, that wee may without feare serue him in holinesse and righteousness before him all the dayes of our life: that wee are made free from sinne, that we may with a free Spirit followe righteousness: that our olde man is crucified, that wee may rise againe into newnesse of life: againe, that if wee be dead with Christ (as becommeth his members) we must seeke those things that are aboue, and must in the worlde be waifaring men from home, that wee may long towarde heauen where is our treasure: that the grace of

Heb. 9. 14.
Luk. 1. 74.

Rom. 6. 18.

Col. 3. 1.
Tit. 2. 11.

God

God hath appeared to this end, that forsaking all vngodlineesse and worldly desires, we may liue soberly, holily, and godlyly in this world, loking for the blessed hope and the appearing of the glory of the great G O D and sauour: therefore that wee are not appointed that wee should stirre vp wrath to our selues, but that we may obtaine saluation by Christ: that we are the temples of the holy Ghost, which it is not lawfull to be defiled: that we are not darknesse, but light in the Lorde, which must walke as children of light: that we are not called to vncleannesse, but to holinesse: because this is the will of G O D, our sanctification, that we abstaine from vnlawful desires: that our calling is holy, that the same is not fulfilled but with purenesse of life: that we are for this purpose deliuered from sinne, that we should obey to righteousness. Can we be pricked forward to charity with any more liuely argument than that of Iohn, that we should mutually loue one another as God hath loued vs? that herein his children doe differ from the children of the Deuill, the children of light from the children of darknesse, because they abide in loue? Againe with that argument of Paul, that we if we cleaue to Christ, are the members of one body, which it is meete to be holpen one of another with mutuall duties? Can we be more strongly prouoked to holines than when wee heare againe of Iohn, that all they that haue this hope, doe sanctifie themselues, because their God is holy? Againe of the mouth of Paul: that hauing the promise of adoption, wee shoulde cleanse our selues from all the defiling of the fleshe and spirite? then when wee heare Christe setting foorth himselte for an example vnto vs that we shoulde followe his steppes?

3 And these fewe thinges I haue set forth for a tast. For if I should entend to goe through all, I should be driuen to make a long volume. The Apostles ate all full of encouragements, exhortations and rebukings, whereby they may instruct the man of God to euery good worke, & that without any mention of merite. But rather they fetch their chiefe exhortations from this that our saluation standeth vpon the onely mercie of G O D 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 righteousness of Christe, when he commeth downe to morall exhortations, he beseecheth them by that mercie of God which he hath vouchsafed to extende to vs. And truly this one cause ought to haue bin sufficient, that God may be glorified in vs. But if any be not so vehemently moued with the glorie of God, yet the remembrance of his benefites ought to haue bin, most sufficient, to stirre vp such men to do well. But these men, which doe paradventure with thrusting in of merites beate out some seruile and constrained obediences of the lawe, doe falsly say that we haue nothing whereby we may exhorte men to good workes, because we goe not the same way to worke. As though God were much delited with such obediences which protesteth that he loueth a cherefull giuer, and forbiddeth any thing to be giuen as it were of heauinesse or of necessity. 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 rehearseth the rewarde which God will render to euery man according

1. Thef. 5. 9.

1. Cor. 3. 16.

Eph. 2. 22.

and 5. 8.

2. Cor. 6.

1. Thef. 4. 7.

2. Tim. 1. 9.

Rom. 6. 18.

Ioh. 13. 10.

1. Ioh. 2. 11.

1. Cor. 6. 17.

and 12. 12.

1. Iohn. 3. 3.

2. Cor. 7. 1.

Rom. 12. 1.

Matt. 5. 16.

Chryf. hom.
in Gen.

2. Cor. 9. 7.

to his workes. But I denye that that is the onely thing, yea or the chiefe among many. And then I graunt not that wee ought to take beginning therat. Moreouer I affirme that it maketh nothing to the setting vp of such merites as these men boast of, as wee shall hereafter see. Last of all I say that is to no profitable vse, vnlesse this doctrine haue first taken place, that wee are iustified by the onely merite of Christ, which is concieued by faith but by no merites of our workes, because none can be fitte to the endeouour of holinesse, vnlesse they haue first digested this doctrine. Which thing also the Prophet verie 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 wee may knowe not onely that the beginning of worshipping God aright is the affiance of his mercy, but also that the feare of God (which the Papistes will haue to be meritorious) cannot haue the name of merite, because it is grounded vpon the pardon and forgiueneffe of sinnes.

Psal. 130.

4 But it is a moste vaine slander, that men are allured to sinne, when wee affirme the free forgiueneffe of sinnes, in which we say that righteousnesse consisteth. For, wee say that it is of so great value, that it can with no good of ours be recompensed, and that therefore it shoulde neuer be obtained, vnlesse it were freely giuen. Moreouer, that it is to vs in deede freely giuen, but not so to Christ which bought it so deerely, namely with his owne most holy blood, beside which there was no price of value enough that might be paid 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, wee learne, that our filthinesse is such, as is neuer washed away but with y^e fountaine of this most pure blood. Ought not they that heare these thinges, to conceiue a greater horroure of sinne, than if it were saide that it is wiped away with the sprinkling of good workes? And if they haue any thing of God, howe can they but dread being once cleansed, to wallowe themselues againe in the mire, as much as in them lieth to trouble and infect the purenesse of this fountaine? I haue washed my feete (saith the faithful soule in Salomon) howe shall I againe defile them? Nowe it is euident, whether sort doe both more abace the forgiueneffe of sinnes, and do more make vile the dignitie of righteousnesse. They babble that God is appeased with their owne trifling satisfactions, that is, their dounge: Wee affirme that the guiltinesse of sinne is more gricuous than can be purged with so light trifles: that the displeasure of God is more heauie than can be released with these satisfactions of no value, and that therefore this is the prerogatiue of 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 wee must flee to the onely mercie of God. As for the rest of those things that pertaine to the forgiueneffe of sinnes, let them be sought out of the next Chapter.

Cant. 3. 5.

The xvii. Chapter.*The agreement of the promises of the lawe and the Gospel.*

NOwe let vs also go through the other argumentes wherewith Satan by the souldiers of his garde, goeth about either to ouerthrowe or batter the iustification of faith. This I thinke we haue already wrung from the sclaunders, 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 affiurance in them, nor glorie in them, nor ascribe saluation vnto them. For this is our affiurance, 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 doe beside these assaile vs, as we haue sayde, with other engines, goe to, let vs go forwarde in beating away these also. First they come backe to the promises of the lawe, which the Lorde did set foorth to the keepers of his lawe: and they aske whether we will haue them to be vtterly voyde or effectuell. Because it were an absurditie and to be scorned to say that they are voyde, they take it for confessed that they are of some effectualnesse. Hereupon they reason that we are not iustified by only faith. For thus saith the Lord: *And it shalbe, if thou shalt here these commandements and iudgements, and shall keepe them and do them, the Lord also shall keepe with thee his couenant and mercy which he hath sworne to thy fathers, he shall loue thee and multiply thee, and blesse thee, &c.* Againe, *If ye shall well direct your wayes and your endeouours, if ye walk not after strange Gods, if ye do iudgement betweene man and man, and go not backe into malice, I will walke in the midst of you. I will not recite a thousande peeces of the same sort, which sith they nothing differ in sense, shalbe declared by the solution of these.* In a summe, Moses testifieth that in the lawe is set forth blessing and curse, death and life. Thus therefore they reason, that either this blessing is made idle and frutelesse, or that iustification is not of faith alone. We haue already before shewed, howe if we sticke fast in the lawe, ouer vs being destitute of all blessing, hangeth onely curse which is threatned to al transgressors. For the Lord promiseth nothing but to the perfect keepers of his law, such as there is none found. This therefore remaineth, that all mankinde is by the lawe accused, and subiect to curse & 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 should withdrawe vs from the keeping of the lawe, should allure vs to thinke all thinges lawfull and to suffer our lust, as it were the staies being broken and with loose reines to run at riot: but the spirituall libertie, which may comfort and raise vp a dismayed and ouerthrowen conscience, shewing it to be free from the curse and damnation wherewith the lawe helde it downe bounde and faste tyed. This deliuerance from the subiection of the lawe, and Manumission (as I may call it) wee obtaine when by sayth wee take holde of the mercie of

God in Christ, whereby we are certified and assured of the righteousnesse of finnes, with the feeling whercof the lawe did pricke and bite vs.

2 By this reason euen the promises that were offered vs in the law, should be all vneffectuall and voyde, 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, shal neuer be fulfilled. And the Lorde so helpeth, not by leauing part of righteousnes in our workes, and supplying parte by his mercifull bearing with vs, but when he setteth onely Christ for the fulfilling of righteousnesse. For the Apostle, when hē had before sayde that he and other Iewes beleueed in Iesus Christ, knowing that man is not iustified by the workes of the lawe, addeth a reason: not that they should be holpen to fulnesse of righteousnesse by the faith of Christ, but by it should be iustified, not by the workes of the lawe. If the faithfull remoue from the lawe into faith, that they may in faith finde righteousnesse which they see to be absent from the lawe: truly they forsake the righteousnesse of the lawe. Therefore now let him that list, amplify the rewardings which are saide to be prepared for the keeper of the law, so that he therewithall consider that it commeth to passe by our peruerfnesse, that we feele no fruite thereof till we haue obtained an other righteousnesse of faith. So Dauid, when he made mention of the rewarding which the Lorde hath prepared for his seruantes, by and by descendeth to the reknowledging of finnes, whereby that same rewarding is made voyde. Also in the xix. Psalme, he gloriously setteth foorth the benefites of the lawe, but he by and by crieth out: Who shall vnderstande his faults? Lord cleanse me from my secret faults. This place altogether agreeth with the place before, where when he had sayd that all the wayes of the Lord are goodnes & truth to them that feare him, he addeth: For thy names sake Lord, thou shalt be mercifull to my peruersenesse, for it is much. So ought we also to reknowledge, that there is in deede the good wil of God set forth vnto vs in y lawe, if we might deserue it by workes, but that the same neuer commeth to vs by the deseruing of workes.

3 How then? Are they giuen that they should vanish away without fruit? I haue euen nowe already protested that the same is not my meaning. I say verily that they vter not their effectualnesse toward vs, so long as they haue respect to the merite of workes, and that therefore if they be considered in themselues, they be after a certaine manner abolished. If the Apostle teacheth that this noble promise: I haue giuen you commaundementes, 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 profit than if it had not beene giuen at all: because it belongeth not euen to the most holy seruantes of God, which are all far from the fulfilling of the lawe, but are compassed aboute with many transgressions. But when the promises of the Gospel are put in place of them, which do offer free forgiuenesse of finnes, they bring to passe that not onely we our selues be acceptable to God, but that our workes also haue their thanke: & not this only that the Lord accepteth them, but also extendeth to them the blessings which where by couenant due to the keeping of y law. I grant therefore, that those thinges which the Lorde hath promised in his lawe to the followers

Gal. 3. 16.

Psal. 19. 12.

Psal. 25. 10.

Leuit. 18. 4.

Eze. 20. 11.

Rom. 10. 5.

followers of righteoufnesse and holinesse, are rendred to the workes of the faithfull: but in this rendring, the cause is alwayes to be considered that pouereth grace to workes. Now causes we see y^e there be three. The first is, that God turning away his sight from the workes of his seruantes, which alway deserue rather reproch than praise, embraceth them in Christ, and by the onely meane of faith reconcileth them to himselfe without the meane of workes. The seconde, that of his fatherly kindnesse and tender mercifulnes, he listeth vp workes to so great honour, not weying the worthines of them, that he accounteth them of some value. The third, that he receiueth the verie same workes with pardon, not imputing the imperfection, wherw^{ch} they al being defiled, should otherwise be rather reckened among sinnes than vertues. And hereby appeareth how much the Sophisters haue ben deceiued, which thought they had gaily escaped al absurdities when they said y^e workes do not of their owne inward goodnesse auaille to deserue saluation, but by y^e forme of the couenaut, because the Lord hath of his liberalitie so much esteemed them. But in the meane time they considered not, howe farre those workes which they woulde haue to be meritorious, were from the condition of the promises, vnles there went before both iustification grounded vpon onely faith, and the forgiuenes of sinnes, by which euen the good workes themselues haue neede to be wiped from spottes. Therefore of three causes of Gods liberalitie, by which it is brought to passe that the workes of y^e faithfull are acceptable, they noted but one, and suppressed two, yea and those the principall.

4 These alledge the saying of Peter, which Luke rehearseth in y^e Actes: I finde in tructh that God is not an accepter of persons: but in euerie nation he that doth righteoufnesse is acceptable to him. And hereupon they gather that which seemeth to be vndoubted, that if man doeth by right endeouours get himselfe the fauour of God, it is not the beneficial giste of God alone that he obtieineth saluation: yea that God doeth so of his mercie helpe a sinner, that he is by workes bowed to mercie. But you can in no wise make the Scriptures agree together, vnlesse you note a double accepting of man with God. For, such as man is by nature, God findeth nothing in him wherby he may be inclined to mercie, but onely miserie. If therefore it bee certaine that man is naked and needie of all goodnesse, and on the other full stuffed and loden with al kindes of euils, when God first receiueth them: for what qualitie, I pray you, shall we say that he is worthie of the heauenly calling? Away therefore with the vaine imagining of merites, where God so euidently setreth 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 most lewdly wrested, that man by endeuour of good workes is prepared to receiue the grace of God. For it must needes be that Cornelius was alreadie enlightened with the spirit of wisdome, sith he was endued with true wisdome, namely with the feate of God: that he was sanctified with the same Spirite, sith he was a follower of righteoufnesse, which the Apostle teacheth to be a most certaine fruit thereof. All these thinges therefore which are said to haue pleased God in him, he hath of his grace, so farre is it of that he did by his owne endeuour

Act. 10. 34

Gal. 5. 5.

prepare

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 hee seeth that mā should be euerie way lost, if hee be left to himselfe: but because hee will not haue him lost, he vseth his owne mercie in deliuering him. Nowe wee see howe this accepting hath not regarde to the righteousnesse of man, but is a mere token of the goodnesse of God towarde men being miserable & most vnworthie of so great a benefite.

5 But after that the Lorde hath brought man out of the bottomlesse depth of destruction, and seuered him to himselfe by grace of adoption: because he hath new begotten him and newly formed him into a newe life, he nowe embraceth him, as a newe creature with the giftes of his spirite. This is that accepting whereof Peter maketh mention, by which the faithfull are after their vocation allured of God euen in respect also of works: for the Lord cannot but loue & kisse those good things which he worketh in them by his Spirite. 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 & for their sakes, whatsoever good workes he hath giuen them in encreasing of his liberalitie, he also vouchsafeth to accepte. For whence haue they good workes, but because the Lorde, 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 graunth pardon to those deformities and spottes that cleaue to them? Summarily, he signifieth nothing else in this place, but that to God his children are acceptable and louely in whome he seeth the marks 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 wherefoeuer the Lord beholdeth his owne face, he both worthily loueth it and hath it in honour: it is not without cause saide, that the life of the faithfull being framed to holines & righteousnes please him, but because the godly being clothed with mortall fleshe, are yet sinners, and their good workes are but begunne and fauouring of the faultinesse of the fleshe: he can not be fauourable neither to those nor to these, vnlesse hee more embrace them in Christe than in themselues. After this manner are those places to be taken, which testifie that G O D is kinde and mercifull to the followers of righteousnes. Moses saide to the Israelites,

Deut. 7.9.

The Lorde thy God keepeth couenant, to a thousande generations: which sentence was afterwarde vsed of the people for a common maner of speech.

1. King. 8. 23

So Salomon in his solemne prayer, saith, Lord God of Israell, which keepest couenaunt and mercie to thy seruantes which walke before thee in their whole heart. The same wordes are also repeted of Nehemias. For,

Neh. 1. 5.

Deut. 29. 13.

as in all the couenants of his mercie, the Lord likewise on their behalves requireth of his seruantes vprighteousnesse and holines of life, that his goodnesse should not be made a mockerie, and that no man swelling with vaine reioysing by reason thereof shoulde blesse his owne soule, walking in the meane time in y^e pertuersnesse of his owne heart: so his will is by this way to keepe in their ductie them that are admitted into the communion of the

coue-

couenant: yet neuertheless the couenant it selfe is both made at the beginning free, and perpetually remaineth such. After this manner Dauid when he glorieth that there was rendred to him rewarde of the cleannesse of his handes, yet omitteth not that fountaine 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 freemercy which goeth before all giftes, whereof it is the beginning.

6 And here by the way it shalbe 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 eche where commonly written in the booke of Moses: (for as much as in them also are found many promises of the Gospel) but those which properly belong to the ministerie of the law. Such promises, by what name so euer you list to call them, doe declare that there is rewarde ready vpon condition, if thou doe that which is commaunded thee. But when it is sayde, that the Lord keepeth the couenant of mercie to them which loue him, therein is rather shewed what maner of men be his seruants which haue faithfully receiued his couenaunt, than the cause is expressed why the Lorde should doe good to them. Nowe this is the manner of shewing it. As the Lord vouchsafeth to graunt vs the grace of eternall life, to this ende 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, and that we should reuerence and worship the authour 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 duetic which ought to be continuall in them: that we are for this cause adopted, that we should honour him for our Father. Therefore least we should disherite our selues from the right of adoption, we must alway endeuour to this whereunto our calling tendeth. But let vs againe keepe this in minde, that the accomplishment of the mercie of God hangeth not vpon the works of the faithfull: but that he therefore fulfilleth the promise of saluation to them which aunswere to their calling in vprightnesse of life, because in them he acknowledgeth the naturall tokens of his children which are ruled with his Spirit vnto good. Hereunto let that be referred which is in the xv. Psalm spoken of the Citizens of the Church, Lorde who shall dwell in thy tabernacle, and who shall rest in thy holy hill? The innocent in handes and of a cleane heart, &c. Againe in Esaie, Who shall dwell with deuouring fire? He that doth righteousnesse, he that speaketh right things, &c. For there is not described the stay whereupon the faithful 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 he abhorreth sinne, he loueth righteousnesse: whome he ioyneth to himselfe, them he cleanseth with his spirit, that he may make them of like fashion to himselfe and his kingdome. Therefore if the question bee of the first cause whereby the entrie is made open to the holy ones into the kingdom of God, from whence they haue that they may stand fast & abide in it, we haue this aunswere ready, because the Lorde by his mercie both hath once adopted them, and perpetually defendeth them. But if the questi-

2. Sam. 22. 1

Esa. 33. 24.

on be of the maner, then we must come downe to regeneration & the fruits thereof, which are rehearsed in that Psalm.

7 But there seemeth to be much more hardnesse in these places, which doe both garnish good workes with the title of righteousness, and affirmeth that man is justified by them. Of the first sorte there be very manie places, where the obseruinges of the commaundementes are called iustifications or righteousnesses. Of the other sorte, that is an example which is in Moses, This shalbe our righteousness, if we keepe all these commaundementes. And if thou take exception and saye that this is a promise of the law, which being knit to a condition impossible, proueth nothing. There be other of which you can not make the same aunswere, as this: And that shalbe to thee for righteousness before the Lorde, to redeliuer to the poore man his pledge, &c. Again, that which the Prophete saieth, that the zeale in reuenging the shame of Israell, was imputed to Phinees for righteousness. Therefore the Pharisees of our time thinke that here they haue a large matter to triumphe vpon. For when we say, that when the righteousness of faith is set vp, the iustification of workes giueth place, by the same right they make this argument: If righteousness be of workes, then it is false that we are justified by faith onely. Though I graunt that the commaundementes of the lawe are called righteousnesses: it is no maruell: for they are so in deede. Howe be it we must warne the readers that the Grecians haue not fitly translated the Hebrue worde *Huemi, Dikaiomata*, righteousnesses for commaundements. But for the worde, I willingly release my quarell. For neither doe wee denie this to the lawe of GOD, that it containeth perfect righteousness. For although, because we are detters of all the things that it commaundeth, therefore euen when we haue performed full obedience thereof, we are vnprofitable seruants: yet because the Lorde vouchsafed to graunt it the honour of righteousness, we take not away that which he hath giuen. Therefore wee willingly confesse that the full obedience of the lawe is righteousness, that the keeping of euery commaundement, is a parte of righteousness, if so be that the whole summe of righteousness were had in the other partes also. But wee denie that there is any where any such forme of righteousness. And therefore we take away the righteousness of the lawe, not for that it is maimed and vnperfect of it selfe, but for that by reason of the weaknesse of our fleshe it is no where seene. But the Scripture not onely calleth simply the commaundementes of the Lord, righteousnesses: 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 righteousnesses of the Lorde: truly when it so speaketh, it weyeth workes rather by the nature of the lawe, than by their owne proper state. Howbeit here againe is that to be noted, which I euen now sayd, that of the negligence of the Greeke translatour is not a lawe to be made. But for asmuch as Luke would alter nothing in the receiued translation, I wil also not strue about it. For God hath commanded these things that are in the lawe to men for righteousness: but this righteousness we performe not but in keeping the whole lawe: for by euery transgression it is broken. Whereas therefore the lawe doth nothing but prescribe righteousness: if we

haue respect to it , all the seuerall commandementes thereof are righteousnesse : if we haue respect to men of whome they are done , they doe not obtaine the praise of righteousnesse by one worke , being trespassers in many, and by that same worke which is euer partly faultie by reason of imperfection.

8 But nowe I come to the seconde kinde, in which is the cheefe hardnesse . Paul hath nothing more strong to proue the righteousnesse of faith, than that which is written of Abraham, that his faith was imputed to him for righteousnesse . Sith therefore it is saide that the act done by Phinees was imputed to him for righteousnesse: what Paul affirmeth of fayth, the same may we also conclude of workes. Wherevpon our aduersaries, as though they had wonne the victorie, determine that wee are indeede not iustified without faith, but that wee are also not iustified by it alone, and that workes accomplishe our righteousnesse. Therefore here I beseech the godly, that if they know that the true rule of righteousnesse is to be taken out of the Scripture onely, they will religiously and earnestly wey with mee, howe the scripture may without cauillations be rightly made to agree with it self. For as much as Paul knewe that the iustification of faith is the refuge for them that are destitute of their owne righteousnesse, hee doeth boldly conclude that all they that are iustified by faith, are excluded from the righteousness 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 an other thing what account is to be made of them after the stablishing of the righteousnesse of faith. If wee shall set a price vpon workes according to their worthinesse, wee 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 spoyled of all help of workes he is iustified by onely faith. Nowe wee define righteousnesse thus, that a sinner being receiued into the cōmunion of Christ, is by his grace reconciled to God, when being cleansed with his bloode hee obtineth forgiveness of sinnes, & being clothed with his righteousness as with his owne, he standeth assured before the heauenly iudgement seat. When the forgiveness of sinnes is set before, the good workes which followe haue nowe another valuation than after their owne deseruing: because what soeuer is in them vnperfect, is couered with the perfection of Christ: whatsoever spots or filthinesse there is, it is wiped away with his cleannesse, that it may not come into the examination of the iudgement 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 doe are compted righteous, or (which is all one) are imputed for righteousnesse .

9 Nowe if any man obiekt this against me to assaile the righteousnesse of faith, first I will aske whether a man be compted righteous for one or two holy

Gen. 4. 4.
Psal. 106. 31.

Deut. 27. holy workes, being in the rest of the workes of his life a trespasser of the lawe. This is more than an absurditie. Then I will aske if hee be counted righteous for many good workes, if he be in any part founde guiltie. This also hee shall not bee so bolde to affirme, when the penall ordinance of the the lawe crieth out against it, and proclaimeth al them accursed which haue not fulfilled all the commaundementes of the lawe to the vttermost. Moreover, I will goe further and aske, whether there be any worke that deserueth to be accused of no vncleannesse or imperfection. And howe coulde there be any such before those eyes, to whom euen the verie starres are not cleane enough, nor the Angels righteous enough? So shal he be compelled to grant that there is no good worke which is not so defiled with transgressions adioyned with it, and with the corruptnesse of it selfe, that it can not haue the honour of righteousness. Nowe if it be certaine that it proceedeth from the righteousness of faith that works which are otherwise vnpure, vncleane, and but halfe workes, not worthy of the sight of God, much lesse of his loue, are imputed to righteousness, why doe they with boasting of the righteousness of workes destroy the iustification of faith, whereas if this iustification were not, they shoulde in vaine boast of that righteousness? Will they make a vipers birth? For thereto tend the saying of the vngoodly men. They can not denie that the iustification of faith is the beginning, foundation, cause, matter, and substance of the righteousness of workes: yet they conclude that man is not iustified by faith, because good workes also are accounted for righteousness. Therefore let vs let passe these follies and confesse as the trueth is, that if the righteousness of workes of what sorte so euer it be accounted, hangeth vpon the iustification of faith, it is by this not onely nothing minished 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 parte the office betweene them and faith. For vnlesse the iustification remaine alway whole, the vncleannes of workes shall be vncouered. And it is no absurditie, that a man is so iustified by faith that not only he himselfe is righteous, but also his workes are esteemed righteous about their worthines.

Iob. 4. 18. 10 After this manner we will graunt in workes not onely a righteousness in partes (as our aduersaries themselues would haue) but also that it is allowed of God as if it were a perfect & ful righteousness. But if we remember vpon what foundation it is vpholden, al the difficultie shall be dissolued. For then and not till then it beginneth to bee an acceptable worke, when it is receiued with pardon. Nowe whence commeth pardon, but because God beholdeth both vs and all our things in Christ? Therefore as we, when we are grafted into Christ, doe therefore appeare righteous before God, because our wickedneses are couered with his innocence, so our workes are & be taken for righteous, because whatsoever faultinesse is otherwise in them, being buried in the cleanness of Christ, it is not imputed. So wee may rightfully say, that by onely faith not onely we but also our workes are iustified. Nowe if this righteousness of workes of what sorte soeuer it bee, hangeth vpon faith and free iustification, and is made of it: it ought to bee included

ded 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 of that it ought to be raised vp either to destroy or darken it. So Paul to driue men to confesse that our blessednesse consisteth of the mercie of God, not of workes, chiefly enforceth that saying of Dauid, Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgien, and whose sinnes are couered. Blessed is he to whome the Lorde hath not imputed sinne. If any man do thrust in to 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 pitie 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 Spirite, the meeke, the mercifull, &c. they shall not make but that it shalbe true which Paul saith, For because those things that are there commended are neuer so in man, that he is therefore allowed of God, it followeth that man is alway miserable, vnlesse he be deliuered from miserie by forgienesse of sinnes. For asmuch as therefore all the kindes of blessednesse which are extolled in the Scriptures, do fall downe voide, so that man receiue th fruits of none of them, til he haue obtained blessednesse by forgienesse of sinnes, which may afterwarde make place for them: it followeth that this is not onely the hiest & the chiefe but also the only blessednesse: vnlesse paradventure you wil haue that it be weakened of those which consist in it alone. Nowe there is much lesse reason why the calling of men righteous shoulde trouble vs, which is commonly giuen to the faithfull. I grant verily that they are called righteous of the holinesse of life: but forasmuch as they rather endeouour to the following of righteousness, than do fulfill righteousness it selfe, it is meeete 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 Iames, 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 only. What then will they draw Paul to fight with Iames? If they hold Iames 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 do teache that all are iustified by faith without y workes of the law. The same holy Ghost teacheth by Iames that both Abrahams righteousness & ours consisteth of workes, not of only faith. It is certaine that the holy Ghost fighteth not with himselfe. What agreement shall there be therefore of these two? It is enough for the aduersaries, if they pluck the righteousness of faith which we would haue to be fastened with moste deepe rootes: but to render to consciences their quietnesse, they haue no great care. Whereby verily you may see that they gnawe the iustification of faith, but in the meane time do 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 shal suffer them to ouer-

spread the darknesse of lies. But wherefoeuer the truth of God shal stande, they shall nothing preuaile. I deny therefore that the saying of Iames which they stil continually hold vp against vs as it were the shield of Achilles doth any thing at all make for them. That this may be made plaine, first wee must looke at the marke that the Apostle shooteth at: and then we must note where they be deceiued. Because there were then many (which mischiefe is wont to be continual in the Church) which openly bewrayed their infidelitie, 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 here mock the foolish boldnes of such men. Therefore it is not his purpose in any point to diminish the force of true faith, but to shewe how fondly those triflers did challenge so much the vaine image of it, that being contented herewith they carelesly ranne dissolutely abroade into all licentiousnes of vices. This ground being conceiued, it shalbe easie to perceiue where our aduersaries do misse. For they fall into two deceits in the worde, the one in the name of faith, the other in the word of iustifying. Whereas the Apostle nameth faith a vaine opinion farre 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 y he hath faith, & hath no works? He doth not say, if any haue faith without works, but, If any man boast. More plainly also he speaketh a litle after, where he in mockerie maketh it worse than the deuils knowledge: last of all, when he calleth it dead. But by the definition you may sufficiently perceiue what he meaneth. Thou belieuest (saith he) that there is a God. Truly, if nothing be contained in this faith but to beleue that there is a God, it is now no maruile 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 farre otherwise. For after what maner doeth true faith iustifie vs, but when it conioyneth vs with Christ, that being made one with him wee may enioy the partaking of his righteousness? It doth not therefore iustifie vs by this that it conceiueth a knowledge of the being of God, but by this that it resteth vpon the assurednes of the mercy of God.

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 works. If you will make Iames agteeing both with the rest of the Scriptures, & w himself, you must of necessitie take the worde of Iustifying in an other signification than it is taken in Paul. For Paul saith y wee are iustified, when the remembrance of our vnrighteousnesse being blotted out, we are accounted righteous. If Iames had meant of that raking, he had wrongfully alleaged that out of Moses: Abraham beleued God, &c. For he thus frameth it together. Abraham by works obtained righteousness, because he sticke not at y commandement 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 falsely 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

Ismaell was not yet conceiued, which was now growen past childhood before that Isaac was borne. How therefore shal we say, that he got to himselfe righteousness by obedience which followed long after ward? Wherefore either James did wrongfully misturne the order (which it is a wickednesse to think) or he meant not to say y^e he was iustified, as though he deserued to be accounted righteous. How then? Truly it appeareth that he speaketh of the declaration of righteousness & not the imputation: as if he had said: Who so are righteous by true faith, they do proue their righteousness with obedience & good works, not with a bare & imagelike visor of faith. In a summe, he disputeth not by what meane we are iustified, but he requireth of the faithful a working righteousness. And as Paul affirmeth that men be iustified without the help of works: so James doeth here suffer them to be accounted righteous which want good works. The considering of this end, shal deliuer vs out of all doubt. For our aduersaries are hereby chiefly deceiued, y^e they thinke that James defineth the manner of iustifying, whereas he trauaileth about nothing else but to overthrow their peruerse carelesnes, which did vainly pretend faith to excuse their despising of good workes. Therefore into how many wayes soeuer they wrest the words of James, they shall wring out nothing but two sentences: that a vaine bodilesse shewe of faith doth not iustifie, and that a faithfull man not contented with such an imaginatiue shewe, doth declare his righteousness by good workes.

13 As for that which they alleage out of Paul, the same meaning, that y^e doers 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 mere starting hole, which nothing needeth where there is a broad way open. There the Apostle throweth downe the Iewes from foolish confidence, which boasted themselues of the onely knowledge of the lawe, when in the meane time they were the greatest despisers of it. Therefore that they should not stand so much in their owne conceit for the bare knowledge of the law, he warneth them, that if righteousness bee sought out of the lawe, not the knowledge but the obseruing of it is required. Wee verily make no doubt of this that the righteousness of the law standeth in workes: nor yet of this also, that the righteousness 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 hanging together of the text shalbee a sufficient testimonie. After that he had generally condemned the Gentiles and the Iewes of vn-righteousnesse, then he descended to the particular shewing of it, and faith, that they which sinned without the Lawe, doe perish without the Lawe: which is spoken of the Gentiles: but they which haue sinned in the lawe, are iudged by the lawe: which pertaineth to the Iewes. Now because they winking at their owne trespassings proudly gloried of the onely lawe: he adioyneth that which moste fitly agreed, that the law was not therefore made, that men should be made righteous by onely hearing of the voice therof: but then and not til then when they obeyed, as if he should say: Seekest thou righteousness in the law? alleage not y^e hearing of it, which of it self

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 spoyled of glorying of the law. Therefore we must of the meaning of Paul rather frame a contrary argument. The righteousnesse of the law 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, & require that sentence be giuen of them according to it. Of which sort are these: Judge me O Lord according to my righteousnesse, & according to my innocencie, which are in mee. Againe, Heare my righteousnesse, O God. Thou hast proued my heart, & hast visited it in the night, & there was no wickednesse found in me. Againe, The Lorde shall render to mee according to my righteousnes, and he shall recompence mee according to the cleannesse of my hands. Because I haue kept the wayes of the Lord, & haue not wickedly departed from my God. And I shalbe vnspotted & shal keepe mee from my iniquitie. Againe, Iudge me, Lord, because I haue walked in mine innocencie. I haue not sit with lying men, I wil not enter in with them that doe wicked things. Destroy not my soule with the vngodly, my life wth men of blood: in whose hands are iniquities: whose right hand is filled wth giftes. But I haue walked innocently. I haue about spoken of the affiance which the holy ones do seeme simply to take to theselues of workes. As for these testimonies that we haue here 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 neither would they haue them to be wholly examined y^t they should be either condemned or acquitted according to y^e continuall course of their whole life: but they bring into iudgement a speciall cause to be debated. Neither do they claime to themselues righteousnes in respect of the perfection of God, but by comparison of naughty & wicked men. First when the iustifying of man is entreated of, it is not onely required y^t 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 call vpon the iudgement of God to approue their innocencie, do not offer themselues free from all guiltines & in euery behalfe faultlesse: but verily when they haue fastened their affiance of saluation in his goodnesse onely, yet trusting y^t he is the reuenger of the poore afflicted against right & equitie, they commend to him the cause wherein the innocent are oppressed. But when they set their aduersaries with them before the iudgement seat of God, they boast not of such an innocencie as shall answere to y^e purenesse of God if it be seuerely searched, but because in comparison of the malice, obstinacie, suttletie & wickednes of their aduersaries they know that their plainnesse, righteousnes, simplicitie, & cleannes is knowen & pleasing to God: they feare not to call vpon him to be iudge betweene themselues & them. So when Dauid said to Saul: The Lord render to euery man according to his righteousnes & trueth: he meant not that the Lorde should examine by himselfe and reward euery man according to his deseruings, but

Psal. 7. 1.
Psal. 17. 1.

Psal. 18. 21.

Psal. 6. 1.

1. Sa. 26. 13.

he tooke the Lord to witnesse, 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 witnes of conscience, that he hath trauailed with simplicitie and vprightnesse in the Church of God, meaneth not that he standeth vpon such glorying before GOD, but being compelled with the flanders of the wicked, he defendeth his faithfull and honest dealing, which he knewe to be pleasing to the mercifull kindnesse of God, against all euill speaking of men whatsoeuer it be. For wee see what he sayeth 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 far surmounteth the blearied sight of men. Howsoeuer therefore the godly doe defende their innocencie against the hypo crisie of the vngodly, by the witnessing & iudgement of God; yet when they haue to doe with God alone, they all crie out with one mouth: If thou marke iniquitie, Lord, Lord who shal abide it? Enter not into iudgement with thy seruants: because euery one that liueth shall not be iustified in thy sight: and distrusting their owne workes, they gladly sing, Thy goodnesse is better than life.

2. Cor. 1. 13.

1. Cor. 4. 4.

Psal. 130. 3.
& 140. 2.
Psal. 36. 4.

15 There are also other places not vnlike to these before, in which a man may yet tary. Salomon saith, that he which walketh in his vprightnes, is righteous. Againe, That in the path of righteousness is life, and that in the same is not death. After which manner Ezechiel reporteth that he shall iue life that doth iudgement and righteousness. None of these doe we either deny or darken. But let there come forth one of the sonnes 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 mercie. Neither do wee in the meane time deny but that to the faithfull their vprightnes, though it be but halfe & vnperfect, is a step toward immortalitie. But whence commeth that but because whome 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 only vnderstand that which the scholemen doe teache, that workes haue their value of the accepting grace. For they meane that workes which are otherwise insufficient to purchase righteousness by the couenant of the law, 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 spottes, are of no other value at all, than in so much as the Lord tenderly graunteth pardon to both: that is to say, giueth free righteousness to man. Neither are here those prayers of the Apostle seasonably thrust in place, where he wisheth so great perfection to the faithfull, that they may be faultles & vnblamable in the day of the Lorde. These wordes in deede the Celestines did in old time turmoile, to affirme a perfection of righteousness in this life. But, which wee thinke to be sufficient, wee answere briefly after Augustine, that all the godly ought in deede to endeavour toward this marke, that they may one day appeare spotles and faultles before the face of God: but because the best and most excellent manner of this life is nothing but a going forward, wee shall then and not till then attaine to this marke, when being vncloued of this flesh of sinne wee shal fully cleaue to the Lorde. Yet will I not stiffely striue with him which will

Pro. 20. 7. &
22. 15.
Eze. 18. 9. &
33. 15.

Eph. 1. 4.
1. The. 3. 13

Lib. 3d Boni.
3. cap. 7.

giue the title of perfection to the holy ones, so that hee also limitte the same with the wordes of Augustine him selfe. When (saith he) we wil call the vertue of the holy ones, perfect: to the same perfection also belongeth the acknowledging of imperfection both in trueth and in humilitie.

The xviiiij. Chapter.

*That of the rewarde, the righteousness of workes
is ill gathered.*

Mat. 16. 27
2. Cor. 5. 10
Rom. 2. 6.
Iohn 5. 29.
Mat. 25. 34.

NOwe let vs passe ouer to those sayings which affirme, that God wil render to euery man according to his workes: of which sorte are these. Euery man shall beare away that which he hath done in the body, either good or euill. Glorie and honour to him that worketh good: trouble & distresse vpon euery soule of him that worketh euill. And they which haue done good things, shal go into the resurrection of life: they which haue done euill, into the resurrection of iudgement. Come ye blessed of my father: I haue hungred, and ye gaue mee meate: I haue thirsted, and ye gaue mee drinke, &c. And with them let vs also ioyne these sayings, which call eternal life the rewarde of workes. Of which sort are these. The rendering of y hands of a man shal be restored to him. He that feareth the commandment, shall be rewarded. Be glad and reioyce, beholde, your reward is plentiful in heauen. Euery man shall receiue reward according to his labor. Where it is said that God shall render to euery man according to his workes, the same is easily assoyled. For, that manner of speaking doeth rather shewe the order of following, than the cause. But it is out of dout, that the Lorde doeth accomplish our saluation by these degrees of his mercie, when those whome hee hath chosen he calleth to him: those whome he hath called, he iustificth: those whome he hath iustified, he glorifieth. Although therefore he do by his only mercie receiue them y be his into life, yet because he bringeth them into the possession therof by the race of good workes, that he may fulfill his worke in them by such order as he hath appointed: it is no marueile if it be said that they be crowned according to their workes, by which without dout they are prepared to receiue the crowne of immortalic. Yea and after this maner it is fidly saide that they worke their owne saluation, when in applying themselves to good workes, they practise themselves towarde eternall life: namely as in an other place they are commanded to worke the meate which perisheth not, when by belecuing in Christ they get to the selues life: and yet it is by and by afterward added: Which the sonne of man shal giue you. Whereby appeareth y the worde of Working is not set as contrary to grace, but is referred to endeouour: and therefore it followeth not, y either y faithful are themselves authors of their own saluation, or that the same proceedeth from their workes. How then? So soone as they are taken into the fellowship of Christ, by the knowledge of the Gospel, and the enlightening of the holy Ghost, eternall life is begon in them. Nowe the same good work which God hath begon in them, must also be made perfect vntill the day of the Lord Iesu. And it is made perfect, when resembling the heauenly father in righteousness and holines, they proue themselves to be his children

Pro. 12. 14.
and 13. 13.
Matt. 5. 12.
Luke 6. 13.
2. Cor. 3. 8.
Rom. 2. 6.
and 8. 30.

Phil. 2. 12.

Iohn. 6. 27.

Phil. 1. 6.

not swarted out of kinde.

2. There is no cause why we should of the name of rewarde gather an argument that our workes are the cause of saluation. First let this be determined in our heartes, that the kingdome of heauen is not a reward of seruants, but an inheritance of children, which they onely shall enioy, that are adopted of the Lord to be his children: & for no other cause, but for this adoptiō. For, the sonne of the bondwoman shall not be heir, but the sonne of the free woman. And in the very same places, in which the holy Ghost promiseth to workes eternall glory for rewarde; in expressing the inheritance by name; he sheweth y^e it commeth from else where. So Christ reherfeth works, which he recompenseth with the rewarding of heauen, when he calleth the elect to the possession thereof; but he therewithall adioyneth y^e it must be possessed by right of inheritance. So Paul biddeth seruantes, which do their duety faithfully, to hope for rewarde of the lord: but he addeth, of inheritance. We see how they do as it were by expresse wordes prouide that we impute not eternall blessednes to workes, but to the adoption of God. Why therfore 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 seede 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 yeares afterward, Abraham, as he was commanded by the oracle, prepared himselfe to offer vs 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 only begotten sonne, I will blesse thee and multiply thy seede as the starres of the skie, & the sandes of the sea: thy seede shall possesse the gates of their enemies, & all the nations of the earth shalbe blessed in thy seede, because thou hast obeyed my voyce. 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 y^e Lord rewardeth the workes of the faithfull with those benefits 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 mercy.

3. Yet doth the Lord not deceiue nor mock vs when he saith that he rendereth for rewarde to workes the same thing which he had before works freely giuen. For, because he will haue vs to be exercised with good workes, to think vpon the deliery or enioying (as I may so call it) of these thinges 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 ripeness wherof they do not bring vs. The Apostle very fitly expressed both these pointes, when he said that the Colossians apply themselues to the duties of charity, for the hope which is laide vp for them in heauen, of which they had before heard by the word of the true speaking Gospel. For when he sayeth that they knewe by the Gospell, that there was hope layde vp for them in heauen, he declareth that the same is by Christ only, not vnderproped 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 ready to be manifestly shewed at the time appointed for it. When he saith y they labour for it, he signifieth that the faithful must runne al the time of their life, that they may attaine to it. But least we should thinke that the rewarde which the Lorde promifeth vs, is not reduced to the measure of merite, he did put sooth 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 & some also at the 11. At euening he payed to eucry one equall wages. The exposition of which parable, that same old writer whatsoeuer he was, whose booke is caried abroade vnder the name of Ambrose of the calling of the Gentiles, hath briefly and truely set out. I will vse rather his wordes than mine owne. The Lorde (sayth he) by the rule of this comparison hath stablished the diuersity of manyfolde 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, whom for the aduancing of the excellencie of grace, the tender kindenesse of the Lord hath rewarded at the waning of the day, & at the ending of their life: not paying wages for their labour, but pouring out the riches of his goodnesse vpon them whom he hath chosen without workes, that euen they also which haue swer in great labour, & haue receiued no more than the last, may vnderstand y they haue receiued a gift of grace, not a reward of workes. Last of all, this also is worthy 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 y possessing or enioying (as they call it) of blessednes, as also the very wordes of Christ do sounde, In time to come life euerlasting. And in an other place, Come & possesse the kingdom, &c. After this maner Paul calleth adoption, the reuealing of the adoption which shalbe made in the resurrection: and afterward expoundeth it the redemption of our body. Otherwise as estranging from God is eternal 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 stify enforce the rewarde of workes, we may turne against them that saying of Peter, that eternally life is the reward of faith.

4 Therefore let vs not thinke, that the holy Ghost doth with such promise set forth the worthinesse of our workes, as if they deserued such rewarde, For the Scripture leaueth nothing to vs, whereof we may be aduanced in the sight of God. But rather it wholly endeuoreth to beate down our arrogance, to humble vs, to throw vs downe, and altogether to breake vs in peeces. But our weakenesse is so succoured, which otherwise woulde by and by slippe and fall downe, vnlesse it did susteine it selfe with this expectation, & 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 himself, let eucry man consider for himself. And yet with this introduction Christ traineth his scholers, that is, all the godly. Then throughout all their life he so instructeth them vnder
the

1. Pet. 1. 5.

Mat. 12. 1.

Lib. 1. cap. 3.

Mat. 10. 30.

Mat. 25. 34.

Rom. 8. 18.

1. Pet. 1. 9.

the discipline of the crosse, that they may not set their heart either to the desire or confidence of present good things. Briefly he so handleth them for the most part, that which way soeuer they turne their eies throughout the whole wideness of the world, they haue on euery 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 finde with him the blessednesse which they see not in the world. This blessednesse he calleth, *1. Cor. 15. 19* reward, wages, recompence, not weying the merit of workes, but signifying that it is a recompensing to their troubles, sufferings, slaunders. &c. Wherefore nothing withstandeth, but that we may after the example of the Scripture, call eternall life a rewarding, because in it the Lord receiuethe his from labors into rest, from affliction into prosperous and happy state, from sorrow into gladnes, from pouertie into flowing wealth, from shame into glory, and changeth all the euils which they haue suffered for greater good things. So it shal also be no inconuenience, if we thinke holinesse of life to be a way, not which openeth an entry into the glory of the heauenly kingdom, but whereby the elect are led of their God into the disclosing of it: forasmuch as this is his good will to glorifie them whom he hath sanctified. Onely let vs not imagine a correllation of merit and rewarde, wherein the Sophisters do fondly sticke fast, because they consider not this end which we set forth. 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 reward is promised to good works, to relieue the weaknesse of our flesh with some comfort, not to puffed vp our mindes with glorie. Whosoeuer therefore doth thereby gather the merite of workes, or doth in one balance wey worke with rewarde, hee erreth farre from the right marke of God.

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 whome shoulde hee being a iust iudge, render a crowne, if he had not being a merciful father giuen grace? and how shoulde there be righteousnes, vnlesse grace went before which iustificieth the vnrighteous? Howe shoulde these due thinges bee rendered, vnlesse these vndue thinges were first giuen? But also I ad an other thing. How shoulde he impute righteousnes to our works, vnlesse his tender mercifulnes did hide y vnrighteousnesse that is in them? Howe shoulde he iudge them worthie of reward, vnles he did by immeasureable bountifulnes take away that which is worthy of punishment? For he is wont to call eternall life, grace: because it is rendered to the free giftes 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 giftes of God, it therewithall teacheth that they are alwayes defiled with some dregs, that they can not satisfie G O D, if they bee examined by the rule of his iudgement: but least our courage shoulde faint, it teacheth that they please by only pardon. But although Augustine speakech somewhat otherwise than wee doe: yet that he doth not so disagree in the matter, shall appeare by

2. Tim. 4. 8.
Aug. ad Val-
lent. de grat.
& lib. arbit.

Cap. 5.

his wordes in his thirde booke to Boniface: Where when he had compared two men together, the one of a life euen miraculously holy and perfect, the other honest indeede 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 inferiour, by reason of y^e true faith in God whereof hee liueth and according to which he accuseth himselfe in al his offences, in all his good workes prayseth God; giuing to himselfe the shame, and to him glorie, and taking from himselfe both the pardon of sinnes, and the loue of weldoings, when he is to be deliuered out of this life, hee passeth into the fellowship of Christ: Wherefore, but because of faith? Which although it faue no man without works, (for it is it, which worketh by loue, not a reprobate faith) yet by it also sins are released; because the righteous man liueth of faith; but without it euen the same which seeme good workes are turned into sinnes. Here verily he doeth plainly confesse that which wee so much traue! to proue, that the righteousnes of good workes hangeth hereupon, that they are by pardon allowed of God.

A verio neere sense to the places aboue recited, haue these: Make to your selues friendes of the Mammon of wickednesse, y^e when you shal faile, they may receiue you into euerlasting tabernacles. Command the rich men of this worlde not to be proudly minded, nor to trust in vncertaine richesse but in the liuing G O D, to doe well, to become rich in good workes, to lay vp in store for themselues a good foundation against the time to come, that they may obtaine eternall life. For good workes are compared to y^e richesse, which wee may enioy in the blessednes of eternall life. I aunswere, that wee shal neuer come to the true vnderstanding of them, vnlesse we turne our eies to the marke wherevnto y^e holy Ghost directeth his words. If it be true which Christ saith y^e our minde abideth there where our treasure is, as the children of the world are wont to be earnestly bent to y^e getting of those things which serue for the delights of this present life: so the faithfull must looke, sith they haue learned that this life shal by and by vanishe away like a dreame, that they sende those things which they woulde enioy, thither where they shal haue perfect life. We must therefore doe as they doe which purpose to remooue into any place, where they haue chosen to rest their whole life. They send their goods before, and doe not discontentedly want them for a time: because they think themselues so much more happy, how much more goods they haue where they shal tary long. If we belecue that heauen is our countrie, it behoueth vs rather to sende away our richesse thither than to keepe them here where we must loose them with sudden remoouing. But how shall we send them thither? If we communicate to the necessities of the poore: to whome whatsoever is giuen, the Lorde accounteth it ginen to himselfe. Whereupon comieth that notable promise, Hee that giueth to the poore, lendeth for gaine to the Lord. Againe, hee that liberally soweth, shall liberally reape. For those things are deliuered into the hande of the Lorde to keepe, which are bestowed vpon our brethren by the dutie of charitie. Hee, 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 richesse laide vp in store for vs in his hand? Who shall

fear

Hab. 2. 4.

Luk. 16. 9.

1. Tim. 6. 17.

Mat. 25. 40.

Pro. 19. 17.

2. Cor. 9. 6.

feare so to say, when the scripture doth so oft and plainely witness it? But if any man will leape from the meere goodnes of God to the worthinesse 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 wee doe to him are not worthie of so much as his only looking vpon them, yet he suffreth none of them to be lost.

7 But they more enforce the words of the Apostle, which when he comforteth y^e Thessalonians in troubles, teacheth that the same are sent to the, that they may be accounted worthie 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 Lorde Iesus shall be shewed from heauen. But the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews 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 ministred to the faintes. To the first place I answer, that there is no worthines of merites spoken of; but because God the father willeth 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, wherwith God vseth to marke y^e sheepe of his flocke. After this manner therefore wee 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 proue any worthines, but to confirm the hope of y^e kindome 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 becommeth y^e righteousness of God not to forget the obediences of them that bee his, that it declareth to be in a maner vnrighteous if hee 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 y^e this promise, as all other should bring vs no profit, vnlesse the free couenant of mercy went before, wherupon the whole assurednes of our saluation should rest. But standing vpon that couenant, wee ought assuredly to trust, there shall also not want reward of the liberalitie of God to our workes howsoeuer they be vnworthy. The Apostle to confirme vs in y^e expectation, affirmeth y^e God is not vnrighteous, but will stand to his promise once made. Therefore this righteousness is rather referred to the truth of Gods promise, than to his iustice of rendring 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 wee should continually

remember it. The Lord (saith he) is faithfull, which hath made himselfe better to vs, not by receiuing any thing of vs, but by promising all things to vs.

8 There are also alledged these sayings of Paul. If I haue all faith, so y I remoue mountaines out of their place, but haue not charitie, I am nothing. Again, Nowe there remaine hope, faith and charitie, but the greatest among these is charitie. Again, Aboue 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 sonde argument is easly wiped away. For wee haue in another place already declared, that those things which are spoken in the first place pertaine nothing to true faith. The other place we also expounded of true faith, than which he saith that Charitie is greater: not that it is more meritorious, but because it is more fruitfull, because it extendeth further, because it serueth moe, because it remaineth alway in force, whereas the vse of faith continueth but for a time. If we haue regard to excellence, the loue of God should worthily haue the cheefe place, of which Paul here speaketh not. For he enforceth this thing onely, that wee shoulde with mutuall charitie edifie one another in the Lorde, but let vs imagine that charitie doeth cuerie where excell faith: yet what man of sounde iudgement, yea of offounde braine, will gather thereof that it doeth more iustifie? The power of iustifying which faith hath, consisteth not in the worthinesse of the worke. Our iustification standeth vpon the onely mercie of God and the deseruing of Christ, which iustification when faith taketh holde of, it is saide to iustifie. Nowe if you aske your aduersaries in what sense they assigne iustification to charitie, they will aunswere that because it is a duetifull doing acceptable to God, therefore by the deseruing thereof righteousness is imputed to vs by the acceptation of the goodness of God. Here you see how wel the argument proceedeth. We say that faith iustificeth, not because by the worthinesse of it selfe it deserueth righteousness to vs, but because it is an instrument by which wee freely obtaine the righteousness of Christ. These men, omitting the mercy of God, & passing ouer Christ, (where the summe of righteousness standeth) doe affirme that wee are iustified by the benefite of charitie because it excelleth aboue faith: euen as if a man shoulde reason that a king is fitter to make a shooe than is a shoemaker, because hee is an infinite way more excellent: This onely argument is a plaine example that all the Sobornicall schooles doe not so much as tast with the vttermost parte of their lippes what the iustification of faith is. But if any wrangler doe yet carpe and aske, why in so small distance of place we take the name of fayth in Paul so diuersely: I haue a weightie cause of this exposition. For sith those giftes which Paul rehearseth are after a certaine manner vnder faith and hope, because they pertaine to y knowledge of God, he comprehendeth them all by way of recapitulation vnder y name of faith and hope: as if he should say both prophecie, and tongues, and the grace and knowledge of interpretation tende to this marke to leade vs to the knowledge of God. And wee know God in this life none otherwise but by hope and faith. Therefore when I name faith and hope, I comprehend all these things together. And so
there

In Psal. 32.
& 109.

1. Cor. 13.
Colo. 3. 14.

there remaine these three, Hope, Faith, Charity: that is to say, how great diuersitie of giftes soeuer there be, they are all referred to these. Among these the chiefe is charity, &c. Out of the third place they gather, If Charitie be the bonde of perfection, then it is also the bonde of righteousnesse which is nothing else but perfection. First, to speake nothing howe Paul there calleth perfection, when the members of the Church well set in order do cleaue together, and to grant that we are by charity made perfect before G O D: yet what new thing bring they foorth? For I will alway on the contrarie side take exception and say that we neuer come to this perfection vnlesse we fulfil all the partes of charity, & thereupon I will gather, that sith all men are most far from the fulfilling of charity, 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 do throw them against vs. For, some of them are so worthy to be laughed at, that I my selfe also can not rehearse them, vnlesse I would worthily be counted fonde. Therefore I will make an end, when I shall haue declared the saying of Christ, wherewith they maruelously please themselues. For, to the lawyer which asked him what was necessaric to saluation, he answered: if thou wilt enter into life, keepe the commandementes. What would we more (say they) when we are commaunded by the authour of grace himselfe to get the kingdome of God by the keeping of his commaundementes? As though forsooth it were not certaine, that Christ tempered his answers to them with whome he sawe that he had to doe. Here a doctor of the lawe asketh of the meane to obtaine blessednesse, and not that only, 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 righteousnesse of the lawe, was blinde in confidence of workes. Againe, he sought nothing else but what were the workes of righteousnesse, by which saluation is gotten. Therefore he is worthily sent to the lawe, in which there is a perfect mirrour of righteousnesse. We also do with a loude voyce pronounce that the commaundementes 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 hedlong downfal of death? But how should they vnderstande howe far they haue strayed from the way of life, vnlesse they first vnderstande what is that way of life? For then they are taught that the sanctuarie to recouer saluation is in Christe, when they see howe great difference there is betweene their life and the righteousnesse of G O D which is contained in the keeping of the lawe. The summe is this, that if saluation be sought in workes, we must keepe the commandementes by which we are instructed to perfect righteousnesse. But we must not sticke fast here, vnlesse we will faint in our midde course: for none of vs is able to keep y^e commandements. Sith therefore we are excluded from the righteousnesse of the lawe, we must of necessity resort to an other helpe, namely to the faith of Christ. Wherefore as here the Lorde calleth backe the doctour of the lawe whom he knew to swell with vaine confidence

Mat. 19. 17.

of workes, to the law, wherby 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 law, he comforteth other that are already humbled with such knowledge, with promise of grace, as, Come to me all ye that labour and are laden, and I wil refresh you, and ye shal finde rest for your soules.

Mar. 11. 39.

Iohn. 6. 29.

10 At the last when they are weary with wresting the Scripture, they fall to subtleties and sophisticall argumentes. They caull vpon this that faith is in some places called a worke, & therupon they gather that we do wrongfully set faith as contrary to workes. As though forsooth faith in that it is an obeying of the will of G O D, doth with her owne deseruing procure vnto vs righteousnesse, & not rather because by embracing the mercy of God, it sealeth in our hearts the righteousnes of Christ offered to vs of it in the preaching of the Gospel. The readers shall pardon me if I doe not tarry 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 shewe of reason, least it should trouble some that are not so wel practised. Sith common reason teacheth that of contraries is all one rule, and all particular sinnes are imputed to vs for vnrighteousnesse, they say it is meete that to all particular good workes be giuen the praise of righteousnes. They do not satisfie me which answer, that the damnation of men properly proceedeth from onely vnbeliefe, not from particular sinnes. I doe in deede agree to them, y vnbeliefe is the fountaine and roote of all euils. For it is the first departing from God, after which do followe the particular trespassings against the law. But wheras they seem to set one selfe same reason of good and euill workes in weying of righteousnesse or vnrighteousnesse, therin I am compelled to disagree from them. For the righteousnesse of workes is the perfect obedience of the lawe. Therefore thou canst not be righteous by workes, vnlesse thou do followe it as a streight line in the whole continuall course of thy life. From it so soone as thou hast swarued, thou art fallen into vnrighteousnesse. Hereby appeareth that righteousnesse commeth not of one or a few workes, but of an vnswaruing & vnwearied obseruing of the will of God. But the rule of iudging vnrighteousnesse is most contrary. For he that hath committed fornication, or hath stolen, is by one offence guilty of death, because he hath offended against the maiestie of God. Therefore these our suttile arguers do stumble, for that they marke not this saying of Iames, that he which sinneth in one, is made guiltie of all, because he that hath forbiddē to kill, hath also forbidden to steale, &c. Therefore it ought to seeme no absurditie, when wee say that death is the iust rewarde of euery sinne, because they are euery one worthy 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.

NOwe we must entreate of Christian libertie: the declaration whereof he must not omitte whose purpose is to comprehend in an a bridge-ment

ment the summe of the doctrine of the Gospell. For it is a thing principally necessarie, and without the knowledge whereof conscience dare in a man an enterprise nothing without doubting, they stumble and start backe in many thinges, they alway stagger and tremble: but specially it is an appendant of iustification, & auaileth 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 spiritual darkenesse wherewith they be taken, euery wanton railing is lawful for them. Wherefore it shal now come foorth 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 lustes doe boile, or mad motions doe rise, vnlesse these wanton wittes be timely met withall, which doe otherwise most naughtily corrupt the best things. For, some men by pretence of this libertie, shake off all obedience of God, and breake foorth into an vnbridled licentiousnesse: and some men disdain it, thinking that by it all moderation, order & choise of thinges is taken away. What shoulde wee here doe, being compassed in such narrow straites? Shall wee bidde Christian libertie farewell, and so cut off al fit occasion for such perils? But, as we haue saide, vnlesse that bee fast holden, neither Christ, nor the trueth of the Gospell, nor the inward peace of the soule is rightly knowen. Rather we must endeavour that so necessarie a part of doctrine be not suppressed, and yet that in the meane time those fonde objections may bee mette withall which are wont to rise therevpon.

Lucian a
godlesman.

2 Christian libertie (as I thinke) consisteth in three parts. 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 above the lawe, and forget the whole righteousness of the lawe. For sith the lawe (as we haue already in an other place declared) leaueth no man righteous: either wee are excluded from all hope of iustification, or wee must bee loosed from the lawe, and so that there be no regarde at all had of workes. For who so thinketh that he must bring somewhat bee it neuer so litle of goodworkes to obtaine righteousness, he can not appoint any end 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 onely mercie of God, when we intreate of iustification: and turning away our sighte from our selues, wee must beholde Christe alone. For there the question is not howe wee be righteous: but howe although we be vnrighteous and vnworthie, wee bee taken for worthie. Of which thing if consciences will attaine any certaintie, they muste giue no place to the lawe. Neither can any man hereby gather that the lawe is superfluous to the faithfull, whome it doeth not therefore cease to reach, and exhorte; and pricke forward to goodnesse, although before the iudgement seate of G O D it hath no place in their consciences. For these two thinges, as they are most diuerse, so must they be wel and diligently distinguished

of

with our worke?

Rom. 11. 2.
Rom. 6. 12.

6 And that is the cause why the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues, referreth all the good woikes that are red of in the holy fathers, to faith, & weyeth them onely by faith. Touching this libertie there is a place in the Epistle to the Romanes, where Paul reasoneth that some ought not to haue dominion ouer vs, because we are not vnder the lawe, but vnder grace. For when he had exhorted the faichfull that sin should not reigne in their mortall bodies, and that they shoulde not giue their members to bee weapons of wickednesse to sinne, but should dedicate themselues to God, as they that are aliue from the dead, & their members, weapons of righteousnes to God: and whereas they might on the other side obiect that they do yet carry with them the flesh full of lustes, and that sinne dwelleth in them, he adiouneth that comfort by the libertie of the lawe, as if he should say: Though they doe not yet throughly feele sinne destroyed and that righteousnesse yet liueth not in them, yet there is no cause why they should feare and be discouraged as though they had bene alway displeas'd with them for the remnants of sinne, forasmuch as they are by grace made free from the lawe, that their works should not be examined by y^e rule of the law. As for them that gather y^e we may sin because we are not vnder the law, let them know y^e this libertie pertaineth nothing to them, the end whereof is to encourage vs to to good.

7 The third part is, that we be bound with no conscience before God of outward things which are by themselues indifferent, but that we may indifferently sometime vse them, and sometime leaue them vnused. And the knowledge of this libertie also is verie necessary for vs, for if it shalbe absent, there shalbe 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 dayes, and garments, & such other small trifles as they in deede thinke them: but there is more weight in them than is commonly thought. For when consciences haue once cast themselues into the snare, they enter into a long and cumbersome 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 sheetes, sherts, handkerchiefes, and napkins, neither wil he be out of doubt whether he may vse hempe, & at the last he will also fall in doubt of matters, for he will wey with himselfe whether he cannot sup without napkins, whether he may not be without handkerchiefes. If any man thinke deintie meat to be vnlawfull, at length he shall not with quietnes before the Lorde eat either brownbread or common meates, when hee remembreth that he may yet sustaine his bodie with baser foode. If he doubt of pleasant wine, afterwarde he will not drinke dead wine with good peace of conscience, last of all he will not be so bolde to touch sweeter and cleaner water than other. Finally, at the length he will come to this point, to thinke it vnlawfull (as the common saying is) to treade vpon a strawe lying a crosse. For here is begonne 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 dooings. Hereby some must needes bee carried with desperation into a confuse deuouring pitte: some must, despising GOD, and casting away his feare, make themselues away through de-

destruction when they haue no ready way. For whosoever are entangled with such doubting, which way soeuer they turne themselves, they see euery where present offence of conscience.

8 I knowe (sayth Paul) that nothing is common (meaning by common, vnholly) but who so thinketh any thing common, to him it is common. In which wordes he maketh all outward things subiect to our liberty, 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 he eateth not of faith. And that which is not of faith, is sinne. Among such narrow straites, who so neuertheless with carelesly venturing on all things shew themselves boulder, do they not asmuch turn themselves away from God? But they which are thoroughly peared with some feare of God, when they themselves also are compelled to doe many things against their conscience, are discouraged and doe fall downe with feare. All that are such, do receiue none of the gifts of God with thanksgiuing, by which alone yet Paul testifieth that they all are sanctified to our vse: I meane the thanksgiuing that proceedeth from a heart that acknowledgeth the liberalitie and goodnesse of God in his giftes. For, many of them in deede doe vnderstande that those are the benefites of God which they vse, and they praise God in his workes: but sith they are not perswaded that they are giuen to themselves, howe should they thanke God as the giuer of them? Thus in a summe we see, wherto this libertie tendeth, namely that we should vse the giftes of God to such vse as he hath giuen them vnto vs, without any scruple of conscience, without any trouble of mind. by which confidence our soules may both haue peace with him and acknowledge his liberalitie towards vs. For here are comprehended all ceremonies that are at libertie to be obserued, that our consciences should not be bounde with any necessitie to keepe them, but should remember that the vse of them is by Gods benefit subiect to themselves vnto edification.

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 be vnquieted or carefull for the forgiuenesse of sinnes, or if they be pensie whether our imperfect workes and defiled with the faultes of our fleshe doe 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 giftes of God to their owne lust, or which do thinke that there is no liberty but that which is vsed before men, and therefore in vsing it haue no regarde of the weake brethren. In the first kinde, men do at this day much offende. There is almost no man which may by his abilitie of wealth be sumptuous, which deliteth not in excessiue gorgiousnes, in furniture of banketes, in apparell of body, in building of houses, which hath not a will to excell other in all kinde of stateliness: which doth not matuellously flatter himselfe in his fineness. 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 coucted, when they are proudly boasted, when they are wastfully spent, it is certaine that those things which otherwise were of themselves lawfull, 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 vnbeleuing, nothing is cleane, because their minde and conscience is defiled. For why are accursed the rich men, they which haue their comfort, which are satisfied with meate, which do nowe laugh, which sleepe in beds of iuory, which ioyne lande to land, whose banketes haue lute, harp, taber and wine? Verily both iuory, and golde, 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 old possessions or of their auncesters, or to be delited with muscical melody, or to drinke wine. This is true in deede. But when they haue plenty of things, to wallowe in delites, to glut themselves, to make their wit and mind dronke with present pleasures & alway to gape for new, these doings are most far from the lawfull vse of the giftes of God. Therefore let them take away immeasurable desire, let them take away immeasurable wasting, let them take away vanitie and arrogance, that they may with a pure conscience purely vse the gifts of God, When the minde shalbe framed to this sobrietie, they shall haue a rule of the lawfull vse. On the other side let this moderation be wanting, euen base and common delicates are too much. For this is truely sayde, that oftentimes in frise and course cloth dwelleth a purple heart, and sometime vnder silke and purple, lieth simple humilitie: Let euery man in his degree so liue either poorely, or meanely, or plentifullic, that they all remember that they are fed of God to liue, not to be riotous: & 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 skil both to be humble and to excell: if they be taught in all places and in all things to be both full and hungry, to haue plenty and to suffer want.

10 Herein also may men do erre, because as though their libertie should not be sounde and safe vnlesse it had men witnesses of it, they doe vndiscretely and vnwisely vse it. By which vnseasonable vsing they many times offende the weake brethren. You may see at this day some, which thinke that their libertie can not stande, vnlesse they take possession of it by eating of fleshe on fryday. 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 newe thing in the sight of men but before G O D, and that it standeth as well in absteyning as in vsing. If they vnderstande that it maketh no matter before G O D, whether they eate flesh or egges, whether they weare redde or blacke garmentes, that is enough. The conscience is nowe free, to which the benefitte of such libertie was due. Therefore although they doe afterwarde absteyne all their life long from flesh, and weare alway but one colour, yet they are no lesse free. Yea therefore because they are free, they doe with a free conscience absteyne. But they do most hurtfully offende because they nothing regard the weaknesse of their brethren,

whi ch

Tit. 1. 15.
Luk. 6. 24.
Amos. 6. 1.
Esa. 5. 8.

Phil. 4.

which we ought so to beare with, that wee rashly commit nothing with offence of them. But sometime also it behoueth that our libertie be set forth before men. And this I graunt. But there is a measure most heedefully to be kept, that we cast not away the care of the weake of whome the Lorde hath so earnestly giuen vs charge.

II 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: whereupon wee may afterward determine what place there is for our libertie among men. I like wel that common diuision, which teacheth y there is of offences one sort giuen, another taken: for asmuch as it both hath a plaine testimonie of the Scripture, and doth not vnfitly expresse y which it meaneth. If thou do any thing by vnseasonable lightnesse, or wantonnes, or rashnesse, not in order, nor in fit place, whereby the ignorant & 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 stirred vp. And it is alway called an offence giuen in any thing, the fault whereof 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 euil will or by some wrongfull maliciousnesse of minde 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 w this second kinde sower natures & Pharisaicall scornfull heades are offended. Wherefore we shal call the one, the offence of the weake: the other of the Pharisees: and we shal 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 yelded to weakenesse, 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 layde before our brother any offence or occasion of falling: and many other sayings to y same entent, which are more fit to be red in the place it self, than to be here rehearsed. The summe is, that we which are strong shoulde beare with the weakenes of our brethren, and not please our selues, but euery 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 shambles, asking no question for 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 G O D. Also in another place, Ye are called, brethren, into libertie: onely giue not your libertie to be an occasion to the flesh, but by charitie serue ye one another. Thus it is. Our libertie is not giuen towards our weake neighbours, whose seruaunts charitie maketh vs in all things: but rather, that hauing peace with God in our mindes, wee may also liue peaceably among men. As for the offence of the Pharisees, howe much it is to be regarded, we learne by the wordes of the Lorde, whereby he biddeth them to be let alone, because they are blind, and guides of the blinde. The disciples had warned him, that the Pharisees were offended with his sayings: he answered that they were to be neglected, and the offending of them

Rom. 14. 1.
and 13.

1. Cor. 8. 9.
1. Cor. 10. 25

Gal. 5. 13.

Mat. 15. 14.

not to be cared for.

12 But yet still the matter hangeth doubtful, vnlesse wee knowe who are to be taken 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 neuer be vsed without great daunger. But it seemeth to mee y Paul hath most plainly declared both by doctrine and by examples, how far our libertie is either to be tempred or to be defended though with offences.

When he tooke Timothee into his company, hee circumcised him: but hee could not be brought to circumcise Titus. Here were diuerse doings, and no change of purpose or of minde: namely in circumcising Timothee, when he was free from all men, he made himselfe a seruant to all men: and he was made to the Iewes, as a Iewe, that he might winne the Iewes: to them that were vnder the lawe, as if he himselfe were vnder the lawe, that hee might winne them which were vnder the lawe: all things to all men, that he might saue many, as he writeth in another place. Thus wee haue a right moderation of libertie, if it may be indifferently restrained with some profit. What he had respect vnto, when he stoutly refused to circumcise Titus, hee himselfe testifieth, writing thus: But neither was Titus, which was with mee, 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 whome wee 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 wee 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 preferre charitie, and haue regarde to the edifying of our neighbour. All things (saith he) are lawfull for mee, but not all things are expedient: all things are lawfull for me, but not all things do not edifie. Let no man seeke that which is his owne, but y which is anothers. There is nothing now plainer by this rule, than that we must vse our libertie, if it may turne to the edifying of our neighbor: but if it be not so expedient for our neighbor, then we must forbear it. There be some which counterfait the wisdom of Paul in forbearing of libertie, while they doe nothing lesse than apply the same to the duties of charitie. For so that they may prouide for their owne quietnes, they wish all mention of libertie to be buried, whereas it is no lesse behouefull for our neighbors, sometime to vse libertie for their benefite 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 therfore graunted him, that he may be the freer to all duties of charitie.

13 But whatsoeuer 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 submitted to charitie, so charitie it selfe likewise ought to be vnder the purenes of faith. Verily here 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 is not to be allowed, which

Ag. 16. 3.
Galat. 2. 3.
Cor. 9. 19. &
21.

Gal. 2. 4.

1. Co. 10. 23.

do nothing but with troublesome turmoiling, and which had rather rashly to rende 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 vngodlines, yet do faine that they must behaue themselves so y they be none offence to their neighbours. As though they do not in the meane edifie the cōsciences 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 be to be instructed with doctrine or example of life, say that he must be fed with milke, whome they fil with most euill and poisonous opinions. Paul reporteth that he fed the Corinthians with drinking of milke: but if Popish Masse had then beene among them, would he haue sacrificed to giue them the drinke of milk? No: For milk is not poison. Therefore they lie in saying that they feede them whom vnder a shewe of flattering allurements they cruelly kil. But, granting y such dissembling is for a time to be allowed, how long yet will they fede their children with milke? For if they neuer growe bigger, y they may at the least be able to beare some light meat, it is certain that they were neuer brought vp with milke. There are two reasons that moue me why I do not nowe more sharply contende with them: first, because their follies are scarcely worthy to be confuted, sith they worthily seeme filthy in the sight of all men that haue their sound wit: secondly, because I haue sufficiently done it in peculiar bookes, I will not nowe doe a thing already done. Onely let the readers remember this, y with whatsoeuer offences satan & the worlde go about to turne vs away from the ordinances of God, or to stay vs from following that which he appointeth, yet we must neuertheless go earnestly forward: & then, that whatsoeuer dangers hang vpon it; yet is it not at our liberty to swaue one haire bredth 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.

14 Now therefore sith faithfull consciences hauing receiued such prerogatiue of liberty as we haue aboue set forth, haue by the benefit of Christ obtained this y they be not entangled with any snares of obseruations in those thinges in which the Lord willed that they should be at liberty: we conclude that they are exempt from all power of men. For it is vnmeete, that either Christ should lose the thank of his so great liberality, or cōsciences their profit. 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 voyd, if we yelde our soules into subiection to men. For he trauelleth about nothing els in certaine chapters of the epistle to the Galathians, but to shewe that Christ is darkned or rather destroyed to vs, vnlesse our consciences stande fast in their liberty, which verily they haue lost if they may at the wil of men be snared with the bondes of lawes and ordinances. But as it is a thing most worthy to be knowne, so it needeth a longer and plainer declaration. For so soone as any worde is spoken of the abrogating of the ordinances of men, by & 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 ouerthrowen.

15 Therefore that none of vs may stumble at this stone, first let vs consider, that there are two sorts of government in man: the one spirituall whereby the conscience is framed to godlines and to the worship of God: the other ciuill, whereby man is trained to the duties of humanitie 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 these two formes of government pertaineth to the life of the soule, and the latter is occupied in the thinges of this present life: not onely in feeding and clothing, but in setting forth of lawes whereby a man may spende his life among men holily, honestly, and soberly. For, that first kinde hath place in the inwarde minde, this latter kinde ordereth onely the outwarde behaiours, The one we may call the Spiritual kingdome, the other, the Ciuill kingdome. But these two, as wee haue deuided them, must be either of them alway seuerally considered by themselves: 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 worlds, which both diuerse kings and diuerse 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 drawe to the ciuill order, as though Christians were according to the outward gouernment 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 fleshe, because they are free according to the spirit. Again, because euen in those ordinances which seem to pertaine to the Spirituall kingdom, there may be some errour: we must also put difference betweene these, which are to be taken for lawefull as agreeable to the word of God, & on the other side which ought not to haue place among the godly. Of the Ciuil government there shall be else where place to speake. Also of the Ecclesiastical lawes I omit to speake at this time, because a more full entreating of it shall be fitte for the fourth booke, where wee shall speake of the power of the Church. But of this discourse, let this be the conclusion, The question being (as I haue sayde) of it selfe not very darke or entangled, doth for this cause accumer many, because they do not suttly enough put difference betweene the outward court as they call it, & the court of conscience. Moreouer this encrease the difficulty, that Paul teacheth that the magistrate ought to be obeyed, not only 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 nought which we both haue spoken and shall speake of the spiritual gouernement. For the loosing of this knot, first it is good to knowe what is conscience. And the definition thereof is to be fetched from the deriuation of the worde. For, as when men do with minde and vnderstanding conceiue the knowledge of thinges, they are thereby said (Scire) to knowe, whereupon also is deriued the name of Science: Knowledge: so when they haue a feeling of the iudgement of God, as a witnesse ioyned with them, which doth not suffer them to hide their sinnes but that they be drawen 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 y^e which

he knoweth but pursueth him so farre till it bring him to giltines. This is it Rom. 2, 1,
 which Paul meaneth, where he sayth that conscience doth together witnes
 with men, when their thoughts do accuse or acquite them in the iudgement
 of God. A simple knowledge might remaine as enclosed within man: Ther-
 fore this feeling which presenteth man to the iudgement of God, is as it were
 a keeper ioyned to man, to marke and espie al his secrets, that nothing may
 remaine buried in darkenesse. Whereupon also commeth that olde Pro-
 uerbe, Conscience is a thousande witneses. And for the same reason Peter 1. Pet. 3. 21.
 hath set the examination of a good conscience for quietnesse 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 Hebrues, setteth to haue no Heb. 10, 2.
 more conscience of sinne, in steede 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 els but the inward purenesse of the
 heart. In which sense Paul writeth that charity is the fulfilling of the law out
 of a pure conscience and faith not fained. Afterward also in the same chapter 2. Tit. 1, 5.
 he sheweth how much it differeth from vnderstanding, saying that some had
 suffred shipwrecke from the faith, because they had forsaken good Consci-
 ence. For in these words he signifieth it is a liuely affection to worship God,
 and a syncere endeouour to liue holily and godlily. Sometime in deede it ex-
 tendeth also to men, as in Luke where the same Paul protesteth that he en-
 deuored himselfe to walke with a good conscience toward God and men. But Act. 24, 16.
 this was therefore saide, because the fruites of good conscience do flow and
 come euen to men. But in speaking properly, it hath respect to God only, as
 I haue already sayd. Hereby it commeth to passe that the lawe is said to bind
 the conscience, which simply bindeth a man without respect of men, or with-
 out hauing any consideration of them. As for example: God commandeth
 not onely to keepe the minde chaste and pure from all lust, but also forbid-
 deth all maner of filthinesse of wordes and outward wantonnesse whatsoeuer
 it be. To the keeping of this lawe my conscience is subiect although there li-
 ued not one man in the world. So he that behaueth himselfe intemperatly,
 not onely sinneth in this that he giueth an euill example to the brethren, but
 also hath his conscience bounde with giltinesse before God. In things that
 are of rhemeselues meane, there is an other consideration. For we ought to
 absteine from them if they breede any offence, but the conscience still being
 free. So Paul speaketh of flesh consecrate to Idols. If any (sayth he) moue
 any doubt, touch it not for conscience sake: I say for conscience, not thine 1. Cor. 10. 28
 but the others. A faithfull man should sinne, which being first warned should
 neuerthelessse eate such flesh. But howsoeuer in respect of his brother, it is ne-
 cessary for him to absteine as it is prescribed of God, yet hee ceaseth not to
 keepe still the liberty of conscience. Thus we see how this lawe binding the
 outward worke, leaueth the conscience vnbounde.

The xx. Chapter.

*Of Praier, which is the chiefe exercise of faith, and vvhich by vve
 daily receiue the benefites of God.*

OF these things that haue beene hitherto spoken, we plainly perceiue how needy and voyde man is of all good things, and howe he wanteth all helpes of saluation. Wherefore if he seeke for reliefes whereby he may succour his needinesse, he must goe out of himselfe and get them else where. This is afterwarde declared vnto vs, that the Lorde doth of his owne free will and liberally giue himselfe to vs in his Christ, in whome hee offereth vs in steede of our miserie al felicitie, in steede of our neede welthinesse, in whome he openeth to vs the heauenly treasures: that our whole faith should beholde his beloued son, that vpon him our whole expectation should hang, in him our whole hope should sticke and rest. This verily is the secret and hidden Philosophy, which can not be wrung out with Logi- call argumentes: but they learne it whose eyes God hath opened that they may see light in his light. But since that we are taught by faith to acknow- ledge 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 Lord willed the whole fulnesse of his largesse to rest, that from thence we should all drawe as out of a most plentiful fountaine: nowe it remaineth that we seeke in him, and with prayers craue of him that which we haue learned to be in him. O- therwise to knowe 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 no- thing profit 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 shew that true faith can not be idle frō calling vpon God, hath set this order: that as of the Gospel springeth faith, so by it our heartes are framed to call vpon the name of God. And this is the same thing which he had a litle before said, that the Spirit of adoption, which sealet in our hearts the witnesse of the Gospell, raiseth vp our spirites that they dare shewe foorth their desires to God, stirre vp vspeakeable gronings, and cry with confidence Abba, Father. It is meete therefore that this last point, because it was before but onely spo- ken of by the way and as it were lightly touched, should now be more large- ly entreated of.

Rom. 8. 26.

2 This therefore we get by the benefit of prayer, that we attaine to those riches which are layd vp for vs with the heauenly father. For there is a cer- taine cōmunicating of men with God, whereby they entring into y^e sanctua- ry of heauen, do in his owne presence call to him touching his promises: that the same thing which they beleued him affirming onely in worde not to be vaine, they may when neede so requireth finde in experience. Therefore we see that there is nothing set forth to vs to be looked for at the hande of the Lorde, which we are not also commanded to craue with prayers: so true it is that by praier are digged vp the treasures, which our faith hath looked vpon being shewed to it by the Gospel of the Lord. Now how necessary and how many wayes profitable this exercise of praier is, it can by no wordes be suffi- ciently declared. Vndoubtedly it is not without cause y^e the heauenly father refuseth, that the onely fortresse of saluation is in the calling vpon his name namely whereby wee 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 susteineth vs being weake and in a maner fainting: and of his goodnesse,

by which he receiueth 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 wee haue disclosed to the Lorde the necessitie which distressed vs, wee 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 wel for vs.

3 But (wil 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 hee shoulde be troubled with our prayers, as though hee winked or slept, vntill he were awaked with our voice? But they which so reason, marke not to what ende the Lord hath instructed them that be his to pray: for he ordeyned it not so much for his owne cause as rather for ours. He willethe indeede, as right it is, that his due be rendred to him, when they acknowledge to come from him whatfoeuer men require or doe perceiue to make for their profite, and doe testifie the same with wishings. But the profite also of this sacrifice wherewith hee is worshipped, commeth to vs. Therefore howe must more boldly the holy fathers gloriously talked both to themselues and other of the benefites of G O D, so much the more sharpely they were pricked forward to pray. The onely example of Elias shall bee enough for vs, which being sure of the counsell of God, after that he not rashly had promised raine to Achab, yet busily prayeth betweene his knees, and sendeth his seruauent seuen times to espie it: not for that he did discredit the oracle of God, but because he knew y it was his dutie, least his faith should waxe drowsie & sluggish, to lay vp his desires with God. Wherefore although while we lie senselesse and so dul that we perceiue not our owne miseries, he waketh & watcheth for vs, and sometime also helpeth vs vnderired, yet it much behoueth vs, that he be continually called vpon of vs, that our heart may be enflamed with earnest and feruent desire to seeke, loue, and worship him, while we accustome our selues in euerie necessitie to flee to him as to our shoot anchare. Againe, y no desire and no wishe at all may enter into our minde, wherof we should be ashamed to make him witness, while we learne to present our wishes, yea and to poure out our whole heart before his eyes. Then y we may be framed to receiue all his benefits with true thankfulness of mind, yea and with outward thankesgiuing, of which we are put in mind by our prayer that they come to vs from his hand. Moreouer, y when we haue obtained y which we desired, being perswaded y he hath answered to our prayers, wee may be thereby the more feruently caried to thinke vpon his kindnesse, and therewithall embrace with greater pleasure those thinges which we acknowledge to haue ben obtained by praier. Last of all, that very vse and experience may according to the measure of our weaknes assure our minds of his prouidence when we vnderstand y he not onely promisseth that he will neuer faile vs, & that he doth of his owne accorde open vs the entrie to call to him in the verie point of necessitie, but also hath his hande alway stretched out to helpe them y be his, and y he doth not feed them with words, but defendeth them with present helpe. For these causes, the most kinde Father, although hee

1. Kin. 18. 42

he neuer sleepeth or is sluggishe, yet oftentimes maketh a shewe as though hee slept and were sluggishe, that so hee may exercise vs, which are otherwise slouthfull and sluggishe to come to him, to aske of him, to requite him to our owne great benefite. Therefore they doe too foolishly, which to cal away the mindes of men from prayer, babble that the prouidence of GOD, which maketh for the safekeeping of all things, is in vaine wearied with our calling vppon him: Whereas the Lorde contrariwise not in vaine testifieth that hee is nie to all them that call vppon his name in the truth. And of none other sorte is that which other doe triflingly say, that it is superfluous to aske those things which the Lorde is of his owne wil readie to giue: wheteas euen the verie same things which flowe to vs from his owne free liberalitie, hee will haue vs acknowledge to bee graunted to our prayers. Which thing that notable sentence of the Psalme doeth testifie, wherewith many like sayings doe accorde. The eyes of the Lorde are vpon the righteous, and his cares vnto their prayers. Which saying so setteth out y^e prouidence of God bent of his owne accorde to prouide for the safetie of the godly, that yet he omitteth not the exercise of faith, whereby slouthfulnes is wiped from the mindes of men. The eyes of God therefore doe walke, y^e hee may succour the necessitie of the blinde: but hee will againe on our behalves heare our gronings, that he may the better proue his loue toward vs. And so both are true, that the watchman of Israel sleepeth not, nor slumbereth, and yet that he sitteth still as hauing forgotten vs when hee seeth vs dull and dumme.

Psal. 145. 18.

Psal. 34. 16.

Psal. 121. 8.

4 Nowe, 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 wee shall attaine as touching the minde, of the same being free from fleshly cares and thoughtes wherewith it may be called away or withdrawn from the right and pure beholding of God, doe not onely bende it selfe wholly to prayer, but also so much as is possible be lifted vp and caried aboue it selfe. Neither doe I here require a mind so at libertie, that it be pricked and nipped with no care, whereas contrariwise the seruentnesse of prayer must by such carefulnesse be kindled in vs (as we see that the holy seruants of God doe sometime declare great torments, much more carefulnesse, when they say they vtter to the Lord a bewailing voice out of the deepe depth, and out of the middest 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 caried about, and being drawn out of heauen is pressed downe to the earth. I meane by this that it must be lifted vp aboue 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 bounde within the compasse of her owne vanitie, but rise vp to purenes worthy for God.

5 Both these things are specially worthie to be noted, that whosouer prepareth himselfe to pray, should therto applie al his senses and endeuours, and not (as men are wont) be diuersly drawn with wandering thoughtes: because there is nothing more contrarie to the reuerence of God, than such lightnesse which is a witnessse of too wanton licentiousnesse and loose from
all

all feare. In which thing wee must so much more earnestly labour as we find it more hard, for no man can be bent so to pray, but that he shal feele many bythoughtes to creepe vpon him, either to breake of, or by some bowing & swaruing to hinder the course of his prayer. But here let vs call to mind, how great an vnworthinesse it is, when God receiueth vs vnto familiar talke with him, to abuse his so great gentlenesse, with mingling holy and prophane things together, when the reuerence of him holdeth not our mindes faste bound vnto him: but as if we talked with some meane man, we do in y^e middest of our prayer, forsaking him, leape hither and thither. Let vs therefore know that none doe rightly and well prepare themselues to prayer, but they wh^o the maiestie of God pearceth, that they come to it vncumbered of earthly cares and affections. And that is meant by the ceremonie of lifting vp of handes, that men shoulde remember that they bee farre distant from God, vnlesse they lift vp their senses on hie. As also it is saide in the Psalm. To thee haue I lifted vp my soule. And the Scripture oftentimes vseth this manner of speech, to lift vp prayer: that they which desire to be heard of God, shoulde not sit still in their dregges. Let this be the summe: that howe much more liberally God dealeth with vs, gently alluring vs to vnloode 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 applie our endeouours and senses to pray: which can not be done vnlesse our minde by strongly wrastling with the hinderances doe rise vp aboue them. An other point we haue set forth, that we aske no more than God giueth leaue. For though he biddeth vs to poure out our heartes, yet he doth indifferently giue loose reines to foolish and froward affections: and when he promiseth that he will doe according to the will of the godly, he proceedeth not to so tender bearing with them that he submitteth himselfe to their will. But in both these pointes men doe commonly much offende. For not onely the most part of men presume without shame, without reuerence, to speake to God for their follies, and shamelesly present to his throne whatsoeuer liked them in their dreame: but also so great foolishnesse or senselesse dulnesse possesseth them, that they dare thrust into the hearing of God, euen al 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 chosen Iupiter to bee their Patrone: couetous men, Mercurie: the desirous of learning, Apollo and Minerua: warriers, Mars: and Lecherous foolke, Venus. Like as at this day (as I haue euen nowe touched) men do in prayers 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 prayers 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, hee heareth vs. But forasmuch as our abilities are farre from being sufficient to performe so great perfection, wee must seeke a remedie to helpe vs. As wee ought to bende the sight of our minde to God, so the affection of the heart

Psal. 25. 1.

Psal. 62. 9.

1. Ioh. 5. 14.

ought also to followe to the same ende. But both doe stay farre beneath it, yea rather doe faint and faile or be caried a contrarie way. Therefore God to succour this weakenesse, in our prayers giueth the spirite to be our Schole-master, to instruct vs what is right, and to gouerne our affections. For, because we knowe not what wee ought to pray as wee ought, the spirite cometh to our succour, and maketh intercession for vs with vnspokeable groanings, not that it indeede either prayeth or groaneth but stirrieth vp in vs affiance, desires, and sighings, which the strength of nature were not able to conceiue. And not without cause Paul calleth them vnspokeable groanings which so the faithfull sende forth by the guiding of the spirite, because they which are truly exercised in prayers, 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 vtter stammering wordes they sticke fast incumbred. Wherevpon it followeth, that the gift of praying rightly is a singular gifte. These thinges are not spoken to this purpose, that we fauouring our owne slouthfulnesse shoulde giue ouer the charge of praying to the Spirit of GOD, and lie dull in that carelesnesse, to which wee are too much inclined (as there are heard the wicked sayings of some, that wee must lie negligently gaping to waite vntill hee preuent our mindes occupied else where) but rather that we loathing our owne slouthfulnesse and sluggishnesse, shoulde craue such helpe of the Spirit, Neither doeth Paul, when hee biddeth vs to pray in Spirite, therefore cease to exhorte vs to wakefulnesse: meaning that the instincte of the Spirite so vseth his force to frame our prayers, that it nothing hindereth or slacketh our owne endeuour: because God will in this behalfe prooue howe effectually faith moueth our hearts.

2. Cor. 14.
26.

6 Let also an other lawe bee, that in praying wee alway feele our owne want, and that earnestly thinking howe wee stande in need of those thinges that wee aske, wee ioyne with our prayer an earnest yea feruent affection to obtaine. For, many doe 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 helpe of God which they craue: yet it appeareth that they doe this dutie for custome, forasmuch as in the meane time their mindes are cold, and doe not wey what they aske. The generall and confuse feeling indeede of their necessitie leadeth them hereunto: but it doeth not stirre them as it were in a present case to aske reliefe of their neede. Nowe what thinke wee to bee more hatefull or more detestable to God than this fayning, when a man asketh forgiuenesse of sinnes, in the meane time eyther thinking that hee is not a sinner, or not thinking vpon this that hee is a sinner, euen wherewith God himselfe is plainly mocked? But of such peruersnesse (as I haue saide) mankinde is full, that for manners sake they many times aske many thinges of God, which they certainly iudge that without his liberalitie to come to the from some other where, or that they haue them already remaying with them. The fault of some other seemeth to bee lighter and yet not tolerable, that they which haue onely conceiued this principle that wee must sacrifice to GOD with prayers

prayers, doe 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 hearte, and doe therewithall desire to obtaine it of him. Yea and also though in those things which wee aske onely to the glorie of God, wee seeme not at the first sight to prouide for our owne necessitie, yet the same ought to be asked with no lesse feruentnes and vehemenes 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.

7 If any man obiekt, 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 slouthful, therefore; as the matter requireth we are the more sharply pricked forward of God to pray earnestly. And this Dauid calleth the fit time, because (as he teacheth in many other places) how much more hardly troubles, discommodities, feares & other kinds of tentations do presse vs, so much freerer access is open for vs, as though God did cal vs vnto him. But yet no lesse true is that saying of Paul, that we must at all times: because how-
Iac. 5. 13.
Psal. 32. 6.
Eph. 6. 18.
focuer things prosperously flowe according to our hartes desire, and matter of mirth doeth compass vs on euery side, yet there is no minute of time wherein our neede doth not exhort vs to pray. If a man haue abundaunce of wine and wheate: yet sith hee cannot enioye one morsell of breade but by the continuall grace of God, whole cellers or barnes full shall bee no let why he should not craue dayly breade. Nowe if wee call to minde how many dangers do euerie moment hand ouer vs, y verie feare it selfe wil teach vs that we haue no time free fro prayer. But this we may better perceiue in spirituall things. For, when shall so many sinnes, whereof we knowe our selues guiltie, suffer vs to sit still without care and not in humble wise craue pardon both of the fault and the paine? When do tentations graunt vs truce, so that we neede not to hast vnto helpe? Morcouer the desire of the kingdome and glorie of God ought so to plucke vs to it selfe, not by fittes but continually, that it should alway be fit time for vs. Therefore not without cause we are so ofte commaunded to pray continually. I doe not yet speake of perseuerance in prayer, wherof mention shalbe made hereafter: but when y scripture warneth vs that we ought to pray continually, it accuseth our slouthfulnesse, because we doe not perceiue how necessarie this care and diligence is for vs. By this rule all hypocrisie and craftinesse of lying to God, is debarred, yea driuen farre away from prayer. God promiseth that he will bee neere to all them that call vpon him in truth, and he pronounceth that they shall finde him which seeke him with their whole heart. But they aspire not thither which please themselues in their owne filthinesse. 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 eares of GOD shutte, which doe locke vp their owne heartes, and that they should not finde God easie to bowe, which doe with their owne hardnesse

Esa. 15. 15. prouoke his stiffnesse. In Esay hee threateneth after this manner. When ye shall multiplie your prayers, I will not heare you: for your handes are full of blood. Again in Ieremie: I haue cried, & they haue refused to heare: they shal likewise crie, and I will not heare: because he taketh it for a most hie dishonour, that wicked men should boast of his couenaunt, which doe in al their life defile his holy name. Wherefore in Esay. hee complaineth, that when the Iewes come neere to him with their lippes, their hearte is far from him. Hee speaketh not this of onely prayers, but affirmeth that hee 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 spende it vpon your pleasures. It is true indeede (as wee shall againe shewe a litle hereafter) that the prayers of the godly which they poure out, doe not rest vpon their owne worthinesse: yet is not that admonition of Iohni superfluous, if we aske any thing, wee shall receiue it of him, because wee keepe his commandentes: forasmuch as an euell conscience shutteth the gate against vs. Wherevpon followeth that none doe rightly pray, nor are heard, but the pure worshippers of God. Therefore whosoeuer 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 mind of a begger.

8 Hereunto let the third rule be ioyned, that whosoeuer presenteth himselfe before God to pray, shoulde forsake all thinking of his owne glorie, put off all opinion of worthinesse, and finally giue ouer all trust of himselfe, giuing in the abacing of himselfe the glorie wholly to God: least if wee 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 al height, we haue often examples in the seruantes of God: among whome the holier that euerie one is, so much the more hee is throwne downe when he cometh into the sight of the Lorde. So Daniel, whom the Lord himselfe commended with so great a title of praise, said: We poure not out our prayers before thee in our righteousneses, but in thy great mercies. Here 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 & ouer thy holy place. Neither doeth hee by a crooked figure (as men sometime speake) mingle himselfe with the multitude as one of the people, but rather sferually confesseth his owne guiltinesse and humbly fleeth to the sanctuarie of forgiveness, as he expresly saith: When I confessed my sinnes and the sins of my people. And this humbles Dauid also setteth out with his own example, when he saith,

Dan. 9. 18. Enter not into iudgement with thy seruant, because in thy sight euerie one that liueth shall not be iustified. In such manner Esay prayeth: Loe, thou art angrie because we haue sinned, the worlde is founded in thy wayes, therefore we shal be saued: And we haue ben all filled with vncleannesse, & al our righteousness as a defiled cloth: and we haue all withered away as a leafe, & our iniquities doe scatter vs broad as the winde: and there is none that calleth vpon thy name, that raiseth vp himselfe to take holde 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

Psal. 143. 2.
Esa. 74. 5.

our fashioner, & we are the worke of thy hand. Be not angrie O Lorde, neither remember wickednes for euer. Behold, look vpon vs, we are al thy people. Lo, how they stand vpon no affiance at al, but vpon this only, y^e thinking vpon this y^e they be Gods, they dispaire not y^e he wil haue care of them. Like-wise Ieremie: If our iniquities answer against vs, do thou for thy names sake. *Ier. 14. 7.* For it is both most truely & most holy written, of whomsoeuer it be, which being written by an vnknown author is fathered vpon the Prophet Baruc: A soule heauie & desolate for the greatnes of euil, crooked, & weake, a hungry soule, & fainting eyes giue glory to thee O Lord. Not according to the righteousnes of our fathers do we poure out prayers in thy sight, & aske mercie before thy face O Lord our God: but because thou art merciful, haue mercie vpon vs, because we haue sinned before thee.

9 Finally the beginning & also the preparing of praying rightly, is crauing of pardon, with an humble & plaine confession of fault. For neither is it to be hoped, that euen the holiest man may obtaine any thing of GOD, vntil he be freely recōciled to him: neither is it possible that God may be fauourable to any but them whom he pardoneth. Wherefore it is no maruaile if the faithful do with this keie open to themselues the dore to pray. Which we learne out of many places of the Psalmes. For Dauid when he asketh an other thing, saith: Remember not the sinnes of my youth, remember mee according to thy mercie for thy goodnes sake O Lord. Againe, Looke vpon my affliction, & my labour, & forgiue all my sinnes. Where we also see y^e it is not enough, if we euery seueral day do call our selues to account for our newe sinnes, if we do not also remember those sinnes which might seem to haue bene long ago forgotten. For, the same Prophet in another place, hauing confessed one hainous offence by this occasion returneth euen to his mothers wombe wherin 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 him selfe, so much more easie he may find God to entreat. But although the holy ones do not alway in expresse words aske, forgiuenes of sinnes, yet if wee diligently weye their prayers which the Scripture rehearseth, we shal easily find y^e which I say, y^e they gathered a mind to pray of the only mercy of god, & so alway tooke their beginning at appeasing him because if euery man examine his owne conscience, so farre is he from being bold to open his cares familiarly with God, that he trembleth at euery comming toward him, except that he standeth vpon trust of mercie & pardon. There is also another speciall confession, where they aske release of paines, that they also pray to haue their sinnes forgiuen: because it were an absurditie to will that y^e effect be taken away while the cause abideth. For wee must beware that God bee fauourable vnto vs, before that he testifie his fauour with outwarde signes: because both he himselve will kepe this order, & it shoulde litle profit vs to haue him beneficiall, vnlesse our conscience feeling him appeased shoulde throughly make him louely vnto vs, Which we are also taught by the aunswere of Christ. For when he had decreed to heale the man sicke of y^e Palsey, he said, Thy sinnes are forgiuen thee: lifting vp our mindes thereby to that which is chiefly to be wished, that God first receiue vs into fauour, and then

shew foorth the fruit of reconciliation in helping vs. But beside that speciall confession of present giltines, whereby the faithful make supplication to obtaine pardon of euery special fault and peine, that generall preface, which procureth fauour to prayers, is neuer to be omitted, because vnlesse they be grounded vpon the free mercie of God, they shal neuer obtain any thing of God. Whereunto may be referred that saying of Iohn: If wee confesse our sinnes, he is faithful & righteous to forgieue vs, & cleanse vs from all iniquitie. For which cause it behooued praier in the time of the lawe to be halloved with expiation of bloud, that they might be acceptable, & that so the people should be put in mind that they are vnworthie of so great a prerogatiue of honor, til being cleansed from their defilings they should of the only mercy of God conceiue affiance to pray.

1. Iohn. 1. 9.

Psal. 85.

2. Reg. 20. 2.

Psal. 34. 16.

1. Iohn. 23.

Iohn. 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 Lorde I beseech thee, that I haue walked before thee in truth, and haue done good in thine eyes) by such formes of speaking they meane nothing else than by their verie regeneration to testifie themselues to be the seruants & children of God, to whome he himselfe pronounceth that he will be merciful. He teacheth by the prophet (as we haue alreadie seene) that his eies are vpon the righteous, and his cares vnto their prayers. Againe by the Apostle, that we shall obtaine whatsoeuer we aske, if we keep his commandements. In which sayings he doth not value prayer by the worthines of workes: but his will is so to stablish their affiance, whose own conscience well assureth them of an vnfained vprightness and innocencie, such as all the faithful ought to be. For the same is taken out of the verie trueth 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 all desire of righteousness do altogether sleepe and rest vpon their sins: forasmuch as no heart can euer breake foorth into vnfained calling vpon God which doeth not also aspire to godlinesse. Therefore with such promises accorde the prayers of the holy ones, wherein they make mention of their owne purenes or innocency that they may feele that to bee giuen them which is to be looked for of all the seruants of God. Againe it is then commonly found that they vse this kind of prayer, when they do in the presence of the Lord compare themselues with their enemies, from whose vniust dealing they wished themselues to be deliuered by his hande. In this comparision it is no marueil if they brought forth their righteousness & simplicitie of heart to moue him the rather by the rightfulness of their cause to help them. This therefore we take not away from the godly heart of a good man, but that he may vse the purenes of his conscience before the Lorde, to strengthen himself in the promises wherewith the Lord comforteth & vpholdeth his true worshippers: but our meaning is, y^e the trust of obtaining stand vpon y^e only mercy of God, laying away al thinking of their own deseruing.

11 The fourth rule is, that beeing so thrown downe and subdued with true humilitie, we should neuertheles with certaine hope of obtaining bee encouraged to pray. These be things in deede contrarie in shewe, to ioyne

with

with the feeling of the iust vengeance of God sure affiance of fauour: which things do yet very well agree together, if the onely goodnesse of God raise vs vp being oppressed with our owne euils. For, as wee haue before taught that repentance and faith are knit as companions together with an vnseparable bonde: of which yet the one afrayeth vs, the other cheareth vs: so in prayers they must mutually meete together. And this agreement Dauid expresseth in fewe wordes: I (saith he) will in the multitude of thy goodnesse 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 exclud ing feare: because not only his maiestie driueth vs to reuerence, but also our owne vnworthinesse holdeth vs in feare forgetting all pride and assurednes. But I meane not such an affiance which should stroke the mind loosed from all feeling of carefulnesse with a sweete and full quietnesse. For, to rest so peafably is the doing of them which hauing all things flowing as they would wish it, are touched with no care, are kindled with no desire, do swell with no feare. And it is a very good spurre to the holy ones to call vpon God, when being distressed with their owne necessitie, they are vexed with most great vnquietnesse, and are almost dismayed in themselues, till faith come in fit time to their succours, because in such distresses the goodnesse of God so shineth to them, that they do in deede grone being wearied with weight of present euils, they are also in paine & grieued with feare of greater, yet being so vpholden by it, they both relieue & comfort y hardnes of bearing them, & do hope for escape & deliuerance. Therefore the prayer of a godly mā must arise out of both affectiōs, must also contein & shew both: namely to grone for present euils, and to be carefully afraide of new, and yet therewithall to fly to God, not douting that he is ready to reach his helping hand. For God is maruelously prouoked to wrath by our distrustfulnesse, if we aske of him the benefits which we hope not to obtaine. Therefore there is nothing more agreeable with the nature of prayers, than y this law be prescribed and appointed to them, that they breake not forth rashly, but folow faith going before them. To this principle Christ calleth vs al with this saying: I say vnto you, whatsoever things ye require, beleeue y ye shall receiue them, and they shal happē to you. The same also he cōfirmeth in an other place. Whatsoever ye aske in praier beleeuing, ye shal receiue. Wherwith agreeth Iames saying, If any need wisdom, let him aske it of him which giueth to al mē freely, and vpbraideth not: but let him aske in faith no douting. Wherein setting douting as contrary to faith, he doth most fitly expresse the nature of it. And no lesse is that to be noted which he addeth, that they obtain nothing which call vpon God in wauering and dout, and doe not determine in their hearts whether they shalbe heard or no. Whom he also compareth to waues which are diuersly tossed and driuen about of the winde. Whereupon in an other place he calleth a right prayer, the prayer of faith. Again when God so oft affirmeth that he will giue to euery one according to his faith, he signifieth that we obteine nothing without faith. Finally it is faith that obtieineth whatsoever is graunted by prayer. This is meant by that notable saying of Paul, which the foolish menne doe take nō heede vnto. Howe shall any man call vppon him, in whome he hath nō beleeued? But who shall

Psal. 5. 8.

Mat. 11. 24.

Mat. 21. 22.

Iam. 5. 5.

Rom. 10. 14.

beleue, vnlesse he haue heard? But faith commeth of hearing, and hearing of the word of God. For conueying by degrees the beginning of prayer from faith, he plainly affirmeth that God can not be sincerely called vpon of any other, than them to whom by the preaching of the Gospel his mercifulnesse and gentlenesse hath bin made knownen, and familiarly declared.

12 This necessity our aduerfaries do not thinke vpon. Therefore when we bid the faithful to holde with assured confidence of minde that God is favorable and beareth good will to them, they thinke y we speake a most great absurdity. But if they had any vse of true prayer, they woulde truly vnderstande that God can not be rightly called vpon without that stedfast feeling of Gods good will. Sith no man can well perceiue the force of faith, but he which by experience feeleth it in his heart: what may a man profite by disputing with such men which do openly shew, that they neuer had any thing but a vaine imagination? For of what force, & how necessary is that assurednes which we require, is chieflie learned by inuocation. Which who so seeth not, he bewraiet h^y he hath a very dul cōscience. Let vs therfore, leauing this kinde of blindmen, sticke fast in that saying of Paul, that God can not be called vpon of any other, but them that know his mercy by the Gospel, and are surely perswaded that it is ready for them. For what maner of saying should this be: O Lord, I am verily in dout whether thou wilt heare me: but because I am distressed with carefullnes, I flee to thee, y thou maist help me if I be worthy. This was not the wonted maner of all the holy ones, whose praiers wee

Heb. 4. 16.

Eph. 3. 11.

read in the Scriptures. Neither hath the holy Ghost thus taught vs by y Apostle which biddeth vs to go to the heauenly throne with confidence, y we may obtaine grace & when in an other place he teacheth that we haue boldnes & access to cōfidence by the faith of Christ. We must therfore holde fast with both handes this assurednes to obtaine what we aske (sith both y Lorde with his owne voyce so commandeth vs, & all the holy ones teach it by their example) if we wil pray with fruit. For, y only praier is pleasing to God which springeth out of such a presumption of faith (as I may so call it) & is grounded vpon a dreadles certainty of faith. He might haue bin content with the bare name of faith, but he not only added confidence, but also furnished the same with liberty or boldnes, by this marke to put difference betweene vs & vnbeleuers, which do in deede also pray to God as we doe, but at aduenture. For

Psal. 33.

which reason the whole Church praieith in the Psalm: Let thy mercy be vpō vs, as we put our trust in thee. The same conditiō is also spoken of in an other

Psal. 66. 10.

Psal. 5. 15.

place by the Prophet: In what day I shall cry, this I knowe that God is with me. Againe, In the morning I will direct my selfe to thee, & I will watch. For of these wordes we gather, that praiers are in vaine cast into the aire, vnlesse hope be adioyned, from whence as out of a watchtoure we may quietly waite for the Lord. Wherewith agreeth the order of Paules exhortation. For

Eph. 6. 16.

before that he moue the faithful to pray in spirit at all times with wakefulness and diligence, he first of all biddeth them to take the shilde of faith, the helmet of saluation, and the sworde of the spirite, which is the worde of God. Now let the readers here call to remembrance that which I haue before said, that faith is not ouerthrowen where it is ioyned with acknowledging of our misery, needinesse, and filthines. For with how heauy weight focuer of

cuill

euill doings the faithfull feele themselues to be ouerladen or grieued, and y they be not only veide of al thinges which may procure fauour with God, but also that they be burdened with many offences which may worthily make him dread ful to them: yet they ceasse not to present themselues, neither doth this feeling make them so afaire but that they still resort to him, forasmuch as there is no other way to come to him. For, prayer 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 guiltines, we should bewaile our miseries to him, as children do familiarly open their complaints to their parents. But rather the vnmeasurable heap of our euils ought to be full of spurres or prickes to pricke vs forwarde 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 y in such sayings shoulde be deadly prickings vnlesse God did helpe: but the most good father of his incomparable tender kindnes hath brought remedy in fit season, wherby appeasing all trouble, assuaging all cares, wiping away feares, he might gently allure vs to him, yea, & taking away all doutes (much more all stoppes) hee might make vs an easie way.

Psal. 64. 5.

13 And first when he commandeth vs to pray, he doth by the very same commaundement accuse vs of wicked obstinacy, vnlesse we obey him. Nothing could be more precisely commanded, than that which is in the Psalm: call vpon me in the day of trouble. But forasmuch as among all the duties of godlines, the Scripture commendeth none more often, I neede not to tarry longer vpon this point. Aske (saith our master) & ye shall receiue: knocke, it shalbe opened to you. Howbeit here is also with the commaundement ioynd a promise as it is necessarie. For though all men confesse y the commaundement ought to be obeyed, yet the most part would flee from God when hee calleth, vnlesse he promised y he would be easie to be entreated, yea & wold offer himselfe. These two things being stablished, it is certaine that whosoever make delayes y they come not straight to God, are not only rebellious & disobedient, but also are proued guiltie of infidelitie, because they distrust y promises. Which is so much more to be noted, because hypocrits vnder the colour of humilitie & modestie do aswell proudly despise the commaundement of God, as discredite his gentle calling, yea & defraud him of y 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 day of need. Therefore where he requireth his owne, & encourageth vs to cheerefulnes of obeying, there are none so gay colours of douting that may excuse vs. Wherefore how many testimonies are commonly founde in the scriptures whereby we are commanded to cal vpon God, so many standers are set vp before our eyes to put affiance into vs. It were rashnes to rush into the sight of God, vnlesse he did preuent vs with calling vs. Therefore he openeth vs the way with his owne voice, saying: I wil say to them, Ye are my people: and they shall say to mee, thou art our God. Wee see howe he preuenteth them that worship him, and willeth them to followe him, and therefore it is not to be feared that this should not be a verie sweete melodie which he

Psal. 50. 15.

Matt. 7. 7.

Zach. 13. 9.

Pſal. 65. 3. tuneth. Specially let this notable title of God come in our minde, where-
 upon if we ſtay, we ſhall eaſily paſſe ouer all ſtoppes. Thou God that heareſt
 prayer, euen to thee ſhall all fleſh come. For what is more ſouely or more
 alluring, than that God be garniſhed with this title which may aſcertain vs
 that nothing is more proper to his nature, than to graunt the deſire of hum-
 ble ſuters? Hereby the Prophet gathereth that the gate ſtandeth open not
 onely to a fewe, but to all men: becauſe he ſpeaketh euen to all in this ſay-
 ing: Call vpon mee in the day of trouble: I will deliuer thee, & thou ſhalt
 Pſal. 50. 15. gloriſie mee. According to this rule Dauid laicth for himſelfe that a promiſe
 was giuen him, that he may obtaine what he asketh: Thou Lord haſt
 2. Sam. 7. 27. reuealed into the eare of thy ſeruaunt: therefore thy ſeruaunt hath founde
 his heart to pray. Whereupon wee gather that hee was fearefull, ſauiug in
 ſomuch as the promiſe had encouraged him. So in another place he armeth
 Pſal. 145. 19. himſelfe with this generall doctrine. He 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 ſometime to the power of God, ſome-
 time to his goodneſſe, ſometime to the truth of his promiſes. It might ſeem
 that Dauid by vnreaſonable thruſting in of theſe ſentences, made mangled
 prayers: but the faithfull knowe by uſe and experience, that ſeruentnes faint-
 eth vnleſſe they put newe nowriſhments vnto it, and therefore in praying
 the meditation both of the nature of God, and of his worde is not ſuperflu-
 ous. And ſo by the example of Dauid; let it not grieue vs to thruſt in ſuch
 things as may reſreſh fainting hearts with new liuely ſtrength.

14 And it is wonderfull that with ſo great ſweeteneſſe of promiſes wee
 are either but coldly or almoſt not at all mooued, that a great parte of men
 wandring about by compaſſes had rather leauiug the fountaine of liuing
 waters, to digge for themſelues drie pittes, than to embrace the liberalitic
 of God freely offered them. An inuincible tower is the name of the Lorde;
 (ſayth Salomon) to it the righteous man ſhall flee, and he ſhalbe ſaued:
 Pro. 18. 10. And Ioel, after that he had prophecied of that horrible deſtruction which
 Ioel 2. 2. was at hande, added this notable ſentence. Whoſocuer calleth vppon the
 name of the Lorde, ſhalbe ſafe: which ſentence wee knowe to pertaine pro-
 perly to the courſe of the Goſpell. Scarcely euery hundreth man is moued
 to go forwarde to meeete God. He himſelfe crieth by Eſay: Ye ſhall call vp-
 mee, and I will heare you, yea, before that ye crie, I will aunſwere you. And
 this ſame honour alſo in another place he vouchſaureth to giue in common
 to the whole Church, as it belongeth to all the members of Chriſt. He hath
 Eſa. 65. 24. cried to mee, I will heare him, I am in trouble with him, that I may deliuer
 Pſal. 91. 15. him. Neither yet (as I haue already ſaide) is it my purpoſe to reckon vp
 all the places, but to chooſe out the chiefe, by which wee may take a taſte
 howe kindly God allureth vs vnto him, and with howe ſtreight bondes our
 vnthankfulneſſe is bounde, when among ſo ſharpe prickings our ſluggiſhnes
 ſtill maketh delay. Wherefore let theſe ſayinges alway ſounde in our
 eares: The Lorde is nie to all them that call vpon him, that call vpon him in
 Pſal. 145. truth: alſo theſe ſayinges which wee haue alleaged out of Eſaye and
 Ioel, by which God affirmeth that he is heedefull to heare prayers, yea and
 is delited as with a ſacrifice of ſweete ſauour, when wee caſt our cares vpon
 him.

him. This singular fruite wee receiue of the promises of God, when wee make our prayers not doutingly and fearfully: but trusting vpon his word, whose maicstie would otherwise make vs afraid, wee dare call vpon him by the name of Father, forasmuch as he vouchsafeth to put this moste sweete name into our mouthes. It remaineth that wee hauing such allurements should knowe that wee haue thereby matter enough to obtaine our prayers: forasmuch as our prayers stande vpon no merite of our owne, but all their worthines and hope of obtaining are grounded vpon the promises of God, and hang vpon them: so that it needeth none other vnderpropping, nor looketh vpward hither or thither. Therefore we must determine in our mindes, that although wee excell not in like holinesse as is praised in the holy fathers, prophets and Apostles, yet because the commaundement of prayer is common to vs, and faith is also common, if wee rest vpon y^e worde of God, in this right wee are fellowes with them. For, God (as we haue before shewed) promising that he will bee 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 be present a purenes of heart, misliking of our selues, humilitie, and faith: let not our hypocrisie vnholily abuse the name of God with deccitfull calling vpon it: the most good father will not put backe them, whom he not onely exhorteth to come to him, but also moueth them by all the meanes that hee can. Hereupon commeth the maner of praying of Dauid which I haue euen now rehearsed. Lo thou hast promised, Lord, to thy seruauant: 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 words shalbee true. Thou hast spoken to thy seruant of these benefits: begin therefore, and doe them. As also in another place, Perfourme to thy seruant according to thy worde. And all the Israclites together, so oft as they arme the selues with remembrance of the couenant, doe sufficiently declare that wee should 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 y^e he would doe them. But what soeuer colours the vnbeleeuers do prehend, 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 the selues new Gods, & idols: for by this meane they deny y^e he is to them y^e author of all good things. On the other side, there is nothing stronger to deliuer the godly from all dout, than to be armed with this thought, y^e no stop ought to stay them while they obey the commandement of God, which pronounceth that nothing is more pleasing to him than obedience. Here againe that which I saide before more clearly appeareth, that a dreedles spiuite to pray agreeth well with feare, reuerence, and carefulnes: and that it is no absurditie to say y^e God raiseth vp the ouerthrowen. After this maner those formes of speach agree well together which in seeming are contrarie.

2.Sam.7.27.

Psa.119.76.

Gen.32.10.

Iere. 42. 9.
Dan. 9. 18.
Iere. 42. 2.
2. Kin. 20. 10
Pfal. 141.

and Daniell say that they throwe downe prayers before God. In another place Ieremie sayeth: 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 y^e his prayer may ascend as incense. For although they being perswaded of the fatherly loue of God, cheerefully commit themselues into his faithfull keeping, and doubt not to craue the help which he freely promiseth; yet doth not an idle carelesnesse lift them vp, as though they had cast away shame, but they ascende so vppward by degrees of promises, that they stil remaine humble suppliants in the abacement of themselues.

Iud. 9. 30.

Iud. 6. 28.

Luk. 9. 55.

Pfal. 107.

15 Here are questions objected more than one. For the scripture reporteth that the Lord granted certaine desires which yet brake forth of a mind not quiet nor well framed. Verily for a iust cause: Ioatham had auowed the inhabitants of Sichern; to the destruction which afterward came vpon the: but yet God kindled with feruentnes of anger & vengeance following his execration seemeth to allowe it tempered violent passions. Such heat also caried Samson when he said, Strenthen me O God, that I may take vengeance of the vncircumcised. For though there were some piece of good zeale mingled with it: yet a hote, and therefore faultie greedines of vengeance did beare rule therein. God graunted 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 general law is not taken away by singular examples; again, y^e sometime special motions haue bene put into a few men, wherby it came to passe y^e there was another consideration of them than of the common people. For y^e answer of Christ is to be noted, when the disciples did vndiscretely desire to counterfai the example of Elias, y^e they knewe not with what spirite they were endued. But we must go yet further, and say that the prayers do not alway please God which he granteth: but that, so much as serueth for example that is by clere praise made plaine which the scripture teacheth, namely that he succoureth the miserable, heareth the gronings of them which being vniustly troubled do craue his helpe: that therefore hee executeth his iudgements, when the complaints of the poore rise vp to him, although they be vnworthie to obtaine any thing be it neuer so litle. For how oft hath hee raking vengeance of the cruelties, robberies, violence, filthy lustes, & other wicked doings of y^e vngodly, subduing their boldnes & rage, & also ouerthrowing their tyrannous power, testified y^e he helpeth the vnworthily oppressed, which yet did beat the aire with praying to an vncertaine godhead? And one Psalme plainly teacheth that the prayers want not effect, which yet do not pearce into heauen by faith. For he gathereth together those prayers which necessitie wringeth no lesse out of the vnbeleeuers than out of the godly by the verie feeling of nature: to which yet he proueth by the effect that God is fauourable. Is it because he doth with such gentlenes testifie y^e that they be pleasing to him? No. But to enlarge or to set out his mercie by this circumstance, for that euen to vnbeleeuers their praers are not denied: and then the more to prick forward his true worshippers to pray, when they

they see that prophane wailings sometime want not their effect. Yet there is no cause why the faithfull should swarue from the lawe layd vpon them by God, or should enuie the vnbeleuers, as though they had gotten some great gaine, when they haue obtained their desire. After this manner we haue sayd, that the Lord was bowed with the repentance of Achab, that he might shewe by this example howe easie he is to entreate towards his elect, when true turning is brought to appease him. Therefore in the Psalm he blameth the Iewes, that they hauing by experience proued him so easy to grant their prayers, yet within a litle after returned to the stubbornesse of their nature. Which also plainly appeareth by the historie of the Iudges: namely that so oft as they wept, although their teares were deceitfull, yet they were deliuered out of the handes of their enemies. As therefore the Lorde 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 worthy 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 Ieremie, which prayed that the citie might not be destroyed. For thogh their requests were denied, yet it seemeth hard to take faith from them. But this solution shall (as I trust) satisfie sober readers: that they being instructed with the generall principles, whereby God commandeth them to be mercifull euen also to the vnworthy, were not altogether without faith, although in a speciall case their opinion deceived them. Augustine writeth wisely in a certaine place. Howe (sayth he) do the holy ones pray by faith, to aske of God contrarie to that which he hath decreed? Euen because they pray according to his will: not that hidden and vnchangeable will, but the will which he inspi-
 reth into them, that he may heare them after an other maner: as he wisely maketh difference. This is well said: because after his incomprehensible counsel he so tempereth the successes of things, y^e the prayers of the holy ones be not voyde which are wrapped both with faith and errour together. Neither yet ought this more to auaille to be an example to followe, than it excuseth the holy ones themselues, whome I denie not to haue passed measure. Wherefore where appeareth no certaine promise, wee must aske of God with a condition adioyned. To which purpose serueth that saying of Dauid. Watch to the iudgement which thou hast commaunded: because he telleth that he was warranted by a speciall oracle to aske a temporall benefite.

1.Ki.21.39.

Psa.100.5.

Gen.18.13.

1.Sam.11.

Iere.31.16.

Lib.deciui
Dei 22.ca.1

I sal.7.7.

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 rigor, that God refuseth the prayers in which he shall not finde either perfect faith or perfect repentance together with a seruentnes 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 & modestie, that wee giue not loose reines to all requestes whatsoever they be, and that wee desire no more, than God giueth leaue: and then, least the maiestie of God

should growe in contempt with vs, that we 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 bee. For (to speake nothing of the common sort) how many complaintes of Dauid do fauor of vntemperance: not that he meant of purpose to quarell with God, or carpe against his iudgements: but because he fainting for weakenesse, found no other better comfort, than to cast his sorrowes into his bosome. Yea and God beareth with our childish speech and pardoneth our ignorance, so oft as any thing vnadvisedly escapeth vs: as truely without this tender bearing, there shoulde be no libertie of praying. But although Dauids minde 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 wee haue set. Specially we may perceiue by the conclusion of the xxxix. Psalme, with howe greate vehemence of sorrowe that holy man was carried away, that he could not keepe measure. Cease (sayth he) from me, till I goe away and be not. A man would say that he like a desperate mā desireth nothing els but that the hand of God ceassing, he might rot in his euils. Hee sayth it not for that he with an auowed minde runneth into such outrage, or (as the reprobate are wont) would haue G O D to depart from him: but onely he complaineth that the wrath of G O D 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 worde of God, and in which the holy ones doe not sufficiently weye what is lawfull and expedient. Whatsoeuer prayers are spotted with these faultes, they deserue to be refused: yet if the holy ones doe bewaile, correct themselues, and by and by come to themselues again, God pardoneth them. So they offende also in the seconde rule, because they are oftentimes driuen to wraastle with their owne coldenesse, and their neede and miserie doth not sharply enough pricke them to pray earnestly. And oftentimes it happeneth that their mindes do slippe aside, and in a maner wander away into vanity. Therefore in this behalfe also there is neede of pardon, least our faint, or vnperfect, or broken and wandering prayers haue a deniall. This God hath naturally planted in the mindes of men, that prayers are not perfect but with mindes lifted vpwarde. Hereupon came the ceremonie of lifting vp of handes, as we haue before sayde, 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 heart resteth vpon the ground? As touching the asking of forgiuenesse of sinnes, although none of the faithfull do ouerpasse it, yet they which are truely exercised in prayers do feele that they bring scarcely the tenth parte of that sacrifice, of which Dauid speaketh. An acceptable sacrifice to God is a troubled spirite: a broken and humbled heart O God thou wilt not despise. So there is alway double pardon to be asked, both because they knowe themselues guilty in consciences of many faultes, with feeling whereof they are not yet so touched, y they mislike themselues so much as they ought: and also that, so much as it is giuen them to profit in repentance and in the feare of G O D, they being throwen downe with iust sorrowe for their offences,

should

shoulde pray to escape the punishment of the iudge. Cheefely the feeblenes or imperfection of faith corrupteth the prayers of the faithfull, vnlesse the tender mercie of God did helpe them. But it is no meruel that God pardoneth this default, which doeth oftentimes exercise them that bee his with sharp instructions, as if he shoulde of purpose quench their faith. This is a most hard tentation, when the faithfull are compelled to crie: how long wilt thou be angrie vpon the praier of thy seruaunt? as though the verie prayers made God more angrie. So when Ieremie saith: The Lorde hath shut out my prayer, it is no dout that he was shaken with a violent pange of trouble. Innumerable such examples are comonly found in the scriptures, by which appeareth y the faith of the holy ones was oftentimes mingled & tossed with doubtings, that in beleeuing & 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 y perfect rule of praying, & in the mean time to seele in how great a depth of euils they bee drowned, which euen in the very remedies do get to themselues new diseases: sith there is no prayer, which the Lord doth not worthilie loth, vnlesse he winke at the spots wherewith they are all besprinkled. I reherse not these things this end y the fathfull should carelesly pardon themselues any thing, but y in sharply chastising theselues they shold trauel to ouercome these stops, and although Satan labour to stop vp al the wayes, that he may keepe them from praying, yet neuertheles they shoulde breake through, being certainly perswaded, that although they bee not vncumbred of all hinderances, yet their indeuours doe please God, and their prayers are allowed of him, so that they trauel and bend themselues thitheward, whither they do not by and by attaine.

Psal. 80.
Lam. 3. 8.

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 shoulde haue throwne downe all our courages, hath giuen to vs his son Iesus Christ our Lorde, to be an aduocate and mediator with him for vs, by whose leading we may boldly com 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 herevnto must all bee referred whatsoeuer we haue hecretofore taught concerning faith: because as the promise setteth out vnto vs Christ for our Mediator, so vnlesse our hope of obteyning stay vpon him, it taketh from it selfe y benefite of praying. For so soone as the terrible maiestie of God commeth in our minde, it is impossible but that we shoulde tremble for feare, and the acknowledging of our owne vnworthinesse shoulde driue vs farre away, till Christ come meane betweene vs and him, which may change the throne of dreadfull glorie into the throne of grace: as also the Apostle teacheth that we may bebolde to appeare with all confidence which shall obtaine mercy and finde grace in helpe comming in fit season. And as there is a lawe set y we shoulde call vpon God like as there is a promise giuen, that they shal be heard which call vpon him: so are wee peculiarly commaunded to cal vpon him in the name of Christ, & we haue a promise set forth, y we shal obtaine y which we shal aske in his name. Hitherto (saith he) yett haue not asked any thing in

1. Tim. 1. 5.
1. Iohu 2. 1.

Heb. 4. 15.

Iohn. 14. 13.
and 16. 24.

in my name: aske and ye shall receiue. In that day ye shall aske in my name, and whatsoeuer ye aske, I will doe, that the father may bee glorified in the sonne. Hereby it is plaine without controuersie, that they which call vpon God in any other name than of Christ, do stubbornly breake his commandementes, and regarde his will as nothing, and that they haue no promise to obteyne any thing. For (as Paul saith) all the promises of God are in Christ, yea and Amen, that is to say, they are confirmed and fulfilled.

2. Cor. 1. 20.

18 And the circumstance of the time is diligently to be marked, where Christ commaundeth his disciples to flee to intercession to him after that he is gone vp into heauen. In that houre (saith he) ye shal aske in my name. It is certaine that euen from the beginning none were heard that prayed, but by meane of the mediator. For this reason the Lord had ordeined in the law, that the Prieste alone entering into the sanctuarie, should beare vpon his shoulders the names of the tribes of Israel, and as many precious stones before his breast: but the people should stande a farre of 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 al 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 shouldiers, and holde vs fast bound to his brest, that we may be heard in his person: then by sprinkeling of blood: our prayers are cleansed, which (as we haue already saide) are neuer voyde of filthinesse. And wee see that the holy ones, when they desired to obteyne any thing, grounded their hope vpon sacrifices, because they knewe them to be the stablishinges of all requestes. Let him remember thy offering (saith David) and make thy burnt offering fat. Herevpon is gathered y God hath bin from the beginning appeased by the intercession of Christ, to receiue the praiers of the godlie. Why then doth Christ appoint a newe heire, when his Disciples shall beginne to pray 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, nowe aske. Not that they vnderstoode nothing at all 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 hee was before. Therefore to comfort their griefe of his absence with some speciall fruite, hee claimeth to him selfe the office of an aduocate, and teacheth that they haue hitherto wanted the cheife benefite, which it shall be graunted them to enioye, when being ayded by his mediation, they shall more freely call vpon GOD: as the Apostle sayth that his newe way is dedicate in his blood. And so much lesse excusable is our frowardnesse, vnlesse wee doe with both armes (as the saying is) embrace so inestimable a benefite, which is properly appointed for vs.

Exod. 28. 9.
& 10. 21.

Heb. 10. 20.

19 Nowe whereas he is the onely way, and the onely entrie by which it is graunted vs to come in vnto God: who so doe swarue from this way and forsake this entrie, for the there remaineth no way nor entrie to God: there

is nothing left in his throne but wrath, iudgement, and terrour. Finally sith the Father hath marked him for our heade, and guide, they which do in any wise swarue or go 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 only Mediator, by whose intercession the Father may be made to vs fauorable and easie to be entreated. Howe be it in the meane time the holy ones haue their intercessions left to them, whereby they doe mutually commende the safetie one of an other to God, of which the Apostle maketh mention: *1. Tit. 2. 1.* but those be such as hange vpon that one onely intercession: so farre is it of, that they minish any thing of it. For as they spring out of the affection of loue, wherewith we embrace one an other, 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 else but testifie that no man can be holpen by any prayers at al, 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 an other: so let this remaine certaine, that all the intercessors of the whole Church ought to be directed to that only one. Yea and for this cause wee ought specially to beware of vnthankfulness, because God pardoning our vnworthines, doth not only giue leaue to euery one of vs to pray for himselfe, but also admitteth vs to be entreaters one of an other. For, where God appointeth aduocates for his Church which deserue worthily to be reiected if they pray priuately euery one for himselfe: what a pride were it to abuse this libertie to darken the honour of Christ?

20 Now it is a meere trifling, which the Sophisters babble, 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 seruantes that eternall Mediatourshippe which shall neuer die. Full curteously forsooth they handle him, that cutte away so litle a portion of honour from him. But the Scripture sayth farre otherwise, with the simplicitie whereof a godly man ought to be contented, leauing these deceiuers. For where Iohn saith, that if any do sinne, wee haue an aduocate *1. Iohn, 2. 2.* with the Father, Christ Iesus: doth he meane that he was once in olde time a patrone for vs, and not rather assigneth to him an euerlasting intercession? Howe say we to this that Paul also affirmeth, that he sitteth at the right hand of G O D the Father and maketh intercession for vs? And when in an other place he calleth him the onely Mediatour of God and men: meaneth he not of praiers, of which he had a litle before made mention? For when he had before sayde that intercession must be made for all men: for prooffe of that saying, he by and by addeth, that of all men there is one God and one Mediatour. And none otherwise doth Augustine expounde it, when he saith *Lib. contra Par. 2. ca. 1.* Christian men do en mutually commende themselues in their prayers. But he for whome none maketh intercession, but he for all, hee is the onely and true Mediatour. Paul the Apostle, though he were a principal member vnder the heade (yet because he was a member of the body of Christe, and knewe that the greatest and truest priest of the Church entred, not by a figure, into the inward places of the vaile, to the holy of holy places, but

Rom. 8. 32.
1. Tim. 2. 5.
Rom. 1 5. 30.

Rom. 15. 30. but by expresse and stedfast trueth into the innermost places of heauen, to a
 Ephe. 6. 9. holinesse not shadowith but eternall)commendeth himselfe also to the prai-
 Col. 4. 3. ers of the faithfull . Neither doth he make himselfe a Mediatour betweene
 1. Co. 12. 25 the people and God, but prayeth that all the members of the body of Christ
 should mutually pray for him: because the members are careful one for an
 other: and if one member suffer, the other suffer with it. And that so the mu-
 tuall prayers one for an other of all the members yet trauailing in earth;
 may ascende to the heade which is gone before into heauen, in whome
 is appeasement for our sinnes . For if Paul were a Mediatour, the other
 Ephe. 4. 3. Apostles should also be Mediatours: and if there were many Mediatours,
 then neither should Paules owne reason stande fast, in which he hadde said,
 For there is one God, one Mediatour of one G O D and mee, the man
 Christe, in whome we also are one if wee keepe the vnitie of faith in the
 bonde of peace . Againe in an other place. But if thou seeke for a Priest,
 In Psal. 94. he is aboute the heaucns, where hee maketh intercession for thee, which in
 earth dyed for thee. Yet doe we not dreame that he falleth downe at the
 fathers knees and in humble wise entreateth for vs: but we vnderstande with
 the Apostle, that hee so appeareth before the face of G O D, that the vertue
 of his death auaileth to be a perpetuall intercession for vs: yet so that being
 entered into the sanctuarie of heauen, vnto the ende of the ages of the world
 he alone carrieth to God the prayers of the people abiding a farre off in the
 porch.

21 As touching the Saintes, which beeing dead in the fleshe doe liue in
 Christ, if we giue any prayer at all to them, let vs not dreame that they the-
 selues haue any other way of asking, than Christ which onely is the way, or
 that their praiers be acceptable to God in any other name . Therefore
 sith the Scripture calleth vs backe from all to Christ onely: sith the heauenly
 fathers will is to gather together all in him: it was a point of too much dulle-
 nesse, 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 whome euen they them
 selues haue no entrie open . But, that this hath bene vsually done in cer-
 taine ages past, and that it is at this day done wheresoeuer 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 prayed to by their names . Is not this, I beseech you, to conuey away
 to them the office of that onely intercession, which we haue affirmed to be-
 long to Christ alone? Againe, what Angell or Deuill euer reueiled to any
 man any one syllable of this their intercession which these men faine? For
 in the Scripture is nothing of it. What is the reason therefore of inuen-
 ting it? Truly when the witte of man so seeketh for it selfe succoures,
 wherewith we are not certified by the word of God, it plainly bewrayeth his
 owne distrustfulnesse . If we appeale to all their consciences that are delited
 with the intercession of saintes, we shal finde that the same cometh from
 no other ground, but because they are greued with carefulnesse, as though
 Christ were in this behalfe either too weake or too rigorous. By which doubt-
 fulnesse first they dishonour Christ, and robbe him of the title of only Media-
 tour, which as it is giuen him of the Father for a singular prerogatiue, so
 ought

ought not also to be conueied away to any other. And in this verie doing they darken the glorie of his birth, they make voide his crosse, finally whatsoever he hath done or suffered they spoyle and defraude of the due prayse thereof: for all tend to this end that he may be indeede and bee accounted the onely Mediator. And therewith they cast away the goodnesse of God, which gaue himselfe to be their Father. For he is not their father, vnles they acknowledge Christ to be their brother. Which they vtterly denie vnlesse they thinke that he beareth a brotherly affection toward them, than which there can nothing bee more kinde or tender. Wherefore the Scripture offereth only him to vs, sendeth vs to him, and stayeth vs in him. Hee (saith Ambrose) is our mouth, by which we speak to the Father: our eye, by which we see the Father: our right hand, by which wee offer vs to the father, otherwise than by whose intercession neyther we nor all the Saints haue any thing with God. If they aunswere that the common prayers which they make in Churches, are ended wth 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 onely dead men were in our mouth. Againe, in all their Letanies, Hymnes, and Profes, where no honour is left vngiuen to dead saintes, there is no mention of Christ.

Lib. de Isa.
& anima.

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 litle and litle there was giuen to euery one his speciall doing, that according to the diuersitie of busines, sometime one and sometime another should be called vpon to be intercessor: then they to themselues euerie one his peculiar Saint, into whose faith they committed themselues as it were to the keeping of safeguarding Gods. And not onely (wherewith the prophet in the olde time reproched Israel) Gods were set vp according to the number of Cities, but euen to the number of persons. But sith the Saintes referre their desires to the onely will of God, & beholde it and rest vpon it: he thinketh foolishly, and fleshly, yea and slanderously of them, which assigneth to them any other prayer, than whereby they pray for the comming of the kingdom of God: from which that is most farre distant which they faime to them, that euerie one is with priuate affection more partially bent to his owne worshippers. At length many abstained not from horrible sacriledge, in calling nowe vpon them not as helpers but as principall rulers of their saluation. Loe wherevnto foolish men do fall when they wander out of their true standing, that is, the worde of God. I speake not of the grosser monstruousnesse of vngodlinesse, wherein although they be abominable 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 doe so not care to heale or restraine, that being allured with the sweete sauour of gaine they allowe it with reioysing at it. But although they turne from themselues the blame of so hainous an offence, yet by what colour will they defende this that Loy or Medard are prayed

Iere. 2. 28.
and 11. 13.

vnto

vnto, to looke downe vpon and helpe their seruantes from heauen? that the holy Virgin is prayed vnto, to commaunde her sonne to do that which they aske? In the olde time it was forbidden in the Councill at Carthage, that at the altar no direct prayer shoulde bee made to Saintes. And it is likely that when the holy men could not altogether suppress the force of y^e naughtie custome, yet they added at least this restraint that the publike prayers shold not bee corrupted with this forme: Saint Peter pray for vs. But howe much further hath their deuclish importunacie ranged, which sticke not to giue away to deade men that which properly belonged onely to God and Christ?

23 But whereas they trauel to bring to passe that such intercession may seeme to bee grounded vpon the authoritie of Scripture, therein they labor 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 handes caried into the sight of God. But if they list to compare holy men departed out of this present life, to Angels: they shoulde proue that they are ministring 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 thinges are giuen to Angels, but not to them. How wrongfully they wrap vp dead holy men with Angels, appeareth largely by so many diuerse offices, wherby the scripture putteth difference betweene some and other some. No man dare execute the office of an aduocate before an earthly iudge, vnlesse he be admitted, from whence then haue wormes so great libertie, to thrust vnto God those for patrons to whome it is not read that the office is enioyned? Gods will was to appoint the Angels to looke vnto our safetie, wherefore they doe 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 ben 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 contrary side gather thus, that sith it thereby appeareth that neither Moses nor Samuel made intercession for the people of Israell, there was then no intercession at all of dead mē. For which of the saintes is to be thought to be careful for the safetie of the people, when Moses ceaseth, which in this behalfe farre passed all other when he liued? But if they follow such slight fittleties, to say that the deade make intercession for the liuing, because the Lorde saide, If they shoulde make intercession: I wil much more colorablie reason in this manner: In the extreme necessitie of the people Moses made not intercession, of whome it is said, if he shal make intercession. Therefore it is likely that none other maketh intercession, sith they are al so farre from the gentlenesse, goodnes, and fatherly carefulnesse of Moses. This forsooth they get with cauilling, that they bee wounded wth the same weapons, wherewith they thought them selues gayly fensed. But it is verie fonde that a simple sentence shoulde so bee wrested, because

Heb. 1. 14.
Psal. 91. 11.
Psal. 34. 8.

Iere. 15. 1.

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 him selfe so tender. Which sense is most clearly 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 righteousnes: but they shall deliuer onely their owne soules. Where it is no dout that he meant if two of them should happen to reuiue againe, for the third was then aliue, namely Daniel, who (as it is known) did in the first flourishing of his youth shewe an incomparable example of godlinesse: let vs then leaue them whom the Scripture plainly sheweth to haue ended their course. Therefore Paul, when he speaketh of Dauid, teacheth not that he doth with praiers helpe his posterity, but only that he serued his owne time.

Eze. 14. 14

Act. 13. 36

24 They answered againe: shall we then take from them all prayer of charitie, which in the whole course of their life breathed nothing but charity & mercie? Verily as I will not curiously search what they doe, or what they muse vpon: so it is not likely, that they are caried about hither & thither wth diuerse and particular requestes: but rather that they do with a stayed and vn-moued will, long for the kingdom of God, which standeth no lesse in the destruction of the wicked than in the saluation of the godly. If this be true, it is no dout that their charitie is contained in the communion of the bodie of Christ, & extendeth no further, than the nature of that communion beareth. But nowe though I graunt that they pray in this manner for vs, yet they doe not therefore depart from their owne quietnesse, to be diuersly drawn into earthly cares: and much lesse must wee 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 an other in their praiers. For this doing serueth for nourishing of charity among them, when they doe as it were parte and mutually take vpon them their necessities among themselues. And this they doe by the commaundement of the Lorde, and are not without a promise, which two things, haue alway the chiefe place in praier. All such considerations are far from the dead, whom when the Lord hath conueied from our companie, he hath left to vs no enterchange of doinges with them, nor to them with vs, so farre as we may gather by coniectures. But if any man allege, that it is impossible but that they must keepe the same charitie toward vs, as they be ioyned in one Faith with vs: yet who hath rueil'd that they haue so long eares to reach to our voyces? and so pearcing 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 hie behold the matters of me^e 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 worde to pearce & breake into the hidden iudgements of God, and to treade y^e Scripture vnder feete which so oft pronounceth that the wisdome of the flesh is enemy to the wisdome of God, which wholly condeneth the vanity of our naturall wit, which willet all our reason to be throwen downe, and the only will of God to be looked vnto of vs.

Ecc. 9. 5. & 6

Rom. 8. 6.

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 & Isaac bee 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 Fathers, to help them: but they beseech God to remember his seruants Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob. Therefore their example maketh nothing for them y^e speake to the Saints themselues. But because those blockes (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 marueil if in the very forme also they so childishly stumble. This maner of speech is not feldome found in the Scriptures. For Esaye sayeth that the name of the men is called vpon ouer the women, when they haue them as their husbands vnder whose charge & defence they liue. Therefore the calling vpon the name of Abraham vpon the Israelites, standeth in this when they conuey their pedegree from him, & do with soleimne memorie honor him for their author & parent. Neither doth Iacob this because he is careful for the enlarging of the renoume of his name: but for asmuch as he knewe that y^e whole blessednesse of his posteritie consisted in the inheritance of the couenant which God had made with him: he wisheth that y^e which he seeth should be the chiefe of all good things to them, that they be accounted in his kinred: For, that is nothing else 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, wherby the most kinde father hath promised y^e he wil be fauorable & beneficial to them for Abrahams, Isaacs, & Iacobs sakes. How litle the holy ones did otherwise leane vpon the merites of their father, y^e common saying of the Church in the Prophet testifieth, Thou art our Father, & Abraham knewe vs not, & Israel was ignorant of vs. Thou Lord art our Father & 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 nowe sith wee haue the Lord Iesus, in whose hand the eternall couenant of mercie is not onely made but also confirmed to vs: whose name should we rather vse in our prayers? And because these good masters wil haue the Patriarches to be by these wordes made intercessors, I woulde faine knowe of them why in so great a route Abraham the Father of the Church hath no place at al among them. Out of what sinck they fetch their aduocates, it is not vnknown. Let them answer me, how fit it is y^e Abraham, whom God preferred aboue al other, & whom he aduanced to the hiest 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 speak nothing of the olde Fathers: as though the diuersitie of names excused the new and forged maner. But whereas some object that God is prayed vnto, to haue mercie on the people for Dauids sake, it doth so nothing at all make for defence of their error, that it is a most strong profe for the confutation thereof. For if we consider what person Dauid did beare: he is seuered from all the assembly of the Saints, that God should stablish the couenant which he hath

made.

made in his hand. So both the couenant is rather considered than the man, and vnder a figure the only intercession of Christ is affirmed. For it is certaine that that which belonged only to Dauid, in so much as he was y^e image of Christ, accordeth not with any other.

26 But this forsooth moueth some, that it is often times red that the prayers of Saintes haue bene heard. Why so? Euen because they prayed. They trusted in thee (saith the Prophet) & they were saued: they cried, and they were not confounded. Therefore let vs also pray as they did, y^e wee may be heard as they were. But these men, otherwise than they ought, do wrongfully reason, that none shalbe 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 prayer y^e it should not raine, & it rained not vpon the earth in three yeres & sixe moneths. Againe he prayed, & the heauen gaue raine, & 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 continual strength of godly & pure praier, to exhort vs likewise to pray. For wee do niggardly construe the readines & gentlenesse of God in hearing them, vnlesse we be by such experiences confirmed into a more sure affiance of his promises, in which he promifeth that his eare shalbe enclined not to one, or two, nor yet to a fewe, but to all y^e 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 y^e he should draw y^e power to himself, y^e we should be deliuered by his help? He himself affirmeth farre otherwise: The righteous loke for me, til thou render to me. Againe, The righteous shall see, & they shal reioyce, & trust in the Lord. Behold, this poore man hath cried to God, & hee hath answered him. There be in the psalmes many such prayers, in which to craue that which he requireth, he moueth God by this maner, that the righteous be not made ashamed, but many by his example be raised vp to hope wel. Let vs now be contented with this one example. Therefore euery holy one shal pray to thee in fit time. Which place I haue so much the more willingly rehearsed, because the loud babblers which doe let out to hire the seruice of their waged tongue haue not bene ashamed to alleage it to prooue the intercession of the dead. As though Dauid meant any thing else, than to shewe the fruite that shal come of the mercifulnes and gentlenes of god, when he shalbe heard. And in this kinde wee must learne, that the experience of the grace of God, as well towarde our selues as other, is no slender helpe to confirme the credite of his promises. I leaue vnrehearsed 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 own example: I am vnworthie of all thy mercies, and of the truth which thou hast performed to thy seruauant. I with my staffe haue passed ouer this Iordane, & now I come forth with two bands. Hee alleageth in decde 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 toward him. For he is not like to mortall men, which are wearie of their liberalitie, or whose

Psal. 22. 5.

Iam. 6. 17.

Psal. 142. 8.

Psal. 52. 8.

Psal. 34. 7.

Psal. 32. 6.

Gen. 38. 10.

Psal. 31. 6.

abilitie is wasted: but he is to be weyed 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 y^e he is a true speaker: because vnles he were continually like himself, there could not be gathered of his benefites a sufficiently strong reason of affiance & calling vpon him. But when we knowe that so oft as he helpeth vs, he sheweth an example and prooffe of his goodnes, we neede not to feare that our hope shalbe put to shame or disapoint vs.

Psal. 44. 21.

27 Let this be the summe. Whereas the Scripture setteth out this vnto vs for the chiefe point in the worshipping of God, (as refusing all sacrifices, he requireth of vs this duetic of godlinesse) praier is not without manifest sacrifice directed to other. Wherefore also it is said in the Psalme. If we stretch forth our hands to a strange God, shall not God require these things? Again, whereas GOD will not be called vpon, but of Faith, and expressly cōmandeth praier to be framed according to the rule of his word: finally whereas Faith founded vpon the word, is the mother of right praier: so soone as wee swarue from the word, our praier must needes be corrupted. But it is already shewed, y^e if the whole Scripture be sought, this honor is therein chalenged to God only. As touching the office of intercession, we haue also shewed y^e it is peculiar to Christ, and y^e there is no praier acceptable to God, but which that mediator halloweth. And though y^e faithfull do one for an other offer praier to God for their brethren, we haue shewed that this abateth nothing from the only intercession of Christ: because they altogether standing vpon it do commend both theselues and other to God. Moreouer we haue taught that this is vnfitly drawn to dead men, to whom we neuer read y^e it hath bin cōmanded that they should pray for vs. The Scripture doth oftentimes exhort vs to mutuall doings of this dutie one for an other: but of dead men there is not so much as one syllable: yea and Iames ioyning these two thinges together, that we should confesse our selues among our selues, and mutually pray one for an other, doth secretly exclude dead men. Therefore to condemne this errour, 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 self patrons which were not giuen them of God. For whereas the Scripture is full of many formes of praier, there is no example founde of this patronship, without which in the papacy they beleue y^e there is no praier. Moreouer it is certaine that this superstitiō hath growen of distrustfulnes either because they were not content with Christ to be their intercessour, or haue altogether robbed him of his praise. And this later point is easily proued by their shamelesnes: because they haue no other stronger argument to proue y^e we haue neede of the intercession of Saints, than when they obiect y^e we are vnworthy of familiar accessē to God. Which we in deed grant to be most true: but therupō we gather, y^e they leaue nothing to Christ, which esteeme his intercession in nothing worth, vnlesse there be adioyned George, Hypolite, or such other visors.

Iam. 5. 8.

28 But although prayer properly signifieth only wishes and petitions: yet there is so great affinity betwene petition & thankesgiuing, that they may be
firly

fitly comprehended both vnder one name. For, these speciall sortes which Paul rehearseth, fall vnder the first part of this diuision. With asking & crauing wee poure foorth our desires before G O D, requiring as wel those things that seeme to spread abroade his glorie and set foorth his name, as the benefits y are profitable to our vse. With giuing of thanks, we doe with due praise magnifie his good doings toward vs, acknowledging to be receiued of his liberalitie whatsoeuer good things do come to vs. Therefore Dauid comprehended these two partes together, saying: Call vpon mee in the day of necessitie: I wil deliuer thee, & thou shalt glorifie me. The Scripture not in vaine commandeth vs to vse both. For we haue said in another place, y our needines is so great, & the experience it self crieth out y we are on euery side pinched & pressed with so many & so great distresses, y al haue cause enough why they should both sigh to God, & in humble wise call vpon him. For though they be free from aduersities, yet the giltines of their wicked doings, & their innumerable assaults of tentations ought to prick forward the most holy to aske remedy. But in the sacrifice of praise & thanksgiuing there can be no interruption without hainous sinne, forasmuch as God cesseth not to heape vpon diuerse men diuerse benefites to driue vs though we be slack and slowe, to thankfulnes. Finally so great and so plenteous largesse of his benefites doth in a manner ouerwhelme vs: there are so many and so great miracles of his scene on euery side which way soeuer thou turne thee, y wee neuer want ground and matter of praise & thanksgiuing. And, that these things may be somewhat plainlier declared: sith all our hopes and wealth stand in God (which we haue before sufficiently proued) that neither we nor all our things can be in prosperitie but by his blessing: we must continually commit our selues and all our things to him. Then, whatsoeuer we purpose, speake, or do, let vs purpose, speake, & do vnder his hand & wil, finally vnder the hope of his help. For, all are pronounced accursed of God, which deuise or determine any purposes vpon trust of themselues or of any other, which without his will, & without calling vpon him do enterprife or attempt to begin any thing. And whereas we haue diuerse times already said, that he is duely honored when he is acknowledged the author of all good things: therupon followeth that all those things are so to be receiued at his hande, that we yeld continual thanks for them: & that there is no other right way for vs to vse his benefites, which flow & proceed from his liberalitie to no other end, but y we should be continually busied in confessing his praise & giuing of thanks. For Paul, when he testifieth that they are sanctified by the word & prayer, doth therewithal signifie that they are not holy & cleane to vs without the word & praier, vnderstanding by y word, faith by figure. Therfore Dauid saith very wel, when hauing receiued y liberalitie of the Lord, he declareth that there is giuen him into his mouth a new song: wherby verily he signifieth that it is a malicious silence, if wee passe ouer any of his benefites wout praise: sith he so oft giueth vs matter to say good of him, as he doth good to vs. As also Esay setting out the singular grace of God, exhorteth the faithful to a new & vnwonted song. In which sense Dauid saith in another place, Lorde open thou my lippes, & my mouth shall shewe foorth thy praise. Likewise Ezechias and Ionas testifie that this shalbe to them the end of their

Psal. 50. 15.

John. 4. 24.
Esa. 30. 1.
and 31. 1.1. Tim. 4. 5.
Metonymia.
Psal. 40. 4.Esa. 2. 10.
Psal. 51. 17.
Eza. 38. 20.

Iohn. 11. 10. of their deliuerance, to celebrate the goodnes of God with songs in y temple. This same lawe Dauid prescribeth to all the godly. What shall I repay to
 Psal. 116. 12. the Lorde (saith he) for all the things that he hath bestowed vpon me? I will
 Psal. 106. 47. take the cup of saluations, and wil call vpon the name of the Lord. And the
 Psal. 110. 18. same lawe the Church followeth in another Psalme, Saue vs our God, that
 we may confesse to thy name and glory in thy praise. Againe, he hath looked
 vnto the prayer of the solitarie, and he hath not despised their prayers. This
 shall be written to the generation that shall followe, and the people created
 shall praise the Lord, that they may declare his name in him and his praise
 in Hierusalem. Yea so oft as the faithfull beseech God to doe for his names
 sake: as they professe themselves vnwoorthie to obtaine any thing in their
 owne name, so they bind themselves to giue thanks, and they promise that
 this shall be to them the right vse of the bountifullnes of God that they shall be
 Osee. 14. 13. publishers of it. So Osee speaking of the redemption to come of y Church,
 saith: Take away iniquitie O God, and lift vp good: and we will pay the
 calues of lippes. And the benefits of God do not onely claime to themselves
 the praise of the tongue, but also do naturally procure loue. I haue loued
 (saith Dauid) because the Lord hath heard the voice of my prayer. Againe,
 Psal. 116. 1. in another place, rehearsing the helps which he had felt, he saith: I will loue
 thee O God my strength. Neither shall the praises euer please God, which
 Psal. 118. 1. shall not flowe out of this sweetenes of loue. Yea and also we must holde fast
 this saying of Paul, that all prayers are wrongful and faultie to which is not
 Phil. 4. 6. adioyned giuing of thanks. For thus he saith, in all prayer and beseeching
 with thanksgiuing let your petitions, be known with god. For, sixth testines,
 tediousnes, impatience, bitterness of grieffe, & feare do moue many in prai-
 ing to murmure, he commaundeth that our affections be so tempered, that
 the faithful ere they haue obtained that which they desire, should neuer-
 thelesse cherefully blesse God. If this knot ought to haue place in thinges in
 a maner contrarie, with so much more holy band doeth God binde vs to sing
 his praises, so oft as he maketh vs to enioy our requestes. But as wee haue
 taught that our prayers are hallowed by the intercession of Christ, which o-
 therwise should be vncleane: so the Apostle, where he commaundeth vs to
 offer a sacrifice of praise by Christ, putteth in minde y we haue not a mouth
 Heb. 13. 15. cleane enough to praise the name of God, vnlesse the priesthood of Christ
 become the meane. Whereupon we gather that men haue beene monstru-
 ously bewitched in the papacie, where the greater part marueileth y Christ
 1. Thess. 5. 13 is called an aduocate. This is the cause why Paul commandeth both to pray
 and to giue thanks without cessing: namely for that he willeth that with so
 great continuing as may be, at euery time in euery place, in all matters and
 businesse, the payers of al men should be lifted vp to God, which may both
 looke for all things at his hand & yeld to him the praise of al thinges, as he
 offreth vs continuall matter to praise and pray.

29 But this continuall diligence of praying, although it specially con-
 cerne the proper and priuate prayers of euery man, yet somewhat also per-
 taineth to the publike prayers of the Church. But those can neither be con-
 tinuall, nor ought otherwise to be done than according to the politike order
 y shall by common consent be agreed vpon among all. I graunt the same in
 dede.

deede. For therefore certaine houres are set & appointed, as indifferent with God, so necessary for the vses of men, that the commoditie of all men may be prouided for, & all things (according to the saying of paul) may be com-
 1. Cor. 13. 40
 ly and orderly done in the Church. But this maketh nothing to the contrary but that euery Church ought both from time to time to stirre vp it selfe to often vse of prayers, end when it is admonished by any greater necessitie, to be feruent with more earnest endeouour. As for perseverance which hath a great affuinity with continuall diligence, there shall be a fitte place to speake of it about the ende. Nowe these make nothing for the much babling which Christe willed that we should be forbidden. For he forbiddeth not to continue long, nor oft, nor with much affection in praiers, but that wee should not trust that we may wring any thing out of God, by dulling his eares with much babling talke, as if he were to be perswaded after the manner of men. For we knowe that Hypocrites, because they doe not consider that they haue to doe with God, doe no lesse make a pompous shewe in their prayers than in a triumph. For, the Pharisee which thanked God that hee was not like to other men, without doubt reioysed at himselfe in the eyes of men, as if hee would by prayer seeke to get a fame of holinesse. Hereupon came that much babling, which at this day vpon a like cause is vsed in the papacy: while some do vainely spend the time in repeating the same praiers, and other some doe set out themselues among the people with a long heape of wordes. Sith this babling childishly mocketh God, it is no maruell that it is forbidden out of the Church, to the ende that nothing should there be vsed but earnest and proceeding from the bottome of the heart. Of a neere kinde and like to this corruption is there an other, which Christe condemneth with this, namely that hypocrites for boasting sake doe seeke to haue many witnesses, and doe rather occupy the market place to pray in, than their prayers should want the praise of the worlde. But whereas we haue already shewed that this is the marke that praier shooteth at, that our mindes may be carried vwarde to God, both to confession of praise and to crauing of helpe: thereby we may vnderstande that the chiefe duties thereof doe stande in the minde and the heart, or rather that praier it selfe is properly an affectiō of the inward heart, which is poured forth & laid open before God the searcher of hearts. Wherefore (as it is already sayde) the heauenly schoolemaister, when he minded to
 Matt. 6. 6,
 set out the best rule of praying, commanded vs to goe into our chamber, and there the doore being shut to pray to our Father which is in secret, that our Father which is in secret may heare vs. For when he hath drawn them away from the example of hypocrites, which with ambitious boasting shew of prayers sought the fauour of men, he therewithal addeth what is better, namely to enter into our chamber, and there to pray the doore being shutte. In which words (as I expound them) he willed vs to seeke solitary being, which may helpe vs to descende and to enter thrughly with our whole thought into our heart, promising to the affections of our heart that God shalbe neere vs whose temples our bodies ought to be. For hee meant not to deny but that it is expedient also to pray in other places: but he sheweth that prayer is a certaine secret thing, which both is chiefly placed in the soule, & requirereth the quiet thereof far from all troubles of cares. Not without cause there-

fore the Lorde himfelfe also, when he was disposed to apply himfelfe more earnestly to praier conueied himfelfe into some solitarie place far from the troublefome cōpany of men: but to teach vs by his example that these helps are not to be despised, by which our mind being too slippery of it selfe is more bent to earnest applying of praier. But in the mean time euen as he in y^e midst of the multitude of men, abstained not from praying, if occasion at any time so serued: so should we in al places where need shalbe, list vp pure hands.

1. Tim. 2. 8.

Finally thus it is to be holden, that whosocuer refuseth to pray in the holy assembly of the godly, he knoweth not what it is to pray apart, or in solitarines, or at home. Again, that he that neglecteth to pray alone or priuately how diligently soeuer he haunt publike assemblies, doth there make but vain praier: because he giueth more to the opinion of men than to y^e secret iudgment 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 parte of the worshipping of him is the duty of praier: and that to the end that the faithful should with one cōsent exercise themselues in it, the temple was set vp as a standarde for them. There was also added a notable promise: There abideth for thee, O God, praise in Sion: & to thee the vow shalbe paid. By which words the Prophet telleth vs, that the praier of the Church are neuer voide: because the Lorde alway ministreth to his people matter to sing vpon with ioye. But although the shadowes of the lawe are ceased: yet because the Lordes will was by this ceremony to nourish among vs also the vnity 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.

Esa. 56. 7.

Psal. 65. 2.

30 Now as the Lorde by his word commandeth the faithful to vse common praier: so there must be cōmon temples appointed for the vsing of them: where who so refuse to cōmunicate their praier with the people of God, there is no cause why they shoulde abuse this pretence, that they enter into their chamber that they may obey the cōmandement of the Lord. For he that promisseth that he will do what soeuer two or three shall 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 y^e secret of the heart. If this be the right vse of temples (as truly it is) we must againe beware that neither (as they haue begon in certaine ages past to be accounted) we take them for the proper dwelling places of God from whence he may more neerely bend his eare vnto vs: nor faine to the m I wor e not what secret holinesse, 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 Lorde in Spirite and trueth without difference of place, leaue it to the Iewes or the Gentiles. There was in deede a temple in old time by the commaundement of God for offering of praier and sacrifices: but that was at such time as y^e truth lay hid figured vnder such shadows, which being nowe liuely expressed vnto vs doth not suffer vs to sticke in any

Mat. 18. 20.

Iohn. 4. 23.

materiall temple. Neither was the temple giuen to the Iewes themselues with this condition, that they should inclose the presence of God, within the walles thereof, but whereby they might bee exercised to beholde 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 Esay and Stephen.

Esa. 66. 1. 1
A. 7. 48.

31 Here moreouer it is more than euident, that neither voyce nor song, if they be vsed in prayer, haue any force, or doe any whit profite before God, vnlesse they proceede from the deepe affection of the heart. But rather they prouoke his wrath against vs, if they come onely from the lippes and out of the throte: forasmuch as that is to abuse his holy name, and to make a mockerie of his maiestie: as wee gather out of the words of Esay, which although they extende further, yet pertaine also to reprocue this fault. This people (saith he) commeth neere to me wth their mouth, and honoreth me with their lippes: but their hearte is farre from mee: and they haue feared me with the commaundement and doctrine of men. Therefore beholde I will make in this people a miracle great and to be wondered at. For, wisdom shall perish from their wise men, and the prudence of the Elders shall vanish away. Neither yet doe wee here condemne voice or singing, but rather doe hiely commende 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 is diuersely drawen vnlesse it be stayed with diuerse helpes. Moreouer whereas the glorie of God ought after a certaine manner to shine in al the partes of our bodie, it specially behoueth that the tongue bee applied and auowed to this seruice both in singing and in speaking which is properly created to shewe foorth and display the praise of God: But the cheefe vse of the tongue is in publike prayers, which are made in the assemblie of the godly: which tende to this ende, that we may all with one common voice, and as it were with one mouth together glorifie God whome we worshippe with one Spirite and one faith: and that openly, that all men mutually, euerie one of his brother, may receiue the confession of Faith, to the example whereof they may bee both allured and stirred.

Esa. 9. 13.
Mat. 15. 8.

32 As for the vse of singing in Churches (that I may touch this also by the way) it is certayne 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 songes, singing with grace in your heartes to the Lorde. For in the first place hee teacheth that wee shoulde sing with voyce and heart: in the other hee commendeth spirituall songes, wherewith the Godly doe mutually edifie themselues. Yet that it was not vniuersall, Augustine testifieth, which reporteth that in the time of Ambrose the Church of Millain first began to sing, when while Iustina the mother of Valentinian cruelly raged against the true faith, the people more vsed watchings than they were wont: and that afterwarde the other westerne Churches followed. For he had a little before sayde that this manner came from the Easterne Churches. Hee telleth also in his se-

1. Cor. 14. 13

Confess. lib.
9. cap. 7.

conde booke of Retractions that it was in his time receiued in Africa. One Hilarie (saith he) a ruler did in euery place wheresoeuer he coulde, with malicious blaming raile at the manner which then began to bee 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 ben offered was distributed to the people. Him I answered at the commaundement 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 auaieth to stirre vp the mindes to true affection, and feruentnes of praying. But we must diligently beware that our cares bee not more heede fully bent to the note, than our mindes to the spirituall sense of the wordes. With which perill Augustine in a certain place sayth that he was so moued, that hee sometime wished that the manner which Athanasius kept should be stablished, which commaunded that the reader should sound his words with so small a bowing of his voice, that it should be liker to one y readeth than to one that singeth. But when he remembred howe much profite he himselfe had receiued by singing, he 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 songes so euer are framed onely to swetenesse and delight of the eares, they both becomie not the maiestie of the Church, and can not but hiely displease God.

33 Whereby it also plainly appeareth that common prayers are to be spoken not in Greeke among Latine men, not in Latine among Frenchmen or Englishmen (as it hath heretofore bene ech where commonly done) but in y peoples mother tongue, which comonly may be vnderstood of the whole assemblie: forasmuch as it ought to bee done to the edifying of the whole Church, which receiue no fruite at all of a sound not vnderstanded. But they which haue no regarde neither of charitie nor of humanitie, should at leaste haue bene somewhat moued with the autorite of Paul, whose wordes are nothing doubtful. If thou blesse (saith he) in spirit, howe shall he that filleth the place of an vnlearned man answere Amen to thy blessing, sith he knoweth not what thou sayst? For thou indeede giuest thanks, but the other is not edified. Who therefore can sufficiently wonder at the vnbridled licentiousnes of the Papistes, which, the Apostle so openly crying out against it, feare not to roare out in a strange tongue most babling praiers, in which they themselues sometime vnderstande not one syllable, nor woulde haue other folkes to vnderstand it? But Paul teacheth that wee ought to doe otherwise. How then? I will pray (saith he) with spirite, I will pray also with mind: I will sing with spirit: I wil sing also with minde: signifying by the name of spirite, the singular giste of tongues, which many being endued with, abused it, when they seuered it from the mind, that is, from vnderstanding. But this we must altogether thinke, that it is by no meane possible, neither in publike nor in priuate prayer, but that the tongue without the heart must highly displease God. Moreouer we must think that the mind ought to be kindled with feruentnes of thought, that it may far surmount all that the tongue may expresse with vtterance. Finally that the tongue is not necessary at all for priuate prayer, but so farre as the inwarde feeling either is not able to suffice

Confess. lib.
10. cap. 33.

1. Cor. 14. 16

to enkindle it self, or the vehemence of inkindling violently carrieth the work of the tongue with it. For though very good prayers sometime be without voice, yet oftentimes betideth, that when the affection of the minde is feruent, both the tongue breaketh forth into voyce, and the other members into gesturing without excessiue shewe. Hereupon came the muttering of Hanna, & such a like thing al the holy ones alway feele in themselues, when they burst out into broken & vnperfect voices. As for y gestures of the body which are wont to be vsed in prayer (as kneeling & vncovering of the head) they are exercises by which we endeuour to rise vp to a greater reuerencing of God.

1. Sam. i. 13.

34 Nowe 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 soone: wherein we may acknowledge his vnmeasurable goodnes and kindnesse. For beside this hee warneth and exhorteth vs to seek him in al our necessitie (as children are wont to flie to their fathers defence, so oft as they be troubled with any distresse) because hee sawe that he did not sufficiently perceyue this, howe slender our pouertie was, what were meete to be asked, and what were for our profite: he prouided also for this our ignorance, and what our capacitie wanted, he 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 vayleth for our profite, and whatsoeuer is necessarie to aske. Of which his genulenesse we receiue a great frute of comfort, that we vnderstande that wee aske no inconuenient thing, no vnseeming or vnfit thing, finally nothing that is not acceptable to him, sith we aske in a maner after his owne mouth. When Plato saw the follie of men in making requestes to God, which beeing graunted, it many times befell much to their owne hurt: he pronounced that this is the best maner of praying taken out of the olde Poete, King Iuppiter giuen vnto vs y best things both when we aske them, and when we doe not aske them, but commaunde euil things to be away from vs euen when we aske them. And verily the heathen man is wise in this, that he iudgeth howe perillous it is to aske of the Lord that which our owne desire moueth vs: and therewithall he bewrayeth our vnhappy case, that we can not once open our mouths before God without danger, vnlesse the Spirite doe instruct vs to a right rule of praying. And in somuch greater estimation this priuilege is worthie to bee had of vs, sith the onely begotten Sonne of G O D ministrerth words into our mouth which may deliuer our mind from all doubting.

Matt. 6. 9.

Luk. 12. 9.

Alcib. vel de voto.

Rom. 8. 6.

35 This whether you call it forme or rule of praying is made of fixe petitions. For, the cause why I agree not to them that diuide it into seuen parts, is this, that by putting in this aduerfatiue word (But) it seemeth that the Euangelist ment to ioyne these two peeces together, as if he had said: Suffer vs not to be oppressed with tentation, but rather help our weakenesse, and deliuer vs, that we faint not. The olde writers also thinke on our side, so y nowe that which is in Matthew added in the seuenth place, is by way of declaration to be ioyned to the sixt petition. But although the whole praier is such that in euerie part of it regarde is specially to be had of the glorie of God, yet the three first petitions are peculiarly appointed to Gods glorie, which alone we ought

Aug. in Enchirid Laur, cap. 116. Chryf. aut. o per imperf.

ought in them to looke vnto without any respecte (as they say) of our owne profite. The other three haue care of vs, and are properly assigned to aske those things that are for our profit. And when we pray y^e name of God be hallowed: because God will prooue whether he bee loued and honoured of vs freely or for hope of rewarde, we must then thinke nothing of our owne commoditie, but his glorie must be set before vs, which alone we must beholde with fixed eyes: and no otherwise ought wee to bee minded in the other prayers of this sorte. And euen this turneth to our great profite, that when it is sanctified as wee pray, it is also likewise made our sanctification. But our eyes (as it is saide) must winke and after a certaine maner bee blinde at such profite, so as they may not once looke at it: that if all hope of our priuate benefite were cut off, yet we shoulde not cease to wish & pray for this sanctification and other things which pertaine to the glorie of God. As it is seene in the examples of Moses and Paul, to whome it was

Exo. 32. 32.
Rom. 9. 3.

not greuous to turne away their mindes and eyes from themselues, & with vehement and inflamed zeale to wish their owne destruction, that though it were with their owne losse they might auance the glorie and kingdome of God. On the otherside when wee pray that our dayly breade bee giuen vs: although we wishe that which is for our owne commoditie, yet here also we ought cheefely to seeke the glorie of God, so that wee shoulde not aske it vnlesse it might turne to his glorie. Nowe let vs come to the declaring of the prayer it selfe.

Our Father which art in heauen.

36 First in the verie entrie wee meete with this which wee saide 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, truely wee alleadge for vs the name of Christ. For by what boldnesse might any man call God, Father? who shoulde burst forth into so great rashnesse, to take to himselfe the honour 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 beleue in y^e name of the onely begotten Son 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 sweetnesse of name deliuering vs from all distrust, sith there can no where be founde any greater affection of loue than in a father. Therefore hee coulde by no surer example testifie his vnmeasurable deare loue toward vs than by this that wee are named the sonnes of God. But his loue is so much greater & more excellent toward vs than all loue of our parentes, as hee passeth all men in goodnesse and mercie: that if all the fathers that are in the earth, hauing shaken off al feeling of fatherly naturalnesse, wolde forsake their children, yet hee will neuer fayle vs, because he can not denie himselfe. For wee haue his promise, If you beeing euill can giue good giftes to your children,

Iohn, 1. 12.
1. Iohn, 3. 1.
Psal. 27. 10.
Esa. 63. 16.
2. Tim. 2. 13.

Matt. 7. 11.

how

howe much more can your Father which is in heauen? Againe in the Prophet, Can a mother forget her children? Though she forget them, yet I will not forget thee. If we be his childrē: then as a child can not giue himself into the tuition of a stranger & forein man, vnlesse he cōplaine either of the cruelty or pouerty of his father: so we can not seeke succours from els where thā from him alone, vnlesse we reproch him with pouerty and want of ability, or with cruelty or too extreeme rigorousnesse.

37 Neither let vs alleage that we are worthily made fearefull with conscience of finnes, which may make a Father be he neuer so mercifull and kinde, daily to be displeas'd. For if among men the sonne can with no better aduocate pleade 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 mercy (for then the fatherly bowels can not hide theselues but must be moued at such prayers) what shall that father of mercies do, and the God of all comforte: shall not he rather heare the teares and gronings of his children intreating for themselues (specially sith hee doth call and exhorte vs to do so) than any other intercessions whatsoever they be: to the succour whereof they doe so fearefully flee, not without some shewe of despeire, because they distrust of the kindenes and mercifulnesse of their father? This ouerflowing plenty of fatherly kindenes 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 meete him, comforteth him and receiueth him into fauour. For, setting out in a man this example of so great gentlenes, he minded to teach vs how much more plentiful kindenes we ought to looke for at his hande, who is not onely a Father, but also the best and most mercifull of all Fathers, howsoever we be vnkinde, rebellious and naughty children: so that yet we cast our selues vpon his mercy. And that he might make it to be more assuredly beleeued, 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 kindenesse toward thy children, so great easinesse to pardon, wee thy children call to thee and pray to thee, being assured and fully perswaded, that thou bearest no other affection to vs than fatherly, howsoever we be vnworthy of such a Father. But because the small capacities of our heart conceiue not so great vnmeasurablenesse of fauour, not onely Christ is to vs a pledge and earnest of our adoption, but also he giueth vs the Spirit for witnesse of the same adoption, through whom we may with a free and lowd voyce cry Abba, Father. So oft therefore as any delay shall withstand vs, let vs remember to aske of him, that correcteth our fearefulness he wil set before vs that Spirit of couragiousnes to be our guid to pray boldely.

38 Whereas we are not so taught that euery one should seuerally cal him his owne father, but rather that we should al in common together call him Our Father: thereby we are put in minde, how great affection of brotherly loue

Esa. 49. 15.

2. Cor. 1. 3.

Luk. 15. 20.

Gal. 4. 6.

loue ought to be among vs, which are altogether by one same right of mercy and liberality, the children of such a Father. For we all haue one common Father, from whome commeth whatsoeuer good thing may betide vnto vs: there ought to be nothing feuerall among vs, which wee are not readie with great cheerefulnesse of minde to communicate one to an other, so much as neede requireth. Nowe if we bee so desirous, as we ought to be, to reach our hand and help one to an other, there is nothing wherein we may more profit our brethren, than to commend them to the care and prouidence of the most good Father, who being well pleased and fauoring, nothing at all can be wanted. And verily euen this same we owe to our Father. For as he y^e truly & hartily loueth any Father of household, doth also embrace his whole household, with loue and good will: likewise what loue and affection wee 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 praier by this rule, that they be common, and may comprehend all them that be brethren in Christ with him: and not onely those whome he presently seeth and knoweth to be such, but al 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 naturall to wish the best to them, & hope the best of them. Howbeit we ought with a certaine singular affection to beare a special inclination to them of the household of faith, whome the Apostle hath in euery thing peculiarly commended vnto vs. In a summe, All our praier, ought to bee so made, that they haue respect to that community which our Lorde hath stablished in his kingdome and his house.

39 - Yet this withstandeth not, but that wee may specially pray both for our selues and for certaine other: so that yet our minde depart not from hauing an eye to this community, nor once swarte 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 easly vnderstoode by a like example. The commandement of God is generall, to relieve the neede of all poore: and yet they obey this commandement which to this end doe helpe their pouerty whom they knowe or see to be in deede, although they passe ouer many whom they see to be pressed with no lesse necessitie: either because they can not knowe all, or be not able to helpe al. After this manner they also do not against the will of God, which hauing regard vnto & thinking vpon this common fellowship of the Church, do make such particular praier, by which they do with a comon mind in particular words, commend to God themselues or other, whose necessitie God willed to bee more neerly known to them. Howbeit all things are not like in praier and in bestowing of goods. For, the liberality of giuing cannot be vsed but toward them whose neede we haue perceiued: but with praier we may helpe euen them y^e are most strange & most vnknowē to vs, by how great a space of ground soeuer they be distant from vs. This is done by the general forme of prayer, wherein all the children of God are contained, among whome they also are.

1. Tim. 3. 8. Hereto we may apply y^e which Paul exhorteth the faithfull of his time, y^e they lift vp euery where pure hands without strife: because when he warneth the y^e

Arise shutteth the gate against prayers, he willeth them with one mind to lay their petitions in common together.

40 It is added, that he is in heauen. Wherupon it is not by and by to be gathered that he is bound fast inclosed and cōpassed with the circle of heauen, as within certaine barres. For Salomon also confesseth that the heauēs of heauens can not containe him. And he himselfe saith by the Prophet that heauen is his seate, and the earth his foote stoole. Whereby verily he signifieth that he is not limited in any certaine coast, but is spred abroad throughout all thinges. But because our minde (such is the grossenesse of it) coulde not otherwise conceiue his vnspeakeable glorie, it is signified to vs by heauen, than which there can nothing come vnder our sight more ample or fuller of maiestie. 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 aboue all sense both of body & soule. Again by this manner of speaking he is lifted vp aboue all chaunce of corruption & change: finally it is signified that hee comprehendeth and containeth y whole world and gouerneth it with his power. Wherefore this is all one as if he had ben called of infinite greatnes or height, of incomprehensible substance, of vnmeasurable power, of euerlasting immortalitie. But while we haue this, we must lift vp our minde hier when God is spoken of, that we dreame not any earthly or fleshy thing of him, y we measure him not by our smal 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 wee vnderstand heauen and earth to be gouerned. 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: & that y familiar name of Father is not onely applied to stablish affiance, but also auaieth to holde fast our mindes y they be not drawn to doubtful or fained Gods, but should from y only begotten sonne climbe vp to y only father of Angels & of the Church: then, y because his seat is placed in heauen, we are by the gouernance of the world put in mind y not without cause wee come to him which with present care commeth of his owne wil to meete vs. Who so come to God (saith the Apostle) they must first belceue y 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 staied in him: then, that we may be certainly perswaded y he is not careles of our safetie: because he vouchsaueueth euen to vs to extend his prouidence. With which introduction Paul prepareth 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. Whereby appeareth that they doubtfully & with perplexity tossē their prayers in their mind which haue not this wel settled in them, that the eye of God is vpon the righteous.

41 The first Petition is, That the name of God be hallowed, the need whercof is ioyned with our great shame. For what is more shamefull than y the glory of God should be partly by our vnthankfulnes, partly by our maliciousnes darkened: and (so much as in it lieth) by our boldnesse and furious stubbornesse, vtterly blotted out? Though all the wicked would burst themselves.

1. King. 8. 37
Esa. 66. 1.
A. & 7. 49.
& 17. 24.

Heb. 11. 6.

Phil. 4. 6.

Psal. 33. 18.

themselves with their wilfulnesse full of sacriledge, yet the holinesse of the
 name of God gloriously shineth. And not without cause the Prophete cri-
 eth out, As thy name O God, so is thy praise into all the endes of the earth.
 For where soeuer the name of God is knowen, it cannot be but that his stren-
 gthes, power, goodnesse, wisdom, righteousnesse, mercie, and trueth must
 shewe forth themselves, which may drawe vs into admiration of him, and
 stirre vs vp to publishe his prayse. Sith therefore the holinesse of God is so
 shamefully taken from him in earth, if we bee not able to rescue it, wee bee
 at the least commaunded to take care of it in our prayers. The summe is,
 that wee wishe the honour to be giuen to God which he is worthie to haue,
 that men neuer speake or thinke of him without most hie reuerence: where-
 vnto is contrarie the vnholly abusing, which hath alway bene too common
 in the worlde, as at this day also it rangeth abroad. And herevpon 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 contempte and dishonour, but also that
 he will subdue all mankinde to the reuerence of it. Nowe whereas GOD
 discloseth himselfe to vs, partly by doctrine, and partly by workes, hee 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, forasmuch as hee
 hath in the manifolde diuersitie of his works imprinted marks of his glorie
 which may worthilie drawe out of all tongues a confession of his prayse. So
 shall it come to passe that the Scripture shall haue ful authoritie with vs, and
 that no successe shall hinder the blessing which God deserueth in the whole
 course of the gouerning of the world. Again the petition also tendeth
 to this purpose, that all vngodlinesse which defileth this holy name, may
 be destroyed and taken away: that whatsoeuer things do darken and dimi-
 nish this sanctifying, as well slanders as mockings, may be driuen away: and
 when God suddueth all sacrileges, his glory may thereby more and more
 shine abroad.

43 The seconde petition is, that The kingdome of God may come:
 which although it conteyne no newe thing, is yet not without cause seue-
 red from the first: because if we consider our owne drowlines in a thing grea-
 test of all other, it is profitable that the thing which ought of it selfe to haue
 bene most well knowen, be with many wordes oft beaten into vs. There-
 fore after that we haue bene commaunded to pray to God to bring into
 subiection, and at length vterly to destroye whatsoeuer spotteth his holy
 name: nowe is added a like and in a manner the same request, that his king-
 dome come. But although wee haue already set forth the definition
 of his kingdome, yet I nowe breesly rehearse, that God reigneth when men
 as wel with forsaking of themselves as with despising of the world and of the
 earthly life, doe so yelde themselves to his righteousnesse, that they aspire
 to the heauenly life. Therefore there are two parts of this kingdome: y one,
 that God correct with the power of his Spirit al corrupt desires of the flesh,
 which

which do by multitudes make warre against him: the other, that he frame all our senses to the obedience of his gouernement. Therefore none doe keepe right order in this prayer, but they which beginne at themselues, that is to say, 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 worde of God is like a kingly scepter, wee are here commaunded to pray that he will subdue the mindes and heartes of all men to willing obedience of it. Which is done, when with the seeret instinct of his Spirite he vttereth the effectuall force of his worde, that it may be auanced in such degree as it is worthie. After ward we must come downe to the wicked which do obstinately and with desperate rage resist his authoritie. God therefore setteth vp his kingdome by humbling the whole world: but that in diuerse maners: because he tamerh 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 worlde, to enlarge and encrease them in number, to enrich them with his giftes, to stablish right order in them: on the other side to ouerthrowe all the enemies of pure doctrine and religion, to scatter abroade their counsels, to cast downe their enterprises. Whereby appeareth that the endeuour of daily proceeding is not in vaine commaunded vs: because the matters of men are neuer in so good case, that filthinesse being shaken away and cleansed, full purenesse flourisheth and is in liuely force. But the fulnesse of it is deferred vnto the last comming of Christ, when Paul teacheth that God shalbe all in all. And so this prayer ought to withdrawe vs from all the corrupt ones of the world, which do seuer vs from God that his kingdome shoulde not flourish in vs, and also to kindle our endeuour 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 miscon-
I. Cor. 15. 28
tentedly that the outward 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 righteousnesse thereof, to make vs partakers of his glorie. This is done when brightly setting forth his light and trueth 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 help of his Spirite, directeth them to vprightnesse, and strengtheneth them to continuance; but ouerthroweth the wicked conspiracies of his enemies, shaketh abroad their treasons and deceites, preuenteth their malice, and beareth downe their stubbornnesse, till at length he kill Antichrist with the Spirite of his mouth and destroy all vngodlinesse with the brightnesse of his comming.

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 grossenesse, which doeth not easily or by and by conceiue what it is that G O D reigne in the worlde. It shall therefore be no absurditie if this be taken by way of plainer exposition: that God shall then be king in the worlde when all things shall submit themselues to his will. Nowe here is not meant of his secrete will,

whereby he gouerneth all things & directeth them to their ende. For though Satan & men are troublefomly carried against him, yet he can by his incōprehensible counfel not only turne aside their violent motions, but also driue them into order that he may do by them that which he hath purposed. But here is spoken of an other will of God, namely that, whereunto aunswereth willing obedience: and therefore the heauen is by name compared with the earth: because the Angels, as it is saide in the Psalme, do willingly obey God & are diligently bent to doe his commandements. Wee are therefore commanded to wish that as in heauen nothing is done but by the becke of God, & the Angels are quietly framed to all vprightnesse: so the earth, all stubbornnesse & pcruernesse 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 yeld 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 prayer framed to the forsaking of our selues, that God may gouerne vs after his wil: & not that only, but that he may also create in vs newe mindes & newe hearts, our old being brought to nought: that we may feele in our selues none other motion of desire than a mere consent with his will: summarily that we may will nothing of our selues, but that his Spirite may gouerne our heartes, by whome inwardly teaching vs we may learne to loue those things that please him, & to hate those things that displease him. Whereupon this also followeth, that whatsoeuer affections fight against his will, he may make them vaine and voyd. Loe here be the first three chiefe points of this prayer, in asking whereof wee ought to haue the onely glorie of God before our eyes, leaving 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 al these things, though we neither thinke of them, nor wish them, nor aske them, must neuerthelesse come to passe in their due time, yet wee must wish them and require them. And this to doe is no small profit for our trauaile, that we may so testifie and professe our selues to be the seruautes and children of God, as much as in vs lieth endeuouring and being truely and throughly giuen to set forth his honour, which is due to him being both a Lorde and a Father. Who so therefore doe 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 seruautes of God: and as all these things shalbe done against their willes, so they shall turne to their confusion and destruction.

44 Now followeth the second parte of the prayer, in which wee come downe to our owne commodities: not that bidding fare well to the glorie of God (which as Paul witnesseth, is to be regarded euen in meate & drinke) wee should seeke onely what is profitable for our selues: but wee haue already giuen warning that there is this difference, that God peculiarly claiming three petitions to himselfe doeth draw vs to himselfe wholly, that he may in this wise proue our godlinesse. Then he graunteth vs also to haue an eye to our owne commodities, but with this condition, that wee aske

nothing

nothing for our selues but to this end that whatsoeuer benefits he bestoweth vpon vs, they may set foorth 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 body needeth vnder the elements of this worlde, not onely wherewith we may be fed and clothed, but also whatsoeuer he foreseeeth to be profitable for vs, that we may eat our bred in peace. By which prayer briefly we yeelde our selues into his care, and commit vs to his providence, that he may feede, cherish, and preserue vs. For the most good Father disdaineth not to receiue also our body into his faithfull sauegarde and keeping, to exercise our Faith in these small things, when we loke for all things at his handes euen to a crumme of bread and a droppe of water. For whereas it is come to passe I wote not howe 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 eat, and wherewith they shalbe clothed: and if they haue not plentie of wine, wheate, and oyle aforehande, they tremble for feare. So much more doe we esteeme the shadow of this life which lasteth but a moment, than that euerlasting immortalitie. But who so trusting to God haue once cast away that carefulnesse for the prouision of the fleshe, doe also by and by looke for saluation and euerlasting 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 doe so much holde vs in care: and we haue not smally profited, when we haue put of this vnbeleeuingnes which sticketh fast within the bones almost of all men. As for that which some doe here teach of transubstantiall bread, it seemeth but smally 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 childe of God, which ought to be spirituall, shoulde not onely cast their minde to earthly cares, but also wrappe GOD there in with them. As though his blessing and fatherly fauour doth not also appeare in the sustenance of our life, or as though it were written in vaine that godlinesse hath promises not onely of the life to come, but also of this present life. 1. Tim. 4. 8. But although the foregiuennesse of sinnes is of much greater value than the sustenances of the body, yet Christ hath set the inferior thing in the first place, to the entent to lift vs vp by degrees to the other two petitions which do properly belong to the heauenly life, wherein he had regarde to our grossnesse. We are commaunded to aske Our breade, that we should be contente with the quantitie which our heauenly Father vouchsafeth to giue to vs, & should not seeke for gaine by vnlawfull crafty meanes. In the meane time we must learne that it is made Oures by title of gifte, because neither our diligence, nor our trauaile, nor our handes (as it is sayde in Moses) doe by themselves get vs anie 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 necessary for the riche than for the poore: because hauing their cellers and their barnes full, they

should yet fainte for drinesse and emptinesse; vnlesse they did by his grace enioy their bred. The worde This day, or Euery day as it is in the other Euangilist, and also the adiectiue Daily, do bridle the too much greedinesse of fraile things, wherwith 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, delites, boasting, and other kindes of riotous excesse. Therefore we are commaunded to aske only so much as is enough for our necessity, & as it were from day to day, with this affiance, that when our heauenly Father hath fedde vs this day, he will also not faile vs to morrowe. Therefore how great plenty of things soeuer do flow vnto vs, yea when our barnes be stuffed and our cellers full: yet wee ought alway to aske our dayly bread: because we must certainly belecue that all substance is nothing, but in somuch as the Lorde doth by pouring out of his blessing with continuall encrease make it frutefull: & that the very same substance that is in our hand, is not our owne, but insomuch as he doth euery houre giue vs a portion and graunt vs the vse of it. This whereas the pride of men doth most hardely suffer it selfe to be perswaded: the Lorde testifieth that he hath shewed a singular example therof for all ages, when he fed his people with Manna in the wildernesse, to teach vs that man liueth not in breade onely, but rather in the worde that commeth out of his mouth. Whereby is declared, that it is his power alone by which our life and strengthes are susteined, although he do minister it vnto vs vnder bodily instrumentes. As he is wont also to teach vs by the contrary example, when hee so oft as hee will, breaketh the strength and (as he calleth it) the staffe of breade, that men eating may pine with hunger, and drinking may be dried vp with thirst. But whoso not being contented with daily bread, but with vnbrideled greedinesse are gaping for endlesse store, or who so being full with their abundance, and carelesse by reason of the heape of their riches, doe neuerthelesse 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 not obtaine, yea that which they most of all abhorre, that is, to haue onely dayly bread, and so much as in them lieth they dissemblyngly hide from GOD the affection of their couetousnesse: whereas true prayer ought to powre out before him the very whole minde it selfe, and whatsoeuer inwardely lieth hidden. But the other sorte doe aske that which they looke not for at his hande, namely that which they thinke that they haue with themselues. In this that it is called Ours the bountifullnes of God (as we haue sayde) so much more appeareth, 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 rightful & harmelesse trauaile, and not gotten with deceites and extortions: because that is alway other mens which we get to our selues with any ill doing. Whereas we pray that it be giuen vs, therby is signified that it is the only and free gift of God, from whence soeuer it come to vs, yea when it shal most of all seeme to be gotten by our owne policy and trauaile, and earned with our owne handes: forasmuch as it commeth to passe by his only blessing that our labours prosper well.

Deut. 8. 3.
Matt. 3. 4.

Leu. 26. 26.

45 Nowe followeth, Forgiue vs our dettes: in which petition and the nexte

next following, Christ hath briefly contained whatsoeuer maketh for the heauenly life: as in these two partes aboue 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 sinnes: after this, he will by and by adioyne the second grace, that God defend vs with the power of his Spirit, & sustaine vs wth his help, that we may stand vnouercome against all tentations. And sinnes he calleth dettes, because we are detbound to pay the penaltie of them, & were by no meanes able to satisfie it, vnlesse we were acquitted by this forgiuenesse. Which pardon is of his free mercie, when he himselfe liberally wipeth out these dettes, 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 shalbe satisfied by their owne or other mennes merites, and that with such satisfactions the forgiuenesse of sinnes is recompensed and redeemed, they haue no parte of communicating of this free forgiuenesse: and when they call vppon 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 them selues detters, vnlesse they be acquitted by the benefit of forgiuenesse, which yet they do not receiue, but rather refuse, when they thrust vnto God their own merites and satisfactions. For, so they do not beseech his mercie, but do appeale to his iudgement. As for them that dreame of a perfection in themselues, which taketh away neede to craue pardone, let them haue such disciples whome the itching of their eares driueth to errours: so that it be certaine that so many disciples as they get, are taken away from Christ: forasmuch as he instructing all to confesse their guiltinesse, receiue none but sinners: not for that he cherisheth sinnes with flatterings, but because he knew that the faithfull are neuer throughly vnclouted of the vices of their flesh, but that they alway remaine subiect to the iudgement of God. It is in dede to be wished, yea and to be earnestly endeouored, that we hauing performed all the partes of our dutie may truely reioyce before God that we are cleane from all spot: but forasmuch as it pleaseth God by litle and litle to make againe his image in vs, that there alway remaineth some infection in our flesh, the remedie ought not to haue bene 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 shalbe able to suffer these new masters, which go about with this imagined ghost of perfect innocencie to dasel the eyes of the simple, to make them to trust y^e they may be made free from all fault: Which, as Iohn witnesseth, is nothing else but to make God a lier. And withall one worke these lewd men by cancelling one article do teare in sunder & by y^e meane do weaken from the verie foundation the whole couenant of God, wherein wee haue shewed y^e our saluation is contained: 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 dispaire: and traitours to themselues and other, that be like them, because they bring themselues into a slothfulnesse directly contrarie to the mercie of God.

Iere. 31. 33.
and 33. 8.

Rom. 3. 29.

1. Iohn. 1. 10

in wishing the comming of the kingdome of God, wee doe also aske the putting away of sinne: that is too childish, because in the first table of this praier is set forth vnto vs most hie 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 despise not the remedies which our necessitie requireth. Finally, we pray that we may be forgiuen as wee our selues do forgiue our detters, that is, as we do forgiue and pardon all of whomesoeuer wee haue beene in any thing offended, either vniustly handled in deede, or reprochfully vsed in word. Not that it lieth in vs to pardon the giltinesse of the fault & offence which pertaineth to God alone: but this is our forgiuing, of our owne willingness to lay away out of our mind wrath, hatred, and desire of reuengement, and with voluntary forgetfulness to treade vnder foote the remembrance of iniuries. Wherefore we may not aske forgiuenesse of sinnes at the hande of God, if wee do not also forgiue their offences towarde vs which either do or haue done vs wrong. But if wee keepe any hatreds in our hearts, and purpose any reuengementes and imagine by what occasion wee may hurt, yea, and if wee do not endeuour to come into fauour againe with our enemies, and to deserue well of them with all kind of friendly doinges, & to winne them vnto vs: we do by this prayer beseech God that he doe not forgiue vs. For we require that he graunt to vs the same forgiuenesse which we graunt to other. But this is to pray that he graunt it not to vs, vnlesse wee grant it to them. Whoso therefore be such, what doe they obtaine by their prayer but a more grieuous iudgement? Last of al it is to be noted, y^e this condition y^e he forgiue vs as we forgiue our detters, is not herefore added for y^e we deserue his forgiuenesse by the forgiuenesse which we graunt to other, as if that cause of forgiuenesse to vs were there expressed: but by this worde partly the Lords will was to comfort the weakenesse of our Faith, for he added this as a signe whereby we may be assured that he hath as surely graunted to vs forgiuenesse of our sinnes, as we surely know in our conscience that we haue graunted the same to other, if our mind be voide and cleansed of all hatred, enuie and reuengement, and partly by this as it were by a marke, hee wipeth them out of the number of his children that they may not bee bolde to call vpon him as their Father, which being headlong hasty to reuenge, & hardly entreated to pardon, do vse stiffely continuing enmities, and do cherish in themselues the same displeasure towarde other which they pray to be turned from themselues. Which is also in Luke expressly spoken in the wordes of Christ.

46 The sixth petition (as we haue said) answereth to the promise of engrauing the lawe of God in our heartes. But because we do not without continuall warrefare and harde and great struiings obey to God, wee doe here pray to be furnished with such weapons and defended with such succor, that wee may be able to get the victorie: whereby wee are warned that wee stand in neede not onely 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 hee may make vs inuincible against both all the traiterous entrappings and violent conflictes of Satan. But now of tentations there are many and diuerse

Ja. 1. 2. & 14. sortes. For, both the peruerse thoughtes of minde prouoking vs to trespasing

trespassing against the law, which either our owne lust doth minister vnto vs, or the diuell 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, y^e by the occasion of them we be drawen away or doe swarue from God. And these tentations are either on the right hande or on the left. On the right hand, as riches, power, honours, which commonly doe with their glistering and shewe of good so daselle the sight of men, and catche them with the baited hooke of their flatteringes, that being entrapped with such deceites, or dronke with such sweetenesse, they may forget their God. On the left hand, as pouertie, reproches, despisings, troubles, and such other: that they being grieued with the bitternes & hardnes thereof may be vtterly discouraged, cast away faith and hope, and finally be altogether estranged 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 heauenly Father that he suffer vs not to yeelde. But rather that he vpholde vs and raise vs vp with his hande, that being strong by his strength, wee may stande fast against all the assaults of the malicious enemy, whatsoeuer thoughtes he put into our minde: then, that whatsoeuer is set before vs on either side, we may turne it to good, that we neither be puffed vp with prosperitie, nor throwen downe with aduersitie. Neither yet doe we here require that wee may feele no tentations at all, with which we haue great neede to be stirred vp, pricked, and pinched, least by too much rest wee growe dull. For not in vaine did Dauid wishe to be tempted: and not without cause the Lorde 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 destroye, damne, confounde, and throwe downe headlong: but God, that by prouing them that be his he may haue a triall of their vnfaignednesse, and by exercising them may confirme their strength, to mortifie, purge by fier, and feare their flesh, which vnlesse it were in this wise restrained, woulde waxe wanton and would wildely outrage aboue measure. Moreouer Sathan assaileth men vnarmed and vnready, that hee may oppresse them vnware: God euen with tempting worketh the effect, that they which be his may patiently beare whatsoeuer he sendeth vpon them. By the name of the Euill, whether we vnderstande the Deuill or sinne, it maketh litle matter. Satan in deede himselfe is the enemy 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 ouercome or ouerwhelmed with any tentations, but may by the power of the Lorde stande strong against all contrary powers wherewith we are assailed: which is, not to yelde vs vanquished to tentations, that being receiued into his keping & charge, and being safe by his protectiō: we may endure vnovercome ouer sinne, death, the gates of hel, and the whole kingdom of the deuill: which is to be deliuered from euil. Where it is also to be diligently marked, that it is aboue our strength to matche with the deuill so greata warriar, and to beare his force and violence. Otherwise we should but vainly or as it were in mockage ask that which we had already in our selues. Surely, they which prepare them to such a battle with trust of themselves, doe

Mat. 4. 1. & 3

2. Thes. 3. 5

Psal. 26. 2.

Gen. 22. 1.

Deut. 8. 2. &

13. 3.

1. Co. 10. 13

2. Pet. 2. 9.

1. Pet. 5. 8.

not sufficiently vnderstande with how fierce and wel armed an enemy they haue to doe. Nowe wee pray to be deliuered from his power, as out of the mouth of a mad and raging Lyon, whereas we should be torne in peeces with his teeth and pawes, and swallowed with his throte, vnlesse the Lorde do deliuer vs out of the midst of death: yet therewithall knowing this that if the Lorde shall stande by vs, and fight for vs when we are ouerthrowen, we shall in his strength shewe strength. Let other trust as they list to their owne abilities and strengthes of free will, which they thinke that they haue of them selues: but let it suffice vs that we stande and are strong by the only strength of God. But this praier containeth more than at the first sight it beareth in shewe. For if the Spirit of God be our strength to fight out our combate with Satan, we shall not be able to get the victorie vntill we being filled with that Spirit shal haue put off all the weakenesse of our flesh. When therefore we pray to be deliuered from Satan and the Deuill, wee pray to be from time to time enriched with newe encreases of the grace of God, till being fully stuffed with them we may triumph ouer all euill. It seemeth harde and rough to some, that we craue of God that he leade vs not into tentation, forasmuch as it is contrary to his nature to tempt, as James witnesseth. But this question is already partly affoiled, where we saide that our owne lust is properly the cause of all the tentations wherewith wee are ouercome, and therefore worthily beareth the blame thereof. Neither doth James mean any thing else, but that the faultes are without cause and wrongfully layed vpon God, which we are driuen to impute to our selues, because we knowe our selues in our conscience guilty of them. But this withstandeth not but that God may when it pleaseth him make vs bonde to Satan, cast vs away into a reprobate sence, and to filthy lustes, and so leade vs into tentation by his iudgement which is righteous in deede but yet oftentimes secret: forasmuch as y^e cause of it is often hid from men, which is yet certainly knowen with him. Wherupon is gathered that this is no vnfit maner of speaking, if we be perswaded that he doth not without cause so oft threaten, that whē the reprobate shalbe striken with blindenesse and hardning of heart, these shalbe sure tokens of his vengeance.

47 These three petitions, wherewith we do peculiarly commend vs and our thinges to God, do evidently shewe this which we haue before said, that the praier of Christians ought to be common and to tende to the common edifying of the Church, and to the encrease of the communion of the faithful. For there doth not euery man pray to haue any thing priuately giuen, but all in common to gether do pray for Our bread, for forgienesse of sins, that we may not be led into tentation, that we may be deliuered from euil. There is furthermore adioyned a cause why we haue both so greate 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 worthy to be omitted, namely that his is the kingdome, and the power and the glorie 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 worthinesse, who should be so bolde, as once to open his mouth before him? Now howsoeuer we be most miserable, howsoeuer most vnworthie of all men, howsoeuer voyde of all

commendation: yet we shall neuer want cause to pray, & neuer be destitute of confidence: forasmuch as our father can not haue his kingdome, power, and glory taken away from him. At the ende is added Amen, whereby is expressed our seruente of desire to obtaine those things that we haue asked of God, and our hope is confirmed that all such things are already obtained and shall surely be giuen vs because they are promised of God, which can not deceiue. And this agreeth with that manner of prayer which we haue here before rehearsed, Doe it Lorde for thy names sake, not for our sakes or our righteousnesse: whereby the holy ones do not only expresse the end of their praier, but also confesse that they are vnworthy to obtain vnlesse God fetch the cause from himselfe, and that their trust to speede commeth of the onely nature of God.

48 Thus haue wee whatsoeuer we ought yea or in any wise may aske of God, set forth in this forme & as it were a rule of praying taught by the best scholemaister Christe, whome the Lorde 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 wisdom, and being made man is giuen to men the Angell of great counsell. And this prayer is in all pointes, so fully perfect, that whatsoeuer forcine or strange thing is added which can not be referred to it, it is vngodly and vnworthy to be allowed of God. For in this summe he hath set foorth, what is meete for him, what is pleasing to him, what is necessary 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 wisdom of God (which can not be done without mad blasphemie) then they holde not themselues vnder the will of G O D, but despising it doe with greedinesse wander further: finally they shall neuer obtaine any thing; forasmuch as they pray without faith, And there is no dout that al such praier are made without faith, because here wanteth the word of G O D, vpon which vnlesse faith be grounded, it can in no wise stand. But they which forsaking the maisters rule, do followe their owne desires, are not onely without the worde of God, but also so much as they be able with their whole endeour, are against it. Therefore Tertullian no lesse fity than truly hath called this a lawefull praier, secretly signifying that all other are lawlesse and vnlawfull.

49 We would not haue these things so taken asthough we were so bound with this forme of prayer, that we may not change a worde or a syllable. For there are echwhere read many prayers in the Scriptures, 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 y^e mouthes of the faithfull by the same Spirit, which in likenesse of wordes doe not so much agree. This onely is our meaning in so teaching, that no man shoulde seeke, looke for, or aske any other thing at all than that which is summarily comprehended in this prayer, & which though it most differ in words yet differeth not in sense. Like as it is certaine that all the prayers which are founde in the Scriptures, & which do come out of godly hearts, are applied to this, so verily none can any where be found, which may match, much lesse passe, the perfectnesse of this praier. Here is nothing left out, that might be thought

Mat. 17. 5.

Esa. 11. 2.

See August.
Of prayer
to Proba.De fuga in
persecut.

vpon to the praises of God, nothing that ought to come into the mind of man for his owne profits: and the same so fully that all hope is worthily taken away from all men to attempt to make any better. In a summe, let vs remember that this is the doctrine of the wisdom of God, which hath taught what he willed, and willed what was needefull.

50 But although we haue aboue sayd, that we ought alway to breath vppward with mindes lifted vp to God, and pray without ceasing: yet forasmuch as such is our weakenesse, as needeth to be vpholden with many helpe: such is our dulnesse, as needeth to be pricked forward with many spurres: it is good that euery one of vs appoint to himselfe priuately certain houers which may not passe away without prayer, and which may haue the whole affections of our minde throughly busied to that purpose: as, when wee rise in the morning, before that we goe to our dayes worke, when wee sitte downe to meate, when we haue beene fedde by the blessing of God, when we take vs to rest. Onely let this not be a superstitious obseruing of houers, by which, as paying a taske to God, we may thinke 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 looke that so oft as either wee our selues are in distresse, or wee see other to be in distresse with any hardnesse of aduersitie, we runne streight way to him, not with feet but with heartes: then, that we suffer not any prosperitie of our owne or other mens, to passe but that we testifie that we acknowledge it to be his with prayse and thankesgiuing. Finally, this is diligently to be obserued in all prayer, that we go not about to binde God to certaine circumstances, nor to appoint to him, what he shall doe, at what time, in what place, and in what maner: 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 chinges which he will do, he may doe in what maner, at what time, & in what place it pleaseth him. Wherefore ere wee make any prayer for our selues, we first pray that his will be done: where wee doe already submitte our will to his: with which when it is restrained as with a bridle put vpon it, it may not presume to bring G O D into rule, but make him the iudge and governour of all her desires.

51 If we do with mindes framed to this obedience, suffer our selues to be ruled with the laws of Gods Providence, we shall easily learne to continue in praier, and with longing desires patiently to waite for the Lorde: being assured that although he appeare not, yet hee is alway present with vs, and will when he seeth his time declare howe not deafe eares he gaue to the prayer, which in the eyes of men seemed to be despised. And this shalbe a most present comfort, that we faint not & fall downe by despaire, if at any time God doe not answere at our first requestes. Like as they are wont to do, which while they are caried with their sodaine heate, doe so call vpon G O D, that if hee come not to them at their first bruntes and bring them present helpe, they by and by imagine him to be angry and hatefully bente against them, and casting away all hope of obtaining do cease to call vpon him. But rather differing our hope with a well tempered euennesse of minde, let vs goe forward in that perseuerance which is so much commended to vs in Scriptures.

For in the Psalmes wee may oftentimes see howe Dauid and other faithfull men, when they seeme in a maner wearied with praying, did beate the aire, because they threwe away their wordes to God that hearde them not, & yet they cease not from praying: because the worde of God hath not his full authoritie maintained, vnlesse the credite thereof be set aboute all successes of things. Moreouer let vs not tempte God and prouoke him against vs being wearied with our importunacie, which many vse to doe, which do nothing but indent with God vpon a certaine condition, and bind him to the lawes of their couenancing, as though he were seruant to their desires: which if hee doe not presently obey, they disdain, they chafe, they carpe against him, they murmure, they turmoile. Therefore to such oftentimes in his furor he being angrie graunteth that, which to other in his mercie he being fauorable denieth. An example hereof are the children of Israell, for whom it had beene better not to haue beene heard of the Lord, than with fleshe 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 fruite thereof: yet our faith shall assure vs of that, which can not be perceiued by sense, namely y^e wee haue obtained that which was expedient for vs, forasmuch as the Lord doeth so oft and so certainly take vpon him that he will haue care of our greues, after that they haue beene once laide in his bosome. And so he wil make vs to possesse aboundance in pouertie, comfort in affliction. For howsoeuer all other things doe faile vs, yet God wil neuer faile vs, which suffreth the waiting and patience of them that be his to be disappointed. Hee alone shall suffice vs in steede of all things, forasmuch as hee conteyneth in himselfe all good things, which he shall one day disclose vnto vs at the day of iudgement when he shall plainly shewe foorth his kingdome. Beside this although God grant to vs, yet he doeth not alway aunswere according to the expresse forme of our request, but holding vs after outwarde seeming in suspense, yet by a meane vnknown he sheweth y^e our praier were not vain.

This is meant by the words of Iohn, if we know that he heared vs when we aske any thing of him, we knowe that wee haue the petitions which we aske of him. This seemeth a weake superfluousnesse of wordes: but it is a singularly profitable declaration, namely that God euen when he doeth not followe our desires, is yet gentle and fauorable 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 bee susteined, that they shoulde not long stande vnlesse they did stay vpon it. For the Lord doth by no light trialls prooue them that bee his, and not tenderly doeth exercise them: but oftentimes driueth them into the greatest extremities, and when they are driuen thither hee suffereth them long to sticke fast in the mire, ere hee giue them any taste of his sweetenesse: and, as Hanna sayth, he slayeth, and quickeneth: hee leadeth downe to the helles, and bringeth backe againe. What coulde they heere doe but bee discouraged, and fall headlong into despayre: vnlesse when they are in distresse and desolate and alreadie halfe deade, this thought did rayse them vp, that God doeth looke vpon them, and that there shall be at hande an ende of their euilles: But how-

1. Iohn, 5, 15

1. Sam. 2. 6.

holde backe and restraine vs from all rashnesse. For wee shall knowe that so soone as we be gone out of the boundes of the worlde, we runne out of y way, and in darkenesse, in which race wee must needes oftentimes stray, slippe, and stumble. First therefore let this be before our eyes, that to conie any other knowledge of Pre destination 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 way, or to see in darkenesse. Neither let vs bee ashamed, to be ignorant of somwhat in it wherein there is some learned ignorance. But rather let vs willingly abstein from the searching of that knowledge, where- of the excessiue coucting is both foolish & perillous, yea & deadly. But if the wantonnesse of wit prouoke vs, it shall be profitable alway to set this against it, whereby it may bee beaten backe, that as too much of honie is not good, so y searching of glorie doth not turne vnto glorie to the curious. For there is good cause why we shoulde be frayed away from that boldnes, which can do nothing but throw vs downe headlong into ruine.

Pro. 25. 27.

3 There be other which when they haue a will to remedie this euil, do commaund all mention of Predestination to bee in a manner buried, at the least they teach men to flec from euery manner of questioning thereof as from a rock. Although the moderatiō of these men be hercin worthily to be praised that they iudge that mysteries should be tasted of with such sobrietie: yet because they descend too much beneath the meane, they litle preuaile w y wit of man, which doth not lightly suffer it selfe to be restrained. Therefore, that in this behalf also we may keepe a right end, we must return 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 necessary and profitable to be knowne, so nothing is taught but that which is behouefull to learne. Whatsoeuer therefore is vttered in the Scripture concerning Predestination, wee must beware that wee debarre not the faithfull from it, least we should seem either enuiously to defraud them of the benefit of their God, or to blame & accuse the holy Ghost who hath published those things, which it is in any wise profitable to be suppressed. Let vs (I say) giue leaue to a Christian man, to open his minde 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 Lorde hath closed his holy mouth, hee may also foreclose to himselfe all the way to enquire further. This shall be the best bond of sobrietie, if not onely in learning we alway followe the Lorde going before vs, but also when he maketh an ende of teaching, wee 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 worde. But sith both godlinesse and common reason teacheth that this is not generally meant of euerie thing, wee must seeke a difference, least brutish ignorance shoulde please vs vnder colour of modestie and sobrietie. That difference is in fewe wordes plainly set out by Moses. To the Lorde our God (saith he) belong his secretes: but to vs and to our children hee hath disclosed these things. For we see how he commendeth to the people the study of the doctrine of the law, only by reason of the decree of God, because it

Pro. 23. 2.

Deut. 29. 26

plea.

pleased God to publish it : and how he withholdeth the people within those bounds, by this only reason, because it is not lawful for mortal men to thrust themselves into the secretes of God.

4 Prophane men (I grant) do in the matter of Predestination sodainly catch holde of somewhat which they may carpe, or cauill, or barke, or scoffe at. But if their waywardnes do fray vs away from it, the chiefe articles of the faith must be kept secrete, of which there is almost none which they or such as they be do leaue vntouched with blasphemie. A frowarde wit will no lesse proudly outrage when heareth that in the essence of God there are three persons, than if he heare that God foresawe what shoulde become of man when he created him. Neither will they absteine from laughing, when they shall vnderstande that there is litle more than fise thousande yeares passed since the creation of the world: for they wil aske why the power of God was so long idle and a sleepe. Finally there can be nothing brought foorth, which they will not scoffe at. For the restraining of these sacrileges, must wee hold our peace of the Godhede of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost? or must we passe ouer in silence the creation of the world? Yea but the the truth of god is both in this behalfe and euery where mightier than that it neede to feare the euill speaking of the wicked: as Augustine strongly maineteyneth in his work of the good of Perseuerance. For we see y the false Apostles could not by defaming and slandering the true doctrine of Paul, make him to be ashamed of it. But whereas they say y this whole disputation is perillous also for godly minds, because it maketh against exhortations, because it shaketh faith, because it troubleth the heart it selfe: this is vaine. Augustine sticketh not to confesse that for these causes he was wont to be blamed, for that hee did too freely preach Predestination: but, as he had in readines wherewithal, he largely confuteth them. But we, because manie and diuerse absurdities are thrust into this place, had rather to reserue euery one to be wiped away in place fit for it. Onely this I desire generally to obtaine of them, that those things which the Lord hath laid vp in secret, we may not sear ch: those things which he hath brought opely abroad, we may not neglect: least either on y one part we be condemned of vaine curiositie, or on the other part, of vnthankfulness. For, this also is verie well said of Augustine, that wee may safely followe the scripture, which as with a motherly pace goeth stoupingly, least it should for sake our weakenes. But who so are so ware and so fearefull that they would haue Predestination to be buried, least it should trouble weak soules: with what colour, I beseech you, will they couer their arrogancie, when they indirectly accuse God of foolish vnaduisednesse, as though hee foresawe not the danger, which they thinke themselves to haue wisely met with? Whosoever therefore trauellet to bring the doctrine of Predestination into misliking, he openly saith euill of God: as though somewhat had vnaduisedly slipped from him which is hurtful to the Church.

5 Predestination whereby God adopteth some into the hope of life, and iudgeth some to eternal death, no man that would be accounted godly dare simply deny: But they wrap it vp with many cauillations, specially they which make foreknowledge the cause of it. We indeed doe say that they be both in God, but wee say that the one is wrongfullie made subiecte to the other.

When

Cap. 15. vsq3
ad 20.

De bono
perseuera.
cap. 14.

Lib. 5. de
Gen. ad lit.

When we giue foreknowledge to God, we meane that all things alway haue beene 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 hee doeth not imagine onely by conceiued formes (as those things are present to vs, whereof our minde holdeth fast the remembrance) but hee truly beholdeth and seeth them as set before him. And this foreknowledge extendeth to the whole compasse of the world and to all creatures. Predestination we cal the eternal 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 foreappointed. 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 predestination God hath not onely testified in euery seuerall person, but hath shewed an example thereof in the whole issue of Abraham, whereby might playnly appeare that it lieth in his will what shalbe the estate of euery nation. When the Hiest diuided the nations, and seuered the children of Adam, his parte was the people of Israell, the corde of his inheritance. The separation is before the eyes of all men: in the person of Abraham as in a drie stocke one people is peculiarly chosē, all other being refused: but the cause appeareth not, sauing that Moses, to cut off all occasion of glorying from 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, & chose their seede after them. More plainly in an other Chapter: He was pleased in you to chose you, not because you passed other nations in number, but because he loued you. The same admonition is often repeated with him, Beholde, to the Lorde thy God belongeth the heauen, the earth, and whatsoever things are in it: and hee hath pleased himselfe onely in your Fathers, and hath loued them, and hath chosen you their seede. Againe in an other place sanctification is commaunded them, because they are chosen to bee a peculiar people. And againe in an other place, Loue is affirmed to bee the cause of protection. Which also the faithful doe declare with one voice, saying: He hath chosen for vs our inheritance, the glory of Iacob, whom he hath loued. For they doe all impute to free loue al the gifts wherewith they were garnished of God: not only because they knew that they themselves had obtained them by no deseruings, 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 honour. And, the more strongly to tread down al pride, he vpbraided them y they haue deserued no such thing, forasmuch, as they are a stubborne and heard necked people. And oftentimes the Prophets doe hatefully and as by way of reproche cast the Iewes in the teeth with this election, because they had fowly departed from it. Whatsoeuer it be, now let the come forth which wil bind the electiō of God either to yworthinesse of men, or to the merits of workes. When they see one nation to bee preferred before all other, and when they hear that God was led with no respect to be more fauorable bent to a few and vnnoble, yea and froward and disobedient men: wil they quarell with him, because his will was to shewe such an example of mercy? But they shall neither with their prating voices

hinder his work, not with throwing stones of tauntes into heauen shal hit or hurt his righteousnes, 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, & not we our selues (saith the Prophet) his people & the sheepe of his pastures. The negatiue is not superfluous, which is added to exclude vs, that they may knowe that of all the good things wherwith they excell, God is not onely the author, but fetched the cause thereof from himselfe, because there was nothing in them worthie of so great honor. Also he biddeth them to be contented with the meere good pleasure of God, in these words. The seede of Abraham are his seruantes: the children of Iacob his elect. And after y^e he hath rehearsed the continuall benefits of God as fruires of the election, at length he concludeth, y^e he delt so liberally because he remembered his couenant. With which doctrine agreeth the song of the whole Church, Thy right hande & the light of thy countenance gaue the land to our Fatliers, because thou wast pleased in them. But it is to be noted, that where mention is made of the land, it is a visible signe of the secret seuering wherin the adoption is contained. To the same thankfulnessse Dauid in another place exhorteth 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 Lorde wil not forsake you, for his owne great names sake, because it pleased him to create you for a people to himselfe. Likewise Dauid when his faith is assailed, armeth himselfe to fight, saying, Blessed is hee whome thou hast chosen, he shall dwell in thy courtes. But forasmuch as the election hidden in God was stablished as well by the first deliuerance as by the second, and other meane benefits: in Esay the word of Electing is transferred to this. God shall haue mercie on Iacob, and he shal yet choose out of Israel: because he signifying the time to come, saith that the gathering together of the remnant of the people which he seemed to haue forsaken, shal be a signe of the stable and stedfast election, which once seemed to haue bene fallen away. When also it is said in another place, I haue chosen thee & haue not cast thee away: he setteth out the continuall course of the notable liberalitie of his fatherly good wil. And yet more plainly the Angel saith in Zacharie, God shall yet choose Ierusalem: as though in hardly chasting it, he had reiected it: or as though the exile were an interrupting of the election: which yet remaineth inuolable, 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 kinred of Abraham God refused some, & other som 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 beene 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 exáple God shewed in reiecting Saul: which thing is also gloriously set forth

Gal. 78. 69. in the Psalm, He hath put backe the tribe of Ioseph, & the tribe of Ephraim he hath not chosē, but he hath chosē the tribe of Iuda. Which the holy historie diuerse times repeateth, that the wonderful secret of the grace may the better appeare in this change. Ismael, Esau, and such other, (I graunt) fell from the adoption by their owne fault & giltines: because there was a condition adioyned, y they should faithfully keepe the couenant of God, which they falsely brake. But this was yet a singular benefit of God, that he vouchsafed to preferre them aboue the other Gentiles: as it is said in the Psalme, **Psal. 47. 20.** He hath not so done to other nations, nor hath opened his iudgements to them. But here I haue not without cause saide y there be two degrees to be noted: because now in the choosing of the whole nation God shewed y he is in his owne meere liberalitie bound to no lawes: but he is free, so that egall 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 vnthankfulnesse of Israel, because they beeing not onely chosē out of all mankind, but also seuered out of a holy house to be a peculiar people, doe vnfaithfully and wickedly despise God so beneficiall a Father. Was not Esau the brother of Iacob? (saith he) and yet Iacob I loued, but Esau I hated. For, God taketh it for confessed, that when either of them was borne of a holy Father, and successour of the couenant, finally a branch of the holy roote: nowe the children of Iacob 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 inferiour was made the heire, he proeueh them doublely vnthankfull, and complaineth that they were not holden with that double bond.

Mal. 1. 2.

7 Although it be already sufficiently euident, that God doth by his secret counsell freely choose whome he will, reiecting other, yet his free election is hitherto but halfe shewed, till we come to all particular persons, to whome God not only offereth saluation, but so assigneth it, that the certaintie of the effect thereof is not in suspense 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 steadfast, we must needs ascend to the head, in whome the heauenly 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 do neuer fall away from saluation. Therefore Paul doth fitly reason out of the place of Malachie which I euen now alleaged: that where God with making a couenant of eternall life calleth any people to himselfe, there is in part a speciall manner of election, that he doth not choose all effectually with common grace. Whereas it is saide, I haue loued Iacob, this pertaineth to the whole issue of the Patriarch, which the Prophet there setteth in comparison against y posteritie of Esau. Yet this withstandeth not but y in the perso of one man was set foorth to vs an example of the election, which cannot slippe away, but

must

must come to the marke that it tendeth to. These Paul doth not vainly 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 general election of a people is not alway firme and steadfast, there is a reason offering it selfe in readinesse: because with whome God couenanteth he doth not by and by giue to them the Spirit of regeneration, by the power whereof they may continue in the couenant to the ende: but the outward changing without the inward effectualnesse of grace, which might be of force to holde them in, is a certaine meane thing betweene the forsaking of whole mankind, and the election of a small number of the godly. The whole people of Israell was called the inheritaunce of GOD, of whom yet there were many strangers. But because God had not for nothing made couenant with them that he would be their Father and redeemer, hee rather hath respect to his owne free fauour than to the vnfaithfull falling away of many: by whom also his trueth 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, hee had regarde to his couenaunt, which beeing broken of the whole multitude he restrained to a fewe, that it should not vtterly fall away. Finally the common adoption of the seede of Abraham was a certain visible image of a greater benefitte, which God hath youchsafed to graunt to fewe out of many. This is y^e reasoⁿ why Paul so diligently putteth differēce betweene y^e children of Abraham according to the flesh, and his spiritual children which were called after the example of Isaac. Not that it was a vaine and vnfrutefull thing simply to be y^e childe of Abraham (which might not be sayde without dishonour of the couenaunt) but because the vnchangeable counsell of God, whereby he hath predestinate whome he would, is by it selfe effectually onely to this latter sorte vnto saluation. But I warne the readers that they bring not a foreconceiued iudgement on either side, till it appeare by the places of Scripture brought forth what is to be thought. That therefore which the Scripture cleerely sheweth, we say y^e God by eternall and vnchangeable counsell hath once appointed whome in time to come he would take to saluation, and on the other side whome hee woulde condemne to destruction. This counsell as touching the elect, wee say to bee grounded vpon his free mercie without any respect of the worthinesse of man: but whome hee appointeth to damnation, to them by his iust in deede and irreprehensible, but also incomprehensible iudgement, the entry of life is foreclosed. Now in the elect we set vocation, to be the testimony of Election: and the iustification to be an other 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 fained inuentions, which foolish men haue forged to ouerthrowe predestination. For they neede no confutation, which so soone as they are brought forth, do largely bewray their owne falsenesse. I will tary onely vpon those, which either

are in controuersie among the learned, or which may bring any hardinesse to the simple, or which vngodlines with faire seeming show pretédeth, to scoffe at the righteoufnesse of God.

The xxii. Chapter.

A confirmation of this doctrine by testimonies of the Scripture.

AL these things which we haue set are not without controuersie among many, specially the free election of the faithfull: which yet can not be weakened. For the common sorte doe thinke that GOD, as he foreseeth that euerie mans deseruings shalbe, so maketh difference betweene men: that therefore whome 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 be bent to wickednesse and vngodlinesse, them he appointeth to the damnation of death. So by cloking it with the veile of foreknowledge they doe not onely darken election, but faine that it hath beginning from else where. And this opinion receiued of the common sorte is not the opinion of the common sorte alone: for in all ages it hath had great maintainers. Which I doe plainly confesse, to the entent that no man should trust that it shall much hurte 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 be darkened with the authoritie of men. But some other neither exercised in the Scripture, nor worthy of any voyce, doe raile at this doctrine with greater malituousnesse, than that their frowarde pride ought to be suffered. Because God choosing some after his owne will, leaueth other some, they picke a quarell against him. But if the thing it selfe be known for true, what shall they preuaile with brawling against God? We teach nothing but that which is approued by experience, that it was alway at libertie for GOD to bestow his grace to whome he will. I will not enquire whereby the posteritie of Abraham excelled other, but by that vouchsafing, whereof there is founde no cause elsewhere than in GOD. Lette them aunswere why thy be men rather than oxen or asses. When it was in the hande of God to make them dogges, he fashioned them after his owne image. Will they giue leau to bruit beastes to quarell with God for their estate, as though the difference were vnrighteous? Truly it is no more righteous, y they should enioy the prerogatiue which they haue obtieued by no deseruings, than for God diuersly to deale abroad his benefites according to the measure of his own iudgement. If they skippe 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 hie a mystery. He is conceiued of the seede of Dauid, a mortal mā: by what vertues will they say that he deserued to be in the very wombe made the heade of Angelles, the onely begotten sonne of God, the image and glory of the Father, the light, righteousnesse, and saluation of the worlde? This thing Augustine wisely noted, that in the very heade of the Church is a most cleere mirror of free election, least it should trouble vs in the members: and that he was not by righteously liuing made the sonne

De correpti.
& grat. ad
Valent. c. 15.
De bono
perse, ca. vlt.

of God, but y^e he had so great honour freely giuen him, that he might after-
 ward make other partakers of his giftes. Here if any man aske why other
 were not the same that he was, or why all wee are so farre distant from him,
 why al we be corrupt & he purenes: such a man shal bewray not only his mad-
 nesse, but therewithall also his shamelesnesse. But if they go forward to labor
 to take from God the free power to chose & refuse, let them also take away
 that which is giuen to Christ. Now it is worth the trauaile to consider what
 the Scripture pronounceth of euery one. Paul verily, when he teacheth that
 we were chosen in Christ, taketh away all respect of our owne worthinesse.
 For it is all one as if he had said: because in the whole seede of Adam the
 heauenly father found nothing worthie of his election, he turned his eyes
 vnto his Christ, to choose as it were members out of his body them whome
 he would take into the felowship of life. Let this reason then be of force a-
 mong the faithful, that wee were therefore adopted in Christ into the hea-
 uenly inheritance, because in our selues we were not able to receiue so great
 excellencie. Which also he touched in another place, when he exhorteth y^e
 Colossians to giuing of thanks, for this that they were by God made fit to
 be partakers of the estate of the holy. If election go before this grace of God
 that he made fit to obtaine the glory of the life to come: what shal God
 himselfe now finde in vs wherby 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 world were laid, according to y^e good
 pleasure of his will, that we might be holy, and vnspotted, and vnreprouable
 in his sight: where he setteth the good pleasure of God against all our deser-
 uings whatsoeuer they be.

2 That the prooffe may be more strong, it is woorth the labour to note
 all the partes of that place, which being coupled together do leaue no doubt.
 Where he nameth the elect, it is no dout that he speaketh to the faithfull, as
 he also by and by afterward affirmeth. Wherefore they doe with too foule a
 glose abuse that name, which wrest it to the age wherin the Gospel was first
 published. Where he saith that they were elect before the beginning of the
 world, he taketh away all respect of worthines. For, what reason of differēce
 is there betweene them which yet were not, and those which afterwarde
 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 an-
 other, forasmuch as we see that not all are the members of Christe. That
 which is added, that they were elect that they might be holy, plainly con-
 futeh the error which deriueh election from foreknowledge, foras much
 as Paul cryeth out against it and sayeth that whatsoeuer vertue appeareth
 in men, it is the effect of election. Now if a hier cause be sought, Paul an-
 swereth, 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 do imagine in themselues. For he also teacheth that
 whatsoeuer things God giueh rowarde spirituall life, they flowe out of this
 one fountaine, because G O D hath chosen whome he would, and ere they
 were borne he had seuerally laid vp for them the grace which he vouchsaf-
 ued to giue them.

3 But wheresoeuer this pleasure of God reigneth, there no workes come to be considered. He doth not here in deede pursue the comparison of contraries, but it is to be vnderstanded such as he himselfe declareth. Hee 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 alreadie shewed that all doubt is taken away in this which followeth, that we might be holy and vnspotted. For if thou say, because he foresawe 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 y^e we might be holy: then he chose vs, not because he foresawe y^e we would be such. For these two thinges 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 workes going before, but yet granteth it to workes 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 thinges which are deriued from election gaue cause to election? The same thing which he said he seemeth afterward to confirm 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 hee had any regard in decreeing. Therefore he by and by addeth y^e the whole summe of our election tendeth to this end, y^e we should be to the praise 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 free it shal not be, if God in electing his, do consider what shalbe the works of euey 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 hee not onely excludeth deseruings past, but also signifieth that they had nothing in themselves why they should be chosen, if hee had not preuented them with his mercie. Like as this saying of Paul is also to be vnderstood: Who first gaue to him, & shal receiue recompence? For he meaneth to shewe that y^e goodnesse of God so preuenteth men, that it findeth nothing in them neither past nor to come, whereby he may be wonne to be fauourable to them.

4 Now to the Romanes, where he fetcheth this question further of, & followeth it more largely, he denieth that all they are Israelites, which are issied 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 & deceitful glorying of the Iewish people. For when they claimed to themselves the name of the Church, they would haue the credit of the Gospel to hang vpon their wil: as the Papistes at this day would gladly with this fained colour thrust themselves into the place of God. Paul, although he grant y^e the offspring of Abraham is holy by reason of the couenant, yet affirmeth y^e the most part of them are strangers in it: & y^e not only because they swarue out of kind, so that of lawfull childre they

they become bastardes, but because the especial election of God standeth about & reigneth in the hiest top, which alone maketh the adoption therof sure. If their owne godlinesse stablished some in the hope of saluation, and their owne falling away alone disherited other some: Paul verily shoulde both fondly and vnconueniently lift vp the readers euen to the secrete election. Now if the will of God (the cause whereof neither appeareth nor is to be sought without himselfe) maketh the one sort differing from the other, so y^e not all the children of Israel be true Israelites, it is vainly fained y^e every mans estate hath beginning in himselfe. Then he further followeth the matter vnder the example of Iacob & Esau. For when they both were the sonnes of Abraham, both togither enclosed in one mothers wombe, it was a monsterlike change that the honor of first birth was removed to Iacob, by which change Paul affirmeth that there was testified the election of y^e one, and the reprobation of the other. The originall & cause of it is enquired, which the teachers of foreknowledge will haue to be set out in the vertues, & vices of men. For this is an easie short way with them, that God shewed in the person of Iacob, that he chooseth the worthie of his grace: and in the person of Esau, he refuseth them whom he foreseeeth to be vnworthie. Thus they say boldly. But what saith Paul? when they were not yet borne, & 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 vnfitly made of the time. Let vs graunt that Iacob was chosen, because he had worthines gotten by workes to come: to what purpose shoulde Paul say that he was not yet borne? And this now should be vnadvisedly added, that he had yet done no good: because this shalbe a readie answer, that nothing is hidden from God, & 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 been growen 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: & then he directly setteth them against the calling of God, meaning by stablishing of y^e one expressly to ouerthrowe the other: as if he had said that it is to be considered what hath pleased God, not what men haue brought of themselves. Last of all it is certaine that by the words of Election & Purpose, all causes whatsoever men are wont to faine elsewhere than in the secret counsell of God, are quite removed from this matter.

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 vterly 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 suttletie, if it had had any soundnes in it: but because he very wel knew y^e God can foresee no goodnes in man, but y^e which he hath first determined by the benefit of his election to

Rom. 9, 11.

giue him: he fleeth not to that vnorderly order, to set good workes before the cause of themselues. Thus haue we by the wordes of the Apostle that y^e saluation of the faithfull is founded vpon the will of the onely election of God: and that the same fauour is not gotten by works, but commeth of free calling. We haue also as it were an image of that thing set before vs. Esau & Iacob are brethren, issuing both of the same parents, enclosed yet both in one wombe, not yet brought out into the worlde: In them all things are egall, yet of them the iudgement of God is diuerse. For he taketh the one & forsaketh the other. There was nothing but the onely first birth, by right whereof the one excelled the other. But this also being passed ouer, y^e thing is giuen to the yonger which is denied to 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 honored Ephraim.

6 If any man interrupt me with saying that wee must not by these inferior & smal benefits determine of the summe of the life to come, that hee which hath bin aduanced to the honor of first birth, should therefore be reckoned to be adopted into the inheritance of heauen: (for there bee some which spare not Paul himself, as though in aleaging these testimonies he had wrested the scripture to a strange sense.) I answer as I haue don herebefore, y^e the Apostle neither slipped by vnaduisednes, nor wilfully abused the testimonies of the Scripture. But he saw (which they cannot abide to consider) y^e God minded by an earthly signe to declare the spiritual election of Iacob, which otherwise was hidden in his inaccessible throne. For vlesse we refer the first birth graunted to him vnto the world to come, it should be a vaine & fond forme of blessing whereby he obtained nothing but manifold miseries, discomforts, griefefull banishment, and many bitternesse of sorrow and cares. Therefore when Paul saw without douting, 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 spiritual blessing, to fetch an argument from that outward blessing. This also we must remember that to the land of Canaan was adioyned the pledge of the heauenly dwelling: so that it ought not at all to be doubted that Iacob was grafted with the Angels into the body of Christ, that he might bee partaker of the same life. Iacob therefore is chosen, when Esau is reiected: and by the predestination of God is made different from him from whome hee 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 whome I will haue mercie: and I will vouchsafe to graunt mercy, to whom soeuer I will vouchsafe to graunt mercy. And what, I beseech you, meaneth this? Verily, the Lorde himselfe most plainly pronounceth y^e men haue in themselues no cause why he should do good to them, but he fetcheth the cause from his owne mercie only: & therefore y^e the saluation of his is his owne worke. When God setteth thy saluation in himselfe alone, why wilt thou descende to thy selfe? When he appointeth to thee his mercie alone, why wilt thou runne to thine owne deseruings? When he holdeth thy thought wholly in his mercifulnes alone, why wilt thou turne part to the beholding of thine owne workes? Therefore

Rom. 9.15.

we must needs come to that lesser people, which Paul in an other place said Rom. 11. 3. to haue bene foreknowen to God: not in such sort as these men imagine, to foreknowe out of an idle watchtoure the thinges that he worketh not: but in such sense as it is oft reade. For truly when Peter saith in Luke, y^e Christ was by the determined counsel & foreknowledge of God appointed to death: he doth not bring God as a looker on but the authour of our saluation. So the same Peter also, where he sayth that the faithful to whom he wrote were chosen according to the foreknowledge of G O D, properly expreffeth that secret Predestination whereby God hath marked for his children whom he would. And y^e word Purpose, which he ioyneth for a diuers word, expreffing all one thing, forasmuch as it doth euery where signifie a stedfast determination as they commonly call it, vndoubtedly teacheth that G O D when he is author of our saluation goeth not out of himselfe. In which sense he sayth in the same Chapter that Christ was the lambe foreknowen before the creation of the worlde. For what is more sonde or trifling, than to say that God from on hie did stande looking whence saluation should come to mankind? Therefor in Paul the foreknowen people is as much as a small portion mingled with the multitude which falsly pretendeth y^e name of God. In an other place also Paul to beate down their boasting which being but couered with a visor, do take vpon themselues the chiefe preeminence among the godly before the word, sayth that God knoweth who be his. Finally by that saying Paul pointeth vnto vs two sortes of people: the one, of the whole kinred of Abraham: the other, seuerally chosen out of it, and which being laid vp vnder the eyes of God, is hidden from the sight of men. And it is no doubt that he rooke this out of Moses, which affirmeth y^e God will be mercifull to whom he wil (although he there spake of the elect people, whose estate in outward seeming was equal) as if he should haue sayd, y^e in the common adoption is included with him a speciall grace toward som, as it were a more holy treasure: and that the common counaunt 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 preuenteth or partly getteth to himselfe the fauour whereof God claimeth to himselfe the praise.

7 Now let the souereigne Iudge & maister pronounce of the whol matter. When he saw so great hardnes in his hearers, that he did in a maner wast his wordes without fruite 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 loose any thing of it. Note that the beginning is taken at the Fathers gifte, that we may be deliuered into the faithfull keeping and defence of Christe. Iohn. 6. 37. Here some man peradventure will turne a circle about, and will take exception, saying that they onely are accounted in the proper possession of the Father, whose yeelding hath bene voluntarie by faith. But Christ standeth onely vpon that pointe, that although the fallinges away of great multitudes doe shake the whole worlde, yet the counsell of G O D shall be stedfaste and

stande faster than the heauen's themselues, that his election may neuer faile. They are said to haue beene the elect of the Father, before that hee gaue to them his onely 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 cleareness in the words of Christ, thā can by shifting be couered with any darkeness. No man (sayth he) can come to mee, vnlesse my Father drawe him. But who so hath heard and learned of my Father, he commeth to mee. If all generally without difference should bow their knee before Christ, then the election were common: but nowe 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 possessiō of God the Father, within a litle after he added, I pray not for the world, but for those whō 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 eternal 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 (sayth 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 when he commendeth his disciples to his Father. This is to be holden, that when he affirmeth y he knoweth whom he hath chose, there is signified some speciall sorte in the generall kinde of men: then, y the same speciall sort is made to differ not by the qualitie of their own vertues, but by the heauenly decree. Whereupon followeth that many excel by their owne force or diligence, when Christ maketh himselfe the author of election. For when in an other place he reckoneth Iudas among the elect, whereas he was a deuill, this is referred onely to the office of Apostleshippe which although it be a cleere mirror of the fauour of God (as Paul so oftentimes acknowledgeth in his owne person,) yet it containeth not in it selfe the hope of eternall saluation. Iudas therefore, when he did vnfaithfully beare the office of an Apostle, might bee worse than the deuill: but of those whom Christ hath once grafted into his body, he will suffer none to perish: because in preseruing their saluation he will performe that which he hath promised, that is, he will stretch forth y power of God which is greater than all. For whereas he sayth in an other place, Father, of those whom thou hast giuen me, I haue lost none but the sonne of perdition: although it be an abusue speeche by figure, yet it hath no doubtfull meaning. The summe is that God maketh them his children by free adoption whom he wil haue to be his children: and that the inward cause thereof is in himselfe: because he is content with his owne secret good pleasure.

3 But Ambrose, Origene, and Hierome thought that G O D 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, hee not onely reuoked it as evidently false,

Iohn. 6. 44.

Iohn. 17.

Ioh. 13. 18.
Ioh. 15. 19.

Ioh. 10. 28.

Retrac. li. 1.
cap. 2.

false,

false, but also strongly confuted it: yea and after his reuoking of it, in repro- Epi. ad Sixt.
 uing the Pelagians for that they continued in the same errour, saith: Who 106.
 cannot maruell that the Apostle knewe not this most suttle sense? For when
 he had set out a thing to be wondred at of these brethren, while they were
 not yet borne, and afterwarde objected a question against himselfe, saying:
 what then? Is there vniustice with God? Here was fit place for him to aun-
 swere, that God foresawe the merites of them both: yet he saith not this, but
 flyeth to the iudgements and mercie of God. And in another place, when
 he had taken away all merites before election, Here (saith hee) is confuted
 their vaine reasoning which defendy foreknowledge of God against y grace
 of God, and therefore say that we are chosen before the making of y worlde
 because God foreknewe that wee would be good, not that he himselfe wold
 make vs good. He saith not this, which saith, Ye haue not chosen mee, But I
 haue chosen you. For if he had therefore chosen vs, because he foreknewe y
 we would be good: he shoulde therewithall also haue foreknownen that we
 would choose him: and so forth as followeth to that effect. Let the testi-
 monie of Augustine be of force among them that willingly rest in the autho-
 rity of the Fathers. How be it Augustine suffreth not himselfe to bee seuered
 from the rest: but by clere testimonies sheweth that this disagreement is false
 with the malice whereof the Pelagians burdened him. For in the xix. chap-
 ter of his booke of the predestination of Saints, he allegeth out of Ambrose,
 Christ calleth whome he hath mercy on. Againe, If he had willed, of the vn-
 deuout he might haue made deuout. But god calleth whom he vouchsaueth,
 & whome he will he maketh religious. If I listed to knit together a whole vo-
 lume out of Augustine, I could readily shewe to the readers that I neede no
 other words but his: But I will not load them with tediousnesse. 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 vouchsaued to graunt his grace but to some: Of which question Paul
 might haue vncombred himself with one word if he had alleadged y respect
 of workes. Why therfore doth he it not, but rather continueth on a discourse
 which abideth in the same hardenesse? Why, but because he ought not? For
 the Holy ghost which spake by his mouth, had not the disease of forgetful-
 nes. Therefore without any circumstances he answereth, y God therefore fa-
 uoureth, his elect, because he will: therefore hath mercie, because he wil. For
 this Oracle of God, I will haue mercie vpon whome I will haue mercie, and I
 will shew mercie to whom I will shew mercie, is as much in effect as if it had
 ben said, y God is moued to mercy by no other reaso but because he wil haue
 mercie. Therefore this saying of Augustine remaineth true, that the grace of
 God doth not find men fit to be chosen, but maketh them.

9 Neither do we any thing passe vpon the suttletie of Thomas, that the
 foreknowing of deseruings, is not indeed the cause of Predestination on the
 behalfe of the acte of him that doeth predestinate, but on our behalfe it
 may after a certayne manner bee so called, that is, according to the parti-
 cular weying of Predestination: as when it is saide that God predestina-
 teth glorie to man by deseruings, because hee hath decreed to giue to him
 grace by which hee may deserue glorie. For sith the Lorde will in election
 haue

Homil. in
Ioh. 8.

Ioh. 15. 16.

De prædest.
sancto. c. 19.

Exod. 33. 15

In 1 Deut.
Tract. 25.
quæst. 23.

haue vs to looke vnto nothing but his meere goodnesse, if any man shall couet here to see any more, it shalbee a wrongfull greedines. If wee lusted to striue in suttletie, wee want not wherewith to beate backe this silly suttletie of Thomas. Hee affirmeth that to the electe glorie is after a certain maner predestinate by deseruings, because the Lord doth after a certain e manner predestinate to them the grace, by which they may deserue glorie. What if I aunswere on the contrarie side and say that predestination vnto grace, serueth election vnto life, and is as it were a waiting maid after it? that grace is predestinate to them, to whome the possession of glorie hath beene long agoe appointed: because it pleaseth the Lorde to bring his children from election into iustification? For therevpon it shall followe that the predestination of glorie was rather the cause of the Predestination of grace, the contrariwise. But away with these striuings as thinges superfluous for such as shal think that there is wisdom enough for them in the word of God. For this was in olde time truely written of an Ecclesiastical writer, that they which asigne the election of God to merites are more wise than they ought to be.

10 Some doe obiect that God shoulde bee contrarie to himselfe if hee shoulde vniuersally call all men to him, and receiue but a fewe 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 the trueth, as to debarre crabbed questions, and to bridle the curiositie of many. Their will is prayse worthie, but their counsell is not to be allowed: because dallying by shuftes is neuer excusable. But their obiecting of it which do more railingly inuete against it, is verily too fonde a cauillation, or too shameful an error. How the Scripture maketh these two to agree together, that by outwarde preaching all men are called to Repentance & faith, and yet not to all men is giuen the Spirite of Repentance and faith, I haue in an other place already declared, and by and by somewhat of it must be repeated againe. Nowe that which they require I denie to them, sith it is two wayes false. For, he that threatneth that while it raineth vpon one citie, there shall be drought vpon an other: Hee that pronounceth that there shall in an other place be famine of doctrine, bindeth not himselfe with a certaine lawe to call all men egally. And he which forbidding 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 whomsoever it shall please him. Yet more plainly he sheweth by Esay, howe he peculiarly directeth to the elect the promises of saluation: for he sayth of them onely, and not of all mankind indifferently, that they shalbe 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 bee seuerally layde vp onely for the children of the Church. Let this suffice at this present, that although the voyce of the Gospell speake generally to all, yet the gifte of faith is rare. Esay assigneth the cause, for that the arme of the Lord is not open to all men. If he had saide that the Gospell is maliciously and frowardly despised, because many doe stubbornly refuse to heare: peradventure this colour touching vniuersall calling should preuaile. Neither

Ambro. de
vocat. gent.
lib. 1. cap. 1.

Amos 4. 7.
and 8. 11.
A. 2. 16. 6.

Esa. 8. 16.

Esa. 53. 1.

is it the purpose of the Prophet to diminish the fault of men, when he teacheth that the fountaine of blindness is, that God vouchsafeth not to open his arme to them: onely he giueth warning, that because faith is a singular gift, the eares are beaten in vaine with outward doctrine. But I would faine know of these doctoures, whether onely preaching, or faith, make the children of God. Certainly when it is sayd in the first chapter of Iohn, Whosoever beleeue in the only begotten Sonne of God, are themselues also made the children of God, there is not in that place a confused heap iumbled vp together: but a speciall order is giuen to the faithfull, which are borne not of bloude, nor of the will of the fleshe, nor of the will of man, but of God. But (saye they) there is a mutuall consent of faith with the worde. Namely wherefoever is faith. But it is no new thing that seele fall among thornes or in stony places: not onely because the greater part appeareth in deede obstinate against God, but also because not all men haue eyes and eares. How then shal it agree that God calleth to him them who he knoweth will not come? Lette Augustine answer for me. Wilt thou dispute with me? Maruaile with me, & cry out, O depth. Let vs both agree in feare, lest we perish in error. Moreover if election (as Paul witnesseth) bee the mother of faith, I turne backe the argument vpon their owne heade, that faith is therefore not generall, because election is speciall. For by y orderly hanging together of causes and effectes, it is easily gathered that where Paul sayth, 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 toal, because God hath chosen only whom he would. This is the reason why in an other place he comendeth the faith of the elect, least it should be thought that any man doth by his owne motion get faith to himselfe: but that this glorie may remayne with GOD, that they are freely enlightened of him, whome he had chosen before. For Bernarde sayth rightly, Friends doe seuerally heare, to whom he also saith, Feare not thou small flocke: for to you it is giuen to know the mysterie of the kingdom of heauen. Who be these? euen they whom he hath foreknown and predestinate to be fashioned like to the image of his Sonne. A great & secret counsel is made known. 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 mystery, but those selfe same men whom he hath foreknown and predestinate to be his. A litle after he concludeth. The mercy of God is from eternitie euen to eternitie vpon them y feare him: from eternitie, by reason of predestinatio: to eternitie, by reason of blessed making: the one without beginning, the other without ending. But what neede I to cite Bernarde for witness, when we heare of the masters owne mouth, that none do see but they which are of God? By which wordes he signifieth, that all they which are not begotten againe of God, doe dasell at the brightnesse of his countenance. And to election faith in deede is fittly ioyned, so that it keepe the seconde degree. Which order the wordes of Christ do cleerely expresse in an other place, This is the will of my Father, that I lose not y which he hath giuen. For this is his wil, that whosoever beleeueth 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 grasse them all into his body with the

Iohn. 1. 12.

De verb. Apost. ser. 18

Eph. 1. 3.

Tit. 1. 1.

Ad Tho. prepos. Beruel. Epi. 1007.

Iohn. 6. 46.

holy

Ioh. 10. 4.

holy bond of faith . Nowe it is certaine that faith is a singular pledge of his fatherly loue, laide vp for his children whome he hath adopted . Therefore Christ in an other place sayth that the sheepe followe the shepheard, because they knowe his voyce : but they followe not a stranger , because they knowe not the voyce 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 daunger , because it is kepte by the inuincible power of God . Wherefore he concludeth that the vnbeleéues are not of his sheepe : namely because they are not of the number of them, whom God hath promised by Esaie that they shall be his disciples . Nowe because in the testimonies which I haue alleaged is expressed perseuerance, they doe therewithall testifie the vn moucable stedfastnesse of election.

Rom. 9. 13.

IT Nowe let vs speake of the reprobate, whom the Apostle ioyneth there together . For as Iacob, hauing yet with good wordes deserued nothing, is taken into grace : so Esau, beeing yet defiled with no wicked doing, is hated . If we turne our eyes to workes, we doe wrong to the Apostle, as though he sawe not the same thing which we cleerely see . It is prooued that hee sawe it not, forasmuch as he expressly enforceth this pointe , that when they had not yet done any good or euill, the one was chosen , and the other refused, to prooue that the foundation of the predestination of G O D is not in workes . Againe when he moued the obiection, whether God be vnrighteous, he allegeth not that which had bene the most certaine and plaine defence of his righteousness, namely that God reduced to Esau according to his euilnesse : but he was content with an other solution, that the reprobate are stirred vp to this ende, that the glory of God may be set forth by them. Last of all he adioyneth a concluding sentence, that God hath mercie vpon whome he will, and hardeneth whom he wil . See you not howe he impureth both to the onely will of God ? Therefore if we can not declare a reason why he vouchsafeth to graunt 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 sayd that God hardeneth, or sheweth mercie to whome he will, men are thereby warned to seeke no cause else where than in his will.

The xxiii. Chapter.

*A Confutation of the scandlers wherewith this doctrine hath alway
beeue wrongfully burdened.*

BVt when the witte of man heareth these things, the frowardnesse thereof can not be restrained, but that by and by as at the bloody blast of a trumpet, sounding to battaile, it diuersly and excessiueyly turmoyleth . And many in deede, as though they would driue away the malice from G O D, doe so graunt election, that they denie that any man is reprobate : but they do too ignorantly and childishly : forasmuch as election it selfe could not stande vnlesse it were set contrary to reprobation : God is sayd to seuer them whom he
adopteth

adopteth vnto saluation: it shoulde be more than foolishly said that other do either by chaunce or by their owne endeouour obtaine that which onely election giueth to a fewe. Therefore whome 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 worde of God, where the incomprehensible counsell of God is intreated of, which the Angels themselues doe worshippe. But we haue already heard, y^e hardening is no lesse in the hand & wil of God than mercie. Neither doth Paul (as these men do y^e I haue spoken of) busily labor to excuse God with a lying defence: but onely he teacheth that it is not lawfull for the thing formed to quarell with him that formed it. Now who so doe not admit that any are reiected of God, how wil they vncomber themselues from that sayng of Christ **E**uery tree which my father hath not planted, shalbe plucked vp by the root? They playnely heare that all they are adiudged and auowed to destruction, whome the heauenly Father hath not vouchsaued to plant as holy trees in his ground. If they denie this to be a signe of reprobation, then is there nothing so cleare y^e it may be proued to them. But if they cease not to wrangle, let the sobrietie of faith be contented with this admonition of Paul, that there is no cause to quarell with God, if he willing on the one side to shew his wrath and to make his power knowen doe with dumme sufferance, and lenitie beare wth the vessels of wrath prepared to destruction: and on y^e other side he make knowen the riches of his glorie toward the vessels of mercie which he hath prepared to glorie. Let y^e Readers marke, how Paul to cut off occasion from whisperinges and backbitings, giueth the cheefe rule to the wrath and power of God: because it is vniust that those deepe iudgements which swallowe vp all our senses, should be made subiect to our determination: Our aduersaries aunswere is verie trifling, that God doth not vtterly reiect them whome he suffereth in lenitie, but abideth with a minde hanging in suspence toward them, if peradventure they may repent. As though Paul giueth to God a patience, to looke for their turning, whome he saith to be made to destruction. For, Augustine saith rightly where hee 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 by this meane he ascribeth & chalengeth y^e praise of saluation to God, but the blame of destruction hee casteth vpon them which by their owne will doe bring it vpon themselues. But although I graunt to them that Paul by the diuerse manner of speaking did soften the roughnesse of the firste parte of the sentence, yet is it not meete to assigne the preparing vnto destruction to any other thing than to the secreete 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 whome hee will. Where vpon followeth that the hidden counsell of God is the cause of hardning. This at the least I get which Augustine sayth, that when GOD of wolues maketh sheepe, hee doth with a mightier grace reforme them, that their hardnes may be tamed: and therefore God for this cause doth not conuert

Rom. 9. 20.

Mat. 15. 13.

Rom. 9. 21.

Lib. 5. contra Iul. cap. 5.

Li. 1. de prae-destin. sancto. cap. 20.

the obstinate, because he doth not shew foorth 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, & them which remember themselves to be men. But forasmuch as these venomous dogges doe cast vp not onely one sorte of venime against God, we will as the matter shall serue, aunswere to euerie one particularly. Foolishe men doe diuerse wayes quarrell with God, as though they had him subiecte to their accusations. First therefore they aske, by what right the Lord is angry with his creatures, of whome he hath not ben 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 will, without their owne deseruing, they be predestinate to eternal death. If such thoughts doe at any time come into the minde of the godly, to breake their violent assaults they shalbe sufficiently armed with this although they had no more, if they consider howe 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, & worthily so ought to be. For if it haue any cause, then somewhat must goe before it, whereto it must bee as it were bound: which it is vnlawfull once to imagine. For, the will of God is so the highest rule of righteousnesse, that whatsoever he willeth, euen for this that he willeth it, it ought to be také for righteous. When therefore it is asked, why the Lord did it: it is to be aunswered, because he willed it. But if thou goe further in asking why he willed it, thou askest some greater and hier thing than the will of God: which can not be found. Let therefore the rashnesse of man restrain it selfe, and not seeke y^e which is not, least peraduenture it may not finde that which is. With this bridle (I say) he shall be well withholden whosoeuer hee be that wil dispute of the secretes of God with reuerence. As for the boldnesse of the wicked, which dread not openly to speake euill of God: against it the Lorde with his own righteousnesse, without any our defense shal sufficiently defende himselfe, when he shall take all shifting from their consciences, and holde them fast conuincéd, and condemne them. Neither doe we yet thrust in the fained deuise of absolute power, which as it is prophane, so worthily ought to be abhorred of vs. We faine not God lawlesse, who is a lawe to himselfe: because (as Plato sayth) 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 hiest rule of perfection, yea and the lawe of all lawes. But wee denie that he is subiect to yelde accompt. Wee denie also that we are meete iudges, which woulde pronounce of this cause after our owne sense. Wherefore if we attempt further than we lawfully may, let that threatening of the Psalm bring vs in feare, that God shall ouercome 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 worde 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 nor, coulde not yet deserue the iudgement of death:

wcc

This is také
out of Au-
gustin. lib. 1
de Genti.
contr. Mani.
cap. 3.

Psal. 51. 6.

we in steede of aunswere may againe on our side aske of them, what they thinke that God oweth to man, if he will iudge him by his owne nature. In such sort as we be all corrupted with sinne, we cannot but be hatefull to god: and that not by tyrannous crueltie, but by most vpright reason of iustice. If all they whome the Lorde doeth 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 complaine? Let al the sonnes of Adam come: Let them striue and dispute with their creator, for that by his eternall prouidence they were before their generation condemned to euerlasting miserie. What shall they bee able onçe to mutter against this defence, when God on the other side shall call them to reknowledging of themselves? If they be all taken out of a corrupt masse, it is no marueile 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 doe feele whether they will or no, that they are willingly led of their owne nature. Whereby appeareth how wrongfull is the desire of their murmuring, because they do of set purpose hide the cause of damnation which they are compelled to acknowledge in themselves, y^e the laying of the blame vpon God may acquite thē. But though I do a hundred times confesse, as it is most true y^e God is the author of it, yet they do not by and by wipe away y^e guiltines which being engrauen in their consciences from time with oft recourse, presenteth it selfe to their eyes.

4. Againe they except & say: were they not before predestinate by the ordinance of God to the same corruption which is nowe 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 drewe his posteritie headlong with him. Is not he therefore vniust, which doth so cruelly mocke his creatures? I grant in deed that all the children of Adam fell by the will of God into that miserie of state wherein they be nowe bounde: 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 answere them in *Rom. 9. 10.* this manner, O man, what art thou that contendest with God? doeth the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou formed mee so? Hath not the potter power to make of the same lump one vessel to honor, and another to dishonor? They will say that the righteousness of God is so not truely defended, but that wee seeke a shift, such as they are wont to haue that want a iust excuse. For what else seemeth here to be saide, than y^e God hath a power which cannot be hindered from doing any thing whatsoever it be as he will himselfe? But it is farre otherwise. For, what stronger reason can be brought than when wee are commaunded to thinke what a one God is? For howe should he commit any vniustice, which is iudge of the world? If it properly pertaine to the nature of God to doe iudgement, than hee naturally loueth righteousness, and abhorreth vnrighteousnesse. Wherefore the Apostle did not, as though he were ouertaken, looke about for holes to hide him: but shewed that the reason of the righteousness of God is hier

than that it either is to be measured by the measure of man, or may be comprehended by the slender capacitie of the wit of man. The Apostle in deed confesseth that there is such depth in the judgements of God, wherewith y^e mindes of men should be swallowed, if they endeououred to pearce into it.

Pro. 26. 10.

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, wee may be bolde to disallow them. It is a knowen saying of Salomon (which yet fewe do rightly vnderstand) The great creator of all rendreth rewarde to y^e foole, and rewarde to transgressors. For he cryeth out concerning the greatnes of God: in whose will it is to punish fooles and transgressors, although hee doe not vouchsaue to let them haue his Spirite. And monstrous is the madnesse of men, when they so couet to make that which is vnmeasurable, subiect to y^e small measure of their reason. The Angels which stode stil in their vprightnesse, Paul calleth elect. If their stedfastnes 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.

1. Tim. 5. 22.

5 Go to: let there now be present some Manichee, or Celestine, a slanderer of the prouidence of God: I say with Paul that there ought no reason to be rendred thereof: because with the greatnesse of it, it farre surmounteth our vnderstanding. What maruile? or what absurditie is it? Would he haue the power of God so limited, that it may be able to worke no more, than his minde is able to conceiue? I say with Augustine, that they are created of the Lord, whome he without douring foreknewe that they shoulde go into destruction: and that it was so done because he so willed: but why he willed, it is not our part to aske a reason of it, who cannot comprehend it: neither is it meete that the will of God should come downe into controuersie among vs, of which so oft as mention is made, vnder the name of it is named the hiest rule of righteousnesse. Why therfore is any question moued of vnrighteousnesse where righteousnesse clearly appeareth? Neither let vs be ashamed, after the example of Paul, so to stoppe the mouthes of the wicked, and from time to time so oft as they shalbee bolde 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 doeth not temper the greatnesse of his workes to your dulnesse? As though they were therefore wrongfull, because they are hidden from flesh. The vnmeasurablenesse of the iudgements of God is by cleare experiences knowen vnto you. Ye knowe that they are called the deepe bottomlesse depth. Nowe aske of the narrow capacities of your wit, 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 shalbe to your destruction? Why are ye not at the least restrained wth some feare of that which both the historie of Iob and the bookes of the prophets do report of the incomprehensible wisdom, and terrible power of God. If thy minde be vnquieted, let it not grieue thee to embrace the counsell of Augustine. Thou being a man lookest for an aunswere at my

Aug. de ver.
apoc. ferm. 20

hande: and I also am a man. Therefore let vs both heare him that sayeth:

O man,

O man, what art thou? Better is a faithfull ignorance than rash knowledge. Seeke merites: thou shalt finde nothing but paine. O depth! Peter denieth: the Theefe beleueeth. O depth! Seekest thou a reason? I will tremble at the depth. Reason thou, I will wonder. dispute thou, I will beleuee: I see depth, but I reache not the bottome. Paul rested, because he found wondering. He calleth the iudgements of God vnsearchable: and art thou come to search them? He saith that his wayes are impossible to be traced out: and doest thou trace them? with proceeding further wee shall nothing profite: For neither wee shall satisfie their way wanton curiousnesse, neither doeth y^e Lord neede any other defence, than which he hath vsed by his Spirit, which spake by the mouth of Paul: and wee forget to speake well, when wee cesse to speake with God.

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 bee justified without dishonor of the iudge. Thus therefore prophane tounge doe 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 wrastle with his decrees? But so should they do it in vaine, sith they cannot doe it at all. Therefore they are not rightfully punished for those things, whereof the chiefe cause is in Gods predestination. Here I will abstaine from that defence, wherunto the Ecclesiasticall writers do commonly flee, namely that the foreknowledge of God withstandeth not but that man may be accounted the sinner: because God foreseeeth the euils of man, not his own. For so the cauillation would not stay here, but will rather presse vs further with saying that God might if hee had woulde, haue prouided remedie for those euils 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 himself in earth: and if by the prouidence of God, man was created to this condition, that he should do al those things that he doeth then he is not to be blamed for that which he cannot auoide, and which hee enterprised by the will of God. Therefore let vs see howe this knot ought to bee 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 despising of all things is in the hand of God, when in his power remaineth the rule of safetie and death: hee so ordereth them by his counsell and becke, that among men there are borne some adjudged cuen from their mothers wombe to death, which with their destruction may glorifie his name. If any man answer, that there is no necessitie layde vpon them by the prouidence of God, but rather that hee created them in such estate, because he foresaw their peruersnesse to come: he neither saith nothing at all, nor altogether. The old writers are wont in deede somtimes to vse this solution: but as it were doutingly. But the scholmen rest vpon it, as though nothing could be objected against it. In deede I will willingly graunt, that foreknowledge alone bringeth no necessitie to creatures, although al men do not so agree: for there be some that will haue it also to be the cause of things. But it seemeth to mee that Valla, a man

Pro. 16. 4.

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 doings of Gods wil 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 thinges doe happen rather by ordinance and commandement.

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, whome the Scripture reporteth to do whatsoeuer he will, created the noblest of al his creatures to an vncertaine end. They say he had freewill, y^e he might shape to himselfe his own fortune: and that God decreed nothing, but to handle him according to his deseruing. If so colde a deuise bee receiued, where shalbe that almightinesse of God, whereby he gouerneth all things according to his secrete counsell, which hangeth vpon none other thing than it selfe? But predestination, whether they will or no, sheweth him selfe in Adams posteritie. For it came not to passe naturally that all men should lose saluation by the fault of one parent. What hindereth them to confesse of one man, that which against their willes they confesse of al mankind? For why should they lose their labour with dallying shifts? The Scripture crieth out that all men were in the person of one man made bonde to eternall death. Sith this cannot be imputed to nature, it is plaine that it proceeded from the wonderous counsell of God. But it is too much absurditie that these good Patrones of the righteousnes of GOD doe so stumble at a strawe, and leape ouer great beames. Againe I aske: how came it to passe, y^e the fall of Adam did wrap vp in eternall death so many nations with their children being infants without remedie, but because it so pleased God? Here their tongues which are otherwise so pratling, must of necessitie be dumme. It is a terrible decree, I graunt: yet no man shalbe able to denie, but y^e God foreknewe what end man should haue, ere he created him, and therefore foreknewe it because he had so ordeined by his decree. If any man here inuey against the foreknowledge of God, he rashly & vndiscretely stumbleth. For, what matter is there, I beseech you, why the heauenly 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 shalbe: so it belongeth to his power, to rule and gouerne all things with his hande. And this question Augustine verie well discusseth, as he doth other, saying: Wee most holsomly confesse that which we most rightly belecue, that the God and Lorde of all thinges, which created all things very good, & foreknewe that euil things shoulde spring out of good, and knewe that it more pertained to his almightie good.

goodnesse euen of euil things do well, than not to suffer them to be euil: that he so ordered the life of Angels and men, that in it he might first shewe what free will could doe, and then what the benefit of his grace and iudgement of iustice could do.

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 permitteth it, but because he so willerh: Howbeit it is not likely that man by himselfe, by the only 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 dout to confesse simply with Augustine, that the will of God is a necessitie of things, and that what hee willeth, it must of necessitie come to passe: as those things shall truely come to passe which he hath foreseene. Nowe if for excuse of themselves and of the vngodly, either the Pelagians, or Manichees, or Anabaptistes, or Epicurians (for with these foure 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 righteousnes of GOD, which is hidden in deede, but yet without fault: For asmuch as it is certaine that they were not vnworthie to be predestinate to that estate, it is also as certaine that the destruction is most righteous which they enter into by predestination. Morcouer 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 vnknown to vs: yet it is certaine that he so iudged for no other reason but because he sawe that thereby the glorie of his name shoulde be worthily set forth. When thou hearest mention of the glorie of God, there thinke of his righteousnes: For it must be righteous that deserueth praise. Man therefore falleth, the prouidence of God so ordeining it: but he falleth by his owne fault. The Lorde had a little before pronounced, that all the things which he had made were very good. Whence therefore commeth that peruersnesse to man, to fall away from his God? Least it should be thought to be of creation, the Lorde with his commendation allowed that which came from himselfe. Therefore by his owne euilnesse he corrupted the nature which he had receiued pure of the Lorde, and by his fall he drew his whole posteritie with him into destruction. Wherefore let vs rather beholde an euident cause of damnation in the corrupted nature of 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 farre to submit our wit to y vnmeasurable wisdom of God, that it may yeelde in many secretes of his. For, of those things which it is neither graunted nor lawfull to knowe, the ignorance is well learned: the coueting of knowledge, is a kinde of madnesse.

9 Some man perhaps will say, that I haue not yet brought enough to subdne that wicked excuse. But I verily confesse that it can neuer be brought to passe, but that yngodlinesse will alway grudge and murmure against it:

De Gen. ad
lite. lib. 6.
cap. 15.

Gen. 1. 31.

yet I thinke that I haue spoken so much as might suffice to take away not on-ly all reason but also all colour of gainesaying. The reprobate would be thought excusable in sinning, because they cannot escape the necessitie of sinning: specially sith such necessitie is cast vpon them by the ordinance of God. But we denie that they are thereby well excused, because the ordinance of God, by which they complaine that they are destinate to destruction, hath his righteousness, vnknown in deede to vs, but yet most certaine. Whereupon we conclude, that they beare no euil which is not laide vpon them by the most righteous iudgement of God. Then, we teach that they do ouerthwartly, which to seeke out the beginning of their damnation, doe bend their eyes to the secret closets to the counsel of God, and winke at the corruptiō of nature, from whence their damnation springeth. And this withstandeth that they cannot impute it to God, for that hee witnesseth of his owne creation. For although man is creat by the eternall prouidence of god to that calamitie, whereunto he is subiect: yet the matter thereof he tooke of himselfe, not of God: forasmuch 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 & vnpure peruersnesse.

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 vniuersall destruction, whō he maketh heires of his kingdome, thereby they gather that there is within 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 deseruings. First, the Scripture in another sense denieth, that God is an acceptor of persons, than as they iudge it. For by the name of Person, it signifieth not a man, but those things which being seene with eyes in man are wont to procure either fauour, grace, and dignitie, or hatred, contempt, and shame: as, richesse, 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 & Paul do teach that the Lord is not an acceptor of persons, because he putteth not difference between the Iew and the Grecian, to refuse the one and embrace the other for only respect of nation. So James vseth the same wordes when he mindeth to affirme, that God in his iudgement nothing regardeth richesse. But Paul in another place speaketh thus of God, that in iudging hee hath no consideration of freedome or bondage. Wherefore there shalbe no contrarietie if we shall say that God according to the will of his good pleasure without any deseruing chooseth to his sonnes whome 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, y^e of two betweene whome 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 towards him. If they confesse (as they needes must) that there is nothing, it shal followe that God looketh not vpon mā, but from his owne goodnesse fetcheth a cause why to doe good to him.

Whereas

Act. 10. 14.
Rom. 2. 10.
Gal. 3. 28.
Iam. 2. 5.
Col. 3. 25.
Eph. 6. 9.

Whereas therefore God chooseth one man, refusing another, this cometh not of respect of man, but of his mercy alone, which ought to haue liberty to shewe forth and vter it selfe where and when it pleaseth him. For we haue in another place also shewed, y^e 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 of; that his fauour was bound to persons.

Aug adBon.
lib. 1. cap. 7.
1. Col. 1. 26.

11 Wherefore many do falsly and wickedly accuse God of partial vnrigh-
teousnesse, for that he doth not in his predestination keepe one selfe course
toward all men. If (say they) he finde all guilty, let him equally punish all: if
he finde them vngilty, let him withhold the rigor of his iudgement from all.
But so they deale with him, as if either mercy were forbiddē him, or when he
woulde haue mercy 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 y^e the mercy of God
helpeth some. Let it help all, say they. But wee aunswere, that it is rightfull
that he should also in punishing shewe himselfe a rightfull iudge. When they
suffer this: what do they else but either go about to spoyle God of his power
to haue mercy, or at least to graunt it him vpon this condition, that hee vt-
terly giue ouer his iudgement. Wherefore these sayings of Augustine do
very well agree together. Sith in the first man the whole masse of man-
kinde fell into condemnation, these vessels that are made of it to honour, are
not the vessels of their owne righteousnesse, but of the mercy of GOD: and
whereas other are made to dishonour, the same is not to be imputed to vn-
rightfulnesse but to iudgement, &c. That to those whome he refuseth, God
rendereth due paine: to those whome he calleth, hee giueth vnderferued
grace: that they are deliuered from all accusation, after the maner of a cre-
ditour, in whose power it is, to forgieue to the one, & aske of the other. There-
fore the Lorde also may giue grace to whome he will, because he is merciful:
and giue it not to all, because he is a iust iudge. He may by giuing to some
that which they do not deserue, shewe his free grace: & by not giuing to all,
declare what all deserue. For whereas Paul writeth that God enclosed al vn-
der sin, that he might haue mercy vpon all, it is therewithall to be added that
he is detter to no man: because no man first gaue to him, that he may require
like of him.

Epi. 106. de
prædest. &
grat.

De bon. per-
seu, cap. 12.

Rom. 11. 32.

12 This also they often say, to ouerthrowe predestination, that while it
standeth, all carefulnesse and endeouour of well doing falleth away. For who
(say they) shal heare that either life or death it certainly appointed for him
by the eternall decree of God, but that it will by and by come into his minde
that it maketh no matter how he behaue himselfe, sith the predestination of
GOD can by his worke bee nothing hindered or furthered? So shall all
men dissolutely throwe foorth themselues, and after a desperate manner
runne headlong whither their lust shall carry them. And verily they saye
not altogether falsly, for there be many swine, which with filthy blasphemies
defile the doctrine of predestination, and by this pretence also do mocke out
all admonishmentes and rebukings, saying, God knoweth what he hath once
determined to doe with vs: if hee haue decreed our saluation, he will bring
vs to it at the time appointed: if he haue predestinate our death, we shoulde

travaile in vaine to the contrary. But the Scripture, when it teacheth with how much greater reuerence and religiousnesse we ought to think of so great a mysterie, doth both instruct the godly to farre other sense, and wel confute these mens outrage. For it doth not speake of predestination to this ende, that we should be encouraged to boldnesse, and with vnlawfull rashnesse attempt to search the vnattained secretes of God: but rather that being humbled & abased we should learn to tremble at his iudgemēt, and reuerently to looke vp to his mercy. To this marke the faithfull will leuell themselues. As for that filthy groning of swine, it is well confuted of Paul. They say that they go carelesly forwarde 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 we be to this end, that we should leade a holy and faultlesse life. If the marke that electiō is directed vnto be holines of life, it ought more to awake and stirre vs vp cherefully to practise that holinesse, than to serue for a cloking of slouthfulness. For how greatly do these thinges differ the one from the other? to cease frō wel doing, because election sufficeth to saluation: and that the appointed ende of election is that wee should apply our selues to the endeuor of good doings. Away therefore with such sacrileges which doe wrongfully misturne the whole order of election. Where they 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 alloweable to him with innocencie and honesty of life: therein they are taken with a most shamelesse lye. For, whence could such endeuour 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 continuall 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 far be they from striuing with him in vaine.

13 But other do maliciously and shamfully slander this doctrine, as though it did ouerthrowe all exhortations to godly liuing. For which matter in old time Augustine was burdened with a greate 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 touche a fewe thinges, which (as I trust) shall satisfie them that be honest and not contentious. We haue already seene howe open and loude a preacher of the free election Paul was: was he therefore cold in admonishing and exhorting? Lette these good zealous men compare their earnestnesse with his, and it shalbe founde in them ise in comparison of his incredible heate. And truly this principle taketh away all doubtles, that we are not called to vncleannesse, but that euery man should possesse his vessell in honor, &c. Againe, that we are the handy 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 longe declaratiō easily perceiue how suly he maketh these thinges to agree, which they faine to disagree. Christ commandeth y men beleeuē in him: Yet is his definitiue sentence neither false nor contrary to this commandement, where he sayth: No man can come to mee, but he to whome it is giuen of my father. Let preaching therefore haue

Ephe. 1.4.

1. Thef. 4.7.

Ephe. 2.10.

Iohn. 6.61.

haue his course, which may bring men to faith, and with continuall profiting holde them fast in perseuerance. Neither yet let the knowledge of predestination be hindered, y^e they which obey may not be proude as of their owne, but may glorie in the Lord. Christ not for nothing saith: Who so hath eares of hearing, let him heare. Therefore when we exhorte and preache, they that haue eares doe 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 knowe the minde of the Lord? Must that therefore be denied which is open, because that cannot be comprehended which is hidden? These sayings I haue faithfully reported out of Augustin: but because paraduecture his words shal haue more authoritic than mine, goe to, let vs bring foorth the verie wordes that are read in himselfe. If when this is heard, many are turned into dullnesse and sluggishnesse, and being inclined from labour to lust doe go after their desires: ought that therefore to be accompted false which is spoken of y^e foreknowledge of God? If God haue foreknown y^e they shal be good, shal they not be good, in howe great euilnesse soeuer they nowe liue? and if hee haue foreknown that they will be euill, shal they not be euil in howe great goodnesse soeuer they be now seen? shal therefore those things which are truly spokē 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 goe into errors? The rule (saith he) to keep truth vnspoken of, is one thing, & the necessitie to speake truth is an other. As for the causes 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 vnderstand it not, while we mean to make them more learned that vnderstande it, who when we speake any such thing are indeede not made more learned, nor yet are made worse. But whē 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 nowe to be done? is not the truth rather to be spoken, that hee may conceiue it, that can conceiue it: than to keepe it vnspoken, that not onely neither of them may conceiue it, but also hee y^e more vnderstandeth may be the worse? whereas if he did heare and conceiue it, by him also many shoulde 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 wee feare not least while we hold our peace, he y^e can conceiue truth be deceived with falsehood. Which sentence he at the last shortly knitting vp, more plaine 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 holde the faithfull in awe vnder the discipline of godly life: why doe these our aduersaries 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 y^e people although it be true. Yea it must in any wise be preached, y^e he which hath eares to heare may heare. But who hath eares if hee hath not receiued them from him that promiseth that hee will giue them? Truly let him that receiueth not, refuse it: so that yet

Mar. 13. 9.
Esa. 6. 9.
Lib. de bono
persec. c. 15.

Cap. 16.

Cap. 20.

he which receiue it, 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 cares to heare of the grace of God, may glory in god and not in himselfe.

14 And yet that holy man, as he had a singular desire to edifie, so tempereth the manner of teaching the trueth, that offence be wisely auoided so far as it lawfully may be. For he sheweth that those things which are truly sayd, 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 slothfulness, but also maintaine wickednes. If any man also stretch his saying to y^e time to come, and say that they which heare shal not beleue, because they are reprobate: this shalbe rather a cursing then a teaching. Such therefore Augustine not vnworthily biddeth to depart from the Church, as foolish teachers, and vn-lucky and ill prophesying Prophets. In an other place he truly affirmeth that it is to be holden that a man then profiteth with rebuking, when hee hath mercy and helpeth which maketh to profite whome he will, euen without rebuking. But why some thus and some otherwise? God forbid that, y^e we shoulde say that the power of iudging belongeth rather to the clay than to the potter. Againe afterwarde. When men by rebuking either come or returne into the way of righteousness, who worketh saluation in their hearts, but hee, which when any whosoeuer he be planteth and watereth, giueth the increase, whom when he wil saue, no freewill of man resisteth? It is therefore not to be doubted that the wils of men can not resist y^e will of God (which both in heauen and earth hath done whatsoeuer he woulde, and which hath also done those things that are to come) but that he may doe what he will, foras much as euen of the verie wils of men hee doeth what he will. Againe, when he will leade men to him, doeth he binde them with corporall bonds? Hee inwardly worketh, inwardly holdeth heartes, inwardly moueth heartes, and draweth them with their wils which hee himselfe hath made in them, But, that which hee by and by addeth ought in no wise to be omitted: that because wee knowe not who belongeth or not belongeth to the number of the predestinate, we ought so to be affectioned that we woulde all men to be saued. So shall it come to passe, that whom soeuer 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 holtsome and sharpe rebuking to al men like a medecine, that they perish not, nor destroy other, but it shalbe the worke of God to make it profitable to them whom he hath fore-knownen and predestinate.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

That election is established by the calling of God, but that the reprobate doe bring vpon themselves the iust destruction whereunto they are appointed.

BUT, that the matter may more plainly appeare, we must intreat both of the calling of the elect, and of the blinding and hardening of the wicked. Of the first of these I haue alreadie spoken somewhat, when I confuted their error, which thinke that the generalnesse of the promises extendeth

egally to all mankinde. But this election which otherwise God hath hidden with himselfe he doth not without choise at length disclose by his calling, which a man may therefore call the testifying of it. For, whom hee 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: whom he hath called, the he hath also iustified, that in time to come he may glorifie them. When the Lorde hath by electing alreadie adopted his into y number of his children: yet we see howe they enter not into possession of so great a benefite, but when they be called: on the otherside, how being called they doe now enjoy a certaine communicating of his election. For which reason Paul calleth the spirite which they receiue, both the Spirite of adoption, and the seale, and earnest of the inheritance to come: namely because it doeth with the testimonie thereof stablishe and seale to their heartes the assurednes of the adoption to come. For though the preaching of the Gospel spring out of the fountaine of election: yet because it is also comon to y reprobate, therefore it coulde not by it selfe 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 wordes of Christ, Who so is of God, he and none other seeth the Father. Againe, I haue shewed thy name to the me nwhome thou hast giuen me: Whereas he saith in an other place, no man can come to me, vnlesse my Father drawe him. Which place Augustine wisely weyeth, whose wordes are these. If (as Truth saith) euery one that hath learned, commeth: whosoever commeth not, certainly neither hath he learned. It doeth not therefore followe that he which can come, also commeth, vnlesse he haue both willed and done it. But euery one that hath learned of the Father, not onely can come, but also commeth, when nowe there is present both y profite of comming, and the affection of willing, and the effect of doing. Also in an other place more plainly. What is this else, Euery one that hath heard of the father, and hath learned, commeth to me, but there is none that heareth and learneth of the father and commeth not to me? For if euery one which hath heard of the father and learned, commeth: truly euery one that commeth not, hath not heard of the father, nor learned: for if he had heard and learned, he woulde come. This schoole is farre from the senses of the fleshe, in which schoole the father is heard and teacheth, that men may come to the sonne. And a litle after. This grace which is secretly giuen to the heartes of men, is receiued of no hard hart: for it is therefore giuen, that the hardnesse of the heart may first bee 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 mercie, which he hath prepared to glory. Why therefore doth hee not teach all, that they may come to Christ, but because all whome he teacheth, by mercie he teacheth: whom he doeth not teach, by iudgement he doeth not teach: because he hath mercie vpon whome he will, and hardeneth whome he will. Therefore God assigneth them for children to himselfe, and appointeth himselfe father to them, whome he hath chosē. Nowe by calling he bringeth them into the householde, and vniteth himselfe to them, that they may be one together. But, when Calling is ioyned to election, in that manner the scrip-

Rom. 8. 29.

Rom. 8. 25.

Eph. 1. 13.

John. 6. 46.

John. 17. 6.

John. 6. 44.

Li. de Grat.

Christ. cont.

Pela. & Cæli.

cap. 14. & 31.

De prædest.

sanct. cap. 8.

Scripture sufficiently signifieth that in it nothing is to be required but γ mercie of God. For if wee aske, whome he calleth and for what reason: hee aunswereth, whome he had elected. But when we come once to election, there the onely mercie of God appeareth on euery side. And here that saying of Paul truly hath place, It is not of him that willeth, 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, & the willing and running of man. For they expounde 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 obeynting saluation. Whose cauillation I had rather confute with Augustines words than mine owne: If the Apostle meant nothing else but that it is not of him onely that willeth or runneth, vnlesse the Lorde be there present mercifull: wee may contrariwise turne it against them and say that it is not of onely mercie, vnlesse there be present willing & running. Bnt if this be openly wicked, let vs not doubt that the Apostle giueth all to the mercie of the Lorde, and leaueth nothing to our willes or endeouours. To this effect speaketh that holy man. And I set not a strawe by that nice subtletie, that they say that Paul woulde not haue so saide vnlesse there had ben some induour: and some will in vs. For he did not consider what was in man: but when he sawe that some did assigne part of saluation to the endeouour of men, he simplicie condemned their error in the first part of the sentence, and in the second he challenged the whole sum of saluation of the mercie of God. And what other thing doe the Prophets trauel about but continually to preach the free calling of God?

2 Moreouer the very nature also & dispensation of calling doth clearly shewe it, which consisteth not in the onely preaching of the worde, but also in the inlightening of the Spirite. To whome God offereth his word, is shewed vs in the Prophete: I am founde 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 saide, 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 hee tooke their Father Abraham, when hee vouchsafed to ioyne him to himselfe, namely from meere idolatric, in which he was drowned with all his. When hee first shineth 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 vnumeasurable 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 spirite. Therefore this inwarde calling is a pledge of saluation, which can not deceiue vs. For which purpose maketh that saying of Iohn, Thereby we knowe that we are his children, by the spirite which hee hath giuen vs. And least fleshe shoulde glorie, that it did at the least aunswere to him when hee called and of his owne will offered himselfe, hee affirmeth that it hath no eares to heare, no eyes to see, but which hee hath made: and that hee maketh

keth them, not according to euery mans thankfulness, but according to his owne election. Of which thing you haue a notable example in Luke, where both Iewes and Gentiles in comon together heard the preaching of Paul and Barnabas. Whereas they were at that time al taught with one selfe same word, it is sayde that they beleued which were ordained to euerlasting life. With what face may we deny that the calling is free, in which euen to the very last part election reigneth alone? A.C. 13. 14.

3 But here wee 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 about the counsell of God. As though the Scripture did teach, that it is onely giuen vs that we may beleue, and not rather faith it selfe. Other some, although they do not so weaken the grace of the holy Ghost: yet being led by I wor not what reason, hang election vpon faith as though it were doubtfull, yea and vneffectuall vntill it be confirmed by faith. It is in deede certaine y it is confirmed, as toward vs: and we haue already shewed y 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, & is as it were sealed with a seale. But it is falsely sayd, that election is then and not till then effectual, when we haue embraced y Gospell, and y therof it taketh liuely strength. We must in deede from thence fetch the certaintie of it: Because if wee attempt to reache vnto the eternall ordinance of God, that deepe bottomlesse depth will swallowe vs vp. But when God hath opened it vnto vs, wee must climbe vp hier, least the effect should drowne the cause. For what greater absurdity or shamefull vniustice is there, than that when the Scripture teacheth that wee 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 ende we may be certaine of our saluation, we must beginne at the word, and that our affiance ought therewith to be cotented, that we may call vpon God by the name of Father. For some quite contrary to right order, y 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 rashnesse is to be restrained with sobrietie of faith, that it may suffice vs that God in his outward worde is a witnessse of his hidden grace: to that the conduit pipe out of which there floweth water largely for vs to drinke, doe 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 gospel, by which faith we feele that election pertaineth to vs: so we shall keepe the best order, if in seeking y 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, hee doeth also moue them with a peruerse desire to seeke it out of the way. I call it seeking out of the way, when a wretched man enterpriseth to breake into the hidden secretes of the wisdom of God, and to pearce euen to the highest eternity to vnderstande what is determined of himselfe at the iudgement seate.

seate of God . For then he throweth himselfe headlong to be swallowed vp into the depth of the vnmeasurable deuouring pit: then he wrappeth himself with innumerable snares and such as hee can not winde out of: then hee ouerwhelmeth himselfe with the bottomlesse depth of blinde darkenesse. For so is it rightfull that the foolishnesse of the witte of man be punished with so horrible raine, 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 mozt rarely any man to be founde, whose mind is not somtime striken with this thought. Whence hast thou saluation, but of the election of G O D ? 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 vtterly dismayeth him . Truly I would haue no surer argument than this experience to prooue, howe wrongfully such men imagine of predestination. For the minde can be infected with no errour more pestilent, than that which plucketh downe and thrusteth the conscience from her peace and quietnesse towarde God . Therefore if we feare shipwracke , wee must diligently beware of this rocke, which is neuer striken vpon without destruction . And though the disputing of predestination be esteemed like a dangerous sea, yet in passing through it there is founde a safe and quiet yea and pleasant sayling, vnlesse a man doe wilfully couet to be in daunger . For as they doe drowne themselues in the deadly bottomlesse depth , which to bee certified of their election doe enquire of the secret Counsell of God without his worde : so they which doe rightly and orderly search it in such sorte as it is contained in the worde , receiue thereof a singular fruite of comforte. Let this therefore be our way to search it, that wee beginne at the calling of God, and ende in the same . Howbeit this withstandeth not, but that the faithfull may thinke that the benefites which they daily receiue at the hand of G O D, doe discende from that secrete adoption : as they say in Esaye, Thou hast done maruels, thy thoughtes are olde, true, and faithfull: forasmuch as by that adoptio as by a token, the Lords will is to confirme so much as is lawfull to be knowen of his counsell . But least any man shoulde thinke this a weake testimonie, let vs consider howe much both clearenesse and certainty it bringeth vs . Of which thing Bernarde speaketh fitly . For after that he had spoken of the reprobate, he sayth: The purpose of God standeth, the sentence of peace standeth vpon thē that feare him, both couering their euils, and rewarding their good thinges : so as to them after a maruelous manner not onely good thinges, but also euil doe worke tog:ther vnto good. Who shall accuse the elect of God ? It sufficeth me to all righteousnesse , to haue him alone mercifull, to whom alone I haue sinned. Al y he hath decreed not to impute to mee, is so as if it neuer had bin . And a litle after: O place of true rest, and to which not vnworthily I may giue the name of a bedchamber, in which G O D is scene not as troubled with wrath , nor as withholden with care: but his will is prooued in him good , and well pleasing, and perfect . This sight doth not make afraide, but calmeth : doth not stirre vp vnquiet curiosnesse, but appeaseth it : doth not weary the senses, but quieteth them : Here is quiet truly taken. God being appeased, appeaseth all things;

and

and to behold him quiet, is to be quiet.

5 First if wee seeke a fatherly kindnesse and fauorable minde of God, we must turne our eyes to Christ, in whome alone the soule of the father resteth. If we seeke saluation, life, and the immorralitie of the heauenly kingdom, we must the also flee to no other: forasmuch as he alone is both fountayne of life, and author of saluation, and heire of the kingdome of Heauen. Nowe whereto serueth election, but that being adopted of the heauenly father into the degree of children, we may by his fauour obteyne saluation & immortalitie? Howsoever in seeking thou toss it and shake it, yet thou shalt finde y^e vttermost marke of it extended 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 honour of the inheritance of his kingdome, vnlesse they had first bene made partakers of him. If we be chosen in him, we shal not finde in our selues the certaintie of our election: no, nor yet in God the father, if we imagine him naked without the sonne. Christ therefore is the mirror, in whome 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 hee hath willed to bee his, that hee may take for his children so many as hee reknowledgeth among his members: we haue a witnesse plaine and sure inough, that wee are written in the booke of life, if wee communicate with Christ. And that sure communion of himselfe hee gaue vs, when by the preaching of the Gospell hee testified that hee was giuen to vs of the father, that hee with all his good things shoulde bee ours. We are said to put on him, and to grow 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 whosoever beleueeth in him, may not perishe. But hee that beleueeth in him, is saide to haue passed from death into life. In which sense he calleth himselfe the breade of life, which whoso eateth, he shal not die for euer. He (I say) hath bene a witnesse to vs, that they shal be receiued of the heauenly father in place of his children, of whom hee hath bene receiued by faith. If wee couete any more than to bee accompted among the children and heires of God, then we may climbe aboute Christ. If this be our vttermost marke: howe much be we mad in seeking without him that which we haue already obteyned in him, and which may bee found in him alone? Moreouer sith hee is the eternall wisdome, the vchangeable trueth, and fast settled counsell of the father: it is not to be feared least that which he declareth to vs in his worde, shoulde vary any thing be it neuer so litle from that will of the Father which wee seeke: but rather he faithfully openeth it vnto vs, such as it was from the beginning, & euer shal be. The practise of this doctrine ought also to be in vre in prayers. For though the faith of election doeth encourage 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 cōuenant with this condition. Lord if I be elected, heare mee: for as much as hee willet vs to be content with his promises, and no where else to seeke whether he wil be intreatable to vs or no. This wisdom shal deliuer vs fro many snares, if we can skill to applie that to a right vse which hath bene

Matt. 3. 17.

Eph. 1. 4.

Rom. 8. 31.

Iohn. 3. 15.

Iohn. 5. 24.

Iohn. 6. 35.

rightly

rightly written: but let vs not vndiscretly draw hither and thither that which ought to haue bene restrained.

6 There is also for stablishing of our affiance an other stay of election, which we haue saide to be ioyned with our calling. For, whome Christe taketh being inlightened 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 receiueth, they are saide to bee committed to him of the father & deliuered to his trust, that they may be kept into eternall life. What meane wee? Christ crieth out with a loude voice, that so many as the Father willethe to bee saued, he hath deliuered them into his protection. Therefore if we list to knowe whether God hath care of onr safetic, let vs seeke whether he hath committed vs to Christ, whome he hath made the onely Saviour of all his. Nowe if we doubt whether we be receiued of Christ into his Faith and keeping, he preuenteth our doubting, when he voluntarily offereth him selfe to be our sheepearde, and pronounceth that wee shall bee in the number of his sheepe if we heare his voyce. Let vs therefore embrace Christ, being liberally set open for vs, and comming to meete vs: hee shall number vs in his flocke, and shall keepe vs inclosed within his folde. But there entreteth into vs a carefulnesse of our state to come. For as Paul teacheth that they are called, which were before chosen: so Christ sheweth that many are called, but fewe are chosen. Yea and also Paul himselfe in an other place dishorteth vs from carefulnesse: Let him that standeth (saith he) looke that he fall not. Againe, Art thou graffed into the people of God? Be not proude, but feare: for God is able to cut thee of againe that he may graffe 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 verily these promises haue respect to the time to come. All that my father giueth me, shal come to me: and him that shal come to me, I wil not cast him out of dores. Againe, this is the will of him that sent me, the Father, that I loose nothing of all thinges that hee hath giuen mee, but may raise them vp againe in the last day. Agayne, My sheepe heare my voice, and they followe me: I knowe them, and I giue them eternall life, and they shall not perishe for euer, neither shall any man take them out of my hand. The father which gaue them to me, is greater then al: & no man can take the out of y hand of my father. Nowe when he pronounceth, euery tree which my Father hath not planted, shall be plucked vp by the root: he 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 al gone out from vs. Herevpon also commeth that noble glorying of Paul against life and death, present thinges and thinges to come: which glorying muste needes be grounded vpon the gifte of continuance. Neither is it any doubt that he directeth this saying to all the faithfull. In an other place the same Paul saith. He that hath begonne in you a good worke, shall end it euen vntill the day of Christ. As also Dauid, when his faith fainted, leaned vpon this stay: Thou shalt not forsake the worke of thy handes. And nowe neyther is this doubtfull, that Christ when he prayeth for all the faithfull, asketh

Ioh. 6. 37. & 17. 6.

Iohn. 10. 3.

Rom 8. 30.
Mat. 22. 14.
1. Cor. 10. 12

Iohn. 6. 37.
aad 40.

Iohn. 10. 17.

Mat. 15. 13.

1. Ioh. 2. 19.
Rom. 8. 38.

Phil. 1. 16.
Psal. 138. 8.

the same thing for them which he asketh for Peter, y^e 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 deniall. What would Christ haue vs to learne hereby, but that we should trust that we shal perpetually be safe, because we are once made his? Luke. 22. 32.

7 But it daily happeneth, that they which seemed to be Christes, do againe reuolt from him & fall. Yea & 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 sonne of perdition. That is true in deede: but this is also as certaine, that such did neuer cleaue to Christ with y^e affiance of heart with which I say that the assurednesse of our election is stablished. They went out from vs (saith Iohn) but they were not of vs. For if they had been of vs, they had stil taried with vs. Neither do I denie that they haue like signes of calling as the elect haue: but I do not graunt that they haue that sure stablishment of election which I bid the faithfull to fetch out of the worde of y^e Gospel. Wherefore let not such examples moue vs but that wee quietly rest vpon the promise of the Lord, where he pronounceth, that al they are giuen to him of the Father, which receiue him with true faith, of whome sith he is their keeper & Pastor, none shal perish. Of Iudas wee shall speake hereafter. Paul doth not counsel Christians from assurednes altogether, but from carelesse and loose assurednesse of the flesh, which draweth with it, pride, presumption, & disdain of other, and quenchem humilitie & the reuerence of God, and bringeth forgetfulnesse of grace receiued. For he speaketh to the Gentiles, whome he teacheth, that they ought not proudly & vngently to reproch the Iewes for this, that the Iewes being disherited, they were set in their stead. Feare also he requireth not wherwith they should be dismaied & stagger, but which framing vs to the humbler receiuing of the grace of God, should abate nothing of the affiance thereof, as wee haue saide in another place. Beside that, he doth not there speake to euery man particularly, but to the sectes themselues generally. For when the Church was deuided into two parts, & enuie bred dissension, Paul putteth the Gentiles in mind y^e their being supplied into the place of the peculiar & holy people, ought to bee to them a cause of feare & modestie. And among them there were many puffed vp with glorie, whose vaine boasting it was profitable to beat 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 contrary to the nature of it, than to dout what shal become of vs. Ioh. 16. 12.
I. Ioh. 2. 19.
Ioh. 3. 16. &
6. 39.

8 That saying of Christ, of many being called but fewe chosen, is very ill taken after that maner. There shalbe nothing doubtful if we hold fast that which ought to be cleare by the things aboue spoken, that there are two sortes of calling. For there is an vniuersall calling whereby through the outward preaching of the word, God calleth altogether to him, euen them also to whom he setteth it forth vnto the fauor of death, & vnto matter of more grieuous condemnation. The other is a speciall calling which for the most part he vouchsafeth to giue only to the faithfull, when by the inward enlightening of his spirit he maketh y^e the word preached is settled in their hearts. Yet sometime he maketh them also partakers of it whome he enlighteneth

Matt. 22.

but for a time, & afterward by the deseruing of their vnthankfulnesse forsaketh them, and striketh them with greater blindnesse. Now when the Lorde saw the Gospel to be published farre and wide, and to be despised of many, but to be 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 gastes, and yet can get but a fewe, because euery one alleageth lettes for his excuse, so that at length he is compelled vpon their refusall, to cal out of the hie wayes euery one that he meeteth. Hitherto euery man seeth that the parable must be vnderstand of the outward calling. He addeth afterward that God doeth like a good maker of a feast, which goeth about the tables, to cheere his gastes. If he finde any not clothed with a wedding garment, hee will not suffer him with his vncleanlinesse to dishonor the solemnitic of the feast. This parte of the parable, I graunt, is to be vnderstande of them which enter into the Church by the profession of faith, but are not clothed with the sanctification of Christ. Such dishonors and as it were botches of his Church, the Lord will not suffer for euer: but, as their filthinesse deserueth he wil cast them out. Therefore fewe are chosen out of a great number of them that are called, but yet not with that calling by which wee say that the faithful ought to iudge their election. For, that generall calling is also common to the wicked: but this speciall calling bringeth with it the spirite of regeneration, which is the earnest and seale of the inheritance to come, wherewith our heartes are sealed vp against the day of the Lorde. In a summe sith hypocrites boast of godlinesse as well as the true worshippers of God, Christ pronounceth that at length they shalbe cast out of the place which they wrongfully possesse: as it is said in the Psalme, Lorde, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle? The innocent in handes, and the man of a pure heart. Againe, in another place. This is the generation of them that seeke God, of them that seeke the face of the God of Iacob. And so doth the Spirit exhort the faithful to sufferance, that they take it not grieuously that the Israelites be mingled with them in the Church: for at length their visor shalbee plucked from them and they shalbe cast out without shame.

Ephe. 1. 13.
Psal. 15. 1.

Psal. 22. 2.

8 The same reason is of the exception euen now alleaged, where Christ saith y 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 slichepe 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 only in respect of the ministerie. Twelue (saith hee) haue I chosen, and one of them is a Deuil: that is, he had chosen him to the office of an Apostle. But when he speaketh of choosing to saluation, he denieth him farre away from the number of the chosen, saying: I speake not of all: I knowe whome I haue chosen. If a man do in both places confound the worde of Choosing, he shall miserably entangle himselfe: if hee make difference, nothing is more plaine. Therefore Gregorie teacheth very ill & pestilently when he saith that wee knowe onely our calling, but are vncertaine of our election: whereby hee moueth all men to feare and trembling: vsing also this reason, but because we knowe what we be to day, but what wee

Iohn 17. 12.

Iohn 6. 70.
Iohn 13.Iohn 13. 18.
Hom. 38.

shalbe.

shalbe we know not. But in that place he sufficiently declareth, how he stū-
bled at this blocke . For, because he hanged election vpon the merites of
workes, he had matter enough: and more to discourage the mindes of men:
but he could not strengthen them, which did not remoue them from them-
selues to the affiance of the goodnesse of God . Hereof the faithfull haue
some tast of that which we haue determined at the beginning that predesti-
nation if it be rightly thought vpon, bringeth not a shaking of faith, but rather
the best strengthening of it. And yet I deny not, y^e the holy Ghost framed his
talkes to the smal measure of our sense . As when he sayth, In the secret of my
people they shal not be, and in the roule of my seruants they shal not be writ-
ten. As though God did beginne to write in the booke of life, them whom he
rekeneth in the number of his: whereas yet we know, euen by the witnes of
Christ, that the names of the childre 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 sayde in the Psalme.
Let them be blotted out of the booke of life, and let them not be written with
the righteous.

Eze. 13. 9.

Phil. 4. 3.

Psal. 69. 29.

9 But the elect are neither immediatly from the wombe, nor all at one
time, by calling gathered together into the flocke of Christ, but as it pleaseth
God to distribute his grace to them . But ere they be gathered together to
that chiefe shepheard, they are scattered abroad and stray in the common
deserte, and differ nothing from other, sauing that they be defended by the
singular mercie of God, from falling into the extreme headlong downefall
of death . Therefore if you looke vpon them selues, you shall see the of-
spring of Adam, which sauoreth of the common corruption of the whole
masse. That they be not carried into extreme & despeired vngodlines, this
commeth not to passe by any goodnesse naturally planted in them, but be-
cause the eye of God watcheth, and his hande is stretched out to their salua-
tion. For they that dreame that from their very natiuitie there is planted in
their heartes I wote not what seede of election, by the vertue whereof they
are alway enclined to godlinesse and to the feare of God, they both are not
holpen to proue it by the authoritie of Scripture, and also are confuted by ex-
perience it selfe. They do in deede bring forth a fewe examples to proue
that the elect euen before their enlightning, were not vterly strangers from
religion: that Paul in his being a Pharisee liued vnreprouable, that Corne-
lius was by almes and prayers accepted of God: and such other . Of Paul,
we graunt to them: of Cornelius, wee say that they are deceiued . For it
appeareth that he was then already enlightned and regenerate, so that hee
wanted nothing but the cleere reuiciling of the Gospel . But what will they
wring out by these few examples? that al the elect are alway endued with the
spirit of goodlinesse? No more than if a man by shewing the vprightnesse of
Aristides, Socrates, Zenocrates, Scipio, Curius, Camillius, and other, should
thereof gather that all they that are left in blindness of idolatrie, were desi-
rous followers of holinesse 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 . Ye were (sayth he) dead with defaultes and sinnes, in

Phil. 3. 5.
A. 10. 2.

Ephe. 2. 2.

which ye walked according to the time of this world, according to the prince of the aire, which nowe worketh in the obstinate children: among whom we all also were sometime conuerfante in the lustes of our fleshe, doing those thinges that liked our flesh and minde. And we were by nature the children of wrath, as other also were. Againe, Remember that ye 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 paraduenture they will haue these thinges to be referred to the ignorance of the true God, wherewith they denie not that the elect are holden before that they be called. Albeit this were a shamelesse cauilling, sith he therof concludeth, that they ought nowe no more either to lie or to steale: yet what will they answere to other places? as is that place to the Corinthians, where whē he had pronounced that neither whoremongers, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor weakelings, nor buggers, nor theeues, nor couetous men, shalbe heires of the kingdome of God: he by and by addeth that they were wrapped in the same hainous offences before that they knewe Christ: but nowe that they are both washed by his bloud & made free by his Spirit. Againe an other place to the Romaines. As ye haue giuen your members bonde to vncleanesse, and to iniquitie vnto iniquitie, nowe yelde them in bondage to righteousness. For what fruite had you of these thinges, in which yee are nowe worthily ashamed, &c?

11 What maner of seede of election, I pray you, did then budde in them, which being manifoldly defiled in all their life, as it were with desperate wickednes, wallowed in the most abhominable and accursed sinne of all? If hee would haue spoken after their opinion, hee should haue shewed howe much they were bond to the bountifullnesse of God, by which they had beene preferred from sliding into so great filthinesse. So Peter also should haue exhorted his to thankfulnessse for the perpetuall seede of election. But he contrarywise putteth them in minde that the time past sufficed to make an ende of the lustes of the Gentiles. What if we come to examples? what budde of righteousness was there in Rahab the harlot, before faith? in Manasse, when Hierusalem was dipped and in a manner drowned in the bloude of the Prophets? in the Theefe, which among his last gaspings began to thinke of repentance? Away therefore with these argumentes, which silly curious men do rashly deuise to themselues without the Scripture. But let that abide certaine with vs, which the Scripture hath, that al haue strayed like lost sheepe, euery one hath swarued into his owne way, that is, perdition. Out of this gulfe of perdition, whome the Lord hath determined once to plucke forth, them he differreth til his fit time: onely he preferueth them, that they fall not vnto vnardonable blasphemy.

12 As the Lorde by the effectualnesse of his calling towards the electe, maketh perfect the saluation, where vnto hee hadde by eternall counsell appointed them: so he hath his iudgementes against the reprobate, whereby he executeth his counsell of them. Whom therefore he hath created vnto the shame of life, and destruction of death, that they should beē instruments of his wrath, and examples of his seueritie: from them, that they may come to their ende, sometime he taketh away the power to heare his worde,

and

and sometime by the preaching of it he more blindeth and amaseth them. Of the first maner, whereas there be innumerable examples, let vs choose out one more cleare & notable than all the rest. There passed away about foure thousand yeares afore Christ, in which he hid from all the Gentiles the light of his health bringing doctrine. If any man answereth that he therefore made them not to enjoy so great a benefit because he iudged them vnworthie, they which come after shall not be proued any more worthie. Of which thing, beside the experience, Malachie is a substantiall witness, which Mal. 4. 1. reprobuing infidelitie mingled with grosse blasphemies, yet declareth y^e there shall come a redeemer. Why therefore is he rather giuen to these than to those? He shall trouble himselfe in vaine, that shall here search for a cause hier than the secret and vnsearchable counsell of God. Neither is it to be feared least any scholer of Porphyrie, should freely gnawe at the righteousness of God while wee aunswere nothing in defence of it. For when wee say that none perish vnderferuing, & that it is of the free bountifullnesse of God that some be deliuered, there is largely enough said for the setting forth of his glorie, so that it needeth nor our shifting. The soueraigne iudge therefore maketh away for his predestination, when whome he hath once reiected, them being deprivied of the communicating of his light he 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 doe either set naught by it, or scorne it, or hisse it out, or abhorre it. If any man answereth that this diuersitie proceedeth of their malice and peruersnesse, hee shall not yet satisfie vs: because the others wit also shoulde bee possessed wth the same malice, vnlesse God did amende it with his goodnesse. Therefore we shall stil be encombred, vnlesse wee call to minde that which Paul saith, 1. Cor. 4. 7. Who maketh thee to differ? Whereby he signifieth that some excell other some, nor by their owne vertue, but by the only grace of God.

13 Why therefore doth he in granting grace to those passe ouer these? Of those Luke sheweth a cause, Because they are ordeined 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 (sayeth hee) might turne the will of the euil into good, because he is almightie. He might in deede. Why therefore doeth he it not? because he would not. Why hee 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 Chrysostome, and say that he draweth him that is willing and reacheth his hand, that the difference may not seeme to stand in the iudgement of God, but in the onely will of men. Truly it so standeth not in the proper motion of man, that euen the godly and they that feare God haue neede of a singular instruction of the Spirit. Lidia the purple seller feared God, & yet it behoued that her heart shoulde be opened, that shee might harken to the doctrine of Paul, and profit in it. Ho. de con. uers. Paul. A Q. 16. 14. This is not spoken of one woman alone, but that wee should knowe that the profiting of euery man in godlinesse is the secreete worke of the Spirit. This verily cannot bee brought in question, that the Lorde sendeth his worde to many, whose blindness hee will haue to be more enforced. For, to what

what purpose doth he bid so many commaundementes to be carried to Pharao? was it because he hoped that with often repeted messages he would be appeased? No, but before he began, he foreknewe and foretolde the ende.

Exod. 21.
Ezec. 2. 3. &
12. 2.

Go (said hee to Moses) and declare to him my will: but I will harden his heart, that he obey not. So when he stirreth vp Ezechiel, hee warneth him afore hande that he sendeth him to a rebellious and stubborne people: to the ende that he shoulde not be afrayde if he perceiue himselfe to sing to deaf men. So he foretelleth to Ieremie, that his doctrine should become a fire, to destroy and wast the people like stubble. But the prophecie of Esaie yet more enforceth it. For he is thus sent of the Lorde: Go and saye to the children of israell: With hearing heare ye, and vnderstand not: With seeing see ye, and knowe nor. Make obstinate the heart of this people, and make heauie their eares, and ouerplaister their eyes: least peradventure they may see with their eyes, and heare with their eares, and vnderstande with their heart, that being turned they may be healed. Behold he directeth his voice to them, but that they may waxe more deaf, he 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

Iohn. 12. 39.

not that they may be healed. And Iohn 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 who God wil not haue to be enlighten'd, 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 y multitude, because to them it was giuen to knowe the mysteries of the kingdom of God, but to the common people not so. What meaneth the Lorde (wilt thou say) in teaching them, of whome he prouideth that he may not be vnderstanded? Consider whence is the fault, and thou wilt ceasse to ask. For in y word how great darknes soeuer there be, yet there is alway light enough to conuince the conscience of the wicked.

Matt. 13. 11.

14 Now remaineth for vs to see, why the Lorde doeth that which it is plaine that he doth. If it be answered that it is so don because men haue so deserued by their vngodlinesse, wickednesse, & vnthankfulnes: the same shal in deede be well and truly saide: but because there appeareth not yet the reason of this diuersitie, why when some are bowed to obedience, others som continue hardened, in searching it wee must needes go to that which Paul hath nored out of Moses, namely that God hath raised them vp from the beginning, that he might shewe his name in the whole earth. Whereas therefore the reprobate do not obey the worde of God opened vnto them, that shalbe 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 vnsearchable iudgement of GOD they are raised vp to set forth his glorie with their damnation. Likewise whē

Rom. 9. 17.

3. Sam. 2. 25.

it is said of the sonnes of Hely, that they harkened not to holosome 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

they were left in stubbornesse, when the Lord might haue softened their heartes, namely because his vnchangeable decree hadde once appointed them to destruction. To the same purpose serueth that saying of Iohn, When he had done so great signes, no man beleeued in him: that the word of Esay might be fulfilled, Lorde, who hath beleued 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 vnfaurie to men, till the holy Ghost bring tast. And Christ alleaging the prophetic of Esay, They shall all be taught of God, tendeth to no other ende but to prooue that the Iewes 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 pertain to them. Which thing this saying of Paul confirmeth, that Christ which to the Iewes is an offence, and to the Gentiles foolishnesse, is to the called the strength and wisdom of God. For when hee hath tolde what commonly happeneth so oft as the Gospell is preached, namely y^e some it maketh more obstinate, and of some it is dispised, he sayth that it is had in price of them onely which are called. Hee had in deede a litle before named them beleeuers, but hee meant not to take away the due degree from the grace of God which goeth before faith, but rather hee addeth this seconde saying by way of Correction, that they which had embraced the Gospell shoulde giue the praise of their faith to the calling of God. As also a litle after he teacheth that they are chosen of God. When the vngodly heare these thinges, they erie out that God with inordinate power abuseth his poore creatures for a sport to his crueltie. But we which knowe that all men are so many wayes endangered to the iudgement seate of God, that beeing asked of a thousande thinges 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 heighth.

15 But forasmuch as there are a fewe 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 themselues: let vs briefly declaring these places, shew that they make nothing against the sentence aboue set. There is brought foorth 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 daily allurementes waxe harder and harder? With the Sodomites (as Christ witnesseth) the preaching of the Gospell and miracles would haue brought foorth more fruite than in Iuric. How commeth it to passe therefore, if God will all to be saued, that hee openeth not the gate of repentance to those miserable men that would haue beene 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 sette against his eternall counsel, whereby he hath seuered the elect from the reprobate. Nowe if we seeke for the true naturall meaning of the Prophete: 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 forgiue so soone as the sinner turneth. Therefore he willeth not his death, in so much as hee willeth his repentance. But experience teacheth that he so willeth them to repent who he generally calleth to him, that yet he to toucheth not all their hearts. Yet is it therefore to be sayde that hee dealeth deceitfully, because although the outwarde voyce 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 holde this for the meaning of the Prophete, that the death of a sinner pleaseth not God: that the godly may haue affiaunce, that so soone as they shalbe touched with repentance, there is pardon ready for them with GOD: and the wicked may feele that their fault is doubled, because they answere not to so great mercifull kindenesse and gentlenesse of God. The mercy of God therefore will alway meete repentance, but to whom repentance is giuen, both all the Prophetes, and Apostles, and Ezechiell himselfe doe plainly teach. Secondly there is alleged a place of Paul, where he sayth that God willeth all men to be sau'd, which although it haue a diuerse meaning from the other, yet in some thing they agree together. I aunswere, first that by the rest of the text it is made plaine howe he willeth. For Paul coupleth together, that he willeth them to be sau'd, 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 neare to it as hee doth 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 nowe bee easie to gather, whereto Paul tendeth. He hadde commaunded Timothee to make solemne prayers in the Church for kinges 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 Christe, but also endeoured with all their forces to oppresse his kingdome) he added, that the same is acceptable to GOD which willeth all men to be sau'd. Whereby verily hee signifieth nothing else but that he hath stopped vp the way vnto saluation to no degree of men: but rather that he hath so poured out his mercie that he willeth no man to be voyde of it. The other sentences doe not declare what God hath by his secrete iudgement determined of all men: but doe shewe that there is pardon ready for all sinners which doe onely turne themselues to require it. For if they more stiffely stande vpon this that it is sayde that he wil 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 hee doeth whatsoeuer he will. This worde therefore must so be expounded that it may agree with the other, I will haue mercie vpon whome I will haue mercy, and I will shewe mercie to whom I will shew mercie. He that chooseth out them whome he will haue mercie on, doth not giue it to all. But sith it clearly ap-

peareth

1. Tim. 2. 4.

Deut. 4. 7.

Psal. 115. 3.
Exod. 33. 19

peareth 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 & euery where and in all men: but leaueth it to him at his libertie at length to make kinges and magistrates partakers of the heauenly doctrine, although by reason of their blindenesse they doe nowe rage against it. They seeme to presse vs more strongly with objecting the place of Peter, that God willeth none to perishe, but receiue all to repentance. But the vndoing of his knot doth by and by offer it selfe in the seconde worde, because the will to receiue can not be vnderstanded to be any other than that which is euery where taught. Truely the turning is in the hande of God: whether he will turne all or no, let himselfe be asked, when he promisseth that he will giue to a certaine fewe men a fleshly hearte, leauing to other some a stony heart. It is true in deede, that vnlesse he were ready to receiue them which call vpon his mercy, this saying should be false. Turne to me, & I will turne to you. But I say that none of all mortall men doth come to God but he \dot{y} is preuented of God. And if repentance were in the wil of man, Paul would not say, If peraduenture he giue the repentance. Yea vnlesse the same God which with worde exhorteth all men to repentance, did with secret mouing of his spirit bring the chosen to it: Ieremie would not say, Turne me, Lord, and I shalbe turned: for when thou hast turned me, I haue repented.

Eze. 36. 26.

Zach. 1. 3.

2. Tim. 2. 25

Iere. 31. 18.

16 But (thou wilt say) if it be so, there shalbe small truth in the promises of the Gospell, which when they testifie of the will of GOD, affirme that he willeth that which is against his inuolable decree. Not so. For howsoeuer the promises of saluation be vniuersal, yet they nothing disagree with the predestination of the reprobate, so that wee direct our mindes to the effect of them. We knowe that then and not till then the promises are effectuell to vs, when wee receiue them by faith, on the other side when faith is made voyde, the promise is therewithall abolished. If this be the nature of them, let vs then see whether these thinges disagree together: that it is sayde that God hath from eternitie ordeined whome he will embrace with loue, and vpon whome he will exercise wrath: and that he promisseth saluation to all without difference. Truely I say that they agree verie 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 whome 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 can not be sayde that there is any disagreement betweene the eternall election of God, and the testimonie of his grace which he offereth to the faithful. But why nameth he all verily that the consciences of the godly may the more safely rest, when they vnderstande that there is no difference of sinners, so that faith be present: and that the wicked may not cauill for their excuse, that they want a sanctuary wherunto they may withdraw themselues from the bondage of sinne, when with their owne vnthankfulnes they refuse it being offred them. Therefore when the mercy of God is by the Gospell offred to both sorts, it is faith, that is to say the enlightning of God, which maketh difference between the godly and vngodly, so as the one sort seeleth the

effectu-

effectualnesse of the Gospel, and the other sort obtaine no fruite thereof. The enlightning it selfe also hath the eternal election of God for the rule thereof.

Mat. 23. 37. The complaint of Christ, which they allege, Ierusalem, Ierusalem, howe oft haue I willed to gather together thy chickens, but thou wouldest not? maketh nothing for them. I graunt that Christ there speeketh 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 will of God which is entreated of. For neither is it vnknown, how diligently God endeoured to keepe stil that people, and with how great stiffenesse they euen from the first to the last being giuen to their wandering desires refused to be gathered together: but it followeth not thereof that the counsell of God was made voyde by the malice of men. They aunswere 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 expounde it. But why doe they not consider so many testimonies, where God putting vpon him the affectiones of man descendeth beneath his owne maiesty? He saith that he hath with stretched out armes called the rebellious people, that he hath early and late trauailed to bring them backe to him. If they will apply all these thinges 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. Howe be it the solution which wec haue brought in an other place largely sufficeth, that although the will of God be, as to our sense manifolde: yet he doth not in himselfe diuersly wil this and that, but according to his wisdom, which is diuersly manifolde (as Paul calleth it) he amaseth our senses, till it shall be giuen vs to knowe that he maruelously will th that which now seemeth to be against his will. They also mocke with cauillations, that sith God is the father of all, it is vnrighteous that he should disherit any that hath not before with his own 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 bounde 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 euill speaking hindereth these railers that they consider not that God so bringeth forth his sunne to shine vpon the good and euill, that the inheritaunce is layde vp for a fewe, to whome it shall one day be sayde, Come ye blessed of my Father, possesse the kingdome, &c. They obiect also that God hateth none of these thinges that he hath made. Which although I graunt them, yet this remaineth safe which I teach, that the reprobate are hatefull to God, and that verie rightfully, because they being destitute of his Spirite 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 sette before all men: namely if they graunt (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 obiect in an other place, that God hath enclosed all thinges vnder sinne, that he may haue mercie vpon all: namely because hee will that the saluation of all them that are saued be ascribed to his mercie, although
thus

*Esa. 65. 2.**Epha. 3. 10.**Matt. 5. 45.
Mat. 25. 34**Rom. 9. 24.**Rom. 11. 22.*

this benefite be not common to all. Nowe when many thinges are alleadged Rom. 9. 20.
 on both partes, let this be our conclusion, to tremble with Paul at so great
 depth, and if wanton tongues shall be busie, that we be not ashamed of this
 his crying out, O man, what art thou that striuest with God? For Augustine De pride. &
 truly affirmeth that they do peruersly which measure the righteousnesse of gratia. ca. 2.
 God by the measure of the righteousnes of man.

The xxv. Chapter.

Of the last Resurrection.

Although Christ the sonne of righteousness, hauing overcome death,
 shining by the Gospell, giueth vs the light of life (as Paul witnesseth)
 whereby also it is said that by beleeuing we haue passed from death into life, 2. Tim. 1. 20.
 being nowe not foreners and straungers, but citizens with the Saintes, and Iohn. 5. 24.
 of the householde of God, which hath made vs to sit with the onely begot- Eph. 2. 19.
 ted sonne himselfe in heauenly places, that nothing may be wanting to per-
 fect felicitie: yet least it should be greuous vnto vs to be exercised vnder this
 hard warfare, as though we had no fruire of the victorie which Christ hath
 gotten, we must hold fast that which is in an other place taught of the nature
 of hope. For, because wee hope for those thinges which appeare not, and
 (as it is saide in an other place) faith is a demonstration of thinges inuisible:
 so long as we are inclosed in the prison of the flesh, wee are wayfaring from
 the Lord. For which reason the same Paul saith in an other place that we are Rom. 8. 28.
 deade, and that our life is hidden with Christ in God, and that when hee Heb. 11. 1.
 which is our life, shall appeare, then shall we also appeare with him in glorie. 2. Cor. 5. 6.
 This therefore is our condition, that with liuing soberly and iustly and Col. 3. 3.
 godlily in this worlde, wee looke for the blessed hope, and the comming of Tit. 2. 12.
 the glorie of the great God, and of our Sauour Iesus Christ. Here we neede
 a singular patience, that we be not wearied and either turne backe our course
 or forsake our standing. Therefore whatsoeuer hath beene hitherto set our
 concerning our saluation, requireth mindes lifted vp to heauen, that wee
 may loue Christ whome we haue not seene, and beleeuing in him may re-
 ioyce with vnspeakeable and glorious ioyfulness till wee receiue the ende
 of our faith, as Peter telleth vs. After which maner, Paul saith that the faith
 and charitie of the godly hath respect to the hope which is laide vp in hea- 1. Pet. 1. 8.
 uen. When we thus with our eyes fastened vpon Christ doe hange of hea- Col. 1. 5.
 uen, and nothing withholdeth them in earth from carying vs to the prom-
 ised blessednesse: then is that truely fulfilled, Our heart is where our trea-
 sure is. Here vpon commeth that faith is so rare in the worlde, because no- Matt. 7. 21.
 thing is more harde to our dulnesse than through innumerable steppes to
 climbe vp aboute them with endeuouring forwarde to the price of our hea-
 uenly calling: To the great heape of miseries wherewith wee bee almost
 ouerwhelmed, are added the mockinges of vngodlie men, wherewith
 our simplicitie is rayled at, when voluntarilie forsaking the allurements
 of present good thinges, wee seene to followe the blessednesse hid-
 den from vs, as it were a fleeing shadowe. Finally aboute and beneath

vs, before vs and behinde vs, violent tentations beseege vs, to the susteining of the feare whereof our courages shoulde be farre too weake, vnlesse being vncumbred of earthly things they were fast bounde to the heauenly life, which in seeming is farre from vs. Wherefore only he hath soundly profited in the Gospell, which is enured to a continual meditation of the blessed resurrection.

2 Of the foueraigne ende of good things, the philosophers haue in olde time curiously disputed, and also strued among themselues: yet none except Plato, acknowledged the foueraigne good of man to bee his conioyning with God. But what maner of conioyning that was, he could not perceiue so much as with any small tast, and no maruell, sith he had neuer learned of the holy bond thereof. To vs the only & perfect felicitie is knowen euen in this earthly wayfaring: but, such as dayly more and more inkindleth our heartes with desire of it, till the full enjoying may satisfie vs. Therefore I saide that none receive frute of the benefites of Christ, but they that list vp their mindes to the resurrection. For, Paul setteth vp this marke to the faithfull, towarde which he saith that hee endeuoreth, and forgetteth all things till he come to it. And so much the more cheerefully ought wee to trauel toward it, least if this world withhold vs, wee suffer greuous punishment for our slouthfulnesse. Wherefore in an other place he marketh the faithfull with this marke, that their conuersation is in heauen, from whence also they looke for their Sauour. And that their courages should not faint in this race, he ioyneth all creatures companions with them. For, because euery where are scene deformed ruines, he saith that all things in heauen and earth doe endeuour to the renewing. For sith Adam by his fall dissolved the perfect order of nature to the creatures, their bondage is painfull & greuous, wherevnto they are subiect by reason of the sinne of man, not for that they are indued with any feeling, but for that they naturally couet the perfect estate from which they are fallen. Therefore Paul sayth that they grone, and are as in paine of childe bearing, that wee to whome are giuen the first frutes of the Spirite, may be ashamed to pine away in our corruption, and not at the least to followe the deade elementes, which beare paine of an others sinne. And the more to pricke vs forward, he calleth the laste comming of Christ our redemption. It is true indeede that all the partes of our redemption are already fulfilled: But because Christ hath once bene offered for sinnes, he shalbe seene againe without sinne vnto saluation. With what miseries focuer we be pressed, let this redemption sustein vs euen vntil the performance of it.

2 The verie weight of the thing it selfe shal whette our endeuour. For neither doeth Paul without cause affirme that the whole Gospell is voide & deceitefull, vnlesse the dead doe rise againe: because our state shoulde bee more miserable than the state of all men, namely sith we lying open to the hatreds and reproches of many, are euerie houre in daunger, yea and are as sheepe appointed to the slaughter: and therefore the authoritie thereof should fal away not only in one part, but also in the whole sum which both our adoption and the effecte of our saluation conteineth. And so let vs be heedfully bent to the most earnest thing of all, that no continuance of time

Arg: 22 fine
soliano, in
no sub.

Phil 3. 10.

Phil 3. 20.

Rom. 8. 19.

Hebr. 10.

1. Cor. 15. 14

time may make vs wearie. For which purpose I haue differred to this place which I had breefely to entreate of it, that the readers may learne, when they haue receiued Christ the authour of their saluation, to rise vp hier, and may knowe that he is clothed with heauenly immortalite and glorie, that the whole bodie may be made like fashioned to the heade, as also the holy Ghost oftentimes setteth foorth in his person an example of the resurrection. It is a thing harde to bee beleueed, that bodies when they haue beene consumed with rottenesse, shall at their appointed time rise vp againe. Therefore where many of the Phylosophers haue affirmed soules to be immortal, the resurrection of the flesh hath beene allowed of fewe: wherein although there was no excuse, yet we are thereby put in minde, that it is too hard a thing to drawe mans senses to beleuee it. That faith may ouercome so great a stoppe, the scripture ministrerth two helpe: 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 of Christ come into our mindes: which in the nature that he tooke of vs, so ranne out the race of mortall life, that nowe hauing obtained immortalite, he is to vs a pledge of the resurrection to come. For in the miseries wherewith we are besieged, wee carie about his mortifying in our fleche, that his life may bee openly shewed in vs. And wee may not seuer him from vs, neither can wee possiblic, but that he must be torne in sunder. Whereuppon commeth that argument of Paul, If the deade doe not rise againe, then neither is Christ risen againe: because verily hee taketh that principle for confessed, that Christ was not made subiect to death, nor obteyned victorie of death by rising againe, priuately for himselfe: but, that that was begun in the heade which must needs bee fulfilled in all the members, according to the degree and order of euery one. For it were not right that they should in all pointes be made egall with him. It is saide 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 gifte, yet the full effect hath not appeared but in Christ, which being free from all rotting hath receyued againe his body whole. Nowe least the fellowshippe of blessed resurrection with Christ shoulde bee doubtfull to vs, that wee may be contented with this pledge, Paul expressly affirmeth that he therefore sitteth in heauen, and shall come at the last day a iudge, that he may make our base and vile body like fashioned to the glorious body. In another place also hee teacheth, that God rayfed not vp his sonne from death to the intent to shewe a token of his power: but to stretch out the same effectuall force of the spirite towarde vs which are faithfull: whome he therefore calleth life, while he liueth in vs, because he was giuen to this ende that he should make aliue that which is mortall in vs. I knit vp in a briefe abridgement those things which might both be more largely handled and are worthie to be more gorgiously set out: and yet I trust that the godly readers shal in fewe words find matter enough which may suffice to edifie their faith. Christ therefore is risen againe, that hee might haue vs companions of the life to come. Hee was raised vp of the father, in so much as hee was the heade of the Church, from which he doeth in no wise suffer himselfe to be plucked away. He was raised vp by the power of the Spirite, which is common to vs

2. Cor. 4. 10.

1. Cor. 15. 13

Psal. 6. 10.

Phil. 3. 21.

vnto the office of quickening. Finally he was raised vp, that he should be resurrection and life. But as we haue saide that in this mirrour, their is to be seene of vs a liuely image of the resurrection, so let it bee to vs a sure substance to stay our minde, so that yet wee be not loothfull 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 Paule: The first fruites is Christ: and then they that are Christes, euery one in his order. But that no question should be moued of the resurrection of Chrst, vppon which the resurrection of vs al is founded, we see by howe many and how diuerse meanes hee hath made it approued by witnesse to vs. Fine nosed men will laugh at the history which the Euangelistes rehearse, as at a childish mockery. For of what imporrance shall the message be which fearefull silly women bring, and afterward the disciples confirme being in a manner astonished? Why did not Christ rather sette vp the triumphing ensignes of his victorie in the midst of the temple & the market place? Why came he not forth terrible in to the sight of Pilate? Why doth he not also proue himself to the priests, and to whole Ierusalem that he is risen vp alieue againe? As for y^e witnesses which he choose, prophane men will scarcely grant them to be sufficient. I answere that although in these beginnings the weaknesse thereof was contemptible, yet al this was gouerned by the wonderful 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 shoulde heare of the Angels that which they sawe with their eyes. Howe shall we suspect their credite, who thought it to be a fable which they had heard of the women, til they were brought to the present sight of y^e thing it selfe? As for all the people and the Ruler himselfe, after that they had bin largely conuincid, it is no maruell if as wel y^e sight of Christ, as other signes, was not graunted them. The sepulchre was sealed vp, the watchmen watched it, the thirde day the body was not founde, The souldiers corrupted with mony scatered a rumor that his disciples had stolen him away, As though they had had power to gather a band together, or had armure, or were practised men to interprise any such feate. If the soldiars had not courage enough to driue them away, why did they not pursue them, that with y^e helpe of the people they might haue taken some of them? Pilate therefore with his ring truly sealed the resurrection of Christ: & 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 heauenly glistering plainly shewed y^e they were not men but Angels. Afterward, if there remained any doubting, Christ himselfe tooke it away. The disciples sawe him often than once, and also felt his fete and his hands, and their hardnes of beleuing not a litle profited to the strengthening of our faith. Hee disputeth among them of the mysteries of the kingdom of God, and at the last in their sightes 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 mo than fise hundred

1. Cor. 15.

Objectio

Resp:

Matt. 27. 66.
and 28. 11.

Luk. 24. 6.

A 2. 1. 3.

brethren. Nowe when he sent the holy Ghost, he shewed a sure prooffe not onely of life, but also of the souereigne power: as hee had saide before, It is profitable for you that I go: otherwise the holy Ghost shal not come. But now Paul was ouerthrowen by the way not by the strength of a deade man, but he felt him whome he persecuted to haue most hie power. To Stephen hee appeared for an other end, namely that with assurednesse of life he might ouercom the feare of death. To discredit so many authentike witnesses, is not onely a part of distrustfulnesse, but also of frowarde and furious stubbornnesse.

1. Cor. 13. 6.
Iohn 16.
A&. 9. 4.
A&. 7. 55.

4 This which we haue saide, 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 body like fashioned to the body of his brightnesse, according to the working of his power, by which hee may subdue all things to himselfe. Wherefore nothing is more vnmeet, than here to haue respect what may naturally be done, where an inestimable 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 hee) that which thou sowest is not quickened vnlesse it first dy, &c. He saith that in seed is seene a forme of the resurrectiō, because out of rottennes 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 coastes of the worlde doe offer themselues 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 affiance, crieth out, Thy deade shall liue, my carcase shal rise againe. Awake ye, and praise, ye dwellers of the dust. In despaired case he listeth vp himselfe to God the author of life, in whose hand are the ends of death, as it is saide 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 knowe that my redeemer liueth: and in the last day hee shall rise vpon the dust (namely to shew foorth his power therein) and I shal againe be compassed with my skinne, and in my flesh I shall see God, I shall see him, and none other. For albeit y some do suttely wrest these places, as though they ought not to be vnderstande of the resurrection, yet they strengthen that which they couer to ouerthrow: because the holy men in their euils seeke comfort from no where else, than from the likenesse of the resurrection. Which better appeareth by the place of Ezechiell. For when the Iewes beleued not the promise of their returne, and objected that it was no more likely that a way shoulde bee made open for them, than that deade men should come out of their graue: there was a vision shewed to the Prophete, a field full of drie bones: those the Lorde commanded to take agayne flesh and sinewes. Although vnder that figure hee raiseth vp the people to hope of returne: yet the matter of hoping hee gathereth of the resurrection: as it is to vs an examplar of the deliucraunces which the faithfull doe feele in this worlde. So Christ, when hee hadde taught that the voyce of the Gospell giueth life: because the Iewes receyued not this, he by and by saide

Phil. 3. 20.

note

Esa. 26. 19.

Psal. 68. 20.

Iob. 19. 25.

Eze. 37. 8.

Iohn. 5. 27.

sur-

further: Maruell not at this, because the houre commeth in which all that are in the graues sh all heare the voyce of the sonne of God, and shall come foorth. Therefore after this example of Paul, let vs alreadie cherefully 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 y a crowne of righteousnesse is layde vp for vs, which the iust iudge shall deliuer vs. So shall it come to passe, that whatsoeuer greues wee suffer, they shal 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 appearing 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 shal come that he may be glorified in his saints, and be made wonderful in al them that haue beleued, because the Gospel hath beenc beleued.

5 But although the mindes of men ought to haue bene continually occupied in this studie: yet as though they woulde of set purpose destroy all remembrance of the resurrection, they haue called death the vttermost bond of al things and the destruction of man. For verily Salomon speaketh of the common and received opinion, when he saith that a liuing dogge is better than a deade Lyon. And in another place: Who knoweth whether the soule of a man goe vpwarde, and the soule of a beast goe downewarde? But in all ages this brutish senselesse error hath beenc common in the worlde, yea and hath broken into the Church it selfe: for, the Sadduces haue presumed to professe openly that there is no resurrection, yea and y soules are mortall. But that this grosse ignorance should not help to excuse any man, y infidels euen by verie instinct of nature haue alway had an image of the resurrection before their eyes. For to what purpose serued that holy and inuiolable manner of burying, but to bee an earnest of newe life? Neither may it bee answered that this spring of error: because the religiousnesse of buryall was alway in vre among the holy Fathers, and God willed the same maner to remaine among the Gentiles, that an image of the resurrection set before them might awake their drowfines. But although that ceremony wanted his vse of profiting, yet it is profitable for vs if we wisely marke the end of it, because it is no slender confutation of vnbeleefe, that altogether professed that which no man beleued. But Satan hath not only astonished the senses of men, so that they haue buried with the bodies the remembrance of y resurrection, but also hath practised to corrupt this part of doctrine with diuerse fained inuentions, y at length it might vtterly die. I passe ouer, howe in Pauls time Satan began to pinch at it: but in a litle after there followed y Millenaries, which limited y raigne of Christ to a thousand yeares. This error is so childish y it needeth not or is not worthy of any confutation. Neither doth y Reuelation make on their side, by which it is certaine that they colored their error: for as much as in the place where he mentioneth the number of a thousande, hee intreateth not of the eternall blessednes of the Church, but onely of the diuerse troubles which were to come vpon the Church while it yet trauelled in earth. But the whole Scripture cryeth out that there shal bee no ende of the blessednesse of the electe, nor of the punishment of the

2.Tim.4.3.

2 Thel. 2
5. Jc

3/16

3 vltima li
na verum.
Eccle.9.4.

Eccle.3.21.

Mar.12.18.

Luke.20.27.

Act.2.8.

6

Reue.20.4.

the reprobate. Now of all things which both are hidden from our sight and do farre passe the capacite of our minde, either wee must fetch the credite out of the certaine oracles of God, or we must vterly cast it away. They which assigne to the children of God a thousand yeres to enioy the inheritance of the life to come, do not marke how great a dishonor they do both to Christ and his kingdom. For if they shal not be clothed with immortalitie: then neither is Christ himselfe, to whose glory they shalbe newly fashioned, receiued into the immortal glorie. If their blessednesse shall haue any end: then the kingdom of Christ, vpon the stedfastnes whereof it standeth, endureth but for a time. Finally, either they are most vnskillful of all matter concerning God, or they go about with crooked maliciousnes to ouerthrow the whole grace of God & power of Christ, the fulfilling wherof is no otherwise perfect, but when sinne being blotted out & death swallowed vp, eternal life is fully restored. But very blind men may see how fondly they play the fooles: which feare that they should ascribe to God too greate crueltie if the reprobate be condemned to euerlasting paines. The Lorde forsooth shall doe wrong, if hee deny his kingdom to them which haue by their vnthankfulness made themselues vnworthy of it. But (say they) their sinnes endure but for a time. I graunt: but y^e maiestie, yea & 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 suffred, when the maiestie of God is so litle serby, 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 saide, we may seeme to iudge their dotages worthy of contutation. R

6 Beside these, there haue bin two other doting errors brought in by men peruersly curious. The one sorte 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, say that they shalbe clothed with new bodies: whereby they deny 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, howe 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 bodie in this fraile life, & to bring the temple of the holy Ghost to nothing: Finally, to spoile that parte of vs wherein diuinenesse chiefly shineth & markes of immortalitie appeare, to spoile it (I say) of this gift: so that the estate of the body should be better & more excellent than y^e estate of the soule. The Scripture teacheth far otherwise, which compareth the bodie to a cottage, out of which it sayeth that wee remoue when we die, because it esteemeth vs by that parte which maketh vs differing from brute beastes. So Peter beeing nic to death, sayeth 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 wee are wayfaring from the Lorde so long as wee 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. R

dies, what is it that hath God present when it is seuered from the body? But the Apostle taketh away all doubting, when hee teacheth that wee are ioyned in fellowship to the spirites of the righteous. By which wordes he sheweth, that we are ioyned in fellowship to the holy fathers, which euen beeing dead do keepe the same godlinesse with vs, so that wee cannot be the members of Christ vnlesse we growe together with them. Vnlesse also the soules being vnclodeth of the bodies, did keepe still their substance and were able to receiue blessed glorie, Christ would not haue said to the thiefe: This day thou shalt be with me in paradise. Hauing so cleare testimonies, let vs not dout after the example of Christ when we are dying, to comend our soules to God, or after the example of Stephen, to commit them to Christ to keepe, which not vnworthily is called a faithfull shepheard and Bishop of them. To enquire of their meane state, is neither lawful nor expedient. Many doe much comber themselues with disputing what place they keepe, and whether they do now enioy the heauenly glorie or no. But it is folly & rashnes, to search deepe of vnknown things, than God doeth giue vs leaue to knowe. When the Scripture hath said that Christ is present with them, and receiuet them into paradise that they may enioy 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 nowe open to vs that which God hath hidden? Of the place, the question is no lesse fonde & vaine: forasmuch as we know that there is not the same dimension of y^e soule which is of the bodie. Whereas the blessed gathering together of holy spirites is called the bosome of Abraham, it is enough for vs after this wayfaring to be receiued of the common father of the faithfull, that he may communicate with vs the fruite of his faith. In the meane time sith the Scripture euery where biddeth vs to hang vpon the expectation of Christs comming, and differreth the crowne of glorie til then: let vs bee content with these bondes appointed vs of God: namely, that the soules of the godly hauing ended the labour of their warfare do go into a blessed rest, where with happy ioyfulness they looke for the enioying of the promised glorie: and that so al things are holden in suspense til Christ the redeemer appeare. As for the reprobate, it is no dout that they haue the same estate which Iude assigneth to the deuils, to be holden bound with cheines, til they be drawn to y^e punishment whereunto they are condemned.

7 No lesse monstrous is their error, which imagine that soules shall not receiue againe the same bodies wherwith they are now clothed, but shal haue newe and other bodies. And the reason of the Manichees was verie trifling, that is, that it is not meere that flesh which is vnclene shoulde 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 vnclene, because it was creat of the Diuel: Onely I shewe that whatsoeuer is now in vs vnworthie of heauen, it hindereth not the resurrection. And first wheras Paul biddeth the faithfull to cleanse themselues from al defiling of the fleshe and of the Spirite, thereupon followeth the iudgement which

Heb. 12. 23.

Luk. 23. 43.

A.C. 7. 59.
2. Pet. 2. 25.Matt. 5. 8. &
26.
Ioh. 12. 32.

Iud. 7. 6.

2. Cor. 7. 1.
2. Cor. 5. 10.

which he in an other place pronounceth, that euery man shall receiue by his body either good or euill. Wherewith agreeth that which he writeth to the Corinthians, That the life of Iesus Christ may be openly shewed in our mortall fleshe. For which reason in an other place hee doth no lesse praye that God preserue the bodies whole vnto the day of Christ, than the soules and spirits. And no maruell, because it were a most great absurditie that the bodies which God hath dedicate to bee temples to himselfe, shoulde fall away into rottensse without hope of rising againe. What say we to this, that they are also the members of Christ? that GOD commaundeth all the partes of them to be sanctified to himselfe? that hee willetch his name to bee prayed with tongues, pure handes to be lifted vp to him, sacrifices to bee offered? What madnesse is it therefore that that parte to which the heauenly iudge hath vouchsafed to grant so great honour, shoulde be brought from a mortall man into dust without any hope of restoring? Likewise when Paul exhorteth vs to suffer the Lorde as well in body as in soule, because both belong to God, verily he suffereth not that which hee chalengeth to God as holy, to be adiudged to eternall rottenesse. Neither is there a plainer determination of the Scripture for any thing, than for the rising againe of this fleshe which we beare. This corruptible (sayth Paul) must put on vncorruption, and this mortall must put on immortalitie. If God did make newe bodies, where is this changing of qualitie? If it had bin sayd y we must be reued, the doubtfull speeche peradventure mought haue giuen occasion to their cauillation. But nowe when pointing with his finger to the bodies wherewith we are clothed, he promiseth to them vncorruption, he plainly enough denieth any newe bodies to be made. Yea he could not (sayth Tertullian) speake more plainly, vnlesse he had holden his owne skinne in his hande. And they can by no cauillation escape from this, that where in an other place he sayth that Christ shalbe the iudge of the worlde, he allegeth this testimonie of Esay, I liue (sayth the Lorde) euery knee shall bow to me: for asmuch as he plainly pronounceth that they to who he speaketh shalbe subiect to yeld an account of their life, which could not agree, if new bodies shoulde be brought before the iudgement seate. Now in the wordes of Daniel there is no doubtfullnesse: 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 plain reason teacheth. For if mortality which tooke beginning at the fall of man, be accidentall: then the repaying which Christ brought, pertaineth to the same body which beganne to bee mortall. And truly, wheras the Athenians laughed when Paul affirmed the resurrection, thereupon we may gather what maner of resurrection he preached: and that same laughing not smally auaieth to strengthen our faith. The saying of Christ also is worthy to bee noted: Feare not them which kill the body, & can not 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 nowe beare be subiect to punishment. And no lesse plaine is an other saying of the same Christ. The houre commeth, when all they that are in graues, shall heare the voyce of the sonne of God, and shall come

2. Cor. 4. 10;
2. Thes. 5. 231. Cor. 6. 15.
2. Tim. 2. 8.

1. Cor. 6. 20.

1. Cor. 15. 53

Rom. 7. 11.

Es. 49. 13.

Dan. 12.

Matt. 10. 28.

John 5. 28.

forth: they that haue done good, into the resurrection of life: but they \bar{y} haue done euill, into the resurrection of iudgement. Shall we say that soules rest in the graues, that they lying there may heare Christe? and not rather that at his commaundement 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 again: was it with forging to himselfe a newe body? No, but as hee had sayde before, Destroy this temple, & in three dayes I will build it vp: he tooke againe the same body which he hadde before borne mortall, For he had not much profited vs, if a newe body being put in place, the old body had bene destroyed which was offered vp for a sacrifice of satisfactory cleansing. We must also hold fast that fellowship which the Apottle preacheth: That wee rise againe, because Christe hath risen againe: for nothing is lesse probable than that our fleshe 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 can not be denied that this was a foreshewing, or rather an earnest of the last resurrection which wee hope for: such as was before in Enoch and Elias, whom Tertullian calleth New possessors of the resurrection: because they being in body and soule deliuered from corruption, were receiued into the keeping of God.

8 I am ashamed in so cleare a matter to spende so many wordes: but the readers shall contentedly beare this trouble with me, that no hole may be open for frowarde and bolde wittes to deceiue the simple. The fleeing spirits with whom I now dispute, bring forth a fained inuention of their own braine that at the resurrection there shall be a creation of newe bodies. What reason moueth them to thinke so, but because it seemeth to them incredible, that a carion consumed with so long rottenness should returne into his auncient state? Therefore onely vnbelieve is the mother of this opinion. But vs on the other side \bar{y} Spirit of God ech where in the Scripture exhorteth to hope for the resurrection of our flesh. For this reason baptisme (as Paul witneseth) is to vs a seale of the resurrection to come: and likewise the holy Supper allureth vs to the trust thereof, when wee receiue with our mouth the Signes of spirituall grace. And truely the whole exhortation of Paul, that wee giue our members to be weapons vnto the obedience of righteousness, should be colde vnlesse that were ioyned which he addeth afterwarde; He that hath raised vp Christ from the dead, shall quicken also your mortall bodies. For, what should it profite to applye our feete, handes, eyes, and tongues vnto the seruice of G O D, vnlesse they were partakers of the fruite and reward? Which thing Paul plainly confirmeth with his owne wordes, saying: The bodie not to fornication, but to the Lorde: and the Lorde to the bodie. And he that hath raised vp Christe, shall also raise vp vs by his power. More plaine are those wordes which followe: that our bodies are the temples of the holy Ghost and the members of Christ. In the meane time wee see howe he ioyneth the resurrection with chastitic and holinesse, as a litle after he sayeth that the price of redemption pertaineth also to the bodies. Nowe it were not reasonable that the body of Paule, in which hee

hath

John 2.19.

1. Cor. 15. 12

Matt. 17. 5 2
Candidati,
men clothed
in white, as
were among
 \bar{y} Romanes
they \bar{y} were
suters or
newly ele-
cted into
office.

Col. 2. 12.

2. Cor. 6. 4.
and 7.
Rom. 8.

1. Cor. 6. 12.
and 15. 19.

Gal. 6. 17.

hath borne the prints of Christ, & in which he honorably glorified Christ, Gal. 6. 17. 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 kingdome of God, no reason suffreth to debarre the bodies from this entrie, which God both exerciseth vnder the standerde of the crosse, and honoreth with the praise of victorie. Therefore of this matter there arose among the Saints no douting, but that they hoped to be companions of Christ, which remoueth into his own person all the afflictions wherewith we are proued, to teache that they bring life. Yea and vnder the law he exercisid the holy fathers in this faith with an outward ceremony. For to what purpose serued the vsage of burying, as we haue already shewed, but that they should knowe that there is newe life prepared for the bodies that are layd vp? Hereunto also tended the spices & other signes of immortalitie, wherewith vnder the law the darknes of faith was holpen euen as it was by the sacrifices. Neither was that maner bredde by superstition, forasmuch as we see that the Spirit doeth no lesse diligently 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 listeth vp our eyes from beholding of y^e graue which corrupteth & destroyeth all, to the sight of the reuiving. Moreouer the so diligent obseruing of the ceremonie which is praised in the Fathers, sufficiently proueth that it was to them a rare and pretious 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 bodie of his wife with the signes of the resurrection he might confirme both his owne faith and the faith of his housholde. But a clearer prooue of this thing appeareth in the example of Iacob, which to testifie to his posteritie that the hope of the promised lande was not euen by death fallen out of his minde, commaunded his bones to be carried thither. I beseech you, if he was to be clothed with a newe body, shoulde hee not haue giuen a sonde commaundement concerning dust that shoulde 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 prooue. 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 nowe first created, neither shoulde that saying of Christ stand fast, Whatsoeuer the Father hath giuen me, it shall not perish, but I will raise it vp in the last day. To the same purpose serueth the worde of Sleeping, which pertaineth onely to the bodies. Whereupon also burying places were called Cæmeteria, Sleeping places. Nowe it remaineth that I speake somewhat of the maner of the resurrection. I vse this worde, because Paul calling it a mystery, exhorteth vs to sobrietie, and bridleth the libertie to dispute like Philosophers freely & suttelly of it. First we must hold, as we haue saide, that wee shall rise againe in the same flesh which wee beare, as touching the substance, but the qualitie shall be other. As when y^e same flesh of Christ which had bene offered for sacrifice, was raised vp againe, yet it ex-

Phil. 3. 21.

Act. 14. 22.

Matt. 26. 10.

Gen. 23. 4. & 19.

Gen. 47. 30.

Iohn. 6. 33.

1. Cor. 15. 51.

celled in other qualities as if it had bene altogether another flesh. Which thing Paul declareth by familiar examples. For as there is all one substance of the flesh of a man, & of a beast, but not all one qualitie: as all starres haue like matter, but not like brightnes: so he teacheth that though we shal keepe stil the substance of our body, yet there shalbe a change, that the state of it may be much more excellent. The bodie therefore, that we may be raised vp againe, shal not perish nor vanish away: but putting off corruption, it shall put on vncorruption. But forasmuch as God hath all the elements ready at his beck, no hardinesse shal hinder him, but y he may cōmand both y earth & waters & fire, to render that which seemeth to bee consumed by them.

Esa. 26. 21.

Which also Esay testifieth though not without a figure, where hee saith, Behold, the Lord shall go forth of his place, that he may visite the iniquitie of the earth: & the earth shal discover her bloud, & shal no more hide her dead. But there is to be noted a difference betweene them that haue bene deade

1. Cor. 15. 51

long before, and those whome that day shal finde aliue. For wee shal not all sleepe (as Paul saith) but we shal all be changed: that is to say, it shall not bee of necessitie that there be a distāce of time between death & the beginning of the second life: because in a moment of time, & in the twinkling of an eye, the sound of the trumpet shal pearce, to raise vp the dead vncorruptible, and with a soudaine change to fashio againe the liuing into the same glorie. So

1. The. 4. 15.

in another place he comforteth the faithfull which must die: because they which shall then remaine aliue shal not go before the dead, but rather they shall first rise againe which haue slept in Christ. If any obiect that saying of

Heb. 9. 27.

the Apostle, that it is appointed to all mortall men once to die, it is easie to answere it with saying that when the state of nature is changed, it is a kinde of death, and is fitly so called. And therefore these things agree wel together, that all shalbe renued by death when they shall put of their mortall body: & yet that it is not necessaric that there be a seuering of the body & the soule where there shalbe a soudaine changing.

9 But here ariseth a harder question: by what right the resurrection which is the singular benefit of Christ is common also to the wicked and the accur

Iohn 11. 25.

sed of God. We knowe that all were in Adam condemned to y death. Christ came the resurrection & life. Came he to giue life to al mankind vniuersally without choise? But what is more against reason, than that that they shoulde by their obstinate blindness obtaine that which the godly worshippers of God do obtaine by onely faith? Yet this remaineth certaine, that there shal be one resurrection of iudgement, and another resurrection of life, and that Christ shall come to seuer the Lambes from the Goates. I answere, that this ought not to seeme strange, the likenes whereof wee see in daily experience.

Matt. 25. 31.

We see that in Adam wee were deprived of the inheritance of the whole world, & that we are by no lesse iust reason debarred from common soode, than from the eating of the tree of life. Whence then commeth it to passe,

Matt. 5. 45.

that God doth not onely make his sunne to rise vpon the good & euil, but also as touching the vses of this present life, his inestimable liberalitie continually floweth forth to them with large plentifulnesse? Hereby verily we knowe that those things which properly belong to Christ and his members, do also ouerflowe to the wicked, not that it is their rightful possession, but

that

that they may be made the more inexcusable. So the wicked do oftentimes finde God beneficiall, by more than meane prooves, yea such as sometime doe darken all the blessings of the Godly, but yet doe turne to their greater damnation. If any man obiect, that the resurrection is not fitly compared to fading and earthly benefitee: here also I aunswere that so soone as they were estranged from God the fountaine of life, they deserued the death of γ Diuel, whereby they shoulde be vtterly destroyed: Yet by the marueilous counsell of God there was founde a meane state 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 willes to the iudgement seate of Christ, whome nowe they refuse to heare for their maister and teacher. For it were a small paine to bee consumed away with death, if they were not to suffer punishment for their obstinacie, brought before γ iudge, whose vengeance they haue without ende and measure prouoked against themselves. But although wee must holde that which wee haue saide, and which that notable confession of Paul before Felix containeth, that he looketh for the resurrection of the righteous & wicked: yet the Scripture oftentimes setteth foorth election together with the heauenly glorie to the onely children of God: Because Christ properly came not to the destruction, but to the saluation of the worlde. Therefore in the Creede there is made mention of the blessed life only.

Act. 24. 15. 1

10 But forasmuch 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 ende of the resurrection: of the excellencie whereof, if all things were spoken which the tongues of men were able to speake, yet scarcely the smallest parcel thereof should be expressed. For howsoeuer we truely heare that the kingdome of God shalbe stuffed full with brightnesse, ioy, 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 shal giue to vs his glorie to be scen face to face. We knowe (saith Iohn) that wee are the children of God, but it hath not yet appeared. But when we shalbe like to him, then we shall see him such as he is. Wherefore the Prophets, because they could by no words expresse the spirituall blessednesse in it selfe, did in a manner grossly portray it out vnder bodily things. But forasmuch as the feruentnesse of desire must with some tast 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 drie, containe in him the fulnesse of all good things, nothing is beyond him to be coueted of them that tende toward the soueraigne good & the full perfection of felicitie: as wee are taught in many places. Abraham, I am thy rewarde exceeding great. With which saying accordeth Dauid, The Lorde is my portion, the lor hath very well fallen to mee. Againe in another place, I shalbe satisfied with thy countenance. But Peter pronounceth that the faithfull are called to this ende, that they may be made partakers of the nature of God. How so: because he shalbe glorified in all his saintes, and shalbe made wonderfull in them that haue beleeued. If the Lorde will enterparten his glory, power, & righteousnesse with his elect, yea & wil giue

Ose. 13. 14.
1. Cor. 15. 54

1. Iohn 3. 2.

Gen. 15. 2.

Psal. 16. 6.

Psal. 17. 15.

2. Pet. 1. 4.

himselfe to them to be enjoyed, and (which is better) will after a certaine manner growe into one with them: let vs remember that vnder this benefit is contained all kinde of felicitie. And when we haue much profited in this meditation, let vs reknowledge that wee 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 wee must keepe sobrietie, least with how much greater boldnes we shal fly vp on hie being vnmindful of our owne small measure, so much more the brightnesse of the heauenly glorie ouerwhelme vs. We feele also howe the vnmeasurable gredinesse to knowe more than is lawfull, tickleth vs: from whence both trifling & hurtfull questions do spring from time to time: trifling I call those of which there can no profite be gathered. But this seconde kinde is worse, because they which giue themselues to them, do entangle themselues with pernicious speculations, and therefore I call them hurtfull. That which the Scriptures doe teach, ought to be out of all dout with vs: namely that as God diuersly distributing his giftes to the Saintes in this worlde, doeth vnequally enlighten them, so the measure of glorie shall not be equall in heauen where God shal crowne his giftes. For neither doth this belong indifferently to all which Paul saith, Ye are my glorie and crowne in the day of Christ: nor also that saying of Christ to the Apostles: Ye shall sit iudging the twelue tribes of Israel. But Paul (which knew that as God enricheth the holy ones with spirituall giftes in earth, so hee beautifieth them with glorie in heauen) douteth not that there is a peculiar crowne layde 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 layde vp for them in heauen. So Daniel also sayeth, But the wise shal shine as the brightnesse of the firmament, and they which iustifie many, as Starres to the worldes ende and for euer. And if a man heedefully consider the Scriptures, they doe not onely promise eternall life to the faithfull, but also speciall rewarde to euery one. Whereupon commeth that saying of Paul, The Lorde render to him in that day. Which the promise of Christ confirmeth, Ye shall receiue a hundred folde in the the eternall life. Finally, as Christ beginneth in this worlde the glorie of his body with manifolde diuersitie of gift, and encreaseth it by degrees: so he shall also make it perfect in heauen.

II But as all the godly will receiue this with one consent, because it is sufficiently testified by the worde of God: so on the other side leauing crabbed questions, which they shall know to be a hinderance to them, they will not passe their appointed boundes. As for my part, I do not onely priuately forbear superfluous searching of vnprofitable things, but I also thinke that I ought to beware that I do not with aunswering nourish the lightnesse of other. Men hungrie of vaine knowledge do aske howe great shall be the distance betweene the Prophetes and the Apostles, and againe betweene the Apostles and the Martyrs: howe many degrees Virgines differ from married folkes: finally, they leaue no corner of heauen vnsearched. Then it commeth in their mindes to enquire to what purpose serueth the repairing of the worlde, sith the children of GOD shall neede nothing of all this.

1. Thef. 2. 19
Matt. 19. 28

Dan. 12. 3.

2. Tim. 4. 14

Matt. 19. 29

now for
solms

this so great and incomparable plenty: but shalbe like to the Angels, whose not eating is a signe of the eternall blessednesse. But I answere that in the very sight there shalbe so great pleasantnesse, so great sweetenesse in the onely knowledge without any vse, that this felicitie shall farre passe all the helpes wherewith we be now holpen. Let vs imagine our selues to be sette in the most wealthie coast of the worlde, and where we shall want no pleasure: yet who is there whom his sicknesse do not sometime hinder and nor suffer to vse the benefites of God? Who is there whose course his owne intemperance doth not oft breake in sunder? Whereupon followeth that a cleare enjoying and pure from all fault, although there be no vse of corruptible life, is the perfection of felicitie. Some go further & aske whether drosse and other corruptions in metalles, be not farre from restoring and are contrarie to it. Which though in some respectes I graunt them, yet I looke with Paul for the repairing of these faults which tooke their beginning at sinne, towards which repayinge they grone and are in trauaile. Yet they proceede further, and aske what better estate is prepared for man, sith the blessing of issue shal then be at an ende. This knot is also easie to be loosed. Whereas the Scripture so honorably setteth out that kinde of blessinge, that is referred to the encreases wherewith God continually draweth forward the order of nature her marke: but in the perfection it is knowen that there is an other manner. But sith the vnware are easily taken with allurementes, and then the maze draweth them in deeplier, & at length when euery mans deuises please himselfe there is no end of struiuing: therefore let this be a short way for vs, to be contented with the glasse & 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 knowe what is done there. All being commonly sluggish and slowe to enter into battailes, do already paint out to themselues imagined triumphes.

12 Nowe because no description can match the grieuoufnesse of the vengeance of God vpon the reprobate, their tormentes and paines are figured to vs by bodily thinges, namely by darkenesse, weeping, gnashing of teeth, vnquenchable fier, and a worme endeleffely gnawing the hearte. For by such manners of speech it is certaine that the holy Ghost meant to trouble al our senses with horreur: as when it is sayde that there is prepared from eternitie a deepe Hell, that the nourishmentes thereof are fire and muche woode: that the blast of the Lorde, as a streame of brimstone, doeth set it on fire. As by such thinges wee must be holpen after a certaine manner to conceiue the miserable state of the wicked, so we ought cheefely to fasten our thought vpon this howe wretched a thing it is to be estranged from the fellowshippe of God: and not that onely, but also to feele the maiestic 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 wherof all things are deuoured and swallowed vp. Then, all creatures so serue him to execute his iudgement, that they to whome the Lorde shall so shewe his wrath, shal feele the heauen, earth, sea, & beastes, 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 vnbeluying

Rom. 8. 22.

Matt. 8. 12,
and 22. 13.
Mar. 9. 43.

Esa. 66. 24.

Esa. 30. 33.

1. Thes. 1. 9.

shall suffer eternall punishment by dying from the face of the Lorde, & from the glorie of his power. And so oft as the Prophetes doe cast vs in feare with bodily figures, although they speake nothing excessiue for our dulnesse, yet they adde foreshe winges of the iudgemente to come, in the sunne and the moone and the whole frame of the worlde. 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 peared and launched with deadly stings, from trembling at the lightning of God, and being broosed with the weight of his hande: so that it is much more ease to enter into all bottomlesse depths and deuouring pittes, than to stand one moment in those terrours. What & how great then is this, to be pressed with euerlasting and neuer ceassing siege of him? Of which thing the 90. Psalme containeth a notable sentence: that although with only sight he scatter abroad all mortall men and bring them to nought, yet his worshippers, how much more feareful they are in the world, so much more he enforceth them and pricketh them forward loden with the crosse, vntill he be all in all.

THE FOURTH BOOKE

OF THE INSTITVTION OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION,

which intreateth of the outward meanes
or helpes, whereby God allureth vs into the
fellowship of Christ and holdeth
vs therein.

The first Chapter.

*Of the true Church vwith vvhich vve ought to keepe vnitie, because
as is the mother of all the godly.*



That by Faith of the Gospel Christ is become oures, and we be made partakers of the saluation brought by him and of eternall blessednes, is already declared in y last booke. But because our rudenes, & slouthfulnes, yea and vanity of wit, doe need outward helps wherby Faith in vs may both be engendred, and growe & encrease in proceeding toward the mark wherunto it tendeth: God hath also added the therby to prouide for our weaknes. And y the Preaching of the Gospel might flourish, he hath left this treasure with y Church. He hath appointed Pastors & teachers, by whose mouth he might teach them y be his: he hath furnished the with authority, finally he hath left nothing vndone that might auaille to the holy consent of faith and right order. First of all he hath ordained Sacramentes, which we feele by experience to be more than profitable helpes to nourish & confirme Faith. For because becing enclosed in the prison of our flesh, wee doe not yet attaine to the degree of Angels, God applying himself to our capacity according to his
wonderfull

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 entreate of the Church, and of the gouernment, orders and power of it, and then of the Sacraments, and lastly of the ciuill order: & therewithall that we call away the godly readees frō those corruptions wherewith Satan in the Papacie hath depraued all things that God hath appointed for our saluation. I will beginne at the Church, into whose bosome God will haue his children to be gathered together, not onely that they shoulde by her helpe and ministerie be nourished while they are infantes and young children, but also be ruled by her motherly care till they growe 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 hee is a Father, the Church be also their mother: and that not onely vnder the lawe, but also since the comming of Christ, as Paul witnesseth, which teacheth that we are the children of the new and heauenly Hierusalem.

Matt. 10. 9.
Gal. 8. 26.

2 In the Creede, where we professe that we beleue the Church, that is not spoken onely of the visible Church wherof wee nowe entreate, but of all the elect of God, in whose number they are also comprehended that are departed by death. And therefore this word Beleue is there set, because oftentimes there can no other difference bee noted betwene the children of God and the vngodly, betweene his peculiar flocke and sauage beastes. For whereas many doe interlace this word, In, that is without probable reason. I graunt indeede that it is the more commonly vsed, and also wanteth not the consenting testimonie of antiquitie, forasmuch as euen the Nicen Creed, as it is reported in the Ecclesiasticall historie, addeth the preposition, In. But there withall wee may marke by the writings of the auncient Fathers, that it was receiued without controuersie to say, that they beleued the Church and not in the Church. For Augustine, and that ancient writer whatsoeuer he was, whose work remaineth vnder the name of Cyprian concerning the exposition of the Creede, doe not onely so speake themselves, but also doe expressly note that it shoulde be an vnproper manner of speaking if the preposition were adioyned, & they confirme their opinion with no trifling reason. For we therefore testifie that wee beleue in God because vpon him as a true speaker our mind reposeth it selfe, and in him our confidence resteth which could not so conueniently be spoken to saye in the Church no more than it coulde be saide, I beleue in the forgiuenes of sinnes, or in the resurrection of the flesh. Therefore although I woulde not strue about wordes, yet I had rather followe the proprietie of speaking that shoulde be fittest to expresse the matter, than curiously to seeke for formes of speach whereby the matter may without cause be darkened. But the end is, y we should know that although the deuil attempt al 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 bloode of Christ be made barren, but that it will bring forth some fruite. And so is both the secrete election of G O D and his inwarde calling to bee considered: because hee alone knoweth who bee his, and holdeth them inclosed vnder a seale as Paul termeth it: saying that they beare his tokens whereby they may bee

Ephe. 1. 13.

scue-

generally knowne from the reprobate. But because a small and contemptible number lieth hid vnder a huge multitude, and a fewe graines of wheate are couered with a heape of chaffe, to God onely is to be lefte the knowledge of his Church, the foundation whercof is his secrete election. But it is not sufficient to conceiue in thought and minde the multitude of the electe, vnlesse we thinke vpon such an vnitie of the Church into which wee be truly perswaded that we our selues be ingrafted. For vnlesse we be vnder our head Christ vnited together with al the rest of his members, there abideth for vs no hope of y inheritance to come. It is therefore called Catholike or Vniuersal, because we cannot find two or three Churches but that Christ must bee 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 heade, so they may growe together as it were into one body, cleauing together with such a compacting of ioyntes as the members of one selfe body: being truly made one, which with one hope; Faith, Charitic, with one selfe Spirit of God doe 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 eche side presenteth it selfe in sight, crieth out that there is nothing left of the Church, yet let vs knowe that Christes death is fruitefull and that God maruellously as it were in secrete corners preserveth his Church. As it was said to Elias, I haue kept to my selfe seuen thousand men that haue not bowed their knee before Baal.

1. Reg. 19. 18.

3 Albeit this article of the Creede doeth in some respect belong to the outwarde Church, that euerie one of vs shoulde holde himselfe in brotherly consent with all the children of God, shoulde yeelde vnto the Church that authoritie which it deserueth, finally shoulde 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 bee neglected: because it verie well expresseth the qualitie of the Church: as if it had bene sayde that the Saintes are gathered together into the fellowship of Christ with this condition, that whatsoever benefites God bestoweth vpon them, they shoulde continually communicate them one to another. Whereby yet the diuersitie of graces is not taken away, as we know that the gifts of the holy Ghost are diuersly distributed: neither is the order of ciuil gouernement disturbed, by which it is lawfull for euerie man priuately to enioy his owne possessions, as it is necessary, that for preservation of peace among men, they should haue among themselues peculiar & diuided properties of things. But there is a cōmunitie affirmed such as Luke describeth, y of the multitude of y beleuers there was one hart & one soule: & Paul, when he exhorreth 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 y God is the cōmon father, & Christ the common head to thé al, but y being conioined among théselues with brothely loue, they should continually cōmunicate those thinges that they haue. Nowe it much behoueth vs to know what profite thereupon returneth vnto vs. For wee beleecue the Church to this ende, that wee may be certainly perswaded that wee are the members of it. For by this meane, our saluation resteth vpon sure sound staires, that

Act. 4. 31.
Eph. 4. 4.

that it, although the whole frame of the worlde be shaken, can not come to ruine and fall downe. First it standeth with goddes election, neither can it vary or faile but together with his eternall Prouidence. Then, it is after a certaine maner ioyned with the stedfastnesse 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 trueth shal alway abide with vs, so long as we are holden in the bosome of the Church. Last of al that we feele that these promises belong to vs, there shalbe saluation in Syon, God shall for euer abide in Hierusalem, that it may not at any time be moued. So much can the partaking of the Church doe, that it holdeth vs in the fellowship of God. Also in the very worde Communion is much comfote: because while it remaineth certaine, that whatsoeuer the Lorde giueth to his and our members, belongeth to vs, our hope is by all their good thinges confirmed. But in such sort to embrace the vnitie of the Church, it is not needfull (as wee haue already sayde) to see the Church it selfe with our eyes, or feele it with our handes: but rather by this that it consisteth in Faith, we are admonished that wee ought no lesse to thinke it to bee, when it passeth our vnderstanding, than if it openly appeared. Neither is our faith therefore the worse, because it conceiueth it vnknown: for as much as wee are not herein, commaunded to discerne the reprobate from the elect (which is the office of God onely, and not oures) but to determine assuredly in our minds, that all they that by the mercifull kindenesse of God the father through the effectuall workinge of the holy Ghoste, are come into the partaking of Christ, are seuered into the peculiar right and proper possession of Christe: and that, for asmuch as we be in the number of those, wee are partakers of so great a grace.

Ioel. 2. 32.
Abd. 17.
Psal. 46. 6.

4 But sith it is now our purpose to entreate of the visble Church, let vs learne euen by this one title of Mother, how much the knowledge thereof is profitable, yea necessary for vs: for asmuch as ther is no other cuntry into life, vnlesse she conceiue vs in her wombe, vnlesse she bring vs forth, vnlesse shee feede vs with her breastes, finally vnlesse shee keepe vs vnder her custody and gouernance, vtill such time as being vnclouted of mortall fleshe wee shalbe like vnto Angels. For our weakenesse suffereth vs not to be dismissed from schoole, till we haue bene scholars throughout the whole course of our life. Beside that out of her bosome there is no forgiuenes of sinnes, and no saluation to be hoped for, as witnesseth Esay and Ioel, with whome agreeth Ezechiel when he declareth y they shal not be in the number of Gods people whome he putteth away from the heauenly life. As on the contrary side, they are sayd to write their names among the citizens of Hierusalem, y turne themselves to the following of true godlinesse. After which manner it is also sayd in an other Psalme: Remember me, Lorde, in the good will of thy people: visite me in thy saluation that I may see the benefites of thy elect, that I may bee merry in the mirth of thy people, that I may reioyce with thy inheritance. In which wordes the fatherly fauour of God, & the peculiar testimony of the Spirituall life is restrained to his flocke, so y the departing from the Church is alway damnable.

Matt. 22. 30.

Esa. 37. 31.
Ioel. 2. 32.
Eze. 13. 9.

Psal. 106. 4.

5 But let vs proceed to profecute that which properly belongeth to this place,

Eph. 4. 11.

place. Paul writeth that Christ, that he might fulfill all thinges, gaue some Apostles, some Prophetes, some Euangelistes, and some Pastors and teachers, to the restoring of the holy ones, into the worke of ministerie, vnto the edification of the body of Christ, vntill we all come into the vnyty of Faith, and of the acknowledging of the sonne of God, vnto a perfecte man, and to the measure of the full grown age of Christ. We see howe God, which was able to make them that be his perfect in a momente, yet will not haue them growe into manly age but by the bringing vp of the Church. Wee see the meane expressed, for that vnto the Pastors is enioyned the preaching of the heauenly doctrine. We see howe all, not one excepted, are brought into one rule, that they shoulde with milde Spirit and willing to learne, yeelde themselues to the teachers appointed for that vse. And by this marke Esay

Esa. 59. 21.

had long before set out the kingdome of Christ, where hee sayeth: My Spirit which is in thee, and the wordes that I haue put in thy mouth shall neuer departe, neither out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seede and thy childrens children. Whereupon followeth that they are worthie to perishe with famine and pining hunger, whosoever they be that refuse the Spirituall meate of the soule reached vnto them of God by the handes of the Church.

Rom. 10. 17.

G O D doeth breath faith into vs, but by the instrument of his Gospell, as Paul sayeth 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 olde time he willed that there should be made holy assemblies to the sanctuarie, that doctrine

Psa. 132. 14.

Psal. 80. 2.

vttered by the mouth of the Priest should nourish the consent of faith. And to no other ende those glorious titles haue respect, where the temple is called the rest of God, and the sanctuarie his house, where he is sayde to sit betweene the Cherubines, but to bring estimacion, loue, reuerence and dignitie to the ministerie of the heauenly doctrine, which otherwise the sight of a mortall and despised man would not a litle diminishe. Therefore that we should knowe, that out of earthen vesselles is brought forth vnto vs

2. Cor. 4. 7.

inestimable treasure, God himselfe commeth 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 his to giue them-

Leuit. 19. 31.

selues to iudgement by flying of birdes, to south sayings, magical artes, necromancy and other superstitions, he immediatly addeth that hee will giue them that which ought to suffice in steede of all, that is to say, that they shall neuer be destitute of Prophetes. But like as he sent not the olde people to Angels, but raised vp teachers out of the earth, which might truely performe the office of Angels: so at this day also his will is to teach vs by men. And as in the olde time hee was not contente with the onely lawe, but added Priestes for expositors, at whose lippes the people should enquire for the true meaning thereof: so at this day he not only willeth vs to be heede fully bent to reading, but also appointeth maisters ouer vs, by whose trauaile wee may be holpen: whereof commeth double profitte. 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 prouideth for our weaknesse, while after the manner of menne he hadde rather speake

vnto

vnto vs by interpreters to allure vs vnto him, than with thundring driue vs away from him. And truly howe expedient this familiar manner of teaching is for vs, all the goodly doe feele by the feare wherwith the maiestie of God doth worthily astonish them. But they that thinke that the authoritie of the doctrine is abaced by the contempt of the men that are called to teach, doe bewray their vnthankfulnesse: because among so manie excellent giftes wherewith God hath garnished mankind: this is a singular prerogatiue, that he vouchsafeth to consecrate the mouthes and tongues of men to himselfe, that his owne voice shoulde sounde in them. Wherefore on our behalues let vs not bee greued obediently to embrace the doctrine of saluation set forth by his commaundement and by his owne mouth: because although y power of God is not bound to outwarde meanes, yet he hath bounde vs to the ordinarie maner of teaching: which whyle phrentike men refuse to keepe, they wrappe themselues in many deadly snares. Either pride, or disdainefulnes, or enuic moueth many to perswade themselues that they can sufficietly profite by their owne priuate reading and studie, and so to despise publik assemblies, and to accompte preaching superfluous. But sith they doe as much as in them is loose or breake in sonder the holy bonde of vnitie, no man escapeth the due punishment of this diuorce, but hee bewitcheth himselfe with pestilent errors and most wicked dotages. Wherefore, that the pure simplicitie of faith may flourish among vs, let vs not be greued to vse this exercise of godlinesse, 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 dogges which would say that we ought to stoppe our eares against God: But in all ages the Prophetes and godlie teachers haue had a harde 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 blotte 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 ofte repeated in the lawe for no other cause but for y the doctrine of the law and the exhortations of the Prophetes 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. Howe much the more detestable are the Apostates, which greedily seeke to deuide Churches, as though they did driue sheepe from their foldes and cast them into the mouthes of wolues. But we must holde that which he hath alleaged out of Paul, that the Church is no otherwise builded but by outwarde 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, as I haue saide, the faithfull in olde time vnder the lawe were commaunded to resort to the sanctuarie. Because when Moses speaketh of the dwelling place of God, hee doeth 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 godlinesse there is no vse thereof. And it is not doubtful but that for the same reason Dauid with great bitterness of Spirite complayneth that hee is by the tyrannous crueltie of his enemies kepte from enuing into the

Psa. 115. 4.
1. Cor. 3. 6.

Exod. 20. 24

Tabernacle. It seemeth commonly to many a childish lamentation, because it shoulde be but a verie small losse, and also no great pleasure should be for-gone thereby, to want the entrie of the temple, so that there were enough of other delightful things. But he bewayleth y with this one grieefe, anguish and sorrowe, he is fretted and vexed and in a manner wasted. For nothing is of greater estimation with the faithfull, than this helpe whereby God by degrees listeth vp his on hie. For this is also to be noted, that God in the mirror of his doctrine alway so shewed himself to the holy Fathers, y 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 hiest euen to the lowest al do aspire to the head. All the temples that euer the gentiles vpon any other purpose builded to God, were but a mere prophaning of his worship: whereunto though not with like grossehes, yett some what the Iewes fell. Whereof Stephen out of the mouth of Esay reprocheth them where hee saith, that God dwelleth not in temples made with handes, &c. Because onely God doeth by his worde sanctifie to himselfe temples to the lawfull vse. And if wee rashly attempt any thing without his commaundement, 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 Magitians hee burned vp or plucked downe all the temples of Greece, vndiscretly saide, that the gods to whom all thinges ought to be freely open were inclosed within wals and tiles. As though it were not in the power of God, to the entente he might bee neere vs, after a certaine manner to descende vnto vs, and yet neither to change place, nor to fasten vs to earthly meanes: but rather by certayne chariotes to carrie vs vp to his heauenly glorie, which with the inmeasurable greatnesse thereof filleth all thinges, yea and in heigh surmounteth the heauens.

6 Nowe forasmuch as at this time there hath beene great strife about the effectualnesse of the ministerie, whyle some excesssiuely amplifie the dignitic thereof; and some other affirme that that which is properly belonging to the holy Ghost is wronfully giuen away to mortall man, if wee thinke that ministers and teachers do pearce to the mindes and heartes, to amend as well the blindnesse of the mindes as the hardnesse of heartes: it is meete that we giue a right determination of this controuersie. All that they contende on both partes shal easily be accorded by expressly noting the places where God the author of preaching ioyning his spirit w it promiseth fruite therof: again, when seuering himselfe from outward helps he chalengeth to himselfe alone as wel the beginnings of faith as the whole course therof. It was the office of the seconde Elias (as Malachie witnesseth) to enlighten the mindes, and to turne the heartes of Fathers to the children, and vnbeleuers to the wisdome of the righteous. Christ pronounceth that hee sendeth the Apostles, that they shoulde bring fruite of their labor. But what that fruite is Peter shortly defineth, saying that wee be regenerate with incorruptible seede. And therefore Paul glorieth that hee by the Gospell begate the Corinthians, and that they were the seale of his Apostleshippe: yea that hee was not a literall minister, such as did onely beate the eares with

Psal. 132. 7.
Psal. 99. 5.
1. Para. 28. 2
A&. 7. 48.

Mal. 4. 6.
Iohn 15. 16.

1. Pet. 1. 23.
1. Cor. 4. 15.
1. Cor. 9. 2.

with sound of voice, but that there was giuen him an effectualnesse of Spirit, that his doctrine should not be vnprofitable. In which meaning also in another place hee sayeth, that his Gospell was not in worde onely, but in power. He affirmeth also that the Galathians by hearing receiued the Spirit of faith. Finally in many places he maketh himselfe not onely a worker together with God, but also assigneth himselfe the office of giuing saluation. Truly he neuer brought fourth all these things to this extent to giue vnto himselfe any thing were it neuer so little seuerally from God: as in another place he shortly declareth, saying, our labour was not vnprofitable in the Lorde, according to his power mightily working in me. Againe in another place, he that was mightie in Peter toward the circumcision, was also mightie in me toward the Gentiles. But how he leaueth nothing seuerally to the ministers, appeareth by other places, as: he that planteth is nothing, and he that watereth is nothing, but God that giueth the encrease. Againe: I haue laboured more than al: not I, but the grace of God that was with me. And truly we must holde fast those sayings, where God ascribing to himselfe the enlightening of the mind, and the renewing of the heart, teacheth that it is a robbie of God if man take vpon himselfe any parte 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 fruit, that this maner of teaching not in vaine pleased God, and that this yoke of modestie was not in vaine layde vpon the faithfull.

2. Cor. 3. 6.

1. Cor. 2. 4.

Gal. 3. 2.

1. Cor. 3. 9.

1. Thess. 3. 5.

Gal. 2. 8.

1. Cor. 3. 7.

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 already appeare euidently by that which we haue before saide. For we haue said, that the holy Scripture speakech of the Church after two sortes. Sometime, when it nameth the Church, it meaneth that Church which is in deede 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 Spirite the true members of Christ. And then truly it comprehendeth not onely the holy ones that dwell in earth, but also all the elect that haue bene since the beginning of the worlde. But oftentimes vnder the name of the Church it significeth 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 testifie their vnitie in true doctrine, & charitie, haue an agreement in the worde of the Lorde, and for the preaching thereof do keepe the ministerie ordeined by Christ. In this Church there be mingled many hypocrites which haue nothing of Christ but the name and outward shew: there be many ambitious, couetous, eniuous, euill speakers, some of vncleane life: which be suffied for a time, either because they cannot by lawfull 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 onely: so are wee commaunded to regarde 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 knowe it, the Lorde hath set it out. 2. Tim. 2. 19.

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out by certaine markes and as it were signes vnto vs. This is in deede the singular prerogatiue of God himselfe, to knowe who be his, as wee haue already alleaged out of Paul. And truly that the rashnesse of men should not creepe so farre, it is provided, by the very successe of thinges dayly putting vs in minde, howe farre his secret iudgements do surmount our vnderstanding. For euen they that seemed most desperate, and accounted vterly past hope, are by his goodnesse called backe into the way: and they that seemed to stand fast in comparison of other, do oftentimes fall. Therefore according to the secret predestination of God (as Augustine sayeth) there be many sheepe without, and many weales within. For he knoweth them, and hath them marked that knowe neither him nor themselues. But of those that openly beare his badge, his onely eyes doe see who be both holy without faining, and who will continue euen to the ende, which is the verie chief point of saluation. Yet on the other side, forasmuch as hee foresawe it to be somedeale expedient, that we should knowe who were to be accounted his children, he hath in this part applyed himselfe to our capacitie. And because the certaintie of faith was not necessarie, he hath put in place thereof a certaine iudgement of charitie: whereby we shoulde acknowledge for members of the Church those that both with confession of faith, and with example of life, and with partaking of sacramentes, doe profess the same God and Christ with vs. But as for the knowledge of the body thereof, howe much more that he knewe it to be necessarie for our saluation, with so much the more certaine markes he hath set it out.

Hom. in
Ioan. 45.

Matt. 18. 20.

9 Lo hereupon groweth & 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 som church of God: forasmuch as his promise can not deceiue, Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the middes of them. But if we may evidently vnderstand the summe of this matter, we must proceede by these as it were degrees: that is to say, if the vniuersall Church is a multitude gathered together out of all nations whatsoeuer they be, which beeing sundered & seuerally scattered by distances of places, yet doth agree in one truth of godly doctrine, & is bound together with the bonde of one selfe religion: And that so vnder this are comprehended all particular Churches, which are in all townes & streetes according to the order of mens necessitie, so that euery one of them may rightfully haue the name & authoritie of a Church: And that all particular men which by profession of godlines are reckened among such Churches, although they be in deede strangers from the Church, yet do after a certaine maner belong vnto it, til by publike iudgement they be banished out of it. Howbeit there is somewhat a diuers manner 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, & account the among the faithfull, for the common consent of the Church, whereby they are suffered and borne withall in the bodie of Christ. Wee do not by our testimonie allow such to be members of the Church: but wee leaue them the place that

that they haue among the people of God, til it be by orderly right of Lawe taken away from them. But of the verie multitude wee must otherwise thinke; which if it hath and honoreth the ministerie of the Word, & the administration of Sacraments, it deserueth without dout to bee esteemed and iudged a Church: because it is certaine that those things are not without fruite. So we doe also preserue to the vniuersall Church her vnitie, which diuclish spirits haue alway trauailed to cut in sunder: neither do wee 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 obseruing of the Sacraments. For those can be no where but they must bring foorth fruite, and bee prospered with the blessing of God. I do not say, that wheresoeuer the worde 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 Gospell is reuerently heard, and the Sacramentes are not neglected, howsoeuer it be, there for that time appeareth a not deceitfull and not doutfull face of the Church, where of no man may vnpunished either despise the authoritie, or refuse the admonitions, or resist y^e counsels, or mocke at the corrections: much lesse to departe from it, and to breake in sunder the vnitie of it. For the Lorde so hieley esteemeth the Communion of his Church, that he counteth him for a traitorous runaway and forsaker of Religion, whosoeuer shall stubbornly estrange himselfe from any Christian fellowship, so that it be such a one as hath the true ministerie of the Worde and Sacramentes. He so commendeth the Churches authoritie, that when it is violatē, he iudgeth his owne diminished. Neither is it of small importance, that the Church is called the pillar and strong stay of trueth and the house of God. By which wordes Paul signifieth, that to the end the trueth of God shoulde not decay in the worlde, the Church is a faithfull keeper thereof: because Gods will was to haue the preaching of his word kept pure and to shewe himselfe vnto vs a father of housholde by her ministerie and labour, while shee feedeth vs with spirituall nourishmentes, and procureth all things that make for our saluation. It is also no slender praise, that it is saide that shee is chosen and seuered by Christ to be his spouse, that shoulde be without wrinkle and spot, the body and fulnesse of him. Wherupon followeth, that departing from the Church is a denying of God & of Christ. Therefore so much the more wee must beware of so wicked disagreement. For while wee go about, so much as in vs lieth, to procure the ruine of Gods trueth, wee are worthie that hee should sende 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.

1. Tim. 3. 15.

Ephes. 5. 17.
Ephes. 1. 23.

11 Wherefore let vs diligently keepe these markes empainted in our mindes, and let vs esteeme them according to the Lordes will. For there is nothing that Satan more endeoureth than to take away and abolish y^e 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 trauaile 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, howe dangerous, yea howe deadly a tentation is it when it doth but come in our minde to depart from that congregation, wherein are seene the signes & tokens by which the Lorde 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 maner of trial, as by a touchstone. If it haue in the word and Sacraments the order appointed by the Lord, it will not deceiue vs: let vs boldly yelde vnto it the honour due to Churches. But contrariwise if it boast it selfe without the worde and Sacramentes, wee must no lesse with fearefull conscience beware of such deceites, than on the other side we must flee rashnesse and pride.

12 Where as wee say that the pure ministerie of the worde & the pure vsage in celebrating the Sacraments, is a sufficient pledge & earnest, so that we may safely embrace as the Church any fellowship wherein both these shalbe: this extendeth so farre, that it is neuer to be cast of, so long as it shall continue in those, although it swarme full of many other faultes. Yea & 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 knowen, that they ought to be certaine and vndoubted to all 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 bee 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 stubbornnesse of affirming, the one thinke that soules when they departe from the bodies doe 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 bee perfect thinke all one thing: but if ye thinke any thing otherwise, this the Lorde shall also reueale vnto you. Doeth he not sufficiently shewe that diuersitie of opinions about these matters, that bee not so necessarie, ought to bee no ground of disagreement among Christians? It is in deede a principall point, that wee agree in all thinges. But for as much as there is no man that is not wrapped with some litle clowde of ignorance: either wee must leaue no Church at all, or we must pardone a being deceiued in such things as may be vnknown without violating the summe of religion, and without losse of saluation. But I meane not here to defend any errours be they neuer so lide, so as I woulde thinke that they shoulde bee cherished with flattering and winking at them: but I say that wee ought not rashly

rashly for every light dissension forsake the Church, in which at least that Doctrine is retained safe & vncorrupted, wherein standeth the safetie of godlines, and the vse of Sacraments is kept as it was institute by the Lorde. In y^e meane time if we endeouour to amend that which displeaseth vs, we do therein according to our dutie. And hereunto belongeth that saying of Paul: If any thing better be reuealed to him that sitteth, let the first hold his peace. 1. Cor. 14. 30 Whereby it is euident, that all the members of the Church are every one charged with endeouour to publike edification, according to the measure of his grace, so that it be done comely and according to order: that is, that wee neither do forsake the communion of the Church, nor abiding in it, do trouble the peace & well ordred discipline thereof.

13 But in bearing with the imperfektion of life, our gentle tenderneffe 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 ben alway some, which filled with false perswasion of perfect holinesse as though they were alreadie made certaine aery spirits, despised the company of all men, in whome they sawe remaining any thing of the nature of man. Such in olde time were the Cathary, and they that were as mad as they, the Donatistes. Such at this day are some of the Anabapristes, which would seeme to haue profited aboute the rest. Some there be that offende more by an vndiscrete zeale of righteousnesse, than by that mad pride. For when they see among them to whome the Gospel is preached, the fruite of life not agreably aunswering to the doctrine thereof, they by and by iudge that there is no Church. It is in deede a most iust displeasure, and such a one whereunto in this most miserable age of the worlde, wee giue too much occasion. Neither may we excuse our accursed slouthfulnesse, which the Lorde will not suffer vnpunished: as euen alreadie he beginneth with grieuous scourges to chastise it. Wo therefore to vs, which with so dissolute licentiousnes of wicked dooings, make that weake consciences be wounded by reason of vs. But in this againe they offende whome I haue spoken of, because they cannot measure their being displeased. For where y^e Lord requireth clemencie, they leauing it, do giue themselues wholly to immeasurable rigorousnes. For, because they thinke y^e there is no Church where there is no sound purenesse & vprightnesse of life, for hatred of sinnes they depart from the lawfull Church, while they thinke that they swarue from a company of wicked men. They alleage that the Church of Christ is holy. But that they may also vnderstande 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 nette, Matt. 13. 47 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 Matt. 3. 12. vnto a corne fild, which beeing sown with good graine, is by the enemies fraude scattered with tares, of which it is not cleansed vntill the crosse be brought into the barne floore. Finally, let them heare that it is like vnto Matt. 13. 23 a floore, wherein the wheat is so gathered together, that it lieth hidden vnder the chaffe, till beeing cleansed with fanne and syue it be at length laide vp in the grainer. If the Lorde pronounce that the Church shall cuen to the day of Iudgement bee troubled with this euill, to bee burdened with

mingling of euil men: they doe in vaine seeke for a Church sprinkled with no spotte.

14. But they crie out that it is an intollerable thing, that the pestilence of vices so rangeth abroad. What if the saying of the Apostle do here also aunswere them? Among the Corinthians not onely a fewe had gone out of the way, but the infectiō had in a maner possessed the whole body: 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 y^e Church standeth and falleth? Doeth he require a diuision from them? Doeth he banish them out of the kingdome of Christ? Doeth hee strike them with the extremest thunderbolt of curse? Hee not only doth none of all these things: but he both acknowledgeth and reporteth it a Church of Christ & fellowship of saintes. If there remaine a Church among the Corinthians, where contentions, sectes, and enuious partakings do broile: where quarels & braylings 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, whome 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 giftes of God serue to ambition, and not to charitie: where many things are vncomely and vnorderly done: and if therefore there still remaine a Church, because the ministerie of the worde and of the Sacramentes is there not refused, who dare take away the name of the Church from them that cannot be charged with the tenth parte of these faultes? They that with so great precisenesse deale so cruelly against the Churches of this present time: what (I pray you) would they haue done to the Galathians, which were almost vter forsakers of the Gospell, among whom yet the same Apostle found Churches?

15 They obiect also, howe that Paul grieuoussly 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 bread with a man of reprochfull life. Here they crie out: If it be not lawfull to eate common breade, howe may it be lawfull to eate with them the bread of the Lorde? I confesse in deede that it is a great dishonour, if hogges and dogges haue place among the children of God: it is also a much more dishonour if the holy body of Christ be giuen forth to them. And truly if they bee well ordred Churches, they will not suffer wicked men in their bosome, and will not without choise admitte both worthie and vnworthie together to that holy banquet. But forasmuch as the Pastours doe not alway so diligently wathe, yea and sometime are more tender in bearing with men than they ought to bee, or are hindered so that they can not 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 bee a faulte: neither will I diminish it, sith Paule doeth so sharply rebuke it in the Corinthians. But although the Church be slacke in her duetic, it shall not bee therefore immedi-

1. Cor. 1. 11.
and 3. 3. &
5. 1. & 6. 7. &
9. 1. & 15. 12

Gal. 1.

1. Cor. 5. 2.

immediatly in the power of euery priuate man, to take vpon him selfe the iudgement to seuer him. I doe in deede not denie that it is the doing of a godly man to withdrawe himselfe from all priuate companie of euill men, to entangle himselfe in no willing familiaritie with them. But it is one thing to flice the companie of euill men, and an other thing for hatred of them to forsake the communion of the Church. But where as they thinke it sacrilege to be partakers of the Lordes bread with them, they are 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 proue himselfe. If it were vnlawfull to communicate with an vnworthy man, then truly Paul woulde bid vs to looke circumspectly whether there were any in the multitude, by whose vncleanesse we might be defiled. Nowe when he requireth onely of euery man the prooffe of themselves, he sheweth that it nothing hurteth vs if anie vnworthie doe thrust themselues in among vs. And nothing else is ment by this which he sayeth afterwarde. He that eateth vnworthily, eateth and drinketh 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 receiued, & who to be reiected. The knowledge hereof belongeth to the whole Church, which knowledge can not be had without lawfull order, as hereafter shall be sayde more at large. Therefore it should be vnrighteous, that any priuate man shoulde be defiled with the vnworthynesse of an other, whom he neither can nor ought to keepe backe from coming to it.

1. Cor. 11. 18

1. Cor. 11. 29

16 But although by this vndiscret zeale of righteousness this tentation doth sometime also enter into good men: yet this we shall find that too much preciseness groweth rather of pride, disdainefulnesse, and false opinion of holinesse, than of true holinesse and true zeale thereof. Therefore they that are bolder than other, and as it were stander d 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 bee better than other. Therefore Augustine sayeth well and wisely: When godly order and manner of Ecclesiasticall discipline ought principally to haue regarde vnto the vnitie of Spirite in the bonde of peace: which the Apostle commaunded to be kept by bearing one with an other: and which being not kept, the medicine of reuenge is proued 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 affection of their own contentions, do greedily labour either wholly to drawe or at least to diuide the weake common people entangled with the boasting of their name, swelling with pride, madde with stubbornnesse, traiterous with sleaunders, troublesome with seditions, least they should seeme to want the light of truth, doe pretende a shadow of rigorous seueritie: and those thinges that are in the holy Scriptures commaunded to be done with a gentler kinde of healing, sauing the syncretitie of loue, & keeping the vnitie of peace, to correct the faults of brethré, they abuse it to sacrilege of schisme, and to occasion of cutting of. But to godly and quiete men he giuerh this counsell, that they mercifully correct

Contra. par.
lib. 3. cap. 1.

Eiusd. li. c. 2.

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 trauail to fortifie themselves with these armutes, least while they seeme to themselves strong and couragious reuengers of righteousness, they departe from the kingdome of heauen, which is the onely kingdome of righteousness. For sith it is Gods will to haue the communion of his Church to bee kept in this outwarde fellowship: he that for hatred of euill men doth breake the token of that fellowship, entreth into a way whereby is a slippery falling from the communion of Saintes. 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 doe not please or flatter themselves in their faultes, but being now & then awakened with earnest feare of GOD doe 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 fal. Let them thinke that to gather a Church there lyeth more weight both in the ministerie of the worde and in the partaking of the holy mysteries, than that all that force should vanish away by the fault of some wicked men. Last of all let the consider, that in iudging the Church, the iudgement of God is of greater value than the iudgement of man.

17 Where also they pretende y^e the Church is not without cause called holy, it is meete to wey with what holinesse it excelleth: least if we will admit no Church but such a one as is in all pointes perfect, we leaue no Church at all: It is true in deede which Paul saith, y^e Christ gaue himselfe for the Church to sanctifie it: that he clesed it with the lauer of water with the word of life, to make her vnto himselfe a glorious spouse hauing no spot or wrinkle, &c. Yet this is also nothing lesse true, that the Lord daily worketh in smothering her wrinkles and wiping away her spottes. Whereupon followeth that her holines is not yet fully finished. Therefore the Church is so holy, that it dayly profiteth and is not yet perfect: daily proceedeth, and is not yet come to the mark of holines: as also in an other place shalbe more largely declared. Whereas therefore the Prophets prophetic that there shall be a holy Hierusalem, through which straungers shall not passe: and a holy temple wherinto vn-cleane 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 endeuour they aspire to holinesse and sounde purenesse, by the goodnesse of God cleannesse 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 wee must determine that there hath bene no time since the creation of y^e worlde wherein the Lord hath not had his Church, & that there shall also be no time to the verie ende of the worlde, wherein hee shall not haue it. For all be is immediatly 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 vesselles vnto honour, that there shoulde be no age without feeling of his mercie. Which he hath testified by certaine promises: as these: I haue ordained a testament to my elect. I haue sworne to Dauid my

seruaunt.

Eph. 5. 25.

Isa. 3. 17.
Eia. 35 8.

Psal. 39. 4.

seruant, I wil for euer continue thy seede: I will builde thy seate in generation and generation. Againe, the Lorde 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 & stars for the light of the night. If these lawes shall faile before me, then the seede of Israel shall also faile.

Psal. 132. 13
Hier. 31. 35.

18 Hereof Christ himselfe, the Apostles, and in manner all the Prophetes haue giuen vs example. Horrible are those descriptions wherein Esay, Hieremie, Ioel, Abacuc, and the other doe lament the sickeneses 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 Hieralem with Sodom and Gomorra. Religion was partly despised, partly defiled: in their maners are commonly reported theftes, extortions, breaches of faith, murders and like mischeeues. Yet therefore the Prophets did neither erect to themselues new Churches, nor builde vp newe altars on which they might haue seuerall sacrifices: but of whatsoeuer maner men they were, yet because they considered, that God had leste his word with them, and ordayned Ceremonies whereby he was there worshipped, in the middest of the assembly of the wicked they held vp pure handes vnto him. Truly if they had thought that they did gather any infection thereby, they woulde rather haue died a hundred times than haue suffred themselues to be drawn thereunto. Therefore nothing withheld them from departing, but desire to the keeping of vnity. But if the Prophets thought it against conscience, to estrange themselues from the Church for many and great wicked doings, not of one or two men, but in maner of the whole people: then we take too much vpon vs, if we dare by and by depart from the communion of the Church, where not all mens maners do satisfie either our iudgement, yea or the Christian profession.

19 Nowe what manner worlde was there in the time of Christ and the Apostles? And yet that desperate vngodlines of the Pharisees, and the dissolute licentiousnes of liuing, which then eche 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 knewe that the fellowshippe of euill men did not defile them, which with a pure conscience did communicate at the same Ceremonies? If any man be litle moued with the Prophetes and Apostles, let him yet obey y^e authoritic of Christ. Therefore Cyprian wel saith though there be seene tares or vncleane vessels in the Church, yet there is no cause why we shoulde daparte from the Church: wee must onely labour that we may bee wheate: we must vse diligence and indeuour as much as we may that we may be a golden or siluer vessell. But to breake the earthen vessels, is the onely worke of the Lorde, to whome also is giuen an iron rodde. And let no man challenge to himselfe that which is properly belonging to y^e Sonne onely, to bee able alone to fanne the floore, and cleanse the chaffe, and seuer all the tares by mans indgement. This is a proude obstinacie, and presumption full of sacriledge, which a peruerse furor taketh to it selfe, &c. Therefore let both these thinges remaine certainly fixed. First that he

Lib. 3. epi. 5.

hath no excuse, that of his owne will forsaketh the outward communion of the Church. Where the worde of God is preached and the sacramentes ministred: then that the faults of a fewe or of many are no hindrance, but that we may therein rightly professe our faith by the Ceremonies institute by god: because a godly conscience is not hurt by y vnworthines of any other either pastor or priuat man, and the mysteries are to a holy & vpriight man neuertheles pure and holosome because they are together handled of vnclene me.

20 Their precisenesse and disdainfulnesse proceedeth yet further because they acknowledge no Church but such a one as is pure from al spots be they neuer so small: yea they are angrie with good teachers, for that in exhorting the faithfull to goe forwarde, 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 trauell, much lesse to be idle: but to fill our mindes with confidence thereof while we be yet in our course, I say, it is a diuelish inuention. Therefore in the Creede the forgiuenesse of sinnes is aptly ioyned next after the Church. For none doe attaine it, but only they that are citizens and of the houshod of the Church as it is read in the Prophct. Therefor the building of the heauenly Hierusalem ought to goe before, wherein afterward this mercifulnes of God may haue place, y whatsoeuer 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 Saints. Therefore the first entrie for vs into the Church and kingdome of God, is the forgiuenesse of sinnes, without which wee haue no couenant or conioyning with God. For thus hee saith by the Prophet, In that day I wil strike you a couenant with the beast of the felde, with the foule of the aire, and with the vermine of the earth. I will breake the sworde 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 righteousness, in iudgemēt, in mercie, & in compassions. We see how by his mercie the Lorde reconcileth vs to himselfe. And so in an other place, when he foresaith y the people shal be gathered together againe, whom hee had scattered abroad in his wrath, he saith, I will cleanse them from all wickednesse wherewith they haue sinned against me. Wherefore by the signe of washing we enter into the fellowshippe of the Church, whereby we may bee taught that there is no entrie open for vs into the houshold of God, vnles our filthines be first wiped away with his goodnes.

21 But by the forgiuenesse of sinnes the Lord doth not onely receiue & adopt vs once into the Church, but by the same he also preserueth & maintaineth vs still in it. For to what purpose were it, to haue such a pardon granted vs, as shoulde serue for no vse? But euery one of the godly is a witnesse to himselfe that the mercie of God shoulde be vaine and mocking, if it shold be graunted onely but once: because there is none that is not in his owne conscience priuate through out his whole life of many weakenesses, which neede the mercy of God. And truly not in vaine God promiseth this grace peculiarly to them of his owne houshold: and not in vaine hee commaundeth

Esa. 33. 24.

Osee. 2. 18.

Iere. 33. 8.

deth the same message of reconciliation to be daily offered vnto them. Therefore as throughout all our life wee catie about vs the remnantes of sinne, vnlesse wee be sustained with the continuall grace of the Lorde in forgiuing our sinnes, we shal scarcely abide one moment in the Church. But the Lord hath called his vnto eternall saluation. Therefore they ought to thinke that there is pardon alwayes readie for their sinnes. Wherefore we ought to hold assuredly, that by y^e liberalitie of God by meane of Christs deserting through the Sanctification of the Spirite, Sinnes hath beene and are dayly pardoned to vs which be called and grafted into the body of the Church.

22 To deale this benefite vnto vs, the keyes were ginen to the Church. For when Christ gaue the Apostles commaundement, and deluered them power to forgiue sinnes, he meant not this onely, that they shoulde loose them from sins that were from vngodlines 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 shold oftentimes in Christes name exhorte the people to reconcile themselues to God. Therefore in the Communion of Saints, by the ministerie of y^e Church it selfe, sinnes are continually forgiuen vs, when the Priestes or Bishops, to whome that office is committed, doe with the promises of the Gospell confirme godly consciences in hope of pardon and forgiuenes: and that as well publicly as priuately, according as necessitie requireth. For there be verie many, which for their weakenesse do neede a singular atonement. And Paul reporteth that not onely in common preaching, but also in houses hee had testified the Faith in Christ, and seuerally admonished euery one of the doctrine of saluation. Therefore wee haue here three thinges to be noted: First that with howe great holinesse fouer the children' of God doe excell, yet they bee alway in this estate, so long as they dwell in a mortall body, that without forgiuenesse of sinnes they can not stande before God. Secondly, that this benefite is so proper to the Church, that we cannot otherwise enioy it, but if wee 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 ministring of the Sacramentes: and that in this behalse principally appeareth the power of the keyes, which the Lorde hath giuen to the fellowship of the faithfull. Wherefore let euery one of vs thinke this to bee his duetie, no where else to seeke forgiuenes of sinnes, than where y^e Lord hath set it. Of pnblike reconciliation which belongeth to discipline we shal speake in place fit for it.

23 But forasmuch as those phrentike spirites that I haue spoken off, 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 opiniõ. The Nouatians in old time trouble the Church with this doctrine: but not much vnlike 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 Baptisane regenerate into a pure and Angelike life, that is corrupted with no filthinesse of the fleshe. But if any man offende after baptisme, they leaue vnto him nothing but the vnappealable iudgemēt of God. Briefly they grant no hope of pardon to a sinner fallen after grace receiued: because they

Mat. 16. 19.
and 18. 18.
Ioh. 20. 23.

1 Cor. 5. 20.

Act. 20. 20.

acknowledge no other forgiuencsse of finnes but that whereby wee bee first regenerate. But although there bee no lie more clearly confuted by the Scripture: yet because these men finde some whome they may deceiue (as also in olde time Nouatus had many followers) let vs shortly shewe howe mad they bee to their owne and others destruction. First, whereas by the commaundement of the Lorde, the holy ones doe dayly repute this praier, *Mat. 6. 11.* forgiue vs our dettes: truely they doe confesse themselues detters. Neither doe they craue it in vayne because the Lorde hath alway appointed no other thing to be asked, than that which hee himselfe woulde giue. Yea whereas he hath testified that the whole prayer shall bee hearde of his father, yet he hath also sealed this absolution with a peculiar promise. What wil we more? The Lord requireth of the holy ones al their life long a confession of finnes, yea and that continuall, and promiseth pardon. What boldnesse is it, either to exempt them from sinne, or if they haue stumbled, vtterly to exclude them from grace? Nowe whome doeth he will vs to forgiue seuentie times seuen times? nor to our brethren? To what ende did hee commaund it, but that we shoulde followe his clemencie? He forgiueth therefore, not once or twise: but as often as being striken downe with the acknowledging of finnes they sigh vnto him.

24 But that (we may beginne in a manner at the verie swadling cloutes 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 mischeeuous acte, to be abhorred euen of the most desperate theeues. At the last being meekened with the monitions of Iudas, they solde him: this was also an intollerable haynousnesse. Simeon and Leui, with wicked reuenge, and such as was also condemned by their owne fathers iudgement, vsed crueltie against the Sichemites. Ruben with moste vncleane 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 heades of it. But what did Dauid? when he was a gouernour of iustice, with howe great wickednesse did hee by shedding of innocent bloode open the way to his blinde lust? Hee was already regenerate and among the regenerate garnished with notable praises of the Lorde: neuertheless hee committed that haynous offence, which is horrible euen among the Gentiles: and yet he obteyned pardon. And (that wee may not tarie vpon single examples) howe many promises there are in the lawe and the Prophetes of Gods mercie towards the Israelties, so oft it is proued that the Lorde sheweth himselfe appeaseable to the offences of his deople. For *Deut. 30. 3.* what doth Moses promise to come to passe, when the people being fallen into Apostasie shall returne vnto the Lorde? He shall bring thee backe out of captiuitie, and shall haue mercie on thee, and shall gather thee together out of the peoples to whome thou hast beene desperfed. If thou bee scattered euen to the borders of the heauen, I wil from thence againe gather thee together.

25 But I will not beginne a recitall that should neuer be ended. For the

Prophetes are full of such promises, which doe yet offer mercie 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 goodnesse of God. What man is there (sayth he by *Jer. 1. 3. & 12*) that if his wife giue foorth her body in common to adulterers, can abide to returne into fauour with her? but with thy fornications all the wayes are polluted, O Iuda, the earth hath bin filled with thy filthy loues. But returne vnto me, 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 truely he can be no otherwise minded, which affirmeth that he willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather \bar{y} he should be conuerted & liue. Therefore when Salomon did dedicate the temple, he appointed it also to this vse, that the prayers made for obtaining pardon of sinnes should be hearde from thence. If (sayde he) thy sonnes shall sinne (for there is no man that sinneth not) and thou being angry shalt deliuer them to their enemies, and they shall repent in their heart, and being turned shall entreate thee in their captiuitie, saying, we haue sinned, we haue done wickedly, and shall pray toward the lande which thou hast giuen to their fathers, and rowarde this holy temple: thou shalt heare their praier 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 sinnes. 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.

26 Was this benefite taken away from the faithfull, by the comming of Christ, wherein the fulnes of grace was shewed foorth, so that they dare not now pray for pardon of sinnes? that if they offende the Lorde they may not obaine any mercie? What shall this be else, but to say that Christe came to the destruction of them that be his, and not to their saluation, if that mercifulnesse of God in pardoning sinnes which in the olde testament was continually ready for the holy ones, be now sayd to be vterly taken away? But if we beleue the Scriptures which expresly cry out, \bar{y} in Christ only the grace and kindenes of the Lord fully appeared, that the plentifulnes of mercy was powred out, that the reconciliation of God and men was fulfilled: let vs not dout that there floweth vnto vs a more bountifull mercifullnes of the heauenly father, than that it is cut of or shortned. And hereof 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 thrise in one night, and that not without execration: yet hee was not put away from pardon. They that liued inordinately among the Thessalonians 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 commaunded to hope well, when Peter counsellereth him to flee to prayer.

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 Galathians was no meane offence. The Corinthians were so much lesse excusable than they, as they abounded in

Pfal. 89. 32.

mo and those nothing lighter sinnes: yet neither of them are excluded from the mercie of God. Yea euen they that had sinned about the rest in vncleanness, fornication & vnchastity, are namely called to repentance. For the covenant of the Lord remaineth and shall remaine for euer inuiolable, which he solemnly made with Christ the true Salomon and his members, in these words: If his sonnes shall forsake my law, & shall not walke in my iudgements, if they shall despise my righteousnes, and not keepe my commandments; I will visit their iniquities with a rod, and their sins with stripes: But my mercie I will not take away from him. Finally by the very order of the Creede we be taught, that there remaineth in the Church of Christ continual pardon of sinnes: for that when the Church is as it were stablished, yet forgiuenesse of sinnes is adioyned.

Leui. 4.

28 Some that be somewhat wiser, when they see the doctrine of Nouatus to be confuted with so great plainnesse of Scripture, make not euery sinne unpardonable, but wilfull transgressing of the law, into which a man wittingly and willingly falleth. Now they that say so, do vouchsafe to graunt pardon to no sinne, but where a man hath erred by ignorance. But whereas the Lorde in the lawe commaundeth one sorte of Sacrifices to be offred for cleansing of the wilfull sinnes of the faithfull, and other to redeeme their ignorances: how great lewednesse shall it be to graunt no cleansing to wilful sinne? I say that there is nothing plainer, than that the onely Sacrifice of Christ auaileth to forgiue the wilful sinnes of the holy ones: forasmuch as the Lord hath testified the same by carnall Sacrifices as by signes. Againe who can excuse Dauid by ignorance, whom it is euident to haue bin so well instructed in the lawe? Did Dauid not know how great was the fault of adultery and manslaughter, which daily punished the same in other? Did brother slaughter seeme to the Patriarkes a lawfull thing? Had the Corinthians so ill profited y they thought that wantonnesse, vncleannes, whordome, hatredes 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 enuiousnesse stop vp the way against the mercie of God that so gently vttereth it selfe.

29 Truly I am not ignorant that the olde writers expounded those sins that are daily forgiuen to the faithfull, to be the light offenses that creepe in by weakenesse of the fleshe: and that they thought that the solemn repentance which was then required for hainous misdeedes might no more bee iterate than Baptisme. Which saying is not so to bee taken, as though they would either throwe them downe headlong into desperation that after their first repentaunce hadde fallen againe, or extenuate those other sinnes as though they were small in the sight of GOD. For they knewe that the holy ones doe oftentimes stagger by infidelity, that superfluous othes doe sometimes fall from them, that they nowe and then are chafed vnto anger, yea that they breake out euen into manifest raylings, and beside these be troubled with other euilles which the Lorde not scenderly abhorreth: but they so called them, to put a difference betweene them and publike crimes that with great offence came to the knowledge of the Church. But wheras they did so hardly pardon them that had committed any thing worthie of

Ecclesiasticall correction, they did not this therefore, because they thought that such shoulde hardly haue pardon with the Lorde: but by this seueritie they meant to make other afraide that they shoulde not rashly runne into wicked doings, by the deseruing whereof they might be estranged from the Communion of the Church: howbeit truely the worde of the Lorde which herein ought to be the only rule vnto vs, appointeth a greater moderation. For it teacheth that the rigor of discipline is so far to bee extended, that hee that ought cheefly to be prouided for be not swallowed vp with heatines: 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 ministry of the worde and Sacramentes ought to be with vs, and howe farre the reuerence of it ought to proccede, that it be vnto vs aperpetuall token wherby to discern the Church, it hath bin already declared. That is to say, wherefoeuer that ministry abideth whole and vncorrupted, there the faulrs or diseases of maners are no impediment put that it may beare the name of a Church. Then, that the very ministry it selfe is by small errors not so corrupted, but that it may be esteemed lawfull. Moreouer we haue shewed that the errors that ought so to be pardoned are those wherby the principall doctrine of religion is not hurt, wherby those cheefe pointes of religion that ought to bee agreably holden among the faithfull are not destroyed, and in y^e Sacrament, those that doe not abolish nor empaire the lawfull institution of him that ordained them. But so soone as lying is broken into the cheefe tower of religion, so soone as the summe of necessarie doctrine is peruerted, and the vse of the Sacramentes falleth: truely the destruction of the Church followeth: like as a mans life is at an ende, when his throte is thrust through or his heart deadly wounded. And this is clearly proued by the wordes 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 heade 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 onely Christ: then take away that doctrine, and howe shall the building stande any longer? Therefore the Church must needes fall downe where that summe of religion falleth which is onely able to vpholde it. Againe, if the true Church bee the pillar and stay of the trueth, it is certaine, that there is no Church, where lying and falshehoode haue vsurped the dominion. Ephe. 2. 20.

2 Sith it is in such case vnder the Papistrie, wee may vnderstand howe much of the Church is there remaining. In stead of the ministerie of y^e word, there reigneth a peruerse government and made of lies mingled together, which partly quençeth and partly choaketh the pure light: into the place of the Lordes Supper is entred a most filthie sacriledge: the forme of 1. Tim. 3. 15.

worshipping God is deformed with a manifolde and intolerable heape of superstitions: the doctrine, without which Christianitie cannot stande, is altogether buried and driuen out: the publike assemblies are the schooles of idolatric and vngodlinesse. Therefore there is no peril least in departing from a damnable partaking of so many mischieues, we be plucked from y^e Church of Christ. The communion of the Church was not ordeined to this ende that it should be a bond whereby we should be intangled with idolatric, 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 trueth. They doe indeed gloriously set out their Church vnto vs, that there should seeme to bee no other Church in the worlde: and afterwarde, as though the victorie were gotten, they decree that all the Schismatikes that dare withdraw themselves from the obedience of that Church that they paint out: and that all be heretikes that dare once mutter against the doctrine thereof. But by what prooues doe they confirme that they haue the true Church? They alleadge out of the auncient Chronicles, what in olde time was in Italie, in Fraunce, in Spaine. 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 giftes, and with the bloode of martyrs, and preserued with continuall succession of Bishops, that it might not fall away. They rehearse howe much Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, and other esteemed this succession. But howe trifling these things be, and howe they be but very mockeries, I will make them verie easie to vnderstande that will be content a litle to wey them with me. Truly I woulde also exhorte themselves earnestly to take heede hereunto, if I did trust that I might any thing preuaile with them by teaching. But for as much as they, leauing all regarde of trueth, doe bende themselves to this onely purpose, by all the wayes that they can, to defende their owne cause, I will onely speake a fewe things whereby good men and those that loue the trueth, may winde themselves out of their futile cauillations. First I aske of them, why they doe not alleadge Aphrike, and Egypt, and all Asia? Euen because in all those countries this holy Succession of Bishops hath ceased, by meane whereof they boast that they haue preserued 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 bene destitute of Bishoppes: 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 whome that succession of Bishoppes was neuer interrupted, which in their opinion is y^e onely keeper and preteruer of the Church. They make the Grecians Schismatikes, but by what right? because in departing from the Apostolike sea, they haue lost their priuilege: what? Doe not they much more deserue to loose it that departe from Christ himselfe? It followeth therefore, that the pretence of succession is but vaine, vnlesse the posteritie doe keepe fast & abide in the trueth of Christ, which they haue receiued of their fathers from hand to hande.

3 Therefore the Romanistes at this day doe alleage nothing else but \bar{y} which it appeareth that the Iewes in old time alleaged when they were by the Prophets of the Lord reproofed of blindness, vngodlinesse and idolatry. For they gloriously boasted of the temple, Ceremonies & priesthoods, by which things, by great reason as they thinke they measured the church. So in steede of the Church, they shewe certaine outward visors, that oftentimes are farre from the Church, and without which the Church may very well stand. Therefore we neede to confute them with no other argument, then that wherewith Hieremy fought against the foolish presumptuousnes of the Iewes: that is, that they should not boast in lying wordes, saying, The temple of the Lorde, the temple of the Lorde, it is the temple of the Lorde. Forasmuch as the Lord doeth no where acknowledge any thing for his, but where his word is hearde and reuerently obserued. So when the glorie of God did sit betweene the Cherubins in the Sanctuarie, & hee had promised them that that should be his stedfast seat: yet when the Priestes once corrupted the worshipping of him with peruerse superstitions, he remoued else where, & left the place without any holinesse. If the same temple which seemed to be holily appointed to the perpetual dwelling of God, might be forsaken of God and become vnholie: there is no cause why these men shoulde faine to vs that God is so bounde to persons or places, and so fast tied to outward obseruations, that he must needs abide with them that haue only 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 weakē consciences, that the Iewes when they seemed to be the people of God, did not onely refuse the doctrine of the Gospel, but also persecute it. Therefore after that he hath set out the doctrine, hee remoueth this doubt, and denieth that those Iewes being enemies of the truth are the Church, howsoeuer they wanted nothing that otherwise might be required to the outward forme of the Church. And therefore he denieth it, because they embraced not Christ. But somewhat more expressely in the Epistle to the Galathians: wherein comparing Ismael with Isaac, he saith that many hold place in the Church, to whome the inheritance belongeth nor, because they are not begotten of the free mother. From whence also he descendeth to the comparison of two Hierusalems. Because as the lawe was giuen in the mount Sina, but the Gospell came out of Hierusalem. So many being seruilly borne and brought vp do without douting boast themselues to be \bar{y} 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 inuolable decree, boldly despise their vsuery boastings. For if they bee proud by reason of outward profession, Ismael was also circumcised: if they contende by antiquitie, hee was the first begotten, and yet we see that he is put away. If the cause be demaunded, 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 bounde to wicked priestes by this that he covenanted with their Father Leui that he should be his Angel or interpreter:

yea, he turneth against themselves 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 y^e same condition he debateth with them, because hee is readie to keepe his covenant, but when they do not mutually performe their parte to him, they deserue to be reiected. Loe what succession auaieth, vnlesse therewithall bee also ioyned an imitation and euenly continuing course: euen to this effect, y^e the successors, so soone as they be proued to haue swarued from their originall, be deprived of all honor. Vnlesse perhaps because Caiphaz succeeded many godly Bishops (yea there was euē from Aaron to him a continual vnbroken course of succession) therefore that same mischieuous assembly was worthie the name of the Church. But this were not tolerable euen in earthly dominions, that the tyrannie of Caligula, Nero, Heliogabalus and such other, should be called a true state of Common weale, for that they succeeded the Brutes, Scipions, & Camilles. But specially in the gouernement of the Church there is nothing more fonde, than leauing the Doctrine to set the succession in the Persons onely. But neither did the holy doctours whome they falsely thrust in vnto vs, meane any thing lesse, then to proue 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 alleaged that which might suffice to make an ende of all newe errours, that is, that by those was that doctrine oppugned, which had bene euen from the Apostles constantly and with one agreeing consent retained. There is therefore no cause, why they should any longer go forward to deceiue by pretending a false colour vnder the name of y^e church which wee do reuerently esteeme as becommeth vs: but when they come to the definition of it, not onely water (as the common saying is) cleaueth vnto them, but they sticke fast in their owne myre because they put a stinking 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, he saith: It is it that is sometime darkened, & couered with multitude of offences as wth a cloude: sometime calmenesse of time appeareth quiet & free: sometime is hidden and troubled with waues of tribulations and temptations. He bringeth forth examples, that oftentimes the strongest pillars either valiantly suffred banishment for the faith, or were hidden in the whole world.

4 In like maner the Romanistes do vex vs, and make afraide the ignorant with the name of the Church, whereas they be the deadly enemies of Christ. Therefore although they pretend the temple, the priesthood & the other such outward shewes, this vaine glistring wherewith the eyes of the simple be daseled ought nothing to moue vs to graunt that there is a church where the Worde of God doeth not appeare. For this is the perpetual mark wherewith God hath marked them y^e be his. He that is of the tructh (sayth he) heareth my voice. Againe, I am that good sheepeheard, & I knowe my sheepe, & am knowen of them. My sheepe heare my voice, & I knowe them, & they follow me. And a litle before he had said, that the sheepe follow their sheepe.

Ad Vincen.
epist. 48.

Ioh. 18. 37.
Ioh. 10. 14.

shepherd, because they knewe his voice: but they follow not a stranger, but runne 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 vndoutfull signe, which whersoever it is seene can not deceiue, but that it certainly sheweth the Church to bee there: but where it is not, there remaineth nothing that can giue a true signification of the Church. For Paul rehearseth that y^e church was builded, not vpon the iudgements of men, Eph. 2. 20. not vpon priesthoodes, but vpon the doctrine of the Apostles and Prophets. But rather Hierusalem is to be seuerally knowen frō Babylon, & the Church of Christ from the conspiracy of Satan, by y^e difference wherewith Christ hath made them different one from the other. He that is of God (saith he) heareth the wordes of God. Ye therefore heare not, because ye are not of God. In a sum, forasmuch as the church is the kingdom of Christ, and he reigneth not Iohn. 8. 47 but by his word, can it be now doutfull to any man, but y^e 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?

5 But now where as they accuse vs of Schisme & heresie, because we both preach a contrary doctrine to them, and obey not their lawes, and haue our assemblies, to Prayers, to Baptisme, to the ministracion of the Supper, & other holy doings, seuerally from the: it is in deede a very sore accusation, but such as needeth not a long or laborious defence. They are called heretikes and schismatikes, which making a diuision, do breake in sunder the communion of the Church. And this cōmunion is holden together with true bonds, that is to say, the agreement of true doctrine, and brotherly charitie. Whereupon Augustine putteth this difference betweene heretikes and schismatikes, that heretiks in deede do with false doctrines corrupt the purenes of faith, but the schismatikes sometime euen where there is like faith, do breake the bonde of fellowshipp. But this is also to be noted, that this conioyning of charitie so hangeth vpon the vnitie of Faith, that Faith ought to be y^e beginning therof, the end, and finally the only rule. Let vs therefore remember that so oft as the vnitie of the Church is commended vnto vs, this is required, that while our minds agree in Christ, our wils also may be ioined to gether with mutual wel willing in Christ. Therefore Paul, when he exhorteth vs to that wel willing, taketh for his foundation that there is one God, one Faith, and one Baptisme. Eph. 4. 5. Yea whersoever 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 Phi. 2. 2. & 5 company of the wicked, and not agreement of the faithfull which is without the worde of the Lord.

6 Cyprian also following Paul deriueth the whole fountaine of the agreement of the Church, from the only bishoprik of Christ. He afterward addeth the Church is but one, which spredeth abroad more largely into a multitude with encrease of frutefulnessse: like as there be many sunne beames, but one light: and manie branches of a tree, but one bodie grounded vpon a fast roote: And when many streames do flow from one fountaine, although the number seeme to be scattered abroad by largeness of ouerflowing plentie, yet the vnyty 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, De simpl. præla

the broken branch can not spring. Cut of the streame from the spring head, being cut off it drieth vp. So also the church being ouerspred with y^e light of the Lord, is extended ouer the whole world: yet there is but one light that is spred euery where. Nothing could be said more fitly to expresse that vndiuidable knitting together, which all the members of Christ haue one with another. We see howe he continually calleth vs backe to the very head. Wherupon he pronounceth that heresies & schismes doe arise hereof, that men do not returne to the original of truth, nor do seeke y^e hed, nor kepe the doctrine of the heauenly master. Now let them go and cry y^e we be heretiks that haue departed from their church: sith there hath bin no cause of our estrāging frō them but this one, that they can in no wise abide the pure professing of the truth: but I tell not how they haue driuen vs out with cursings and cruel execrations. Which very selfe doing doth abundantly enough acquite vs, vnlesse they will also condemne the Apostles for Schismatikes, with whome we haue all one cause. Christ (I say) did foresay to his Apostles, y^e the time should come when they should be cast out of the Sinagogues for his names sake. And those Sinagogues of which he speaketh, were then accounted lawefull 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 be inquired of, before that any thing be determined vpon vs, either one way or other. Howbeit, if they wil, I am content to discharg the of this point. For it is enough for me, that it behoued that we shoulde depart from them, that we might come to Christ.

7 But it shall appeare yet more certainly in what estimation we ought to haue al the Churches whom the tyranny of that Romish idol hath possessed, if it be compared with the olde Church of the Israelites, as it is described in the Prophetes. There was then a true Church among the Iewes and Israelites, when they continued in the lawes of the couenant, for they obteyned those thinges by the benefit of God, wherupon the Church consisteth. They had the truth of doctrine in the lawe: the ministerie thereof was among the Priestes and the Prophetes: with the signe of circumcision they entred into religion: by other Sacramentes they were exercised to the confirmation of Faith. It is no doubt that those titles wherewith the Lorde hath honored his Church, fitly pertained to their fellowship. After that, forsaking the lawe of the Lord, they went out of kind to idolatrie and superstition, they partly lost that prerogatiue. For who dare take away the name of the Church frō 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 ministry thereof, the chiefe sinewe, yea the very soule of the Church is destroyed?

8 What then? will some mā say: was there therefore no parcel of a Church remaining among the Iewes after that they fel away to idolatry? The answer is easie. First I say that in the very falling away there were certaine degrees. For wee will not say that there was all one fall of Iuda, and Israell, at such time as they both first swarted from the pure worshipping of God. When Iarobcam first made calues, against the open prohibition of G O D, and did dedicate

dedicate an vnlawfull place for worshipping, he did vtterly corrupt religiō. 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 Rechabem they had already gotten them many peruerse Ceremonies: yet because there taried at Hierusalem both the Doctrine of the Law, and the Priesthood, & the Ceremonious vsages in such sort as God had ordained them, the godly had there a tolerable state of Church. Among the Israelites vnto y^e reigne of Achab, 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 (when they minded to be somewhat better than he) they folowed the example of Iarobeam: but they al euery one were wicked and idolaters. In Iewry there were now & then diuerse changes, while some kings peruerted the worshipping of God with false & forged superstitions, some other restored religion that was decayed: vntill the verie priestes themselues defiled the temple of God with prophane and abominable vsages.

9 Nowe let the Papistes if they can howe much soeuer they extenuate their owne faults, deny that among them the state of religion is as corrupt and defiled as it was in the kingdom of Israel vnder Iarobeam. But they haue a grosser idolatrie: and in doctrine they are not one drop purer: vnlesse peradventure euen in it also they be more vnpure. God, yea all men that are endued but with a meane judgement, shalbe witnesses with me, & the thing it selfe also declareth, how herein I tell nothing more than truth. Nowe when they will driue vs to the communion of the Church, they require two things of vs; first, that we shoulde communicate with all their prayers, sacraments, and Ceremonies: then that whatsoeuer honor, power and iurisdiction Christ giueth to his Church, wee shoulde 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 very 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 knewe that the Leuitical priests, howe soeuer they were vnworthie of that honor, yet because they were ordeined by the Lord ministers of the holy Ceremonies, and were not as then deposed, did yet stil rightfully possesse that place. But (which is the chiefe 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 G O D. But among these men, I meane the Papistes, what like thing is there? For we can scarcely haue any meeting together with them, wherein wee 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, shalbe seene in another place. At this present it is enough to shewe that in this behalfe wee are in other case than y^e Prophets were, which although they were present at the Ceremonies of the wicked, were not compelled to beholde or vse any Ceremonies but such as were institute by God. And, if they wil needs haue an example alto-

gether like, let vs take it out of the kingdome of Israel. After the ordinance of Ierobeam Circumcission remained, the sacrifices were offered, the lawe was accounted holy, the same God was called vpon whome they had receiued of their Fathers: but for the forged & forbidden formes of worshipping, God disallowed and condemned all that was there done. Shewe mee one Prophet, or any one godly man that once worshipped or sacrificed in Bethell. For they knewe they coulde not do it, but that they shoulde defile themselues with some sacrilege. Wee haue then thus much, that the communion of the Church ought not so farre to be of force with the godly, that if it should degenerate to prophane and filthie vsages, they shoulde forthwith of necessitie follow it.

10 But about the other point we contende yet more earnestly. For if the Church be so considered to be such, whose iudgement wee ought to reuerence, whose authoritie to regarde, whose monitions to obey, with whose chastisements to be moued, whose communion in all things wee ought religiously to obserue, then we cannot grant them a Church, but that wee must of necessitie be bound to subiection & obedience vnto it. Yet we wil willingly graunt them that which the Prophets granted to the Iewes & Israelites of their time: when things were there in as good, yea or in better state. But wee see how eche where they crie out, that their assemblies are vnholie, to which it is no more lawfull to consent than it is to denie God. And truely if these were Churches, it followeth therefore that in Israel Helias, Micheas and such other: in Iurie, Efaie, Ieremie, Osee and other of that sort, whome the

11 But as in the olde time there yet remained among the Iewes certaine peculiar prerogatiues of the Church, so at this day also wee take not from y the Papistes such steppes as it pleased the Lorde to haue remaining among them

1. Kin. 12. 31.

1. Tim. 3. 15.

Matt. 16. 19.
and 18. 18.
John 20. 23

them after the dissipation of the Church. The Lorde had once made his couenant with the Iewes. That same rather being vpholden by the stedfastnesse of it selfe did continue with striuing against their vngodlinesse, than was preferred by them. Therefore (such was the assurednesse and constancie of Gods goodnesse) 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 vncleane hands, but that it stil was the signe and sacrament of that couenant. Whereupon the children that were borne of them, the Lord called his own, which vnlesse it were by speciall blessing, belonged nothing to him. So when he hath left his couenant in France, Italy, Germany, Spaine, Englande: since those prouinces haue beene oppressed with the tyranny of Antichrist, yet that his couenant might remaine inuiolable, first he there preferred Baptisme, the testimonie of his couenant, which being consecrate by his own mouth retaineth her own force notwithstanding the vngodlines of man: then, with his prouidence he hath wrought that there should remaine other remnantes, least the Church shoulde be vtterly destroyed. And as oftentimes buildinges are so pulled downe, that the foundations & ruines remaine: so he hath not suffred his Church either to be ouerthrowen by Antichrist from the very foundation, or to be layd cuen with the ground (howsoeuer to punish the vnthankfulness of men that had despised his worde, he suffereth horrible shaking and dissipation to chance) but euen after the very waisting hee willed that the building halfe pulled downe should yet remaine.

12 Whereas therefore we will not simply graunt to the Papistes the title of the Church, we do not therefore deny that there be Churches among the: but onely we contend of the true and lawfull ordering of the Church: which is required in the communion both of the sacramentes which are the signes of profession, but also specially of doctrine. Daniel and Paul foretolde that Antichrist should sitte in the temple of God. With vs wee account the Bishoppe of Rome the captaine and standarde bearer of that wicked and abominable kingdome. Whereas his seate is placed in the temple of GOD, thereby is meant that his kingdome shalbe such as can not abolish the name of Christ nor of his Church. Hereby therefore appeareth, that we doe not deny but that euen vnder his tyranny remaine Churches, but such as he hath prophaned 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 poysoned drinks: such wherin Christ lieth halfe buried, the Gospell ouerwhelmed, godlinesse banished, the worshipping of God in a manner abolished: such finally wherin all things are so troubled, that therein rather appeareth the face of Babylon than of the holy citie of God. In a summe, I say that they be Churches, in respect that the Lorde there maruelously preserveth the remnauntes of his people howe soeuer they were dispersed and scattered abroad, in respecte that there remaine some tokens of the Church, specially these tokens, the effectualnesse whereof neither the craft of the deuill, nor the malitiousnesse of man can destroy. But on the other side because these markes are blotted out, which in this discourse we ought principally to haue respect vnto, I say that

Dan. 9. 27.
2. Thef. 2. 4.

euery one of their assembles and the whole body wanteth the lawfull forme of a Church.

The iii. Chapter.

Of the teachers and ministers of the Church, and of their election and office.

NOwe it is meete that we speake of the order, by which it was the Lordes will to haue this Church gouerned. For although in his Church hee 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 hee can presently with his owne mouth declare his will vnto vs, we haue sayde that in this he vseth the ministerie of men, and as it were the trauaile of deputies, not in transferring his right and honour vnto them, but onely that by their mouth hee might doe his owne worke, like as a workeman to doe his worke vseth his instrumente. 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 Angelles: but there are many causes why he had rather doe it by men. For by this meane first he declareth his good will towarde vs, when he taketh out of men them that shall doe his message in the worlde, that shalbe the interpreters of his secrete wil, finally that shall represent his owne person. And so by experience he pro-ueth that it is not vaine that commonly hee calleth vs his temples, when out of the mouthes of men, as out of his sanctuarie, he giueth aunsweres to men. Secondly, this is the best and most profitable exercise to humilitie, when hee accustometh vs to obey his worde, howe so euer it bee preached by men like vnto vs, yea sometime our inferiours in dignitie. If hee himselfe spake from heauen, it were no marueile if his holy Oracles were without delay reuerently receiued with the eares and mindes of all men. For who would not dreede his power being in presence? who woulde not be thrown downe at the first sight of so greate maicstie? who woulde not be confounded with that infinite brightnesse? But when some silly man risen out of the dust speaketh in the name of GGD, herewith verie good restimonie we declare our godlinesse and reuerent obedience towarde God himselfe, if to his minister we yeelde our selues willing to learne, which yet in nothing excelleth vs. Therefore for this cause also hee hath hidden the treasure of his heauenly wisdom in bricke and earthen vessels, that he might haue the certainer prooffe howe much he is esteemed of vs. Moreouer there was nothing fitter for the cherishing of mutuall charitie, than that men shoulde be bounde together one to an other with this bonde, when one is made a pastor to teach the rest, and they y are commanded to be schoolers receiue all one doctrine at one mouth. For if euery man were able enough to serue himselfe, and needeth not the heipe of an other: such is the pride of mans nature, that euery one woulde despise other, and shoulde againe be despised of them. Therefore the Lorde hath bounde his Church with that knotte, which he foresawe to be the strongest knotte to houlde vnity together, when he hath left with men the doctrine of saluation, and of eternall life, that by
their

Matt. 26. 11.

Aug. lib. 1. de
doct. Christi.

1. Cor. 4. 7.

their handes 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 Lorde, 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 gifte of Christ. Wherefore he sayeth: When he was gone vp on hie, he ledde captiuitie captiue, he gaue giftes 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 Prophetes, and some Euangelistes, and other some Pastors and teachers, vnto the restoring of the holy ones, to the worke of ministracion, 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 G G D, into a perfect man, into the measure of full growen age: that we be no more children that may bee carried about with euery winde of doctrine: but following trueth in charitie, let vs in all things growe into him that is the heade, euen Christ, in whome the whole body conioyned and compacted together by all the ioynt of subministracion, according to the working in measure of euerie parte, maketh encrease of the body, vnto the edifying of it selfe by charitie.

2 By these wordes he sheweth, that that ministerie of men, which God vseth in governing his Church is the chiefe sinew, whereby the faithful cleaue together in one body: and also hee sheweth that the Church can not otherwise be preserued safe, but if it be vpholden by these staies, in which it pleased the Lorde to repose the saluation of it, Christ (sayth hee) is gone vp on hie, that he might fulfill all things. This is the maner 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 doe we by all things growe into him that is the head, and doe grow together among our selues: so are we all brought into the vnitie of Christ, if propheticie flourish among vs, if we receiue the Apostles, if we refuse not the doctrine ministred vnto vs. Therefore he goeth about the dissipation, or rather the ruine and destruction of the Church, whosoeuer he be that either endeuoreth to abolish this order of whom we speake, & this kinde of government, or miniseth the estimation of it as a thing not so necessarie. For neither the light & heate of the sun, nor meat and drinke are so necessary to nourish and susteine this present life, as the office of Apostles and pastors is necessary to preserue the Church in earth.

3 Therefore I haue aboue admonished, that God hath oftentimes with such titles as he could, commended the dignitie thereof vnto vs, that wee should haue it in most hy honour 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 commaundeth the Prophete to crie out thai faire are the secte, and blessed is the comming of them that bring tidinges of peace: and when he calleth the Apostles the light of the worlde, and salte of the

Eph. 4. 4.

Eph. 4. 10.

Eph. 4. 11.

Esa. 52. 7.
Mat. 5. 15.
and 14.

earth. Neither could this office be more honorably aduanced, than it was when he sayde: He that heareth you, heareth me. He that despiseth you, despiseth me. But there is no place more plaine, than in Paul in his seconde Epistle to the Corinthians, where hee 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 ministry of the Gospell, forasmuch as it is the administration of the Spirit, and of righteousnesse, and of eternal life. These and like sayings serue to this purpose, that that order of gouerning and preserving the Church by ministers, which y^e Lo:rd hath stablished for euer, should not growe out of estimation among vs, and so at length by very contempt grow out of vse. And howe great is the necessity thereof, he hath declared not onely by wordes, but also by examples. When his will was to shine more fully to Cornelius with the light of his trueth, he sent an Angell from heauen to sende Peter vnto him. When his will was to call Paul to the knowledge of himselfe, and to engrasse him into the Church, he spake not to him with his owne voyce, but sent him to a man, of whome he should receiue both the doctrine of saluation, and the sanctification of Baptisme. If it bee not done without cause, that an Angel, which is the interpreter of God, do himselfe abstein from declaring the wil of God, but commandeth that a man be sente for, to declare it: and not without cause that Christ the onely schoole-master of the faithfull committeth Paul to the schooling of a man, yea euen that same Paul whom he had detemined to take vp into the third heauen, and to vouchsafe to graunt him miraculous reuelation of things vspeakeable: who is there nowe that dare despise that ministerie, or passe it ouer as a thing superfluous, the vse wherof it hath pleased God to make approved by such examples?

4 They that haue rule of the government of the Church accordinge to the institution of Christ, are named of Paul first Apostles, then Prophetes, thirdly Euangelistes, fourthly Pastors, last of all teachers. Of which, the two last alone haue ordinarie office in the Church: the other three the Lorde 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 commaundement: goe, preach the Gospell to euery creature. There are not certaine bounds appointed vnto them: but the whole world is assigned them, to be brought into the obedience of Christe: that in spreading the Gospell among all nations wheresoeuer they shall bee able, they may eche where raise vp his kingdome. Therefore Paul, when hee wente about to prooue his Apostleshippe, rehearseth that he hath gotten to Christ not some one citie, but hath farre and wide spread abroade the Gospell: and that he hath not layde his handes to an other mans foundation, but planted Churches where the name of the Lorde hadde neuer bene heard of. Therefore the Apostles were sent to bring backe the worlde from falling away, vnto true obedience of G O D, and eche where to stablish his kingdome by preachinge of the Gospell: or (if you like that better) as the first builders of the Church, to lay the foundations thereof in all the worlde. Prophetes he calleth, not all expositors of Goddes will whatsoeuer they bee, but those that by singular reuelation excelled, such as at this time either bee none,

or are lesse notable. By Euangelistes I vnderstande 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 Luk, Timothie, Titus and other like: and paradventure also the seuentie Disciples, whome Christ appointed in the seconde place after the Apostles. According to this exposition (which Luke. 10. 1. Luke. 11. seemeth to mee agreable both with the wordes and meaning of Paul) those three offices were not ordeined 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 bee remooued from Moses to Christ. Albeit I denie not, but that afterwarde also the Lorde hath sometime raised vp Apostles, or at least in their places Euangelistes, as it hath ben done in our time. For it was needfull to haue such, to bring backe y^e Church from the falling away of Antichrist. Yet the office it selfe I doe neuer theles call extraordinarie, 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 think that there is this difference, that the Teachers are not appointed to beare rule of discipline, nor for the ministracion of Sacramentes, nor admonishentes or exhortations, but onely to expounde the Scripture, that pure and sounde doctrine may bee kepte among the faithfull. But the office of Pastor containeth all these thinges 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 ordeyned to endure perpetually. If we ioyne the Euangelistes with the Apostles, wee shall haue remaining two couples after a certaine manner answering the one to the other. For as our Teachers are like to the olde Prophetes, in such sorte are our Pastors like to the Apostles. The office of Prophetes was more excellent, by reason of the singular gift that they had of reuelation: but y^e office of teachers hath in a manner like order, and altogether the same end. So those xij. whom the Lord did choose, that they should publish abroad to the world the new preaching of the Gospell, in degree & dignitie went before the rest. For although by the meaning and propertie of the word, all the ministers of the Church may be rightly called Apostles, because they are sent of the Lord, & are his messengers: yet because it was much behouefull, that there should be a certaine knowledge had of the sending of them y^e should bring a thing newe and vnheard of, it was necessarie that those xij. (to whose number Paul was afterward added) should be garnished wth some peculiar title about the rest. Paul himselfe indeed in one place giueth this name to Andronicus and Iunias, whom he saith to haue bene notable among the Apostles: but when he meaneth to speake properly he refereth 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 do gouerne severall Churches appointed to them) haue all one charge with the Apostles. Now what maner of thing this is, let vs yet heare it more plinely.

6 The Lorde when he sent the Apostles, gaue them commaundement (as we saide euen nowe) to preach the Gospell, and to baptise them that beleeue vnto forgiveness of sinnes. Hee had before commaunded, that they should

shoulde distribute the holy signes of his bodie and bloode, as he had done. Loe here is a holy, inuioable and perpetuall lawe laid vpon them that succeed in the Apostles place, wherby they receiue commandement to preach the Gospell, and minister the Sacramentes. Whereupon wee gather, that they which neglect both these thinges, doe falsely say that they beare the person of the Apostles. But what of the Pastors? Paul speaketh not of himselfe onely, but of them all, when hee saith: let a man so esteeme vs as the ministers of Christ, and distributors of the mysteries of God. Againe in another place, a Bishoppe must be a fast holder of that faithfull worde which is according to doctrine: that he may bee able to exhort by sounde doctrine, and to conuince the gainsayers. Out of those and like places, which are ech where to be founde, we may gather, that also in the office of the Apostles these bee the two principall partes, to preach the Gospell, and to minister the Sacraments. As for the order of teaching, it consisteth not onely in publicke 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 profit, but that he preached and taught them both openly and in euerie house, testifying both to the Iewes and Grecians, repentance and faith in Christ. Againe a little after: that hee 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 themselues Pastors: that is, that they are so made rulers of the Church, nor that they shoulde haue an idle dignitie, but that they shoulde with the doctrine of Christ instruct the people to true godlinesse, minister the holy mysteries, and preferue and exercise vpright discipline. For whosoever be set to be watchmen in the Church, the Lord declareth vnto them, yf any by their negligence perish through ignorance, hee will require the bloode at their handes. 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 mee. Finally what the Apostles performed to the whole worlde, the same ought euery Pastor to performe to his flocke, to which he is appointed.

7 Albeit when we assigne to euery one their seuerall Churches, yet in the meane while we do not denie but that he which is bound to one Church may helpe other Churches, if any troublesome thing doe happen that requireth his presence, or if he be asked counsel of any darke matter. But forasmuch as for the keeping of the peace of the Church, this policie is necessarie, that there be set foorth to euery man what hee shoulde doe, least all be confusedly disordered, runne about without calling, or rashly runne altogether into one place, and least such as are more carefull for their owne commoditie than for the edification of the Church, shoulde 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 shoulde not breake into an other mans charge. And this is no inuention of man, but the ordinance of God himselfe. For we reade that Paul and Barnabas created Priestes in al the seuerall Churches of Listra, Antioche, Iconium: and Paul himselfe commaundeth Titus that he should appoint Priestes

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1. Cor. 4. 1.

Tit. 1. 9.

Act. 20. 20.

Act. 20. 31.

Eze. 13. 17.

1. Cor. 9. 16.

Act. 14. 22.

Tit. 1. 5.

in euery town. So in one place he speaketh of the Bishoppes of Philippes, and in an other 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. Whosoever therefore shall take vpon him the gouernement and charge of the Church, let him knowe that hee is bounde to this lawe of gods calling: not that as bounde to the soile (as the lawyers tearme it) that is, made bounde and fastened vnto it, hee may not once moue his foot from thence, if the common profite doe so require, so that it be done well and orderly: but hee 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 an other place, yet he ought not to attempt it of his owne priuate aduise, but to tarie for publike authoritie.

8 But whereas I haue without difference called them Bishoppes, and Priestes, and Pastors, and ministers, that rule Churches: I did that according to the vsage of the scripture, which indifferently vseth these wordes. For whosoever doe execute the ministerie of the worde, to them hee giueth the title of Bishops. So in Paul, where Titus is commanded to appoint Priestes in euery towne, it is immediatly added, For a Bishop must be vnreprovable, &c. So in an other place he saluteth many Bishops in one Church. And in y^e Acte it is rehearsed, that he called together the Priestes of Ephesus, whom he himselfe in his owne sermon calleth Bishops. Here nowe it is to be noted, y^e hitherto we haue recited none but those offices that stande in the ministry 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, gouernment, 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 are two that doe perpetually abide, that is to say, gouernment and care of the poore. Gouernours I thinke were the Elders chosen out of the people, that shoulde together with the Bishoppes, haue rule of the iudgement of manners, and the vsing of discipline. For a man cannot other wise expounde that which he sayth: let him that ruleth doe it with carefulnesse. Therefore at y^e beginning euerie Church had their Senate, gathered of godly, graue and holy men: which had that same iurisdiction in correcting of vices, whereof wee shal speake hereafter. And that this was the order of more than one age, experience it selfe declareth. Therefore this office of gouernment is also necessarie for all ages.

9 The care of the poore was committed to the Deacons. Howbeit to y^e Romanes there are set two kindes. Let him that giueth (saith Paul in that place) doe it in simplicitie: let him that hath mercy, doe it in chearefulnesse. Forasmuch as it is certain that he speaketh of y^e publike offices of y^e Church, it must needs be that there were two seuerall degrees. Vnlesse my iudgement deceiue mee, in the first point hee meaneth Deacons, that distributed the almes: in the other he speaketh of them that had giuen themselues to looking to the poore and sicke: of which sort were the widowes of whome hee maketh mention to Timothie. For women coulde execute no other pub-

Phil. 1. 1.
Col. 4. 17.
Act. 20. 18.

Tit. 1. 5.
Phil. 1. 1.
Act. 20. 7.

Rom. 12. 7.
1. Cor. 12. 28

Rom. 12. 8.

Rom. 12. 9.

1 Tim. 5. 10.

publike office, but to giue themselues to the seruice of the poore. If we grant this, (as we must needs grant it) then there shalbe two sortes of Deacons: of which one sort shall serue in distributing the thinges of the poore, the other in looking to the poore of the Church themselues. 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 stewardest 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 \bar{y} poore their widowes were neglected, the Apostles excusing themselues with saying that they coulde not serue both offices, both the preaching of the word and the ministring at tables, required of the multitude, that there might bee choosen seuen honest men, to whome they might comit that doing. Lo what manner of Deacons the Apostolike Church had, and what Deacons it were meete for vs to haue according to their example.

1. Tim. 5. 10.

Aa. 6. 3.

10 Nowe whereas in the holy assemblie all things are to be done in order and comely, there is nothing wherein that ought to bee more diligently obserued, than in stablishing the order of government: because their is no where greater perill if any thing be done vnorderly. Therefore to the ende that vnquiet and troublefome men (which otherwise would happen) should rashly thrust in themselues to teach or to rule, it is expressly prouided, that no man shoulde without calling take vpon him a publike office in \bar{y} Church. Therefore \bar{y} a man may be iudged a true minister of the Church, first he must bee orderly called: then hee must aunswere his vocation, that is to say, take vpon him and execute the dueties enioyned him. This we may oftentimes marke in Paul: which when he meaneth to approoue his Apostleship, in a manner alway with his faithfulness in executing his office hee allegeth his calling. If so great a minister of Christ dare not take vpon himselfe the authoritie that hee shoulde be hearde in the Church, but because hee both is appointed thereunto by the commaundement of the Lorde, 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, shal challenge such honour to himselfe? But because wee haue aboue touched the necessitie of executing the office, nowe let vs entreate onely of the calling.

11 The discourse thereof standeth in foure pointes: that wee shoulde knowe, what manner of ministers, howe, and by whome ministers ought to bee institute, and with what vsage or what ceremonie they are to be admitted. I speake of the outward and solemne calling, which belongeth to publike order of the Church: as for that secrete calling, whereof euery minister is priuie in his owne conscience before God, and hath not the Church witness of it, I omitte it. It is a good witness of our hearte, that not by any ambition, nor couetousnesse, nor any other greedie desire, but with pure feare of God and zeale to edifie to the Church, wee receiue the office offered vnto vs. That indeede is (as I haue saide) necessarie for euery one of vs, if we will approoue our ministerie allowable before God. Neuertheless hee is

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rightly called in presence of the Church, that commeth vnto it with an euil conscience, so that his wickednes be not open. They are wont also to say y^e 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 certain preparation to the verie office. For whome the Lord hath appointed to so great an office, he first furnisheth them with those armours that are required to fulfill it, that they shoulde not come emptie and vnprepared vnto it. Wherevpon Paul also to the Corinthians, when he meant to dispute of the verie offices, first rehearsed the gifts which they ought to haue that execute the offices. But because this is the first of those fower pointes that I haue propounded, let vs now go forwarde vnto it.

12 What manner of Bishoppes it is meete to choose, Paul doth largely declare in two places, but the summe commeth to this effect, that none are to be choosen, but they that are of so sounde doctrine, and of holy life, and not notable in any vice, which might both take away credite from them, & procure slander to the ministerie. Of Deacons and Elders there is altogether like consideration. It is alway to be looked vnto, that they bee not vn-able 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 necessary to the fulfilling of their office. So when Christ was about to sende his Apostles, he garnished them with those weapons and instrumentes which they could not want. And Paul when hee had painted out the image of a good and true Bishop, warneth Timothie, that he woulde not defile himselfe with choosing any man that differeth from it. I referre this worde Howe, not to the Ceremonie of choosing, but to the reuerent feare that is to be kept in the choosing. Herevpon come the fastinges and praiers, which Luke reciteth that the faithfull vsed when they made Priestes. For whereas they vnderstood that they medled with a most earnest matter, they durst attempt nothing, but with greate reuerence and carefulnes. But they cheefly applied themselves to prayers, whereby they might craue of God the spirite of counsell and discretion.

13 The thirde thing that we haue set in our diuision was, by whom ministers are to be chosen. Of this thing no certaine rule can bee gathered out of the institution of Apostles, which had some difference from the common calling of the rest. For because it was an extraordinarie ministerie, that it might be made discernable by some more notable marke, it behooued that they which shoulde execute it, shoulde bee called and appointed by y^e Lords owne mouth. They therefore tooke in hande their doing, being furnished by no mans election, but by the onely commandement of God & of Christ. Herevpon commeth that when the Apostles would put an other in the place of Iudas, they durst not certainly name any one man, but they brought forth two, that the Lorde shoulde declare by lot, whether of them hee woulde haue to succede. After this manner also it is meete to take this, that Paule denieth that he was create Apostle of men or by man, but by Christ & 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 coulde rightly take vpon him that execution, but he that were called of God. But the other poynte

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was proper and singular to him selfe. Therefore when hee glorieth of this, he doth not onely boast that he hath that which belongeth to a true & lawfull Pastor, but also bringeth foorth the signes of his Apostleshippe. For when there were some among the Galathians, which traouelling to diminish his authoritie, made him some meane disciple, put in office vnder them by the principall Apostles: he, to defend in safetie the dignitie of his preaching, which hee knewe to be shot at by those suttile deuises, needed to shewe himselfe in all pointes nothing inferiour to the other Apostles. Therefore he affirmeth that hee was chosen, not by y judgement of men, like some common Bishoppe, but by the mouth and manifest Oracle of the Lord himselfe.

Gal. 1. 1. 14 But no man that is sober will denie, that it is according to the order of lawful calling, that Bishops shoulde be appointed by men: forasmuch as there are so many testimonies of the scripture for prooffe thereof. Neither doeth that saying of Paul make to the contrarie, as it is saide, that hee was not sent of men, nor by men: forasmuch as he speaketh not there of the ordinary choosing of ministers, but chalengeth to himselfe that which was speciall to the Apostles. Howebeit God also so appointed Paul by himselfe by singular prerogatiue, that in the meane time hee vsed the discipline of Ecclesiasticall calling. For Luke reporteth it thus, when the Apostles were fasting and praying, the Holy Ghost said: Separate vnto me Paul and Barnabas to the worke to which I haue seuerally chosen them. To what purpose serued that separation and putting on of handes, sith the Holy Ghost hath testified his owne election, but that the discipline of the Church in appointing ministers by men, might be preferued? Therefore the Lorde could by no plainer example approue such order, than he did when hauing first declared that he had ordeined Paul Apostle for the Gentiles, yet hee willeth him to be appointed by the Church. Which thing wee may see in the choosing of Mathias. For, because the office of Apostleshippe 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 middes, vpon the one of whome the lot shoulde fall: that so both the election might haue an open testimonie from heauen, and yet the policie of the Church shoulde not bee passed ouer.

15 Nowe it is demaunded whether the minister ought to bee choosen 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, alleadge that which Paul saith to Titus: Therefore I haue left thee in Creta, that thou shouldest appoint in euery towne Priests. Againe to Timothie: lay not hands quickly vpon any man. But they are deceiued if they thinke, y either Timothie at Ephesus, or Titus in Creta, vsed a kingly power, y either of the shold dispose all things at his owne will. For they were aboue the rest, onely to goe before the people with good and hollosome counsels: not that they onely, excluding all other, should doe what they listed. And that I may not seeme to faine anie thing, I will make it plaine by a like example. For Luke rehearseth that Paul and Barnabas appointed priests in diuers Churches: bur hee also expresseth the order or manner howe, when hee saith that it was done by

voices: ordaining Priestes (saith he) 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, declare whome they would haue. Euen in like maner the Romaine histories doe oftentimes say, that the Consul which kept the assemblies, created newe officers, for none other cause but for that he receiued the voices and gouerned the people in the election. Truly it is not likely that Paul granted more to Timothee and Titus than he tooke to himself. 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 sayeth well, when he affirmeth y^e it commeth from the authoritie of God, that the Priest shoulde bee chosen in presence of the people before the eyes of all men, and shoulde by publike iudgement and testimonie be allowed for worthie and meete. For wee see y^e this was by the commaundement of the Lorde obserued in the Leuiticall Priests, that before their consecration they shoulde be brought into the sight of the people. And no otherwise is Mathias added to the fellowship of y^e Apostles: and no otherwise the seuen Deacons were created: but the people seeing & allowing it. These examples (saith Cyprian) doe shewe, 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 ben examined by the witnessse of all. We are therefore come thus farre, y^e this is by the word of God a lawfull calling of a minister, when they that seem meete are created by the consent & allowance of the people, And y^e other pastours ought to beare rule of the election, that nothing be done amisse of y^e multitude either by lightnesse, or by euil affections, or by disorder.

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 manner of the Hebrues, which did as it were present vnto God by laying on of hands that which they wold haue blessed and hallowed. So when Iacob was about to blesse Ephraim and Manasse, he layed his hands vpon their heds. Which thing our Lord followed, when he prayed ouer the infants. In the same meaning (as I thinke) the Iewes, by the ordinance of the lawe, layde handes vpon the Sacrifices. Wherefore the Apostles by laying on of handes did signifie that they offered him to God, whome they admitted into the ministerie. Albeit they vsed it also vpon them, to whome they applyed the visible graces of the Spirite. 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 commaundement concerning the laying on of handes, yet because wee see that it was continually vsed among the Apostles, their so diligent obseruing of it ought to be to vs in steede of a commaundement. And truly it is profitable, that by such a signe, both the dignitie of the ministerie shoulde be commended to the people, and also that he which is ordered shoulde bee admonished, that hee is not nowe at his owne libertie, but made bonde to God and the Church.

Leuit. 8. 6.
Num. 20. 26.
Act. 1. 15. &
6. 2.

Gen. 48. 14.
Matt. 19. 15.
Act. 19. 6.

Moreouer it shal not be a vaine signe, if it be restored to the natural beginning of it. For if the Spirit of God, hath ordeined nothing in the Church in vaine, wee 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 handes vpon the ministers, but the Pastors onely. Howbeit it is vncertaine whether many did alway lay on their handes or no. But it is euident that that was done in the Deacons, in Paul and Barnabas, and a fewe other. But Paul himselfe in an other place reporteth, that he, and not many other, did lay his handes vpon Timothee. I admonish thee (saith he) y^e thou raise vp the grace which is in thee by laying on of my handes. For, as for that which in the other Epistle is spoken of the laying on of the handes of the degree of Priests, I doe not so take it, as though Paul did speake of the company of the Elders, but I vnderstande by that worde the verie ordinance it selfe: as if hee had sayde: Make that the Grace, which thou hast receiued by laying on of hands when I did creat thee a priest, may not be void.

Act. 6. 6. &

1. 3.

2. Tim. 1. 6.

1. Tim. 4. 14.

The iiij. Chapter.

*Of the state of the olde Church, and of the maner of gouerning that was
in vse before the Papacie.*

Hitherto wee haue intreated of the order of gouerning the Church, as it hath bene deliuered vs out of the pure worde of God, and of the ministeries, as they were instituted by Christ. Nowe that all these things may be more clearely and familiarly opened, and also be better fastened in our mindes: it shal be profitable in these things to consider the forme of the olde 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 sincere zeale endeouored to preferue Gods institution, and they swarued not much from it, it shal be very profitable here shortly to gather what manner of obseruation they had. As we haue declared that there are three sortes of ministers commended vnto vs in the Scripture: so all the ministers that the olde Church had, it deuided 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 y^e Deacons was committed the care of the poore, and the distributing of y^e almes. As for the Readers and Acolythes, were not names of certaine offices: but those whome they called Clerkes, they trained from their youth vpward in certain exercises to serue the church, that they might the better vnderstand to what purpose they were appointed, & might in time come the better prepared to their office: as I shal by & by shew more at large. Therefore Hierom,

when

when he had appointed five orders of the Church, reckoneth vpon Bishoppes, Priests, Deacons, Belceuers, and Cathecumeni; to the rest of the Clergy and monkes he giueth no proper place. In Esa. ca. 6;

2 Therefore to whom the office of teaching was enioyne, all them they named Priestes. In euery city they chose out of their owne number one man, to whom they specially gaue the title of Bishop: that dissentiens should not grow of equalitie, as it is wont to come to passe, Yet the Bishop was not so about the rest in honor and dignitie, that he had a dominion ouer his felowes. But what office the Consul had in the Senat, to propound of matters, to aske opinions, to go before the other with counselling, monishing, and exhorting, to gouerne the whole action with his authority, and to put in execution that which is decreed by common counsell: the same office had the Bishop in the assembly of the Priests. And the olde wyters 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 instinction of the Diuill, there were dissentiens 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 dissentiens might be plucked vp, all the care was committed to one man. As therefore the Priests do 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 about the Priests, 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 sayth that at Alexandria, from Marke the Euangelist euen to Heraclias and Dionisius, the Priestes did alway choose out one of themselues, & set him in a hyer degree, whom they named a Bishop. Therefore euery city had a company of Priests which were Pastors and Teachers. For they all did execute among the people that office of teaching, exhorting and correcting, which Paul appointeth to the Bishops: and that they might leaue secede after them, they trauailed in teaching the younger men, that had professed themselues souldiours in the holy warfare. To euery city there was appointed a certaine countrey, that shoulde take their Priestes from thence, and be accounted as it were into the bodie of that Church. Euerie company (as I haue before sayde) only for preseruation of Policy and Peace were vnder one Bishop: which was so about the rest in dignitie, that he was subiect to the assemblie of his brethren. If the compasse of ground y was vnder his Bishoprike were so great, that hee could not suffice to serue alij offices of a Bishop in euery place of it, in the countrey it selfe there were in certaine places appointed Priestes which in small matters should execute his authoritie. Them they called countrey bishops, because in the countrey they represented the Bishop. 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 worde 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 sayth in the 9. booke of the Tripartite hystory. Which yet Epi. ad Eua,

Hierom confesseth that hee misliketh not. Truly it should be counted monstrous, if any man had giuen out himselfe for a Bishop, that had not also in verry deepe shewed himselfe a true Bishop. Therefore such was the seueritie 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 manner of one age alone: For euen in Gregories time, when the Church was now almost decayed (certainely it was much degenerate from the auntient purenesse) it had not bin tollerable y 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 an other place: When Paul testifieth that he is cleane frō the bloud of all: in this saying we be conuincied, wee be bounde, we be shewed to be guilty, which are called Priests, which beside the euils that wee haue of our owne, adde also y deathes of other: because we kill so many as we being luke warme and silent do daily see to go to death. He calleth himselfe & other silent, because they were les diligent in their work than they ought to be. Whē he spareth not them, y did halfe performe their duty: what thinke you he would haue done, if a man had altogether sit idle? Therefore this was a greate while holden in the Church, that the chiefe duty of the Bishop was to feede Gods people with the word, or both publikly & priuatly to edifie the Church with sounde doctrine.

4 But whereas euery prouince had among their Bishops one Archbishop: also where in the Nicene Synode there were ordained Patriarches, which should in degree and dignity be aboute the Archbishops, that pertained to the preseruing 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 wel be ended by a fewe, might be referred to a prouinciall Synode. If the greatnesse or difficultie of the matter required a greater discussing, the Patriarches were also called to it with the Synodes, from whō there might be no appell but to a generall Counsell. The government so ordered many called a Hierarchie, by a name (as I think) vnproper, & truly vnused in the Scriptures. For the holy Ghost willed to prouide, that no man, should dreame of a principallitie or dominion when y government of the Church is spoken of. But if, leauing the word we looke vpon the thing, we shal finde that the old Bishops ment to forge no forme of ruling the Church, differing from that which the Lorde appointed by his word.

5 Neither was the order of the Deacons at that time any other thē it was vnder the Apostles. For they receiued the daily offrings of the Faithfull, and the yearely reuenues of the Church, to bestow them vpon true vses, that is to say, to distribute them to feede partly the ministers, and partly y poore: but by the appointment of the Bishop, to whome also they yearely rendered accountes of their distribution. For whereas the Canons doe euery where make the Bishop distributer 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 parte to appoint to the Deacon, who shoulde bee receiued into the common almes of the Church, and of that which remained, to whome it should

should be giuen, & how much to euery one : because he had an ouersceing whether the Deacon did faithfully execute that which belonged to his office. For thus it is read in the canons which they ascribe to the Apostles : Wee commaund that the Bishoppe 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 al things may be distributed to the poore by the Elders and Deacons : that they may be al ministr'd with feare and carefulnes. And in the Council of Antioche it is decreed, that the Bishoppes 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 stewardest 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 litle and litle confounded. But Archdeacons began then to be created, when the plentie of the goods, required a newe and more exact maner of disposing them : Albeit Hierome doth say, that it was euen in his age. In their charge was the summe of their reuenues, possessions, & store, and the collection of the daily offerings. Whereupon Gregory declarcth to the Archdeacon of Salon, that he should be holden guiltie if any of the goods of the Church, perished either by his fraud or negligence. But whereas it was giuen to them to read the Gospel to the people, & to exhort them to prayer : and 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 bailiwike that they exercised, but a spirituall function and dedicate to God.

Cap. 35.

Epi. ad Nep.

Ep. 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 the Synodes, and among the old wryters it is to be found, that whatsoeuer the Church possesseth either in lands or in money, is the patrimonie of y^e 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 vnfaithfully suppress or wast, they shalbe guiltie of bloud. Whereby they are admonished, with great feare & reuerence, as in the sight of God, without respect of persons, to distribute them to whome they be due . Hereupon also come those graue protestations in Chrysofome, Ambrose, Augustine, & other like Bishops, whereby they affirme their owne vprightnesse to the people. But sith it is equitie, and established by the law of the Lord, that they which employ their seruice to the Church, should bee 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 themselues, which

ought

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 onely wherewith to sustaine their owne neede. For those of the Clergie (saith Hierome) which are able to liue of the goods of their parentes, if they take that which is the poores, do commit sacrilege, and by such abuse they eate and drinke to themselues damnation.

7 First the ministracion was free and voluntarie, whereas the Bishops and Deacons were of their own wil faithful, and vprightnesse of conscience and innocencie of life were to them in steade of the lawes. Afterward when euil examples grew of the greedinesse 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 the Clergie, the second to the poore, the third to the maintenance and reparation of Churches, and other holy buildinges, 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 abouesaide diuision. For they meane not that that part should be his owne, that either he himselfe alone should deuoure it, or poure it out, vpon whom or what he list, but that it should suffice to mainteine the Hospitalitie which Paul requireth of that order. And so doe Gelasius and Gregory expound it. For Gelasius bringeth no other reason why the bishop should chalenge any thing to himselfe, but that he might giue it prisoners and strangers. And Gregory speaketh yet more plainely. It is the maner (saith he) of the sea Apostolike, to giue commaundement to the Bishop when he is ordred, that of all the reuenuie that ariseth, there be made foure portions: that is to say, the one to the Bishop and his family for Hospitalitie, and entertainment: the second to the Clergie: y third to the poore: the fourth to the repairing of Churches. Therefore it was lawfull for the Bishop to take nothing to his owne vse, but so much as were enough for moderate and meane foode and clothing. If any began to exceed, either in riotous expence, or in ostentation & pompe, he was by & by repressed by his felowes, and if he obeyed not, he was put from his dignitie.

8 As for that which they bestowed vpon garnishing of holy thinges, at the first it was verie litle. Afterward when the Church became somewhat richer, yet in that behalfe they stil kept a meane. And yet all the money that was bestowed therupon, remained safe for the poore, if any greater necessitie happened. So when famine possessed the prouince of Hierusalem, & the neede could not otherwise be relieued, Cyrillus sold the vessels & 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 hee 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 inuyceth against y too much gorgeousnes of temples, doth with honour make mention of Exuperius bishop of Tholosa in his time, which caried the Lords bodie in a wicker basket, and his blood in glasse, but suffred no poore man to be hungrie. That which I eue now said of Acatius, Ambrose rehearseth of himselfe. For when the Arrians char-

1. Tim. 3. 2.

Tripur. hist.
lib. 5.
Li. 11. ca. 16.

Ad Nepot.

charged him, for that he had broken the holy vessels to ransom prisoners, he used this most godly excuse: He y sent the Apostles without golde, gathered Churches together without gold. The Church hath gold, not to keepe it, but to bestowe it, and to giue reliefe in necessities. What neede is to keepe that which helpeth not? Do we not know, how much gold & siluer the Assyrians rooke out of the temple of the Lorde? Doth not the Priest better to melt the for the susteinaunce of the poore, if other reliefes do faile, than an enemy a robber of God to beare them away? Will not the Lorde say: Why hast thou suffred so many needy to dy for hunger? and verily thou hadst gold whereof thou mightst haue ministred them susteinaunce. Why were so many led away captiue, & not ransomed? why were so many slaine by the enemy? It had bin better that thou shouldest saue the vessels of liuing men, than of mettalles. To these things thou shalt not bee able to aunswere. For what wouldest thou say? I feared least Gods temple should want garnishing. He would answere: Sacramentes require not gold: neither do those things plese with gold y are not bought with gold. The ransoming of prisoners is a garnishing of Sacramentes. In summe, we see that it is most true which the same man sayeth in an other place, that whatsoeuer the Church then possessed was the store of the needie. Againe: that a Bishop hath nothing that is not the poores.

Lib. de offic.
cap. 28.Lib. 5. epist.
31. & 33.

9 These that we haue rehearsed were the ministeries of the Old Church. For the other of which the Ecclesiasticall writers make mention, were rather certaine exercises and preparations, than appointed offices. For those holy men, that they 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 parentes, professed themselues souldiours of the spirituall warfare: and they so framed the from their tender age, that they should not come vnskillfull & rawe to the executing of their office. But all they that were instructed with such beginnings, were called Clerkes. I woulde in deede that some other proper name had rather beene giuen the. For this name grew in error, or of corrupt affection: for asmuch as Peter calleth the whole Church the Clergie, that is to say, the Lords inheritance. But the institution it selfe was very holy and profitable, that they which woulde consecrate themselues & their seruice to the Church, should be so brought vp vnder the keeping of the bishop, that none should minister to y Church, but he that were well informed aforehand, & that had from his very youth both sucked holy doctrine, and by seure discipline put in a certaine continuing qualitie of grauitie and holy life, & were estranged from worldly cares and were accustomed to spirituall cares & studies. But as yong souldiours are by certaine counterfait skirmishes instructed to learne true and earnest fight, so there were also certaine rudimentes, whereby they were exercised while they were Clerkes, before that they were promoted to the very offices. Therefore first they committed to the Clerkes the charge to open and shut the Church, & they named them Ostiaij, dorekeepers. Afterward they called them Acoluthi, folowers, which waited vpon the Bishop in his household seruices, and did continually accompanie him, first for honors sake, & then that no suspicion should arise of the. Moreouer that by litle & litle they

1. Pet. 5. 3.

might become knowne to the people, and get to themselves commendation: also that they might learne to abide the sight of all men, and to speake before all men: that being made priestes, when they came forth to teach, they should not be abashed with shame: therefore place was appointed the to read in the pulpet. After this maner they were promoted by degrees, to shew prooffe euery one of their diligence in all their seuerall exercises, till they were made Subdeacons. This only 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 y^e the first & second point in the calling of ministers, are, what maner of men they ought to choose, & how great a religious carefullnes they ought to vse in that matter: therein the olde Church hath followed the prescribed order of Paul, & the examples of the Apostles. For they were wont to come together to choose the pastors with most great reuerence, & 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 y^e rule of Paul. Only they somewhat offended herein with too great seueritie, because they would require more in a Bishop than Paul required, & specially in proesse 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 olde time, none was receiued into y^e company of Clerkes, without the consent of all the people: insomuch that Cyprian laboureth earnestly to excuse that he appointed one Aurelius to be a Reader without asking aduise of the Church, because that was don beside the custome, though not without reason. For this he saith before: In ordering of Clerkes, dere brethren, we are wont first to aske you aduise, & by common counsell to wey the maners 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 cessed to be asked. Afterward in the other degrees also, except the Bishoprike, the people commonly left the iudgement & choise of them to the Bishop and the priestes, that they shoulde examine who were meete & worthie: sauing peraduenture when new Priestes were appointed for paroches: for then it behoued that the multitude of that place namely should consent. Neither is it any maruel, that the people in this behalfe was litle 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 Clerk, vnder that seueritie of discipline, which then was vsed. After that he had bene 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 promoted, of whome there had not bene in deede a triall had many yeres before the eyes of the people. And there were many canons to punish their faultes: so y^e the Church could not be troubled with euil Priests or Deacons, vnles 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 vpo Anacletus. Finally, all

the admissions into orders were therefore done at certaine appointed times of the yeare, that no man shoulde priuily creepe in without the consent of the faithfull, or should with too much easinesse be promoted without witnesses.

11 In choosing of Bishops the people had the libertie long preferued, that none should be thrust in that were not accepted of all. This therefore was forbidden in the counsell at Antioch, that none should be thrust in to them against their will. Which thing also Leo the first doth diligently confirme. Hereupon came these sayings: Let him be choosen, whome the Clergye, 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 needes be, that he that is made a ruler being vnknownen and not examined, is thrust in by violence. Againe, Let him be chosen, that is both chosen by the Clerkes, 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 Synode gathered together at Constantinople did order Nestarius, they would not do it without the allowance of the Clergy 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 Theodorite, when hee 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 approued it with their allowing shewte.

Epi. 90. ca. 2.

Epistola, 10.
Theod. lib. 4
cap. 20.

12 I graunt in dedde that this also was by very good reason stablished in the Council at Laodicea, that the Election should not be left to multitudes. For it scarcely happeneth at any time, that so many heads should wel order any thing with one meaning: and commonly this is true, that the vncertain commualtie is diuided into contrarie affections. But for this perill there was vsed a very good remedy. For first the Clerkes onely did choose: whom they had choosen they presented to the Magistrate, or to the Senate and chiefe men of the people. They, after consultation hadde, if they thought the election good, confirmed it: if not, they did choose an other, whom they did rather allowe. Then the matter was moued to the multiude, which although they were not bounde to those foreiudgements, yet thereby they could the lesse be disordered. Or if they began at the multiude: that was don only to learne whom they did chiefly desire. When the desires of the people were heard, then they of the Clergy did chose him. So neither was it lawfull for the Clergy to appoint whom they listed, neither were they bounde to obey the foolish desires of the people. Leo appointeth this order in an other place, when he sayth: There are to be looked for, both the desires of the citizens, the peoples testimonies, the iudgement of the honorable, and the election of the clerks. Againe, Let there be holden the testimonie of the honorable, the subscription of the clerkes, the consent of the order & commualty. No reason (sayth hee) suffreth it to be otherwise done. And nothing else meaneth that decree of the Synode at Laodicea, but that the clergy

Cap. 13.

Episto, 87.

and chiefe of the people, shoulde not suffer themselues to be caried away by the vndiscrete multitude: but rather that with their wisdom and grauitie they should repressse the peoples foolish affections, if at any time need 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 testimonie of this matter. For so oft as he hath to doe with the creating of any newe Bishop, he vseth to write to the clergy, to the order, and to the people, & somtime also to the ruler, according as the government of the city is appointed. But if by reason of the disordered state of y^e Church, he committeth to any Bishop adioyning, the charge of ouerseding in the election, yet he alway requircth a solenne decree strengthened with the subscriptions of all. Yea and when there was one Constantius create Bishop 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 lawful, vnlesse they also were called together & gaue their assent. Yea there are not yet fise hundred yaeres past, since Pope Nicolas decreed thus of the election of the Bishop of Rome: that the Cardinal Bishops should beginne, then that they should ioyne to them the rest of the clergy, last of all that the election should be confirmed by the consent of the people. And in the ende he reciteth that decree of Leo, which I euen nowe alleaged, and commaundeth it from thence forth to bee in force. But if the malice of wicked men shal so preuaile, that the clerkes to make a true election be compelled to departe out of the citie: yet he commaundeth that some of the people be present with them. As for the Emperours consent, so farre as I can perceiue, was required only in 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 gouern the election of the new Bishop: that was extraordinarily done, by reason of grievous factions wherewith the citizens then boyled among themselues. But at Rome in old time the Emperours authoritie was of so great force in creating of the Bishop: that Gregorie sayeth, that hee was set by his commaundement in the government of the Church: when yet by solenne vsage hee was desired by the people. This was the maner, that when the clergy and the people had appointed any bishop, the clergy should forthwith moue it to the Emperor, y^e he should either by his allowance confirme y^e election, or by disallowance vndo it. Neither are the decrees that Gratian gathereth together, repugnāt to this custome: wherein is nothing else sayd, but that it is in no wise to be suffred, that taking away the canonicall election, a king should appoint a Bishop after his own lust: and that the Metropolitan should consecrate none that were so promoted by violent powers. For it is one thing to spoyle the Church of her right, that all should be transferred to the lust of one man: and an other thing to graunt this honour to a king or an Emperor, that by his authoritie he may confirme a lawfull election.

14 Now it followeth, that we entreat, with what forme the ministers of y^e Church were admitted into their office after election: this the Latines called Ordination or Consecration: the Greekes haue called it Cheirotonia, listung

Li. 3. epi. 69.

Distin. 23.
cap. in nomine.

Epi. 5. lib. 1.

vp of handes, and some time also Cheirothesia, laying on of handes. Howbeit Cheirotonia is properly called that kinde of election, where mens consentes are declared by holding vp of their hands. There remaineth a decree of the Nicene councell, that the Metropolitane should meete together with all the Bishops of the prouince 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 meet: and that they that are absent shoulde by letters testifie their consent. And this Canon, when with discontinuance it grew out of vse, was afterwarde renewed with many Synodes. But all, or at least so many as had no excuse, were therefore commaunded to be present, that they might haue the grauer triall of the learning and manners, of him that was to be ordered: for the matter was not done without trial. And it appeareth by Cyprians words, that in the olde time they were wont not to be called after the election, but to be present at y^e election: & to this end y^e they shoulde be as it were gouernors, y^e nothing shoulde be troublesome done in y^e multitude. For where he saide y^e the people haue power either to choose worthy Priests, or to refuse vnworthie, win a litle after he addeth: Wherefore according to y^e tradition of God & of the Apostles, it is to be diligently kept & holden (which is yet holden w^{ch} vs also & in a maner throughout al prouinces) y^e for the right celebration of orderings, al the Bishops adioyning of y^e same prouince shoulde come together to that people for which a gouernour is ordered, & that the Bishop be chosen in presence of the people. But when they were sometime slowly gathered together, and there was perill least some woulde abuse that delay to occasion of ambitious suing: it was thought that it shoulde be enough if after the election made, they shoulde meet and after allowance vpon lawfull examination consecrate him.

15 When this was ech where done without exception, by litle and litle a diuerse maner grew in vse, that they which were chosen shoulde resort to the Metropolitane citie to fetch their ordering. Which came to passe rather by ambition, and by deprauiō 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 worse custome, that the Bishops almost of all Italy shoulde fetch their consecration from thence. Which wee may note out of the Epistles of Gregorie. Only a few cities, which did not so easily giue place, had their auncient right preserued: as there is an example had of Milaine. Paraduventure the only Metropolitane cities kept their priuiledge. For all the Bishoppes of the Prouince were wont to come together to the cheefe citie to consecrate the Archbishoppe. But the Ceremonie was laying on of handes. For I read of no other Ceremonies vsed: sauing that in the solempne assemblie the Bishops had a certaine apparrell whereby they might bee distinctly knowen from other Priestes. They ordered also Priestes & Deacons with only laying on of hands. But euery Bishop with the companie of priests ordered his owne Priestes. 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 old writers haue ofte this saying: that a Priest differeth from a Bishoppe in no other thing, but because he hath not the power of ordering.

Epi. 4. lib. 1.

Lib. 2. Epist. 69. 46.

The v. Chapter.

*That the olde forme of government is vtterly ouerthrowen
by the tyrannie of the Papacie.*

NOW it is good to set before mens eyes the order of governing y^e 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 comparision it may appeare what manner of Church they haue, which vse this onely title to charge or rather to ouerwhelm vs. But it is best to be ginne 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 wee shall consider howe 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 doeth not suffer mee, once to touch this thing be it neuer so lightly, without their great shame. And yet I will remember, in what kinde of writing I am nowe occupied: and will not suffer my talke, which ought to bee framed onely to simple doctrine, to flow abroad beyonde due bonds. But let some one of the that haue not vtterly lost al shame, answere me, what manner of bishoppes are at this day commonly chosen. Truly it is nowe 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 certain, that these hundred yeres there hath scarcely bin euery hundreth man chosen that vnderstoode any thing of holy doctrine. I doe not therefore spare the former ages, for that they were much better, but because we haue nowe onely the present Church in question. If iudgement be had of their manners, we shall finde that there haue bene fewe or almost none, whome the olde Canons woulde not haue iudged vnworthie. Hee that was not a dronkarde, was a whoremonger: he that was also cleane from this wickednesse, was either a dycer, or a hunter, or dissolute in some parte of his life. For there be lighter faultes, 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 yeares old, are by the Popes grant made bishops. They are growen to such shamelesnes & senses dulnes, that they dreaded not that extreeme yea and monstrous wicked doing, which is vtterly abhorring from the verie sence of nature. Hereby appeareth how religious their elections were, where the negligence was so carelesse.

2 Nowe in election, all that right of the people is taken away. Their desirings, their assenting, their subscribinges, and all such things are vanished: the whole power is transferred to the Canons only. They bestowe the Bishopricke vpon whome they will, and afterwarde bring him fourth into the sight of the people, but to bee worshipped, not to bee examined. But Leo cryeth on the other side, that no reason suffereth it, and hee pronounceth

ceeth that it is a violent imposition. Cyprian, when hee testifieth that it proceedeth from the lawe of God that it shoulde not bee done but by the consent of the people, sheweth that the contrary maner is repugnant to y^e worde of God. The decrees of so many Synodes do most seuerely forbid it to bee otherwise done: and if it be done, they comaund it to be voide. If these things be true, there now remaineth in the Papacie no Canonical election, neither by Gods lawe nor by the Ecclesiasticall law. But although there were no other euil, 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 sounde judgement, therefore the rule thereof shoulde be giuen to a fewe. Admit verily that this were the extreme remedie of a mischiefe in dispaired case. But sith the medicine it selfe hath appeared more hurtfull than the very disease, why is not this newe euil also remedied? But (say they) it is exactly prescribed to the Canons, what they ought to followe in the election, But do we dout, but that the people in olde time did vnderstand that they were bounde to most holy lawes, when they saw y^e they had a rule set them by the worde of God, when they came together to choose a bishop? For that onely voice of God, whereby he describeth the true image of a bishop, ought worthily to bee of more value than infinite thousands of Canons. But neuerthelesse the people, corrupted with a most euil affection, had no regarde of the lawe 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 maners, yea and allowed as though it were done by good reason, that dronkardes, whoremongers, dycers, are commonly promoted to this honor: (It is but litle y^e I saye) that bishoprikes 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 well bestowed. Any way to excuse so hainous indignity, it is too much wicked. The people (say I) had in old time a very good Canon to whome Gods worde prescribed, that a bishop ought to bee vnreprouable, 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 & seditious partakings of the people. And why should it not at this day be remoued againe frō these men, which not only do breake all lawes, but casting away all shanie, do wantonly, couetously, ambitiously, mingle and confound Gods and mens matters together?

1. Tim. 3. 1.

3. But they ly, when they say, that this was deuised for a remedie. We oftē read that in old time Churches were in tumultes at the choosing of bishops: yet neuer any man durst think of taking away the authority from the people. For they had other wayes whereby they might either preuent these faultes, or amend them if they were already comitted. But I wil tell what it is. When the people began to bee negligent in making the elections, and did cast that care vpon the Priestes as litle belonging to them, they abused this occasion to vsurpe a tyranny to themselues, which afterwarde they stablished by new Canons set forth. As for their ordering, it is nothing else but a meere mockery. For the shew of examination that they there set out is so vaine and hungry,

gry, that it wanteth euē al colour. Therefore whereas in some places Princes haue by couenāt obtainēd of y^e bishops of Rome, that they themselues might name bishops, therein the Church suffered no new losse: because the election was taken away, only from the Canons, which had by no right violētly 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 y^e worke of godly Princes to absteyne from such corruption. For it is a wicked spoiling of the Church, when there is thrust vnto any people a bishop, whom they haue not desired, or at leyst with free voice allowed. But y^e vnorderly māner which hath long ago bin in the Churches, gaue occasion to Princes to take the presentation of bishops into their owne handes. 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.

4 Loe here is a noble calling, by reason whereof the bishops boast themselues to be the successors of the Apostles. But they say that the authoritie to create Priests belongeth to them only. But in this they most lewdly corrupt the old institution: because they doe not by their ordering create Priestes to rule & feede the people, but Sacrificers to Sacrifice. Likewise when they consecrate Deacons, they do nothing of their true & proper office, but they ordaine them only to certayne Ceremonies about the chalice & the paten. But in the Synode at Chalcedon, it is contrariwise decreed, y^e 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 verie profitable. First, that the Church shoulde not be burdēd 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, shoulde thinke that they be not promoted to an honour, but that there is an office committed vnto them, to the execution whereof they are bounde by solemne protestation. But the Romishe maisters (which thinke that there is nothing in religion to bee cared for, but their bellie) first doe expounde title to be the reuēue that may suffice to sustaine them, whether it be by their owne liuelyhoode or by benefice. Therefore when they order a Deacon or a Prieste, without taking care where they ought to minister, they giue them the order, if they bee riche enough to finde themselues. But what man can admit this, that the title which the decree of the Counsell requireth, should be the yearly reuēue for their sustenance? But nowe because the later Canons condemned the bishoppes with penaltie to finde them whom they had ordered without sufficient title, by this meane to restraine their too much easie admitting: there hath beene also a sutletie deuised to mocke out this penaltie. For hee that is ordered, naming any title whatsoeuer it be, promiseth that he wilbe 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 can not make fīue shillings by yeare: other some vnder secret couenant do borrow benefices, which they promise that they wil by & 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 whome 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 gouernment of the Church: and a Deacon to be called to the gathering of the almes: they doe indeede with many pompes shadowe their doing, that in the verie shew it may haue a reuerence among the simple. But among men that haue their sounde wit, what can these disguisings auaille, if there be no sound stufte or truth vnderneath them? For they vse ceremonies about it, either fetched out of Iewishnes, or fained of them selues: which it were better to forbear. But of true examination, (for I nothing passe vpon that shadowe which they retaine) of the peoples consent, and of other things necessarie, they make no mention. I call a shadowe their foolish gesturings meete to be laughed at, framed to a sonde and colde counterfainting of antiquitie. The bishops haue their deputies which before y ordering may enquire of their learning. But what? whether they can read their masses whether they can decline a comon noun, y they shal light vpon in reading, coniugate a verb, or do know the significatiō of one word, for it is not necessary y they be cunning enough to construe a verse. And yet they be not put back frō Priesthood which faile euen in the childish rudiments, so that they bring any mony or commendation of fauor. Of like sort it is, y when they are brought to the altar to be ordered, it is asked thrise in a tongue not vnderstanded, whether they be worthie of that honour. One aunswereth (which neuer saw them: but because nothing should want of the forme, he hath that part in the play) They are worthie. What may a man blame in these reuerende fathers, but that with mocking in so open sacrileges, they doe without shame laugh to scorne both God and men? But because they are in long possession thereof, they thinke that now it is lawfull for them. For whosoeuer dare once open his mouth against these so euident and so haynous wicked doings, he is forthwith haled by them to punishment of death, as though it were one y had in old time disclosed abroad the holy mysteries of Ceres, would they do this if they thought that there were any God?

6 Nowe howe much doe 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 manner. For the Bishops onely doe 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 reteine only the title of collation for honors sake. There are also nominations out of scholes, and resignations, either simple, or made for cause of eschange, commendatorie writings, preuentions, and whatsoever is of that sort. But they also behaue themselues that none of them can reproche an other with any thing. So I affirme, that scarcely euery hundredth benefice, is bestowed at this day in the papacie without Simonie, as the olde writers defined Simonie. I doe not say that they all buy them with readie monie: but shew me one of twentie that commeth to a benefice without some by commendation, some either kinred or alliance promoteth, and some the authoritie of their parentes: some by doing of pleasures doe get themselues fauor. Finally benefices are giuen to this ende, not to provide for.

for the Churches, but for them that receive them. Therefore they call them benefices, by which wordes they doe sufficiently declare, that they make no other account of them, but as the beneficial gifts of princes, whereby they either get the fauour of their souldiers or reward their seruices. I omitte howe these rewardes are bestowed vpon barbars, cookes, moile keepers, and such dreggish men. And nowe iudiciall courtes doe ring of no matters more, thā about benefices: so that a man may say that they are nothing else but a pray cast afore dogges to hunt after. Is this tollerable euen to be heard of, that they should bee called Pastors, which haue broken into the possession of a Church as into a ferme of their enemye? y have gotten it by brawling in the lawe? that haue bought it for monie? that haue deserued it by filthie seruices? which being children yet scantly able to speake, haue receiued it, as by inheritance from their vncles and kinsmen, and some bastardes from their fathers?

7 Woulde euer the licentiousnesse of the people, though they had bene neuer so corrupt & lawelesse, 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 gouerne five or sixe Churches. A man may see in these dayes in Princes courtes, young men that haue three abbacies, two Bishoprikes, one Archbishoprike. But there bee commonly Canons with five, sixe or seuen benefices, whereof they haue no care at all, but in receiuing the renenues. I will not obiect, that it is ech where cried out against by the worde of God, which hath long agoe ceased to be of any estimation at all among them. I wil not obiect, that there haue bene many most seueren penall ordinances in manie counsels made against this wickednesse: for those also they boldly despise as oft as they list. But I say that both are monstrous wicked doinges, which are vtterly against God and nature and y government 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 hee woulde: and yet (such is their shamefulnesse) they couer such abhominable filthinesse with the name of the Church to deliuer themselues from all blame. But also (and God will) in these lewdenesse is contained that holy succession, by the merite whereof they boast that it is wrought that the Church may not perish.

8 Nowe (which is the seconde marke in iudging a lawfull Pastor) let vs see howe faithfully they exercise their office. Of the Priestes that be there created, some be Monkes, some bee (as they call them) Secular. The firste 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 olde time when they were chosen out of Monasteries into the clergie, they ceased to be Monkes. And Gregorie, whose time had much dregges, yet suffred not this confusion to bee made. For he willeth that they bee put out of the Cleargie that be made Abbots, for that no man can rightly be together both a Monke and a clearge: sith the one is a hinderance to the other. Nowe if I aske, howe hee well fulfilleth his office, whome the Canons declare to bee vnmeet, what I pray you, will they aunswere? They will forsooth alleadge vnto mee those vntimely borne decrees of Innocent and Boniface, where-
by

by Monkes are so receiued into the honour and power of Priesthood, that they might still abide in their Monasteries. But what reason is this, that euery 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 shal speake hereafter. 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 Priesthoode. For Hierome sayeth that he doth not execute the office of a Priest, while he is conuersant among Monkes; and maketh himselfe one of the common people to be ruled by the Priestes. But, although we graunt them this, what do they of their dutie? Of the mendicantes some do preache: all the other Monkes either sing or mumble vp masses in their dennes. As though either Christ willed, or the nature of the office suffereth Priests to be made to this purpose. Whereas the Scripture plainly testifieth, that it is the priestes office to rule his owne Church, is it not a wicked prophanation, to turne an other way, yea vtterly to change the holy institution of God? For when they are ordered, they are expressly forbidden to doe the things that God commaundeth all priests. For this song is song to them: let a Monke content wth his cloister, not presume to minister the Sacramentes, nor to execute any thing belonging to publike office. Let them deny, if they can, that it is an open mockerie of God, that any priest should be made to this purpose, to absteyne from his true and naturall office: and that he which hath the name, may not haue the thing.

Act. 10. 23.

9 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 bishop-riks, and cure of paroches: or they be the stipends of deintie men, that get their liuing with singing, as prebendes, Canonships, personages, and dignities, chaplainships, and such other. Howbeit, since things are nowe turned vpside downe, Abbacies and priories are giuen to very boyes, 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 do? that is in seruile and shamefull maner to giue out them selues for gaine, specially sith there is so great a multitude as nowe the worlde swarmeth with. Therefore when they dare not beg openly, or forasmuch as they thinke they shoulde but litle profite that way, they go about like hungrie dogges, and with their importunacie, as with barking, they enforce out of men against their willes somewhat to thrust into their belly. Here if I would go about to expresse in wordes, how great a dishonor it is to the Church, y^e the honor and office of priesthood is come to this point, I shoulde haue no ende. Therefore it is not meete that the readers should looke for at my hande such a long declaration as may be proportionall to so hainous indignitie. Briefely I say, if it be the office of priesthod, (as the worde of GOD prescribeth, and the auncient canons require) to feede the Church, and to gouerne the spirituall kingdome of Christ: all such sacrificers as haue none

1. Co. 4. 21

place assigned them to teach: they haue no flocke to gouerne: Finally, there is nothing left to them, but the altar, wherupon to sacrifice Christ: which is not to offer to God, but to diuels, as we shal see in another place.

10 I do not here touch the outward faultes, but only the inwarde euill, which sticketh fast by the roote in their institution. I will adde a saying, which wil found il in their cares: 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 fedde with idle benefices. For what seruice can they do to the Church? For they haue put from themselues the preaching of the worde, the care of discipline, and ministracion of Sacramentes, as too much troublesome burdens. What then haue they remaining, whereby they may boast themselues to be true priests? Singing forsooth, 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 do lay vnto them the definition of Christ, whereby he hath expressed vnto vs both true priestes, and what they ought to haue that wil be accounted such. But if they cannot beare so harde a lawe, to submit themselues to Christes rule: at the least let them suffer this matter to be determined by the authoritie of the Primitiue Church. But their case shalbe neuer the better, if their state be iudged by the olde canons. They that haue degenerate into Canons, should haue beene 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, do nothing at all belong to the gouerning of the Church: much lesse, chapleiships, and the other dregges of like names. What account then shall wee make of them all? Truely both the worde of Christ, and the vsage of the Church excludeth them from the honour of priesthood. Yet they stiffely holde that they be priestes: but wee must plucke of their visour: so shall wee finde, that their whole profession is moste strange and farre remoued from that office of priestes, both which y^e Apostles describe vnto vs, and which was required in the primitiue church. Therefore all such orders, with what titles soeuer they be notified, sith they be newe, being verily neither vpholden by the institution of God, nor by y^e auncient vsage of the Church, ought to haue no place in the description of the spirituall gouernment, which the Church hath receiued consecrate with the Lordes owne mouth. Or (if they wil rather haue me to speake more simply and grossely) for as much as chaplaines, canons, Deanes, Prouostes, and other idle bellies of the same sorte, do not so much as with their litle finger touch any small parcel of that office, which is necessarily required in priestes, it is not to bee suffred, that in wrongfully taking a false honour vpon themselues, they should breake the holy institution of Christ.

11 There remaine Bishops, and persons of Paroches: who, I woulde to God they did striue to reteine their office. For wee woulde willingly graunt vnto them, that they haue a godly 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 stired his foote out of the citie, woulde professe himselfe a plowman, or a keeper of a vine-

vineyarde: if a souldiour that had bene continually in the battaile and in the campe, and had neuer seene iudiciall court or bookes, would 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 howe many a one is there, that doeth so much, as in shewe, exercise the gouernement of his Church? Many doe all their life long deuoure the reuenues of Churches, to which they neuer come so much as to looke vpon them. Some other do once by yeare either come themselves, or sende their stewarde, that nothing should bee lost in the letting to farme. When this corruption first crept in, they that woulde enioy this kinde of vacation, exempted themselves by priuileges: nowe it is a rare exemple, to haue one resident in his owne Church. For they esteeme them none otherwise than farmes, ouer which they set their vicars as bailies or farmers. But this very naturall reason reiecteth, that he should be pastor of a flocke, that neuer sawe one sheepe thereof.

12 It appeareth that euen in the time of Gregorie, there were certaine feedes of this mischiefe, that the rulers of Churches, began to be negligent in teaching: for he doeth in one place grieuouly complaine of it. The world (sayeth he) is full of priestes: but yet in the harvest there are seldome workmen founde: because in deede wee take vpon vs the office of priest, but we fulfill not the worke of the office. Againe, because they haue not the bowels of charitie, they will seeme Lordes: they acknowledge not themselves to bee fathers. They change the place of humilitie into the aduancing of lordlinesse. Againe, but what do wee, O pastours, which receiue the rewarde, and are no workemen? We are fallen to outwarde businesse, and wee take in hande one thing, and performe an other. We leaue the ministry of preaching: and to our punishment, as I see, we are called Bishops, that keep the name of honour and not of vertue. Sith he vseth so great sharpnesse of wordes 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 truely very fewe, and of the rest scarcely euery hundreth man once in all his life to goe vp into a pulpet? For men be come to such madnesse, that it is commonly counted a thing too base for the dignitie of a Bishoppe, to make a sermon to the people. In the time of Bernard, thinges were somewhat more decayed: but we see also with howe sharpe chidings he inuiceth against the whole order: which yet it is likely to haue bene then much purer than it is nowe.

Hcm. 17.

13 But if a man doe well wey and examine this outwarde forme of ecclesiasticall gouernment that is at this day vnder the papacy, he shall finde that there is no theeuish corner wherein robbers do more licentiously range without lawe and measure. Truely all thinges are there so vnlike the institution of Christ, yea so contrary to it, they are so degenerate from the auncient 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 pretende his name to the defence of so disordered gouernment. Wee (say they) are the pillars of the Church, the chiefe Bishoppes of religion, the vicars of Christ, the heades 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 wee speake not of any inheritably descending honour 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 tyranny of Antichrist, by and by they aunswere, that it is that reuerende Hierarchie, so oft praised of notable and holy men. As though the holy fathers, when they commended the Ecclesiastical Hierarchie or spirituall gouernement, as it was deliuered them from hande to hande from the Apostles, did dreame of this mishapen and waste disordered heape, where the Bishops are for the most part, either rude asses, which know not the verie first & common principles of faith, or sometime children yet newe come from y^e nurse: and if any be learnede (which yet is a rare example) they thinke a Bishop-rike to be nothing els but a title of gloriousnesse and magnificence: where the perones of Churches thinke no more of feeding the focke, than a shoemaker doth of plowing: where all things are confounded with more than Babilonicall dispersing, that there remaineth no more any one steppe whole of that ordinance of the Fathers.

Matt. 5. 14.

14 What if we discende to their maners? where shalbe that light of the world, which Christ requireth? where is the salte of the earth? where is that holinesse, which may be as a perpetual rule to iudge by? There is no degree of men at this day more ilspoken of for riot, wantonnesse, deintinesse, finally all kinde of lustes. There are of no degree men either fitter, or cunninger maisters of all deceit, fraude, treason, and breach of faith: there is no where so great cunning or boldnesse to do 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, y^e it is not to be feared, that I should seeme to enforce any thing too much. This on thing I say, which they themselues shall not be able to denie: that of bishops there is almost none, of the Parsons of paroches not the hundreth man, but if iudgement should be giuen of his maners according to the olde Canons, he should be either to be excommunicate, or at least to be put from his office. I seeme to say somewhat incredible: so farre is that auncient discipline growen out of vse, that commanded an exacter triall to be had of the maners of the clergy: but the truth is so. Nowe let them goe, that fight vnder the standerd and guiding of the sea of Rome, and lette them boast among themselues of the order of Priesthoode. As for the order that they haue, truely it is euident, y^e it is neither of Christ, nor of his Apostles, nor of the fathers, nor of the olde Church.

15 Now let the Deacons come forth, & that most holy distributing that they haue of the goods of the Church. Howbeit they doe not now create their Deacons to that purpose, for they enioyne them nothing els but to minister at the altar, to reade & sing the Gospel, and do I wote not what trifles. Nothing of the almies, nothing of the care of the poore, nothing of all that function which they in olde time executed. I speake of the very institution. For if we haue respect what they do, in deede it is not to them an office, but onely

onely a steppe toward priefthood. In one thing, they that keepe the Deacons place at the masse, do represent a voide image of antiquitie. For they receiue the offrings 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, and afterwarde by very liberalitie they shewed their charitie. The Deacon, that was the poore mens steward, receiued that which was giuen, to distribute it. Now of those almes, there commeth no more to the poore, than if they were throwen 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 auncient vsage. But the very distribution of the goods they haue conueyed another way: & haue so framed it, y^e nothing can be deuised more vnorderly. For as the eues, when they haue cut mens throtes, do deuide the pray among them: so these, after the quenching of the light of Gods word, as though the Church were slaine, do thinke y^e whatsoeuer was dedicate to holy vses is laide for pray and spoile. Therefore making a diuision, euery one hath snatched to himselfe as much as he could.

16 Here all these old orders, that we haue declared, are not onely troubled, but vtterly wiped out and rased. The Bishops and priefstes of cities, which being made riche 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 striue about the bounds. Whatsoeuer it be, by this diuision it is prouided, that not one halspeny of the goods of the Church should come to the poore, whose had bene the halfe parte 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 shoulde bestowe it vpon hospitalitie, and other duties of charitie. I speake not what the clerkes ought to do with their portion, and to what vse they ought to bestowe it. For we haue sufficiently declared, that the rest which is appointed for temples, buildings and other expenses, ought to be open for the poore in necessitie. I pray you, if they had one sparke of the feare of God in their hart would they abide this burden of conscience, that all that they eate, & wherewith they be clothed, commeth of theft, yea of sacrilege? But sith they are litle moued with the iudgement of God, they should at least thinke, that those be men endued with wit and reason, to whome they woulde persuaide, that they haue so goodly & well framed orders in their Church, as they are wont to boast. Let them aunswere mee shortly, whether deaconrie be a licence to steale and robbe. If they denie this, they shall also be compelled to confesse, that they haue no deaconrie left: for as much as among them, all the disposition of the goods of the Church is openly turned into a spoiling full of sacrilege.

17 But here they vse a verie faire colour. For they say, that the dignitie of the Church is by that magnificence not vncomlily vpholden. And they haue of their sect some so shamelesse, y^e they dare openly boast, that so onely are fulfilled those prophecies, whereby the olde Prophets describe y^e gloriousnesse of the kingdome of Christ, when that kingly gorgeousnes is seene in y^e pristly order. Not in vain (say they) God hath promised these things to

Pfal. 72. 10.
Esa. 51. 1. &
60. 6.

his Church: Kings shall come, they shall worship in thy sight, they shall bring thee giftes . Arise, arise, cloth thee with thy strength, O Syon: cloth thee with the garments of thy glory, O Hierusaleni: Al shall come from Saba, bringing golde and incense, and speaking praise to the Lorde . All the cattell of Cedar shall be gathered together to thee . If I should tary long vpon confuting this lewdenesse, I feare least I should seeme sonde . Therefore I wil not lose wordes in vaine . But I aske : if any Iewe would abuse these testimonies, what solution would they giue ? Verily they would reprehende his dulnesse, for that he transferred those thinges to the flesh and the worlde, that are spirituallly spoken of the spirituall kingdome of Christ . For we knowe, that the Prophets, vnder the image of earthly thinges, did paint out vnto vs the heauenly glorie of God, that ought to shine in the Church . For the Church had neuer lesse abundaunce of these blessings, which their words expresse, than in the time of the Apostles: and yet all confesse, that the force of the kingdome of Christ then chiefly florished abroad. What then meane these sayings ? Whatsoeuer is any where precious, hie, excellent, it ought to be made subiect to the Lorde . Where as it is namely spoken of kinges, that they shall submit their scepters to Christ, that they shall throwe downe their crownes before his feet, that they shall dedicate their goods to the Church: when (will they say) was it better & 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 whē he & other like godly princes bestowed their endeouers and their cares to preferue pure doctrine in the Church, and to cherish & defende sound teachers ? But how priests at that time exceeded not in superfluous riches, that only sentence of the Synode at Aquileia, where Ambrose was chiefe, sufficiently declareth : Glorious is pouertie in the priestes of the Lorde. Truly the Bishops had at that time some riches, wherwith 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 y there was nothing more against the office of Pastors, than to glister & shew themselves proudly with deintinesse of fare, with gorgiounes of garments, with great traine of seruantes, with stately palaces, they followed and kept the humblenes and modestie, yea the very pouertie which Christe holily appointed among his ministers.

18 But that wee may not be too long in this point, let vs againe gather into a short summe, howe farre that dispensation or dissipation of y goods of the Church, that is nowe 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 verie nature of holy thinges appointeth, and 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 saoureth of riot and the corruption of times . In the meane time they are so farre from hauing due care of the liuely temples,

that

that they would rather suffer many thousandes of the poore to perish for hunger, than they would breake the least chalice or cruet, to relieue their neede. And that I may not pronounce of my self any thing more greuously against them, this only I would haue the godly readers to thinke vpon: if it shoulde happen that same Exuperius bishop of Tholosa, whom we euen now rehearsed, or Acatius, or Ambrose, or any such to be raised from death, what they would say. Truly they woulde not allowe that in so great necessitie of the poore, riches in a manner superfluous shoulde bee turned another way. Admit I speake nothing how these vses vpon which they be bestowed, (although there were no poore) are many wayes 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 saye, 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 y^e ordinary reuenue of y^e Church abated for these expenses. For there are no bishoprikes so welthy, no abbaties so fatte, finally neither so many, nor so large benefices that may serue to fil the glutony of priests. But while they seeke to spare themselves, they perswade the people by superstition, to turne that which shoulde be bestowed vpon the poore, to builde temples, to sette vp images, to buy iewels, to gette costly garmentes. So with this gulfe are the daily almes consumed.

19 Of the reuenue, that they receiue of their landes and possession, what else shall I say, but that which I haue already sayde, and which is before all mens eyes? We see with what faithfulness they which are called bishops and Abbors do dispose the greatest part. What madnesse is it, to seeke here for an ecclesiasticall order? Was it meere that they, whose life ought to haue ben a singular example of frugalitie, modestie, continence, and humilitie, should contende with the royaltie of princes in number of goods, in gorgiousnesse of houses, in deintinesse of apparell and fare? And howe much was this contrarie to their office, that they, whome the eternall and inuiolable commandement of G O D forbiddeth to bee desirous of filthy gaine, and biddeth to be content with simple liuing, should not onely laye handes vpon townes and castles, but also violently enter vpon the greatest lordshippes, finally possesse forceably very empires? If they despise the worde of G O D: what will the y^e aunswere to those auncient decrees of the Synodes: whereby it is decreed that the bishop should haue a smal lodging not far from the Church, meane fare and houshoulde stuffe? what will they saye to that praise of the Synode at Aquileia: where pouertie is reported glorious in the Priestes of the Lorde? For perhappes they will vtterly refuse as too muche rigorous, that which Hierome aduiseeth Nepotianus, that poore men and strangers, and among them Christe as a guest, may knowe his table. But that which he by and by addeth, they will be ashamed to denie, that it is the glory of a bishoppe to prouide for the goods of the poore: that it is the shame of all priestes to studie for their owne richesse. But they can not receiue this, but they must all condemne themselves of shame. But it is not needefull in this place to speake more hardely against them, sith my meaning was nothing else, but to shewe, that among them the lawefull order of deaconrie is

Tit. 1. 7.

Concil. Carthag. cap. 14. & 15.

long ago taken away: that they may no more glory of this title to the cōmendation of their Church: which I thinke I haue already sufficiently shewed.

The vi. Chapter.

Of the Supremacie of the Sea of Rome.

Hitherto we haue rehearsed those orders of the Church, which were in the government of the olde Church: but afterwarde corrupted in times, and from thenceforth more and more abused, doe nowe in the Popish Church reteine onely their name, and in deede are nothing else but visours: that by comparison the godly reader might iudge, what manner of Church the Romanistes haue, for whose sake they make vs schismatickes, because we haue departed from it. But as for the heade and toppe of the whole order, that is to say, the supremacy of the sea of Rome, whereby they trauaile to prooue that they onely haue the catholike Church, we haue not yet touched it: because it tooke beginning neither from the institution of Christe, nor from the vse of y^e old Church, as those former parts did: which we haue shewed to haue so proceeded from antiquitie, y^e by wickednes of times they are vtterly degenerate, and haue put on altogether a newe forme. And yet they go about to perswade the worlde, that this is the chiefe and in a manner only bonde of the vⁿity 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 y^e they keep the head, vpon which the vⁿitie of the Church hangeth, and without which the Church must needs fall a sunder 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 heade. Therefore when they talke of their Hierarchie, they alway take their beginning at this principle: that the bishop of Rome (as the vicar of Christ, which is the hed 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 holde the Supremacy aboue all other. Therefore this also is to be examined of what sort it is: that we may omit nothing that pertaineth to a iust gouernment of the Church.

2 Let this therefore be the principall point of the question: Whether it be necessary for the true forme of Hierarchie (as they cal it) or ecclesiastical order, that one Sea should be aboue the other 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 necessity vpon it, without the word of God. Therefore if the aduersaries will proue y^e which they require, they must first shewe that this disposition was ordeined by Christ. For this purpose they alledge out of the law the hie priesthoode, also the hie iudgement, which God did institute at Hierusalem. But it is easie to giue a solution, and that many wayes, if one way doe not satisfie them. First no reason compelleth to extende that to the whole world, which was profitable in one nation: yea rather, the order of one nation and of the whole worlde shall be farre different.

Because

Because the Jewes were on each side compassed with idolaters: y they shoulde not be diuersely drawn with varietie of religions, God appointed the place of worshipping him in the middest parte of the lande: there he ordeined ouer them one heade Bishoppe, whome they should haue al regard vnto, that they might bee the better kept together in vnitie. Nowe when religion is spred abroade into the whole worlde, who doeth not see that it is altogether an absurditie, that the government of the East & West be giuen to one man? For it is in effect as much as if a man shoulde affirme that the whole worlde ought to bee gouerned by one ruler, because one peece of lande hath no moe rulers but one. But there is yet an other reason, why that ought not to be made an example to be followed. No man is ignorāt that y hie Bishop was a figure of Christ. Now, since the Priesthood is remoued, y right must also be remoued. But to whom is it remoued? Truly, not to the Pope (as he himselfe is so bold shamelesly to boast) when he draweth this title to himself: but to Christ, which as hee alone susteyneth this office, without any vicar or successor, so hee resigneth the honour to none other. For the Priest-hood consisteth not in doctrine onely, but in the appeasing of God, which Christ hath fully wrought by his death, & in that intercession which he now vseth with his father.

Heb. 7. 12.

3 There is therefore no cause why they shoulde binde vs by this example, as by a perpetuall rule, which wee haue seene to bee enduring but for a time. Out of the newe Testament they haue nothing to bring foorth for prooffe of their opinion, but that it was sayde to one: Thou art Peter, and vpon this stone I will builde my Church. Agayne, Peter, Louest thou mee? Feede my sheepe. But admitting that these be strong proues, they must first shewe, that hee which is commaunded to feede the flocke of Christe, hath power committed to him ouer all Churches; and that to binde and to loose is nothing else but to bee ruler of all the worlde. But as Peter had receiued the commaundement of the Lord, so hee exhortheth all other priests to feede the Church. Hereby wee 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 rece.ued. But, that we striue not vainely, wee haue in an other place a cleare exposition out of the mouth of Christ, what is to binde and loose: that is to say, to reteyne and to forgiue sinnes. But the manner of binding and losing, both y whole Scripture eche where sheweth, and Paul very well declareth, when he saith that the ministers of the Gospell, haue commaundement to reconcile men to G O D, and also haue power to punish them that refuse this benefite.

Matt. 16. 18.
Ioh. 21. 15.1. Pet. 5. 2.
Ioh. 20. 23.2. Cor. 5. 18.
& 10. 16.

4 Howe 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. Nowe it is good to see onely, what they gather of that famous aunswere of Christ to Peter. Hee promised him the keyes of the kingdome of heauen: he saide that whatsoever he bounde in earth, shoulde bee bounde 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 Apostles,

postles, which being full of trauell and greefe, shoulde 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 verie fit metaphore expressed by the name of keyes. Now men are bounde and loosed in no other wise, but when faith reconcileth some to God, and there owne beleefe bindeth other some. If the Pope did take this only vpon him: I thinke there will be no man that woulde either eniue it or striue about it. But because this succession being trauelsome 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 by 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 reiecte) here is nothing giuen to Peter, y^e was not also common to his other fellowes: because otherwise there shoulde not only wrong be done to the persons, but y^e very maiestic of doctrine shoulde halt. They cry out on the other side: what auayleth it, I pray you, to run vpō this rocke? For they shall not proue, but as the preaching of one same gospel was enioyned to all y^e Apostles, so they were also alike furnished wth power to bind & loose. Christ (say they) appointed Peter Prince of y^e whole church, when he promised that he would giue him the keyes. But y^e which he then promised to one, in an other 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 al, which was promised to one, wherein shall hee be aboue his fellowes? Herein (say they) hee 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.

Matt. 18. 20.
Ioh. 20. 23.

De sim. prel.

What if I aunswere 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 y^e Church. For thus saith Cyprian, that God in the person of one gaue y^e 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 honor & power: but y^e the beginning is taken at vnitie, that the Church of Christ may bee shewed to bee one. Augustine saith: If there were not in Peter a mysterie of the Church, the Lorde woulde not say to him, I will giue thee the keyes. For if this was saide to Peter, the Church hath them not: but if the Church haue them, the Peter, when receiued the keyes, betokened the whole Church. And in an other place. When they were all asked, onely Peter aunswered, thou arte Christ: and it is saide to him, I will giue thee the keyes, as though he alone had receiued the power of binding and loosing: whereas both hee being one saide that one for al, and he receiued the other with al, as bearing the person of vnitie. Therefore one for all, because there is vnitie in all.

Hom. in Io. 1
Hom. 11.

Matt. 16. 18.

5 But this, Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I wil build my Church, is no where red spokē to any other. As though Christ spake there any other thing of Peter, than y^e which Paul and Peter himselfe speaketh of al Christians. For Paul maketh Christ the cheefe and corner stone, vpon which they are builded together that growe into a holy temple to the Lord. And Peter biddeth vs to bee liuely stones which being founded vpon that chosen & precious stone, doe by this ioynt and coupling together with our GOD,

Ephe. 2. 20.
1. Pet. 2. 5.

cleaue

cleave also together among our selues. He (say they) about the rest: because hee liath the name peculiarly. Indeede I doe willingly graunt this honour to Peter, that in the building of y^e Church hee be placed among the first, or (if they wil haue this also) the first of all the faithfull: but I will not suffer them to gather therevpon, that he shoulde haue a Supremacie ouer the rest. For what manner of gathering is this? Hee excelleth other in feruentnesse of zeale, in learning, and courage: therefore hee hath power ouer them. As though we might not with better colour gather, that Andrewe is in degree before Peter, because hee 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 betweene the honour of degree and power. We see that the Apostles commonly graunted this to Peter, that hee shoulde speake in assemblies, and after a certayne manner go before them with propounding, exhorting, and admonishing: but of his power we read nothing at all.

John 1.40.
and 42.

6 Howebeit we be not yet come to dispute of that point: onely at this present I woulde prooue, that they doe too fondly reason, when by the onely name of Peter they would builde an Empire ouer the whole Church. For those olde follies wherewith they went about to deceiue at the beginning, are not worthy to be rehearsed, much lesse to be confuted, that the Church was builded vpon Peter, because it was saide vpon this rocke. &c. But some of the Fathers haue so expounded it. But when the whole Scripture crieth out to the contrarie, to what purpose is their authoritie alleadged against God? Yea, why doe we striue about the meaning of these wordes, as though it were darke or doubtfull, when nothing can bee more plainly nor more certainly spoken? Peter had confessed in his owne and his brethrens name that Christ is the sonne of God. Vpon this rocke Christ buildeth his Church: because it is (as Paul sayth) the onely foundation, beside which there can be layde none other. Neither doe I here therefore refuse the authoritie of the Fathers, because I want their testimonies, if I listed to alleadge them: but (as I haue saide) I will not with contending about so cleare a matter trouble the readers in vaine, specially sith this point hath beene long agoe diligently enough handled and declared by men of our side.

Matt. 16. 16

1. Cor. 3. 11.

7 And yet indeede no man can better assoile this question, than the Scripture it selfe, if we compare all the places, where it teacheth, what office & power Peter had among the Apostles, howe he behaved himselfe, & howe he was accepted of them. Runne ouer all that remaineth written, you shall finde nothing else, but that he was one of the xii. egall with the rest and their fellowe, but not their Lorde. Hee doth indeede propounde to the counsell, if any thing bee to be done, and giueth warning what is meete to be done: but therewithall he heareth other, and doeth not onely graunt them place to speake their minde, but leaueth the iudgement to them: when they had determined, he followed and obeyed. When he writeth to the Pastors, he doth not commaunde them by authoritie, as Superior: but he maketh them his companions, and gently exhorteth them, as egalles are wont to doe. When he was accused for that hee had gone in to the Gentiles, although it were without cause, yet he answered and purged himselfe. When hee was commaunded by his fellowes, to goe with Iohn into Samaria,

Act. 15. 5.

1. Pet. 5. 1.

Act. 11. 3.
Act. 8. 24.

hee

Gal. r. 18. &
1.8.

hee refused not. Whereas the Apostles did sende him, they did thereby declare that they helde him not for their superior. Whereas hee obeyed and tooke vppon 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 onely Epistle to the Galathians may easily take al doubting from vs: where almost in two whole Chapters together Paul trauelleth to prooue nothing else, but that hee himselfe was egall to Peter in honour of Apostleshippe. Then he rehearseth that he came to Peter, not to professe subiection, but onely to make their consent of doctrine approued by testimonie to all men: and that Peter himselfe required no such thing, but gaue him his right hande of fellowshipe, to worke in common together in the Lords vincyarde: 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 thinges doe make plaine, eyther 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 shoulde preferre before him in the Apostleshippe either Peter, or Iohn, which were fellowes, not Lordes.

8 But, to graunt them that which they require concerning Peter, that is, that hee was the Prince of the Apostles, and excelled the rest in dignitie: yer there is no cause why they should of a singular example make an vniuersall rule, and drawe to perpetuities 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 meruell that twelue had one among them y^e should rule them all: For nature beareth this, and the witte of men requireth this, that in euery assemblie, although they be all egall in power, yet there bee one as a gouernour, whome the rest may haue regarde vnto. There is no court without a Confull: no session of iudges without a Pretor, or Propounder, no companie without a Ruler, no fellowshipe without a Maister. So shoulde it bee no absurditie, if wee confessed that the Apostles gaue to Peter such a supremacie. But that which is of force among fewe, is not by and by to bee drawn to the whole worlde, to the ruling whereof 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 bee one soueraigne heade of al. And hereof (and God will) they fetch a prooffe from cranes and bees, which alway choose to themselues one guide, not many. I allowe indeede the examples which they bring foorth: but doe bees resorte together out of al the worlde to choose them one king? euerie feuerall kinge is content with his owne hye. So among cranes, euerie heard hath their owne king. What else shall they prooue hereby, but that euery Church ought to haue their owne feuerall Bishoppe appointed them? Then they cal vs to ciuil examples. They allage that saying of Homer, It is not good to haue many gouernours: and such thinges as in like sense are read in prophane writers to the commendation

tion of Monarchie. The answer is easie. For Monarchie is not praised of Vlysses in Homere, or of any other, in this meaning, as though one ought to be Emperour of the whole worlde: but they meane to shew that one kingdome can not hold two kinges: and that power (as he calleth it) can abide no companion.

9 But let it bee, 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 bee ruler of the vniuersal Church, because it can not be without a head. For Christ is the head of whom the whole body coupled and knit together in euery ioint, wherwith one ministrerh to another, according to the working of euery member in the measure thereof, maketh encrease of the body. See you not, how he setteth all men without exceptiō in the body, and leaueth the honor & name of head to Christ alone? See you not how he giueth to euery member a certain measure, and a determined & limited function: whereby both the perfection of the grace & the soueraigne power of gouernance may remain with Christ only? Neither am I ignorant what they are wont to cauil, whē this is objected against them: they say that Christ is properly called the only head, because he alone raigneth by his owne authority & in his owne name: but that this nothing withstandeth, but that there may be vnder him an other ministeriall head (as they terme it) that may be his vicegerent in earth. But by this cauillation they preuail 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, & that the power floweth from the one heauenly head. Or if they will haue it any plainer spoken, sith the Scripture testifieth that Christ is the head, & claimeth that honor to him alone, it ought not to be trāsferred to any other, but whom Christ himselfe hath made his vicar. But that is not only no where red, but also may be largely confuted by many places.

10 Paul somtimes depainteth vnto vs a liuely image of the Church. Of one 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 shal haue. When Paul goeth about to shewe the meane whereby hee presenteth himselfe, he calleth vs backe to the nunisteries which hee vscth. The Lorde (sayth he) is in vs all, according to the measure of grace that hee hath giuen to euery member. Therefore he hath appointed some Apostles, some Pastors, some Euangelistes, other some Teachers, &c. Why doth he not say, that he hath set one ouer all, to be his vicegerent? For the place required that principally, and it could by no meanes haue bin omitted, if it had bin true. Christ (sayth 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 whome he

Eph. 4. 15.

Eph. 1. 22. &
4. 15. & 5. 13
Col. 1. 18. &
2. 10.
Eph. 4. 10.Eph. 4. 7.
and 11.

he hath committed his steede: He nameth vnicity: 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 vnicity, after that he had sayd 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 vnicity? For nothing could haue beene more fildy spoken, if it had beene true. Lette that place be diligently weyed. It is no dout but that hee meant there altogether to represent the holy 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 y^e there is none. It is also no dout 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 suttley dispute of the comparison of y^e heauenly & earthly Hierarchie. For it is not safe to know beyond measure of it. And in framing this government we must folow 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 supremacy of the Church was so stablished in Peter, that it should alway remaine by perpetuall succession: yet howe will they prooue, that his seate was so placed at Rome, that whosoever is Bishop of that Church, should be set ouer the whole worlde? By what right doe 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 Bishoprike, and in dying fulfill the office of Priesthood, at Hierusalem? The Prince of Pastors, y^e soueraigne Bishop, the heade 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 supremacy to Peter: Peter sate at Rome: therefore he there placed the sea of supremacy. By this reason, the Israelites in olde time might haue sette the seate of Supremacy in the deserte, where Moses the chiefe Teacher and Prince of Prophetes executed his ministry and died.

12 Let vs see how trimly they reason. Peter (say they) had the Supremacy among the Apostles: therefore the Church where he sate ought to haue that priuilege. But where sate he first? At Antioche, say they. Therefore the Church of Antioche doth rightly claime to it selfe the supremacy. They confesse that it was in olde time the first: but they say, y^e in remouing thence he remoued to Rome the honour that hee 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 beginninge with you, which afterwarde by the Lordes commaundement was remoued hither. So the Church of Antioche, which was once the cheife, hath giuen place to the sea of Rome, But by what Oracle had that good man learned, that the Lorde so commanded? For if this cause be to be determined by the law, it is necessary that

Deut. 34.5.

12. quæst. 1.
cap.

that they aunswere, whether they will haue this priuiledge to bee personall, or reall, or mixt. For it must bee one of these three. If they say that it is personall, then it belongeth nothing to the place. If they say that it is real, 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 simplie to be considered, vnlesse the person doe also agree. Let them choose which soeuer they will, I will by and by inferre and easily proue, that Rome can by no meane take the supremacy vpon it selfe.

13 But be it, that as (they triflingly say) the supremacy was remoued frō Antioche to Rome: yet why did not Antioche 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? Howe came it to passe then, that Alexandria went before Antioche? How agreeth it, that the Church of one disciple shoulde bee aboue the seat of Peter? If honor be due to euery Church, according to the worthines of the fōuder, what shal we say also of the other Churches? Paul nameth three, that seemed to be pillers, James, Peter, and Iohn. If y^e first place were giuen to the sea of Rome in the honor of Peter: do not the seas of Ephesus, & Hierusalem, where Iohn and James sate, deserue the second and third place? But among the Patriarches Hierusalem had the last place: Ephesus coulde not sit so much as in the vttermoſt corner. And other Churches were left out both al those that Paul founded, and those that the other Apostles were rulers of. The seat of Mark, which was but one of their disciples, 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 bee due to euery Church the same degree of honour which the fōuder had.

Gal. 2. 9.

14 Howbeit, as for that which they report of Peters sitting in y^e Church of Rome, I see not what credite it ought to haue. Truly that which is in Eusebius, that he ruled there fīue and twentie yeares, is verie easily confuted. For it is euidēt by the first and seconde Chapter to the Galathians, that about twentie yeares after the death of Christ, hee was at Hierusalem, and that then he went to Antioch: where howe long he was, is vncertaine. Gregorie reckoneth seuen yeares, and Eusebius twentie and fīue. But from the death of Christ, to the ende of Neros Empire, (in whose time they say that he was slaine) there shall be founde but thurte and seuen yeares. For y^e Lorde suffered vnder Tiberius, the eighteenth yere of his Empire. If you rebate twentie yeares, during the which Paul is witnesse that Peter dwelte at Hierusalem, there wil remain but seuentene yeares at the most, which must nowe be deuided betweene two bishoprikes. If he taried long at Antioch he coulde not sit at Rome, but a verie little while. Which thing we may yet also more plainly proue. Paul wrote to the Romanes, when hee was in his journey going to Hierusalem, where he was taken & from thence brought to Rome. It is not likly y^e this Epistle was written foure yeares before y^e he came to Rome. Therein is yet no mention of Peter, which shoulde not haue bin left out, if Peter had ruled y^e Church. Yea & in the end also, when he rehearseth a great number of the godly, whom he biddech to be saluted, where verily he gathereth.

Gal. 1. 18.
Gal. 2. 1.

Rom. 15. 15.

Rom. 16. 21.

gathereth together all those that he knew, he yet sayth 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 ouerpasse Peter, if he had bin at Rome.

A. 2. 1. 1. 16.

15 Then Paul was brought prisoner to Rome. Luke reporteth that hee was receiued of the brethren, of Peter he sayth nothing. He wrote from thence to many Churches: and in some places also hee writeth salutations in the names of certaine: but he doth not in one worde 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 bene present? Yea to the Philippias, where he sayd that he had none that so faithfully looked vnto the worke of the Lord, as Timothie, he complained that they did all seeke their owne. And to the same Timothie he maketh a more greuous complaint, that none was with him at his first defence, but al forsook him: where therfore was Peter then? For if they say that he was then at Rome, how great a shame doth Paul charge him with, that hee was a forsaker of the Gospell? For hee speaketh of the beleeuers: because he addeth, God impute it not vnto them. Howe 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 themselues it is not certaine who was his successor, because some say Linus, and othersome say Clement. And they tell many fonde fables, of the disputation had betweene him and Simon the Magician. And Augustine sticketh not to confesse, when he cntreateth of superstitions, that by reason of an opinion rashly conceyued, there was a custome growen in vse at Rome, that they shoulde not fast that day that Peter got the victorie of Simon the Magician. Finally the doinges of that time are so entangled with diuersitie of opinions, that we ought not rashly to beleue where wee finde any thing written. And yet by reason of this consent of writers, I striue not against this, that hee died there: but yet that hee was Bishop there, and specially a long time, I cannot bee perswaded, neither doe 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 couenaunted betweene themselues, may be confirmed with vs, or rather that the ordinance of the holy Ghost may stand in force among vs, wee ought to haue respect rather to the Apostleship of Paul and Peter. For the holy ghost so diuided the prouinces betweene them that he appointed Peter to the Iewes, and Paul to vs. Nowe therefore let the Romanistes go and seeke their supremacie else where than in the word of God, where it is found not to be grounded.

August. ad
Sannar.

16 Nowe let vs come to the olde Church, that it may also bee made to appeare plainely that our aduersaries doe no lesse causelessly, and falsely boast of the consent thereof, than they doe of the witnessse of the worde of God. When therfore they bragge of that principle of theirs, that the vnitie of the Church cannot otherwise be kept together, but if there one supreme heade in earth, to whom all the members may obey, and that therefore the Lorde gaue the supremacie to Peter, and from thence soorth to the sea of

Rome

Rome by right of succession, that the same should remaine in it to the ende: they affirme, that this hath bene alway obserued from the beginning. But forasmuch as they wrongfully wrest many testimonies, I wil first say this aforehande, that I deny not but that the writers doe eche where giue greate honor to the church of Rome, & do speake reuerently of it. Which I thinke to be done specially for three causes. For y^e same opinion, which I wote not how was growen in force, that it was founded and ordeined by the ministry of Peter, much auailed to procure fauour & estimation vnto it. Therefore in the East partes it was for honors sake called the see Apostolike. Secondly, when the head of the Empire was there, & that therefore it was likely, that in that place were men more excellent both in learning & wisdom, & skill, & experience of many things, than any where else: there was worthily consideration had thereof, that both the honor of the citie, & also the other more excellent gifts of God should not seeme to be despised. There was beside these also a third thing, y^e when the Churches of the East, and of Grecia, yea & of Affrica, were in tumults among themselues with disagreements of opinions, the Church of Rome was quieter & lesse full of troubles than the rest. So came it to passe, that the godly & holy Bishops, being driuen out of their seates, did oftentimes flee thither as into sanctuarie or certaine hauen. For as the Westerne men are of lesse sharpnesse & swiftnesse of wit, than the Asiatics or Affricans be, so much are they lesse desirous of alterations. This therefore added much authoritie to the Church of Rome, that in those doutfull times it was not so troubled as the rest, and did hold the doctrine once deliuered them, faster than all the rest as we shal by and by better declare. For these three causes (I say) it was had in no small honor, & commended with many notable testimonies of the old writers.

17 But when our aduersaries will thereupon gather that it hath a supremacie & soueraigne power ouer other churches, they do to much amisse, as I haue already said. And that the same may the better appeare, I wil first briefly shewe what the olde fathers thought of this vnitie which they enforce so earnestly. Hierome, writing to Nepotianus, after that he had recited many examples of vnitie, at the last descended to the Hierarchie of the Church. Eche Bishop of euery seueral church, eche Archpriest, eche Archdeacon, & all the ecclesiasticall order, do rest vpon their own 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: & it cannot be said that it was for forgetfulness, that he omitted it: for he would haue done nothing more willingly if the matter had suffred him. Hee sawe therefore without dout, that that is the true reason of vnitie which Cyprian excellently wel describeth in these words: The bishoprick is one, whereof eche hath a part wholly: & the Church is one, which is with increase of fruitfulnessse more largely extended into a multitude. Like as there are many sunbeames & one light, and many branches of a tree, but one body grounded on a fast holding roote: and like as from one fountaine flowe many streames, & though the multitude seeme to be diuersly spread abroad wth largenessse of ouerflowing plentie, yet the vnitie is kept whole in y^e original: De sim. p. 9.

so the Church also being ouerspread with the light of the Lorde, extendeth her beames abroad throughout the whole world, yet is it but one that is ech where poured forth, and the vnitie of the bodie is not seuered: she spreadeth her brāches ouer the whole world, she sendeth out her ouerflowing streams: yet is there but one head and one beginning, &c. Afterward: The spouse of Christ cannot be an aduultresse: she knoweth one only house, she keepeth the holinesse of one only chamber with chaste shamefastnesse. You see howe he maketh the vniuersall bishoprike to be Christ onely, which comprehendeth the whole Church vnder him: and saith that all they that execute the office of bishop vnder this heade, haue their partes thereof wholly. Where is the supremacie of the sea of Rome, if the whole bishoprike remaine with Christ onely, and ech bishop hath his part thereof wholly? These things therefore make to this purpose, that the reader may vnderstande by the way, that the olde fathers were vtterly ignorant of that principle, which the Romanistes do take for confessed & vndouted, concerning the vnitie of an earthly head in the Hierarchie of the Church.

The vij. Chapter.

*Of the beginning and encreasing of the Papacie of Rome, vntil it aduanced it selfe to
that height, vnder which both the libertie of the Church hath bin oppressed,
and all the rights gouernment thereof ouerthrowen.*

AS concerning the auncientnesse of the supremacie of the see 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 commaunded to looke vnto the Churches adioyning to the citie. When the Council maketh such diuision betweene him and the other Patriarches, that it assigneth to euery one their boundes: truely, it doeth not appoint him the heade of all, but maketh him one of the chiefe. There were present Vitus and Vincentius in the name of Iulius, which then gouerned the Church of Rome: to them was giuen y fourth place. I beseech you, if Iulius were acknowledged the head of the Church, should his Legates bee thrust into the fourth seate? Should Athanasius bee chiefe in the Council, where principally the image of the Hierarchicall order ought to be seene? In the Synode at Ephesus it appeareth, that Celestinus which was then bishop of Rome, vsed a crooked suttile meane, to provide for the dignitie of his seate. For when hee sent his deputies thither, he committed his steede to Cyrillus 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 own. What shall I say of the second council at Ephesus: where when Leos Legates were present, yet Dioscorus Patriarche of Alexandria sate y chiefe as by his owne right? They will take exception that it was no vpright council, by which both the holy man Flavianus was condemned, and Eutyches,

acquitted.

acquited, and his vngodlines allowed. But when the Synode 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 striued not for the first place, but yelded it to another: which they would neuer haue don, 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 only cause oftentimes to vexe and trouble the Church with many and hurtfull strifes. But because Leo sawe that it should be a too much vnreasonable request, if he should seek to get the chiefe place for his Legates, therefore he surcessed it.

2 Then folowed the Council 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 y^e this was an extraordinary priuilege. For when he made petition for it to the Emperour Marcianus, and Pulcheria y^e Empreffe, he did not affime y^e it was due to him, but only pretended, that the Easterne Bishops, which sate as chiefe in the councell at Ephesus, troubled all thinges and ill abused their power. Whereas therfore it was needefull to haue a graue gouernour, & it was not likely y^e they should be meet for it, which had once bin so light and disordered: therfore he prayed, that by reason of the default and vnfitnesse of other, the office of gouerning might be removed to him. Truly that which is gotten by singular priuilege and beside order, is not by common lawe. Where this only is pretended, that there needeth some newe gouernour, because the former gouernours had behaued themselues ill, it is euident that it neither was so before, nor ought to continue so for euer, but is don onely in respect of present danger. The Bishop of Rome therefore had the first place in the Council at Chalcedon: not because it was due to his see, but because the Synode was at that time destitute of a graue and fitte gouernour, while they that ought to haue bin the chiefe, did through their own intemperance and corrupt affection, thrust themselues out of place. And this that I say, Leos successour did in deede proue. For when he sent his Legates to the fift Synode at Constantinople, which was holden long time after, he brauled not for the first seate, but easily suffred Menna the Patriarch of Constantinople to sit as chiefe. So in the counsell at Carthage, at which Augustine was present, we see that not the Legates of the see of Rome, but Aurelius Archbishop of that place sate as chiefe: when yet the contention was about the authorite of the Bishop of Rome. Yea there was also a generall council holden in Italy it selfe, at which the bishop of Rome was not present. Ambrose was chiefe there, which was in very great authority with the Emperour, there was no mention made of the bishop of Rome. Therefore at that time it came to passe by the dignity of Ambrose, that the see of Millain was more noble than the see of Rome.

3 As concerning the title of supremacy, & other titles of pride, wherupon it now maruelously boasteth it selfe, it is not hard to iudge, when and in what sort they crept in. Cyprian oftentimes maketh mention of Cornelius. He setteth him out wth no other name, but by y^e name of brother, or fellow bishop, or fellow in office. But when he writeth to Stephen the successor of Cornelius, he doth not only make him egal with himselfe and y^e rest, but also speaketh more

The Council at Aquileia.

Lib. 2. epi. 2.
and lib. 4.
Episto. 6.

Cap. 47.

hardly to him, charging him sometime with arrogancie, sometime with ignorance. Since Cyprian we haue what all the Church of Africa iudged of that matter. The Councell at Carthage did forbid that any shoulde bee called Prince of Priests, or chiefe Bishop, but only bishop of the chiefe sea. But if a man turne ouer the antienter 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 and pure, all these names of pride, wherewith since y^e time the sea of Rome hath begun to waxe outrageous, were vtterly vnheard of: it was not knowen, what was the hiest bishop and y^e only head of the church in earth. But if the bishop of Rome had bin so bold to haue taken such a thing vpon him, there were stout and wise men that would haue by & by repressed his folly. Hierom forasmuch as he was a priest at Rome, was not ill willing to set out the dignitie of his own Church, so much as the matter and state of his time sufficed: yet we see how he also bringeth it downe into fellowship with the rest. If authority (sayth he) be sought for, the world is greater than a city. Why doest thou alleage to me the custom of one city? Why doest thou defende smalnes of number, out of which hath growē pride, against the lawes of the Church? Whersoever 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 basenes of pouerty maketh not a bishop hier or lower.

Ep. ad Euag.

4 About the title of vniuersall bishop the contention first began in y^e time of Gregory, which was occasioned by the ambition of Iohn bishop of Constantinople. For he (which thing neuer any man before had attempted) woulde haue made himselfe vniuersall bishop. In that contention Gregorie doth not alleage that the right is taken away which was due to himselfe: but stoutly crieth out against it, that it is a prophane name, yea ful of sacrilege, yea the forwarner of Antichrist. The whole Church (sayth he) falleth downe from her state, if he fall, which is called vniuersal. In an other place: It is very sorrowfull, to suffer patiently, that our brother & fellowe bishop, despising all other, should only be named bishop. But in this his pride what els is betokened but the times of Antichrist nere at hand: because verily he foloweth him, y^e despising the fellowship of Angels, went about to climbe vp to the top of singularity. In an other place he writeth to Eulolius of Alexandria, and Anastasius of Antioche. None of my predecessors at any time would vse that prophane word: for if one be called vniuersall Patriarch, the name of Patriarches is abated from the rest. But farre may this be from a christian minde, that any should haue a will to take that vpon him, whereby he may in any part, be it neuer so litle, diminish the honor of his brethren. To consent in this wicked word is nothing else but to leese the faith. It is one thing (sayth he) that we owe to the preferuing of the vnyty of faith, and an other thing that we owe to the keeping downe of pride. But I say it boldly, because whosocuer calleth himselfe or desireth to bee called vniuersall bishop, he doth in his proude aduancing run before Antichrist, because he doth with shewing himselfe proud preferre himselfe aboue the rest. Againe to Anastasius bishop of Alexandria: I haue said y^e he can not haue peace with vs, vnlesse he amended the aduancing of the superstitious and proud worde, which the first apostata hath inuented.

And

Ii. 4. epi. 76.
Mauri. Aug.
Li. 4. epi. 78.
Constantia
Augusta.
Li. 4. epi. 80.

Li. 4. epi. 78.
Auiano Di-
acono.
Li. 7. epi. 83.
Mauri. Aug.
Li. 6. epi. 188

And (to speake nothing of the wrong done to your honor) if one bee called vniuersall Bishop, the vniuersall Church falleth when that vniuersall² one falleth. But whereas he writeth, that this honor was offered to Leo in the Synode at Chalcedon, it hath no colour of truth. For neither is there any such thing recd in the actes of that Synode. And Leo himselfe, which with many Epistles impugne the decree there made in honor of the see of Constantinople, without doubt would not haue passed ouer this argument, which had bene most to be liked of all other, if it had bene true, that hee refused that which was giuen him: & being a man otherwise too much desirous of honor, 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 see of Rome by the Synode at Chalcedon: to speake nothing, howe fond it is, that he both testifieth it to haue proceeded from the holy Synod, & also at the same time called it wicked, prophane, abhominable, proude, & full of sacrilege, yea deuised by the diuel, & 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 y^e word. No man hath taken to himselfe that presumptuous name: least if hee should in the degree of bishoprike take to himselfe a glory of singularitie, he should seeme to haue denied the same to all his brethren.

Lib. 4. Epi.
79.

Li. 7. epi. 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 bene in olde time about this matter: For there hath bene no time wherein the see of Rome hath not coueted 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 tittle & litle to some power. I do not yet speake of that infinite Empire, which it hath not so long ago taken by force to it selfe: for we will differre y^e to a place conuenient. But here it is good to shewe briefly, howe in olde time & 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 deuied & troubled with the factions of the Arrians vnder the Emperours, Constantius & Constans the sonnes of Constantine the Great, and Athanasius the chiefe defendour there of the true faith was driuen out of his see: such calamitie compelled him to come to Rome, that with the authoritie of the see of Rome he might both after a sort repress the rage of his enemies, & confirme the godly that were in distresse. He was honourably receiued of Iulius then Bishop, and obtained that the Bishops of the West took vpon them the defence of his cause. Therefore when the godly stode in great neede of foreine aide, & saw that there was verie good succour for them in the Church of Rome, they willingly gaue vnto it the most authoritie y^e they could. But al y^e was nothing else, but y^e the communion thereof should be hiely esteemed and it should be counted a great shame, to be excommunicate of it. Afterward euil & wicked men also added much vnto it. For, to escape lawful 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 meet: because it seemed to be a forme of extraordinary power, so to entermeddle with matters far & wide about them. So whē Eutyches was condemned by Flavianus bishop of Constantinople, he complained to Leo that he had wrong done vnto him. Leo without delay, no lesse vndiscretely than suddenly, tooke in hand the defence of an euil cause: he grieuouſly inueyed against Flavianus, as though he had, without hearing the cause, condemned an innocent: and by this his ambition he caused that the vngodlinesse of Eutyches was for a certaine space of time strengthened. In Affrica it is euident that this oftentimes chaunced. For so soone as any lewde man had taken a foile in ordinarie iudgement, he by and by flew to Rome, and charged his countreimen with many slanderous reports: & the sea of Rome was alway ready to entermeddle. Which lewdnes compelled the bishops of Affrica to make a lawe, that none vnder paine of excommunication should appeale beyond the sea.

6 But whatsoeuer it were, let vs see what authoritic or power the sea of Rome then had. Ecclesiasticall power is conteyned in these foure points, ordering of bishops, summoning of Councils, hearing of appeales or iurisdiction, chastising admonitions or censures. All the old Synodes commaunde bishops to be consecrate by their owne Metropolitans: and they neuer bid the bishop of Rome to be called vnto it, but in his owne Patriarchie. But by litle and litle it grewe in vse, that all the bishops of Italy came to Rome to fetche their consecration, except the Metropolitans, which sufficed not them selues to be brought into such bondage: but when any Metropolitane was to be consecrate, the bishop of Rome sent thither one of his priestes, which should only be presēt, but not president. Of which thing there is an example in Gregoric: at the consecration of Constantius bishop of Millain after the death of Laurence. Howbeit I do not thinke that that was a verie auncient institution: but when at the beginning for honor & 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 necessarie. Howsoeuer it bee, 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 ciue, as the canon of the Nicene Synode saith. To the Consecration was annexed the sending of a Synodicall Epistle, in which he was nothing aboue the rest. For the Patriarches were wont immediatly after their consecration, by solemne writing to declare their faith, whereby they professed y they subscribed to the holy & 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 himselſe giuen this confession, he had thereby bin acknowledged superior: but when he was no lesse bound to giue it, than to require it of other, and to be subiect to the common lawe: truly y was a token of fellowship, not of dominion. Of this thing there is an example in Gregories Epistle to Anastasius and to Cyriacus of Constantinople, & in other places to all the Patriarches together.

7 Then follow admonitions or censures: which as in old time y bishops of Rome vsed toward other, so they did againe suffer them of other. Ireneus

grie-

Lib. 2. epi.
68, and 70.

Li. 1. ep. 25.
Li. 6. ep. 169
Li. 1. epi. 24.

greuously reproofed Victor, because he vndiscretly for a thing of no value, trouble d the Church with a pernicious dissention. Victor obeyed, & spurned not against it. Such a liberty was then in vre among the holy bishops, y they vsed a brotherly authority 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 duety: & if there were any fault, rebuked it. For Cyprian, when he exhorteth Stephen to admonish the bishoppes of France, fetcheth not his argument from the greater power, but from the common right that priests haue among themselues. I beseech you, if Stephen hadde then bin ruler ouer Fraunce, would not Cyprian haue sayd: Restraine them, because they be thine? but he sayth farre otherwise. This (sayth he) the brotherly fellowship, wherewith we be bound one to an other requireth that we should admonish one an other. And we see also with how greate sharpnes of words he being otherwise a man of a milde nature inueyeth against Stephen himselfe, when he thinketh him to be too insolent. Therefore in this behalfe also there appeareth not yet, that the bishop of Rome had any iurisdiction ouer them that were not of his owne prouince.

Epi. 13. li. 3.
Ad pomp.
contr. epist.
Stephani.

8 As concerning the calling together of Synodes, this was the office of e-uery Metropolitane, at certaine appointed times to assemble a Prouinciall Synode. There the bishop of Rome had no authority. But a generall council the Emperor only might summon. For if any of the bishops had attempted it, not only they y were out of his prouince, would not haue obeyed his calling, but also there would by and by haue risen an vprore. Therefore the Emperor indifferently warned them all to be present. Socrates in deed reporteth, that Iulius did expostulate with the bishops of the East, because they called him not to the Synode of Antioch, wheras 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 binde the whole vniuersall Church? Now it is no maruell, if thus much be granted both to the antiquity and honor of the city, & to the dignity of the sea, that there should be no generall decree made of religion, in the absence of the bishop of Rome, if he 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.

Tripar. hist.
lib. 4.

9 Nowe 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 appelled to the bishop of Rome: and he himselfe also went about to draw the hearing of causes to himselfe: but he was alway laughed to scorne, when he passed his owne boundes. I will speake nothing of the East and of Grecia: but it is certaine that the bishops of France stoutly withstoode him, when hee seemed to take to himselfe an empire ouer them. In Affrica there was long debate about that mater. For where at the Meleuitane Council, at which Augustine was presente, they were excommunicate that appelled beyonde the sea, the bishoppe of Rome trauailed to bring to passe, that that decree might be amended. He sent his legates to shew that that priuilege was giuen to him by the Nicene Council:

The Legates brought forth the actes of the Nicene Counsell, which they had fetched out of the storehouse of their own Church. The Africans withstood it, and denied that the bishops of Rome ought to be credited in their owne cause: and sayd that therefore they would sende to Constantinople, & 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 Romans had pretended. So was that decree confirmed, which tooke the chiefe hearing of causes from the bishop of Rome: In which doing y^e lewd shamelesnes of the Bishoppe of Rome himselve appeared. For when he guilefully did thrust in the Synode at Sardos in steed of the Nicene Synode, he was shamefully taken in a manifest falsehoode. But yet greater and more shamelesse was their wickednes, that added a forged Epistle to the Counsell, wherein I wote not what bishop of Carthage, condemning the arrogance of Aurelius his predeceffour, for that he was so bolde to withdrawe himself from the obedience of the sea Apostolike, and yeelding himselve and his Church, humbly craueth pardon. These be the goodly monumentes of antiquitie, wherupon the maiestie of the sea of Rome is founded, while they so childishly lie, vnder the pretence of Antiquity, y^e very blinde men may finde it out by groping. Aurelius (sayth he) puffed vp with deuellish boldenesse and stubbornnesse, rebelled against Christ, and saint Peter, & therefore to be condemned with curse. What sayd Augustine? But what said 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 themselues, if they haue any face left, can not looke vpon without great shame? So Gratian, I cannot tell whether of malice or of ignorance, where he rehearsed that decree, that they should be excommunicate that appell beyond the sea, addeth an exception: Vnlesse peraduenture they appell to the sea of Rome. What may a man do to these beasts, which are so voyd of comon reason, that they except y^e only thing out of the law, for whose cause euery man seeth y^e the law was made? For the Counsell when it condemneth appels beyond the sea, forbiddeth only this, that none should appell to Rome. Here the good expositor excepteth Rome out of the common lawe.

2. quest. c. 4.

10 But (to determine this question at once) one history shal make plaine what maner of iurisdiction the bishop of Rome had in olde time. Donate of y^e blackhouses had accused Cecilian bishop of Carthage. The man accused was condemned, his cause not heard. For when he knew that the bishops had conspired against him, he would not appeare. Then the matter came to the Emperour Constantine. He, forasmuch as he willed to haue the matter ended by ecclesiasticall iudgement, committed the hearing of it to Melciades bishoppe of Rome. To whom he adioyned fellowe commissioners: many bishops of Italy, Fraunce and Spaine. If that belonged to the ordinary iurisdiction of the sea of Rome, to heare an appelle in an ecclesiasticall cause: why doth he suffer other to be ioyned with him at the will of the Emperour? Yea why did he himselve take the iudgement vpon him rather by the Emperours commaundement, than by his owne office? But let vs heare what hapned afterwarde. There Cecilian got the victory. Donat of the blacke houses was condemned for sleaughter: he appelled: Constantine comitted the iudgment of

Aug ep. 16 2.

of the appell to the bishop or Orleance He saie as iudge, to pronounce what he thought, after y^e bishop of Rome. If the sea of Rome hath the chief power without appellation: why doth Melciades suffer himsele to receiue so great a shame, that the bishop of Orleance shold be preferred aboute him? And what Emperour doth this: euen Constantine of whom they boast that he employed not only all his endeour, but in a maner al the riches of the empire to increase the dignity of their sea. We see therefore nowe, howe farre the bishoppe of Rome was at that time by all meanes from that supreme dominion, which he: firmeth to be giuen vnto him by Christ ouer al Churches, and which he lyingly sayth that he hath in all ages possessed by the consent of the whole worlde.

11 I knowe howe many epistles there bee, howe many writings and decrees, wherein the bishops do giue much, and boldly challenge much vnto it. But this also al men that haue but a verie litle wit & learning do know, that the most part of those are so vsfauerie, that by the first tast of them a man may soone finde out of what shop they came. For what man of sounde wit & sober, will thinke that that goodly interpretation is Anacletus his owne, which is in Gratian reported vnder the name of Anacletus: that is, that Cephas is a head? The Rōmanistes doe at this day abuse for defence of their see, many such trifles, which Gratian hath patched together without iudgement: and yet still in so great light they will sell such smokes, wherewith in olde time they were wont to mocke out the ignorant in darkenesse. But I wil not bestowe much labour in confuting those things, which do' openly confute themselues by reason of their vsfauoury follie. I graunt that there remaine also true epistles of the old bishops, wherein they set forth the honor of their see with glorious titles: of which sort are some epistles of Leo. For that man, as he was learned and eloquent, so was he also about measure desirous of glorie and dominion: but whether the Churches then beleued his testimony when hee so aduanced himselfe, that in deede is it that is in controuersie. But it appeareth that many offended with his ambition, did also withstande his greedie desire. Sometimes he appointed in his steede the Bishop of Thessalonica throughout Grecia and other countries adioyning: sometime hee appointed the bishop of Orleance, or some other throughout France. So he appointed Hormisdas bishop of Hispalia to be his vicar in Spain but euery where he excepted, that he giueth out such appointementes vpon this condition, that the Metropolitans may haue their ancient priuileges remaining safe and whole. But Leo himselfe declareth, that this is one of their priuileges, that if any doubt happen about any matter, the Metropolitan should first be asked his aduise. Therefore those appointementes of vicars in his steede were vpon this condirion, that neither any bishop should be letted in his ordinary iurisdiction, nor any Metropolitan in being iudge of Appelles, nor any prouincial Councell in ordering of their Churches. What was this else but to abstain from all iurisdiction: but to entermedle to the appeasing of discordes, only so farre as the lawe and nature of the communion of the Church suffreth?

Dist 12. ca.
Sacrosanct.

Vide epi. 85.
Epi. 83.

Episto. 86.

12 In Gregories time that auintient order was already much changed. For when the Empire was shaken, and torne in peeces, when Fraunce and Spaine.

Spaine were afflicted with many ouerthrowes receiued, Slaunonia wasted, Italy vexed, and Affrica in a maner destroyed with continuall calamities. that in so great a shaking of ciuill affaires, at least the integritie of faith might remaine, or yet not vterly perish, all the bishops from ech part did the rather ioyne themselues to the bishop of Rome. Therby it came to passe, that not onely the dignitie, but also the power of that sea greatly encreased. 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 & repress the lewde and obstinate that could not by the other bishops be kept within their duetie. For Gregory doth oftentimes diligently testifie this, that he doth no lesse faithfully preferue to other men their rights, than he requireth his own of them.

Li. 1. epi. 68. Neither doe I (sayth he) prick on by ambition, plucke from any man that which is his right: but I desire in all things to honour my brethren. There is no saying in his writings wherein he doth more proudly boast of the largesse of his Supremacie, than this: I knowe not what bishoppe is not subiect to the sea Apostolike when he is founde in faulte. 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 woulde: and other that liked it not, might freely gainsay it, which it is well known that the most part of them did. Beside that he speaketh there of the Primacie of Constantinople: which when hee was condemned by the prouinciall Synode, refused the whole iudgemente. His fellowe bishoppes informed the Emperour of this stubbornnesse of him. The Emperour willed Gregorie to be iudge of the cause. We see therefore that he both attempteth nothing, wherby he may breake the ordinary iurisdiction, and the same thing that he doth for the helping of other, he doth not but by the commaundement of the Emperour.

13 This therefore was then all the power of the bishop of Rome, to sette himselfe against obstinate & vntamed heads, whē there needed any extraordinary remedy: & that to helpe and not to hinder other bishops. Therefore he raketh no more to himselfe ouer all other, than in an other place he granteth to all other ouer himselfe, when he confesseth that hee is ready to be corrected of all, to be amended of all. So in an other place hee doth in deede commaunde the bishoppe of Aquileia to come to Rome, to pleade his cause in a controuersie of faith that was risen betweene him and other: but hee doth not commande him of his owne power, but because the Emperour had so commaunded. Neither doeth he giue warning that hee 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, & the bishop of Rome himselfe was no more aboute than vnder other: yet it appeareth howe much Gregory misliked such state. For he nowe and

then

Li. 1. epi. 68.

Li. 2. epi. vlt.

lib. 7. epi. 64

Li. 2. epi. 37.

Epi. 16.

Lib. 1. epi. 5.

then complaineth, that vnder color of bishoprike hee was brought backe to the world: and that he was more entangled with earthly cares, than euer he had serued them while he was a lay man: that he was in that honor oppressed with tumult of wordly affaires. In an other place: so great burdens (saith he) of busines do holde 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 rightly say, I am come into the depth of the sea, and the tempest hath drowned me. Hereby gather, what hee woulde haue saide, if hee had happened to be in these times. Although hee fulfilled not the office of a Pastor, yet he was doing it. Hee absteined from the gouernment of the ciuil Empire, and confessed himselfe to be subiect to the Emperour as other were. He did not thrust himselfe into the cure of other Churches, but being compelled by necessitie. And yet he thinketh himselfe to be in a maze, because hee cannot applie himselfe altogether onely to the office of a bishop.

Lib. 1. epi. 7.
and 15.

14 At that time the bishop of Constantinople strued with the bishoppe of Rome for the Supremacie, as it is already saide. For after that the seat of the Empire was stablished at Constantinople, the maiestie of the Empire seemed to require that that Church also should haue the second place of honor after y^e Church of Rome. And truly at the beginning, nothing more auailed to cause y^e Supremacie to be giuen to Rome, but because the head of y^e Empire was there at that time. There is in Gratiā a writing vnder the name of Pope Lucinus, where hee saith, y^e cities were no otherwise diuided, where Metropolitanes and Primates ought to sit, than by the reason of the ciuill gouernement that was before. There is also an other vnder y^e name of Pope Clement, where he saith, the Patriarches were ordeined in those cities that had had the cheefe Flamines in them. Which, although it be false, yet is taken out of a trueth. For it is certaine, that, to the end there should be made as litle change as might be, the prouinces were diuided according to y^e 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 Councel at Taurinum it was decreed, y^e those Cities which in y^e ciuill gouernment were the cheefe cities of euerie prouince, should be the cheefe sees of Cap. 1. Bishops. And if it happened the honour of the ciuill gouernment to be removed from one citie to an other, y^e then the right of the Metropolitan citie should therewithall be removed thither. But Innocentius bishop of Rome, when he sawe the auncient dignitie of his citie to growe in decay, after that the seate of the Empire was removed to Constantinople, fearing the abacement of his see, made a contrarie lawe: wherein he denieth it to be necessarie that the ecclesiasticall mother cities should be changed as the Imperial 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. Howfocuer it be, yet by his own prouiso he sheweth, y^e 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.

15 According to this auncient ordinance, it was decreed in the firste coun-

William Wilson
de Libris

Socrat. hist.
tripart. li. 9
ca. 13.
Decret. 22.
di.

councelat 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 cried 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 seas that honour which they were so bolde to giue to the Church of Constantinople. I beseech you, what other thing could moue a man to trouble the world for so smal a matter, but meere ambition? He saith that that ought to bee inuiolable, which the Nicene Synode hath once decreed. 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 policies. But we knowe that policie receiueth, yea requireth diuerse 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 giuen to the sea of Alexandria, ought not to be giuen to the sea of Constantinople. For common reason telleth this, y^e it was such a decree, as might be taken away according to the respect of times. Yea none of the bishops of the East w^ostooode it, whome that thing most of all concerned. Truly Proterius was present, whome they had made Bishoppe of Alexandria in the place of Dioscorus. There were present other Patriarches, whose honour was diminished. It was their part to withstande it, not Leos which remained safe in his owne place. But when all they holde their peace, yea assent vnto it, and onely the Bishop of Rome resiteth: it is easie to iudge, what moueth him: that is, he foresawe that which not long after happened, that it woulde come to passe, that, the glory of old Rome decaying, Constantinople not contented with the seconde place, woulde striue with Rome for the supremacie. And yet with his crying out hee did not so much preuaile, but that the degree of the councell was confirmed. Therefore his successors, when they saw themselues ouercome, quietly gaue ouer y^e stiffenes: for they suffered that he should bee accompted the seconde Patriarch.

16 But within a litle after, Iohn which in Gregories time ruled y^e Church of Constantinople, brake forth so farre that he called himselfe the vniuersall Patriarch. Here Gregorie, least hee should in a very good cause faile to defende his owne sea, did constantly set himselfe against him. And truly both the pride and madnes of Iohn was intollerable, which desired to make the boundes of his bishopricke egall with the bondes of the Empire. And yet Gregorie doth not claime to himselfe, that which he denieth to an other: but abhorreth that name as wicked, and vngodly, and abhominable, whosoever take it vpon him. Yea and also in one place hee is angrie with Eulolius Bishoppe of Alexandria, which had honoured him with such a title. Behold (saith he) in the preface of the Epistle which he directed to my self that haue forbidden it, yee haue cared to imprinte the worde of proude calling, in naming mee vniuersall Pope, which, I pray that your holinesse will no more doe because that is withdrawn from you, which is giuen to an other more than reason requireth. I count it no honour, wherein I see the honour of my brethren to bee diminished. For my honour is the honour of the vniuersall

Li 7. ep. 30.

fall Church, and the sounde strength of my brethren. But if your holines call mee the vniuersall Pope, it denieth it selfe to be that which it confesseth me to be wholly. Truly Gregorie stode in a good and honest cause. But Iohn holpen by the fauour of Maurice the Emperour, could neuer bee remooued from his purpose. Cyriacus also his successor neuer suffered himselfe to be intreated in that behalfe.

17 At the last Phocas, which when Maurice was slaine, was set in his place (I wote not for that cause being more friendly to the Romanes, but because he was there crowned without strife) granted to Boniface the third that which Gregorie neuer required, that Rome shoulde 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 thinges also had afterward happened. For Grecia and all Asia were within a little after cut off from the communion of Rome. France so much reuerenced him, that it obeyed no further than it listed. But it was then first brought into bondage when Pipine vsurped the kingdome. For when Zacharie Bishop of Rome had beene his helper to the breach of his faith, and to robbrie, that thrusting out the lawfull king, hee might violently enter vpon the kingdome as laid open for a pray: he receiued this reward that the sea of Rome should haue iurisdiction ouer the Churches of France: As robbers are wonted in parting to deuide the commo spoile: so these good men ordered the matter betweene themselues, that Pipine should haue the earthly and ciuill dominion, spoiling 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 wont to be in newe thinges) was afterwarde confirmed by the authoritie of Charles, in manner for a like cause. For hee was also indetted to the bishop of Rome, for that by his endeouour hee had attained to the honour of the Empire. But although it bee credible, that Churches ech where were before that time much deformed, yet it is certayne that the olde forme of the Church was then first vtterly defaced in France and Germanie. There remaine yet in the records of the courte of Parise 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.

18 Since that time, when thinges did ech where daily fall from worse to worse, the tyrannie of the sea of Rome was nowe and then also stablished and increased, and that partly by the ignorance, and partly by the slouthfulness of the bishops. For when one man tooke all thinges vpon him, and without measure proceeded more and more to aduaunce himselfe againste lawe and right: the Bishops did not with such zeale as they ought, endeouour themselues to restraine his lust, & 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 howe Monstruous anvnholly defiling of all holy thinges, and a scatterring abroad of the whole order of the Church, was in Bernardes time. He complaineth that there resort by heapes to Rome out of all the worlde, ambitious men, couetous, Simoni-

Lib. 1. de
confi. ad
Luag.

monians, robbers of God, keepers of concubines, committers of incest, & all such monsters, to obtaine or retaine ecclesiasticall honours by the Apostolike authoritie: and that fraude and vndermining, and violence were growe 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 ful of ambitious men: and that there is none that more dreadeth to commit mischieuous acts, than robbers do in their caue, when they deuide the spoyles of waifaring men. Fewe (saith he) do look 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, wel done? The life of the poore is sowne in the streetes of the rich: siluer glistereth in the mire: men run to it from all places: not the pore, but the stranger taketh it vp, or he peradventure 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 aray. If I durst say it, these are rather the Pastors of diuels, than of shepe. 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 appeales that he rehearseth, no godly man can reade 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 murmour and common complaint of the Churches. They crie out that they bee mangled and dismembred. There are either none or few that do not either bewaile or feare this plage. Askest thou what plage? The Abbots are plucked from the bishops, the bishops from the Archebishops, &c. It is marueilous if this may be excused. In so dooing ye prooue that ye haue fulnesse of power, but not of righteousnesse. 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 enuie to euery man his honour and his owne degree. These fewe things of many I listed to rehearse, partly that the readers may see, howe sore the Church was then decayed, and partly that they may knowe in howe great sorrowe and mourning this calamitie helde all the godly.

Lib. 3.

19 But nowe, albeit that wee graunt to the Bishop of Rome at this day that preeminence and largenesse 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 Papacie? I doe not yet speake of the earthly dominion, nor of the ciuile power thereof, which wee will afterwarde consider in place fit for it: but the verie spirituall gouernement 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 bishop of the whole worlde. And the bishops themselues, when they speake of their owne authoritie, doe with greate stoutnesse of countenance, pronounce that to them belongeth the power to commaunde, and other are bound to the necessitie to obey, that so all their decrees are to bee holden as confirmed with the diuine voice of Peter: that the prouinciall Synodes,

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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 bene ordered els where. Innumerable of that sorte are in Gratiens pack, which I do not now rehearse, least I should be too tedious to y^e Readers. But this is the summe of them, that only the Bishop of Rome hath the Supreme hearing and dete rmining of al ecclesiasticall causes, whether it be in iudging and defining of doctrines, or in making of lawes, or in stablishing of discipline, or in executing of iudgments: It were also long and superfluous to rehearse the priuileges that they take to themselues 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 shalbe iudged neither by the emperor, nor by kings, nor by all the Clergie, nor of the people. That is in deed tno 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 tyranny ouer the people of God? if he scatter abroad and wast the kingdome of Christ? if he trouble the whole Church? if he turn the office of Pastor into roberie: Yea though he be neuer so mischeiuous, he sayeth that he is not bounde to yelde accompte. For these be the sayings of the bishops: Gods wil was to determine the causes of other men by men, but he hath without question reserued the bishop of this sea to his owne iudgement. Againe. The doinges of subiectes are iudged of vs but ours of God onely.

Decret. 17.
quæsti. 3. ca.
Nemini. In-
noc. 9. quæ.
3. ca. nemo.
Sym. 9. quæ.
3. cap.
Aliorum
Anther.
Ibid. c. facta

20 And that such decrees might haue the more weight, they haue falsly thrust in the names of the olde bishops, as though things had bene so ordeined from the beginning: whereas it is most certaine, that it is new and lately forged whatsoeuer y^e bishop of Rome giueth to himselfe more than we haue rehearsed to be giuen him by the ancient Councils. Yea they are come to so great shamelesnesse, that they haue set forth a writing vnder the name of Anastasius Patriarch of Constantinople, wherein he testifieth that it was decreed by the olde rules, that nothing shoulde be done euen in the furthest prouinces, that were not first moued to the sea of Rome. Beside this that it is certaine that this is most vaine, what man shall thinke it likely, that such a commendation of the sea of Rome proceeded from the aduertary and inuier of honour and dignitie thereof? But verily it behoued that these Antichristes shoulde be carried on to so great madnesse and blindness, that their lewdnes might be plaine for al men to see, at least so many as wil open their eyes. But the decretall epistles heaped together by Gregorie the ix. againe the Clementines, and Extrauagants of Martine, doe yet more openly and with fuller mouth ech where breath forth their outrageous fiercenesse and as it were the tyrannie of barbarous kings. But these bee the oracles, by which the Romanistes will haue their papacie to bee weyed. Herevpon arose those notable principles, which at this daye haue euery where in the papacie the force of oracles: that the Pope canne not erre: that the Pope is aboue the Councelles: that the Pope is the vniuersall bishop.

Ibid. ca. Ant.

bishop of all bishops, and the Supreme heade of the Church in earth: I passe over the much absurder follies, which the foolish Canonistes babble in their schooles: to which yet the Romish diuines do not onely assent, but doe also clap their hands at them, to flatter their idole.

21 I will not deal with them by extremitie of right. Some other man would against this their so great insolence set the saying of Cyprian, Which he vsed among the Bishops, at whose councill he sate as cheefe. None of vs calleth himselfe Bishop of Bishops, or with tyrannous feare compelleth his fellowe bishoppes to necessitie to obey. He woulde obiect that, which a little afterwarde was decreed at Carthage. That none shoulde be called prince Priestes, or cheefe bishop. He would gather many testimonies out of Histories, Canons out of Synodes, and many sentences out of the bookes of olde writers, by which the bishop of Rome shoulde be brought downe into the fellowship of the rest. But I passe over all these, least I should seeme too precisely to presse them. But let the best patrones of the sea of Rome aunswere mee, with what face they dare defende 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 y^e Antichrist is there Bishop, because they make him vniuersall. The name also of heade was no more vsuall. For thus he saith in one place: Peter is the cheefe member in the body, Iohn, Andrewe and Iames the heades of particular peoples: yet they all are members of the Church vnder one heade: yea the holy ones before the lawe, the holy ones vnder the lawe, and the holy ones vnder grace, are set among members, altogether making vp the body of the Lord: and no man euer willed to haue himselfe called vniuersall. But whereas the bishoppe of Rome taketh vpon himselfe the power of commanding, y^e thing smally agreeth with that which Gregorie saith in an other place. For whereas Eulolivs biship of Alexandria, had saide that hee was commaunded by him, hee answered in this wise, I pray yee, take away this worde of commanding from my hearing. For I knowe what I am, and what ye bee. In place, ye be to me brethren: in manners ye be to mee fathers. Therefore I commaunded not but I cared to tell you those thinges that I thought profitable. Whereas hee so extendeth his iurisdiction without ende, he doeth therein great and haynous 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 seat of their ruines. But whereas he exempteth himselfe from all iudgements, and will so raigne after the manner of tyrantes, that he accounteth his owne onely lust for lawe, that verily is so haynous, and so farre from ecclesiastical 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.

22 But that I be not compelled to goe through and examine all thinges particularly, I doe againe appeale to them, that will at this day be accompted the best and most faithfull patrones of the see of Rome, whether they be not ashamed to defende the present state of the Papacie: which it is certain to be an hundred times more corrupte, than it was in the times of Gregorie and Bernarde: which state yet did then so much displease those holy men.

men. Gregorie eche where complaineth, that he is too much diuersly drawn away with foraine busines: that he is vnder the colour of bishoprike 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 lay man: that hee is pressed downe with tumult of worldly affaires, that his mind is nothing raised vp to things aboue: that he is shaken with many waues of causes, & tossed with tempestes 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 teache the people with Sermons, priuately admonishe and correct such as it behoued, order the Church, giue counsell to his fellowe bishops & exhort them to their dutie: beside these things there remained some time to write: and yet hee lamenteth his calamitie, that hee is drowned in the deepest sea. If the gouernement of that time was a sea: what is to be sayed 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 worlde. Yet this maze is praised, as though there could nothing be founde more orderly and better framed. But what complaints doeth Bernarde poure out, what groanes doth he vtter, when he looketh vpon the faultes of his age? What then woulde he do, if he beleide this our age of iron, and worse if any be worse than iron? What obstinate wickednesse is this, not onely stiffly to defende as holy & 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 knewe of? Howbeit of Bernardes time I confesse, that then the corruption of all things was so greate, 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 doe like as if one, to stablish the Monarchie of Emperours, 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 newe strife for them, when wee deny that there is a church at Rome, in which such benefites may be resident: when we deny 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 see of Rome: that the same was stablished by the authoritie of the auncient Church, and confirmed with long continuance: that the Supreme power hath beene alway by one consent giuen of all men to the bishop of Rome, that he hath beene 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 aunswere in one worde, that none of these things auaille, vnlesse there bee at Rome a Church and a bishop. This they must needs graunt mee, that it cannot be the mother of Churches, which is not it selfe a Church: that he cannot be chief of bishops, which is not himselfe a bishop. Will they therefore haue the see Apostolicke at Rome? Then let them shewe me a true and lawfull Apostleship. Will

they haue the chiefe Bishop? Then let them shewe me a bishop. But what? where will they shewe vs any face of a Church? They name one in deede, and haue it oft in their mouth. Truly the Church is known by her certain markes: and bishoplike is a name of office. I speake not here of the people: but of the gouernement 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 bene spoken of the office of Priestes and of a bishop. If wee shall bring the office of Cardinals to be tried by that rule, wee shall confesse that they are nothing lesse than Priests. As for the chiefe bishop himselfe, I woulde faine knowe 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 worde of God: another and the next point to that is, to minister the sacraments: the thirde is to admonish and exhort, yea and to correct them that offend, and to holde the people together in holy discipline. What of these things doeth he? yea, what doeth he faine himselfe to do? Let them tell therefore, by what meane they would haue him to bee counted a bishop, that doeth not with his litle finger, no not once so much as in outwarde shewe, touche any parte of a bishops office.

24 It is not so of a bishop as it is of a king. For a king, although he doe not execute that which belongeth to a king, doeth neuerthelessse retaine the honor and title. But in iudging of a bishop respect is had to Christes commandement, which alway ought to be of force in the Church. Therefore let the Romanistes loose me this knot. I deny that their hie bishop is y chief of bishops, forasmuch as he is no bishop. They must needs proue this last point to be false, if they will haue the victorie in the first. But how say they to this, that he not onely hath no propertie of a bishop, but rather all things contrarie? But here, O God, whereat shall I beginne? at his learning, or at his maners? What shall I say, or what shall I leaue vnsaide? where shall I make an ende? This I say: that whereas the worlde is at this day, stuffed with so many peruerse and wicked doctrines, full of so many 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 bene there confirmed. Neither is there any other cause, why the bishops are carried with so great rage against the doctrine of the Gospel newly springing vp againe, why they bende 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 Gospel 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 maintain their power. Therefore sith they cannot be safe, till they haue driuen away Christ, they trauaile in this cause, as if they did fight for their religion and countreys, & for their owne liues. What then? Shal that be to vs the see Apostolike, where wee see nothing but horrible Apostasie? Shal he be Christes vicar, which by persecuting the Gospel with furious enterprises, doth openly professe himselfe to bee Antichrist? Shall hee bee Peters successour, that rangeth with
 sworde

sworde and fire, to destroy all that euer Peter hath builded? Shall he be head of the Church that cutting of and dismembriing the Church from Christ the only true head thereof, doth in it selfe plucke and teare it in peeces. Admitte verily that in the olde time Rome was the mother of all Churches: yet since it hath begunne to be the seate of Antichrist, it hath ceased to be that which it was.

25 We seeme to be too much euill speakers and railers, when we call the bishop of Rome Antichrist. But they that so thinke, do not vnderstand that they accuse Paul of immodestie, after whom we so speake, yea out of whose mouth we so speake. And least any man obiekt, that we doe wrongfully wrest against the bishoppe of Rome, these wordes of Paul that are spoken to another entent, I will breefly shewe, that they can not be otherwise vnderstanded, but of the Papacie. Paul writeth, that Antichrist shall sitte 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 hautes of speech, and blaspheminges of God. Hereupon we gather, that it is rather a tyrannie ouer soules, than ouer bodies, that is raised vp against the spirituall kingdome of Christ. Then, that it is such, as doeth not abolish the name of Christ and the Church: but rather should abuse the pretence of Christe, and lurke vnder the title of the Church, as vnder a disguised visour. But although all the heresies and sectes that haue bin from the beginning, belong to the kingdom of Antichrist: yet wheras Paul prophecietieth, that there shall come a departing, by this description he signifieth, that that seate of abomination shall then bee raised vp, when a certaine vniuerfall departing shall possesse the Church: howfocuer many members of the Church here and there continue in the true vnity of faith. But where hee addeth, that in his time he began in a mysterie to set vp the worke of iniquitie, which he would afterward shewe openly: thereby we vnderstand, that this calamity was neither to be brought in by one man, nor to be ended in one man. Now wheras he doth set out Antichrist by this marke, y he should plucke away from God his due honor, 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 dissipation of the Church. Sith therefore it is certain, that the bishop of Rome hath shamelessly 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 standerbearer of the wicked and abominable kingdome.

26 Now let the Romanists go, and obiekt antiquitie against vs: As if in so great alteration of all things, the honor 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 offer done. Therefore so to binde the honour of supremacie to a place, that hee which is in deede the most hatefull enemy of Christe, the hiest aduersarie of the Gospel, the greatest waster and destroyer of the Church, the most cruell slaughterman and butcher of the saintes, shoulde neuertheless be accounted the vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter, the chiefe bishop of the Church, only because

2. Thef. 2. 4.
Dan. 7. 25.

Euseb. lib. 3.
cap. 5.

he occupieth the sea that was once the chiefest of all: that verily is too much to be scorned and foolish. I speake not, how great difference there is between the popes chauncerie, and a well framed order of the Church, Howbeit this one thing may well take away all dout of this question. For no man that hath his right wit, will thinke the bishoprike enclosed in leade & bulles: much lesse in that schoole of fraudes and deceites, in which thinges the Popes spirituall gouernment consisteth. Therefore it was very well sayd by a certaine man, that that Church of Rome which is boasted of, is long ago turned into a court which only is now seen at Rome. Neither do I here accuse the faults of men: but I shewe 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 known what maner of vicars of Christ we shall finde. Iulius forsooth, and Leo, & Clement and Paul, shall be pillars of the christian faith, and the chiefe expositors of religion, which neuer knewe any other thing of Christ, than that which he had learned in Lucians schoole. But why doe I reckon vp three or fower Popes? as though it were doutfull, what manner of forme of religion the Popes with their whole college of Cardinals haue since long agoe professed, and at this day do professe. For first this is the principall article of that secret Diuinitie that reigneth among them, That there is no God: the seconde, That all thinges that are written and taught concerning Christ, are lies and deceites: the thirde, That the doctrine of the life to come, and of the laste resurrection, and meere fables. They doe not all thinke so: and fewe of them speake so. I grant. But this hath long ago begun to be the ordinarie religion of Popes. Whereas this is verie well known to all that knowe Rome, yet the Romish Diuines cease not to boast, that by Christes priuilege it is prouided, that the Pope can not erre, because it was sayde to Peter: I haue prayed for thee, that thy fayth shoulde not faynt. What, I pray you, win they by mocking so shamelessly, but that the whole world may vnderstande, that they are come to that extremity of wickednesse, that they neither feare God, nor stande in awe men?

28 But let vs imagine, that the vngodlines of those Popes whome I haue spoken of, is hidden, because they haue neither published it by preaching, nor by writings: but only haue bewrayed it at their table, and in their chamber, or at least within walles of houses. But if they will haue this priuilege to bee of force, which they pretende, they must needs wipe Iohn the xxij. out of the number of Popes, who openly affirmed that soules are mortal, 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 staves was then wholly fallen: none of all the Cardinals withstoode so great a madnesse, but the schoole of Parise moued the king of Fraunce to compell him to recante it. The king forbad his subiectes to communicate with him, vnlesse he did out of hande repent: and the same, as the manner it, he proclaimed by a heralde. The Pope compelled by this necessitie, abiured his error. 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 therof, can not erre, in the faith, because it was saide to Peter, I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith may

Luke. 22. 32

Gerfon
which liued
then.

Luk. 22. 32.

may not faint. Truly, hee 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 bishoprike. Howbeit this is also of it selfe so childish, that it needeth no aunswere. For if they wil drawe to Peters successours whatsoever was spoken to Peter, it shall followe that they are all Satans, forasmuch as the Lorde saide this also to Peter: Go behind, thou Satan, because thou art an offence to mee. For it shall be as easie for vs to turne backe this latter saying against them, as it shall be for them to obiect the other against vs. Mat. 16. 23

29 But I list not to striue with them in playing the foole. Therefore I returne thither from whence I made digression. So to binde the place, and Christ, and the holy Ghost, and the Church together, that whosoever sit in that place, although he be the diuel, yet he must be iudged y vicar of Christ, and the head of the Church, because it was once the seat of Peter: I say this is not onely wicked and slanderous to Christ, but also too great an absurditie and against common reason. It is alreadie long ago since the bishops of Rome are either without al religion, or the greatest enemies of religion. Therefore they are no more made the vicars of Christ, by reason of y seate which they occupie, than an idol, when it is set in the temple of God, is to be taken for God. Nowe if their maners be to be iudged vpon, let the Popes themselues aunswere for themselues: what one thing at all there is in them, wherein they may be knowne for bishops. First, whereas there is such life at Rome, they not onely winking at it, but also as it were with secrete countenance allowing it, this is vtterly vnmeet for bishops, whose duitie is with seueritic of discipline to restraine 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 college of Cardinals, with the whole flock of their clergie, are so giuen forth to all wickednesse, filthinesse, vncleannesse, to all kindes of lewde & mischieuous doings, that they resemble rather monsters than men: therein truly they bewray themselues to be nothing lesse than bishops. And yet they need not to feare lest I should further disclose their filthines. For both I am verie to haue to do in so stinking mire, and I must fauour chaste eares, and I thinke that I haue alreadie enough & more proued that which I went about: that is, that although Rome had in olde time beene the head of Churches, yet at this day shee is not worthie to bee iudged one of the smallest toes of the Churches feete. 2. Thess. 1. 4

30 As concerning the Cardinals, (as they call them) I can not tell howe it is come to passe, that they be so sodeinly 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 al. But I see that they were then lesse than bishops, whome they bee nowe farre aboute. This saying of Augustine is wel knowne: Although according to the names of honour, which the vse of the Church hath alreadie obtained, bishoprik is greater than priesthood, yet in many things Augustine is lesse than Hierome.

Here in deede hee maketh difference betweene a priest of the Church of Rome and other: but he indifferently setteth them al behinde the bishops. And that was so long obserued, that in the Council at Carthage, when there were present two legates of the see of Rome, the one a bishop, the other a priest, the priest was thrust backe into the last place. But not to followe too old examples; there remaineth a Council holdē vnder Gregorie at Rome, at which the priestes sate in the lowest place, & subscribed seuerally by themselves, as for the Deacons, they had no place at al in subscribing. And truly they had then no office, but to be present & vnder the bishop at ministring of doctrine & of the sacraments. Now the case is so changed, that they are become the cousins of kings & Emperors. And it is no doubt but y they grewe vp, by litle and litle together with their head, til they were aduanced to this hie top of dignitie. But this also I thought good to touch shortly by the way, that the readers might the better vnderstande, that the See of Rome, such as it is at this day, doth much differ from that auncient one, vnder pretence whercof, it doth now maintaine and defend it selfe. But of what sort soeuer they were in olde time, forasmuch as they haue nowe nothing of the true & lawfull office in the Church, they retaine onely a deceitful colour and vaine visage: yea forasmuch as they haue all thinges vtterly contrarie, 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, it shall also nor be able to stand long without. But rather it behoued that this should be fulfilled in them which Malachie saith of such: Ye haue gone backe out of the way, and haue made many to stumble in the law. Therefore ye haue made void the couenant of Leui, saith y Lorde. Therefore behold, I haue giuen you out of estimation, and vile to all the people. Nowe I leaue it to all the godly to thinke of what sort is that supreme height of the Hierarchie of Rome, whereunto the Papists with abominable shamelesnesse sticke not to make subiect the very worde of God, which ought to haue bene honourable and holy both to heauen and earth, men and Angels.

Li. 4. epi. 25.
and 55.
Lib. 5. Epi. 7.
Mala. 2. 8.

The viii. Chapter.

Of the power of the Church as touching the articles of Faith: and vish how vnbriyled licentiousnes is hash in the Papacie bin vvested so corrupt all purenesse of Doctrine.

NOW followeth the thirde place of the power of the Church, which partly consisteth in all the bishops, and partely in the Councelles, and those either prouinciall or general. 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 teache articles of doctrine, and the expounding of them. Before that wee beginne to discourse of euery one of these in specialtie, wee will that the godly readers be warned, that whatsoeuer is taught concerning the power of the Church, they must remember to applie it to that end, wherunto (as Paul testifieth) it was giuen: that is, to edification, and not

2. Cor. 10. 8.
and 13. 10.

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. Nowe of the edifying of the Church, this is the onely way, if the ministers themselues endeouour to preferue to Christ his authoritie, which can not otherwise be safe vnlesse that be left vnto him, which hee 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, Hearc him. The power of the Church therefore is not to bee sparingly set forth, but yet to be enclosed within certaine boundes, that it be not drawen hither and thither after the lust of men. Hereunto it shalbee much profitable to note, howe it is described of the Prophetes and Apostles. For if wee simply graunt vnto men such power as they list to take vpon them, it is plaine to all men, what a slipperie readinesse there is to fall into tyranny, which ought to be farre fro the Church of Christ.

Matt. 17. 5.

2 Therefore here it must be remembred, that whatsoeuer authoritie or dignitie the holy Ghost in the scripture giueth either to the priestes or to the Prophets, or to the Apostles, or to the successours of the Apostles, al 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 wee go through them al in order, we shal not finde that they had any authoritie to teach or to answer, but in the name and worde of the Lorde. For when they are called to the office, it is also enioyned them, that they should bring nothing of themselues, but speake out of the mouth of the Lorde. And he himselfe doeth not bring them forth to be heard of y^e people, before y^e he haue giuen them instructions what they ought to speake, to the entent that they should speake nothing beside his word. Moses himselfe, y^e prince of all the Prophets, was to be heard aboute the rest: but he was first instructed wth his commaundementes, y^e he might not declare any thing at al, but from the Lorde. Therefore it is said, that the people when they embraced his doctrine, beleueed in God & in his seruant Moses. Also y^e the authoritie of y^e priestes should not grow in contépt, it was stablished with most grieuous penalties. But therewithal the Lord sheweth vpon what condition they were to be heard, when he saith that he hath made his couenant with Leui, y^e the law of truth should be in his mouth. And a litle after he addeth: The lips of the priest shal keepe knowledge, & they shal require the law at his mouth: because he is the angel of y^e God of hostes. Therefore if the priest wil be heard, let him shewe himselfe the messenger of God: y^e is, let him faithfully report the commaundements 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.

Exod. 3. 4.

Exod. 14. 35.
Deut. 16. 9.

Mal 2. 4. & 6

Deut. 17. 10.

3 What maner of power the Prophets generally had, is very wel described in Ezechiel: Thou sonne of man (saith the Lord) I haue giuen thee to be a watchman to the house of Israel. Therefore thou shalt heare the worde out of my mouth, and thou shalt declare it to them from mee. He y^e is commaunded to heare out of the mouth of the Lorde, is he not forbidden to inuent any thing of himselfe? But what is to declare from the Lorde, but so to speake as he may boldly boast, that it is not his owne, but the Lords worde y^e

Eze. 3. 17.

he hath brought? The selfe same thing is in Hieremie, in other wordes. Let
 Hier. 23. 28. the Prophet (saith he) with whome is a dreame, tel a dreame: & let him that
 hath my word speake my worde true. Certainly he appointeth a lawe to the
 all. And that is such, that he permitteth not any to teach more than he is co-
 maunded. And after he calleth it chaffe, all that is not come from himselfe
 only. Therefore none of the Prophets themselues opened his mouth, but as
 Efa. 6. 5. the Lord told him the wordes before. Whereupon these sayings are so oft
 Ioh. 1. 6. found among them: the worde of the Lord, the burden of the Lord, so sayth
 the Lord, the mouth of the Lord hath spoken. And worthily. For Esay cried
 Efa. 6. 5. out that he had defiled lips. Jeremie confessed that he could not speake, be-
 Jer. 1. 6. cause he was a child: What could proceede from the defiled mouth of the
 one, and the foolish mouth of the other, but vnclene & vnwise, if they had
 spoken their owne speech? But his lips were holy & pure, when they began to
 be the instruments of the holy Ghost. When the Prophetes are bound with
 this religion, that they deliuer nothing, but that which they haue receiued,
 then they be garnished with notable power and excellent titles. For when
 the Lorde testifieth, that hee hath set them ouer nations and kingdomes, to
 Jer. 1. 10. plucke vp and to roote out, to destroy and plucke downe, to builde and to
 plant, he by and by adioyneth the cause: because he hath put his wordes in
 their mouth.

4 Now if you looke to the Apostles: they are in deede commended w
 many and notable titles, that they are the light of the world, and the salt of
 the earth, that they are to be heard in steede of Christ, that whatsoeuer they
 binde or loose in earth shalbe bound or loosed in heauen. But in their very
 name they shewe howe much is permitted them in their office: that is,
 if they be Apostles, that they should not prate whatsoeuer they list: but shold
 Matt. 28. 9. faithfully report his commaundements from whom they are sent. And the
 words of Christ are plaine enough, in which he hath determined their em-
 bassage: when he commanded them to go & teach al nations, al those things
 that he had commanded. Yea & he himselfe also receiued this law, & laid it
 vpon himselfe, that it should be lawful for no man to refuse it. My doctrine
 Ioh. 7. 16. (saith he) is not mine, but his that sent me, my fathers. He that was alway the
 only & eternall counsellor of the Father, & he that was appointed by the
 Father the Lord and schoolemaister 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 infinit, but subiect to the word of the Lord, & as it were enclosed in it.

5 But sith this hath from the beginning bin of force in the church, & at
 this day ought to be in force, that the seruants of God should teach nothing
 which they haue not learned of him: yet according to the diuersitie of times
 they had diuers orders of learning. But that order which is now, much dif-
 fereth from those that were before. First if it be true which Christ saith, that
 Matt. 11. 27. none hath seene the Father, but the Sonne, and he to whom it hath pleased
 the Sonne to shew him: it behoued verily that they shoulde bee alway dire-
 cted by that eternal wisdom of the Father, which wold come to y knowledge
 of God. For how should they either haue comprehended in mind, or vttered
 the mysteries of God, but by his teaching, to whome alone the secretes of
 the

the Father are open? Therefore the holy fathers in old time knew God no other wise but beholding him in the Son as in a glasse. When I say this, I mean that God did neuer by any other meane disclose himselfe to men but by the Son, that is, his only wisdom, light & truth. Out of this fountaine did Adam, Noe, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the other draw al the knowledge that they had of heauenly doctrine. Out of the same fountaine haue also all the Prophetes themselues drawn all the heauenly Oracles that they vttered. For verily this wisdom hath alway disclosed it selfe by moe wayes than one. To the Patriarches he vsed secret reuelations: but therewithall to confirm their mindes, he adioyned such signes, that it could not be doutfull to the, that it was God that spake. The Patriarches conueyed ouer from hand to hande to posterity, y^e which they had receiued. For y^e Lord left it with them to this content, that they should so spread it abroad. But the children & childrens children, by God secretly informing them, did know 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 priestes should fetch from thence what they might deliuer to the people, and that al the doctrine that should be taught should be tried by that rule. Therefore after the publishing of the lawe, when the priestes are commanded to teach out of the mouth of the Lord, the meaning is, that they should teach nothing straunge or differing from that kinde of learning which the Lorde comprehended in the lawe: and to adde and diminish was vnlawfull for them. Then followed the Prophetes, by whom in deede the Lorde published new oracles to be added to the law: but yet not so new, but that they came out of the law, and had respect vnto it: For, as touching doctrine, they were onely expositors of the law, 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 Lorde that there should be a plainer and larger doctrine, y^e weake consciences might be the better satisfied: he commaunded that the Prophecies also should be put in writing, & accounted part of his worde. And here vnto were added the histories, which are also the workes of the Prophetes, 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 law, prophecies, psalmes and histories, was the word of the Lorde to the olde people, by y^e rule wherof the priests and teachers euen vnto Christs time were bound to examine their doctrine: neither was it lawfull for them to swarue either to the right hand or to the left: because all their office was enclosed within these boundes, that they should aunswere the people out of the mouth of G O D. Which is gathered of a notable place of Malachie, where he biddeth them to be mindefull of the law, & to giue heede to it, euen to the preaching of the Gospell. For thereby hee forbiddeth them all newe founde doctrines, and graunteth them no leaue to swarue neuer so litle out of the way which Moses had faithfully shewed them. And this is the reason why Dauid so honorably setteth out the excellencie of the lawe, and rehearseth so many prayses of it: that is, that the Iewes should couet no forein thing without it, sith within in:

Mal. 2. 7.

Mal. 4. 4.

was all perfection enclosed.

7 But when at last the wisdom of God was openly shewed in the flesh, that same Wisdome 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 therefore, since Christ the sonne of righteousness hath shined, we haue a perfect brightnes of the truth of God, such as the clearenesse is wont to be at midde day, when the light was before but dimmie. For verily the Prophet meant not to speake of any meane thing, when he wrote that GOD in olde time spake diuersly and many wayes to the fathers by the Prophetes: but that in these last daies he began to speake to vs by his beloued Son. For he signifieth, yea he openly declareth, that God will not hereafter, 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 testimonie. After which sorte all this time of the newe Testament wherein Christ hath appeared to vs with \bar{y} preaching of his Gospel euen to the day of iudgement, is expressed by the last hour, the last times, the last dayes: to the ende verily that contented with the perfection of the doctrine of Christ, we should learne neither to faine vs any newe 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: commaunding him, and not any man, to be heard. He did in deede in few wordes set out his schoolemaistership vnto vs, when he sayd, Hearc him: but in which there is more weight & 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 commaunde 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 wordes do sound) to harken to the voyce of him alone. And truely what ought there nowe to be either looked for or desired at the hande of man, when the very worde 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 hee, in whome the heauenly Father willed to haue all the treasures of knowledge & wisdom to be 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 thinges is hoped for: that is to say, that he left nothing afterward for other to be spoken.

8 Let this therefore be a stedfast principle: \bar{y} there is to be had no other word of God, wherunto place should be giuen in the Church, than \bar{y} which is contained first in the law and the Prophetes, and then in the writings of the Apostles: and that there is no other maner 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 Prophetes had had in olde time: that is, that they shoulde expounde the olde Scripture, and shewe that those thinges that are therein taught are fulfilled in Christ: and yet that they should not doe the same but of the Lorde, that is to say, the Spirit of Christ going before them, and after a certaine maner enditing wordes vnto them. For Christ limited their embassage with this condition

Hebr. 1. 1.

Matt. 17. 5.

Iohn 4. 25.

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 an other place: but be not ye called maisters, for onely one is your master, Christ. Then, to emprint this more deeply in their minde, he repeateth it wise in the same place. And because their rudenes was such, that they could not conceiue those things that they had heard and learned of the mouth of their maister, therefore the spirit of truth is promised them, by who they shoulde be directed to the true vnderstanding of all things. For y same restraining is to be diligently noted, where this office is assigned to the holy Ghost, to put them in minde of al those things that he before taught the by mouth.

Matt. 28. 20

Matt. 23. 8.

Ioh. 14. 26.
and 16. 13.

9 Therefore Peter who was very well taught howe much he might lawfully doe, leaue nothing either to himselfe or other, but to distribute the doctrine deliuered of God. Let him that speaketh (saith hee) speake as the wordes of God, that is to say, not doubtingly, as they are wont to tremble whose owne conscience misgiueth them, but with sure confidence, which becometh the seruāt of God furnished with assured instructions. What other thing is this, but to forbid all inuentions of mans minde, from what heade soeuer they haue proceeded, that the pure worde of God may be heard and learned in the Church of the faithfull? to take away the ordinances or rather the fayned deuises of al men, of what degree soeuer they be, that the decrees of God only may remaine in force? These be those spirituall armures, mightie through God to cast downe holdes: by which the faithfull seruantes of God may throwe downe counsellors, and all height that aduanceth it selfe against the knowledge of God, and may leade all knowledge captiue to obey Christ. Loc this is the soueraigne power, wherewith it behoueth the Pastors of the Church to bee endued, by what name soeuer they bee called, that is, that by the worde of God they may with confidence be bold to do al things: may compell all the strength, glorie, wisdom & height of the world to yeld and obey to his maiestie: being vpholden by his power, may commaunde all euen from the hiest to the lowest: may build vp the house of Christ and pull downe the house of satan: may feede the sheepe & driue away y wolues: may instruct and exhort the willing to learne: may reprove, rebuke and subdue the rebellious & stubborne: may binde, and loose: finally may thunder & lighten, if neede be: but all things in the word of God. Howbeit there is, as I haue said this difference betweene the Apostles and their successors; y 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 foorth and written in y holy Scriptures. We determine therefore, y this is not now left to faithfull ministers, y they may coine any new doctrine, but y they ought simplie to cleaue to the doctrine, whereunto the Lorde hath made all men without exception subiect. When I say this, my meaning is not onely to shewe what is lawfull for all particular men, but also what is lawfull for the whole vniuersall Church. Nowe as touching all particular men: Paul verily was ordeyned by the Lorde Apostle to the Corinthians: but hee denieth that hee

1. Pet. 4. 21.

2. Cor. 10. 4.

hath

2. Cor. 1. 14. hath dominion ouer their faith. Who nowe dare take a dominion vpon him selfe, which Paul testifieth that it belonged not to him? If hee had acknowledged himselfe to haue this libertie of teaching, that what soeuer the Pastor teacheth hee may therein of right require to be beleued: he woulde neuer haue taught y^e Corinthians this discipline, that while two or three Prophets speake, the rest shoulde iudge, and if it were reuealed to any that fate, the first should hold his peace. For so he spared none, whose authoritie he made not subiect to the iudgement of the worde of God. But, will some man say, of the whole vniuersall Church the case is otherwise. I aunswere that in an other place Paul meeteth with this doubt also, where hee sayth, that Faith is by hearing, and hearing by the worde of God. Truly if Faith hang of the word of God only, hath respect vnto and resteth vpon it alone, what place is there now left to y^e word of the whole world? For herein no man may doubt that hath wel knownen what Faith is, For Faith ought to bee staied vpon such assurednes, wherby it may stand inuincible against Satan, and al the engines of the hels, and against the whole world. This assurednes wee shall nowhere find but in the only word of God. Again, it is a general rule which wee heere ought to haue respect vnto: that God doth therefore take frō men the power to set forth a new doctrine, that he only may be our scholemaster in heauenly learning, as he only is true which can neither ly nor deceiue. This rule belongeth no lesse to the whole Church than to euery one of the faithful.

Rom. 10. 10 But if this power of the Church, which we haue spoken of, bee compared with that power, whereof the spirituall tyrantes, that haue falsly called themselues Bishops and Prelates of Religion, haue in certaine ages past boasted themselues among the people of God, the agreement shalbe no better than Christ hath with Belial. Yet it is not in this place my purpose to declare in what sort and with how wicked meanes they haue exercised their tyranny: I will but rehearse the doctrine, which at this day they defende, first with writings, & then with sword and fire. Because they take it for a thing confessed, that a general Council is the true image of the Church, when they haue taken this principle, they doe without doubt determine, that such councils are immediatly gouerned of the holy Ghost, & that therefore they cannot erre. But whereas they themselues doe rule the councils, yea and make them, they doe in deede chalenge to themselues whatsoeuer they affirme to be due to the Councils. Therefore they wil haue our Faith to stand and fal at their wil y^e whatsoeuer they shal determine on the one side or the other, may bee stablished and certain to our minds: so that if they allow any thing we must allow the same without douting: if they cōdemn any thing we must also hold it for cōdemned. In the mean time after their own lust, & despising the word of God, they coyne doctrines, to which afterwarde 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 wel affirmatiue as negatiue: if not with expressed yet with vnexpressed faith: because it is in the power of the Church, to make newe articles of the Faith.

11 First let vs heare by what argumentes they proue that this authoritie is giuen to the Church: and then we shall see howe much that maketh for them which they alleage of the Church. The Church (say they) hath notable

table 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 allege, many are giuen no lesse to euery one of the faithfull particularly, than to the whole Church vniuersally. For though the Lord spake to the twelue Apostles, when he sayd: Beholde I am with you euen to the ende of the worlde: Againe: I will aske my Father, and hee 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 afterwarde be added to them. But when they expounde such promises full of singular comfort, as though they were giuen to none of the Christians, but to the whole Church together: what doe they else, but take away from all Christians that confidence which they al ought to receiue therby to encorage them? Yet I doe not here deny, but that the whole fellowship of the faithfull furnished with manifolde diuersity of gifts, is endued with much larger and more plentifull treasure of the heavenly wisdom, than ech one severally: neither is it my meaning, that this is spoken in common to the faithfull, as though they were all a like endued with the Spirite of vnderstanding and doctrine: but because it is not to be granted, to the aduersaries of Christ, that they should for the defence of an euil cause wrest y Scripture to a wrong sense. But, omitting this, I simply confesse that which is true, that the Lorde 1. Cor. 1. 12. is perpetually present with his, and ruleth them with his Spirit. And that this Spirite is not the Spirit of error, ignorance, lying or darknesse: but of sure reuelation, wisdom, truth, and light, of whome they not deceitfully may learne those things that are giuen them, that is to saye, what is the hope of their calling, and what be the riches of the glorie of the inheritance of Ephe. 1. 18. GOD in the Saintes. But whereas the faithfull, euen they that are endued with more excellent giftes about the rest, doe in this fleshe receiue onely the first frutes and a certaine tast of that Spirite: there remaineth nothing leeuier to them than knowing their owne weakenes, to hold themselues carefully within the boundes of the worde of God: least, if they wander far after their owne sense, they by & by stray out of the right way, insomuch as they be yet voyde of that Spirit, by whose only teaching truth is discerned from falsehood. For all men do confesse with Paul, that they haue not yet attained to Phil. 3. 11. the marke. Therefore they more endeuour to daily profiting, than glory of perfection.

12 But they will take exception, and say that whatsoever is particularly attributed to euery one of y holy ones, y same doth throughly & fully belong to the Church it selfe. Although this hath some seeming of truth, yet I deny it to be true. God doth in deede so distribute to euery one of the members the giftes of his Spirit by measure, that the whol body wanteth nothing necessarie, when the giftes are giuen in common. But the riches of the Church are alway such, that there euen wanteth much of that hiest perfection, which our aduersaries doe boast of. Yet the Church is not therefore so lesse destitute in any behalfe, but that she alway hath so much as is enough. For the Lorde knoweth what her necessitie requireth. But, to holde her vnder humilitie and godly modestie, he giueth her no more than he knoweth to be expedient.

Ephe. 5, 25.
1. Tim. 3, 15

expedient. I knowe what here also they are wont to obiekt, that is, that the Church is clesed with y washing of water in the worde of life, that it might be without wrinkle and spot, and y therefore in an other place it is called the piller and stay of trueth. But in the first of these two places is rather taught, what Christ daily worketh in it, than what he hath already done. For if hee daily 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 howe vaine and fabulous is it, to iudge the Church already in cuety part holy and spotlesse, wherof all the members are spotty & very vncleane? It is true therefore that the Church is sanctified of Christ. But only the beginning of that sanctifying is here seene: but the end and full accomplishment shalbe, when Christ the holiest of holy ones shall truly and fully fill it with his holinesse. It is true also that the spots and wrinkles of it are wiped away: but so that they be daily in wiping away, vnill Christ with his comming doe vtterly take away all that remaineth. For vnlesse we grant this, we must of necessitie affirme with the Pelagians, that the righteousnesse of the faithfull is perfect in this life: and with the Cathari and Donatistes we must suffer no infirmitie in the Church. The other place, as we haue else where seene, hath a sense vtterly differing from that which they pretende. For when Paul hath instructed Timothee, and framed him to the true office of a Bishoppe, he sayeth that hee did it to this purpose, that he shoulde knowe howe hee ought to behaue himselfe in the Church. And that he should with the greater religiousnesse and endeour bende himselfe thereunto, he addeth that the Church is the very piller and stay of trueth. For what else doe these wordes meane, but that the trueth of God is preferued in the Church, namely by the ministerie of preaching? As in an other place he teacheth, y Christ gaue Apostles, Pastors and Teachers, that we should no more be caried 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 nicete in vnitye of Faith. Whereas therefore the trueth is not extinguished in the worlde, but remaineth safe, that same commeth to passe because it hath the Church a faithfull keeper of it, by whose helpe and ministry it is susteined. But if this keeping standeth in the ministry of the Prophetes & Apostles, it foloweth that it hangeth wholly hereupon, if the worde of the Lorde be faithfully preferued and doe keepe his puritie.

Ephe. 4, 11.

13 But that the readers may better vnderstande, vppon what point this question chiefly standeth, I wil in few words declare what our aduersaries require, and wherein 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 gouerned by the Spirit of God, it may go safely without the word: that whithersoever it goeth, it can not thinke nor speake any thing but trueth: that therefore if it determine any thing without or beside Goddes worde, the same is no otherwise to be esteemed than as a certaine Oracle of God. If we graunt that first pointe, that the Church can not erre in things necessarie to saluation, this is our meaning, that this is therefore because forsaking all her owne wisdom, she suffereth her selfe to be taught of the holy Ghost

Ghost by the worde of God. This therefore is the difference. They set the authoritie of the Church without the worde of God, but we wil that it be annexed to the worde, and suffer it not to bee seuered from it. And what maruell is it, if the spouse and scholar of Christ bee subiect to her husbände and schoolemaster, that shee 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 wel ordered schoole, that the teaching of the schoolemaster alone should there be heard. Wherefore let the Church not be wise of her selfe, not thinke any thing of her selfe: but determine the ende of her wisdome 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 thinges wherein it standeth vpon the word of God, she shall wauer with no distrustfulnes or doubting, but shall rest with great assurednesse and stedfast constancie. So also trusting vpon the largenesse of those promises that she hath, she shall haue wherevpon abundantly to susteine her faith: that she may nothing doubt that the best guide of the right way, the holy spirit, is alway present with her: but therewithal she shall keepe in memorie what vse the Lord woulde haue vs to receiue of his holy spirite. The spirit (saith he) which I wil send from my father shall leade you into all trueth. But how? because (saith he) he shal put you in mind of al those things that I haue tolde you. Therefore he giueth warning y^e there is nothing more to bee looked for of his spirit, but that he should inlighten our minds to perceiue the trueth of his doctrine. Therefore Chrysostome saith excellently well. Many (saith he) do boast of the holy spirite: but they which speak their owne doe fallily pretende that they haue him. As Christ testified y^e hee spake not of himselfe: because he spake out of the law and the Prophetes: so if any thing beside the Gospel be thrust in vnder the title of the spirit, let vs not beleue it, because as Christ is the fulfilling of the lawe and the Prophetes: so is the Spirit, of the Gospel. These be his wordes. Now it is easie to gather howe wrongfully our aduersaries do, which boast of the holy Ghost to no other end but to set forth vnder his name strange and foraine doctrines from y^e worde of God: whereas hee will with vnspeakeable knot be conioyned with y^e word of God, and the same doth Christ professe of him when hee promiseth him to his Church. So is it truely. 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 & of the holy Ghost, which our aduersaries go about to abrogate, when they faine that the Church is ruled of the spirite without the word.

14 Here againe they murmure against vs, and say that it behoued that the Church should adde some thinges to the writings of the Apostles, or that they themselues shoulde afterwarde with liuely voice supplie many thinges which they had not clearely enough taught, namely sith Christ laide vnto them: I haue many thinges to be saide to you, which you cannot nowe beare: and that these be the ordinances, which without the scripture haue bene receiued onely in vse and maner. But what shamelesnes is this? I grant the disciples were yet rude, and in a maner vnapt to learne, when the Lord saide

John 16. 7.
and 13.

Serm. de sancto & ador. Spiritu.
Ioh. 12. 50.
and 14. 10.

Ioh. 16. 12.

saide 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 supplie with liuely voice that which they had by fault of ignorance omitted in their writings? But if they were already led by the spirite of trueth into all trueth when they did set forth their writings: what hindred y they haue not therein contained and left written a perfect knowledge of the doctrine of the gospel? But go to: let vs graunt them that which they require. Only let the point out what bee those things that it behoued to be reuealed without writing. If they dare enterprise that, I wil 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 proueit? But why doe I strue about a superfluous matter? For a very childe doeth know, that in the writings of the Apostles, which these men doe make in a manner lame and but halfe perfect, there is the fruit of that reuelation which the Lord did the promise them.

Hom. in
Ioh. 56.

Matt. 18. 17.

15 What? say they, did not Christe put out of controuerfie whatsoever the Church teacheth and decreeth, when he commandeth him to be taken from a heathen man and a Publicane that dare say against her? First in that place is no mention made of doctrine, but onely the authorie of the censures is established for correcting of vices, that they which haue bene admonished or rebuked should not resist her iudgemēt. But omitting this, it is much maruell, that these losels haue so litle shame, y they dare be proude of that place. For what shall they get thereby, but y the consent of the Church is neuer to be despised, which neuer consenteth but vnto the trueth of the worde 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 anie more let them knowe that these wordes of Christ do 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 newe 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 do see howe great daunger 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 y 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 egall 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 verie miserable succour, if wee were compelled to flee to the bare authoritie of the Church for defence of the Baptisme of infantes: but it shall in another place sufficiently appeare that it is far otherwise. Likewise whereas they object that that is no where founde in the Scripture, which was pronounced in the Nicene Synode, that the sonne is consubstantiall with the father

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ther: therein they do great wrong to the fathers, as though they had rashly condemned Arius, because he would not sweare to their wordes, when he professed all that doctrine which is comprehended in the writings of the Prophets and Apostles. This word, I graunt, is not in the Scripture: but whé 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 do the fathers of the Nicene council when they declare that he is of one substance, but simply set out the natural sense of the Scripture? But Theodorit 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 Prophets, do fully shewe vs the meaning of God. Therefore laying away discorde, let vs take the discussing of questions out of the words 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 bee 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 they willingly embraced that which the Emperour saide, it is certaine that this newe doctrine was then vtterly vnknown.

Histo. Eccl.
lib. 1. cap. 5e

The ix. Chapter.

Of Councils and of their authoritie.

NOwe, although I graunt them all things concerning the Church: yet they shall thereby not much preuaile for their intent. For whatsoeuer is saide 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 stiffely contend for the power of the Church, they doe it of no other purpose, but to giue all that they can get to the Bishop of Rome and his garde. But ere I begin to discusse this question, I must needs here make protestation of two things aforehand. 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 do. For I reuerence them from my heart, & wish them to be had in their due honor with all men. But herein is some meane, that is, that there be nothing withdrawn from Christ. Nowe this is the right of Christ, to bee the head in all Councils, and to haue no man fellowe with him in this dignitie. But I say that then onely he is the head, when he gouerneth the whole assembly with his worde and Spirit. Secondly, whereas I giue lesse to Councils than the aduersaries require, I do it not for this cause that I am afraide of the Councils, as though they did make for their side, and were against ours. For as we are abundantly furnished with the worde of the Lorde to the full prooffe of our own doctrine fully, and to the ouerthrow of the whole

Ecc.

Papistris

Papistrie that wee 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.

2 Now let vs speake of the thing it selfe. If it bee sought of the Scriptures, what is the authoritie 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 doeth 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 \bar{y} holy Ghost, vntill they haue proued that they are gathered together in the name of Christ. For it is as possible \bar{y} wicked & euil Bishops may conspire against Christ, as good & honest bishops may come together in his name. For a verie cleare prooffe hereof are many decrees that haue proceeded from such Councils. But this shall be seene hereafter. Now I do but answere 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 commaundement of God, wherein he forbiddeth any thing to be added to his word, or taken fro it, do decree euery thing after their owne will: which being not contented wth the Oracles of the Scripture, that is to say the only rule of perfect wisdō, do imagine some new thing of their own head. Surely, such Christ hath not promised \bar{y} he wil be present at all Councils, but hath adioyned a peculiar marke, whereby to make true & lawfull Councils different from other: it is meeete that we should not neglect this difference. This is the couna^t, which in old time God made with the Leuiticall priests, \bar{y} they should teach out of his mouth. This he alway required of the Prophets: this lawe also wee see to haue bin laid vpon the Apostles. Who so breake this couenant, God doeth not vouchsafe, to let them haue the honor of Priesthood, nor any authority. Let the aduersaries vndo me this knot, if they wil make my faith boū^d to the decrees of men beside the worde of God.

3 For whereas they think not that truth remaineth in the Church, vnlesse it be among the Pastours: and that the Church it self standeth not, vnlesse it appeare in generall Councils: that is farre from hauing bene 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 pastours he saith thus: The watchmen are all blinde, neither know they any thing. They are all dumme dogges, neither are they able to barke. They lie along & sleepe, & loue sleeping: & the Pastors themselues knowe nothing, nor do vnderstand; and they do altogether lōke backe vnto their own wayes. After the same maner Osee sayth: 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, he teacheth that their pretense of the priesthood is vaine. The Church also endured vnto the
time

Matt. 18. 20.

Deut. 4. 2.
Reue. 22. 18.

Mala. 2. 7.

Esa. 56. 10.

Osee. 9. 8.

time of Hieremie. Let vs heare what he sayeth of the Pastors . From the Prophet euen to the priest, euery one followeth lying . Againe : The Prophets do prophetic a lye in my name, when I haue not sent them, nor commaunded them. And least wee should be too long in reciting his words, let those things be read that he hath written in the whole xxiii. 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 her as a roaring lyon, and that violently taketh his pray. Her priests haue broken my law, and haue defiled my holy thinges, and haue made no difference betweene holy and prophane: & the rest that he adioyneth to y^e 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 that was so among the Iewes: but our age is free from so great an euil. I woulde to God in dedde it were so: but the Holy Ghost hath giuen warning that it shalbe farre otherwise . The wordes of Peter are plaine. As (saith he) there were in the old people false Prophets, so shall there also be among you false teachers, slyly bringing in sectes of perdition . See you not how he sayeth, that there is danger to com, not by men of the common people, but by them that shall boast themselues with the title of teachers and Pastors? Morcouer howe oft hath it bin fore-spoken by Christ and his Apostles, that there shoulde verie great daungers 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, shal come from no where else but from them y^e shall sit in steede of Pastors in y^e church. And in another place he sheweth, that the beginnings of so great a mischief are euen alre dy nere at hand. For when he speaketh to the bishops of Ephesus, I knowe (saith he) that after my departure there shall enter into you rauening wolues not sparing the flocke. And they shalbe of your owne felues, that shall speake peruerse things, to leade away disciples after them. Howe much corruption might a long course of yeres bring among Pastors, when they could so farre go out of kind in so small a space of time? And, not to fill much paper with rehearsing them by name: wee are admonished by the examples in a manner of all ages, that neither the trueth is alway nourished in the bosome of the pastors, nor the safetic of the Church doeth hang vppon their state. They ought in dedde to haue beene the gouernors & keepers of the peace & safetic of the Church, for preseruatiō whereof, they are ordeined: but it is one thing for a man to performe that which he ought, and another thing to owe that which he perfourmeth not.

5 Yet let no man take these our wordes in such part, as though I woulde euery where and rashly without any choise diminish the authoritie of Pastors. I do but onely admonish that euen among Pastours themselues there is a choise to be had, that wee should not immediatly thinke them to be pastours that are so called. But the Pope with all his flocke of bishops, vppon none other reason, but because they are called Pastors, shaking away the obedience of the worde of God, do tumble & tesse all things after their owne lust: and in the meane time they trauaile to persuaide, that they cannot bee

destitute of the light of truth, that the spirit of God perpetually abideth in them, y^e the Church consisteth in them & dieth with them. As though there be now no iudgements of the Lord, whereby he may punish the worlde 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 blindnes & amased dulnesse. Neither do they most foolish men vnderstand, that they sing the same song, which those in olde time did sing that warred against the worde of God. For the enimies of Hieremie did thus prepare themselues against the truth: Come, & we will imagine imaginati- ons against Hieremie: forasmuch as the law shal not perish from the Priest, nor counsell from the wise man, nor the word from the Prophet.

6 Hereby it is easie to aunswere to that other obiection concerning generall counsels. It cannot be denied but that the Iewes had a true Church in the time of the Prophets. But if there had then bene a generall counsel gathered together of the priestes, what maner face of the Church had there appeared? We heare what God saith, not to one or two of them but to y^e whole order: The priestes shalbe astonied, and the prophets shalbe made astraide. Againe, the law shal perish from the priest, and counsell from the Elders. Againe, Night shalbe to you in steede of a vison, and darkenesse in steede of prophecieng: and the sunne shal fall downe vpon the Prophets, and bee darkened vpon these dayes &c. Well if all such had then bene 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 minde but to flatter the wicked king: therefore Satan was sent of the Lorde to be a lying spirite in the mouth of them all. There by all their voices the truth 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 and Pharisees gathered at Hierusalem against Christ, what can a man say that there wanted, in so much as pertained to the outward shewe? For if there had not then bene a Church at Hierusalem, Christ would neuer haue communicate with their sacrifices & other ceremonies. There was made a solemne summoning of them together: the hie bishop sate as chiefe: the whole order of priestes sate by him: yet Christ was there condemned, & his doctrine driuen away. This doing is a prooffe y^e the Church was not enclosed in that counsel. But there is no perill that any such thing should happen to vs. Who hath giuen vs assurance thereof? For it is not without fault of sluggishnesse, to be too carelesse in so great a matter. But where the Holy Ghost doth with expresse words prophecie by y^e mouth of Paul, that there shall come a departing (which cannot come but that the Pastours must be the first that shall forsake God) why are we herein wilfully blinde to our owne destruction? Wherfore it is in no wise to bee graunted, that the Church consisteth in the companie of Pastours, for whome the Lord hath no where vnder taken that they shall perpetually be good, but he hath pronounced that they shall sometime be euill. But when

Zach. 12.4.

Hier. 18.18.

Hier. 4.9.

Ezech. 7.26.

Mich. 3.6.

1 King. 22.
5. and 22.

Iohn. 11.47.

2. Thef. 2.3.

he warneth vs of the danger, he doth it to this entent to make vs the warer.

8 What then wilt thou say: Shall the counceles haue no authoritie in determining? Yes forsooth. For neither do I here argue that all counceles are to be condemned, or all their actes to be repelled, or (as the saying is) to be defaced with one blotte. But (thou wilt say to mee) thou bringest them all into subiection, that it may bee free for euery man to receiue or refuse that which the counceles haue determined. Not so. But so oft as the decree of any counsell is brought forth, I would haue it first to be diligently weyed, 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 counsell may haue his force, and be as a foreiudged sentence, and yet not hinder the aforesaid examination. I would to God all men did keep that moderation which Augustine prescribeth in the third booke against Maximinus. For when he minded briefly to put to silence this heretike contending about the Decrees of counceles: Neither (saith he) ought I to obiekt against thee the Synode of Nice, nor thou against mee 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, nor 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 counceles shoulde haue the maicstie that they ought: but in the meane season the Scripture shoulde be alone in the hier place, that there might be nothing that should not be subiect to the rule thereof. So these olde Synodes, as of Nice, of Constantino-ple, the first of Ephesus, of Chalcedon, and such other, which were holden for confuting of errors, wee 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 wisdome applied to the subduing of the enemies of religion that then rose vp. In some of the later counceles also, we see to appeare a true zeale of godlinesse, and plaine tokens of wit, learning, and wisdome. But as things are wont commonly to growe to worse, wee may see by the latter counceles, how much the Church hath nowe and then degenerate from the purenesse of that golden age. And I dout not but that in these corrupter ages also, counceles haue had some bishops of the better sort. But in these the same happened which the Senatours themselues complained to be not well done in making of ordinances of the senate of Rome. For while the sentences are numbred, not weyed, it is of necessitie that oftentimes the better parte is ouercome of the greater. Truely 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 Counceles disagreeing with counceles? And it is no cause that any should murmure against mee, and say, that of those counceles that disagree the one is not lawfull. For, howe shall we iudge that? By this, if I be not deceiued, that wee 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 nowe 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 pieces. A litle afterward, the council of Nice, which Irene the Empreffe assembled in spite of him, decreed that they should bee restored. Whether of these two shal we acknowledge for a lawfull council? The later which gaue images a place in Churches, hath preuailed among the people. But Augustine saith that that cannot be done without most present peril 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, allowe that councill, if they were aliue at this day? But if both the historians tell trueth, and the verie actes be beleueed, not onely 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 betweene contrarie and disagreeing Synodes, which were many, vnlesse we trie them all by that balance of all men and angels, that is, by the worde of the Lorde. So wee embrace the Synode of Chalcedon, refusing the seconde 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 wee so follow in iudging: that the worde of God which gaue light to them doeth also nowe giue light to vs. Now let the Romanistes goe and boast, as they are wont, that the Holy Ghost is fastened and bound to their councils.

10 Howbeit there is also somewhat which a man may well thinke to bee wanting in those auncient and purer councils: either because they that then were at them, beeing 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 beeing busied with weightier & more earnest matters: or for that simply, as being men they might bee 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 worthie, bene receiued with most hie reuerence. For when the principall article of our faith was there in daunger, Arrius the enimie was present in readinesse, with whom they must fight hande to hande, and the chiefe importance lay 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 battail that they had in hand, as if they had come thither of purpose to doe Arrius a pleasure, began to wounde themselues with inwarde dissentions, and to turne against themselues the stile that shoulde haue been bent against Arrius. There were
heard

heard foule obiections of crimes, there were scattered bookes of accusations and there would haue bin no end made of contentions, vntill they had with mutual wounds one destroyed an other, vnlesse y^e Emperor 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. Howe many wayes is it credible that the other councelles also failed, which followed afterwarde? Neither doeth this matter neede long prooffe. For if a man reade ouer the actes of the councelles, hee shall note therein many infirmities: though I speake of nothing more greuous.

11 And Leo bishoppe of Rome sticketh not to charge with ambition and vnadvised rashnesse, the Synode of Chalcedon, which yet he confesseth to be sounde in doctrines. He doth in deede not deny that it was a lawfull Synode; but he openly affirmeth, that it might erre. Some man peradventure will thinke me fonde, for that I busie my selfe in shewing such errours: forasmuch as our aduersaries do confesse, that councels may erre in those things that are not necessaric to saluation. But this labour is not yet superfluous. For although because they are cōpelled, they do in deede confesse it in word: yet when they thrust vnto vs the determination of all councels in euery matter whatsoeuer it be, for an oracle of the holy Ghost, they do therein require more than they toke at the beginning. In so doing what do they affirme, but that councels can not erre: or if they erre, yet it is not lawfull for vs to see the truth, or not to sooth their errours? And I intende 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 hee 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 Gregoric Nazianzene, y^e he neuer saw a good end of any councel. For he that affirmeth that all without exception ended ill, doth not leaue them much authoritie. It is nowe nothing needefull to make mention seuerally of prouinciall councels: forasmuch as it is easie to iudge by the generall, how much authoritie they ought to haue to make newe articles of faith and to receiue what kinde of doctrine soeuer it pleaseth them.

12 But our Romanistes, when they see that in defence of their cause all helpe of reason doth faile them, doe resort to that extreme & miserable shift: that although the men themselues be blockish in wit and councell, 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 themselues, no more than Iosua had, which was both a Prophete of the Lorde, and an excellent pastor. But let vs here with what wordes he is set by the Lorde into his office. Let not (sayth he) the

Iosua 2.7.

volume of this lawe depart from thy mouth: but thou shalt studie vpon it dayes and nightes. Thou shalt neither bowe to the right hande nor to the left: then shalt thou direct thy way & vnderstand it. They therefore shalbe to vs spiritual rulers which shal not bow from the law of the Lord, neither to the one side nor to the other. But if the doctrine of all pastors whatsoeuer they bee, is to be receiued without any doubting, to what purpose was it that wee

should so oft and so earnestly be admonished not to harken to the speech of false prophetes. Heare not (sayth he by Hieremie) the words of the prophets that prophetic to you. For they teach you vanity, and not out of the mouth of the Lorde. Again, Beware you of false prophetes, that come vnto you in sheepes clothing, but inwardly are rauening wolues. And Iohn should in vain exhort vs, that we should proue the Spirites, 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 lead the blind, they shall both fall into the ditch? Doth it not sufficiently declare, y^e it is of great importance what maner of prophetes be heard, and that not all are rashly to be heard? Wherefore there is no reason that they should make vs affraide with their titles, thereby to draw vs into partaking of their blindnes: forasmuch as wee see on the other side, that the Lorde 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 blinde guides, whether they be called fathers of the Church, or prelates, or bishops, can doe nothing but draw their partners into the same headlong downefall. Wherefore let no names of counsels, Pastors, bishoppes, (which may as well be falsely pretended as truely vsed,) hinder vs, but that being taught by lessons both of wordes and examples, we may examine all spirites of all men by the rule of the worde of God, that wee 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 newe doctrine, nowe let vs speake of the power which they attribute vnto it in expounding of Scripture. Truely we do willingly graunt, that if there happen debate about any doctrine, there is no better nor surer remedy thā if a Synode of true bishops assemble together, where the doctrine in controuersie may be discussed. For such a determination, whereunto y^e Pastors of Churches shall agree in common together, calling vpon the Spirit of Christ, shall haue much greater force, than if euery orie seuerally shoulde conceiue it at home, and so teach it to the people, or if a fewe priuate men should make it. Again, when bishoppes 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. Thirdely Paul prescribeth this order in discerning of doctrines: For whereas he giueth to euery 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 godlinesse instruct vs, that if any man trouble the Church with an vnwonted doctrine, and the matter proceede so farre that there bee perill of greater dissention, the Churches should first meete together, and examine the question propounded: at least, after iust discussing had, bring forth a determination taken out of the Scripture, such as may both take away douting out of y^e people, & stop the mouthes of wicked and greedy men, y^e they may not be so hardy to proceed any further. So when Arius was risen, the Nicene Sinode was gathered together, which with the authoritie thereof both did breake the wicked endeouours of the yngodly man, and restored peace to the Churches

which.

which he had vexed, and defended the eternall godheade of Christ, against his blasphemous doctrine. When afterwarde Eunomius & Macedonius stirred vp newe troubles, their madnesse was resisted with like remedie by the Synode of Constantinople. In the Council at Ephesus the wickednes of Nestorius was banished. Finally this hath beene from the beginning the ordinarie meane in the Church to preferue vnitie, so oft as Satan began to worke any thing. But let vs remember, that not in al ages or in all places are found Athanasies, Basiles, Cyrilles, and such defenders of true doctrine whom the Lorde then raised vp. But let vs thinke what happened at Ephesus in the seconde Synode, where the heresie of Eutiches preuailed, the man of holy memory Flavianus was banished with certaine other godly men, and many such mischeeues committed: euen because Dioscorus a seditious man & of a very naughty nature, was there the cheefe, and not the spirite of the Lorde. But there was not the Church. I graunt. For this I determine vtterly that y^e trueth doeth not therfore die in the Church, although it be oppressed of one councill: but that the Lorde meruellously prserueth it, that it may againe in due time rise vp, and get the ouerhande. But I denie that this is perpetuall, that that is a true and certaine exposition of scripture which hath beene received by consentes of a councill.

14 But the Romanistes shoote at another 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 councells. Of purgatorie, of the intercession of saintes, of auricular confession, and such other there cannot be founde one syllable in the scriptures. But because al these thinges haue beene stablished by the authoritie of the Church, that is to say (to speake truely) receiued in opinion and vse, therefore euery one of them must be taken for an exposition of scripture. And not that onely: But if a councell decree any thing, though scripture crie out against it, yet it shall beare the name of an exposition thereof. Christ commaundeth all to drinke of the cup, which hee reacheth in the Supper. The councill of Constance forbad that it shoulde not be giuen to the lay peop'e, but willed that the priest onely shoulde drinke of it. That which so directly fighteth against the instituti-
 on of Christ, they will haue to bee taken for an exposition of it. Paul calleth the forbidding of marriage, the hypocrisie of diuels: And the holy Ghost in an other place pronounceth that marriage is in all men holy and honourable. Whereas they haue afterwarde forbidden priestes to marrie, they require to haue that taken for the true & naturall exposition of the Scripture, when nothing can be imagined more against it: If any dare once open his mouth to the contrarie, hee 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 shoulde 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 allowe the scripture, I wittingly passe it ouer. For in such sorte to make the Oracles of God subiect to the iudgement of men, that they shoulde therefore be of force because they haue pleased men, is a blasphemie vnworthie to be rehearsed: and I haue

Matt. 26. 26

1. Tim. 4. r.
Heb. 13. 4.

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 counsels decree will they alledge of that matter? I thinke they haue none. Why then did Arrius suffer himselfe to be ouercom at Nice with testimonies brought out of the Gospel of Iohn? For after these mens saying, it was free for him to haue refused them, forasmuch as there had no allowance of a general counsell gone before. They alledge the old rolle, which is called the Canon, which they say to haue proceeded from the iudgemēt of the church. But I aske them againe, in what counsell that Canon was set foorth. Here they must needs be dumme. Howbeit I desire further to knowe, what manner of Canon they thinke that was. For I see that the same was not very certaynely agreed among the olde writers. And if that which Hierome sayth ought to bee of force, the bookes of Machabees, Tobie, Ecclesiasticus & such other shall be thrust among the Apocrypha: which those canons doe in no wise suffer to be done.

The x. Chapter.

Of the power in making of Lawes: vvherein the Pope and his haue vsed a most cruell tyrannie and butcherie vpon soules.

NOwe followeth the seconde parte, 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 woulde not touch with one finger. I haue in an other place taught howe cruell a butcherie is that which they commaunde concerning auricular confession. In other lawes there appeareth not so great violence: but those which seeme the most tolerable of all, doe tyrannously oppresse consciences. I leaue vnspoken howe they corrupt the worshipp of God, and do spoile God himselfe of his right, which is the onely lawmaker. This power is nowe to be 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, & that the spiritual libertie, which hath regard vnto God, maye remaine safe vnto vs. Vse hath made that all those decrees bee called traditions of men, whatsoever they bee that haue concerning the worshipping of God proceeded from men beside his worde. Against these doe we striue, not against the holy and profitable ordinances of the Church which make for the preseruacion eyther of discipline or honestie or peace. But the end of our striuing is, that the immeasurable and barbarous Empire may bee restrained, which they vsurpe vpon soules, that woulde bee 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 bee necessarie to eternall life. But so (as I euen nowe touched) the kingdome of Christ is inuaded, so the libertie by him giuen to the consciences

of the faithfull is vtterly oppressed and throwen abroade. I speake not nowe with how great vngodlinesse they stablish the obseruing of their lawes, while out of it they teach men to seeke both forgiuenesse of sinnes, and righteousnesse, and saluation, while they set in it the whole summe of religion & godlinesse. This one thing I earnestly holde, that there ought no necessitie to bee laide vpon consciences in those things wherein they are made free by Christ, and vnlesse they bee made free, as we haue before taught, they can not rest with God. They must acknowledge one onely king Christ their deliuerer, and be governed by one lawe of libertie, euen the holy worde of the Gospell, if they will keepe still the grace which they haue once obteyned in Christ: they must be holden with no bondage, and bound with no bonds.

2 These Solons do indeede faine y^e their constitutions are lawes of libertie, a sweete yoke, a light burden: but who can not see that they bee meere lies? They themselues indeede doe feele no heauinesse 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 farre from thinking themselues free so long as they bee intangled with these snares. We see with how great warenesse Paul did deale in this behalfe, that he durst not so much as in any one thing lay vpon men any snare at all, and that not without cause. Truly he foresawe with howe great a wounde consciences shoulde be stricken, if they shoulde bee charged with a necessitie 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 stablished with threatning of eternal death, which they most seuerely require as necessary to saluation. And among those there are many most hard to bee kept, but all of them (if the whole multitude of them be laid together) are impossible: so great is the heape. Howe then shall it bee possible, that they vpon whom so great a weight of difficulty lieth, shoulde not be vexed in perplexitie with extreme anguise & terror? Therefore my purpose is here to impute such constitutions, as tende to this ende, inwardly to bind soules before God, and charge them with a religion, as though they taught them of things necessarie to saluation. 1. Cor. 7. 2 5.

3 This question doth therefore incumber the most part of men, because they doe not luttelie inough put difference betwene 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 be obeyed, not onely for feare of punishment, but for consciences sake. Wherevpon foloweth, that consciences are also bound with the politike lawes. But if it were so, then all should fall that we haue spoken in the last chapter and intende nowe to speake concerning the spirituall government. For the losing of this knot, first it is good to learn what is conscience. The definition is to be gathered of the proper deriuation of the word. For, as when men doe with mind and vnderstanding conceiue the knowledge of things, they are thereby saide *scire*, to knowe, whereupon is deriued the name of science knowledge: so when they haue a feeling of Gods iudgement as a witness adioyned with them which doeth not suffer them to hide their sinnes, but that they bee brought accused to the iudgement seate of God, that same feeling is called conscience. Rom. 13. 5.

For

Rom, 2. 15. For it is a certaine meane betweene God and man: because it suffereth not man to suppressēy which he knoweth, but pursueth him so far til it bring him to guiltines. This is it that Paul meaneth when he teacheth that conscience doeth together witness with men, when their thoughtes doe accuse or acquite them in the iudgement of God. A simple knowledge might remayne in man as inclosed. Therefore this feeling which presenteth man to the iudgement of G O D, is as it were a keeper ioyned to man, to marke and watche all his secretes, that nothing shoulde remaine buried in darkenesse. Wherevpon also commeth that olde prouerbe, conscience is a thousande witnesses. For the same reason also Peter hath set the examination of a good conscience, for quietnesse of minde, when wee being perswaded of the grace of Christ, doe 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 steede of, to be deliuered or acquitted, that sinne may no more accuse vs.

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 hearte. In which sense Paul writeth that charitie is the fulfilling of the lawe, out of a pure conscience, & faith not fained. Afterwarde also in the same chapter hee sheweth howe much it differeth from vnderstanding, saying that some had suffered shipwracke from the faith, because they had forsaken good conscience. For in these words he signifieth, that it is a liuely affection to worshippe God, and a syncere desire to liue godlily and holily. Sometime indeede it is referred also to men, as in Luke, when the same Paul testifieth, that he induored himselfe that he might walke with a good conscience towarde God and men. But this was therefore saide, because the fruites of good conscience doe flowe, and come euen to men. But in speaking properly, it hath respect to God onely, as I haue already saide. Herevpon commeth that a lawe is saide to binde conscience, which simple bindeth a man, without regarde of men, or not hauing any consideration of them. As for example. God commaundeth not onely to keepe the minde chaste and pure from all lust, but also forbiddeth all manner of filthinesse of wordes and outwarde wantonnesse what soeuer it bee. To the keeping of this lawe my conscience is subiect, although there liued not one man in the world. So hee that behaueth himselfe intemperately, doth not onely sinne in this that he giueth euill example to his brethren, but he hath his conscience bounde with guiltinesse before God. In things that are of themselves meane, there is an other consideration. For wee ought to abstaine from them, if they breade any offence, but the conscience still being free. So Paul speaketh of fleshe consecrate to idoles. If any (saith hee) make doubre, touch it not, for consciences sake. I say for conscience, not thine owne, but the others. A faithfull man shoulde sinne, which being first warned should neuertheless eate of such fleshe. But howe soeuer in respect of his brother, it bee necessarie for him to abstaine, as it is prescribed of God, yet hee ceaseth not to keepe still the libertie of conscience. Wee see howe this lawe binding the outwarde worke, leaueth the conscience vnbound.

5 Nowe let vs returne to the lawes of men. If they bee made to this end,

ende, to charge vs with a religion, as though the obseruing of them were of it selfe necessary, then wee say that that is layde vpon conscience which was not lawfull to be layd vpon it. For our consciences haue not to do with men, but with God only: whereunto pertaineth that common difference between the earthly court and the court of conscience. When the whole worlde was wrapped in a most thicke mist of ignorance, yet this small sparcke of light remained, y^e they acknowledged a mans conscience to be aboue all iudgements of men. Howebeit the same thing that they did with one worde confesse, they did afterwarde in deede ouerthrowe: yet it was Goddes will that there should then also remaine some testimonie of Christian libertie, which might deliuer consciences from the tyranny of men. But y^e difficulty is not yet dissolved, 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 folow that Princes lawes haue also dominion ouer conscience. If this be true, then the same also ought to be said of the lawes of the Church. I answere that first here we must put a difference betwene the generaltie & specialtie. For though all special lawes do not touch the conscience, yet we are bounde by the generall commaundement of God, which commendeth 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, do belong to the inwarde gouernment of the soule: whereas he eche where extollet both the worshipping of God and the spirituall rule of liuing righteously, aboue all the ordinances of men whatsoever they be. An other thing also is worthy to be noted, (which yet hangeth vpon the former) that y^e laws of men, whether they be made by the magistrate or by the Church, although they be necessary to be kept, (I speake of the good and righteous lawes) yet therefore do not by themselves binde conscience, because the whole necessitie of keeping them is referred to the generall ende, but consisteth not in the things commanded. From this sort do farre differ both those that prescribe a newe forme of the worshipping of God, and those that appoint necessitie in things that be at libertie.

Rom. 13. 1.

6 But such are those that at this day be called Ecclesiastical 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 bondes to catch and snare soules. But although in the declaration of the lawe we haue somewhat touched them: yet because this place was fitter to entreate fully of them, I will now trauaile to gather together the whole summe in the best order that I can. And because we haue already discoursed so much as seemed to be sufficient, concerning the tyranny which the false bishops doe take vpon themselves, in libertie to teach whatsoever they list, I will now omitte all that part: and I wil here tarry only vpon declaring the power, which they say they haue, to make lawes. Our false bishops therefore do burden consciences with new lawes, vnder this pretence, that they are ordained of the Lord spirituall lawmakers, since the gouernement of the Church is committed vnto them. Therefore they affirme that what so euer they commaunde and prescribe, ought necessarily to be obserued of the Christian people: and that he that

that breaketh it, is guilty of double disobedience, for y^e 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 requite, but so much as is requisite to the well ordering of the policy of the Church. Nowe sith they are nothing lesse than that which they wold be accounted, they can not take any thing to them, be it neuer so litle, but y^e they shal take too much. But because this hath bene else where considered, let vs grant them at this present, that whatsoever power true bishops haue, y^e same rightly belongeth to them also: yet I deny 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 be obserued of necessity, y^e which they haue deuised of themselves without the word of God. Forasmuch as that authoritie both was vnknownen to the Apostles, and so oft taken away from the ministers of y^e Church by the Lords own mouth: maruel who haue bin so bolde to take it vpon them, and at this day are so bold to defend it, beside the example of the Apostles, and against the manifest prohibition of God.

7 As touching that that pertained to the perfect rule of well liuing, the Lord hath so contained al y^e in his law, that he hath left nothing for men that they might adde to that sum. And this he did first for this purpose, y^e because the whole vprightness of liuing standeth in this point, if all workes be gouerned by his will as by a rule, he should be holden of vs the only maister and director of life: then, to declare y^e he requireth of vs nothing more than obedience. For this reason James saith: he that iudgeth his brother iudgeth y^e law: he that iudgeth the law, is not an obseruer of the law, but a iudge. But there is one only lawmaker, that can both saue & destroy. We heare that God doth claime this one thing as proper to himself, to rule vs with the gouernment & lawes of his worde. And the same thing was spoken before of Esay, although somewhat more darkly: the Lord is our king, y^e Lord is our lawmaker, the Lord is our iudge, he shall saue vs. Truly in both these places is shewed, that hee that hath power ouer the soul, hath the iudgement of life & death. Yea James pronounceth this plainly. Now, no man can take that vpon him. Therefore God must be acknowledged to be the only king of soules, to whom alone belongeth the power to saue & destroy, as those words of Esay expresse, and to be the king, and iudge, and lawmaker & Sauour. Therefore Peter, when he admonisheth the Pastors of their duetie, exhorteth them so to feede the flocke, not as vsing a Lordship ouer the Clergy, by which word Clergy he signifieth the inheritance of God. y^e isto say the faithful people. This if we rightly wey, that it is not lawfull, that that should be transferred to man, which God maketh his owne only: we shall vnderstand that so all the power is cut off whatsoever it be that they challenge, which aduance themselves to command any thing in the Church without the word of God.

8 Nowe, forasmuch as the whole cause hangeth thereupon, that if God be the only 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

Iani. 4. 12.

Esa. 33. 22.

1. Pet. 5. 2.

The first is, that his wil may be to vs a perfect rule of al righteousnes & holinesse: and that so in the knowing of him may bee the perfect knowledge to liue well. The other is, that (when the maner is sought howe to worship him rightly and well) he onely may haue authoritie ouer our soules, whom wee ought to obey, and vpon whose becke wee ought to hang. These two reasons being well marked, it shall be easie to iudge, what ordinances of mé are contrarie to the worde of God. Of that sort be al those which are fained to belong to the true worshipping of God, and to the obseruing whereof consciences are bounde, as though they were necessarie to be obserued. Let vs therefore remember that all lawes of men ought to bee weyed with this balance, if wee 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 burdens. The seconde reason he more vseth with the Galathians in the like case. This therefore he trauelleth to prooue in the Epistle to the Colossians, that the doctrin concerning the true worshipping of God is not to be sought at mens hands: because the Lord hath faithfully and fully instructed vs how hee ought to bee worshipped. To prooue the same in the first Chapter, hee saith that in the Gospell is contained all wisdome, whereby the man of God may be made perfect in Christ. In the beginning of the seconde chapter hee saith, that all y^e treasures of wisdom and vnderstanding are hidden in Christ. Therevpon he afterward concludeth, let the faithfull beware that they bee not by vaine Philosophie led from the flocke of Christe, according to the constitutions of men. But in the end of the chapter he doth yet with greater boldnes condemne all Etheothreskias, that is to say, al fained worshippings, which men deuise to themselues, or receiue of other, and whatsoeuer precepts they dare of themselues giue concerning the worshipping of God. We haue therefore, y^e all those ordinances are wicked, in obseruing whereof the worshipping of God is fained to be. As for y^e places in the Galathians wherw^h he earnestly affirmeth y^e 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 shal better be made open by examples, before that we go any further, it is good also to applie this doctrine to our own times. We say that the constitutions which they call Ecclesiasticall, wherewith the Pope and his doe 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 perraine 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 themselves clearly define, y^e the very worshipping of God is contained in thé? 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 ignoraunt multitude, but by their allowaunce that haue the place of teaching. I doe not touch the grosse abominations, wherewith they haue gone about to ouerthrowe all godlinesse. But it shoulde not be imagined among them to bee so hainous an offence, to haue sayled in any of the least traditi-

tradi-

Colof 2. 20.
Gal. 5. 1.

traditions, vnlesse they did make the worshipping of God subiect to their fained deuises. What doe wee then offende, if at this day wee cannot beare that, which Paul taught to be intollerable, that the lawful order of the worshipping of God shoulde be reduced to the will of men: specially when they commaund men to worship according to the elementes of this world, which Paul testifieth to be against Christ? Againe it is not vnknownen, with howe precise necessitie they binde consciences to keepe whatsoeuer they commaunde. Here when wee criue out to the contrarie, we haue al one cause with Paul, which in no wise suffereth faithfull consciences to be brought into bondage of men.

10 Moreouer this worst of all is added, that when religion hath once begun to be defined with such vaine inuentions, there euer followeth after that peruersnesse an other abominable frowardnesse, whereof Christ reproched the Pharisees that the commaundement of God is made voide for the traditions of men. I will not vse mine owne wordes in fighting againste our lawemakers at these dayes. Let them haue the victorie, if they can by any meane purge theselues from this accusation of Christ. But how shoulde they excuse them, when among them it is thought infinitely more haynous, to haue omitted auricular confession when the time of yeare commeth about, than to haue continued a most wicked life a whole yeare together? to haue infected their tongue with a little tasting of fleshe on a Friday, than to haue defiled their body with whoredome all the dayes of the weeke? to haue put their hand to an honest worke vpon a day consecrate to I wot not what petie Sainctes, than to haue continually exercised their members in moste wicked offences? for a Priest to be coupled with one lawfull marriage, than to be entangled with a thousande adulteries? not to haue performed a vowed pilgrimage, than to breake faith in all promises? not to haue wasted somewhat vpon monstuous and no lesse superfluous and vnprofitable excessive gorgiounesse of temples, than to haue failed to helpe the extreme necessities of the poore? to haue passed by an idol without honour, than to haue dispitefully intreated all kindes of men? not to haue mumbled vp at certaine houres a great number of words without vnderstanding, than neuer to haue conceiued a true prayer in their heart? What is to make voide 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 doe no lesse earnestly and busily exact the obeying of their own, than if they contayned in the whole pith of godlines? when reuenging the transgressing of Gods lawe, with light penalties of satisfactions, they punish the verie least offence of one of their owne decrees with no lesse paine than with prisonment, banishment, fire or sworde? Being not so sharpe and harde to intreate against the despisers of God, they persecute the despisers of themselues with vnappeaseable heated to the extremitie: and doe so instruct all those, whose simplicite they holde captiue, that they would with more contented mind see the whole lawe of God ouerthrowen, than one smal title (as they call it) in the commaundements of y church to be broken. First in this pointe is greuous offence committed, that for small matters, and such as (if it shoulde be tried by Gods iudgement) are

at libertie, one man despiseth, iudgeth and casteth away an other. But nowe as though that were not cuill enough, those trifling elements of the worlde (as Paul calleth them in his writing to the Galatians) are weyed of more value than the heavenly Oracles of God. And he that is in a maner acquitted in adulterie, is iudged in meate: hee that hath leaue to vse a harlot, is forbidden to haue a wife. This profite verily is gotten by that transgressing obedience, which is so much turned from God as it declineth to men.

11 There be also other two not slender faultes, 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 infinite multitude of them, & being rouled backe into a certain Iewishnes, they so cleaue to shadowes, y^e they cannot attain to Christ. Whereas I cal them fond and vnprofitable, I know that y^e wil not seeme credible to the wisdome of the flesh, which so well liketh them, that it thinketh y^e church to be vtterly deformed when they be taken away. But this is it y^e Paul writeth of, to haue a resemblance of wisdome in counterfaite worshipping, in humilitie, and in this that they thinke that with their sharpenesse they be able to tame their flesh. This is truely a most wholesome admonition, such as ought neuer to slip away from vs. Mens traditiōs (saith he) do deceiue vnder the shew of wisdome, whence haue they this colour? because they are fained of men, therefore the wit of man doth therein acknow his owne, and acknowing it doth more gladly embrace it, than any thing were it neuer so good, that lesse agreed with his vanitie. Againe, they haue hereby an other commendation, because they seeme to be fit introductions to humilitie, for that with their yoke they hold the minds of men pressed downe to y^e ground. Last of all, because they seeme to tend to this end to restrain the daintinesse of the flesh, and to subdue it wth rigor of abstinence, therefore they are thought to be wisely deuised. But what saith Paul to these things? doth hee not shake off those visors, least the simple should be deceiued with false pretense? Because he iudged this enough for confutation of them, that he had saide that they were the inventions of men, hee passeth ouer all these things without confutation, as though he esteemed them for nothing; Yea, because he knew that all fained worshippings in the Church were condemned, & are so much more suspicious to the faithfull as they more delight the wit of man: because he knew that that fained image of outwarde humilitie doeth so much differ from true humilitie, as it might easily be discerned: finally because he knew that that childish introduction was no more esteemed thā an exercise of the bodie: therefore hee willed that the very same things should be to the faithfull in steade of a confutation of mens traditions, by fauour of which they were commended among the ignorant.

12 So at this day not only the vnlearned common people, but euery mā as hee is most puffed vp with worldly wisdome, so is hee most maruelously delighted with beholding of Ceremonies. But hypocrites and foolish women thinke that there can be nothing deuised more glorious nor better. But they which doe more deeply searche, and more truely weie according to y^e rule of godlinesse, of what value so many and such Ceremonies are, do vnderstand first y^e they are trifles, because they haue no profit: thē, that they are deceits,

They will denie that good things are corrupted with such forein errors: forasmuch as in this behalfe a man may no lesse offend in the very works also commanded of God. But this hath more hainousnes, that so much honor is giuen to workes rashly fained by the will 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 receiue not their value of their own worthines, or of their owne deseruing, but because God so much esteemeth our obedience toward him. I speake here of y^e perfection of workes which is commanded of God, and is not performed of men. For therefore the very workes of the law which we do, haue no thanke but of the free goodnes of God, because in the our obedience is weake & lame. But because we do not here dispute, of what value workes are without Christ, therefore let vs passe ouer that question. I come backe againe to y^e which properly belongeth to this present argument, that whatsoeuer commendation workes haue in them, they haue it in respect of the obedience, which only the Lord doth look vpon, as he testifieth by the Prophet: I gaue not commandement of sacrifices and burnt offrings, but only that ye should with hearing, heare my voyce. But of fained workes he speaketh in an other 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 righteousnes wherby they may stand against God, & vphold themselves before the heauenly iudgement seat. Moreouer, is not this a fault worthy to be inueyed against, that they shewe forth Ceremonies not vnderstanded as it were a stage play, or a magicall enchantment? For it is certain that all ceremonies are corrupt & hurtful, vnles men be by the directed to Christ. But the Ceremonies y^e are vsed vnder the Papacy, are scuered from doctrine, that they may the more hold men in signes without all signification. Finally (such a cunning craftsman is the belly) it appeareth that many of them haue bin inuented by couetous sacrificing priests, to be snares to catch mony. But what beginning soeuer they haue, they are all so giuen forth in common for filthy gaine, that we must needs cutte off a great parte of them, if wee will bring to passe that there be not a prophane market, and full of sacrilege vsed in the Church.

16 Although I seem not to teach a continual doctrine concerning the ordinances of me, because this speaking is altogether applied to our own time: yet there is nothing spoken y^e 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 do by & by degenerate to those grosse abuses. For y^e Lord threatneth not this curse to one or two ages, but to all ages of the worlde, that hee wil strike them with blindnesse and amascd dulnesse that worshippe him with the doctrines of men. This blinding continually maketh that they flee from no kinde of absurdity, which despising so many warnings of God, do wilfully wrap themselves 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 mete to be reiected of the Church, and to be disallowed of all the godly, that same

shalbe

Hier. 7. 22.

Esa. 55. 2. &
29. 13.

Matt. 15. 9.

Esa. 29. 13.

shalbe a sure and plaine definition which we haue about set : that all lawes without the word of God are made by men to this end , either to prescribe a manner of worshipping God, or to binde consciences with religion, as though they gaue commaundement of things necessary to saluation. If to the one or both of these there be adioyned other faults: as, that with their multitude they darken the brightnesse of the Gospell: that they nothing edifie, but be rather vnprofitable and trifling occupations than true exercises of godlines: that they be laide abroade to filthinesse and yn honest gaine: that they be too hard to be kept: that they be defiled with euill superstitions : these shall bee helps that we may the more easily finde how much euill is in them.

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 foloweth, that their traditions are the reuelations of the holy Ghost, which cannot bee despised but wickedly & with the contempt of God. And that they should not seeme to haue attempted any thing without great authoritie, they will haue it beleeued that a great part 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 commande the Gentiles to absteyne from things offered to idols, from bloud and strangled. Wee haue already in an other place declared, howe falsely for boasting of them selues 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 manner of Church Christ wil haue, that we may fashion and frame our selues to the rule thereof: it shall easily be euident vnto vs, that it is not the Church, which passing the boundes of the worde of God, doth outrage and runne at riot in making of newe lawes. For doeth not that lawe which was once prescribed to the Church, remaine eternall? What I commande thee, that thou shalt keepe that thou maist doe it. Thou shalt not adde any thing nor take any thing from it. And in an other place: Adde not to the worde of the Lord, nor minish any thing: least he peraduenture reprove thee, & thou be found a lyer. Sith they can not denie that this was spoken to the Church, what do they else but report the stubbornnes of that Church, which they boast to haue bin so bold as after such prohibitions neuerthelessse to adde & 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 sleaunders: but let vs vnderstande, that the name of the Church is falsly pretended, so oft as this lust of mens rashnesse is spoken of, which can not hold it selfe within the prescribed bounds of God, but y^e it wildly rangeth and runneth out into her own inuentions? There is nothing entangled, nothing darke, nothing doutfull in these wordes, 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 preceptes concerning saluation, are entreated of. But this (say they) was spoken of the lawe onely, after which followed the prophecies and the

A& 15. 10.
and 29.

Deut. 12. 32.
Pro. 30. 6.

whole ministracion of the Gospel. I graunt in deede; and I adde also, which are rather fulfillings of the law, than additions or diminishings. But if y^e 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 doutfull enwrappings, til by his seruants the Prophets, and at length by his beloued Sonne, he ministred a clearer doctrine: why should we not thinke it much more seuerely forbidden vs, that we shoulde adde nothing to the lawe, the Prophetes, the Psalmes, and the Gospell? The Lorde is not gone out of kinde from himself, which hath long ago declared, that he is with nothing so hiely offended, as when he is worshipped with the inuentions of men. Whereof came those notable sayings in the Prophets, which ought to haue continually sounded in our eares: I spake no wordes to your fathers, in the day that I brought them out of Aegypt, concerning sacrifice and burnt offering. But this worde I commaunded them, saying: With hearing heare my voice: and I will be your God, and you shalbe my people, and you shal walke in all the way that I shall commaund you. Againe, I haue with protesting protested vnto your fathers, Heare my voyce. And other like sayings: but this is notable aboue the rest. Will God haue burnt offerings & sacrifices, and not rather that his voice be obeyed? For obedience is better than sacrifice, and to harken is better than to offer the fat of rammes. For, to resist is as the sinne of soothsaying: and not to obey is as the wickednesse of idolatrie. Therefore whatsoeuer inuentions 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 proue that it is falsly imputed to the Church.

18 After this sort wee freely inueye against this tyranny 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 hatred, do vniustly ly vpon vs) but we giue vnto her the praise of obedience, than which she knoweth no greater praise. They rather are very sore wrong doers to the Church, which make her obstinate against her Lorde, while they saine that she hath proceeded further than she lawfully might do by y^e word of God: though I speake nothing howe it is a notable shamelesnesse ioyned with as great malice, continually to crie out of the authoritie of the Church, & in the meane time dissemblingly to hide both what is commaunded her by the Lord, & what obedience shee oweth to the commaundement of the Lord. 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 eye vnto & remember what is commaunded by the Lord both to vs and the Church, that wee should with one agreement obey him. For there is no dout but we shal very well agree with the Church, if wee do in all things shewe our selues obedient to the Lorde. But now to father vpon the Apostles, the originall of the traditions wherewith the Church hath bene hitherto oppressed, was a point of mere deceit: forasmuch as the doctrine of the Apostles trauaileth wholly to this end, that consciences should not be burdened with new obseruatiōs, nor the worshipping of God be defiled wth our inuentions. Moreouer if there be any faithfulness in histories and ancient monumēt, the Apostles not onely neuer knewe, but also neuer heard of this that they attribute vnto them.

Neither

Jer. 7. 22.

Jer. 17.
1, Sam. 15. 22

Neither let them prate, that the most part of their decrees were receiued in vse & in mens behaiours, which neuer were put in writing: euen those things forsooth, which, while Christ was yet liuing, they could not vnderstande, after his ascending they learned by the reuelatiō of the holy Ghost. Of the exposition of that place we haue else where already scene. So much as is sufficient for this present cause: truly they make theselues worthy to be laughed at, while they saine ȳ those great misteries, which so long time were vnknown to the Apostles, were partly obseruatiōs either Iewish or Gentle (of which all the one sort had bin long before published among the Iewes, & 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 & fooles doe so aptly counterfaite that it may seeme ȳ there be no fitter ministers of such holy mysteries. If there were no histories at all: yet men that haue their souē wit might consider by the thing it selfe, that so great a heape of Ceremonies and obseruatiōs did not suddēly burst into the Church, but by litle & litle crept in. For when those holier Bishops, which were next in time to the Apostles, had ordained some things that belonged to order & discipline, afterwarde there followed men, some after other, not discreet enough, and too curious and greedy: of which the later that euery one was, so he more strived with his predecessors in foolish enuious counterfaiing, not to giue place in inuenting of new things. And because there was peril least their deuises would shortly grow out of vse, by which they coueted to gette praise among their posterity, they were much more rigorous in exact calling vpon the keeping of them. This wrongful zeale hath bredde vs a great part of these Ceremonies which they set out vnto vs for Apostolike. And this also the histories doe testifie.

19 Least in making a register of them we should be too tedious, we will be content with one example. In the ministring of the Lords supper, there was in the Apostles time great simplicity. The next successors, to garnish the dignity of the mysterie, added somewhat that was not to be disallowed. But afterward there came those foolish counterfaiers, which with now and then patching of peeces together, haue made vs this apparell of the priest which we see in the Masse, those ornamentes of the altar, those gesturings, and the whole furniture of vnprofitable things. But they obiect, 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 themselues, whereof they cite Augustine for witnesse. But I will bring a solution from no other where than out of the wordes of Augustine himselfe. Those things (sayth hee) that are kept in the whole worlde, we may vnderstande to haue bene ordained either of the Apostles themselues, or of the generall Councelles, whose authoritie is most healthfull in the Church: as, that the Lordes passion, and resurrection, and his ascending into heauen, and the comming of the holy Ghost, are celebrate with yearely solemnitie: and whatsoeuer like thing be founde, that is kept of the whole Church, which way soeuer it be spreade abroad. When hee reckoneth vppē so fewe examples, who doeth not see that he meant to impute to authours worthy of credit and reuerence, the

Episto. 118.

obseruations that then were vsed, euen none but those simple, rare, and sober ones, with which it was profitable that y^e order of the Church should be kept together? But how far doth this differ from that which the Romish maisters would enforce men to graunt, that there is no petie Ceremony among them that ought not to be iudged Apostolike.

20 That I be not too long, I wil 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 uo not what Bishop of Rome, which truly, if he had called the Apostles to counsell, would neuer haue defiled Baptisme with a strange and vnfitte signe. Albeit I doe not thinke it like to be true, that the beginning of that halowing is so olde as it is there written. For, that which Augustine sayth, that certaine Churches in his time did shun that solemne following of Christs example in washing of secte, least that vsage shoulde seeme to pertaine to Baptisme, secretly sheweth that there was then no kinde of washing that had any likenes with Baptisme. Whatsoeuer it be, I wil not graunt that this proceeded from an Apostolike Spirite, that Baptisme, when it is with a daily signe brought into remembrance, should after a certaine maner be repeated. And I passe not vpon this, y^e selfe same Augustine in an other place ascribeth other things also to the Apostles. For sith he hath nothing but coniectures, iudgement ought not vpon them to be giuen of so great a matter. Finally, admit that we grant them also, that those thinges which he rehearseth came from the time of the Apostles: Yet there is greate difference betweene instituting some exercise of Godlinesse, 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: & 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 immoueable.

21 Neither doth it much helpe 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 cōmandement of Christ, wherein they commanded all the Gentiles to abstaine from things offred to idols, from strangled, and from bloud. If that was lawfull for them, why is it not also lawfull for their successors, to follow y^e same so oft as occasion so requireth? I would to God, they did both in all other things and in this thing follow the. For I denie that the Apostles did there institute or decree any newe thing, which is easie to be proued by a strong reason. For whereas Peter in that counsell pronounceth, that God is tempted, if a yoke be layde vpon the neckes of the disciples: hee doth himselfe ouerthrowe his owne sentence, if he afterward consent to haue any yoke layd vpon them. But there is a yoke layde, if the Apostles do decree of their owne authoritie that the Gentiles shoulde be forbidden, that they shold not touch things offred to idols, bloud, & strangled. In deede there yet remaineth a dout, for that they doe neuer thelesse seeme to forbid. But this dout shal easily be dissolued, if a man do more neerely consider the meaning of the decree it selfe: in the order and effect whereof the

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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 foloweth, neither is any new law made by the Apostles, but the diuine and eternall comādement of God, that charitie ought not to be broken, nor doth diminish one title of that libertie: but onely admonisheth the Gentiles, how they should temper themselues to their brethren, that they abuse not their liberty to the offence of them. Let this therefore be the second point, that the Gentils should vse a harmlesse liberty, and wout offence of their brethré. 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 offēce of their brethren, that they might beware of those thinges: 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 commande al their people, y^{till} the weake with whom they liue do growe stronger, they should not openly eate flesh on Friday, or openly labour vpon holy dayes, or any such thing. For although these things setting superstitiō aside, are by themselues indifferent: yet when there is added offence of brethren, they can not be done without a fault. But the times are such, that the faithfull can not shewe such a sight to the weake brethren, but that they shall fore wound their consciences. Who, but a cauiller, wil say that so they make a newe lawe, whereas, it is certaine that they doe onely preuent offences, which are expressly enough forbidden of the Lorde? And no more can it be sayd of the Apostles, whose purpose was nothing els, but in taking away the matter of offences, to call vpon the lawe of God concerning the auoyding of offence: as if they had sayde: It is the Lordes commandement that ye offende not a weake brother. Yee can not eate thinges offred to images, strangled and bloud, but that the weake brethren shalbe offended. Therefore we commande 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 witnesse, which writeth thus, verily none otherwise than according to the meaning of the Councell: Concerning meates that are offered to Idols, we knowe that the Idole is nothing. But some with conscience of the Idole, do eate it as offred to Idols, and their conscience, forasmuch as it is weake, is defiled. See that your libertie bee not made an offence to the weake. He that shal haue wel weyed these things, shal not afterward be deceiued with such a false colour as they make, that pretende the Apostles for defence of their tyranny, as though the Apostles had begunne w^{ith} 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 allowe this solution, lette them aunswere mee, by what right they were so bolde to abrogate the same decree. Because there was no more perill of those offences and dissensions, which the Apostles meant to prouide for, and they know that the lawe was to be weyed by the ende thereof. Forasmuch as therefore this lawe was made in respect of charitie, there is nothing prescribed in it, but so much as ascertaineth to charity. When they confesse y^e the transgressing of this lawe is

1. Cor. 8. r.

nothing but a breaking of charity, do they not therewithal acknowledge, that it is not a forged addition to the law of God, but a naturall and simple appli-
ance to the times and maners whereunto it was directed?

23 But although such lawes be a hundred times vniust and 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 only that being subiectes we should beare the hard commaundementes of our gouernours, which it is not our partes to refuse. But here also the Lorde very well resisteth them with the truth of his word, and deliuereth vs out of such bondage into the liberty, which he hath purchased for vs with his holy bloude, the benefit whercof he hath more than once confirmed with his worde. For that is not here onely intended (as they maliciously faine) y^e we should suffer some greiuous oppression in our body, but that our consciences being spoiled of their liberty that is of the benefit of the bloud of Christ, should bee seruilely tormented. Howbeit let vs passe ouer this also, as though it made litle to the matter. But of how great inportance do we thinke it is, that the Lords kingdom is taken away from him, which he claimeth to himself with so great feuerity? But it is taken away so oft as hee is worshipped with the lawes of mens inuentions, whereas he will be holden for the onely lawemaker of his owne worship. And least any man should thinke it to be a matter of nothing, let vs heare how much the Lord esteemeth it. Because (sayth he) this people hath feared me with the commandement and doctrine of men: behold I will astonish them with a great and wonderous miracle. For wisdom shal perish from the wisemen therof, & vnderstanding shal depart from the elders. In an other place, They worship me in vaine, teaching doctrines, the commaundements of men. And truly whereas the children of Israell defiled themselues with many idolatries, y^e cause of all that euil is ascribed to this vnclane mixture, y^e transgressing the commaundementes of God, they haue forged newe worshippings. And therefore the holy hystorie reherseth y^e the new strangers y^e had bin transplanted by the king of Babilon to inhabite Samaria, were torn in peeces & consumed of wilde beastes, because they knew not y^e 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 sayd, that they being made afraide with that punishment, receiued the Ceremonies prescribed in the lawe: but because they did not yet purely worship the true God, it is twise repeated that they did feare him & did not feare him. Whereupon we gather, y^e the part of reuerence which is giuen to him, consisteth in this, while in worshipping him wee simply followe what he commaundeth with mingling none of our inuentions. And therefore the godly kings are oftentimes prayesd, because they did according to al the commaundementes, and declined not to the right hande nor to the left. I go yet further: although in some fained worshipping there do not openly appeare vngodlines, yet it is seuerely condemned of the holy Ghost, so soone as men depart from the comaⁿdement of God. The Altar of Achaz, the pattern whercof was brought out of Samaria, might haue seemed to encrease y^e

Esa. 29 13.

Matt. 15. 9.

reuerence
with outward ceremonies
is so feare and
not to feare
him

2. King 23.

2. Kin. 16. 10

garnishment of the temple, whereas his deuiſe was to offer Sacrifices there-
vpon to God onely, which hee ſhoulde doe more honourable than vpon the
firſt and olde Altar: yet wee ſee howe the Spirite deteſteth that boldenes, for
none other cauſe but for that the inuentions of men in the worſhipping of
God are vnclene corruptions. And howe much more clearly the will of
God is opened vnto vs, ſo much the leſſe excuſable is our frowardneſſe to
attempt any thing. And therefore worthily with this circumſtance the crime
of Manaſſes is inforced, for that hee builded a newe altar in Ieruſalem, of
which God had pronounced I wil there ſet my name, becauſe the authoritie
of God is nowe as it were of ſet purpoſe reſuſed.

3. Kin. 21. 3.

24 Many doe maruell why God ſo ſharpely threat eneth that he wil do
things to be wondred at to the people of whome he was worſhipped with
comunaundements of men, and pronounceth that he is worſhipped in vaine
with the precepts of men. But if they conſidered, what it is in the cauſe of re-
ligion, that is to ſay of heavenly wiſedome, to hange vpon the onely mouth
of God, they woulde therewithall ſee, that it is no ſclender 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 certaine ſhewe of humilitie in this their obedience, yet they
are not humble before God, to whō they preſcribe the ſame lawes which they
themſelues doe keepe. This is the reaſon why Paul willeth vs ſo diligently to
beware, that we be not deceiued by the traditions of men, and that which he
calleth ethelothreſkian, that is, Wilworſhip inuented of men beſide the do-
ctrine of God. This is verily true, both our owne wiſedome, & all mens wiſe-
dome muſt be fooliſh vnto vs, that we may ſuffer him alone to be wiſe. Which
way they keepe not which do ſtudy with perie obſeruations fained by the wil
of men to commend themſelues vnto him, and do thruſt vnto him as it were
againſt his will a tranſgreſſing obedience towarde him, which is indeede gi-
uen to men. As it hath ben done both in many ages heretofore, and in y^e time
within our own remēbrance, & is alſo at this day done in thoſe places where
the authorite of the creature is more eſteemed than of the creator: where
religion (if yet the ſame be worthy to be called religion) is defiled with more
& more vnſauorie ſuperſtitious, than euer was any Paynime wicke dnes. For
what could the wit of men breed but al things carnll and fooliſh and ſuch as
truely reſemble their authors?

Col. 2. 9. 24.

25 Whereas alſo the Patrons of ſuperſtitious alleadge, that Samuel ſa-
crificed in Ramatha, and although the ſame was done beſide the law, yet it
pleaſed God: the ſolution is eaſie, that it was not a certaine ſeconde altar to
ſet againſt the one onely altar: but becauſe the place was not yet appointed
for the arke of couenant, he appointed the towne where he dwelled for ſa-
crifices, as the moſt conuenient place. Truly the minde of the holy prophet
was not to make any inuocation in holy thinges, whereas God had ſo ſtrait-
ly forbidden any thing to be added or miniſhed. As for y^e exāple of Menoha,
I ſay y^e it was an extraordinary and ſingular caſe. He being a priuate man of-
fered ſacrifice to God & not without the allowance of God: verily becauſe he
interpriſed it not of a raſh motion of his own mind, but by a heauely inſtin-
ctiō. But how much y^e lord abhorreth thoſe things y^e men deuiſe of theſelues

1. Sam. 7. 17.

innovation
Iud. 13. 19.

Iud. 8. 27.

to worship him withall, an other not inferior to Gedeon is a notable example, whose Ephod turned to destruction not only to him and his family, but to the whole people. Finally ebery newe founde inuention, wherewith men coeuct to worship God, is nothing else but a defiling of true holines.

Mart. 23. 3.
and 16. 6.

26 Why then (say they) did Christ will that those intollerable burdens shoulde be borne, which the Scribes and Pharisees bounde vppon men? But why in an other place did the same Christ will that men shoulde beware of the leauen of the Pharisees: calling leauen (as Mattheue the Euangelist expouideth it) all their owne doctrine that they mingled with the purenes of the worde of God? What woulde wee haue more plaine, than that we be commaunded to flee and beware of al their doctrine? Whereby it is made most certain vnto vs, that in y other place also the Lord willed not, that the consciences of his shoulde be vexed with the Pharisees owne traditions. And the very wordes, if they be not wrested, sounde of no such thing. For the Lorde purposing there to enuie sharpely against y manners of the Pharisees, did first simplic instruct them that hearde him, that although they saw nothing in their life meet for the to folow, yet they should not cease to doe those thinges which they taught in wordes, whyle they sat in the chaire of Moses, that is, to declare the lawe. Therefore hee meante nothing else but to prouide that the common people shoulde not with the euill examples of the teachers bee brought to despise the doctrine. But forasmuch as many are nothing at all mooued with reasons, but alway require authoritie, I will alleadge Augustines wordes, in which the verie same thing is spoken. The Lordes sheepefolde hath gouernours, some faithfull, and some hirelings. The gouernours that are faithful, are true Pastors: but heare ye, y the hirelings also are necessarie: for many in the Church folowing earthly profits, do preach Christ, and by them the voice of Christ is hearde: and the sheepe doe followe, not a hireling, but the Pastor by the meanes of a hireling. Heare ye that hirelings are shewed by the Lorde himselfe. The Scribes (sayth hee) and the Pharisees sit in the chaire of Moses. Doe yee those thinges that they say, but doe not those thinges that they doe. What other thing saide hee, 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 Ioh.
Tra. 46.

27 But whereas many vnskilfull 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 errour: Verily in this point it is easie to bee deceyued, because at the first sight it doeth not by and by appaere what difference is betweene the one sorte 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 holde this, that if wee see in euery fellowshippe of men some policie to bee necessary, that may serue to nourishe the common peace and to retayne concord: if wee see that in the doing of thinges there is alway some orderly forme, which is behoouefull for publike honestie and for verie humanitie not to bee refused: the

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 wee will haue the safetic of the Church well prouided for, we must altogether diligently procure that which Paul commaundeth, that all things be done comely and according to order. But forasmuch as there is so great diuersitie in the manners of men, so great varietie in mindes, so great disagreement in iudgements and wits: neither is there any policie stedfast enough, vnlesse it bee stablised by certaine lawes, nor any orderly vsage can be obserued without a certaine appointed forme: Therefore wee are so farre off from condemning the lawes that are profitable to this purpose, that we affirme that when those bee taken away, Churches are dissolued from their sinewes, and vtterly deformed and scattered abroad. For this which Paul requireth, that all things be done decently and in order, cannot bee had, vnlesse the order it selfe and comelinesse bee established, with obseruations adioyned as with certaine bondes. But this onely thing is alway to bee excepted in those obseruations, that they bee not either beleued to be necessarie to saluation, and so bind consciences with religion, or, be applied to the worshipping of God, and so godlines be reposed in them.

1. Cor. 14-49

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28 We haue therefore a very good and most faithfull marke, which putteth difference betweene those wicked ordinaunces, by which we haue saide that true religion is darkened and consciences subuerted, and the lawfull obseruations of the Church: if wee remember that the lawfull obseruations tende alway to one of these two things or to both together, that in the holy assemblie of the faithfull all things bee done comely and with such dignitie as becometh: and that the verie common fellowship of men should bee kept in order as it were by certaine bondes of humanitie and moderation. For when it is once vnderstoode that the lawe is made for publike honesties sake, the superstition is nowe taken away, into which they fall that measure the worshipping of God by the inuentions of men. Agayne when it is knowen that it perteyneth to common vse, then that false opinion of bonde and necessitie is ouerthrowen, which did strike a great terror into consciences, when traditions were thought necessarie to saluation. For herein is nothing required but that charitie shoulde with common duetifull doing be nourished among vs. But it is good yet to define more plainely, 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, wee 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 appeare. 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.

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29 Therefore wee shall not say that comelinesse is, wherein shall bee nothing but vaine delectation: such as we see in that playerlike apparel, which

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the Papistes vse in their ceremonies, where appeareth nothing else but an vnprofitable visor of gainesse, and excesse without fruite. But wee shal account that to be comelinesse which shall so bee meete for the reuerence of holy mysteries, that it be a fit exercise to godlinesse, or at least such as shall serue to conuenient garnishing for the celebrating thereof: and the same not without fruite, but that it may put the faithfull in minde with howe great modestie, religiousnesse and reuerence, they ought to handle holy things. Nowe, that ceremonies may be exercises of godlinesse, it is necessarie that they leade vs the streight way to Christ. Likewise wee may not say that order consisteth in those trifling pomps that haue nothing else than a vanishing gaynes: but that it standeth in such an orderly framing as may take away all confusion, barbarousnesse, obstinacie, and all strives and dissentions.

1. Cor. 11. 21
and 5.

Of the first sort are these examples in Paul: y^e prophane bankettings shoulde not bee mingled with the holy Supper of the Lorde: that women shoulde not come abroade, but couered: and many other which wee haue in common vse: as this, that wee pray kneeling and bare headed: that we minister the Lordes Sacramentes not vncleanely, but with some dignitie: that in the burying of the deade we vse some honest shewe: and other things that are of the same sorte.

1. Co. 14. 34

Of the other kinde are the houres appointed for publike prayers, Sermons, and celebrations of mysteries: at Sermons, quietnesse and silence, places appoynted, singing together of Hymnes, dayes prefixed for celebrating of the Lorde Supper, that Paul forbiddeth that women should reach 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, fastinges, and such as may be reckened in the same number. So all the constitutions of the Church, which wee receiue for holy & wholesome, wee may referre to two cheefe titles: for some pertaine to rites, and ceremonies, and the other to discipline and peace.

30 But because here is peril, 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 bee some men too feareful, which admonished with the aforesaide euils doe leaue no place to lawes bee they neuer so holy: here it is good to protest, that I allow only those ordinances of men which be both grounded vpon the authoritie of God, & 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 prayer. It is demanded, whether it bee 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 generaltie rather bene pointed to, than declared. By this one example wee may iudge, what is to bee thought of that whole kinde: verily because the Lorde hath in his holy Oracles both faithfully contained and clearly set forth both the whole summe of true righteousnesse, and all the partes of the worshipping of his diuine Maiestie, and whatsoeuer was necessarie to saluation: therefore in these things hee is onely to bee hearde as our Schoolemaster.

1. Co. 14. 40.

But because in outward discipline and Ceremonies his will

will was not to prescribe each thing particularly what wee ought to followe (because hee foresawe this to hang vpon the state of times, and did not thinke one forme to bee fitte for all ages) herein wee must flee to those generall rules which hee hath giuen, that thereby all those things shoulde be tried which the necessitie of the Church shall require to bee commaunded for order and comelinesse. Finally, Forasmuch as hee hath therefore taught nothing expressely, because these things both are not necessarie to saluation, and according to the manners of euery nation and age ought diuersely to be applied to the edifying of the Church: therefore as the profite of the church shall require, it shall bee conuenient as well to change and abrogate those that be vsed, as to institute newe. I graunt indeede, that we ought not rashly, nor oft, nor for light causes to runne to innouation. But what may hurt or edifie, charitie shal best iudge: which if we wil suffer to be the gouernesse, all shall be safe.

31 Nowe it is the dutie of Christian people, to keepe such things as haue bene ordeyned according to this rule, with a free conscience & without any superstition, but yet with a godly and easie redinesse to obcy, not to despise them, not to passe them ouer with carelesse negligence: so farre is it of, that they ought by pride and obstinacie openly to breake them. What manner of libertie of conscience (wilt thou say) may there bee in so great obseruation and warenesse? Yea, it shall stande excellently well when wee shall consider, that they are not stedfast and perpetuall stayed lawes, wherunto wee be bounde, but outwarde rudimentes for the weakenesse of men: which although wee doe not all neede, yet wee doe all vse them, because we are mutually one bound to an other, to nourish charitie among vs. This we may reknowledge in the examples aboue rehearsed. What? Doeth religion stande in a womans veile, that it is not lawfull to goe out of doers with her heade vncouered? Is that holy decree of his concerning silence, such as can not be broken without most hainous offence? Is there any mysterie in kneeling, or in burying of a deade carcase, that may not be omitted without sinne? No, For if a woman need, for the helping of her neighbor, to make such hast as may not suffer her to couer her head, she offendeth not if shee runne thither with her heade vncouered. And it may sometime befall that it may be no lesse conuenient for her to speake, than at an other 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 deade mā speedely in time, than when they lack a winding sheet, or when there be not men present to comey him, to tarrie till he rot vnburied. But neuerthelesse in these things there is somewhat which the maner and ordinances of the countrie, and finally very naturall honestie and the rule of modestie appointeth to be done or auoided: wherin if a mā swarue any thing from them, by vnwarenesse, or forgetfulnessse, there is no crime committed: but if vpon contempt, such stubborneesse is to bee disallowed. Likewise the dayes themselues, which they bee, and the houres, and howe the places be builded, and what Psalmes be song vpon which day, it maketh no matter. But it is meete that there bee both certaine daies, and appointed houres, and a place fit to receiue all, if there bee regarde had of the preser-
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uation of peace. For howe great an occasion of brawlinges shoulde the confusion of these things be, if it were lawfull for euerie man as he 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 lefte as it were in the middest to the choice of euerie man? If anie man doe carpe against vs, and will herein bee more wise than hee ought, let him see himselfe by
 1. Cor. 11. 16 what reason hee can defende his owne precisenesse to the Lorde. As for vs, this saying of Paul ought to satisfie vs, that we haue not an vse to contend, nor the Churches of God.

32 Moreouer it is with great diligence to bee induored, that no error creepe in, that may corrupt or obscure this pure vse. Which shall bee obtained, if all obseruations, whatsoeuer they shall bee, shall haue a shewe of manifest profite, and if verie fewe bee receiued: but principally if there bee adioyned a faithfull doctrine of the Pastor, that may stoppe vp the way to peruerse opinions. This knowledge maketh that in all these things euerie man may haue his owne libertie preferred, and neuertheless shall willingly charge his owne libertie with a certaine necessitie, so farre as either this comelineffe that wee haue spoken off, or the order of Charitie shal require. Secondly, y^e 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 shoulde thinke the worshipping of God to be the better for the multitude of Ceremonies: that one Church shoulde not despise an other for the diuersitie of discipline: last of all that setting herein no perpetuall lawe to our selues, wee shoulde refer the whole vse and ende 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 bee 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 beene the blindness and ignorance of the former times) Churches haue heretofore, with so corrupt opinion and with so stiffe affection, sticked in Ceremonies, that they can scarcely be sufficiently purged from monstrous superstitions, but that manie Ceremonies must be taken away, which in olde time were peradventure ordeined not without cause, and of themselues haue no notable vngodlines in them.

The xj. Chapter.

Of the iurisdiction of the Church, and the abuse thereof, such as is seene in the Papacie.

NOwe remaineth the thirde part of the power of the Church, yea & the cheefe 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 maners, of which we shal intreate by & by. For as much as no citie or no town can stand wout Magistrate & policie: so the Church of God (as I haue

I haue already taught, but now I am compelled to repeat it againe) needeth her certaine spirituall policie: but such as is utterly seuered from the ciuile policie, and doth so nothing hinder or minish it, that it rather doeth much helpe and further it. Therefore this power of iurisdiction shall in a summe be nothing else but an order framed for the preservation of spirituall policie. To this ende from the beginning were ordeined iudiciall orders in Churches, which might vse examination of maners, correct vices, & exercise the office of the keyes. This order Paul speaketh of in the Epistle to the Corinthians, when he nameth gouernements. Againe, to the Romanes, when hee saith: let him that ruleth, rule in carefulnes. For he speaketh not to the magistrates, (for at that time there were no Christian magistrates) but to them that were ioyned with the Pastors for the spiritual gouernment of y^e church. Also in the Epistle to Timothee, he maketh two sorts of Elders: some, that labor in the word: other some, that do not vse the preaching of the word, and yet do rule well. By this later sort it is no dout that he meaneth them y^e were appointed to loke vnto maners, 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. Chap. of Mattheue: (where he commaunders, that they should be sharply admonished in the name of y^e 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 faithful. But these monitions and corrections cannot be without knowledge of the cause: therefore there needeth both some iudgement and order. Wherefore vnlesse we wil make void the promise of the keyes, & take utterly away excommunication, solemne monitions, & all such things whatsoever they be: we must needs giue to the Church some iurisdiction. Let the readers marke that that place entreateth not of the generall authoritie of doctrine, as in the xvj. Chapter of Mattheue, and the xxj. of Iohn: but that the power of the Synagoge 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 behoued, forasmuch as otherwise the iudgement of an vnnoble and vnregarded congregation might be despised of rash and proude men. And that it should not encomber the readers, that Christ doeth in the same wordes expresse things somewhat differing one from the other, it shalbe profitable to dissolue this dout. There be therefore two places, that speake of binding and loosing. The one is in the xvi. Chapter of Mattheue, where Christ, after that he had promised that he woulde giue to Peter the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, immediatly adde, that whatsoever he shall binde or loose in earth, shalbe confirmed in heauen. In which wordes he meaneth none other thing, than hee doeth by other wordes in Iohn, when sending his disciples to preache, after that hee had breathed vpon them hee said: whose sinnes ye forgiue, they shalbe forgiven: and whose ye retaine, they shalbe retained in heauen. I will bring an exposition not subtle, nor enforced, nor wrested: but naturall, flowing, and offering it selfe. This commaundement of forgiuing and reteining sinnes, & that promise of binding and loosing made to Peter, ought to be referred to

1. Cor. 12. 21.
Rom. 12. 8.

1. Tim. 5. 17.

Ioh. 20. 23.

Matt. 16. 19.

no other thing but to the ministerie of the worde: which when the Lorde committed to the Apostles, he did therewith also arme them with this office of binding and loosing. For what is the summe of the Gospel, but that we all being the 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 adiudged to euerlasting bondes; When the Lord deliuered this message to his Apostles, to be carried into all nations: to approue that it was his owne & proceeding from himself, he honored it with this noble testimonie: and that to the singular strengthening both of the Apostles themselues, and of all those to whome it should come. It behoued that the Apostles should haue a stedfast and sounde certaintie of their preaching, which they should not onely execute with infinite labours, cares, troubles and daungers, but also at the last seale it with their blood. That they might (I say) knowe the same to bee not vaine nor voide, but full of power and force: it behoued that in so great carefulnesse, in so great hardnesse of things, and in so great daungers, they should be perswaded that they did the businesse of God: that when all the worlde withstoode them and fought against them, they should knowe that God stood on their side: that hauing not Christ the auctour of their doctrine present by sight in earth, they shoulde vnderstande him to be in heauen, to confirme the trueth of the doctrine which he had deliuered them. It behoued againe that it should also be most certainly prooued by testimonie to the hearers, that that doctrine of the Gospel was not the worde of the Apostles, but of God himselfe: not a voice bred in earth, but come downe from heauen. For these thinges, the 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 thinges 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 al ages, and remaineth in force, to certifie and assure all men, that the worde of the Gospel, by what man soeuer it be preached, is the verie sentence of God, published at the soueraigne iudgement seate, written in the booke of life, ratified, firme and fixed in heauen. Thus wee see that in those places the power of the keies is nothing but the preaching of the Gospel: 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 we haue said to bee, concerning the power of binding and loosing, is in the xvij. Chapter of Matthewe, where Christ saith: *Mat. 18, 17.* If any brother heare not the Church, let him be to thee as a heathen man or a publicane. Verily I say vnto you: whatsoeuer ye bind vpon earth, shalbe bounde also in heauen: whatsoeuer ye loose shalbe loosed. This place is not altogether like the first, but is a litle otherwise to be vnderstanded. But I do not so make them diuerse, that they haue not great affinitie together.

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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 and loosing, namely by the word of God, all one commaundement, all one promise. But herein they differ, that the first place peculiarly belongeth to preaching, which the ministers of the worde doe execute: this later place to the discipline of Excommunication, which is committed to the Church. The Church bindeth, whom she excommunicatech: not that she throweth him into perpetuall iuine and desperation, but because she condemneth his life and manners, and vnlesse he repent, doth already warne him of his damnation. She loseth whom she receiuech into communion: because she doth make him as it were partaker of the vnicie which shee hath in Christe Iesus. Therefore that no man should obstinately despise the iudgement of the Church, or litle 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 own sentence: and that whatsoeuer they do in earth, is confirmed in heauen. For they haue the worde of GOD, whereby they may condemne the peruerse: 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 vncertaine or earthly opinion, but the holy wil of God, & a heauenly Oracle. Out of these two places, which I thinke I haue both briefly & familiarly and truly expounded, those furious men without difference as they be caried with their owne giddinesse, go about to stablish sometime confession, sometime excommunication, sometime iurisdiction, sometime the power to make lawes, sometime pardons. But the first place they alledge to stablish the supremacy of the Sea of Romie: 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 Magistrats were yet strangers from the profession of our religion: they are deceiued in this, y they consider not, howe greate difference and what maner of vnlikenesse there is of the Ecclesiasticall & ciuill power. For the Church hath not the power of the sworde to punish or restraime, no empire to commande, no prison, no other paines which the Magistrate is wont to lay vpon men. Againe, it tendeth not to this ende, that he that hath sinned should be punished against his will, but should with willing chastisement professe his repentance. Therefore there is a farre diuers order: because neither doth the Church take to it selfe any thing which properly belongeth to the Magistrate, nor the magistrat can execute that which the Church doth. This shalbe made plainer by an example. Is any man dronke? In a wel ordered citie prison shalbe his punishment. Hath he committed fornication? He shall haue like, or rather greater punishment. So shall both the lawes, & the magistrat, & outward iudgement be satisfied: But it may be that he shal giue no signification of repentance, but rather murmure & grudge against it. Shal the Church in this case doe nothing? But such can not bee receiued to the Supper, without doing wrong both to Christ and his holy institution. And reason requireth this, that hee which offendeth the Church with an euil

example, should with solempne declaration of repentance take away the offence which he hath raised. The reason which they bring that are of contrary 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 peradventure that himselfe is to be chastised, which happened to the Emperor Theodosius. There may beside this as much be said of the ministerie of the word. Now therefore after their sentence, let Pastors cesse to blame manifest wicked doinges, let them cesse to chide, to reprove, to rebuke: for there be Christian magistrates, which ought to correct these things with the lawe & with the sword. But as the Magistrate ought by punishing, & by restraining with force, to purge the Church of offences: so likewise the minister of the worde 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 help, not a hinderance to the other.

4 And truly if a man more nereley wey the words of Christ, he shal 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 wil not obey our monitions: which yet should be necessarie if the magistrate succeeded into the office of the Church. What is this promise? Shal wee say that it is a promise of one or a fewe yeres? Verily verily I say vnto you, whatsoeuer yee bind in earth. Moreouer Christ did here institute no newe thing, but followed the custome alway obserued in the auncient Church of his owne nation: whereby he signified that the Church cannot want the spirituall iurisdiction, which had beene from the beginning. And this hath beene confirmed by the consent of all times. For when Emperors and magistrates began to professe Christ, the spirituall iurisdiction was not by and by abolished: but only so ordred, that it should diminish nothing of the ciuile iurisdiction, or be confounded with it. And rightfully. For the magistrate, if he be godly, wil not exempt himselfe from the common subiection of the children of God, whereof it is not the last part to submit himselfe to the Church, iudging by the worde of God: so farre it is off, that he ought to take away that order of iudgement. For what is more honorable (saith Ambrose) for the Emperor, than to be called the sonne of the Church? For a good Emperor is within the Church, not aboute the Church, Therefore they, which to honor the magistrate doe spoile the Church of this power, do not onely with false exposition corrupt the sentece of Christ, but also do not slenderly condemne so many holy bishops which haue beene from the time of the Apostles, that they haue by false pretence vsuped the honor & office of the Magistrate.

5 But on the other side it is good to see this, what was in olde time the true vse of the iurisdiction of the Church, and how great abuse is crept in, that we may know what is to be abrogate, and what is to be restored of antiquitie, if we will ouerthrowe 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 preuented, 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

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altogether seuered from the power of the sworde: 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 ciuile punishments: but they vsed the onely word of the Lord, as they ought to doe. For the seuearest reuenge, and as it were the vttermost thunderbolt of the Church is excommunication, which is not vsed but in necessitie. But this requireth neither force nor strong hand, but is content with the power of the word of God. Finally, the iurisdiction of the old Church was nothing els but a declaration in practise (as I may so call it) of that which Paul teacheth concerning the spirituall power of Pastors. There is (saith he) power giuen to vs, whereby we may throwe downe strong holdes, whereby we may make low all height that lieth vp it selfe against the knowledge of God, whereby wee may subdue all thought, & may leade it captiue into the obedience of Christ, and wee haue in readinesse a reuenge against all disobedience. As this is done by the preaching of the doctrine of Christ: so, least the doctrine should bee scorned, according to that which is taught ought they to be iudged which professe themselves 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 bee priuately admonished, or to be more sharply corrected, and also a power to exclude them from the communion of the Supper, which can not be receiued without prophaning of so great a mystrie. Therefore when in an other place he saith, that it belongeth not to vs to iudge strangers, he maketh the children subiect to the censures of the Church, which may chaustice their faultes, and he secretly signifieth that there were then iudiciall orders in force from which none of the faithfull was free.

2. Cor. 10. 4.

1. Cor. 5. 12.

6 But such authoritie (as we haue declared) was not in the power of one man, to do euery thing according to his own will: but in the power of the assembly of the Elders, which was the same thing in the Church that a Senat is in a citie. Cyprian, when he maketh mention by whome it was exercised in his time, vseth to ioyne the whole clergie with the bishop. But in another place also he sheweth, that the verie clergie so gouerned, that in the meane time the people was not excluded from the hearing of matters. For thus he writeth: Since the beginning of my bishoprike I haue determined to do nothing without the counsell of the clergie and consent of the people. But this was the common and vsuall manner, that the iurisdiction of the Church should be exercised by a Senate of Elders: of whome (as I haue saide) there were two sortes: For some were ordeined to teaching, and other some were onely iudges of maners. By litle and litle this institution grewe out of kinde from the first beginning of it: so that euen in the time of Ambrose onely clerkes were iudges in ecclesiasticall iudgements. Which thing he himselfe complaineth of in these wordes: The olde Synagoge (saith he) and since that time the Church hath had Elders, without whose counsell nothing was done. Which by what negligence it is grown out of vse, I knowe not, vnlesse peraduenture by the slouthfulnesse or rather the pride of the teachers, while they alone woulde be thought to be somewhat. Wee see howe much the holy man is displeas'd, that any thing of the better state is decayed,

Epi. 14. & 9.
lib. 2.In 5. capite.
1. ad Tim.

when notwithstanding they had yet continuing an order that was at the least tolerable. What then woulde he doe if hee sawe these deformed ruines that shewe almost no signe of the olde building? What bewailing woulde 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 Consul, dringing out the Senate, should take the empire vpon himselfe alone. But as he is aboute the rest in honour, so in the whole assemblie is more authoritie than in one man. Therefore it was too wicked a deede, that one man, removing 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 assemblie ordeyned by the Spirite of Christ.

7 But (as of one euill alway groweth another) Bishops disdainig it as a thing vnworthie 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 verily they mocke with God. Doeth a poore man owe a litle money? he is cited: if he appeare, he is condemned. When he is condemned, if he doe not satisfie it, he is monished: after the seconde monition they proceede one steppe towarde excommunication: if he appeare not, he is monished to come and yeld himselfe to iudgement: 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 auncient manner, or to an Ecclesiastical order? But there is also correccion of vices. But how? verily they not onely suffer but with secrete allowance do after a certaine maner cherish and confirme adulteries, wantonnesse, drunkennesse & such kind of mischieuous doings: & y not only in the common people, but also in the clergie themselues. Of many they call a fewe before them, either that they should not seeme slouthfull in winking at them, or that they may milke out some money. I speake not of the pillages, robberies, briberies, & sacrileges that are gathered thereby, I speake not what maner of men are for the most part chosen to this office. This is enough & too much, that when the Romanistes 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 likenesse to the auncient custome than darkennesse hath to light.

8 Although we haue not spoken al things that might be alleged for this purpose, and those things that we haue spoken of are knit vp in fewe words: yet I trust that we haue so fought it out, that there is nowe no more cause why any man should dout, that the spirituall power whereof the Pope with all his kingdome proudly glorieth, is wicked against God, and an vniust tyranny ouer his people. Vnder the name of spirituall power I comprehend both boldnesse in framing newe doctrines, wherewith they haue turned away the sily people from the naturall purenesse of the worde of God, and
the

the wicked traditions wherewith they haue snared them, and also the false ecclesiasticall iurisdiction which they execute by Suffraganes and Officials. For if we grant vnto Christ a kingdome among vs, it is not possible but that all this kinde of dominion must immediatly be ouerthrowen and fall downe. As for the power of the sworde which they also giue to themselues, 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 themselues, verily nothing lesse than that which they wold be taken for, that is to say, Pastors of the Church, Neither doe I blame the peculiar faultes of men, but the commo wickednes of the whole order, yea the very pestilence of the order: forasmuch as it is thought that the same should be maimed, vnlesse it be gloriously set forth with wealth and proude titles. If we require the authority of Christ concerning this matter, it is no dout but that his mind was to debar the ministers of his word from ciuill dominion and earthly gouernement, when he sayde, The kinges of the Gentils beare rule ouer them: but you shall not so. For he signifieth not only that the office of Pastor is distinct from the office of a Prince, but that they be things so seuered, that they can not 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 sette in order. But when a certaine forme was once prescribed of God, the ciuill gouernment was left vnto him, & hee was commaunded to resigne the priesthoode 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 bin 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 y^e this was a common prouerbe in the time of Ambrose, that Emperours rather coueted the priesthood, than priestes the empire. For this which he afterward sayth, was emprinted in the mindes of al men: that palaces pertained to the Emperour, and Churches to the Priest.

Matt. 20. 25.
Luke, 12. 25

Exod, 18. 16

Hom de Ba-
silic, traden.

9 But since that a way hath bin deuised, wherby bishops might hold the title, honor & riches of their office without burden or care: least they should be left altogether idle, the power of the sworde was giuen them, or rather they did by vsurpation take it vpon themselues. By what colour will they defende this shamelesnesse? Was this the duerie of Bishops to wrappe themselues with iudiciall hearing of causes, with the gouernementes of cities and prouinces, and through large circuites to meddle in businesse so vnpertaining to them: which haue so much worke and businesse in their owne office, that if they where wholly & continually occupied in it, and were withdrawen with no callinges away from it, yet they were scarcely able to satisfie it? But (such is their waiwardnesse) they sticke not to boast, that by this meane the Church doth flourish according to her worthinesse, and that they themselues in the meane time are not too much drawen away from the duties of their vocation. As touching the first point: if this be a comly ornament of the holy office, that they bee aduanced to such height, that the hiest monarches may stande in feare of them: then they haue cause to quarell with Christe, which hath in such sort grieuouly pinched their honor. For, at least in their

opinion, what could haue bin spoken more dishonorably than these wordes:
 Matt. 20. 25. The kings of the Gentiles and princes beare rule ouer them, but you shall
 Luke. 22. 25 not so? And yet he laid no harder lawe vpon his seruants than he first laide
 Luke. 12. 14. and receiued vpon himselfe. Who (saith he) hath made me a iudge or deui-
 der among you? We see that he plainly putteth away from himselfe the of-
 fice of iudging, which he would not do if it were a thing agreeing with his of-
 fice: wil not the seruants suffer themselues to bee brought into that order,
 whereunto the Lorde hath yelded himselfe subiect? As for the other point,
 I would to God they coulde so proue it in experience as it is easie to speake
 Act. 6. 2. it. But forasmuch as the Apostles thought it not good, to leaue the worde of
 God and minister at tables: thereby, because they will not bee taught, they
 are conuincd, that it is not all one mans worke to be both a good bishop &
 a good prince. For if they (which according to the largenesse of the giftes
 wherwith they were endued, were able to satisfie mo and greater cares than
 any men that haue bene borne since them) haue yet confessed that they
 cannot at once applie the ministerie both of the worde and of tables, but
 that they shoulde faint vnder the burden: howe coulde these that bee men
 of no valor in comparison of the Apostles a hundred folde excell the indu-
 stric of the Apostles? Truly, to attempt it was a point of moste shamelesse
 and too presumptuous boldnesse: yet wee see that it hath bene attempted:
 but with what successe, it is euident. For it coulde not otherwise come to
 passe, but that forsaking their owne office they shoulde remoue into other
 mens charge.

10 And it is no dout but that of small beginning they haue by litle and
 litle growen to so great encreases. For it was not possible that they shoulde
 at the first step clim vp so hie. But sometime with suttletie and croked craf-
 tie meanes they priuily auanced themselues, so as no man coulde foresee
 that it woulde come to passe till it was done: sometime when occasion ser-
 ued they did by terror and threatenings wring from princes some augmen-
 tation of their power: sometime when they sawe Princes not hard laced to
 giue, they abused their fond and vnaduised gentlenesse. In olde time if any
 controuersie happened, the godly, to escape the necessitie of going to lawe,
 committed the arbitrement to the bishop, because they douted not his vp-
 rightnesse. With such arbitrementes the olde bishops were oftentimes en-
 combred, which in deed greatly displeaseth 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 arbitrementes, which were altogether differing from
 the noise of iudiciall courtes, made an ordinarie iurisdiction. In a litle while
 after when cities and countries were troubled with diuerse harde distresses,
 they resorted to the protection of bishops, to be sauegarded by their faith-
 full succour: the bishops by marueilous suttletie, of protectours made them-
 selues Lordes. Yea, and it cannot be denied that they haue gotten the pos-
 session of a greate parte by violent seditious partakinges. As for the Prin-
 ces, that willingly gaue iurisdiction to bishops, they were by diuerse affecti-
 ons moued thereunto. But admitting that their gentlenes had some shewe
 of godlinesse: yet with this their wrongfull liberalitie they did not verie
 well

well prouide for the profit of the Church, whose auncient and true discipline they haue so corrupted, yea (to say truth) haue vtterly abolished. But those bishops y^e haue abused such goodnes of princes to their own commodity, haue by shewing of this one exaple enough and too much testified y^e they are not bishops. For if they had had any sparcle of an Apostolike spirite, they would without dout haue answered out of the mouth of Paul: The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual. But they being rauished with blind greedines, haue destroyed both themselues, their successours, and the Church.

II At length the bishop of Rome not contented with meane lordships, first laid hand vpon kingdoms, & afterward vpon the very empire. And that he may with some color whatsoeuer it be retain y^e possession gotten by mere robbérie, 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 vnto him, yer he hath it not by Apostolike right. For Peter could not giue that which he had not: but he gaue to his successors y^e which he had, the care of churches. But when the Lord and maister sayth, that he is not appointed iudge between two, a seruant and scholar 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: because for those & not for these ye haue receiued the keies of the kingdom of heauen. For which seemeth to thee the greater dignity to forgiue sinnes, or to diuide landes? There is no comparifon. These base and earthly things haue Kinges and Princes of the earth their iudges. Why do ye inuade the bounds of other? &c. Againe, Thou art made a superior: (he speaketh to Pope Eugenius) but wherunto? Not to beare lordship, I thinke. Therefore how much soeuer of our selues, let vs remember that there is a ministry layde vpon vs, not a lordship giuen vs. Learne that thou hast need of a weedhooke not of a scepter, that thou maist do the worke of a Prophet. Againe, 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 form of an Apostleship is this, Lordship is forbidden them, ministérie is bidden them. Whereas these things are so spoken of a man, y^e it is enident to all men that the very truth speaketh them, yea where as the very thing it selfe is manifest without all wordes: yet the Bishoppe of Rome was not ashamed in the Council at Orlearne to decree, that the supreme power of both the swordes belong to him by the lawe of God.

Liber de
Confid. 25.

Concil. Are-
latense.

12 As for the gift of Constantin, they that be but meanly practised in the histories of those times neede not to be taught how much this is not only fabulous, but also to be laughed at. But to passe ouer histories, Gregoric himselfe is both a sufficient & most full witness hereof. For so oft as he speaketh of the Emperor, he calleth him most noble Lord, and himselfe his vnworthy seruant. Againe in another place: Bur let not our Lord by the earthly power be the sooner angry with the priestes: but with excellent consideration, for his sake whose seruantes they be, let him so rule ouer them, that hee also giue them due reuerence. We see howe in common subiection he woulde

Epi. 5. lib. 2.
Epi. 20. li. 3.
Epi. 61. lib. 2.
Epi. 31. li. 4.
Epi. 34. li. 4.

be accounted as one of the people. For he there pleadeth not any other mans cause, but his owne. In another place, I trust in the almighty God, that he will giue a long life to our godly Lordes, and will dispose vs vnder your hande according to his mercie. Neither haue I therefore alleaged these thinges, for that it is my purpose throughly to discusse this question concerning the gift of Constantine: but onely that the Readers shoulde see by the way how childishly the Romanists doe lie, when they goe about to chalenge an earthly Empire to their bishop. And so much the more fowle is y^e shamelesnes of Augustine Steuchus, which in such a dispeired cause hath beene so bolde to sell his trauaile and tongue to the bishop of Rome. Valla (as it was not hard for a man learned and of a sharp wit) had strongly confuted that fable. And yet (as a man litle exercised in ecclesiasticall matters) he had not saide al that might haue made for that purpose. Steuchus burst in, and scattered stinking trifles to oppresse the cleare light. And truely he doth no lesse coldly handle the cause of his master, than if some mery conceited fellowe faining himselfe to do the same, would in deede take Vallas parte. But verily it is a worthie cause, for which the Pope should hyre such patrones for monney: and no lesse worthie are those hyred 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 siue hundred yeres, since y^e bishops yet remained in subiection of the Princes, neither was the Pope created without the 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 Gregorie the seuenth to alter this order. For when he had in his court the bishoprikes of all Germany partly to bee sold, & partly laide open for spoile: Hildebrand, which had receiued displeasure at his hand, caught hold of a goodly colour to reuenge himself. But because he seemed to pursue an honest & a godly cause, he was furthered wth the fauor of many. And Henric was otherwise, by reason of his insolent manner of gouerning, hated of the most part of Princes. At the length Hildebrád, which called himselfe Gregorie the seuenth, as hee was a filchie & naughty man, bewrayed the malice of his heart: which was the cause that hee was forsaken of many that had conspired with him. But he thus much preuailed, y^e his successours might freely without punishment not onely shake off the yoke, but also bring Emperors in subiection to them. Hereunto was added y^e from thence forth there were many Emperors liker to Henry than to Iulius Cesar: whome it was no hard thing to subdue, while they saie at home carelesse of all things & slothfull, when they had most neede with vertue & lawfull meanes to repress, the greedines of the bishops. Thus wee 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.

14 In the meane time the Popes cessed not, sonetime with fraud, sometime with treason, and sometime with force to inuade other mens dominions; & the very citie it selfe, which before was free, within a hundred & thirtie yeres, or there about they brought into their subiection, til they grew to y^e same power which they haue at this day: & for the obtaining or encreasing wherof,

whereof they haue so troubled Christendome by the space of two hundred yeares, (for they beganne before that they tooke to them the dominion of the Citie) that they haue almost destroyed it. In the olde time when vnder Gregorie the keepers of the goods of y^e church, did take possession of y^e lands which they reckened to belong to the Church, and after the maner of seasing to the vse of the Prince did set titles vpon them for tokē of claime, Gregorie assembling a councell of bishops, inueying sore against that prophane manner, asked whether they did not iudge that Clerke 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 accursing: when whole two hundred yeres together Popes do practise nothing else but batels, shedding of blood, destructions of armies, sackings of some cities, racing of other, ouerthrowes of nations, wastings of kingdomes, onely that they might catch holde of other mens possessions: what cursinges can be enough to punishe such examples? Truly it is very plaine that they seeke' nothing lesse than y^e glorie of Christ. For if they of their owne will doe wholly resigne al the secular power that they haue, therin is no daunger to the glory of God, no daunger to sounde doctrine, no daunger to the safetie of the Church: but they are caried blinde and headlong with only greedinesse of dominion: be cause they thinke nothing safe, vnles they may beare rule with rigorousnes (as the Prophet saith) and with power. Reg. lib. 4. cap. 88. Eze. 34. 4.

15 To iurisdiction is annexed immunitie, which the Romish Cleargie tooke to themselues. For they thinke it against their dignitie, if they answer in personall causes before a temporall iudge: and therein they thinke both y^e libertie and dignitie of the Church to consist, if they be exempt from common iudgements and lawes. But the olde bishoppes, which otherwise were most rigorous in defending the right of the Church, iudged themselues and their order to bee nothing hurt, if they were subiect to them. And the godlic Emperours, without gaine saying of any man, did alway cal Clarke's to their iudgement seats so oft as need required. For thus sayth Constantine in his Epistle to the Nicomedians: If any of the bishoppes shall vndiscretely disorder him selfe, his boldnes shal be restrained by the execution of the minister of God, that is by my execution. And Valentinian saith: good bishoppes do not speake against the power of the Emperour, but doe syncerely both keepe the commandementes of God the great king, and also obey our lawes. At that time all men were perswaded of this without controuersie. But Ecclesiasticall causes were referred to the iudgement of the Bishop. As if any Cleike had offended nothing against the lawes: but only was accused by y^e Canons: he was not cited to y^e comon iudgement seat, but in y^e cause had y^e bishop for his iudge. Likewise if there were a questiō of Faith in controuersie, or such a matter as properly pertained to the Church, the iudgement thereof was committed to the Church. So is y^e to be vnderstanded, which Ambrose writeth to Valentinian: Your father of honourable memorie, not onely answered in worde, but also decreed by lawes, that in a cause of Faith he ought to be iudge that is neither vnfit in office nor vnlike in right. Againe: If we haue regarde to the Scriptures or olde examples, who is there that canne denie that Epi. 31.

that in a cause of Faith, in a cause (I say) of Faith, bishops are wont to iudge of Christian Emperours, and not Emperours of bishops? Again: I would haue come, O Emperour, to your consistory, if either the bishops or the people would haue suffred me to goe: 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 drawen into y^e remporall courte 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 hee will giue place. Willingly (saith he) I wil not forsake the place committed vnto me: but when I am enforced, I knowe not how to resist: for our armour are prayers and tears. Let vs note the singular modestie and wisdom of the holy man, ioyned with stoutnesse of courage and bouldnesse. Iustina the Emperours mother, because she could not drawe him to the Arrians side, practised to driue him from the gouernement of the Church. And so shoulde it haue come to passe, if hee had come when he was called to the palace to pleade his cause. Therefore hee denieth the Emperour to be a competente 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 hee iudged that hee ought rather to die, than y^e such an example should by his consent be giuen to posteritie: & yet if violence be offred, he thinketh not of resistace. For he denieth it to be bishoplike, to defende the faith and right of y^e church with armes. But in other causes hee sheweth himselfe readie to doe whatsoever the Emperour shall commaunde him. If hee demaund tribute, (saith hee) wee denie it not: the landes of the Church doe pay tribute. If hee aske landes, hee hath power to claime them, none of vs resisteth. After the same manner also speaketh Gregorie. I am not ignorant (saith hee) of the minde of our most noble soueraigne Lorde, that hee vseth not to intermeddle in causes pertaining to Priestes, lest hee shoulde in any thing be burdened with our sinnes. Hee doeth not generally exclude the Emperour from iudging of Priestes: but he saith that there be certaine causes, which hee 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 shoulde not with tyrannous violence and wilfulnesse interrupt the Church in doing her office. For neither did they disallowe, if princes sometime did vse their authoritie in Ecclesiastical matters, so that it were done to preserue the order of the Church, not to trouble it, to stablishe discipline, not to dissolue it. For sith the Church hath not the power of compelling, nor ought to require it (I speake of ciuill constraining:) it is the office of Godly kinges and princes to maintaine religion with lawes, proclamations, and iudiciall proceedings. After this maner, when the Emperour Maurice had commanded certaine bishops that they shoulde receiue their felowe Bishoppes 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, hee doeth in deede render a reason why hee ought not

Hom de B.
solic. trad.

Li. 1. Epist. 20

Li. 1. epist. 43.

Lib. 4. epist.
32. and 34.

to be blamed: yet he doth not boast of immunity from the secular court, but rather promiseth y^e he will be obedient, so far as his conscience wil giue him leaue: and therewithall he sayeth this, that Maurice did as became a godly Prince, when he gaue such commandementes to the Priestes. Li. 7. epi. 39.

The xii. Chapter.

Of the discipline of the Church, vvhich of the chiefe vse is in the censures and excommunication.

THe discipline of the Church, the entreating whereof wee haue differred vnto this place, is briefely to be declared, that wee may at length passe ouer to the rest. But that same for the most parte 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 Clergy, and the people. Clerkes I call by the vsuall name those that execute publike ministry in the Church. First wee will speake of common discipline, to which all ought to be subiect: then wee will come to the Clergy, which beside y^e common discipline, haue a seueral discipline by themselves. But because many for hatred of discipline do abhorre the very name therof, let them heare this: If no fellowship, yea no house though it haue but a small householde, 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 steede of sinewes therein: whereby it is brought to passe, that the members of the body hang together euery one in his fit place. Wherefore whosoeuer do either desire to haue discipline taken away, or hinder the restoring therof, whether they do it of set purpose or by vnadvisednes, verily they seeke the extreeme dissipation 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 priuate admonishments, corrections, & such other helps which susteine doctrine and suffer it not to be idle. Discipline therefore is as it were a bridle wherwith they may be holden backe & tamed which coltishly resist against Christe: or as it were a pricke, wherwith they y^e are not willing enough may be stirred vp: and somtime, as a fatherly rod, wherewith they which haue more grievously fallen may be chastised mercifully and according to the mildenes of the Spirit of Christ. Sith therefore we do nowe see at hande certaine beginnings of a horrible wastnesse in the Church, because there is no care nor order to keepe the people in awe, very necessitie crieth out that there is neede of remedy. But this is the only remedy, which both Christ hath commanded, and hath alway bin vsed among the godly.

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 duty, if he behaue himselfe licentiously, or liue not honestly, or haue committed any thing worthy of blame, he shoulde suffer himselfe to be admonished: and that euery man should study to admonish his brother when occasion shall require. But specially let the Pastors and Priestes bec watchfull to do

do this, whose office is not onely to preach to the people, but in euery house to admonish & exhort if at any time they do not sufficiently preuaile by generall doctrine: as Paul teacheth, when he rehearseth that he taught priuately & in houses, and protesteth that he is cleane from the bloud of all men, because he hath not ceased with teares day and night to admonish euery one. For doctrine doth then obtain force & authority when the minister not only doth declare to all together what their ducie is to Christ, but also hath power & order to require the keeping therof of thē whom he marketh to be either not obedient to doctrine, or slothfull. If any man do either stubbornly refuse, or in going forward in his faultes, do despise such admonishmentes: when he hath bin the second time admonished with witnesses called to it, Christ commandeth them to be called to the iudgement of the Church, which is the assembly of Elders: and y there they should be more greuously admonished as it were by publike authoritie, that if he reuerence the Church he may submit himselfe & obey. But if he be not hereby subdued, but do continue in his wickednes, then he commandeth him, as a despiser of the Church, to be put away from the felowship of the faithfull.

3 But because he speaketh here onely of secret faults, we must make this diuision: that some sinnes be priuate, and some publike or openly manifest. Of the first sort Christ sayth to euery priuate man, Reproue him betweene thee and him alone. Of manifest sins Paul sayth to Timothee, Reproue him before all men, that the rest may haue feare. For Christ had sayde before, If thy brother haue offended against thee. Which wordes (against thee) vnles thou wilt be contentious, thou canst not otherwise vnderstande than vnder thine owne secret knowledge, so that there be no moe priue 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, hee did not admonishe him a parte by himselfe, but brought him forth into the sight of the Church. Therefore this shalbe the right order of doing, if in secreete faultes wee goe forward according to those degrees that Christ hath set: but in manifest faultes, we immediately proceede to the Churches solemne rebuking, if the offence be publike.

4 Let this also be an other distinction: that of sinnes some be defaultes, other some be wicked doinges, or hainous offences. To the correcting of this later sort, not only admonishment or rebuking is to be vsed, but also a seuerer remedy: as Paul sheweth which not only 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 beginne better to see howe the spirituall iurisdiction of the Church, which punisheth sinnes according to the word of the Lord, is the best maintenance of health, and foundation of order, & bonde of vnitie. Therefore when the Church doth banish out of her company manifest adulterers, whormongers, theeves, robbers, seditious persons, periured men, false witnesses, and such other, againe, obstinate men, which being orderly admonished euen of small faultes, do scorne God and his iudgement, she taketh nothing vpon her selfe without reason, but executeth the iurisdiction giuen her of the Lorde.

More-

Moreouer, that none should despise such iudgement of the Church, or lightly regarde that hee is condemned by the consenting voices of the faithfull: the Lorde hath testified, that the same is nothing else but a pronouncing of his owne sentence, and that whatsoever they doe in earth is confirmed in heauen. For they haue the word of the Lord, whereby they may condemne the frowarde: they haue the worde, whereby they may receiue the repentaunt into fauour, They I say that trust that without this bonde of discipline Churches may long stande, are deceiued in opinion: vnlesse perhaps we may want that help which the Lord foresawe that it should be necessary for vs. And truly how great is the necessitie therof, shalbe better perceiued by the manifolde vse of it.

5 There be three endes which the Church hath respecte vnto in such corrections and excommunication. The first is, that they shoulde 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 bee defiled with such filthie and rotten members, but that some shame must come to ſy head. Therefore that there shoulde not bee 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 slaunder might redound to the name of Christians. And hercin also is consideration to be had of the Supper of the Lord, that it be nor profaned w^{ch} 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 whome he might lawfully put backe, is as guiltie of Sacriledge, as if hee did giue abroad the Lords body to dogges. Wherefore Chrysofome greeuously inueyeth against ſy priests, which while they feare the power of great men, dare debarre no man. The bloode (saith he) shalbe required at your hands. If yee feare man, hee shall laugh you to scorne: but if ye feare God, ye shalbee reuerenced also among men. Let vs not feare maces, nor purple, nor crownes: we haue here a greater power. I verily wil rather deliuer mine owne body to death, and suffer my blood to be shed, than I wil be made partaker of this defiling. Therefore least this most holy mystery be spotted with slaunder, in the distributing thereof choise is greatly requisite: which yet can not 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 litle leauen (saith he) corrupteth ſy whole lūpe of doae. And he foresaw herein so great danger, that hee forbade him euen from all felowship. If any brother (saith he) among you bee named either a whoremonger, or a couetous man, or a worshipper of Idols, or a dronkarde, or an euill speaker, with such a one I graunt you not leaue so much as to eate. The third end is, that they themselves confounded with shame may begin to repente of their filthi nesse. So it is profitable for them also to haue their owne wickednesse chastised, that with feeling of the rodde they may

Matt. 16, 19.
and 18, 18.
Ioh. 20, 23.

Eph. 5, 25.

Col. 1, 24.

Hom. in
Matt. 3.
Eze. 4, 18.
and 33, 10.

1 Cor. 5, 6.
and 11.

be awaked, which otherwise by tender bearing with them woulde haue become more obstinate. The same thing doth the Apostle meane whē he saith thus: If any doe not obey our doctrine, marke him, and keepe no companie with him, that he may be ashamed. Againe in an other place, when hee writeth that he hath deliuered the Corinthian to Satan, that his Spirite might be saued in the day of the Lorde: that is (as I expounde it) that he went into a damnation for a time, that hee might be saued for euer. But he therefore saith that he deliuereth him to Sathan, because the deuill is out of y^e church, as Christ is in the Church. For whereas some doe refer it to a certaine vexing of the flesh, I thinke that to be very vncertaine.

6 When these endes be set foorth, nowe it remaineth to see howe the Church executeth this part of discipline which consisteth in iurisdiction. First let vs keepe the diuision aboue ser, that of sinnes some bee publike, and other some be priuate or more secrete. Publike are those that haue not onely one or two witnesses, but are committed openly and with the offence of y^e 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 kinde requireth not those degrees which Christ rehearseth: but when any such thing appeareth, the Church ought to do her duetie in calling the sinner and correcting him according to the proportion of the offence. In the seconde kinde according to the rule of Christe, 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 bee noted betweene wicked doinges and defaultes. For in lighter sinnes there is not to bee vsed so great seueritie, but chastisement of wordes sufficeth, and the same gentle & fatherly, which may not harden nor confound the sinner, but bring him home to himselfe, that he may more reioyce than be sorie that he was corrected. But it is meete that hainous offences bee chastised with sharper remedy. For it is not enough, if hee that by doing a wicked deed of euil example hath greuously offended the Church, shoulde bee chastised onely with wordes, but he ought for a time to be depriued of the communion of the supper, till he haue giuen assurance of his repentance. For against the Corinthian Paul vseth not onely rebuking of wordes, but driueth him out of y^e church, and blameth the Corinthiās that it had so long born him. The old & better Church kept this order, when rightfull gouernment flourished. For if any man had done any wicked deed wherupon was growen offence, first he was commaunded to absteyne from partaking of the holy Supper, then both to humble himselfe before God, and to testifie his repentance before the Church. There were also certain solemne vsages, which were enioyned to them that had fallen, to be tokens of their repentance. When they had so done, that the Church was satisfied, then by laying on of hands hee was receiued into fauor. Which receiuing is ofteentimes called of Ciprian peace, who also briefly describeth this vsage. They do penance (saith he) in a certain full time: thē they come to confession, and by the laying on of handes of the bishop & the Cleargie they receiue power to come to the communion. Howebeit the Bishop and his cleargie had so the ruling of reconciliation, that they did therewith-

2. Thef. 3. 14
1. Cor. 5. 5.
Aug. de ver. apost. ho. 58
1. Cor. 5. 5.
Epi. 2. lib. 1.
Liber. 3.
Epi. 14. & 26

withall require the consent of the people: as he sheweth in another place.

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 whō it is meete that al scepters and crownes of kinges bee submitted. So when Theodosius was deprivied by Ambrose of power to come to the communion because of the slaughter committed at Thessalonica, he threwe down all the royall ornament wherewith he was clothed: he openly in the Church bewailed his sinne, which had crept vpon him by fraud of other men: hee craued pardon with groning and teares. For great kinges ought not to think this to be any dishonor to them, if they humbly throw downe themselues before Christ the king of kinges, neither ought it to displease them y they be iudged by the Church. For sith in their court they heare nothing else but mere flatteries, it is more than necessary for them to be rebuked of the Lorde by the mouth of the priestes. But rather they ought to wish, that the priestes should not spare them, that the Lorde may spare them. In this place I omit to speak by whome this iurisdiction is to bee 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 alone by themselues, but with the Church knowing & allowing it: that is, in such sort that the multitude of the people may not gouerne the doings, but may mark it as a witnes & a keper y nothing should be done of a fewe by wilful affection. But the whole maner of doing, beside the calling vpon the name of God, ought to haue such grauitie, as may resemble y presēce of Christ y it may be vndouted y he there sitteth for ruler of his owne iudgement.

8 But this ought not to be passed ouer, that such seueritie becommeth y Church as is ioyned with the spirite of mildnes. For we must alway diligently beware as (as Paul teacheth) that he which is punished be not swallowed vp of sorrow: for so should of a remedie be made a destruction. But out of the end may better be gathered a rule of moderation. For whereas this is required in excommunication that the sinner should bee 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 folow them: if we shal haue an eye to these things, we shalbe able easily to iudge how farre seueritie ought to proccede & where it ought to end. Therefore when the sinner giveth a testimonie of his repentance, & 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 bee enforced, rigorousnes doth then excede measure. In which behalf the immeasurable seueritie of the old fathers cannot be excused, which both disagreed from y prescribed order of the Lord, & also was marueilously dangerous. For when they charged a sinner with solemne penance, & deprivation from the holy communion sometime for seuen yeres, sometime foure yeres, sometime three yeres, sometime for their whole life: what other thing could folowe thereof but either great hipocrisie or most great desperation? Likewise whereas no mā y 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 whosoever shal wey the matter with sound

Ambros. in
lib. 1. Epi. 3.
in orat. habita
in fun.
Theodosij.

2, Cor. 2. 7.

Ad cor. Epi.
3^a. Liber. 1.

iudgement, shall herein perceiue want of their discretion. Howbeit I do here rather disallow the publike manner, than accuse all them that vsed it, whereas it is certaine that many of them misliked it: but they did therefore suffer it, because they could not amende it. Truly, Cyprian declareth, how much beside his owne will he was so rigorous. Our pacience (saith he) and easines and gentlenes is readie to them that come. I wish all to returne into the Church: I wish all our fellowfoldiars to be enclosed within the tentes of Christ & in the houses of God the father. I forgiue al things, I dissemble many things: for zeale & desire to gather brotherhood 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 do wth readie and full loue embrace them that returne with repentance, confessing their sinnes with humble & plaine satisfaction. Chrysostome is somewhat harder, and yet he saith thus: If God be so kind, why will his Priest see me so rigorous? Moreouer we know what gentlenesse Augustine vsed towards the Donatistes, in so much that he sticke not to receiue into bishoprike those that had returned from schisme, euen immediatly after their repentance. But because a contrarie order had growe in force, they were compelled to leaue their owne iudgement to follow it.

9 But as this mildnes is required in the whole body of the church, that it should punish them that are fallen, mercifully & not to the extremitie of rigor, but rather according to the precept of Paul, should confirme charitie toward them: so euery priuate man for himselfe ought to temper himselfe to this mercifulnes & gentlenes. Therefore it is not our part to wipe out of the number of the elect such as are driuen out of the Church, or to dispaire of them as though they were already lost. We may in deed iudge them strangers from the Church, & therefore strangers from Christ: but that is onely during the time y^e they abide in diuorce. But if then also they shew a greater resemblance of stubbornnes than of gentlenes, yet let vs commit them to y^e iudgement of the Lord, hoping better of them in time to come than wee see in time present, & let vs not therefore cease to pray to God for them, & (to comprehend all in one worde) let vs not condemne to death the person it selfe, which is in the hand & iudgement of God alone, but let vs rather weye by the law of the Lord of what sort euery mans workes be. Which rule while we follow, wee rather stande to the iudgement of God than pronounce our owne. Let vs not take to our selues more libertie in iudging, vnlesse wee will binde the power of God within boundes, & appoint a lawe to his mercie, at whose pleasure when he thinketh it good, very euil men are turned into very good, strangers are graffed & foreins are chosen into the church. And this y^e Lord doth, thereby to mocke out the opinion of men, & rebate their rashnes: which if it be not restrained, presumeth to take to it selfe power of iudging more than it ought.

10 For where as Christ promiseth that that shall be bounde 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 y^e are excommunicate, are not thrown into euerlasting ruine & damnation: but hearing their liues & manners to be condemned, they are also ccrused of their owne euerlasting condem-

denation, vnlesse they repent. For excommunication herein differeth from accursing, that accursing taking away al pardon doth condemne a mā and adiudge him to eternall destruction: excommunication rather reuengeth and punisheth maners. And though the same doe also punish the man, yet it doeth so punish him, that in forewarning him of his damnation to com, it doeth call him backe to saluation. If that be obtained, reconciliation & 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 bee excommunicate: yet wee ought to endeouour by such meanes as we may, that returning to amendement, they may returne to the fellowship and vnitie of the Church: as the Apostle also teacheth. Do not (saith he) thinke them as enemies, but correct them as brethren. Vnlesse this gentlenesse be kept as wel priuately as in common, there is danger lest from discipline we foorthwith fall to butcherie.

2. Thess. 3:15

11 This also is principally required to the moderation of discipline, which Augustine entreateth of in disputing against the Donatistes: that neither priuate men, if they see faultes not diligently enough corrected by the Councel of Elders, should therefore by and by departe from the Church: nor the Pastors themselues, if they cannot according to their hearts desire purge all things that neede amendment, should therefore throw away the ministrie, or with vnwonted rigorousnes trouble the whole Church. For it is most true which he writeth: that he is free & discharged from curse, whosocuer he be that either by rebuking amendeth what he can: or what he cānot amend, excludeth, sauing the bond of peace: or what he cannot exclude, sauing the bond of peace, he doth disallow with equitie, and beare with stedfastnes. Hee rendreth a reason thereof in another place: because all godly order & manner of ecclesiasticall discipline ought alway to haue respect vnto the vnitie of the Spirit in the bond of peace: which the Apostle commaundeth to bee kept by our bearing one with another: and when it is not kept, the medicine of punishment beginneth to be not only superfluous, but also hurtfull, and therefore ceaseth to be a medicine. He that (saith he) doth diligently thinke vpon these things doth neither in preseruing of vnitie neglect the seueritie of discipline, nor doth with immeasurablenesse of correction breake y bond of fellowship. He graunteth in deede that not onely the Pastours 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 endeouour therunto: and he plainly declareth that he which neglecteth to monish, rebuke, and correct y euill, although he do not fauour them, nor sinne with them, yet is gilty before the Lord. But if he be in such degree, that he may also seuer them from the partaking of sacraments, and doth it not, now he sinneth not by an others euill, but by his own. Only he willeth it to be done, with vsing of discretion, which the Lord also requireth, least while the tares be in rooting out, the corne bee hurt. Hereupon he gathereth out of Cyprian, Let a man therefore mercifully correct what he can: & what he cannot, let him patiently suffer, & with loue grone and lament it.

Lib. 2. contr. Donat. cap. 13

Lib. 3. cap. 1

Cap. 2.

Cap. 10

Matt. 13:29

12 This he saith because of the precisenes of the Donatistes, who when

they saw faults in the Churches which the bishops did in deede rebuke wth words, but not punish with excommunication, (because they thought that they could this way nothing preuaile) did sharply enuey against the bishops as betrayers of discipline, and did with an vngodly schisme deuide theselues from the flocke of Christ. As the Anabaptistes doe at this day, which when they acknowledge no congregation to bee of Christ, vnlesse it do in euery point shine with angelike perfection, do vnder pretence of their zeale ouerthrowe all edification. Such (saith Augustine) not for hatred of other mens wickednes, but for desire to maintaine their owne contentions, do couet either wholly to draw away, or at least to deuide the weake people snared with the boasting of their name: they swelling with pride, mad with slubbornnes, traitorous with slaunders, troublesome with seditions, least it should openly appeare that they want the light of trueth, do pretend a shadow of rigorous seueritie: & those things which in scripture are commaunded to be done with moderate healing for correcting of the faultes of brethren, preferuing the syncerenes of loue, & keeping the vnitie of peace, they abuse to sacriledge of schisme & occasion of cutting off. So doth Satan transforme himselfe into an angell of light, when by occasion as it were of iust seueritie he persuadeth vnmercifull crueltie, coueting nothing else but to corrupt & break the bond of peace & vnitie: which bond remaining fast among Christians, al his forces are made weake to hurt, his traps of treasons are broken, & his counsels of ouerthrowing do vanish away.

2. Cor. 11. 14.

13 This one thing he chiefly commendeth, that if the infection of sin haue entred into the whole multitude, then the seuer mercie of liuely discipline is necessarie. For (saith he) the deuises of separation are vaine, and hurtful & ful of sacrilege, because they are vngodly & proud, & do more trouble the weake good ones, than they amend the stout euil ones. And y^e which he there teacheth other, he himselfe also faithfully folowed. For writing to Aurelius bishop of Carthage, he complaineth that drunkennes which is so fore condemned in scriptures, doth range vnpunished in Affrica: & he aduiseeth him, that assembling a Councel of bishops hee shoulde prouide remedie for it. He addeth by and by after: These things (as I thinke) are taken away not roughly, not hardly, not after an imperious maner, but more by teaching than by commaunding, more by admonishing than by threatning. For so must we deal with a multitude of sinners, but seueritie is to be exercised vpon the sinnes of fewe. Yet he doeth not meane that Bishops shoulde therefore winke or hold their peace at publike faultes, because they cannot seuerely punish them: as he himselfe afterward expoundeth it: But he willeth that the measure of correction be so tempered, that so farre as may be, it may rather bring health than destruction to the body. And therefore at length he concludeth thus: Wherfore both this commandement of the Apostle is in no wise to be neglected, to seuer y^e euil, when it may be don without peril of breking of peace: & this is also to be kept, y^e bearing one with another, we should endeouour to preferue vnitie of the Spirit, in the bond of peace.

Lib. 3. cont.
parm. cap. 2.1. Cor. 5. 7.
Ephe. 4. 2.

14 The part that remaineth of discipline, which properly is not contained in the power of keies, standeth in this, y^e according to the necessitie of times the Pastors should exhort the people either to fasting, or to common
suppli-

supplications, or to other exercises of humility, repentance, & 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 bin vsed of the olde church euen from y^e verie Apostles. Howbeit the Apostles themselues were not the first authors of them, but they tooke example out of the law & the Prophets. For wee see that there so oft as any weightie businesse happened, the people were called together, common prayers enioyned, & fasting commanded. Therefore the Apostles followed that which both was not new to the people of God, & they foresawe that it should be profitable. Likewise is to be thought of other exercises, wherewith the people may either be stirred vp to their duetie, or be kept in awe and obedience. There are examples eche where in holy histories, which we neede not to gather together. In summe this is to be holdē, that so oft as there happeneth any controuersie of religion, which must bee determined either by a Synode or by ecclesiastical 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 appeare tokens of the wrath of God, as pestilence, & warre, & famine: this is a holy ordinance & profitable for all ages, that the Pastors should exhort the people to common fasting, & to extraordinarie prayers. If any man doe not allowe the testimonies which may be alleaged out of the old testament, as though they were not meete for the Christian Church, it is certaine that the Apostles also did the same. Howbeit of praiers I thinke there wil scarcely any be founde that will 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 do vtterly refuse it as superfluous: and when the vse of it is not wel known, it is easie to slide into superstition.

15 Holy & true fasting hath three endes. For wee vse it, either to make leane and subdue the flesh, that it should not waxe wanton, or that wee may be better disposed to prayers & 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 end hath not so often place in common fasting, because al men haue not like estate of body, nor like health: therefore it rather agreeth with priuate fasting. The second end is common to both, for as well the whole Church as euery one of the faithfull hath neede of such preparation to prayer. The third also is likewise common. For it shall sometime befall that God shal strike some nation with warre, or pestilence, or wth some calamitie. In such a common scourge the whole people must accuse themselues, and openly confesse their owne guiltinesse. But if the hand of the Lord do strike any priuate man, he ought to do the same, either alone, or with his own familie. That standeth chiefly in the affection of the mind. 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 yelde praise of righteousness to God, and euery one mutually exhort other with their example.

16 Wherefore fasting, as it is a signe of humbling, hath more often vse
 Hhh 3
 publicly,

publikely, than among priuate men, howsoeuer it be common, as is alreadye saide. Therefore as touching the discipline whercof we now entreate: 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 Barnabes, that they might the better commend to God their ministry which was of so great importāce, 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 regard to none other thing, but that they might bee made fresher and more vncombred to pray. Verily this wee finde by experience, that when the bellie is full, the minde is not so lifted vp to God, that it can both with heartie and feruent affection be carried to prayer, and continue in it. So is that to be vnderstoode which Luke rehearseth of Anne, that shee serued the Lorde in fastinges and prayers. For he doeth 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 he did with earnestly bent zeale pray to God for the deliuerance of his people. For this cause Paul saith that the faithfull do well, if they abstaine for a time from their wedding bed, that they may the more freely apply prayer and 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 ende. 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 doeth not speake of daily prayers, but of such prayers as require a more earnest intenueness.

17 Againe, if either pestilence, or famine, or warre beginne to range abroad, or if any calamitie otherwise seem to hang ouer any country & people: then also it is the dutie of Pastors to exhort the Church to fasting, y they may humbly beseeche the Lord to turne away his wrath. For he giueth warning that he is prepared and in a manner armed to reuenge, when hee maketh any danger to appeare. Therefore as accused men in time past with long hanging beard, with vncombed haire, with blacke array, were wont humbly to abace them selues, to procure the mercie of the iudge: so when we are accused before the iudgement seate of God, it behoueth both for his glorie, & for common edification, and also is profitable and heakhfull for vs, that we should in piteous array craue to escape his seueritie. And that this was vsed among the people of Israel, it is easie to gather by the wordes of Iocel. For when he commandeth a trumpet to be sounded, the congregation to be gathered together, fasting to be appointed, and the rest that followe: he speaketh of things receiued in common custome. Hee had a litle before said, that examination is appointed of the wicked deedes of the people, and had declared that the day of iudgement was nowe at hande, and had summoned them beeing accused to pleade their cause: then hee crieth out that they shoulde hast to sacke cloth and ashes, to weeping and fasting: that is, that they shoulde also with outwarde testifyings throwe themselues downe before the Lorde, Sacke cloth and ashes peraduenture did more agree with those times: but there is no dout that the calling together, and weeping,

and

A^c. 14. 3.
A^c. 14. 23.L^uke. 2. 37.N^ehem. 1. 4.

1. Cor. 7. 5.

Iocel 2. 25.

and fasting & 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, and to confesse humilitie, why should we lesse vse it than the olde people did in like necessitie? We reade that not onely 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 Ionas, fasted in token of sorowe. What cause is there therefore why we should not doe the same? But it is an outwarde ceremonie, which was with the rest ended in Christ. Yea rather euen at this day it is, as it alway hath beene, a very good helpe to the faithfull, and a profitable admonition, to stirre vppe them selues, that they should not with to great carelesnesse & sluggishnes 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 appointeth it to times of calamity, and ioineth it with mourning. The time shall come (sayeth hee) when the bridegrome shall be taken away from them.

1. Sam. 7. 6.
and 21. 13.
2. King. 1. 12
Ionas 3. 5.

Matt. 9. 15.
Luke. 5. 34.

18 But that there should be no error in the name, let vs define what fasting is. For we do not here vnderstande by it only abstinence and sparing in meate and drinke, but a certaine other thing. The life of the godly ought in deede to be tempered with honest sparing & sobrietie, that so neere as is possible it may in the whole course thereof beare a certain resemblance of fasting. But beside this there is an other fasting for a time, when wee withdrawe any thing of our woted diet, either for one day or for a certain time, & 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 should vse those doings fasting, for which fasting is ordined. As for example, if a man fast for common prayer: that he come emptie vnto it. Qualitie standeth in this, that all deintinesse should be absent, & being content with common and baser meates, we should not stirre vp appetite with delicates. The rule of quantitie is in this, that we eate more sparingly and lesse than we be wont, only for necessitie, and not also for pleasure.

19 But we must alway principally beware, that no superstition creepe vpon vs, as it hath heretofore happened to the greate hurt of the Church. For it were much better that there were no vse at all fasting than that it should be diligently kept, and in the meane time be corrupted with false and hurtful opinions, whereunto the world sometime falleth, vnlesse the Pastors do with great faithfulness and wisdom prevent it. The first point therefore is, that they should alway enforce that which Ioell teacheth, that they should cut their heartes and not their garmentes: that is, that they should admonishe the people, that God doth not greatly esteeme fasting of it selfe, vnlesse there be an inward affection of the hearte, a true misliking of sinne and of himselfe, true humbling, & true sorow through the feare 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 outwarde shewe in steede of innocencie of heart, do labor with false color to deceiue themselues. Therefore I haue most sharply inueyeth

Ioel 1. 13.

Esa. 58. 5.

against this hypocritic, that the Iewes thought that they had satisfied God, when they had onely fasted, howsoeuer they did nourish vngodlines and vn-cleane 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 only an vnprofitable and superfluous wearying, but also a great abominati-on. An other euill nere vnto this is chiefly to be taken heede 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, & hath no value but by reason of those endes which it ought to haue respect vnto, it is a most hurtfull superstition, to confounde it with the workes commanded of God and necessary of them-selues without other respect. Such was in olde time the dotage of the Mani-chees: whome when Augustine confuteth, he doth plainly enough teache, that fasting is to be iudged by no other endes than those which I haue spoken of, and is no otherwise allowed of G O D, vnlesse it be referred to the same. The thirde errour is in deede 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 prayes, that men shoulde thinke they haue done some excellent thing when they haue fasted. In which behalfe I dare not altogether excuse the olde fathers, but that they haue sowed some seedes of superstition, and giuen occasion to the tyrannie which hath risen since. There are founde in deede sometimes in them- founde and wise sentences, of fasting, but afterward we now and then mee- with immeasurable praises of fasting which aduance it among the chiefe vertues.

20 And at that time the superstitious obseruing of lent was ech where gro-
wen in vse: because both the common people thought that they did therein
some notable seruice to God, and the Pastors did commende it for a holy fo-
llowing 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 deede proue that it was not a doctrine of men, but descen-
ded from heauen. And it is merueilous, that so grosse an errour, 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 hee must needes haue
done if he would haue set forth a lawe of yearely 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 mee- that hee shoulde haue done if hee
would haue prouoked men to followe him: but rather he sheweth an exam-
ple, whereby he may rather drawe men to wonder at him than stirre them
vp to followe him. Finally there is none other cause of this fasting, than
of that which Moses fasted (when hee receiued the lawe at the hande of the
Lorde. For sith that miracle was shewed in Moses to stablish the authoritie
of the Lawe, it ought not to haue bene omitted in Christ, least the Gospell
should seeme to giue place to the lawe. But since that time it neuer came in
any mans minde vnder colour of following of Moses to require such a forme
offasting in the people of Israel. Neither did any of the holy Prophets and
fathers follow it, when yet they had minde and zeale enough to godly exer-
cises. For, that which is sayde of Helias, that he passed forty dayes without

meat:

Liber. 2. de
mor. Manic.
cap. 13. & li.
20. cor. Fau.

Matt. 4. 2.

Exod. 24. 18
and 34. 28.

1. King. 19. 6.

meate and drinke, tended to no other ende but that the people should know that he was stirred vp to be a restorer of the lawe from which almost al Israel had departed. Therefore it was a mere wrongful zeale and ful of superstition, y they did set foorth fasting with the title & color 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 histo ric. For the Romanes (saith he) had but three weeks, but in these three there was a cōtinual fasting, except on the Sunday and Saturday. The Slaunions and Grecians had sixe weekes: other had seuen: but their fasting was by deuided times. And they disagreed no lesse in difference of meates. Some did eate nothing but bread 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 worse 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 bonds. The eating of fleshe was forbidden, as though it defiled a man. There were added opinions full of sacrilege one vpon an other, til they came to the bottome of all errors. And that no peruersenesse should be omitted, they began with a most sonde pretence of abstinence to mocke with God. For in the most exquisite deintines of fare is sought the prayse of fasting: no delicacies doe then suffice, there is neuer greater plentie, or diuersitie or sweetnesse of meates. In such and so gorgious preparation they thinke that they serue God rightly. I speake not howe they neuer more sowly glutte themselues, than when they would be counted most holy men. Briefely, they count it the greatest worshipping of god to absteyne from fleshe, and (these excepted) to shewe full of al kinde of deinties. On the other side they thinke this the extremest vngodlinesse, & such as scarcely may be recompensed with death, if a man tast neuer so little a peece of bacon or vnfaucry flesh with browne breade. Hierome telleth, that Ad Nepotiā. euen in his time were some y with such follies did mock with God: which because they would not eate oyle, caused most deintie meats from euery place to be brought them: yea to oppresse nature with 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 faulte was then in a fewe, at this day it is a common fault among all rich mē that they fast to no other ende but that they may banket more sumptuously and deintily. But I will not wast many wordes in a matter not doutfull. Only this I say, that both in fasting and in al other partes of discipline, the papistes so haue nothing right, nothing pure, nothing wel framed and orderly, whereby they may haue any occasion to be proud, as though there were any thing remaining among them worthy of praise.

22 There followeth another parte 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: y no clearke should giue himselfe to hunting, to dicing, nor to banketting: that none

shoulde occupie vsurie, or marchandise: that none should be present at wanton dauncings: and such other ordinances. There were also added penalties wherby the authoritie of the canons was stablished, that none should breake them vnpunished. For this ende to euery Bishop was committed the gouernment of his owne cleargie, that they should rule their clerkes according to the canons, and holde them in their ducie. For this ende were ordeyned yearly ouerseeinges and Synodes, that if any were negligent in his dutie, he shoulde be admonished: if any had offended, he shoulde be punished according to the measure of his offence. The Bishops also themselues had yere-ly their prouinciall Synodes, and in the olde time yearly two Synodes, by which they were iudged if they had done any thing beside their ducie. For if any Bishop were too harde or violent against his cleargie, they might appeale to those Synodes, although there were but one that complained. The feuerest punishment was that he which had offended should bee remooued from his office, & for a time be deprivied of the communion. And because y^e same was a continual order, they neuer vsed to dismiss any Synode, but that they appointed a place and time for the next Synode. For, to gather a generall Council, pertained to the Emperour onely, as al y^e old summonings of Councils do testifie. So long as this feueritie florished, y^e clerks did require in word no more of y^e people, than themselues did perform in example & deed. Yea they were much more rigorous to themselues 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 tearme it: but the clerkes should vse sharper iudgements among themselues, and should lesse beare with themselues, than with other men. How all this is growen out of vse, it is no neede to rehearse, whē at this day nothing can be imagined more vnbridled and dissolute than the clergie, and they are broken foorth 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 indeede that they doe with certaine shadowes deceiue the eies of the simple: but those are such as come no neerer to the auncient manners, than the counterfaiting of an ape approacheth to y^e which men do by reason and aduise. There is a notable place in Xenophon, where he teacheth how fowly the Persians had swarued from y^e ordinances of their Elders, and were fallē from the rigorous kind of life, to softnes & daintines, y^e yet they couered this shame, saying that they diligently kept y^e 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 drawe snotte out at his nosethrilles, but it was lawful to sucke it vp, and secde with in euen till they were rotten the stinking humors which they had gathered by gluttonous eating. So by the olde order it is vnlawfull to bring winepots to the borde: but to swill in wine that they neede to be caried away dronken is tollerable. It was ordeined to eat but once in a day: this these good successors haue not abrogate, but they gaue leaue to continue their surfettings frō mid day to mid night. The custome was that men should make an end of their dayes journey fasting. But it was at libertie and vsedly the custome,

for auoiding of wearinesse, to shorten their iourney to two houres. Whensoever the Papistes shall pretende their bastarde rules, to shewe themselues to bee like to the holy fathers: this example shall sufficiently reprocue their sonde counterfeiting, that no paynter can more liuely expresse it.

23 In one thing they bee too rigorous and vntreatable, that they giue not leaue to Priestes to marrie. But howe great libertie there is among them to vse whoredome vnpunished, is not needfull to bee spoken: and bearing them bolde vpon their stinking vnmarried life, they haue hardened themselues to all wicked doinges: But this forbidding doeth plainly shewe, howe pestilent all their traditions are, forasmuch as it hath not onely spoiled the Church of good and fitte Pastors, but also hath brought in a horrible sincke of mischceues, and throwen many soules into the gulfe of desperation. Truly whereas marriage hath bene forbidden to Priestes, that same hath bene done by wicked tyrannie, not onely against the worde of God, but also against all equitie. First to forbidde that which the Lorde had left at libertie, was by no meanes lawfull for men. Againc, that GOD hath expressely prouided by his worde that this libertie shoulde not be broken, is so euident that it needeth no long demonstration. I speake not how Paul in many places willeth a Bishoppe to bee the hus bande of one wife. But what coulde bee more vehemently spoken, than where hee pronounceth by the holy Ghost, that there shal be in the last times wicked men that shal forbidde marriage: and hee calleth them not onely deceiuers, but diuelles? This therefore is a Prophecie, this is a holy Oracle of y^e holy Ghost, wherewith hee willed to arme the Church aforehande against daungers, that the forbidding of marriage is the doctrine of Diuels. But they thinke y^e they haue gayly escaped when they wrest this sentence to Montanus, the Tatrans, Encratites, and other olde heretikes. They onely (say they) condemned marriage: but wee doe not condemne it, but debarre the cleargie from it, for whome wee thinke it not to bee conuenient. As though albeit this prophecie was first fulfilled in those aforefaide men, it might not also bee applied to these: or as though this childishe sonde subtletie were worth the hearing, that they say that they forbidde it not, because they forbid it not to all. For it is all one as if a tyraunt woulde affirme that it is not an vniust lawe, with vniustice whercof one parte alone of the Citie is oppressed.

24 They obiect, that the Priestes doeth by some marke differ from the people. As though the Lorde did not also foresee this, with what ornamentals Priestes ought to excell. So they accuse the Apostle of troubling the order and confounding the comelinesse of the Church, which when hee portrayed out the absolute forme of a good Bishoppe durst set marriage among the other gifts which he required in him. I know how they expound this, namely that none is to bee choosen that hath had a second wife. And I grant that this is not a new exposition: but that it is a false exposition, appeareth by the text it self, because he by & by after setteth out of what qualities the wiuers of Bishops and Deacons ought to be. Paul reckeneth mariage among y^e vertues of a Bishop: these men teach that it is an intollerable fault in the order of y^e cleargie. And, on Gods name, not contented with this generall dispraise they

1. Tim. 3. 2.

and 1. 6.

1. Tim. 4. 3.

Sinit. ad E-
pisco. Hispa.

call

call it in their canons vncleannesse and defiling of the flesh. Let euerie man thinke with himselfe out of what workeshoppe these things be come: Christ vouchsaueh so to honour marriage that he willeth it to bee an image of his holy conioyning with the Church. What coulede be spoken more honourably to set out the dignitie of Mariage? With what face therefore shall that be called vncleane or defiled wherein shineth a likenesse of the spirituall grace of Christ?

25 But nowe when their forbidding so euidently fighteth with the word of God, yet they finde in the scriptures wherewith to defende 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 holy things pure & vndefiled. Therefore it were verie vncomely, that our holy things, sith they be both much more noble and dayly, should be handled of married men. As though there were all one person of the minister of the Gospel, as was of the Leuiticall Priesthood. For they, as figures, represented Christ, which being y mediator of God & men should with most absolute purenes reconcile y Father vnto vs. But when sinners could not in euery behalfe expresse the figure of his holinesse, yet that they might with certaine grosse draughtes yelde a shadowe of him, they were commaunded 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 heauenly iudgement seate. For asmuch as the Pastors of the Church do 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 owne example approue that marriage is not vnmeete for the holinesse of any office be it neuer so excellent. For Paul witnesseth that they did not onely keepe wiues, but also caried them about with them.

Heb. 13.4.

1. Cor. 9.5.

26 Againe it was a meruellous shamelesnesse that they durst set out this comelines 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 holinesse. For if they passe not vppon the Apostles, (as they are wont sometime stoutely to despise them) what I beseech you will they doe to all the olde fathers, whome it is certayne to haue not onely suffered but also allowed marriage in the order of Bishoppes? They forsooth did nourishe a filthy profaning of holy things, forasmuch 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 commaunded: as there alway want not some superstitious men, which doe euer inuente some new thing, to bring themselues 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 holie among them: neither did it turne them to any shame nor was thought to spot the ministerie.

Hist. tripart.
Li. 2. cap. 14.

27 Then followed times, in which too superstitious obseruation of single

gle life grew in force. Hereupon came those often and vnmeasurable aduanced prayſes of virginitic, ſo y^e ſcarcely any other vertue was thought among the people to be compared with it. And although mariage was not condemned for vnclane, yet the dignitie thereof was ſo diminished, and the holi- neſſe of it obſcured, that hee ſeemed not to aſpire with a courage ſtrong enough to perfection, that did not refraine himſelfe from it. Hereupon came thoſe canons whereby it was firſt forbidden that they which were come to the degree of Prieſthoode ſhould not contract mariage: then, that none ſhould be taken into that order but vnmarried men, or ſuch as did for- ſake mariage together with their wiues. Theſe things, becauſe they ſeemed to procure reuerence to Prieſthoode, were (I graunt) euen from anti- quitie receiued with great wel liking. But if the aduerſaries obiect antiqui- tie againſt me, firſt I aunſwere that this libertie remained both vnder the A- poſtles and in certaine ages after them, that Biſhops might be married: that the Apoſtles themſelues, and other Paſtors of great authoritie which ſucce- ded in their places, vſed the ſame without ſticking at it. The example of that ancients Church ought worthily to be of greater weight with vs, than that we ſhould thinke that to be either vnlawefull or vncomely for vs which was then with prayſe receiued and vſed. Secondly I ſay that that age which for immeaſurable affection to virginitic began to be partiall againſt mariage, did not ſo lay vpon Prieſtes the lawe of vnmarried life, as though it were a thing neceſſarie of it ſelfe, but becauſe they preferred vnmarried men aboue the mar- ried. Finally I anſwere that they did not ſo require it that they did with force and neceſſity conſtraine them to continence which were not fit to keepe it. For when they puniſhed whoredomes with moſt ſeuere lawes, of them that contracted mariage they decreed no more but that they ſhould giue ouer the execution of their office.

28 Therefore whenſoever the defenders of this newe tyranny ſhall ſeek the pretence of antiquitie to defende their vnmarried life: ſo oft we ſhall an- ſwere them with requiring them, that they reſtore the old chaſtneſſe in their Prieſtes: that they remoue adulterers and whoremongers: that they ſuffer not thoſe in whom they ſuffer not honeſt and chaſt uſe of mariage bed, to run vnpuniſhed into all kinde of luſt: that they call againe the diſcontinued diſ- cipline, whereby all wantonneſſes may be reſtrained: that they deliuer the Church from this ſo wicked filthinneſſe, wherewith it hath bene long deſor- med. When they haue graunted this, then they muſt againe be put in mind that they boaſt not that thing for neceſſarie, which being of it ſelfe at liber- tie 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 ſorte may vnderſtande with what face our enemies doe ſclaunder holy mariage in Prieſts by obiecting the name of antiquitie. As touching the fathers, whoſe wri- tings remaine, euen they when they ſpeake of their owne iudgement, ex- cept Hierome, did not with ſo great ſpitefulneſſe deſace the honeſtie of ma- riage. We ſhalbe content with one commendation of Chryſoſtom: becauſe

Hom. de in-
uent, crucis,

he, ſith he was a principall eſteemer of virginitic, can not be thought to haue bene more lauiſh than other in commendation of mariage. Thus he ſayth:

The

Rom. 12. 3.
1. Cor. 12. 11.

Act. 23. 12.

Jud. 11. 30.

Gen. 2. 18.

Heb. 13. 4.
Joh. 1. 2.

But sith some things are by gods goodnesse 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 doe here meane nothing else, but that vowes must bee tempered to that measure which the Lorde prescribeth there in his giuing: least if thou attempt further than hee 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 woulde taste of no meat till Paul were slain: 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 Iephthe suffered punishment for his follie, when with headlong heate he conceiued an vnaduised vowe. In which kinde vnmarried life hath the cheefe place of mad boldnesse. For sacrificing Priestes, monkes, and Nonnes, 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 very ende whereof they vowe it? They heare the worde of God concerning the vniuersall state of men, It is not good for man to be alone. They vnderstande, and woulde to God y they did not feele, that sinne remaining in vs is not without most sharp pricks. With what confidence dare they shake of that generall calling for all their life long: whereas the gift of continence is oftner graunted for a certaine time as opportunitie requireth? In such stubbornesse let them not looke for God to bee 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 endeuour against the nature put in vs by him, and to despise his present gifts 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 hee hath pronounced honourable in all men, which Christ our Lorde hath sanctified with his presence, which hee vouchsafed to honour with his first miracle, they dare call defiling, onely to aduaunce with maruellous commendations a certaine vnmarried life of what sort soeuer it bee. As though they themselues did not shewe a cleare example in their life, that vnmarried state is one thing, and virginie an other: which their life yet they most shamelesly call Angelike, doing herein verily too great iniurie to the Angels of God, to whom they compare whoremongers, adulterers, and somewhat else much worse and filthier. And truly here need no arguments when they are openly confuted by the thing it selfe. For wee plainly see, with howe horrible paines the Lorde doeth commonly take vengeance of such arrogance, and contempt of his giftes by too much trust in themselues. I spare for shame to speake of the more secrete faultes, 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 shoulde vowe, that he will leaue his wife and his children and take other charges in hand: or if hee that is fit to beare office, when hee is chosen doe vowe that he will be a priuate man. But what is meant by this, that our libertie shoulde not be despised, hath some difficultie if it bee not declared. Therefore thus in fewe words I expounde 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 worke to God if we yelde our selues into bondage to the outward things which ought to be a helpe vnto vs. I say this for this purpose, because many do hereby seeke praise of humilitie, if they snare themselves with many obseruations, from which God not without cause willed vs to be free & discharged. Therefore if we wil escape this danger, let vs alway remember that wee ought not to departe from that order which the Lorde hath ordeined in the Christian Church.

4 Now I come to that which I did set in the thirde place: y it is much material with what minde thou makest a vowe, if thou wilt haue it allowed of God. For sith the Lorde regardeth the heart, not the outwarde shewe, 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 hiely 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 ende which is not euil, no man can disallowe it. But in my iudgement there be foure endes, to which our voves shalbee 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 wee do either testifie our thankfulness to God for benefites receiued: or to craue y turning away of his wrath, wee our selues do punish our selues for the offences that wee 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 Lorde did bring him home safe out of banishment into his country. Againe in the olde Sacrifices of the peace offerings, which godly kinges and captaines, when they tooke in hande righteous warre, did vowe that they would pay if they had obtained the victorie, or at least when they were oppressed with any great distresse, if the Lorde had deliuered them. So are all those places in the Psalmes to bee vnderstoode which speake of voves. Such voves may at this day also bee in vse among vs, so oft as the Lord hath deliuered vs either out of any calamitie, or from a hard sicknesse, or from any other danger. For it is then not against the dutie of a godly man, to consecrate to God his vowed oblation, as a solemne token of his reknowledging, least he should sceme vnthankful towarde 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 bee fallen into any offence, nothing withstandeth but that to chastice his intemperance hee may for a time forsake all deintie meates, and may do the same with a vowe adioyned, that hee 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 vowe profitable for themselves. I doe therefore so make such a vowe lawfull, that in the meane time I leaue it at libertie.

5 The voves that are applied to the time to come, partly (as we haue alreadie said) do tende to this end that we may be made the warer: & partly

Gen. 28. 20.
Psal. 22. 27.
& 56. 13. &
116. 14. 18.

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 hee cannot temper himselfe from falling forthwith into an euill: hee shall doe nothing inconueniently if he doe for a time by vowe cut off from himselfe the vse of that thing. As if a man knowe that this or that apparell of bodie is perilous vnto him, and yet entised with desire he earnestly couet it, what can he do better, than if in putting a bridle vpon himselfe, that is in charging himself with necessitie of absteyning from it, he deliuer himselfe from all douting? Likewise if a man bee forgetfull or slowe to necessarie duties of godlinesse, why may he not by taking a vowe vpon him both awake his memorie & shake off his slothfulnes? In both I graunt that there is a forme of childish schooling: but euen in this that they are helpes of weakenesse, they are not without profit vsed of the rawe & vnperfect. Therefore we shal 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 do agree with our vocation, & be measured by the power of grace giuen vs of God.

6 Now also it is not hard to gather what is generally to be thought of all vowes. There is one common vowe of all the faithfull, which being made in baptisme wee do confirme and as it were stablish by Catechisme and receiuing of the Supper. For the Sacramentes are as charters, by which the Lord deliuereth to vs his mercie and thereby euerlasting life, and we againe on our behalves do promise him obedience. But this is the forme or verily the summe of the vowe, that forsaking Satan we yelde our selues into seruice to God, to obey his holy commaundements, and not to follow the peruerse desires of our flesh. It ought not to be doubted but that this vowe, 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 contrary, that no man in this life performeth the perfect obedience of the law which God requireth of vs. For sith this forme of couenancing is comprised within the couenant of grace, vnder which is contained both forgiuenes of sins and the Spirit of sanctification: the promise which we there 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 wee may safely weye of what sort euery vowe is. Neither yet thinke that I so commende the verie same vowes which I affirme to bee holy, that I woulde haue them to be daily. For though I dare teache no certaine rule of the number or time: yet if any man obey my counsel, he shall take vpon him none but sober and for a time. For if thou oftentimes breake forth into making of many 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 tediousnesse thou shalt vndo it, or beeing wearied with long continuance thou shalt at one time or other, be bolde to breake it.

7 Now also it is plaine with how great superstition in this behalfe the world hath in certain ages past bin possessed. One man vowed y hee woulde abstaine

abstaine from wine: as though abstaining from wine were of it selfe a worship acceptable to God. An other bound himself to fasting, an other to abstaining from flesh for certaine dayes, in which he had with vaine opinion fained to be a singular holines about 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, that by their werines the more merite might be gotten. These & such other, with incredible zeale whereof the world hath a while swelled, if they be examined by those rules, which we haue about set, shalbe founde not only vaine & trifling, but ful of manifest vngodlines. For howsoeuer the flesh iudge, God abhorreth nothing more than fained worshippings. There are beside this those pernicious & damned opinions, y^e hypocrits when they haue such trifles think that they haue gotten no small righteousnes: they repose the summe of godlinesse in outwarde obseruations: they despise all other that are lesse carefull of such thinges.

8 To reckon vp all the particular formes, is nothing to purpose. But forasmuch as the monkish vowes are hadde 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 defende monkery, 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 seuerity 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, herbes and rotes: their chiefe deinties were in oyle and eiches. They abstained from all delicate diet and trimming of body. These things might seeme about trueth, if they were not written by witnesses that saw & proued them, as Gregory Nazianzen, Basile, and Chrysostome. But with such introductions they prepared themselves to great offices. For, that y^e colleges of monks were then as it were the seedplots of the order of ministers of the Church, both these whom 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 yeelded clerkes to the Church. For hee speaketh thus to the monkes of the Isle of Caprarea: But you brethren we exhort in the Lord, that ye kepe your purpose & continue to the end: and if at any time our mother the Church shall require your traual, do ye neither with greedy pride take it vp^o you, nor with flattering slothfulnesse refuse it: but with a meeke heart obey to God. Neither preferre ye your own quiet leasure about the necessities of the Church: to whome if no good men would haue ministered in her trauaile, you should not haue founde howe 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

Epi. 81.

Epi. 76.

be chosen to the soldiery of the Clergy: when euen of those y^e remain in the monastery, we vse to take into the Clergy none but the most approoued and best. Vnlesse perhaps as the cōmon people say, he is an euill piper but a good fidler : so it shall also be iestingly sayd of vs, he is an euill monke, but a good Clerke. It is too much to be lamented, if we list vp monks into such a ruinous pride, and thinke Clerkes worthy of so great reproche, whereas sometime euen a good monke maketh not a good Clerke, if he haue sufficient cōrinence, and yet want necessarie learning. By these places it appeareth, y^e godly men were wont with the discipline of monkes to prepare theselues to the gouernment 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 end, or yet tended toward it, when for y^e most part they were vnlearned men: but such were chosen out as were meete for it.

9 But chiefly in two places he painteth out vnto vs the forme of the olde monkerie. In the booke Of the manners of the Catholike Church, where he setteth the holinesse of that profession against the sclaunders of the Manichees : & in an other booke which he entituled Of the work of monkes, where he inuiceth against certaine degendred monkes, which beganne to corrupt that order. I will here so gather a summe of those things which he sayeth, that so neere as I may I will vse his owne wordes. Despising (sayth he) the entisements of this world, gathered into one most chaste and holy life, they spende their time together, liuing in prayers, readings, and disputations, not swelling with pride, not troublesome with stubbornnesse, not wanne with enuiousnesse. None possesseth any thing of his owne, none is burdenous to any man. They get by working with their handes those things wherewith both their body may be fedde, and their minde may not be hindered from God. Their woike they deliuer to them whome they call Deanes. Those Deanes despising all thinges with great carefulnesse make account thereof to one whom they call Father. These fathers not onely most holy in maners, but also most excellent in godly doctrine, hie in all thinges, do with no pride prouide for them whom they call children, with great authoritie of them in cōmanding, and great willingnes of the other in obeying: 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 y^e least three thousand men, (he speaketh chiefly of Ægypt, and of the east) then they refresh their body, so much as suffiseth for life and healthfulnesse, euery man restraining his desire, not to take largely euen of those things that they haue present very spare & vile. So they do not only abstaine from flesh and wine, so much that they may be able to tame their lusts, but from such thinges 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 whereof the filthy desire of exquisite meates, which is not in fleshe, is wont to be fondly and fowly defended. Whatsoeuer remaineth aboue necessarie 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 thinges, but they by all

by all meanes endeouour that that which they haue abounding may not remaine with them. Afterward when he hath rehearsed the hardnes, whereof hee himselſe had ſcene examples both at Millaine and elſe where : among theſe things (ſaith hee) no man is enforced to hard things which hee cannot beare: no man is charged with that which he refuseth : neither is hee therefore condemned of the reſt, becauſe hee confeſſeth himſelſe to want ſtrength in following of them: for they remember howe much charitie is commended: they remember that all things are cleane to the cleane . Therefore all their diligence watcheth , not to the reſuſing of kindes of meate as vncleane , but to tame luſt , and to retaine the loue of brethren. They remember, meate for the bellic, and the bellie for meates. &c. Yet many ſtrong do abſtaine for the weakes ſakes. Many of them haue no neede to do thus: but becauſe it pleaſeth them to ſuſtaine themſelues with baſer diet and nothing ſumptuous . Therefore they themſelues, which being in health do forbear, if conſideration of their health compell, when they are ſicke do take without any feare. Many drinke no wine, & yet they thinke not themſelues deſiled 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 reſuſe it, they do brotherly admoniſh that they be not with vaine ſuperſtition ſooner made weaker than holier. So they diligently exerciſe godlines: but they knowe that the exerciſing of the body pertaineth but to a ſhort time. Charitie is chiefly kept: to charitie the diet, to charitie the ſpeech, to charitie the apparel, to charitie y^e countenance is fitted. They meet and conſpire into one charitie. To offend it is accounted as haynous as to offende God. If any reſiſt charitie, he is caſt out and ſhunned. If any offende charitie, he is not ſuffred to abide one day. For aſmuch as in theſe wordes, as in a painted table, that holy man ſeemeth to haue ſet out what maner of life monkerie was in olde time , although they were ſomewhat long, yet I was content to enterlace them here: becauſe I ſaw that I ſhould haue bene ſomewhat longer if I had gathered the ſame things out of diuerſe, how much ſoeuer I ſtudied for brieſeneſſe.

10 But my pürpoſe here is not to go through this whole matter, but on-ly by the way to point out, not only what maner of monkes the old Church had, but what maner of thing the profeſſion of monkes was at that time: ſo as the ſound 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 & true monkerie, woulde haue to be abſent all rigorous exacting of thoſe things which by the word of the Lord are left vs at libertie. But there is nothing that is at this day more ſeuereſly requi- red. For they count it a miſchiefe that can neuer be purged, if any do neuer ſo litle ſwarue from the preſcribed rule in colour or faſhion of garment, in kind of meat, or in other trifling & cold ceremonies. Auguſtine ſtoutly main- taineth, y^e it is not lawful for monks to liue idle vpon other mens. He denieth y^e there was euer in his time any ſuch example of a wel ordered monaſterie. Our men ſet the chiefe part of their holineſſe in idleneſſe. For if you take idlenes from them, where ſhalbe y^e contemplatiue life whereby they boaſt y^e they excel al other men, & approach nere vnto Angels? Finally, Auguſtine re-

Ibid. cap. 33
Tit. 1. 15.

2. Cor. 6. 13.

De opere
monach.

William Wolf

quireth 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 charitie the chiefe, yea & almost only rule therof, do we thinke y he praiseth a conspiring, wherby a fewe men being bound together, are seuered from y whole bodie of the church? But rather he willeth them w their example to giue light to other to keepe the vnitie of y church. In both these points there is so much difference of the monkery at this present, that a man can scarcely find any thing more vnlike, I wil not say contrary. For our monkes not contented with that godlines, to the studie of which alone Christ commandeth them y are his continually to apply, doe imagine I wote not what new godlines, by meditation wherof they may be perfecter than other.

11 If they denie this, I would know of them why they vouchsaue to giue to their owne order alone the title of perfection, and take away the same fro all the callings of God. Neither am I ignorant of that sophistical solution, y it is not therefore so called because it doth containe perfection in it, but because it is the best of all other to attaine perfection. When they are disposed to boast themselues before the people, when to snare vnskillfull and vnware yong men, when to maintaine their priuileges, when to aduance their owne dignitie to the reproch of other, then they boast that they are in the state of perfection. When they are so nye 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 aboue other. In the meane time that admiration among y people remaineth, as though the only monkish life were angelike, perfect, and clesed from all fault. By this pretence they make most gainful markets, but that same moderation lieth buried in a few bookes. Who doth not see y this is an intollerable mockerie? But let vs so reason with them, as though they gaue no more to their professio than to cal it a state of attaining perfection. Verily in giuing it this name, they do as by a speciall 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 holy mouth not onely commaunded, but also commended with notable titles of praise, are by the same accounted vnworthie? And how great wrong (I beseech you) is done to God, when I wote not what new found thing is preferred aboue all the kinde of life ordained by himselfe, and praised by his owne testimonie?

12 But go to, let them say that it is a slander which I haue before saide, that they are not contented with the rule preferibed of God. Yet though I holde my peace, they themselues do more than enough accuse themselues. 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 y gospel concerning louing their enemies, not coueting of reuenge, not swearing, &c. To which things Christians are not generally bounde. Herein what antiquirie wil they shewe foth against vs? This neuer came in any of the olde fathers mindes. They all criue out with one voice that there was no one litle worde at al vttered of Christ, which ought not necessarily to be obeyed. And with-

without any doubting they do echwhere teach, that these very same thinges by name were commandements, which these good expositors triflingly say, that Christ did but counsell. But forasmuch as we haue before taught y this is a most pestilent errour, lette it suffice here to haue briefly noted that the monkery which is at this day, is grounded vpon the same opinion, which all the godly ought worthily to abhor: 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, can not be but abhominable.

13 But they bring an other prooffe of their perfection, which they thinke to be most strong for them. For the Lorde sayde to the yong man that asked him of the perfection of righteousnes, If thou wilt be perfect, sell al that thou hast and giue it to the poore. Whether they do so or no, I do not yet dispute: but graunt them that for this present. Therefore they boast that they be made perfect by forsaking all theirs. If the summe of perfection stande in this, what meaneth Paul when he teacheth, that he which hath distributed al his goods to the poore, vnlesse he haue charitie, is nothing? What maner of perfection is this, which if charity be absent, is brought with man to nothing? Here they must needs answer, that this is the chiefest in deede, but not the only worke of perfection. But here also Paul crieth against them, which sticke not to make charitie the bonde of perfection, without any such forsaking. If it be certaine that betweene the master and the disciple is no disagreement, and the one of them clearely 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 howe that saying of Christ is to be taken, if thou wilt be perfect, sell all that thou hast. Nowe, it shalbe no darke sence, if we wey (which we ought alway to marke in all the preachinges of Christ) to whom these wordes be directed. A yong man asketh, by what workes hee 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 peruersenesse. By this answer Christ declared, that he teacheth no other rule to frame life by, than the same that had in olde time bin taught in the lawe of the Lord. So did he both giue witnesse to the law of God, that it was the doctrine of perfecte righteousnesse: and therewithall did meete with sclanders, that hee shoulde not seeme by any newe rule of life to stirre the people to forsaking of the lawe. The young man being in deede not of an euill minde, but swelling with vaine confidence, answered that he had from his childehoode kept all the commaundementes of the lawe. It is most certaine that hee was an infinite space distant from that to which hee boasteth that he had attained. And if his boasting had bene true, he had wanted nothing to the hiest perfection. For wee haue before shewed, that the lawe containeth in it selfe perfect righteousnesse: and the same appeareth hereby that the keeping of it is called the way of eternall saluation. That he might be taught to knowe howe litle he had profited in that righteousnesse, 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 heart

Matt. 19. 21.

1. Cor. 13. 3.

Col. 3. 14.

Luke 20. 25

fastened vpon them. Therefore because he felt not this secret wound, Christ launced him. Go (sayth he) sell all that thou hast. If he had beene so good a keeper of the lawe as he thought he was, he would not haue gone away sorrowfull when he heard this worde. For who so loueth God with al his heart, whatsoeuer disagreeeth with the loue of him, he not onely taketh it for dong, but abhorreth as bringing destruction. Therefore whereas Christ commaundeth the couetous riche man to leaue all that he hath, it is all one, as if hee should commaunde the ambitious man to forsake all honours, the voluptuous man all delites, and the vnchast man all the instrumentes 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 do in vaine drawe this speciall case to generall exposition, as though Christ did set the perfection of a man in forsaking of goods: whereas he meant nothing else by this saying, than to driue the yong man that stood too much in his owne conceite, to feele his owne sore, 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 grant that this place hath bin euill vnderstanded of some of the fathers, and that thereupon grew this coueting of wilfull pouerty, whereby they only were thought to be blessed, which forsaking all earthly thinges, did dedicate themselues naked to Christ. But I trust that all the good & not contentious men will be satisfied with this my exposition, so that they shall no more dout of the meaning of Christ. Howbeit the Fathers thought nothing lesse, than to stablish such a perfection, as hath since bin framed by the cowed Sophisters, thereby to raise vp a double Christianity. For that doctrine full of sacrilege was not yet borne, which compareth the profession of monkery to Baptisme, yea and openly affirmeth, that it is a forme of second Baptisme. Who can dout that the Fathers with al their heart abhorred this blasphemy? Nowe as touching that last thing, which Augustine sayeth to haue bin among the olde Monkes, that is, that they applied themselues wholly to Charity: what neede I to shewe in wordes that it is most far from this new profession? The thing it selfe speaketh, that all they that goe into Monasteries, depart from the Church. For why? Doe not they seuer themselues from the lawful fellowship of the faithful, in taking to themselues a peculiar ministry and priuate ministracion of Sacramentes? What is it to dissolue the Communion of the Church, if this be not it? And (that I may follow the comparison which I beganne to make, and may once conclude it) what haue they in this behalfe like to the old monkes? They although they dwelt seuerally from other men, yet hadde not a seuerall Church: they did partake of the sacramentes together with other: they appeared 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 vnity? For they haue both excommunicate themselues from the whole body of the Church, and haue despised the ordinary ministerie, whereby the Lord willed to haue peace & charity kept amōg his. Therefore how many ministeries there be at this day, I say y there be so many assemblies of schismatiques, which troubling the order of the Church, are cut of from the lawful fellowship of the faithfull. And y this departing should not be secret, they haue

giuen to theſelues diuers names of ſects. Neither were they aſhamed to boſt of that, which Paul doth ſo deteſt ȳ he can not ſufficiently amplifie the hay-nouſnes of it. Vnleſſe perhap we thinke ȳ Chriſt was diuided of the Corinthi-ans, when one gloried of one teacher, & an other of an other: and ȳ now it is don wout any iniury to Chriſt, ȳ in ſteed of Chriſtians we heare ſome called Benedictines, ſome Franciſcanes, ſome Dominicanes: and that they are ſo called, that they theſelues when they couet to be ſeuerally knownen from the common ſort of Chriſtians, do with great pride take theſe titles to them for the profeſſion of their religion.

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 ſpo-ken, of monkery than of monkes, & haue touched thoſe faultes, not which ſtick in the life of a few of them, but which can not be ſcuered from their ve-ry order of liuing it ſelfe. But what difference is in their maners, what neede I particularly to declare? This is certaine, ȳ there is no degree of men more defiled with all filthineſſe of vices: no where more are factions, hatredes, af-ſectiōs of parties, ambitions whotter than among them. In deed in a few mo-naſteries they liue chaſtly, if it be to be called chaſtitie where luſt is ſo farre kept downe that it be not openly euill ſpoken of: yet a man ſhall ſcarcely find euery tenth monaſtery which is not rather a ſtewes than a holy houſe of cha-ſtity. But what honeſt ſparing is in their diet? Swine be none otherwiſe fattēd in ſties. But leaſt they ſhould complaine that I handle them too vnghently, I go no further. Howbeit in thoſe fewe things which I haue touched, whoſe-uer knoweth the thing it ſelfe will confeſſe that there is nothing ſpoken ac-cuſerlike. Auguſtine, when according to his teſtimonie monkes excelled in ſo great chaſtity, yet complaineth that there were many vagabundes, which with euill craſtes & deceits wiped ſimple men from their money, which with carying about the reliques of martyrs did uſe filthy marchandilinges, yea & in ſteede of the reliques of martyrs did ſhewe foorth the bones of any other dead men, & which with many ſuch wicked doings ſclandered the order. As he reporteth that he ſaw no better men than theſe which haue profited in mo-naſteries, ſo he lamenteth that he hath ſeene no worſe men than thoſe ȳ diſ-profited in monaſteries. What would he ſay if at this day he ſaw all monaſte-ries to ſwell, and in a maner to burſt with ſo many and ſo deſpeired vices? I ſpeake nothing but ȳ which is well knownen to all men. Yet doth not this diſ-prayſe pertaine to all without any exception at all. For as there was neuer rule & diſcipline of liuing ſo holily ſtabliſhed in monaſteries, but that there remained ſome drōnes much vnlike the reſt: ſo I doe not ſo ȳ 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 lye hidden a fewe and ſcattered in that huge multitude of naughty & wicked men: and they are not only deſpi-ſed, but alſo lewdly railed at, & ſometime cruelly handled of other, which (as the Mileſians prouerbe is) thinke that there ought to be no place for any hone-ſt man among them.

16 By this compariſon of the olde and preſente monkery, I truſt I haue brought to paſſe that which I purpoſed, that it may appeare that our cowed

men do fallſly pretende the example of the firſt Church for defence of their profeſſion: forasmuch as they no leſſe differ from them than apes from men. In the mean time I ſticke not to declare, that euen in that olde forme which Auguſtine comendeth, there is ſomewhat which litle pleaſeth me. I grant that they were not ſuperſtitious in exacting the outward exerciſes of rougher diſcipline, but I ſay that there wanted not to much affectatiō & wrongſul zeale. It was a goodly thing, forſaking their goods, to be without al earthly carefullneſſe: but God more eſteemeth care to rule a houſeholde godlily, when a holy houſholder being looſe and free from all couetouſnes, ambition, & other deſires of the fleſh, trauaileth to this purpoſe to ſerue God in a certain vocation. It is a goodly thing to play the Phyloſopher in wilderneſſe far from the company of men: but it agreeth not with Chriſtian gentleneſſe as it were for hatred of mankind to fly into deſart and ſolitarineſſe, & therewithall to forſake thoſe duties which the Lorde hath chiefly commaunded. Although wee graunt 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 Nowe therefore let vs ſee what manner of vowes they be, wherewith monkes at this day are profeſſed into this goodly order. Firſt, becauſe their minde is to inſtitute a newe and fained worſhipping to deſerue Gods fauour: I concluded by the thinges afore ſpoken that whatſoever they vowe is abhominable before GOD. Secondly without any regard of Gods calling, without any his allowaunce, they inuent for them ſuch a kinde of lying as pleaſeth them ſelues. I ſay that it is a raſhe and therefore an vnlawefull enterpriſe: becauſe their conſcience hath nothing whereupon it may vpholde it ſelfe before GOD, and whatſoever is not of faith, is ſinne. Moreouer when they binde themſelues to many peruerſe and wicked worſhippinges, which the monkery at this day containeth in it. I affirme that they be not conſecrate to God, but to the Deuill. For why was it lawefull for the Prophete to ſay, that the Iſraelites offered their children to Deuils and not to God: only for this that they had corrupted the true worſhipping of God with prophane Ceremonies: and ſhall it not bee lawefull for vs to ſay the ſame of monkes, which with their cowle doe put vpon themſelues a ſnare of a thouſande wicked ſuperſtitions? Nowe what ſortes of vowes are there? They promiſe to GOD perpetuall virginitic, as though they hadde bargayned with God before, that he ſhoulde deliuer them from neede of marriage. There is no cauſe why they ſhoulde alleage, that they do not make this vowe but truſting vpon the grace of GOD. For ſith hee pronounceth that he giueth it not to all men, it is not in vs to conceiue a confidence of a ſpeciall giſte. Lette them that haue it, vſe it. If at any time they feele themſelues to be troubled of their fleſhe, let them flie to this helpe by whoſe only power they may reſiſt. If they preuaile not, let them not deſpiſe the remedy that is offered them. For they by the certaine word of God are called to marriage, to whom power of continence is denied. Continence I call, not wherby the body is onely kept cleane from whoredome, but wherby the minde keepeth chaſtitie vndefiled. For Paule commaundeth not ſonely outwarde wantonneſſe, but alſo the burning of the minde, to be auoyded. This (ſaye they)

Rom. 14. 23.
Deut. 31. 17.
Pſal. 106. 37

Matt. 19. 11.

i. Cor. 7. 9.

they) hath from furthest time of memorie beene obserued, that they which would dedicate themselues wholly to the Lorde, shoulde binde themselues to the vowe of continence. I graunt indeede that this manner hath also bin of auncient time receiued: but I do not graunt that that age was so free from all fault, that whatsoeuer was then done must bee taken for a rule. And by litle and litle this vnappeasable feueritie crept in, that after a vowe made there was no roome for repentance. Which is euident by Cyprian. If virgins haue of faith dedicate themselues to God, let them continue shamefastly, and chastly without any faining. So being strong and stedfast, let them loke for the rewarde of virginity. But if they will not or can not continue, it is better that they shoulde marrie than with their delights fall into the fire. What reproches would they nowe spare to teare him withall, that would with such equitie temper the vowe of continence? Therefore they are departed farre from that auncient manner, 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 hee sinneth more greuously if he remedy the intemperance of the flesh with taking a wife, than if he defile both his body and soule with whoredome.

Epist. 11.

18 But they still enforce the matter, and goe about to shewe that such a vowe was vsed in the Apostles time: because Paul saith that the widowes which hauing beene once receiued into the Publike ministerie did marrie, denied their first faith. But I doe not denie to them, that the widowes, which bounde themselues and their seruices to the Church, did therewithall take vpon them the bonde of continuall vnmarried life: not because they reposed any religion therein, as it afterward began to be vsed: but because they coulde not beare that office but being at their owne libertie and loose from yoke of mariage. But if, when they had once giuen their faith, they looked backe to newe mariages, what was this else but to shake off the calling of God? Therefore it is no maruel that with such desires he saith that they waxe wanton against Christ. Afterwarde to amplifie the matter hee saith, that they doe so not performe that which they haue promised to the Church, that they doe also breake and make void their first Faith giuen in Baptisme: in which this is comprehended, that euery man shoulde answere his calling. Vnlesse perhap you had rather vnderstande 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 desolute life resemble nothing lesse than Christian women: which sense I like very well. Therefore we aunswere, that those widowes which were then receiued to publike ministerie, did lay vpon them selues a bond to continue vnmarried: if they afterward married, wee easily perceiue that that happened to them which Paul speaketh of, that casting away shame they became more wanton than befemed Christian women. That so they not onely sinned, in breaking their Faith giuen to the Church, but swarued 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 y^e ministerie which they took in hand: and I deny that they did binde themselues at all to single life, but so far as y^e necessity of their vocatiō did bere.

1. Tim. 5. 12.

Againe

Againe I doe not graunt that they were so bounde, but that it was then also better for them to marrie, than either to be troubled with the prickings of the fleshe, or to fall into any vncleanenesse. Thirdly I say that that age is appointed of Paul, which is commonly out of danger: specially sith he commaundeth the onely to be chosen, which contented with one marriage haue already shewed a token of their continencie. And wee doe for no other reason disallowe the vow of vnmarried life, but because it is both wrongfully taken for a seruice of God, and it is rashly vowed of them to whome power of continencie is not giuen.

19 But howe was it lawfull to drawe this place of Paul to Nunnes? For there were created deaconisses, not to delight God with singing & with mūbling not vnderstanded, and liue the rest of their time idle: but y they should execute publike ministracion towarde the poore, that they shoulde with all studie, earnestnes and diligence, endeouour themselues with the duties of charitie. They did not vowe vnmarried life, to yeelde thereby any worship to God because they absteyned from marriage: but onely because they were thereby the more vncombred to execute their office. Finally they did not vowe it, either in the beginning of their youth, or yet in the midst of their flowing age, that they might afterwarde learne too late by experience into howe great a headlong dowe fall they had throwen themselues: but whē they seemed to haue passed all danger, then they vowed a no lesse safe than holy vowe. But (not to enforce their first two pointes) I say it was not lawfull to haue women receiued to vowe continence before the age of three score yeares: forasmuch as the Apostle admitteth onely women of sixtie yeares: olde, and commaundeth the younger to marrie and bring forth children. Therefore neither that release made of 12. yeares, and then 20. and afterwarde of thirtie yeares, can bee any way excused: and much lesse is it tollerable, that sillie maides, before that they can by age knowe themselues, or haue any experience of themselues, are not onely trained by fraud, but constrained by force and threatenings to put on those cursed snares. I will not tary vpon confuting the other two voves. Onely this I say: beside this that they be intangled with not a fewe superstitions, (as the matter is noweadaies) they seeme to be made to this purpose, y they which vow them should mocke both God & men. But least we should seeme too maliciously to shake vp euery smal parcel, we will be content with that general confutation which is aboue set.

20 What manner of voves be lawfull and acceptable to God, I thinke is sufficiently declared. Yet because sometime vnskillfull and fearefull consciences, euen when they mislike or disallow any vowe, do neuertheles doubt of the binding, & are greuously tormented, when they both dread to breake their faith giuen to God, & on y other side they feare least they shold more sin 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 y al voves being not lawfull, nor rightly made, as they are nothing worth before God, so ought to be void to vs. For if in contractes of men those promises only do bind, in which he with whom we contract, wold haue vs bound: it is an absurditie, that we should be driuen to y keeping of those things which God doth

not require of vs: specially sith our workes are no otherwise right, but when they please God, & when consciences haue this testimonie 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 hande with doubting, is therefore faultie, because faith is the roote of al good workes, by which wee are assured that they be acceptable to God. Therefore if it be lawfull for a Christian man to goe about nothing without this assurednesse: if by fault of ignorance they haue taken any thing in hande, why should they not afterward giue it ouer when they be deliuered from errours? Sith vowes vnadvisedly made are such, they do not only nothing bind, but are necessarily to be vndone. Yea what if they are not onely nothing esteemed, but also are abominable in the sight of God, as is aboue shewed? It is needlesse to discourse any longer of a matter not needfull. This one argument seemeth to mee to bee enough to pacifie godly consciences and deliuer them from all doubt: y whatsoeuer works do not flow out of the pure fountaine and bee not directed to the lawful end, are refused of God: and so refused that he no lesse forbiddeth vs to goe forward in them, than to beginne them. For hereupon followeth, that those vowes which proceede of error and superstition, are both of no value before God, and to be forsaken of vs.

Rom. 14. 23.

21 Moreouer he that shall know this solution, shall haue wherewith he may defende against the slaunders of the wicked, them that depart from monkerie to some honest kind of life. They are greuously 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 y there was no bond, where god doeth abrogate y which man confirmeth. Moreouer, admitting that they were bond, when they were holden intrangled with not knowing of God: and with error: nowe since they are lightened with the knowledge of the trueth, I say that they are therewithal 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 forcine 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 fro al snares which they had put vpon themselues by superstition. Howbeit they want not yet an other defence, if they were not fit to liue vnmarried. For if an impossible vow be a sure destructiō of the soule, whom the Lord would haue saued and not destroyed: it followeth that we ought not to continue therein. But howe impossible is the vowe of continence to them that are not indued with a singular gifte, wee haue alreadie taught, and experience speaketh it though I holde my peace. For neither is it vnknown with howe 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 owne weakenes, doe against nature couet that which is denied them, and dispising the remedies which the Lorde had giuen them at hande, do trust that they can with stubbornesse and obstinacie overcome y disease

Gal. 3.

disease of incontinence. For what else shall we call it but stubbornesse, when one being warned that he needeth marriage, and that the same is giuen him of the Lord for a remedy, doth not onely despise it, but also bindeth himselfe with an oth to the despising of it?

The xiiii. Chapter.

Of Sacramentes.

Beside the preaching of the Gospell, and other helpe of like sorte is in the Sacramentes: of which to haue some certaine doctrine taught, is much behoouefull for vs, whereby we may learne both to what end they were ordeined, and what is nowe the vse of them. First it is meete to consider what is a Sacrament. It seemeth to mee that this shall bee a plaine and proper definition, if wee say that it is an outwarde signe, wherewith, the Lorde sealeth to our consciences the promises of his good wil toward vs, to susteine the weakenesse of our Faith; and we againe on our behalves doe testifie our godlinesse toward him as well before him and the Angels as before men. We may also with more briefenesse 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 godlinesse toward him. Whethersoever 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 doeth better and more certainly expresse the thing it selfe. For whereas in that breefenes there is some darknes, wherein many of the vnskilfuller sort are deceiued, I thought good in moe words to giue a fuller sentence, that there should remaine no doubt.

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 translater would render in latine this greeke worde *Mysterion* mysterie, specially when diuine matters were intreated of, hee translated it *Sacrament*. So to the Ephesians, That hee might make knowen vnto vs the Sacrament of his will. Againe, if yet yee haue heard the distribution of the grace of God, which is giuen to mee in you, because according to reuelation the Sacrament was made knowen to me. To *Colossians*, The mystery which hath bin hidden from ages & generations, but now is manifested to his Saints, to whom the Lord would make knowen the riches of this Sacrament. &c. Againe, to *Timothie*, A great Sacrament of godlinesse: God is openly shewed in the flesh. He woulde not say a secreete, least he should seeme to say somewhat vnder the greatnesse of the things. Therefore hee hath put Sacrament in steed of *Secrete*, but of a holy thing. In that signification it is sometime found among the ecclesiasticall writers. And it is well enough knowen, that those which in Latine are called Sacraments, in Greeke are *Mysterics*: which expressing of one thing in two feuerall wordes endeth all *ŷ* contention. And hereby it came to passe that it was drawn to those signes which had a reuerende representation of hie and spirituall things. Which Augustine also noteth in one place. It were long (saith he) to dispute of the diuersitie of signes, which when they per-

Eph. 1.9. &
3.2.

Col. 1.26.

1. Tim. 3.16.

Epist. 5. ad
Marcel.

pertaine to diuine things, are called Sacramentes.

3 Nowe of this definition which wee haue set, wee vnderstande that a Sacrament is neuer without a promise going before it, but rather is adioined as a certaine addition hanging to it, to this ende that it shoulde confirme and seale the promise it selfe, and make it more approoued vnto vs, yea after a certaine manner ratified. Which meane the Lorde foreseeeth to be needefull first for our ignorance and dulnes, and then for our weakenes: and yet (to speake properly) not so much to confirme his holy worde, as to stablishe vs in the Faith thereof. For the trueth of God is by it selfe sounde and certaine enough, and cannot from any other where receiue better confirmation than from it selfe. But our Faith, as it is small and weake, vnlesse it be stayed on euery side, and bee by all meanes vpholden, is by and by shaken, wauereth, staggereth, yea and fainteth. And herein verily the mercifull Lorde according to his great tender kindenesse tempereth himselfe to our capacitie: that, whereas we be naturall men, which alway creeping vpon the grounde and sticking fast in the fleshe, doe not thinke nor so much as conceiue any spirituall thing, hee vouchsafeth euen by these earthly elementes to guide vs vnto himselfe, and in the fleshe it selfe to set forth a mirror of spirituall good things. For if we were vnbodily (as Chrysostome saith) he woulde haue giuen vs the verie 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 forth to vs in the Sacraments; but because they were signed by God to this signification.

Hom. 6c. &
popul.

4 And this is it which they commonly say, that a Sacrament consisteth of the worde and the outward signe. For wee must vnderstande the word to bee, not that which being whispered without meaning and faith, with onely noise as it were with a magicall enchauntment hath power to consecrate the element: but which being preached maketh vs to vnderstande what the visible signe meaneth. Therefore that which was vsually done vnder the tyrannie of the Pope, was not without a great profaning of the mysteries. For they thought it ynough, if the Priest, while the people stood amasedly gazing at it without vnderstanding, did mumble vp the forme of consecration. Yea they offer purpose prouided this, that no whit of doctrine shoulde thereof come to the people: for they spake all thinges in Latine before vnlearned men. Afterwarde superstition brake out so farre, that they beleued that the consecration was not formally made, vnlesse it were with a hoarse whispering sounde which fewe might heare. But Augustine teacheth farre otherwise of the Sacramentall worde. Let the worde (saith hee) bee added to the element, and there shall bee made a Sacrament. For whence commeth this so great strength to the water, to touch the bodie and washe the soule, but by the worde making it? not because it is spoken, but because it is beleued. For in the verie worde it selfe the sounde which passeth is one thing, and the power which abideth is an other. This is the word of Faith which wee preach, sayth the Apostle, Whercupon in the Actes of the Apostles it is saide, by faith cleansing their hearts. And Peter the Apostle saith, So baptisme also saueth vs: not the putting away of the filthines of the flesch,

Hom. in
Ioh. 13.

Rom. 10. 9.
Act. 15. 9.
1. Pet. 3. 21.

fleshe, but the examination of a good conscience. This is the worde of faith which we preach: by which without doubt, that it may bee able to cleanse, Baptisme also is halowed. You see howe it requireth preaching, wherevpon faith may grow. And we neede not to trauell much in proofe hercof, forasmuch as it is cleare what Christ did, what he commaunded vs to doe, what the Apostles followed, what the purer Church obserued. Yea euen from the beginning of the worlde it is knowen, that so oft as God offered any signe to the holy fathers, there was added an vnseparable knor of doctrine, without which our senses should be made amased with bare beholding. Therefore when wee heare mention made of the Sacramental word, let vs vnderstand the promise, which being with a loude voice preached of the minister, may leade the people thither as it were by the hande, whither the signe tendeth and directeth vs.

5 Neither are some to bee heard which trauel to fight against this, with a double horned argument rather suttile than sounde. Either (say they) wee knowe, or we knowe not, that the worde of God which goeth before the sacrament, is the true will of God. If wee knowe it, then wee learne no newe thing of the sacrament which foloweth after. If we know it not, then neither wil the sacrament teach it, whose whole force standeth in the word. Wherevnto let this briefly be for an answer: that the seales which are hanged at parentes and other publike instrumentes, taken by themselues are nothing, forasmuch as they should be hanged in vaine if the parchment had nothing written in it: yet they doe 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 wherof he had already beene iustified before. And what, I besech you, is there y may much offend any man, if we teach y the promise is sealed with sacramentes, when of the promises themselues it is euident that one is confirmed with an other? For as euery one is manifeste, so is it more fit to vpholde faith. But the Sacramentes doe both bring most cleare promises, and haue this peculiar more thā 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 bee obiected, betweene Sacraments and seales of parentes: that whereas both consist of carnal elements of this worlde, those can not suffice or be meet to seale the promises of God, which are spiritual & euerlasting, as these are wont to be hanged to, for sealing of the grants of Princes concerning fading and fraile thinges. For a faithfull man, when the sacramentes are present before his eyes, sticketh not in that fleslike sight, but by those degrees of proportion, which I haue spoken of, hee riseth vp with godly consideration to the hie mysteries which lie hidden in the Sacramentes.

6 And sith the Lorde calleth his promises, couenantes: and his Sacramentes, seales of couenantes: a similitude may well bee brought from the Gen. 6. 18. & 9. 9. & 17. 22 couenantes of men. What can a sowe killed work, if wordes were not vsed, yea vnlesse they wet before? For sowes are many times killed without any more in-

inwarde or hier myſterie. What can the giuing of a mans right hand doe, ſith often times handes are matched with enmitie? But when wordes haue gone before, by ſuch ſignes the lawes of leagues are ſtabliſhed, although they were firſt conceiued, made, and decreed in wordes. Therefore Sacramentes are exerciſes which make the credit of the worde of God certainer vnto vs: and becauſe we are carnall, they are deliuered vnder carnall thinges, that ſo they ſhould inſtruct vs according to the capacitie of our dulneſſe, and guide vs by the hande as ſcholmaſters guide children. For this reaſon Auguſtine calleth a Sacrament, a viſible worde: becauſe it repreſenteth the promiſes of God as it were painted in a table, & ſetteth them before our ſight cunningly expreſſed & as in an image. Other ſimilitudes alſo may be brought, where-
In Ioh. hons. 89.
Li. 19. cont.
Fault.

by Sacraments may be more plainly ſet out, as if wee call them pillers of our Faith. For as a building ſtandeth and reſteth vpon the foundation: yet by ſetting vnder of pillers, it is more ſurely ſtabliſhed: ſo, Faith reſteth vpon the worde of God, as vpon a foundation: but when Sacramentes are added, it ſtaieſt yet more ſoundly vpon them as vpon pillers. Or if wee call them looking glaſſes, in which wee may beholde the richeſſe of the grace of God, which he giueth vs. For (as we haue alreadie ſaid) he doeth in them manifeſtly ſhewe himſelfe to vs, ſo much as is giuen to our dulneſſe to knowe, and doeth more expreſſely teſtifie his good will and loue towarde vs than by his worde.

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 fauorable to them, but rather procure to themſelues more grieuous damnation. For by the ſame argument neither ſhoulde the Goſpell, which is heard and deſpiſed of many, be the teſtimonic of the grace of god: nor yet Chriſt himſelfe, which was ſcene and knowne of many, of whom verie fewe receiued him. The like wee may alſo ſee in patentes. For a great partie of the multitude laugheth at and ſcorneth that authentike ſeale, howſoever they knowe that it proceeded from the Prince to ſeale his wil withall: ſome regarde it not, as a thing not pertaining to them: ſome alſo abhorre it: ſo that 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 certain that the Lorde doeth offer vnto vs mercie and a pledge of his grace both in his holy worde and in the Sacraments: but the ſame is not receiued but of them which receiue the worde and Sacraments with ſure faith. like as Chriſt is offered of the Father vnto ſaluation, to all, yet he 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: not becauſe it is ſpoken, but becauſe it is belieued. Therefore Paul, when hee ſpeaketh to the faithfull, ſo entreateth of Sacraments that he includeth the communion of Chriſt in them, as when he ſaith: all ye that are baptiſed, haue put on Chriſt. Againe, we are all one bodie and one Spirit, which are baptiſed in Chriſt. But when he ſpeaketh of the wrongfull vſe of Sacramentes, he giueth no more to it than to colde and void figures. Whereby hee ſignifieth, that howſoever the wicked and hypocrites with their peruerneſſe

Kkk.

do either

Gal. 3. 27.
1. Cor. 12. 1

do either oppresse or darken 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 deliuer and perform that which they promise. We determine therefore that Sacramentes are truly called testimonies of the grace of God, and as it were certaine scales of the good will which he beareth towarde 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 sentēce, they are too trifling and weake. They say that if our Faith be good, it cannot be made better: for they say that it is no Faith, but which without shaking, stedfastly, and without withdrawing, resteth vpon the mercie of God. It had beene 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 sonnes of men hath obtained, nor any shall obtaine in this life. Let them answer, what maner of faith they thinke that hee had which said: I beleeuē Lorde, helpe my vnbeleuingnesse. For euen that faith, howsoeuer it was but a begon faith, was a good faith, and might bee made better when vnbeleuingnesse were taken away. But they are confuted by no certainer argumēt than by their owne conscience. For if they confesse themselues sinners, (which whether they will or no they cannot denie) they must needes impute the same to the imperfection of their faith.

Luke 17.5.

Mar. 9. 24.

A.C. 8. 37.

Eph 4. 13.

Psal. 119. 10
& 111. 1. and
138. 7.
Psal. 123.

8 But (say they) Philip answered the Eunuch, that he might be Baptized, if he beleued with all his hart. What place here hath the confirmation of Baptisme, where faith filleth the whole heart? Againe I aske them whether they do not feele a good part of their heart voide of faith: whether they do not daily acknowledge newe encreases. The heathen man gloried that he waxed old with learning. Therefore we Christians be thrise miserable, if we waxe olde with profiting nothing, whose faith ought to go forward by all degrees of ages, till it growe into a perfect man. Therefore in this place to beleue with all the heart, is not perfectly to beleue Christ, but onely from the heart and with a syncere minde to imbrace him: not to be full with him, but with feruent affection to hunger, and thirst, and sigh towarde him. This is the maner of the Scripture, to say that that is done with the whole heart, which it meaneth to be done syncerely and hartily. Of this sort are these sayings: I haue in all my heart sought thee: I will confesse to thee in al my heart, and such other. As on the other side, where he rebuketh guilefull and deceitfull men, he vseth to reproch them with heart and heart. Then they say further, that if faith be encreased by Sacraments, the Holy Ghost is giuen in vaine whose strength and worke it is to begin, mainteine, and make perfect faith. To whome in deede I graunt, that faith is the proper & whole worke of the holy Ghost, by whome being enlightened wee know God and the treasure of his goodnesse, and without whose light our minde is so blind, that it can see nothing, so senselesse, that it can smell nothing of spirituall things. But for one benefit of God which they set foorth, we consider three. For first the Lord teacheth & instructeth vs with his worde: then he strengtheneth vs with Sacraments: last of all he shineth into our mindes with the light

light of his holy Spirit, and openeth an entry for the word and Sacraments into our hearts, which otherwise should but strike our eares, & be present before our eyes, and nothing moue the inward partes.

9 Wherefore as touching the confirmation and encrease of faith, I would haue the reader warned (which I thinke I haue already in plaine wordes expressed) that I do so assigne that ministerie to the Sacraments, not as though I thought that there is perpetually in them I wote 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 truely performe their office, when that inward schoole-master the Spirit is come to them, with whose onely power both the hartes are pearced, and affections are moued, and the entrie is set open for the Sacramentes 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 blinde eyes, or a voyce sounde to deafe eares. Therefore I so make diuision betweene the spirit and sacraments, that the power of working remaine with the spirit, and to the sacramentes bee left onely the ministracion, yea and the same voyde and trifling without the working of the spirit: but of much effectualnesse, when hee inwardly worketh and putteth forth his force. Nowe it is plaine in what sort according to this sentence, a godly minde is confirmed in the faith by sacraments: that is to say, euen as the eyes see by the brightnesse of the sunne, and the eares heare by the sounde of a voyce: of which neither the eyes shoulde any white perceiue any light, vnlesse they had a sight in themselues that might naturally bee enlightened: and the eares should in vaine be knocked at with any crying whatsoeuer it were, vnlesse they were naturally made and fitte to heare. But if it bee true, which ought at once to bee determined among vs, that what the sight worketh in our eyes 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 hartes, both to the conceiuing, and sustaining, and cherishing and stablishing of faith: then both these things doe likewise followe: that the sacramentes doe nothing at all profite without the power of the holy Ghost: and that nothing withstandeth but that in hartes already taught of that scholemaster, they may make faith both stronger and more encreased. Onely this difference there is, that the power of hearing & seeing is naturally set in our eares and eyes: but Christ beside the measure of nature doth by speciall grace worke the same in our mindes.

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 wee ought to acknowledge the onely author thereof. For neither doe wee in the meane time take from him either the praise of confirming or increasing it: but rather we affirme, that euen 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 y^e sacraments. But if it be yet too darkly spoken, it shalbe made very cleare by a similitude which I will bring. If thou purpose with wordes to persuaade a man to doe 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 counsel. But thou hast hitherto nothing prevailed, vnlesse he likewise haue a percing & sharp iudgement, whereby he may weye what pith is in thy reasons: vnlesse also hee haue a tractable wit and ready 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 many stubborne heads, which a man can neuer bowe with any reasons: and also where credite is suspected, where authoritie is despised, litle good is done euen with the willing to learne. On the other side let all those thinges be present, they will truely bring to passe that y^e 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 worde should beate our eares in vaine, least the Sacramentes shoulde strike our eyes in vaine, hee sheweth vs that it is God which speaketh therein, hee softenth the stubbornes of our heart, and frameth it to the obedience which is due to the worde of the Lorde. Finally he conueyeth those outward words and Sacramentes from the eares into the soule. Therefore both the word and the Sacraments do confirme our faith, when they set before our eyes y^e good will of the heauenly father toward vs, by knowledge of whom both the whole stedfastnes of our faith standeth fast, & the strength of it encreaseth: the spirite confirmeth it, when in engrauing the same confirmation in our minds he maketh it effectuell. In the meane rime the father of lightes can not bee forbidden, but as he enlightneth the bodily eyes with the beames of the sunne, so hee may enlighten our mindes with sacramentes, as with a brightnesse set meane betweene.

II Which propertie the Lord taught that there was in his outward word, when in the parable he called it seede. For as seede, if it fall vpon a deserte and vntilled peece of ground, wil do nothing but die: but if it be thrown vpon arable lande well manured and tilled, it will bring forth her fruit with very good encrease: so the word of G O D, 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 hande of the heauenly Spirite, it will be most frutefull. But if there be like reason of seede and of the worde: as wee say that out of seede corne both springeth and encreaseth, and groweth vppe to ripenesse: why may wee not saye that faith taketh out of the worde of G O D both beginning, encrease, and perfection? Paul very well expresseth both these thinges in sundry places. For when hee goeth about to put the Corinthians in remembrance how effectually God vsed his trauaile, he glorieth that he hath the ministerie of the Spirite, as though the power of the holy Ghost were with an vnseparable knot ioyned with his preaching, to enlighten and thoroughly moue the minde. But in an other place when he mindeth to admonish them, of what force the worde of God is of it selfe beeing preached by man, he compareth the ministers them selues to husbandemen, whiche when they haue bestowed their labour and trauaile in tilling the earth, haue no more to do. But what should tilling, and sowing, & watering profit, vnlesse that which is sown should receiue liuelinesse by heauenly benefite?

Therefore

Matt. 13.4.
Luke, 8.15.

3. Cor. 2.4.
3. Cor. 3.6.

3. Cor. 3.6.

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 utter the power of the Spirit, so farre as God vseth the instruments ordeined by himselfe to the setting forth of his spirituall grace. Yet we must keepe stil 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 sacramentes themselves. When he spoyleth and thrusteth away Adam from the gift of immortalitye, 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 vncorruption, from which he was now fallen? No. But this is all one as if he had saide: Least hee should enjoy a vaine confidence if he keepe stil the signe of my promise, let that be shaken away from him which might bring him some hope of immortalitye. After this manner when the Apostle exhorteth the Ephesians to remember that they were forein gesses of the testaments, strangers from the fellowship of Israel, without god, without Christ, he saith, that they were not partakers of Circumcision. Whereby he doth (by figure of transnominatiō) 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 glorie of God is conueyed to creatures, to whome so much power is ascribed, & that thereby it is so farre diminished, we haue in redinesse to answer that we see 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 glorie, forasmuch as he is Lorde and iudge of all. Therefore as by bread and other nourishments hee feedeth our body: 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 doeth distribute his blessings vnto vs: so spirituallly he nourisheth faith by the Sacramentes, whose onely office is to set his promises before our eyes to be looked vpon, yea to be pledges vnto vs of them. And as it is our ducie to fasten none of our affiance in other creatures, which by the liberalitie and bountifulnesse of God are ordeined to our vses, and by the ministerie whereof he giueth vs his gistes, nor to haue them in admiration, & praise them as causes of our good. so neither ought our confidence to sticke fast in the Sacramentes, nor the glorie of God to be remoued vnto them: but leauing all thinges, both our faith and confession ought to rise vp to him the author both of the sacraments and of all thinges.

13 Whereas some bring an argument out of the verie 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 othe which the soldior maketh to his capitaine when he entreth into profession of a soldior. For as by that othe of warfare new soldiors do bind their faith to the capitaine, & professe to be his soldiors: so by our signes we professe Christ our capitaine,

Gen. 3. 3.

Ephes. 2. 12.

and do testifie that we serue vnder his banner. They ad similitudes to make thereby the matter more plaine. As a gowne made the Romanes seuerally knownen from the Greekes which did weare clokes: as the verie degrees of men at Rome were discerned by their seuerall signes: the degree of Senators from the degree of knightes, by purple cote & piked shooes: againe a knight from a commoner, by a ring: so wee beare our signes that may make vs seuerally knownen from prophane men. But by the thinges aboute saide it is euident enough that the olde writers, which gaue to the signes the name of Sacraments, had no regarde how this worde was vsed among Latine writers, but for their owne purpose fained this new signification, whereby they signified onely holy signes. But if wee will search the matter more deeply, it may seeme that they haue with the same relation applied this worde to such a signification, wherewith they haue remoued the name of faith to that sense wherein it is nowe vsed. For whereas faith is a trueth in performing promises: yet they haue called faith an assurednesse, or sure persuasion which is had of the trueth it selfe. Likewise whereas a sacrament is the soldiors part whereby he voweth himselfe to his captaine: they haue made it the capitaines parte, whereby he receiueh soldiors into roomes of seruice. For by the sacrament the Lorde doth promise that hee wil bee our God, and that wee shall be his people. But wee passe ouer such sutleties: for asmuch as I thinke I haue proued with arguments plaine enough, that they had respect to nothing else but to signifie that these are signes of holy and spirituall things. We receiue in deede the similitudes which they bring of outwarde tokens: but wee allowe not that that which is the last point in the sacramentes, 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 otherwise (as we haue already proued) the mysteries should be but colde, vnlesse they were helps to our faith, & additions to doctrine ordeined to the same vse and ende.

14 Againe we must be warned, that as these men doe weaken the force, and vtterly ouerthrowe the vse of sacraments: so on the contrarie side there be some, which faine to sacraments I wote not what secret vertues, which are no where red 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 giftes of God where they cannot be found, & are by litle and litle drawn away from God, to embrace mere vanitie in steede of his vertue. For the Sophisticall schooles haue taught with great consent, that the Sacramentes of the newe lawe, that is to say those which are nowe in vse in the Christian Church, do iustifie and giue grace, so that we do not lay a stoppe of deadly sinne. It cannot be expresse howe pernicious and pestilent this opinion is, and so much the more, because in many ages heretofore, to the great losse of the Church it hath preuailed in a great part of the worlde. Truly it is vtterly diuinish. For when it promiseth righteousness without faith, it driueth soules headlong into destruction: then because it fetcheth the cause of righteousness from the sacraments, it bindeth the miserable mindes of men already

readie 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 wold to God we had not so proued in experience, so litle 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, & the promise doeth no lesse threaten wrath to the vnlawful, than it offreth 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, hee receiueth by faith. Whereupon another thing also is gathered, y^e 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, y^e 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 vntill the receiuing of a sacrament, sometime euen vntill the sanctification of life. And that first point may be common both to good and to euill: 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 onely signifieth, that the figure and truethe are there contained, but that they do not so hang together, but that they may be scuered: and that euen in the verie conioyning the thing must alway be discerned from the signe, that wee giue not to the one that which belongeth to the other. He speaketh of the separation, when he writeth that y^e sacraments do worke in the onely elect that which they figure. Againe, when he writeth thus of the Iewes: When the sacramentes were common to all, the grace was not common, which is the power of the sacramentes. So nowe also the washing of regeneration is common to all: but the grace it selfe, whereby the members of Christ are regenerate with their hed, is not common to all. Againe, in another place of the Supper of the Lorde, 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 dy? For the Lordes morsell was poison to Iudas: not because he receiued an euill thing, but because he being euill receiued a good thing euilly. A litle 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 daily, somewhere by certaine distances of dayes: and thereof is receiued vnto life to some, and vnto destruction to some. But the thing it selfe whereof it is a sacrament, is receiued vnto life to all men, but vnto destruction to no man, whosoever is partaker of it. And a litle before hee had saide, He shall not dy which eateth: but he which pertaineth to the power of the sacrament, not to the visible sacrament, which eateth within, not without: which eateth with heart, not he which preffeth with tooth. Thus you heare euery where, that a sacrament is so scuered from his owne truethe

Liber. 4. de
quest. ver. ce-
stament.
Li. 5. de bap.
cont. Donat.
cap. 24.

De bap. par.
In Psal. 77.

In Ioh. hom.
28.

by the vnworthinesse of the receiuer, y there remaineth nothing but a vaine & vnprofitable figure. But y thou maist haue not a signe void of trueth: but the thing w 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 profite shalt thou take of them.

16 If this be somewhat darke because of the shortnes, I will set it out in mo wordes. I say that Christ is the matter, or (if thou wilt) the substance of all sacraments: forasmuch 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 righteousnesse and saluation, whereof they be partes. Therefore bidding all causes farewell which mans wit doeth faine to it selfe, we ought to stay in this one cause. Therefore how much wee be by their ministerie holpen to the nourishing, confirming, and encreasing of the true knowledge of Christ in vs, and to the possessing of him more fully, and to the enioying of his richesse, so much effectualnesse they haue with vs. But that is done when wee doe with true faith receive that which is there offered. Do the wicked then (wilt thou say) bring to passe by their vnthankfulnesse, that the ordinances of God be voided and turne to nothing? I answere that that which I haue saide, is not so to be taken, as though the force and trueth of the sacrament did hang vpon y state or will of him that receiue it. For that which God hath ordeined remaineth stedfast and keepeth still his nature, howsoeuer men do varie. But sith it is one thing to offer, an other to receiue: nothing withstandeth but that the signe halowed by the worde of God may be in deede that which it is called, and keepe his owne force: and yet that there come thereby no profite to an euil doer and wicked man. But Augustine doeth in fewe wordes well assoile 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 foresaid places shewed that a sacrament is a thing nothing worth, if it be seuered from the trueth thereof: so in another place he giueth warning that euen in the verie conioyning needeth a distinction, least we sticke too much in the outward signe. As (saith he) to followe the letter, and to take the signes in steede of the thinges, is a point of a seruile weakenesse: so to expound the signes vnprofitably is a point of euill wandring error. Hce nameth two faultes which are here to bee auoided: The one when we so take the signes as though they were giuen in vaine, and when with abacing or diminishing their secrete significations by our eniuousnesse, we bring to passe that they bring vs no profite at all. The other, when in not raising our mindes beyond the visible signe, wee 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 Ghoste, which maketh vs partakers of Christ himselfe: and in deed by the helpe of the outward signes: which if they allure vs to Christ, when they bee wrested an other way, the whole profite of them is vnworthily ouerthrowen.

17 Wherefore let this remaine certaine, that there is no other office of the sacraments than of the worde of God: which is to offer and set foorth Christ vnto vs, and in him the treasures of heauenly grace: but they auaille

Li. 4. senten.
dist. 1.

Hom. in
Ioh. 26.

Lib. 3. de
doct. Christ.
cap. 9.

or profit nothing, but being receiued by faith: euen as wine, or oyle, or any other liquor, though you powre it on largely, yet it will run beside and perish, vnlesse the vessels mouth be open to receiue it, and the vessell though it bee weite rounde about on the outside, shall neuerthelessse remaine emptie and voyde within. Beside this we must beware, least those things which haue bin written by the olde writers somewhat too gloriously to amplifie the dignitie of sacraments, should 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 toward vs, and doe profite no further vnlesse the Holy Ghost ioyne himselfe to them, which may open our mindes and heartes, and make vs partakers of this testimonie, wherein also doe clerely appeare diuers and seueral graces of God. For the sacramentes, as we haue aboue touched, are that thing to vs of God, which to men are messengers of ioyfull thinges, or earnestes in stablishing of bargaines: which doe not of themselues giue any grace, but doe tell and shewe vs, and (as they be earnestes & tokens,) do ratifie vnto vs those things that are giuen vs by the liberalitie of God. The Holy Ghost (whome the sacramentes do not in cōmon with out difference bring to all men, but whom the Lorde peculiarly giueth to them that be his) is he that bringeth the graces of GOD with him, which giueth to the sacramentes place in vs, which maketh them to bring foorth fruite. But although wee doe not denie that God himselfe with the most present power of his Spirit is present with his owne institution, least the ministracion which he hath ordained of the sacramentes should be fruitlesse and vaine: yet we affirme that the inwarde grace of the Spirit, as it is seuered from the outward ministerie, so ought to be seuerally weyed and considered. God therefore truely performeth in deede whatsoeuer he promiseth and figureth in signes: neither doe the signes want their effect, that the author of them may be prooued true and faithfull. The question here is onely whether GOD worketh by his owne and by inwarde power (as they call it) or doe resigne his office to outward signes. But wee affirme, that whatsoeuer instruments he vse, his originall working is nothing hindered thereby. When this is taught concerning the sacramentes, both their dignitie is honorably set out, and their vse is plainly shewed, and their profitableness is abundantly reported, and the best meane in all these thinges is retained, that neither any thing bee giuen to them which ought not, nor againe 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, wherby the cause of iustification and power of the holy Ghost is enclosed in elementes as in vesselles or waggons, and that principall force which hath beene omitted of other is expressly set out. Here also it is to be noted, that God inwardly worketh that which the minister figureth & 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. Howe (sayth he) doth both Moses sanctifie, and God? Not Moses for GOD: but Moses with visible sacramentes by his ministerie; but GOD with inuisible

Questio. ver.
testam. lib. 3
cap. 84.

grace by his holy Spirit: where also is the whole fruit of visible sacraments. For without this sanctification of inuisible grace, what doe those visible sacraments profit?

Gen. 2. 9. &
Gen. 1. 1.

18 The name of sacrament, as we haue hitherto entreated of the nature of it, doth generally contain all the signes that euer God gaue to me, to certifye and assure them of the truth of his promises. Those he sometime willed to remaine in naturall things, sometime he deliuered them in miracles. Of the first kinde these bee examples, as when he gaue to Adam and Eue, the tree of life for an earnest of immortalitie, that they might assure themselves of it, so long as they did eate of the frute thereof. And when hee did set the heauenly boawe for a monument to Noe and his posteritie, that hee woulde no more from thence forth destroy the earth with ouerflowing of water. These Adam & Noe had for sacramentes. Not that the tree did giue them immortalitie, which it coulde not giue to it selfe: nor that the Boawe (which is but a striking backe of a sunbeame vpon the cloudes against it) was of force to hold in the waters: but because they had a marke grauen in them by the worde of God, that they shoulde be examples and scales of his testaments. And the tree was a tree before, and the boawe a boaw. When they were written vpon with the worde of God, then a newe forme was put into them, that they should beginne to be that which they were not before. That no man should thinke these things spoken without cause, the boawe it self is at this this day also a witnes of that couenant, which God made with Noe: which boawe so oft as we beholde, wee reade this promise of God written in it, that the earth shall neuer be destroyed with ouerflowing of waters. Therefore if any fond Philosopher, to scorn the simplicitie of our faith, do affirme that such varietie of colours doeth naturally arise of reflected beames and a cloude sette against them: lette vs graunt it in deede, but lette 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 elementes to the seruice of his owne glorie. If he had emprinted 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 & coyned siluer both of one value, sith they are both one metall? euen because the one hath nothing but nature: when it is striken with a common marke, it is made money, and recciueth a newe valuatiō. And shal not God be able to mark his creatures with his word, that they may bee made sacraments, which before were naked elementes? Of the second kinde these were examples, when hee shewed to Abraham a light in a smoking ouen: when hee watered the fleece with dewe, the earth remaining drie: againe hee watered the earth, the fleece being vntouched, to promise victorie to Gedcon: when he drew the shadow of the dial ix. lines backward, to promise safetie to Ezechias. These things, when they were done to relieue and stablish the weakenesse of their faith, were then also sacramentes.

Gen. 15. 17.
Iud. 6. 37.
2. Kin. 20. 9.
Esa. 38. 7.

19 But our present purpose is, to discourse peculiarly of those sacramentes, which the Lorde willed to bee ordinarie in his Church, to nourishe his worshippers and seruantes into one faith and the confession of one faith. For (to vse the wordes of Augustine) men can bee congeled together into

into no name of religion either true or false, vnlesse they bee 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 seruantes, which afterwarde Satan by turning them to wicked and superstitious worshippings, hath many waies deprauid and corrupted. Hereupon came those solemne professions of the gentiles into their holy orders, and other bastarde vsages: which although they were full of error and superstition, yet they also were therewith a prooffe that men coulde not in profession of religion bee without such outward signes. But because they neither were grounded vpon the worde of God, nor were referred to that trueth wherevnto all signes ought to bee directed, they are vnworthie to be rehearsed where mention is made of y^e holy signes which are ordeined of God and haue not swarued from their foundation, that is, that they shoulde be helpes of true godlinesse. They consist not of bare signes, as were the boawe and the tree, but vpon Ceremonies, or rather the signes that be here giuen are Ceremonies. But as it is before saide, that they be on the Lords behalfe testimonies of grace and saluation: so they be 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 Chrystostome in one place fitly calleth them couenantinges whereby God bindeth him selfe in league with vs, and wee be bounde to purenesse & holinesse of life, because here is made a mutuall forme of couenanting betweene God and vs. For as the Lorde therein promiseth that hee will cancell and blot out whatsoeuer guiltines and penaltie we haue gathered by offending, and doth reconcile vs to himselfe in his only begotten sonne: so we againe on our behalves doe by this profession bind our selues vnto him to the following of godlinesse and innocence: so that a man may rightly say that such sacramentes are ceremonies, by which God will exercise his people first to the nourishing, stirring vp, and strengthening of faith inwardly, then to y^e testifying of religion before men.

20 And euen these sacraments also were diuerse, after the diuerse 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 commaunded: whereunto afterwarde purifyinges and Sacrifices, and other Ceremonies were added out of the lawe of Moses. These were the Sacramentes of the Iewes vntill the comming of Christ: at which comming those beinge abrogate, two sacramentes were ordeined, which nowe the Christian Church vseth, Baptisme, and the Supper of the Lord. I speake of those that were ordeyned for the vse of the whole Church. For as for the laying on of handes, whereby the ministers of the Church are entred into their office, as I doe not vnwillingly suffer it to bee called a Sacrament, so I doe not reckon it among the ordinarie sacramentes. As for the rest which are commonly called sacramentes, what they are to bee accounted, wee shall see by and by. Howebeit the olde sacramentes also had respecte to the same marke, whereunto ours doe tende, that is, to direct and in a manner lead by the hande to Christ: or rather as images to represent him, and shewe him forth to be knowen. For whereas wee haue alreadie

Lib. 9. cont.
Faust. Man.
Cap. 11.

Gen. 17. 10.
Leuit.
Matt. 28. 19.
and 26. 26.

1. Cor. 1. 20. die 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 shewe Christ. Whereunto pertayneth that heauenly paterne of the tabernacle and of the worshipping in the lawe, which was giuen to Moses in the mount. One onely difference there is, that those did shadowe out Christ beeing promised, when hee was yet looked for: these doe testifie him already giuen and deliuered.

21. When these things shal be particularly and eche one seuerally declared, they shall bee made much plainer. Circumcision was to the Iewes a signe, whereby they were put in minde, that whatsoever commeth of the seede of man, that is to say the whole nature of man, is corrupte, and hath neede of proying. 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 whome all the nations of the earth were to bee blessed, from whome they had their owne blessing to bee looked for. Nowe that healthfull seede (as wee are taught of Paul) was Christ, in whome alone they hoped that they shoulde 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 righteousnesse of faith: that is to say, the seale whereby they shoulde bee more certainly assured, that their faith, wherewith they looked for that seede, shoulde bee accounted to them of God for righteousnesse. But wee shall vpon a better occasion in another place goe through with the comparison of Circumcision & Baptisme. Baptisings and purifyings did set before their eyes their owne vncleannesse, filthinesse and pollution, wherewith they were defiled in their own nature: but they promised an other washing, whereby al their filthinesse should be wiped and washed away. And this washing was Christ, with whose blood we being washed doe bring his cleannesse into the sight of G O D, that it may hide all our defilinges. Their Sacrifices did accuse them of their owne wickednesse, and therewithall did teach, that it was necessaie that there shoulde bee some satisfaction which shoulde bee paide to the iudgement of God. That therefore there shoulde bee some one cheefe Bishoppe, a mediatur betweene God and men, which shoulde satisfie God by shedding of blood, and by offering of a Sacrifice which shoulde suffice for the forgiuenesse of sinnes. This cheefe Priest was Christ: hee himselfe shed his owne blood: hee himselfe was the Sacrifice: for hee offered himselfe obedient to his father vnto death: by which obedience hee tooke away the disobedience of man, which had prouoked the displeasure of God.

22. As for our sacramentes, they doe so much more cleerly present Christ vnto vs, as hee was more necerly shewed to men, since he hath bin truly deliuered of his father such as hee had bene promised. For Baptisme doeth testifie vnto vs that wee are cleaned and washed, y^e Supper of thanksgiving testifieth that wee bee redeemed. In water, is figured washing: in blood, satisfaction. These two thinges are founde in Christe, which (as 1. Iohn 5. 6. 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 witnesse. Yea there

are

are three witnesses in one, Water, Blood, and Spirit. In water and bloud we haue a testimonie of cleansing and redeeming: but $\hat{\text{y}}$ Spirite the principall witnesse bringeth vnto vs assured credit of such witnessing. This hie mysterie hath notably well been shewed vs in the crosse of Christ, when water and bloud flowed out of his holy side: which side for that cause Augustine rightfully called the fountaine of our Sacramentes: of which yet we must enreat somewhat more at large. There is no doubt but that more plentifull grace also of the Spirite doeth here shewe foorth it selfe if you compare time with time. For that pertaineth to the glory of the kindom of Christ, as we gather out of many places, but specially out of the 7. Chapter of Iohn. In which sense we must take that saying of Paul, that vnder the lawe were shadowes, but in Christ is the body. Neither is it his meaning to spoyle 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 doeth 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 maruelous, that the Ceremonies of the lawe were abolished by the comming of Christ.

Ioh. 19. 34.
Homel. in
Iohn 10.

Col. 2. 17.

23 But that same schoole doctrine (as I may also briefly touch this by the way) is vtterly to be hissed out, whereby there is noted so great a difference betweene the Sacramentes of the olde and new law, as though those did nothing but shadowe out the grace of God, and these do presently giue it. For the Apostle speaketh no lesse honorable of those than of these, when hee teacheth that the Father 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 Christe? And the grounde of the cause which the Apostle there handeleth, doeth plainly fight on our side. For, that no man trusting vpon a colde knowledge of Christ, and empty 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 knowe that the same paines which they haue suffered, hang ouer vs, if wee followe the same faultes. Now that the comparison might be fitte, it behoued that he shoulde shew that there is no vnequalnesse betweene vs & them in those good things whereof he did forbidde vs to boast falsely. Therefore first he maketh vs equall in the Sacramentes, and leaueth to vs not so much as any small peece of prerogatiue, that might encourage vs to hope of escaping vnpunished. Neither verily is it lawefull to giue any more to our Baptisme, than he in another place giueth to circumcision, when he calleth it the seale of the righteousnesse of Faith. Whatsoeuer therefore is at this day giuen vs in our Sacramentes, the same thing the Iewes in olde time receiued in theirs, that is to say, Christ with his spirituall riches. What power our sacramentes haue, the same they also felt in theirs: that is to say, that they were to them seales of Gods good will towarde them, into the hope of eternall saluation. If they had bene apt expositors of the Epistle to the Hebrues, they woulde not haue so bene blinded. But when they reade there, that sinnes were not cleansed by the Ceremonies of the lawe, yea that the olde shadowes had no

1. Cor. 10. 3.

Rom. 4. 11

Heb. 10. 7.

auailing

ling force to righteoufnesse: they neglecting the comparifon which is there handled, while they tooke hold of this one thing, that the lawe of it felfe nothing profited the folowers of it, thought fimplly that the figures were voide of trueth. But the Apostles meaning is to bring the ceremoniall lawe to nothing, vntill it come to Chrif, vppon whom alone hangeth all the effectualnesse of it.

24 But they wil obieft thofe things which are read in Paul concerning \bar{y} circūcifion of the letter, that it is in no estimation with God, that it giueth nothing, that it is vaine. For fuch fayings feeme to preffe it downe fare beneath Baptifme. Not fo. For the very fame might rightfully bee faide of Baptifme. Yea and alfo the fame is faide, firft of Paul himfelfe, where hee fheweth that God regardeth not the outward washing whereby wee enter into profefion of religion, vnleffe the minde within bee both cleaned and continue in cleannesse to the ende: againe of Peter, when he tctified: that the trueth of baptifme standeth not in the outward washing, but in a good witnessing: of confcience. But hee feemeth alfo in an other place vtterly to defpife the circūcifion made with hande, when hee compareth it with the circūcifion of Chrif. I anfwere that euen in this place nothing is abated of the dignitie of it. Paul there difputeth againft them, which required it as neceffarie when it was now abrogate. Therefore hee warneth the faithfull, that leauing the olde shadowes they fhould ftande faft in the trueth. Thefe mafters (faith he) inftantly call vpon you, that your bodies may be circūcifed. But ye are fpirituallly circūcifed according to the foule and bodie. Ye haue therefore the deliuerance of the thing in deede, which is much better than the shadowe. A man might take exception to the contrary and fay that the figure is not therefore to be defpifed becaufe they had the thing in deed: forasmuch as the putting off of the olde man, of which he there fpake, was alfo among the Fathers, to whom yet outward circūcifion had not bin fuperfluous. He preuenteth this obiection, when he by and by addeth, that the Coloffians were buried with Chrif by Baptifme. Whereby hee fignifieth that at this day Baptifme is the fame to Chriftians, which circūcifion was to the old people: and therefore that circūcifion cannot bee enioined to Chriftians without wrong done to Chrif.

25 But that which followeth and which I euen nowe alleaged, is harder to affoyle, that all the Iewifhe ceremonies were shadowes of things to come, and that in Chrif is the bodie: but moft hard of all is that which is entreated in many Chapters of the Epiftle to the Hebrues, that the blood of beafts, attained not to confciences: that the lawe had a shadowe of good things to come, not an image of things: \bar{y} the folowers of it obtined no perfection of \bar{y} Ceremonies of Moses & fuch other. I go back to \bar{y} which I haue already touched, that Paul doth not therefore make the Ceremonies shadowifh, becaufe they had no found thing in them: but becaufe the fulfilling of them was after a certaine manner hanged in fufpense vntill the deliuering of Chrif. Againe I fay that this is to be vnderftanded not of the effectualnesse, but rather of the manner of fignifying. For till Chrif was manifefly fhewed in the flefh, all the fignes did shadowe him out as abfent, howfoeuer hee did inwardly vtter to the faithfull the prefence of his power and of himfelfe.

But

But this we ought chiefly to marke, that in all those places Paul doeth not speake simplie, but by way of contention. Because he strived with the false Apostles, which would haue godlinesse to consist in the Ceremonies onely without any respect of Christ: to confute them, it sufficeth onely to intreate, of what value Ceremonies are by themselves. This marke also the author of the Epistle to the Hebrewes followed. Let vs therefore remember y^e here is disputed of Ceremonies, not as they bee taken in their owne and naturall signification, but as they bee wrested to a false and wrongfull exposition: not of the lawfull vse of them, but of the abuse of superstition. What maruell is it therefore if ceremonies being seuered from Christ, are vnclouted of al force? For all signes whatsoever they be, are brought to nought, when the thing signified is taken away. So when Christ had to doe with them which thought that Manna was nothing else but meat for the bellie, he applyeth his speech to their grosse opinion, and saith that he ministrereth better meat, which may feede soules to hope of immortalitie. But if you require a plainer solution, the summe of all tendeth to this: First, that all that furniture of ceremonies, which was in the lawe of Moses, is a vanishing thing and of no value, vnlesse it be directed to Christ. Secondly, that they so had respect to Christ, y^e when he at length was manifestly shewed in the flesh, they had their fulfilling. Finally that it behooued that they should bee taken away by his comming, euē as a shadowe vanisheth away in the cleare light of the sunne. But because I doe yet differre longer discourse of that matter vnto that place where I haue purposed to compare bapuzime with circumcision, therefore I do now more sparingly touch it.

Ioh. 6. 27.

26 Perhappes also those immeasurable praises of Sacraments, which are read in olde writers concerning our signes, deceiued those miserable Sophisters. As this of Augustine. That the Sacramentes of the olde lawe did onely promise the Sauour, but ours doe 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 y^e old fathers. For Augustine ment no other thing in y^e place, than as the same Augustine writeth in an other place, That the Sacramentes of the lawe of Moses did foretell of Christ, but ours do tell of him present. And against Faustus. That those were promises of things to be fulfilled, these were tokens of things fulfilled: as if hee should say, that those figured him when hee was looked for, but ours doe as it were shew him present which hath bin already deliuered. Moreouer he speaketh of the manner of signifying, as also he sheweth in an other place. The lawe (saith hee) and the Prophers had Sacramentes, foretelling of a thing to come: but the Sacraments of our time doe testifie that that is already come, which those did declare to be to come. But what he thought of the thing and effectualnesse, hee expoundeth in many places: as when he saith, that the Sacraments of the Iewes were in signes, diuerse: but in the thing signified, egall with ours: diuerse invisible forme, but egall in spirituall power. Againe: In diuerse signes is all one faith: so in diuerse signes, as in diuerse wordes: because wordes chaunge their soundes by times: and truely wordes are nothing but signes. The Fathers did drinke the same spirituall drinke, for they dronke not the same bodily drinke.

In proem.
enar. Psa. 73
quest. super
nume. ca. 33
Lib. 9. ca. 14

Lib. 2. con.
lit. petul.
cap. 37.

Homil. In
Ioh. 26.

In Psal. 77.
Lib. 9. cont.
Faulst. ca. 13.

De doctrina
Christi. lib. 3
Epi. ad lanu.

See ye therefore, Faith remaining one, the signes varied. To them the rocke was Christ: to vs that is Christ which is set vpon the altar. And they dronke for a great Sacrament, the water flowing out of the rocke: what we drinke, the faithfull knowe. If thou consider the visible forme they dronke an other thing: if an vnderstandable signification they dronke 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 sacramentes doe testifie that the fatherly good will 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 deliuering of Christ: but in these more plenteous and fuller, namely as that difference of the olde and newe Testament beareth, of which we haue entreated before. And this is it that the same Augustine meant (whom we more often alleage as the best and faithfulllest witnessse of all the olde writers) where he teacheth, that when Christ was reuealed, Sacraments were ordeyned both in number fewer, in signification hier, in force more excellent. Of this thing also it is expedient that the readers briefly be warned, that whatsoeuer the Sophisters haue triflingly taught concerning the worke wrought, is not onely false, but disagreeeth with the nature of the sacramentes, which God hath ordeined, that the faythfull being voyde and needie of all good thinges shoulde bring nothing thither but beggerie. Whereupon followeth that in receiuing them, these men doe nothing whereby they may deserue praise: or that in doing (which in this their respect is meere passiuie) 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, we may bee reckened among the childrin 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. Wee will orderly declare the manner of both purposes. Baptisme bringeth three things to our Faith, which also must bee seuerally intreated off. This is the first which the Lorde setteth out vnto vs, that it shoulde be a token and prooffe of our cleansing: or (to expresse my minde better) it is like to a certaine sealed charter, whereby hee confirmeth vnto vs, that all our sinnes are so defaced, cancelled, and blotred out, that they may neuer come in his sight, not be rehearsed, not be imputed. For he willeth that all they that beleue, should be baptised into forgiuenesse of sinnes. Therefore they which thought that baptisme is nothing else but a marke and token whereby wee professe our religion before men, as souldiers beare the conufance of their captaine for maark of their profession, wey not that which was the cheefe thing in Baptisme. That is this, that wee shoulde receiue it with this promise, that whosoever

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beleue & are baptised, shalbe saued.

2 In this sense is that to be vnderstoode which Paul writeth, that the Church is sanctified of Christ her spouse, and cleansed with washing of water in the word of life. And in another place, that we are saued according to his mercie by the washing of regeneration and of the rening 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, & reue. Neither did Peter meane the cause of saluation, but onely the knowledge and certaintie of such giftes to bee receiued in this Sacrament: which is evidently enough expressed in the wordes themselues. For Paul knitteth together the worde of life, and baptisme of water: as if he had said, that by the Gospel the message of washing and sanctifying is brought vs, & by baptisme such message is sealed. And Peter immediatly adioyneth, that that baptisme is not the putting away of the filthines of the flesh, but a good conscience before God, which is of Faith. Yea baptisme promiseth vs no other cleansing, but by the sprinkling of the bloud of Christ: which is figured by water, for the likenesse of cleansing and washing. Who therefore can say that wee be cleansed by this water, which certainly testifieth that the bloud 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 Baptism it selfe: which doeth withdrawe 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 only to the time past, that for newe fallings, into which we fall backe after Baptisme, we must seeke newe remedies of cleansing in I wote not what other Sacramentes, as though the force of Baptisme were worne out of vse. By this error it came to passe in olde time, that some woulde not bee 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 waywarde suttile prouision the olde Bishops so oft inuey in their writings. But thus wee 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 go back to the remembrance of Baptisme, & therewith we must arme our mind, that it may be alway certaine & assured of the forgiuenes of sinnes. For though when it is once ministred, it seemeth to be past, yet by later sinnes it is not abolished. For the cleannes of Christ is therein offred vs: that alway flourisheth, is oppressed wth no spots, but ouerwhelmeth & wipeth away all our filthines: yet ought we not to take therof 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 grone w^{eried} & oppressed vnder their sinnes, that they may haue wherewith they may raise vp & comfort themselues, least they should fall into confusion & desperation. So Paul saith, that Christ was made to vs a propitiator, vnto the forgiuenes of faults going before. Wherein he denyeth not y^t therein is obtained perpetuall & continuall forgiuenesse of sinnes

Rom. 3. 25.

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, doe sigh to the Phisitian. To these the mercie of God is offred. They which by escaping of punishment do hunt for matter & libertie to sinne, do nothing but prouoke to them selues the wrath and iudgement of God.

4 I know in deede that it is commonly thought otherwise, that by the benefite of repentance & of the keies we do after Baptisme obtaine forgiveness, which at our first regeneration is giuen vs by only Baptisme. But they which devise this do erre herein that they do not remember y^e the power of the keies, whereof they speake, doth so hang vpon baptisme that it ought in no wise to be seuered. The sinner receiueth forgiveness by the ministerie of the Church, namely not without the preaching of the Gospel. But what manner of preaching is that? That wee be cleansed from sinnes by the bloud of Christ. But what signe & testimonie is there of that washing, but Baptisme? We see therefore how that absolution is referred to Baptisme. And this error hath bred vs the fained Sacrament of penance: of which I haue touched somewhat before, & the residue I will make an end of in place fit for it. But it is no marueile if men, which according to the grossenesse of their wit were immeasurably fast tied to outward things, haue in this behalf also bewrayed that fault, that not contented with the pure institution of God, they did thrust in newe helps fained of themselves. As though baptisme it self were not a Sacrament of repentance. But if repentance be commended to vs for our whole life, the force also of baptisme ought to be extended to the same boundes. Wherefore it is also no dout but that all the godly throughout all their life long, so oft as they be vexed with knowledge in conscience of their owne sinnes, dare call backe themselves to the remembrance of baptisme, y^e thereby they may confirme themselves in the affiance of that only & continuall washing which we haue in the bloud of Christ.

5 It bringeth also another frute, because it sheweth vs our mortification in Christ, & new life in him. For (as the Apostle saith) wee are baptised into his death, being buried together with him into death, that wee may walke in newnesse of life. By which wordes he doth not only exhort vs to the following of him (as though he did say, that we are by baptisme put in minde, that after a certaine example of the death of Christ, wee should die to our lustes: and after the example of his resurrection, we should bee raised vp to righteousness,) but he fetcheth the matter much deeper: that is to say, that by baptisme Christ hath made vs partakers of his death, that wee may bee grafted into it. And as the grasse receiueth substance and nourishment of the roote into which it is grafted: so they that receiue baptisme with such faith as they ought, do truly 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 Spirite. Hereupon he gathereth matter of exhortation: that if wee be Christians, we ought to be dead to sinne, and to liue to righteousness. This selfe same argument he vseth in another place: that wee be circumcised, and haue put off the olde man, since that wee be buried in Christ by Baptisme. And in this sense, in the same place which wee haue before alleaged, hee called it the washing of regeneration and of re-

newing.

Rom. 6. 3.

Col. 2. 12.
Tit. 3. 5.

ning. Therefore first free forgiveness of sinnes and imputation of righteousness is promised vs, and then the grace of the holy Ghost, which may reforme vs into newnesse of life.

6 Last of all our Faith receiveth also this profit of baptism, that it certainly testifieth vnto vs, that we are not onely grafted into the death & life of Christ, but that we are so vnited to Christ himselfe that wee are partakers of all his good things. For therefore he hath dedicated and hallowed Baptisme in his owne bodie, that he might haue it common with vs, as a moste strong bond of the vnitie and fellowship which he vouchsafed to enter into with vs: so that Paul proueth therby that we be the children of God, because wee haue put on Christ in baptism. So we see that the fulfilling of baptism is in Christ, whome also for this reason we call the proper obiekt of baptism. Therefore it is no marueile if it be reported that the Apostles baptised into his name, which yet were commaunded to baptise into the name of the Father also and of the holy Ghost. For whatsoever giftes of God are set foorth in baptism, are founde in Christ alone. And yet it cannot bee, but that hee which baptiseth into Christ, doe therewithall call vpon the name of the Father and of the holy Ghost. For wee are therefore cleansed with his blood, because the mercifull Father according to his incomparable kindnes, willing to receiue vs into fauour, hath set him a mediator in the middest to procure to vs fauour with him. But regeneration wee so onely obtaine by his death and resurrection, if being sanctified be the Spirite we be endued with a newe and spirituall nature. Wherefore both of our cleansing & regeneration: we obtaine and after a certaine maner distinctly perceiue the cause in y^e Father, the matter in the Sonne, and the effect in the holy Ghost. So Iohn first baptised, so afterward the Apostles, with the baptism of repentance into the forgiveness of sinnes: meaning by this word repentance, such regeneration: and by forgiveness of sinnes, washing.

7 Whereby also it is made most certaine, y^e the ministerie of Iohn was altogether the same which was afterwarde committed to the Apostles. For the diuerse hands wherewith it is ministred, make not the baptism diuers: but the same doctrine sheweth it to be the same baptism. Iohn and the Apostles agreed into one doctrine, both baptised into repentance, both into the forgiveness of sinnes, both into the name of Christ, from whome was both repentance and forgiveness of sinnes. Iohn said y^e he was the lamb of God, by whome the sinnes of the worlde should be taken away: where hee 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 old writers labor to seuer the one from the other, whose voice wee ought not so much to esteeme that it may shake the certaintie of the Scripture. For who wil rather harken to Chrysostome denying that forgiveness of sinnes was comprehended in the baptism of Iohn, than to Luke contrariwise affirming y^e Iohn preached the baptism of repentance into the forgiveness of sinne? Neither is that suttletie of Augustine to be receiued, that in the baptism of Iohn, sinnes were forgiven in hope, but in the baptism of Christ they are forgiven in deede. For whereas the Euangelist plainly testifieth, that Iohn in his baptism promised

Matt. 3.13.

Gal. 3.17.
Act. 8.16. &
19.5.

Matt. 28.19.

Matt. 3.6.
Luk. 3.16.
Iohn 3.23.
and 4.1.

Act. 2.28.

Iohn. 1.29.

Hom in
Matt. 4.
Luk. 3.3.
Lib. 3. de
bap. contra
Dona. ca 10
Luk. 3.16.

the forgiuenes of finnes: what neede we to abate this title of commendatiō, when no necessitie compelleth vs vnto it? But if any man seeke for a difference out of the worde of God, he shall finde none other but this, that Iohn baptised into him that was to come, the Apostles into him that had alreadie 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 baptismes. For the Baptisme which the Apostles ministred while he was yet conuerfant 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 into the name of Iesus, till Peter and Iohn were sent vnto them to lay their handes 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 saide, that he baptised in deede with water, but that Christ should come which should baptise with the holy Ghost, and with fire? This may in fewe wordes be assoyled. For he meant not to put difference betweene the one baptisme and the other, but he compared his owne person with the person of Christ, saying that himselfe was a minister of water, but y^e Christ was the giuer of the holy Ghost, and should declare his power by visible miracle the same day that he should sende the holy Ghost to the Apostles vnder fyrie tongs. What could the Apostles boast of more than this? What more could they also that baptise at this day? For they be onely ministers of the outward signe, and Christ is the author of the inward grace: as the same olde writers themselues do euery where teach, & specially Augustine, whose principall stay against the Donatistes is this, that what a one soeuer he be, y^e baptiseth, yet onely Christ is ruler of it.

9 These things which we haue spoken both of mortification & of washing, are shadowed out in the people of Israel, whome for the same cause the Apostle saith to haue bene baptised in the cloude and in the sea. Mortifying was figured, when the Lord deliuering them out of the hande of Pharao and from cruell bondage, made for them a way through the red sea, and drowned Pharao himselfe, and the Aegyptians their enemies, that followed them harde at their backes, and were euen in their necks 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 Aegypt, that is to say, out of the bondage of sinne: that our Pharao is drowned, that is to say the diuel, although euen so also hee ceaseth not to exercise & wearie vs. But as that Aegyptian was not throwe downe into the bottome of the sea, but being ouerthrowen on the shore, did yet with terrible sight make the Israclites afraid, but could not hurt them: so this our enemy yet in deede threateneth, sheweth his weapons, is felt, but cannot overcome. In the cloud was a signe of cleansing. For as then the lord covered

couered them with a cloude cast ouer them, and gaue them refreshing cold, Num. 9. 14. least they should faint and pine away with too cruell burning of the sunne: so in baptisme wee acknowledge our selues couered and defended with the bloud 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 & 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 y^e old fathers, whome he had adopted to be heires.

10 Nowe it is cleare, how false that is which some haue lately taught, & wherein some yet continue, that by baptisme wee bee loosed and deliuered from originall sinne, and from the corruption which was from Adam spread abroade into his whole posteritie, and that wee bee restored into the same righteousnes and purenes of nature, which Adam should haue obtained, if he had stand fast in the same vprightnesse wherein he was first created. For such kinde of teachers neuer vnderstood what was originall sinne, nor what was originall righteousnesse, nor what was the grace of baptisme. But wee haue alreadie proued, that originall sinne is the peruersnesse 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 alreadie for such corruption only, holden worthily condemned & conuicted before God, to whome nothing is acceptable but righteousnes, innocencie and cleannesse. Yea, & verie infants themselues bring their owne damnation with them frō their mothers wombe. Who, although they haue not yet brought forth the frutes of their iniquitie, yet haue the seede thereof inclosed 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 y^e this damnation is taken away, and driuen from them: forasmuch (as wee haue alreadie said) the Lord doth by this signe promise vs that full and perfect forgiuenesse is graunted both of the fault which should haue bene imputed to vs, & of the paine which wee should haue suffred for the fault: they take hold also of righteousnes, but such as the people of God may obtaine in this life, that is to say by imputation only: because the Lord of his own merce taketh them for righteous and innocent. Gal. 5. 19.

11 The other point is, that this peruersnesse neuer ceaseth in vs, but continually bringeth forth new frutes, namely those workes of y^e flesh which we haue before described: none otherwise than a burning fornace continually bloweth out flame & sparcles, or as a spring infinitely casteth out water. For lust neuer vterly dyeth & is quenched in men, vntill being by death deliuered out of the bodie of death, they haue vterly put off themselues. Baptisme in deede promiseth vs y^e our Pharao is drowned, & the mortification of sin: yet not so y^e it is no more, or may no more trouble vs, but onely y^e it may not ouercome vs. For so long as we liue enclosed within this prison of our body, the remnants of sinne shall dwell in vs: but if we holde fast by faith the promise giuen 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

own euil, when he heareth that sinne alway dwelleth in vs. These things are not spoken to this ende, that they should carelesly sleepe vpon their sins, which are otherwise too much enclined to sinne: but onely, that they should not faint & be discouraged, which are tickled & pricked of their flesh. Let them rather thinke that they are yet in the way, and let them beleue y they haue much profited, when they feele that there is daily somewhat diminished of their lust, til they haue attained thither whither they trauaile, namely to y last death of their flesh, which shalbe ended in the dying of this mortall life. In the meane time let them not cesse both to striue valiantly, and to encourage them to go forward, and to stirre them vp to full victorie. For this also ought more to whet on their endeouours, that they see y after that they haue long trauailed, they haue yet no small businesse remaining. This wee ought to holde: we are baptised into the mortifying of our flesh, which is begon by baptisme in vs, which we daily follow: but it shalbe made perfect when wee shall remoue 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 righteousnes, because some wicked men did thereof gather, that we might liue after our owne lust, because we should not be acceptable to God by the deseruings of woikes: he addeth, that al they that are clothed with the righteousnes of Christ, are therewith regenerate in Spirite, & that of this regeneration wee haue an earnest in baptisme. Hereupon he exhorteth the faithfull, that they suffer not sinne to haue dominion in their members. Now because he knewe that there is alway some weaknesse in the faithfull: that they should not therefore be discouraged, he adioyneth a comfort, that they are not vnder the lawe. Because againe it might seme, that Christians might growe insolent, because they are not vnder the yoke of the lawe, he entreateth what maner of abrogating that is, and therewithal what is the vse of the lawe: which question he had nowe the seconde time differed. The summe is, that wee be deliuered from the rigour of the lawe, that wee should cleaue to Christ: but that the office of the lawe is, that wee being conuincd of our peruersnesse, should confesse our owne weaknesse and miserie. Nowe forasmuch as that peruersnesse of nature doeth not so easily appeare in a prophane man, which followeth his own lustes without feare of God: he setteth 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: Vnhappie 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 needes 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 Lorde hath once receiued into fauour, engrafted into the communion of his Christ, hath by baptisme admitted into y fellowship of his church, while they continue in the faith of Christ, although they bee besieged.

of sinne,

of sinne, yea and carie sinne about within them, yet are acquitted from guiltines & 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.

13 But Baptisme so serueth our confession before men. For it is a marke, whereby wee openly professe that we would be accounted among the people of God: whereby we testifie that wee agree with all Christians into the worshipping of one God and into one religion: finally wherby we openly affirme our faith: that not onely our hearts should breath out the praise of God, but also our tongue, and all the members of our bodie shoulde sounde 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, wherof nothing ought to be void, and other may by our example be stirred vp to the same indeuours. Herevnto Paul had respect, when hee asked the Corinthians whether they had not bene baptised into the name of Christ: meaning verily, that euen in this that they were baptised into his name, they avowed themselues vnto him, swore to his name, and bounde their faith to him before men, that they coulde no more confesse any other, but Christ alone, vnlesse they would forsake the confession which they had made in baptisme.

1. Cor. 1. 2.

14 Now sith it is declared what our Lorde 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 farre as it is giuen to the raising, nourishing and confirming of our faith, it is to be taken as from the hande of the author himselfe: we ought to hold it certaine and fully persuaded, that it is he which speaketh to vs by the signe, that it is he which cleanseth vs, washeth vs, and putteth away the remembrance of our sinnes, that it is hee 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 beeing clothed 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 wee certainly see our bodie outwardly to be washed, dipped, and clothed. For this either relation, or similitude, is the most sure rule of Sacraments: that in bodily things we should behold spiritual things, as if they were presently set before our eyes, forasmuch as it hath pleased the Lord to represent the 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 because y Lorde doth by this token testifie his will vnto vs, that is, that hee 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.

15 Hereof let Cornelius the captaine be an example, which was baptised, having before receiued forgiuennesse of sinnes and visible graces of the holy Ghost: seeking not by baptisme a larger forgiuennesse but a more certain exercising of faith, yea an encrease of confidence by a pledge. Per aduerture some man will obiect: why therefore did Ananias say to Paul, that he should washe away his sinnes by baptisme, if sinnes bee not washed away by the power of baptisme it selfe? I aunswere: Wee are saide to receiue, to obtaine, to get that which so farre as concerneth the feeling of our faith, is giuen vs

Act. 10. 48.

Act. 9. 17.

of the Lord, whether he doe then first testifie it, or being testified doth more and certainlier confirme it. This therfore only was the meaning of Ananias: that thou maiest be assured, Paul, that thy sinnes are forgiuen thee, be baptised. For the Lorde doth in baptisme promise forgiuenes 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 farre as GOD worketh by outward meanes. But of this Sacrament, as of all other, we obtaine nothing but so much as we receiue by Fayth. If we want faith, it shall be for a witness of our vnthankfulnesse, whereby we may be declared guilty 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 affiance is in the mercie of God, and our cleanness is in the forgiuenesse of sinnes, which is gotten vs by Iesus Christ: and that by it we enter into the Church of Christe, that wee may with one consente of Fayth and charitie liue of one minde with al the faithfull. This last pointe didde Paule meane, when he sayeth that wee are all baptised in one Spirite, that wee may be one body.

1. Cor. 12. 13

16 Nowe if this be true which we determine, that a Sacrament is not to be weyed according to his hande of whom it is ministred, but as of the very hande of God, from whom without dout it proceeded: hereupon we may gather, that nothing is added to it nor taken from it by the worthynesse of him by whose hande it is deliuered. And euen as among men, if a letter be sent, so that the hand & the seale be well knowen, it maketh no matter who or what manner of man be the carrier: so it ought to suffice to acknowe the hande and seale of the Lorde in his Sacramentes, by what carriersfoeuer they be brought. Hereby the error of the Donatistes is very well confuted, which measured the force and value of the Sacrament by the worthynesse of the minister. Such at this day are our Catabaptistes, which denie that wee be rightly baptised, because we were baptised by wicked men & idolaters in the popish kingdome: therefore they furiously cal vpō vs to be baptised again. Against whose follies we shalbe armed with a reason strong enoughe, if wee thinke that wee were professed by baptisme not into the name of any man, but into the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, and that therefore it is not the baptisme of man, but of GOD, of whomefoeuer it be ministred. Although they were neuer so muche ignorant or despisers of God and all godlinesse, which baptised vs: yet they did not baptise vs into the fellowshippe of their owne ignorance or sacrilege, but into the fayth of Iesus Christe: because they called not vpon their owne name, but the name of GOD, nor baptised vs into any other name. Nowe if it were the baptisme of God, it hath verily enclosed in it a promise of the forgiuenesse of sinnes, the mortifying of the flesh, the spirituall quickning, and the partaking of Christ. So it nothing hindered the Iewes, to haue bene circumcised of vnclean priestes and apostataes: neither was the signe therefore voyde, that it needed to bee done of newe: but it was sufficient to returne to the naturall beginning. Where they obiecte that baptisme ought to bee celebrate in the assemblies of the godly, that prouoeth not, that that which is faulty in part, should destroy the whole force thereof. For when we teache

Matt. 28. 19.

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what ought to be done that baptisme may be pure, and voyde of al defiling, we doe 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 all Israel them that had departed from God, call them to a seconde Circumcision.

17 Nowe whereas they aske vs, what faith of ours hath yet followed baptisme in certaine yeares past, that they might thereby prooue that the baptisme is voyde, when it is not sanctified vnto vs, but by the worde of promise receiued by faith: to this question we aunswere that we indeede 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 stayed, stedfast, and true. Although all men be liers and faithbreakers, yet God ceaseth not to be true: although all men be lost, yet Christ remaineth saluation. We confesse therefore that Baptisme, for that time profited vs nothing at all: forasmuch as in it y^e promise offered vs, without which baptisme is nothing, lay nothing regarded. Nowe sith by the grace of God, wee haue begonne to waxe wiser, we accuse our owne blindnesse and hardnesse of heart, which haue so long beene vnthankfull to his so great goodnesse. But wee beleue that the promise it selfe is not vanished away: but rather thus wee consider, God by baptisme promiseth the forgiuenesse of sins, and sith hee 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 indeede long beene buried from vs because of infidelitie: nowe therefore let vs receiue it by faith. Wherefore where the Lorde calleth the Iewish people to repentance, hee giueth them no commaundement of a seconde Circumcision, which being (as we haue saide) 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, howe soeuer the couenant was broken of them, yet the signe of the couenant, by the ordinance of the Lorde, remained alway stedfast and inuiolable. Therefore with the onely condition of repentance they were restored into the couenant which the Lorde 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.

Rom. 3. 3.

18. But they thinke that they shake a fiery dart at vs, when they alleadge 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 nowe: euen as they hauing beene 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 y^e true religion, wherewith we 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 secme to gather a coniecture herevppon, because they confessed themselues to bee vtterly

Act. 19. 3.

ignorant of the Holy Ghost: whereas Iohn verily woulde neuer haue sent a way from himselfe scholers 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 off by so many testimonies of the scripture. Whereas therefore they aunswere that they knowe not whether there bee a Holy Ghost, it is to be vnderstande 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 wordes, 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 vnderstande it more simplicie, to bee 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 handes: which to bee expressed by the name of baptisme, is no newe thing. As on the day of Pentecost it is saide, that the Apostles remembred 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 hee sawe those graces poured out vpon Cornelius, and his householde and kinred. Neither is that contrarie which is after adioyned, When he had laid his handes on them, the Holy Ghost came downe vpon them. For Luke doeth not tell of two diuerse thinges: but followeth the manner of telling commonly vsed among the Hebrewes, which do first propound the summe of the matter, and then doe set it out more at large. Which euery man may perceiue by the very framing together of the wordes. For hee saith, When they had heard these thinges, they were baptised in the name of Iesus. And when Paul had laide his handes vpon them, the Holy Ghost came downe vpon them. In this latter sentence is described, what manner of baptisme that was. If ignorance doe so corrupte a former Baptisme, that it must bee 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 renewe so many washinges, 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 deceiued, ought by this time to bee plaine enough. So much as concerneth the outwarde signe, I woulde to God the naturall institution of Christ had preuailed so much as was meet, to restrain the boldnes of men. For, as though it were a contemptible thing to bee baptised with water according to the precept of Christe, there is inuented blessing, or rather inchaunting, to defile the true halowing of y^e water. Afterward was added a taper with chresme: but the blowing semeth to open the gate to baptisme. But although I am not ignorant, howe auncient is the beginning of this added packe: yet it is lawfull both for me and all the godly to refuse what soeuer thinges men haue presumed to adde to the ordinance of Christ. When Satan sawe that by the foolish light credite of the worlde at the verie beginnings of the Gospell his deceits were easilie receiued, he brake forth into grosser mockeries. Hereup on spic-
tle,

tle, and like trifles, were openly brought in with vnbridled libertie to the reproch of baptisme. By which experiences let vs learne that nothing is eyther holier, or better, or safer, thā to be content with the authoritie of Christ alone. Howe much better therefore was it, leauing stagelike pompes, which dasell the eyes of the simple, and dull their mindes, so oft as any was to bee baptised, that he should be presented to the assemblie of the faithfull, and be offered to God, the whole Church looking on as a witnesse: & praying ouer him: that the confession of faith shoulde be rehearsed, wherewith he that is to bee catechised shoulde be instructed: that the promises shoulde be declared which are contained in Baptisme: that the instructed shoulde be baptised in the name of the Father, and the sonne, and the holy ghost: at length that he be sent away with prayers and thankesgiuing. So is nothing omitted that might make to the matter, and that the onely Ceremonie which proceeded from God the authour thereof, should most cleerely shine, being not ouerwhelmed with any forcine filthinesse. But whether he be wholly dipped which is baptised, & that thrise or once, or whether he be but sprinkled with water onely powred vpon him, it maketh very little matter: but that ought to be at libertie to Churches according to the diuersitie of countries. Howbeit the very worde of baptizing signifieth to dip, and it is certaine that the maner of dipping was vsed of the old Church.

20 This also perteyneth to the purpose, to know that it is done amisse if priuate men take vpon themselues the administration of baptisme. For as well the distribution of this as of the Supper is a part of the ecclesiastical ministerie. For Christ did not commaunde women, nor yet euery sort of men, that they shoulde baptize: but whom he had ordeined his Apostles, to them he gaue this commandement. And when he commanded his disciples to do that in the ministracion of the Supper which they had seene him doe, when he executed the office of a right distributor: he woulde without doubt, that they shoulde therein follow his example. As for this that in many ages past, yea and in a maner at the verie beginning of the Church, it hath beene receiued in vse, that lay men might baptise in peril of death, if the minister were not present in time. I see not with howe strong a reason it may be defended. The very old fathers themselues, which either helde 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 do 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 enforceth, it is either none or a veniall sinne. More ouer of women it was decreed without any exception in the Councell at Carthage, that they should not presume to baptize at al. But there is daunger, least if hee which is sicke shoulde die without baptisme, hee shoulde be deprived of the grace of regeneration. Not so, God pronounceth that hee adopteth our infants to bee his owne, before they bee borne, when hee promiseth that hee will be a God to vs and to our seed after vs. In this word is contained their saluation. Neither shal any man dare to bee so reprochfull against God, to denie that his promise is of it selfe sufficient to worke the effect thereof. Howe much harme that doctrine being

Lib. contra
epi. parm. 3.
cap. 13.
Cap. 6.

being euill expounded, y baptisme is of necessitie to saluation, hath brought in, fewe doe marke: and therefore they take lesse heed to themselues. For where this opinion is growen in force, that all are lost to whome it hath not happened to be washed with water, our state is worse thā 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 shalbe thought to bee come, not to fulfill the promises, but to abolishe 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 helpe of the signe.

21 But howe 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 shee shoulde not claime to her selfe the execution of any mans office, much lesse of y Priestes. Of the same thing Epiphanius is a substantiall witnesse, where hee reprocheth Marcion, y he gaue women libertie to baptise. Neither am I ignorant of their aunswere which thinke otherwise, that is, that common vse much differeth from extraordinarie remedy, when extreme necessitie inforceth: 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 color excusable. Also in the third booke, where teaching that it was not permitted euen to the holy mother of Christ, he addeth no restraints.

Libro. cont.
Here.

22 The example of Sephora is vnseasonable alleaged. For whereas y Angel of God was appeased, after that she taking a stone, circumcised her sonne, thereuppon it is wrongfully gathered that her doing was allowed of God. Otherwise it ought to bee saide, that the worshipping which the nations that were brought out of Assyria raised vp, pleased God. But by other strong reasons it is prooued, that that which a foolish woman did, is wrongfully drawn to an example of imitation. If I shoulde say that it is a certaine singular case, which ought not to be made an example, & specially y sith it is no where red that in olde time there was giuen to the Priestes a speciall commaundement to circumcise, the order of Circumcision and Baptisme is vnlike: this shoulde bee strong enough to confute them. For the wordes of Christ are plaine: Goe ye, teach all nations, and baptise. When hee ordeined the selfe same men publishers of the Gospel, and ministers of Baptisme: and none (as the Apostle witnesseth) doeth take honour vpon himselfe in the Church, but hee that is called as Aaron: whosoever without lawfull calling baptiseth, hee rusheth into an other mans office. Euen in the smallest things, as in meate and drinke, whatsoeuer we enterprise with a doubtfull conscience, Paul openly cryeth out to bee sinne. Therefore in womens baptising is much more grieuously sinne, where it is euident that they brake the rule appointed by Christ: forasmuch as wee knowe that it is vnlawfull to plucke in sunder those things that God conioyneth. But all this I passe ouer. Onely I woulde haue the readers to note, that Sephoraes purpose was nothing lesse, than to doe any seruice to God. Seeing her sonne to bee in danger, she grudged, and murmured, and not without stomacking threwe the foreskinne vpon the ground, she so taunted her husbande, y she was also an-
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Exod. 4. 25.

Matt. 28 19

Heb. 5. 4.
Rom. 14. 23.

gry with God. Finally it is plaine that all this came of a furiousnesse of mind, because she murmured against God and her husband, for that she was compelled to shed the blood of her sonne. Moreouer if she had in all other things behaued her selfe well, yet herein is an vnexcusable rashe presumption y^e she circumcised her sonne, her husband being present, not any priuate man, but Moses the principal Prophet of God, than whom there neuer rose any greater in Isracc: which was no more lawefull for her to do, than at this day it is for women in the sight of the bishoppe. But this controuersie shall by and by be easily taken awaie by this principle, that infantes are not debarred from the kindome of heauen, whome it happeneth to departe out of this present life before y^e it be granted the to be dipped in water. But it is already proued that no small wrong is done to the couenante of God, if we do not rest in it, as though it were weake of it selfe: where as the effect thereof hangeth neither vpon baptism, 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. Wherevpon foloweth, that the children of the faithfull are not therefore baptised, that they may then first be made the children of God, which before were straungers from the Church, but rather that they be therefore receiued by a solemne signe into the Church, because by the benefit 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, wee are free from all danger. It is therefore much more holy, to giue this reuerence to the ordinance of God, that we seeke Sacramentes 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 obtain them by faith out of the worde of the Lord.

The xvi. Chapter.

That the Baptisme of infantes doth very well agree with the institution of Christ and the nature of the signe.

BVt forasmuch as in this age, certaine phrentike Spirites haue raised v^p sore troubles in the Church for the Baptisme of infantes, and doe not yet cease to turmoile: I can not chose but I must ioyne here an addition to restrain their furiousnesse. If peradventure it shall seeme to some man to be very much too long, let him (I beseech him) wey with himselfe, that we ought so much to esteeme the purenesse of doctrine in a most great matter, together with the peace of the Church, that nothing ought to be lothsomely receiued, which may auaille to procure them both. Beside that, I so studie to frame this discourse, that it shalbe of no small importance to the clearer declaration of the mystery of Baptisme. They assaile the baptisme of infantes with an argument in deede fauorable in shewe, saying that it is grounded vpon no institution of Christ, but that it was brought in only by the boldnes of men, and peruerse curiousnesse, & then afterwarde with sonde 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

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matter is well considered, it shall appeare that the Lorde's holy ordinance is falsely and vniustly charged with such a slander? Let vs therefore search out the first beginning of it. And if it shall appeare, that it was deuised by the onely rashnesse of men, then bidding it farewell, let vs measure the true obseruation of baptisme by the onely will of God. But if it shall be proued that it is not destitute of his certaine authoritie, wee must beware, least in pinching the holy ordinance of God, we be also slanderous against the author himselfe.

2 First it is a doctrine well enough knowen, and confessed among all the godly, that the right consideration of the signes, consisteth not onely in the outward Ceremonies: but principally hangeth vpon the promise, and vpon the spirituall mysteries, for figuring whereof the Lorde ordeineth the Ceremonies themselues. Therefore hee that will perfectly learne of what value baptisme is, to what ende 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. He that knoweth these thinges, hath attained the sound truth of baptisme, and the whole substance thereof as I may so call it: and thereby also he shall be taught, what is the reason, & what is the vse of the outward sprinkling. Againe hee that contemprouously passing ouer these, shall haue his minde wholly fastened and bound to the visible Ceremonie, shall vnderstande neither the force nor propertie of baptisme: nor yet so much as this, what the water meaneth, or what vse it hath. Which sentence is proued with so many & so cleare testimonies of scripture, that we neede not at this present to tarry long about it. Therefore it remaineth now, that we seeke out of the promises giuen in baptisme, what is the force and nature of it. The scripture sheweth, that the cleansing of sinnes, which we obteine of the blood of Christ, is here first shewed: then the mortifying of the flesh, which standeth vpon the partaking of his death, by which the faithfull are regenerate into newnesse of life, yea and into the fellowship of Christ. To this summe may be referred whatsoever is taught in the Scriptures concerning baptisme: sauing that beside this it is a signe to testifie religion before men.

3 But forasmuch as before the institution of baptisme, the people of God had circumcision in stead thereof: let vs see what these two signes differ the one from the other, and with what likenesse they agree together. Wherevpon may appeare what is the relation of the one to the other. Where the Lorde gaue circumcision to Abraham to be kept, he telleth him before, that he would be God to him and to his seede: adding, that with him is the flowing store and suffiance of all things, that Abraham should account that his hand should be to him a spring of all good things. In which wordes the promise of eternall life is contained: as Christ expoundeth it, bringing an argument from hence to proue the immortalitie of the faithfull, and the resurrection. For God (saith he) is not y God of the dead, but of the liuing. Wherefore Paul also shewing to the Ephesians from what destruction the Lorde had deliuered them, gathereth by this that they had not bene admitted into the couenant of circumcision, that they were without Christ,

Gen 17. 10.

Matt. 22. 32.

Luk. 20. 38.

Eph. 2. 12.

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without God, without hope, strangers from the testaments of the promise: all which things the couenante it selfe contained. But the first accessse to God, the first entrie to immortal life, is the forgiuenesse of sinnes. Whereupon is gathered, that this forgiuenesse aunswereth to the promise of baptisme concerning our clensing. Afterward the Lord taketh couenante of Abraham y he should walke before him in purenesse and innocencie of heart which belongeth to mortifying or regeneration. And that no man should dour, that circumcision is a signe of mortifying, Moses in an other place doth more plainly declare it, whē he exhorteth the people of Israel, to circumsise the vncircumcised skinne of the hart, because they were seuerally chosen to be the people of God out of all the nations of the earth. As God, where he adoprth the posteritie of Abraham to his people, commaundeth them to be circumsised: so Moses pronounceth that the hartes ought to be circumsised, declaring verily what is the trueth of this circumsision. Then that no man should endeouour toward it by his owne strength, he teacheth that they neede the grace of God. All these things are so often repeted of the prophets, that I neede not to heape into this place many testimonies which do each where offer themselues. We haue proued therefore, that in circumsision a spirituall promise was vttered to the fathers, such as in baptisme is giuen: for as much as it figured to them the forgiuenesse of sinnes, and the mortifying of the flesh. Moreouer as we haue taught that Christ is the foundation of baptisine, in whomē both these things remaine: so it is euidēt that he is also of circumsision. For he is promised to Abraham, and in him the blessing of all nations. To the sealing of which grace, the signe of circumsision is added.

Deut. 10. 16.

Deut. 30. 6.

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 forgiuenesse 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 inwarde mysterie, whereby the whole force and proprietie of the Sacramentes is to be weied. The vnlikenesse that remaineth, lyeth in the outwarde 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 circumsision, doeth also belong to baptisme, except the difference of the visible Ceremonie. To this relation and comparison, the Apostles rule leadeth vs by the hande, whereby wee are commanded to examine all exposition of scripture by the proportion of faith. And truely the trueth doth in this behalfe almost offer it selfe to be selte. For as circumsision, because it was a certaine token to the Iewes, whereby they were certified that they were chosen to be the people and householde of GOD and they agayne on their behalues professed that they yelded themselues to GOD, was their first entrie into the Church: so nowe also wee by baptisme enter into profession of God, that wee may bee reckened among his people, and mutually sweare to his name. Whereby it appeareth out of controuersie, that baptisme

Rom. 12. 3.

is come into the place of circumcision, that it may haue the same office with vs.

5 Nowe if we list to search out, whether baptisme bee lawfully communicate to infantes: shall wee not say that he doth too much play the foole, yea dote, which will rest onely vpon the element of water, and the outward obseruation, but cannot abide to bende 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 infantes, as the thing that is due vnto them. For the Lorde in olde time did not vouchsaue to admit them to circumcision, but y^e he made them partakers of all those things which were then signified by circumcision. Otherwise hee should with mere deceites haue mocked his people, if hee had fed them with deceitful signes, which is horrible euen to bee hearde of. For he pronounceth expressly, that the circūcision of a little infant shoulde be instead of a seale to seale the promise of the couenant. But if the couenant 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 infantes of the Iewes. But if they bee partakers of the thing signified, why shall they be debarred from the signe? if they haue the truth, why shall they be put backe from the figure? Although the outward signe cleaue fast together with the worde in the Sacrament, so that they can not be plucked in sunder: yet if they be severally considered, whether of them, I pray you, shall wee esteeme of more value? Truly sith wee see that the signe serueth the worde, wee must say that it is vnder it, and must set it in the inferiour place. Sith therefore the word of Baptisme is extended to infantes: why shall the signe, that is to say, the addition hanging to the worde, be debarred from them? This one reason, if there were no moe, were abundantly enough to confute all them that wil speake to the contrarie. That which is obiected, that there was a day certainly set for circumcision, is altogether but a shifte. We graunt that wee bee not now bounde to certayne dayes, like the Iewes: but when y^e Lorde howsoever hee certainly appointeth no day, yet declareth that hee is pleased that infantes shoulde with a solemne formal vsage be receiued into his couenant: what seeke we more?

6 Howebeit 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 comming diminished, or cut short the grace of his father. Which saying is not without abhominable blasphemie. Wherefore as euen the children of the Iewes were called a holy seed, 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 accompted holy, yea although they bee the issue but of one parent faithfull: and (as the Apostle witnesseth) they differ frō the vncleane seede of Idolaters. Nowe when the Lorde immediately after the couenant made with Abraham, commaunded the same to bee sealed in infantes with

with an outward Sacrament : what cause will Christians alleage, why they should not at this day testifie and seale the same in their children ? Neither let any man object against me, that the Lord commaunded his couenant to be confirmed with no other signe than of circumcision, which is long agoe taken away. For we haue in readinesse to answere, 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 manner of confirming which we haue common with the Iewes. Wherefore we must alway diligently consider what is comon to both, and what they haue seuerall from vs. The couenaut is common, the cause of confirming it is common. Onely the maner 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 y^e coming of Christ, that the grace of God should bee darker and lesse approved by testimonies to vs, than it was before to the Iewes. If that cannot be saide without extreme slander of Christ, by whome the infinite goodnes of the Father hath more clearely and liberally than euer heretofore beene poured forth vpon the earth, and declared to men: wee must needes graunt, that it is at the least not more pinchingly to bee suppressed, nor to bee set forth with lesse testimonie, than it was vnder the darke shadowes of the lawe.

7 Wherefore the Lorde Iesus, minding to shewe a token whereby the worlde might vnderstande that hee was come rather to enlarge than to limit the mercie of God, gently embraced children offred 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 baptised them, but that he receiued them; embraced them, and wished them well. Therefore if we list to follow his example, let vs helpe infants with prayer, but not baptise them. But let vs wey the doings of Christ somewhat more heedfully, than such kinde of men do. For neither is this to be lightly passed ouer, that Christ commaundeth infants to be brought vnto him, adding a reason why, because of such is the kingdome of heauen. And afterward he witnesseth his will with deede, when embracing them he commendeth 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 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 beeing admitted into it they may be adnumbred among the heires of the heauenly kingdome? How vniust shall we be, if wee driue away them whome Christ calleth vnto him? if we spoile them, whome he garnisheth with his giftes? if we shut out them whome he willingly receiueth? But if wee will examine howe much that which Christ there did, differeth from baptisme, yet of howe much greater price shall wee haue baptisme, (where-

Matt. 9. 13.

by wee testifie that infants are contained in the covenant of God) than receiuing, embracing, laying on of handes, and prayer, whereby Christ himselfe being present: declareth that they both are his, and are sanctified of him? By the other cauations, whereby they labor to mocke out this place, they do nothing but bewray their owne ignorance. For they gather an argument of this which Christ saith. Let litle ones come to me, that they were in age good bigge ones which were alreadie able to go. 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 worde (to come) is simply set for (to haue access.) Lo what snares they are compelled to make, which are growen hard against the trueth. Nowe where they say, that the kingdome of heauen is not giuen to them, but to such as be like them, because it is saide to be of such, not of them: that is no sounder than \bar{y} rest. For if that be graunted, what maner of reason shall the reason of Christ be, whereby he meaneth to shewe, that infantes in age are not strangers from him? When he commaundeth that infantes be suffered to haue access vnto him, nothing is plainer than that verie infancie in deede is there spoken of. And that this shoulde not seeme an absurditie, he by and by addeth: of such is the kingdome of heauen. But if it must needes bee that infantes bee comprehended herein, it must be plaine that by this worde (such) are meant verie infantes themselues, and such as be like them.

8 Nowe there is no man that seeth not, that baptisme of infantes was not framed by man, which is vpholden by so great approuing of Scripture. Neither doe they colourably enough play the fooles, which obiekt that it is no where founde, that any one infant was baptised by the handes of the Apostles. For although it be not expressly by name rehearsed of the Euangelistes: yet because againe they are not excluded, so oft as mention happeneth to be made of the baptising of any householde: who, vnlesse he be madde, can reason thereupon that they were not baptised? If such argumentes were of any force, women shoulde be forbidden to partake of the Lordes supper, whome wee reade not to haue bene receiued vnto it in the time of the Apostles. But here wee be content with the rule of faith. For when wee consider, what the institution of the Supper requireth, thereby also wee may easily iudge to whome the vse thereof ought to be communicated. Which we obserue also in baptisme. For when wee marke, to what ende it was ordeined, wee euidently espie, that it belongeth no lesse to infantes, than to elder folkes. Therefore they cannot bee depriued of it, but that the will of the author must bee manifestly defrauded. But where as they spread abroade among the simple people, that there passed a long row of ycares after the resurrection of Christ, in which the baptisme of infantes was vnknown: therein they most fowly do lie. For there is no writer so old, \bar{y} doth not certainly referre the beginning thereof to the time of \bar{y} Apostles.

9 Nowe remaineth that we briefly shewe, what fruite commeth of this obseruation, both to the faithfull which present their children to the Church to be baptised, and also to the infantes themselues that be baptised with the holy water: that no man shoulde despise it as vnprofitable or idle. But if it come in any mans minde, vppon this pretence to mocke at the

baptisme

baptisme of infantēs, he scorneth the commaundement of Circumcission giuen by the Lorde. For what will they bring foorth to impugne the baptisme of infantēs, which may not also be throwen backe against Circumcission? So the Lorde 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 furnissheth vs with other armures, whereby their foolishnesse may be beaten flatte. For neither this his holy institution, by which wee feele our sayth to be holpen with singular comforte, deserueth to be called superfluous. For Goddes signe communicated to a childe doeth as it were by an emprinted seale confirme the promise giuen to the godly parente, and declareth that it is ratified that the Lorde will be GOD not onely to him but also to his seede, and will continually shewe his good will and grace, not to him only, but also to his posteritie euen to the thousandth generation. Where when the great kindenesse of GOD vttereth it selfe, first it yeeldeth most large matter to aduance his glorie, and ouerspreadeth godly heartes with singular gladnesse, because they are therewithall more earnestly moued to loue againe so godly a Father, whome they see to haue care of their posteritie for their sakes. Neither doe I regarde, if any man take exception, and saye that the promise ought to suffice to confirme the saluation of our children: forasmuch as it hath pleased God otherwise, who as hee knoweth our weakenesse, willed in this behalfe so muche to beare tenderly with it. Therefore lette them that embrace the promise of Gods mercie to be extended to their children, thinke that it is their duetie to offer them to the Church to be signed with the signe of mercie, and thereby 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 commoditie of their baptisme, that being engraffed into the body of the Church, they be somewhat the more comended to the other members. Then when they are grown to riper age, they be thereby not scenderly stirred vp to earnest endeouour to worshippe God, of whom they haue been receiued into his children by a solemne signe of adoption, before that they could by age acknowe 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 offred is refused and as it were foresworne.

Gen. 17. 14.

IO Now let vs examine the argumentes, wherby certaine furious beasts doe not cease to assaile this holy institution of God. First because they see that they be exceedingly neere driuen and harde strained with the liknesse of baptisme and Circumcission, 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 saye that both diuerse things are signified, and that the couenant is altogether diuerse, and that the naming of the children is not all one. But while they goe about to prooue that first point, they alleage that Circumcission was a figure of mortification and not of baptisme. Which verily we do most willingly graunt them. For it maketh very well for our side, Neither do we vse any other profe of our sentence, thā

that Baptisme and Circumcision are signes of mortification. Herupon we determine y^e Baptisme is set in the place of Circumcision, that it should represent vnto vs the same thing which in old time it signified to y^e Iewes. In affirming the difference of the couenant, with how barbarous boldnesse doe 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 carnall y^e they be liker beastes than men: with whom forsooth the conenant made proceedeth not beyond the temporal life, to whom the promises giuen do rest in present & bodily good things. If this doctrine take place, what remaineth but that the nation of the Iewes were for a time filled with the benefites of GOD, none otherwise than as they fatte a hearde of swine in a stie, that at length they should perish with eternal damnation. For so soone as wee alleage Circumcision and the promises annexed vnto it, they answer that Circumcision was a literall signe, and the promises thereof were carnall.

II Truly if Circumcision was a literall signe, there is no otherwise to be thought of baptisme. For the Apostle in the seconde Chapter to the Colossians maketh the one no more spirituall than the other. For hee sayeth that we are circumsised in Christ, with a circumcision not made with hande, putting away the body of sinne that dwelled in our flesh: which hee calleth the circumcision of Christ. Afterwarde for declaration of that saying, hee adioyneth, that we be buried with Christ by baptisme. What meaneth he by these words, but that the fulfilling and truth of baptisme, is also the truth & fulfilling of circumcision, because they figure both one thing? For he traualleth to shew, that baptisme is y^e same to Christians, which Circumcision had bene before to the Iewes. But forasmuch as we haue nowe 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 tarry no longer vpon them. Onely I will put the faithfull in minde, that though I holde my peace, they shoulde weye with themselues whether it be taken for an earthly and literall signe, vnder which nothing is contained but spirituall and heauenly. But, that they should not sell their smokes to the simple, wee will by the way confute one obiection wherewith they colour this most shamelesse lie. It is most certaine that the principall promises, wherein was contained the couenant which in the Olde testament GOD stablished with the Israelites, were spirituall, and tended to eternall life: and then againe, that they were receiued of the fathers spirituall, as it was meete, that they might thereof receiue affiaunce of the life to come, whereunto they longed with the whole affection of their heart. But in the meane time wee denie not, but that hee witnessed his good will towarde them with earthly and carnall benefites: by which also wee say that the same promise of spirituall things was confirmed. As when hee promised euerlasting blessednesse to his seruaunt Abraham, that he might sette before his eyes a manifest token of his fauour, hee addeth an other promise concerning the possession of the lande of Chanaan. After this manner we ought to vnderstande all the earthly promises that are giuen to the Iewish nation, that the spirituall promise, as the hed, wherunto they are directed, should alway haue the chiefe place.

Colos. 2. 11.

Gen. 15. 1. &
33.

place. But sith I haue more largely entreated of these thinges in the difference of the newe 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 olde 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 graffed into the fellowship of the couenant, figured the infants of the Newe testamēt, which are regenerate by the word of God to immortal life. In which wordes we beholde in deede a small sparkle of truth: but herein these light spirites grieuouly offend, that when they catch hold of that which first cometh to their hand, when they should go 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 knowledge of nothing. We graunt in deed that the carnall seede of Abraham did for a time hold the place of the spirituall seede which is by faith graffed into him. For we be called his children howsoeuer there is no naturall kinred betweene him and vs. But if they meane, as they plainly shewe that they doe, y there was neuer spirituall blessing promised to the carnall seede of Abraham, herein they are much deceiued. Wherefore we must leuel to a better marke, whereunto we are directed by the most certaine guiding of the Scripture.

Gal. 4. 28.
Rom. 4. 12.

The Lord therefore promised to Abraham, that he should haue a seede, where in all nations of the earth shalbe blessed: and therewithall assureth him, that he would be a God to him & his seed. Whosoever do by Faith receiue Christ the author of blessing, are heires of this promise, and therefore are called the children of Abraham.

13 But although since the resurrection of Christ the bounds of the kingdom of God haue begun to be far and wide enlarged into all nations without difference, that according to the saying of Christ, faithfull ones should bee gathered from euery part to sit downe in the heauenly glory with Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob: yet hee had many ages before extended that same so great mercie to the Iewes. And because passing ouer all other, hee had chosen out that onely nation, in which he would restraine 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 y God is to them the author of saluation: by which knowledge their mindes were raised into hope of eternall life. For what shall he want, whome 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 maner: Abraham (saith he) was justified by faith in vncircumcision. Afterwarde he receiued the signe of circumcision, the seal of the righteousnesse of faith, that he should be the father of all the faithfull, both of vncircumcision and of circumcision, not of them that glorie of onely circumcision, but of them that followe the faith which our father Abraham had in vncircumcision. Do not wee see that both sortes 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

Matt. 8. 11.
Exod. 19. 5.

Rom. 4. 10.

the Apostle writeth in another place) by which the Iewes were seuered from the Gentiles, the entrie was made open to them also into the kingdome of God, he was made their father, and that without the signe of circumcision, because they haue baptisme in steede of circumcision. But where hee expressly by name denieth, that Abraham is father to them which are of circumcision only, that same was spoken to abate the pride of certain, which omitting the care of godlinesse, did boast themselues of onely ceremonies. After which maner at this day also their vanitie may bee confuted which seeke in baptisme nothing but water.

14 But another place of the Apostle out of the 9. Chapter of the Epistle to the Romanes shalbe alleaged to the contrary, where he teacheth y they which are of the flesh, are not the children of Abraham: but they onely are counted his seede, which are the children of promise. For he seemeth to signifie, that the carnall kinred of Abraham is nothing, which yet we do set in some degree. But it is more diligently to be marked, what matter the Apostle there enteateth of. For, meaning to shewe to the Iewes how much the goodness of God was not bounde to the seede of Abraham, yea howe it nothing auaieth of it selfe, he bringeth foorth Ismael and Esau for example to prooue it: whome 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 whome it pleaseth him: and that there is no cause why the Iewes shoulde stande in their own conceit, or boast vpon the name of the couenant, vnlesse they keepe the lawe of the couenant, that is to say, do obey the worde. Againe when he hath throwen 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 11. chapter, he argueth that the carnall kinred is not to be spoiled of his due dignitie: by the beneficiall meane whereof hee teacheth that the Iewes are the first and naturall heires of the Gospel, but in respect that by their vnthankfulnesse, they were forsaken as vnworthie: yet so that the heauenly blessing is not vtterly remoued from their nation. For which reason, howe much soeuer they were stubborne and couenant breakers, neuertheless hee calleth them holy (so much honor he giueth to the holy generation, with whome God had vouchsafed to make his holy couenant) but calleth vs, if we be compared with them, as it were after born, yea or the vnrimely borne children of Abraham, & that by adoption, not by nature: as if a twig broken off from his naturall tree, should be grafted into a strange stock. Therefore that they should not be defrauded of their prerogatiue, it behooued that the Gospel should be first preached to them: for they be in y householde of God as it were the first begotten children. Wherefore this honour was to be giuen them, vntil 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 howe great obstinacie soeuer they continue to make warre against the Gospell, ought they to bee despised of vs: if wee consider that for the promises sake, the blessing of G O D doeth yet still

remaine

remain among them: as verily the Apostle testifieth that it shal neuer vterly depart from thence: because the gistes and calling of God are without repentance. Rom. 18. 29.

15 Beholde of what force is the promise giuen to the posteritie of Abraham, and with what balance it is to be weyed. Wherefore although in discerning the heires of the kingdom from bastardest & strangers, we nothing doubt that the onely election of God ruleth with free right of government: yet we also therewithal perceiue, that it pleased him peculiarly to embrace the seede of Abraham with his mercy, and that the same mercie might bee the more surely witnessed, to seale it with circumcision. Nowe altogether like state is there of the Christian Church. For as Paul there reasoneth that the Iewes are sanctified of their parents: so in another place he teacheth, that the children of Christians receiue the same sanctification of their parentes. Whereupon is gathered, that they are worthily seuered from the rest, which on the other side are condemned of vncleanness. Now who can doubt, but that it is most false which they do therupon conclude, y^e say that the infantes which in old time were circumcised, did onely figure spirituall infancie, which ariseth of the regeneration of the worde of God. For Paul doeth not so suttlyly play the Philosopher, where he writeth that Christ is y^e minister of Circumcision, to fulfill the promises which had bin made to the Fathers, as if he said thus: Forasmuch as the couenant 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 Iewes. See you not how also after the resurrection of Christ, he iudgeth that the promise of the couenant is to be fulfilled, not only by way of allegory, but as the very words do sound to the carnall seede of Abraham. To the same entent serueth that which Peter in the seconde Chapter of the Actes, declareth to the Iewes, that the benefit of the Gospel 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 aboue alleaged, where he accounteth and setteth Circumcision emprinted in infantes, for a testimonie of y^e communion which they haue with Christ. But if we harken to their trifles, what shalbe wrought by that promise, wherby the Lord in the second article of his law vndertaketh to his seruantes, y^e he will be fauorable to their seede euen to the thousandth generation? Shall we here flee to allegories? But y^e were too trifling a shift. Or shall we say y^e this is abolished? But so the law should be destroyed, which Christ came rather to stablish, so far as it turneth vs to good vnto life, Let it therefore be out of controuersie, y^e God is so good and liberal to his, that for their sakes, he will haue also their children, whom they shall beget, to be adnambred among his people. 1. Cor. 7. 14.

16 Moreouer y^e differences which they go about to put between baptisme and circumcision, are not only worthy to be laughed at, & voide of al colour of reason, but also disagreeing with themsclues. For when they haue affirmed that baptisme hath relation to the first day of the spirituall battel, but circumcision to the eighth when mortification is already ended, by and by forgetting the same, they turne their song, & call circumcision a figure of the first

to be mortified, but baptisme they call buriall, into which none are to be put till they be already dead. What dotages of phrentike men, can with so great lightnesse leape into sundry diuersities? For in the first sentence, baptisme must go before circumcision: by the other, it is thrust backe into y^e later place. Yet is it no newe example, that the wits of men be so tossed vp and downe, when in steede of the most certaine worde of God they worship whatsoeuer they haue dreamed. We therefore say that that former difference is a meere dreame. If they list to expounde by way of allegory vpon the eighth 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 eighth day, whereupon we knowe that the newnes of life hangeth: or to the whole course of this present life, wherein mortification ought alway to go forward, till when life is ended, mortification it selfe may also be ended. Howbeit God may seeme to haue minded to provide for the tenderesse of age, in differring circumcision to the eighth day, because the wound shold haue bin more dangerous to the children new borne and yet red from their mother. How much stronger is that, that we being deade before, are buried by baptisme: when the Scripture expresly cryeth to the contrary that we are buried into death to this entent, that we should die, and from thenceforth should endeouour to this mortification? Nowe, a likewise handling it is, that they cauill that women ought not to be baptised, if baptisme must be framed like to circumcision. For if it be most certaine y^e the sanctifying of the seede of Israell was testified by the signe of circumcision: therby 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 the 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 inwarde mystery, in the promises, in vse, in effectualnesse.

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 vnderstande the mysterie there signified. That is spirituall regeneration, which can not 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 seconde birth. But the truth of God echwhere speaketh against all these thinges. For if they be to be left among the childre of Adam, then they are left in death: forasmuch as in Adam we can doe 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 adiudge them to death. For if they say for a shift, that infantes do not therefore perish if they be accounted the children of Adam, their errour is aboundantly confuted by witnesse of the Scripture. For

1. Co. 15. 22.
Ephe. 2. 3.
Eial. 5. 1. 7.

wheras it pronounceth that all do die in Adam, it foloweth that there remaineth no hope of life but in Christ. Therefore that we may be made heires of life, we must communicate with him. Againe when it is written in an other

place,

place, that by nature we are all subiect to the wrath of God, and conceiued in sinne, whereunto damnation perpetually cleaueth: wee must depart out of our owne nature, before that the entrie bee open to vs into the kingdome of God. And what can be more plainly spoken, than that flesh & bloud can not possesse the kingdome of God? Therefore let all be done away whatsoeuer 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 necessarie that we be grafted into him, that we may be deliuered out of the bondage of death. But (say they) howe are infantes regenerate, which are not endued with knowledge neither of good nor of euill? But we aunswere, that the worke of God is not yet no worke at all, although it be not subiect to our capacite. Moreouer it is nothing doubtful, that the infantes which are to be saued (as verily of that age some are saued) are before regenerat of the Lorde. For if they bring with them from their mothers wombe the corruption naturally planted in them: they must be purged ther of, before that they be admitted into the kingdome of God, wherinto nothing entred 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 iustified. And what seeke we more, when the iudge himselfe openly affirmeth that the entrie into heauenly life is open to none but to them that be borne again: And to put such carpers to silence, he shewed an example in Iohn the baptist, whom he sanctified in his mothers womb, 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: whereupon it doth not by and by followe that the Lorde is wont commonly to do so with infantes. For neither doe we reason after that maner: only our purpose is to shew, that the power of God is by them vniustly & enioustly limited within those narrow boundes within which it suffreth not it selfe to be bounde. Their other by shift is euen of as great weight. They alleage that by the visuall maner of the Scripture, this word (from the wombe,) is as much in effect, as if it were said, from chuldhooe. But wee may clearly see, y^e the Angel 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 lawe to GOD, but that he may sanctifie whom it pleased him, as he sanctified this child, for as much as his power is nothing minished.

18 And truly Christ was therefore sanctified from his first infancy, that he might sanctifie in himselfe his elect out of euery age without difference. For as, to do away the fault of disobedience which had bin 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 y^e holy Ghost that hauing the holinesse thereof fully poured into him in the flesh which he had taken vpon him, he might powre foorth 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 shalbe a profe vnto vs, y^e the age of infancy is not so farre vnfit for sanctification. But howsoeuer it be, yet this we holde 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 obiect to the contrary, that in the Scriptures y^e Spirit acknowledgeth no other regeneration but of incorruptible seede, that is, of the word of God: they do wrongfully expounde that saying of Peter, wherein he comprehendeth only the faithfull which had bin taught by preaching of the Gospel. To such in deede we grant that the word of the Lord is the only seed of spirituall regeneration: but we deny y^e it ought thereupon to be gathered, that infantes can not be regenerate by the power of God, which is to him as easie and ready as to vs it is incomprehensible and wonderfull. Moreouer it should not be safe enough for vs to take this away from the Lorde, that he may not be able to shewe himselfe to be knowen to them 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 knowe God, whom Moses teacheth to be destitute of the knowledge both of good and euil. But they consider not that the Apostle, when he maketh hearing the beginning of faith, describeth only the ordinary distribution of the Lord & disposition which he vseth to keep 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 whome he hath giuen the true knowledge of himselfe by an inward maner, by the enlightening of the Spirite, without any preaching vsed for meane thereof. But whereas they thinke it shalbe a great absurdity, if any knowledge of God be giuen to infantes, from whom Moses taketh away the vnderstanding of good & euill: I beseech them to answere me, what danger is there if they be sayde to receiue some part of that grace, whereof a litle after they shall enioye the full plentifulnesse. For if the fulnesse of life standeth in the perfect knowledge of God, when many of them, who in their very first infancy death by and by taketh away, do passe into eternal 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 som smal sparckle therof: 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 feel in our selues, or that they haue altogether like knowledge of faith: (which I had rather leaue in suspense) but somewhat to restraints their foolish arrogance, which according as their mouth is puffed vp with fulnes, doe 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 communion of baptisme, the signification of it be made void and vaine. But these dartes are throwen rather against GOD than against vs. For it is most euident by many testimonies of Scripture, that circumcision also was a signe of repentance. Moreouer it is called of Paul the seale of the righteousnesse of Faith. Lette therefore a reason be required of God himselfe why hee commaunded it to be marked in the bodies of infantes.

For

1. Pet. 1. 23.

Deut. 1. 39.

Rom. 14. 11.

For sith baptisme and circumcission 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 infancie were figured spirituall infantes, the way is alreadie stopped vp against them. We say therefore, sith God hath communicated to infantes circumcission a sacrament of repentance and faith, it seemeth no absurditie if they be made partakers of baptisme: vnlesse they list openly to rage against the ordinance of God. But both in all the doinges of God, and in this selfe same doing also shineth wisdom and righteousness enough, to beat downe the backbitinges 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 defiled nature, in which mortification they shoulde afterwarde exercise themselues when they were growen to riper age. Finally it is verie easie to assoile this obiection, with saying that they bee baptised into repentance and Faith to come: which although they be not formed in them, yet by secrete working of the Sprite the seede of both lyeth hidden in them. With this aunswere at once is ouerthrowen whatsoeuer 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 & of renewing. Wherupon they gather y^e it is to be giuen to none but to such a one as is able to cōceiue those things. But we on the contrarie side may aunswere, that neither was circumcission which betokened regeneration, to be giuen to any other than to them that were regenerate. And so shall wee condemne the ordinance of God. Wherefore (as we haue alreadie touched in diuerse places) whatsoeuer arguments do tend to the shaking of circumcission, they haue no force in the assaying of baptisme. Neither doe they so escape away, if they say that wee ought to take y^e 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 infantes, nor to such other things which be not commended vnto vs by y^e expresse word of God: sith they are stil fast holden with this double argument. For the commaundement of God concerning infantes to be circumcised, was either lawfull and subiect to no cauillations, or worthie to be found fault withal. If there were no inconuenience nor absurdity in the commaundement of circumcission, neither can there any absurditie be noted in obseruing the baptisme of infantes.

21 As for the spot of absurditie which in this place they goe about to lay vpon it, we thus wipe it away. Whome the Lorde hath vouchsafed to elect, if hauing receiued the signe of regeneration, they depart out of this present life before that they become to riper age, he reneweth them with the power of his spirite incomprehensible to vs, in such manner as hee alone foreseeeth to bee expedient. If they chance to grow vp to age, whereby they may be taught the truth of baptisme, they shall hereby bee the more inkindled to the endeuour of renewing, the token whereof they shall learne to haue beene giuen them from their first infancie, that they shoulde exercise themselues in it throughout y^e whole course of their life. To the same entēt ought
that

Tit. 3. 5.

Rom. 6. 4.
 Colof. 2. 12.
 Gal. 3. 27.
 1. Pet. 3. 21.

that to bee applied which Paul teacheth in two places, that by baptisme wee are buried together with Christ. For he doeth not meane thereby, that hee which is to be baptised, must be alreadie first buried together with Christ: but simplie declareth what doctrine is contained vnder baptisme, yea and that to them that bee alreadie baptised: so that verie mad men would not affirme by this place that it goeth before baptisme. After this manner Moses and the Prophets did put the people in minde what circumcision meant, wherewith yet they had beene marked while they were infantes. Of the same effect also is that which hee writeth to the Galathians, that they when they were baptised, did put on Christ. To what ende? verily that they should from thence forth lue to Christ, because they had not liued before. And although in the older sort the receiuing of the signe ought to follow \bar{y} vnderstanding of the mysterie: yet it shall be by and by declared that infantes ought to be otherwise esteemed and accompted of. And no otherwise ought we to iudge of the place of Peter, in which they thinke that they haue a strong hold: whic he saith that it is not a washing to wipe away the filthinesses of the body, but the witnessse of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Christ. They indeede doe gather thereby, that nothing is left to the baptisme of infantes, but that it shoulde be a vaine sinoke, nainely from which this truth is far distant. But they often offend in this errour, that they will haue the thing in order of time to goe alway before the signe. For the truth of circumcision also consisted of the same witnessse of good conscience. If it ought of necessitie to haue gone before, infantes shoulde neuer haue beene circumcised by the commaundement of God. But hee shewing that the witnessse of a good conscience was contained vnder the truth of circumcision, and yet therewithall also commaunding infantes to be circumcised, doth in \bar{y} pointe sufficiently declare that circumcision is applied to the time to come. Wherefore there is no more present effectualnesse to be required in baptisme of infantes, than that it should confirme and stablish the couenant made by the Lorde with them. The rest of the signification of that Sacrament shal afterward folow at such time as God himselve foreseeh.

22 Nowe I thinke there is no man, that doeth not clearly see that all such reasons of theirs are mere 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 obiekt that baptisme is giuen vnto the forgiuenes of sinnes: which when it is graunted, will largely make for defence of our sentence. For sith we be born sinners, we doe euen from our mothers wombe need forgiuenes and pardon. Nowe seeing the Lorde doth not cut off, but rather assure to \bar{y} age the hope of mercie: why shoulde we take from them the signe which is much inferiour than the thing it selfe? Wherefore that which they goe about to throwe against vs, we thus throwe backe against themselues: infantes haue remission of sinnes giuen them, therefore they ought not to haue the signe taken from them. They alleadge also this out of the Epistle to the Ephesians: that the Church is cleansed of the Lorde, with the washing of water in the worde of life. Than which there coulde nothing bee alleadged more fit to ouerthrowe their errour: for thereupon groweth an easie prooffe of our side. If the Lord will haue \bar{y} washing wherewith hee cleanseth his church

Eph. 5. 26.

to be testified by baptisme: it seemeth not rightfull that it shoulde want the testimonie of it in infantes, which are rightfully accompted part of the Church, forasmuch as they be called heires of the heavenly kingdome. For Paul speaketh of the whole Church, where hee saith that it was cleansed with the baptisme of water. Likewise of this that in an other place he saith that we be by baptisme graffed into the body of Christ, wee gather that infantes, whom he reckoneth among his members, ought to be baptised, least they be plucked away from his body. Beholde with what violence with so many engines they assault the fortresses of our faith. 1. Cor. 12. 17

23. Then they come downe to the practise and custome of the time of the Apostles, wherein none is founde to haue bene admitted to baptisme, but he which hath before professed Faith and repentance. For where Peter was asked of them that were minded to repent, what was needful to be done, he counsell'd them first to repent, and then to be baptised, into the forgiveness of sinnes. Likewise Philip, when the Eunuch required to be baptised; answered that he might be baptised if he beleueed with all his hart. Hereby they thinke that they may winne, that it is not lawfull that baptisme be graunted to any, but where faith and repentance goe before. Truly if wee yeelde to this reason, the first of these two places where is no mention made of Faith, will proue that repentance alone sufficeth: & the other place, wherein repentance is not required, will proue that faith onely is enough. I thinke they will aunswere that the one place is holpen with the other, & therefore must be ioyned together. I say also likewise, that other places must be laid together which make somewhat to the vndoing of this knot: forasmuch as there be many sentences in scripture, the vnderstanding whereof hangeth vpon the circumstance of the place. As this presently is an example. For they to whome Peter and Philip spake these things were of age sufficient to haue practise of repentance and to conceiue faith. We earnestly denie that such ought to be baptised, vntill after perceiuing of their conuersion and faith, at least so farre as it may be searched out by the iudgemēt of men. But, that infantes ought to be accomped in an other number, it is more than euident enough. For in olde time if any man did ioyne himselfe into communion of religion with Israel, it behooued that hee shoulde first be taught the couenant of the Lord, & instructed in the law, before that he were marked with circumcision, because in birth he was a straunger from the people of Israell, with whome the couenant had bene made with circumcision stablished. A. 2. 37.

24. As also the Lorde, when he adopteth Abraham to himselfe, doth not begin at circumcision, hiding in the meane time what hee meaneth by that signe: but first he declarcth what couenant he intendeth to make with him, and then after faith giuen to the promise, he maketh him partaker of the Sacrament. Why dorth in Abraham the sacrament solow faith, & in Isaac his sonne it goeth before al vnderstanding? Because it is meet that he, which being in ful grownen age is receiued into fellowship of the couenāt, from which he had bene hitherto a stranger, should 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 cōtained in the couenaut. Or (that the matter may be more clearly and briefly Gen. 15. 10.
Gen. 17. 16.

brecfely shewed) if the children of the faithfull, without the helpe of vnderstanding, are partakers of the couenant, there is no cause why they shoulde be debarred from the signe for this that they cannot swere to the forme of the couenant. This verily is the reason, why in some places God affirmeth that the infantes which are issued of the Israelites, are begotten and borne to him. For without doubt hee esteemeth as his children the children of the to whose seede hee promiseth that hee will be a father. But he which is vnfaithfull, issued of vngodly parentes, till he bee by faith vnited to God, is iudged a straunger from the communion of the couenant. Therefore it is no maruell if he be not partaker of the signe, the signification whereof shoulde be deceitful and voyde 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 clearly opened: that they which in growen age, embrace the faith of Christ, forasmuch as they were hitherto straungers 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 infantes 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 bee applied which the Euangelist speaketh of, that they were baptised of Iohn which confessed their sinnes. Which example at this day also we thinke meete to bee kept. For if a Turke offer himselfe to baptisme, he should not be rashly baptised of vs, namely not till after confession whereby he may satisfie the Church.

25 Moreouer they bring forth the words 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 & the spirite, he cannot enter into the kingdome of God. Lo (say they) howe baptisme is by the Lordes owne mouth called regeneration. Them therefore whom it is more than enough knowen to be vnable to receiue regeneration by what colour we do admit to baptisme which cannot be wout regeneration? First they are, deceiued in this that they thinke that in this place mention is made of baptisme, because they heare the name of water. For after y^e 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 newe birth, he there shewed the manner how God doeth regenerate vs, namely by water and the Spirite: as though he shoulde say by the spirite which in cleansing and watering faithfull soules, doeth the office of water. Therefore I take water and the spirite simplie for the spirite, which is water. Neyther is this a newe forme of speech, for it altogether agreeth with the same which is in the thirde Chapter of Mathewe: Hee that followeth me, it is hee that baptiseth in the holy Ghost and fire. Therefore as to baptise in the holy Ghost & fire, is to giue the Holy Ghost, which hath the office and nature of fire: so to be borne againe of water and the spirite, is nothing else but to receiue that power of the holy spirite which doth the same thing in the soule that water doeth 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

Gen. 16. 20.
and 23. 17.

Eph. 2. 12.

Mat. 3. 6.

Iohn 3. 5.

Mat. 3. 11.

Christ is none other, but to teach that all they must put of their owne nature which aspire to the heauenly kingdome. Howebeit if wee list to cauill vnfauorily as they doc, it were easie for vs (when we haue granted as they would haue it) to inferre vpon them that baptisme is before faith and repentance: for asinuch as in the wordes of Christ it goeth before the spirit. It is certaine that this is vnderstanded of spirituall gites: which if they come after baptisme, I haue obtained what I require. But leauing cauillations, we must hold fast the plaine exposition, which I haue brought, that no man till hee haue bene renewed with liuing water, that is, with the spirit, can enter into the kingdome of God.

26 Nowe hereby also it is euident that their fained inuention is to be hissed out, which adiudge all the vn baptisied to eternall death. Therefore let vs according to their request imagine baptisue to be ministred to none but to them that be growen in age: What will they say, shall become of a Childe, which is rightly and well instructed with the introductions of godlines, if when the day of Baptising is at hande, he happen to be taken away with sudden death beside all mens hope? The Lordes promise is cleare, that whosoeuer hath beleued in the sonne, shall not see death, nor shall come in-
to iudgement, but is already passed from death into life: and it is no where founde that he euer damned him that was not yet baptisied. Which I would not haue so taken of mee as though I meant that baptisme might freely be despised (by which despising I affirme that the Lords 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 necessary, that he should be immediately thought to be lost, from whome power is taken away to obteyne it. But if wee agree to their fained deuise, wee shall damne all them without exception, whom any chance withholdeth from baptisme, with howe great faith soeuer (by which Christ himselfe is possessed) otherwise they are endued. Moreouer they make all infantes guiltie of eternall death, to whome they denie baptisme, which by their owne confession is necessary to saluation. Nowe let them looke howe trimly they agree with the wordes of Christ, by which the kingdome of hea-
uen is adiudged to that age. But, to graunt them euery thing so much as pertaineth to the vnderstanding of this place, yet they shal gather nothing thereof, vnles they ouerthrow the former doctrine which we haue stablished concerning the regeneration of infants.

27 But they glory that they haue the strongest holde of all in the verie institution of Baptisme, which they fetch out of the last Chapter of Mathew: where Christ sending forth his Apostles to all nations, giuerh them the first commaundement to teach them, and the second to Baptise them. Then also out of the last of Marke they adione this, He that beleueeth and is baptisied, shall be saued. What seeke we further (say they) when the Lords owne wordes doe openly sound, that we must first teach ere we baptise, and doe as-
signe to baptisme the seconde state after Faith? Of which order the Lorde also shewed an example in himselfe, which would be baptisied not tilly thirtieth
yeare. But here, O good God, howe many wayes doe they both entangle themselues, and bewray their owne ignorance? For herein they now more than childishly erre, that they fetch the first institution of Baptisme from
thence

Iohn 5. 24.

Matt. 19. 14

Matt. 28. 19.

Mar. 16. 16.

Matt. 3. 13.

Luk. 3. 23.

thence, which Christ had from y^e beginning of his preaching giuen in charge to his Apostles to minister. Therefore there is no cause why they should affirme that the lawe and rule of Baptisme is to be fetched out of these places, as though they contened the first institution thereof. But to beare with the for this fault, yet howe strong is this manner of reasoning? Truly if I listed to dally with them, there is not a litle lurking hole, but a most wide fielde 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, Againe, he that beleeueth and is baptised, therefore they must preach before that they baptise, & beleue before y^e they require baptisme: why may not wee againe aunswere them with saying that we must baptise before that we must teach the keeping of those things that Christ hath commaunded: namely sith it is said, baptise ye, teaching them to keepe whatsoeuer things I haue commaunded you? which same things we haue noted in that saying of Christ which hath bin euen now alleadged concerning the regeneration of water and the Spirit. For if it be so vnderstoode as they would haue it, verily in that place baptisme must be before spirituall regeneration, because it is named in y^e first place. For Christ doth teach that wee must be regenerate, not of the Spirit & water, but of water and the spirite.

28 Nowe this inuincible reason wherevpon they beare themselues so bolde, seemeth to be somewhat shaken: but because trueth hath defence enough in simplicitie, I will not escape away with such light arguments. Therefore let them rake with them a full aunswere. Christ in this place giueth the cheefe commaundement concerning Preaching of the Gospell, wherevnto he adioineth the ministerie of baptisme as an addition hanging vpon it. Againe 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 shoulde from echwhere with the doctrine of saluation gather together into his kingdome men 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 he addeth that such, when they are instructed, ought to bee baptised, adioyning a promise, that they which beleue and are baptised shall bee saued. Is there in all that saying so much as one syllable of infantes? What forme therefore of reasoning shal this be wherwith they aslaile 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 infantes? 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 capacitie able to heare it, before that they be baptised, forasmuch as he there speaketh of such only. Let them hereof, if they can, make a stoppe to debarre infantes from baptisme.

29 But that euen blinde men also may with groping finde out their deceites, I will point them out with a very cleare similitude. If any man cauill that infantes ought to haue meate taken from them, vpon this pretence that the Apostle suffereth none to eate but them that labor, shall hee not bee worthis that all men should spit at him? Why so? Because he with difference draw-

Mar. 16. 15.

1. Theſ. 3. 10.

draweth that to all men, which was spoken of one kinde & one certaine age of men. No whit handsomer is their handling in this present cause. For, that which euery man seeth to belong to one age alone, they drawe to infants, that this age also may be subiect to the rule which was made for none but the that were more growen in yeares. As for the example of Christ, it nothing vpholdeth their side. He was not baptised before that hee was thirtie yeares old. That is in deede true: but there is a reason thereof readie to be shewed: because he then purposed by his preaching to lay a sound foundatiō of baptisme, or rather to stablish the foundation which had beene before layde of Iohn. Therefore when he minded with his doctrine to institute baptisme, to procure y^e greater authoritie to his institution, he sanctified it with his owne bodie, and that in such fitnessse of time as was most conuenient, namely whē he began his preaching. Finally, they shal gather nothing else hereof, but that baptisme toke his original & beginning at the preaching of the Gospel. If they list to appoint the thirteenth yeare, why do they not keepe it, but do receiue euery one to baptisme as hee hath in their iudgement sufficiently profited? yea & Seruettus one of their masters, when he stiffely required this time, yet began at the 21. yeare 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.

Luk. 3. 23.

30 At the last they obiekt, that there is no greater cause why baptisme should be giuen to infants, than the Lordes supper, which yet is not granted them. As though the scripture did not euery way expresse a large difference. The same was in deede vsually done in the olde Church, as it appeareth by Cyprian and Augustine: but that maner is worthily growen out of vsf. For if wee consider the nature and proper tie of baptisme, it is truely an entrie into the Church, and as it were a forme of admission, whereby we are adnumbred into the people of God, a signe of our spirituall regeneration by which we are borne againe into the children of God: wheras on the other side the Supper is giuen to them that be 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 Lord so much as pertaineth to baptisme, maketh no choise of ages. But hee doeth not likewise giue the supper to all to take part of it, but onely to them which are fit to discern the bodie & bloud of the Lord, to examine their owne conscience, to declare the Lords death, to wey the power thereof. Woulde wee haue any thing plainer, than that which the Apostle teacheth whē he exhorteth that euery man should proue & examine himselfe, and then eate of this bread & drink of this cup? Therefore examination must go before, which shoulde in vaine be looked for of infants. Again, he that eateth vnworthily, eateth & drinketh damnation to himselfe, not discerning the Lords bodie. If none can partake worthily but they that can well discern the holinessse of the Lords bodie, why should we giue to our tender children, poyson in steede of liuely foode? What is that commaundement of the Lorde, ye shall do it in remembrance of mee? what is that other which the Apostle deriueth from the same, So oft as ye shall eate of this bread, ye shall declare the Lordes death till he come? What remembrance (I beseech you) shall wee require

1. Cor. 11. 28.

at our infants of the thing which they neuer attained with vnderstanding? what preaching of the crosse of Christ, the force and benefite whereof they do not yet comprehend in minde? None of these things is prescribed in baptisme. Therefore betweene these two signes is great difference: which we note also in like signes in the olde 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 gesses without difference, but was rightly eaten of them only that might by age enquire of the signification of it. If these men had remaining one crumme of sound braine, woulde they be blinde at a thing so cleare and offering it selfe to sight?

31 Although it grieueth me to lode the readers with a heape of trifles: yet it shall be worth 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 him self to confist. He allegeth, that Christes signes as they be perfect, so doe require them that be perfect or able to conceiue perfection. But the solution is easie: that the perfection of baptisme, which extendeth euen to death, is wrongfully restrained to one point of time. I say yet further, that perfection is foolishly required in man at the first day, wherunto baptisme allureth vs al our life long by continuall degrees. He obiecteth that Christes signes were ordeined for remembrance, that euery man should remember that hee was buried together with Christ. I answer that that which hee hath fained of his owne head, needeth no confutation: yea y^e which he draweth to baptisme, Pauls wordes shewe to be proper to the holy Supper, that euery man should examine himselfe: but of baptisme there is no where any such thing. Whereupon wee gather that they be rightly baptised which for their smalnesse of age, are not yet able to receiue examination. Whereas he thirdly allegeth, that all they abide in death which beleue not the Sonne of God, and that the wrath of God abideth vpon them: and therefore that infantes which cannot beleue lie in their damnation: I aunswere that Christ there speaketh not of the generall giltynesse wherewith all the posteritie of Adam are enwrapped, but onely threateneth the despisers of the Gospel, which doe proudly and stubbornly refuse the grace offered them. But this nothing pertaineth to infantes. Also I set a contrarie reason against them: that whomsoeuer 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 hee falsly citeth that which is no where red, that whosoever is borne of the spirite, heareth the voice of the spirit. Which although we graunt to be written, yet shall prooue 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 all. Fourthly, he obiecteth: because that goeth before which is naturall, we must tarrie ripe time for baptisme which is spirituall. But although I graunt that all the posteritie of Adam begotten of the flesh do from the verie wombe beare their owne damnation, yet I denie that that withstandeth but that God may presently bring remedie.

Iohn 3.36.

1. Cor. 15.46

For neither shall Seruettus proue that there were many yeres appointed by God that the spirituall newnesse of life may beginne. As Paule testifieth, although they which are borne of the faithfull are by nature damned: yet by supernatural grace they are saued. Then he bringeth fourth an allegorie, that Dauid going vp into the toure of Sion, did leade neither blind men nor lame men with him but strong fouldiours. But what if I set a parable against it, wherein God calleth to the heauenly banket blinde men and lame men: howe will Seruettus vnwinde himselfe out of this knot? I aske also whether lame and maimed men hadde not first beene fouldiours with Dauid. But it is superfluous to tary longer vpon this reason, which the readers shall find by the holy historie to be made of meere falsehoode. There followeth an other allegorie, that the Apostles were fishers of men, not of litle children. But I aske, what that saying of Christ meaneth, that into the net of the Gospel are gathered all kindes of fishes. But because I like not to play with allegories, I aunswere that when the office of teaching was enioyned to the Apostles, yet they were not forbidden from baptising of infantes. Howebeit I wold yet know, when the Euangelist nameth the Anthropous, men, (in which worde is comprehended all man kinde without exception) why they should denie infantes to be men. Seuenthly he alleageth, that sith spirituall things agree with spirituall, infantes which are not spirituall, are also not meete for baptisme. But first it is plainly euident howe 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 witte, Paul rebuketh their sluggishnesse, for that they were yet to be instructed in the first introductions of heauenly wisdom. Who can thereof gather that baptisme is to be denied to infantes, whom being begotten of the flesh God doth by free adoption make holy to himselfe? Whereas he sayth, that they must be fedde with spirituall meate, if they be newe men, the solution is easie, that by baptisme they are admitted into the flocke of Christe, and that the signe of adoption suffiseth them, till beeing growen to age they be able to beare strong meate: that therefore the time of examination which GOD expressly requireth in the holy Supper, must be tarried for. Afterwarde he obiecteth that Christ calleth all his to the holy Supper. But it is certayne enough that he admitreth none, but them that be already prepared to celebrate the remembraunce of his death. Whereupon followeth that infantes whom he vouchsafed to embrace, do stay in a feuerall and proper degree by themselues till they growe to age, and yet are not strangers. Whereas hee sayth, that it is monstrous that a man after that he is borne, should not eate: I aunswere that soules are otherwise fed than by the outwarde eating of the Supper: and that therefore Christe is neuerthelesse meate to infantes, although they absteine from the signe. But of baptisme the case is otherwise, by which onely the gate into the Church is opened to them. Againe he obiecteth that a good Stuarde distributeth meate to the householde 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 infantes out of time. Moreouer hee bringeth in that commaundement of Christ to the Apostles, that they should make hast into the haruest,

1. Cor. 7. 14.

2. Sam. 5. 8.
Luke 14. 21.Matt. 4. 19.
Matt. 13. 47.

1. Cor. 2. 13

Matt. 24. 46.

Iohn 4. 35.

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 themselues to teach. Who shall therefore gather that the only time of haruest is the ripe time for baptisme? His eleuenth reason is, that in the first Church Christians and disciples were all one: but we see nowe that hee fondely reasoneth from the part to the whole. Disciples are called men of full age, which had beene already thoroughly taught, & had professed Christ: as it behoued that the Iewes vnder the lawe should be the disciples of Moses: yet no man shall thereof rightly gather, that infantes were strangers, whom the Lorde hath testified to be of his householde. Beside these he alleageth, that all Christians are brethren, in which number infantes 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 infantes are ioyned in common with full growen men, and that the absteyning for a time from the Supper withstandeth not but that they pertain to the body of the Church. Neither did the theefe that was conuerted on the Crosse, cease to be brother of the godly, although he neuer came to the Supper. Afterwarde hee addeth, that none is made our brother but by the Spirite of adoption, which is giuen onely by the hearing of faith. I aunswere, that he still falleth backe into the same deceitfull argument, because he ouerthwartly draweth that to infantes which was spoken onely of growen men. Paule teacheth there that this is Gods ordinarie manner of calling to bring his elect to the faith, when hee stirreth vp to them faithfull teachers, by whose ministerie & trauaile he reacheth his hand to them. Who dare thereby appoint a lawe to him, but that he may by some other secret way graffe infantes into Christ? Where he obiecteth that Cornelius was baptised after that he had receiued the holy Ghost: howe wrongfully hee doeth out of one example gather a generall rule, appeareth by the Eunuch and the Samaritanes, in whome the Lorde kepte a contrarie order, that baptisme went before the giftes of the Holy Ghost. The fiftenth reason is more than foolishe. He sayeth that we are by regeneration made goddes: and that they be gods to whom the worde of God is spoken, which accordeth not to children that be infantes. Whereas hee faineth a Godheade to the faithfull, that is one of his dotages, which it pertaineth not to this presente place to examine. But to wrest the place of the Psalme to so contrary a sense, is a point of desperate shamelesnesse. Christ sayeth, that Kinges and Magistrates are called of the Prophet gods', because they beare an office appointed them of God. But, that which concerning the speciall commandement of gouernaunce is directed to certaine men, this handsome expositour draweth to the doctrine of the Gospell, that hee may banishe infantes out of the Church. Againe he obiecteth, that infantes can not be accounted newe men, because they are not begotten by the worde. But I doe nowe agayne repeat that which I haue often sayde, that to regenerate vs doctrine is the vncorruptible seede, if wee be fite to receiue it: but when by reason of age there is not yet in vs aptnesse to learne, God keepeth his degrees of regenerating. Afterwarde he commeth backe to his allegories, that in the lawe a

Act. 11, 26.

Act. 10, 24.
Act. 8, 27.

John. 1, 35.

sheepe and a goate were not offered in sacrifice so soone as they came out of the wombe. If I listed to draw figures to this purpose, I coulde likewise redily 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 yeares age. Whereupon followeth that manly strength is not to be taried for, but rather that the newe and yet tender issues are chosen of God for sacrifices. Furthermore he affirmeth that none can come 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, truely that same preparation was not in the children whome Christ embraced & blessed. Wherefore let him go with his false principle. At length he calleth for patrones Trismegistus and the Sibylles, to proue that holy washings pertaine nor 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 wee more esteeme the authoritie of God, whome it hath pleased to make infants holy to himselfe, and to admitte them with the holy signe, the force whereof they did not yet by age vnderstand. Neither doe wee count it lawfull to borrowe out of the cleanings of the Gentiles any thing that may change in our baptisme the euerlasting and inuiolable lawe of God, which he hath stablised concerning circumcision. Last of all, he maketh this argument: that if it be lawfull to baptise infants without vnderstanding, then baptisme may enterlude-like and in sport be ministred of boyes when they play. But of this matter let him quarel with God by whose commandement 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 marueile that these reprobate Spirites, as though they were vexed with a phrensie, do thrust in al the grossest absurdities for defence of their errors: because God doth with such giddinesse iustly take vengeance of their pride and stubbornnesse. Verily I trust I haue made plain with how feeble succors Seruettus hath holpen his silly brethren the Anabaptists.

32 Nowe I thinke it wilbe doutfull to no sober man, howe rashly they trouble the church of Christ, that moue brawles and contentions for y baptisme of infants. But it is profitable to consider, what Satan goeth about with this so great suttletic: euen to take away from vs the singular fruit of affiance and spirituall ioy which is to be gathered hereof, and to diminish as much also of the glorie of the goodnesse of God. For howe sweete is it to godly mindes, to be certified not onely by worde, but also by sight to be seene with eyes, that they obtaine so much fauour with the heauenly father, that hee hath also care of their posteritie? For here it is to be seene, howe hee taketh vpon him the person of a most prouident Father of householde towarde vs, which euen after our death doeth not lay away his carefulnesse of vs, but prouideth and foreseeeth for our children. Ought we not here after the example of Dauid with al our heart to leape vp vnto thankesgiuing, that by such shewe of his goodnes, his name may be sanctified? This, verily Satan intendeth, in assailing with so great armies the baptisme of infants: namely, that

this testifying of the grace of God being taken away, the promise which by it is present before our eyes, may at length by litle & litle vanish away. Whereupon should growe not only a wicked vnthankfulnesse toward the mercie of God, but also a certaine slothfulnesse in instructing our children to godlinesse. For by this spurre we are not a litle pricked forward to bring them vp in the earnest feare of God and in the keeping of his lawe, when we consider that euen immediatly from their birth, he taketh and acknowledgeth them for his children. Wherefore vnlesse wee list eniuously to darken the bountifullnesse of God, let vs offer to him our children, to whome he giueth a place among them that be of his familie and housholde, that is to say, the members of the Church.

The xvii. Chapter.

Of the holie 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 fulfil 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 liberality. To this ende therefore he hath giuen his Church an other Sacrament by the hande of his onely begotten Sonne, namely a spiritual 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 verie 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 mistes, and since that time darknesse, 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 holie 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 vndo those knottes, wherewith Satan hath endeouored to snare the worlde. First, bread and wine are signes, which represent vnto vs the inuisible foode, which wee receiue of the flesh and bloud of Christ. For as in baptisme God againe begetting vs doeth graffe vs into the fellowship of his Church, and by adoption doeth make vs his owne: so wee haue saide that he perfourmeth the office of a prouident Father of householde, in this that he continually ministreth vs meate, that he susteineth and preferueth vs in that life whereinto he hath by his worde begotten vs. Nowe the onely meate of our soule is Christ, and therefore the heauenly Father calleth vs to him, that beeing refreshed with common partaking of him, wee may from time to time gather liuely force, vntil wee attaine to heauenly immortalitie. But forasmuch as this mysterie of the secreete vnitng of Christ with the godly is by nature impossible to be comprehended, he giueth the figure and image thereof in visible signes most fit for our small capacitie: yea, as it were by earnestnes and tokens giuen, hee maketh it so assured vnto vs as if it were seene with our eyes, because this so familiar a similitude entreth

euen into the grossest mindes, that soules are so fed with Christ, as bread and wine doe susteine the bodily life. Nowe therefore wee haue it declared, & what ende this mysticall blessing tendeth, namely to assure vs, that the bodie of the Lorde was so once offred for vs, that we nowe eate it, and in eating it do feele in vs the effectual working of that onely sacrifice: that his bloude was so once shed for vs, that it is vnto vs continual drinke. And so found the words of the promise there adioyned. Take, this is my bodie, which is deli- uered for you. The body therefore which was once offred vp for our salua- tion, we are commaunded to take and eate: that when we see our selues to be made partakers of this, wee may certainly determine that the power of his death which bringeth life shalbe effectual in vs. Whereupon also he calleth the cup, the couenant in his bloud. For after a certaine maner it reneweth, or rather continueth the conenant which he hath once stablished with his bloud, so much as pertaineth to the confirming of our faith, so oft as he reacheth vnto vs that holy bloud to be tasted of.

Matt. 26. 26

Mar. 14. 17.

Luk. 22. 19.

1. Cor. 11. 24

2 A great fruit verily of affiance and sweetenesse may godly soules gather of this Sacrament, because they haue a witnessse, that we are growe together into one bodie with Christ, so that whatsoeuer 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, whercinto he is now entred, can no more fall away from vs than from him: againe that we cannot now be condemned by our sinnes, from the giltines whereof he hath acquitted vs, when he willed them to be imputed to himself as if they were his owne. This is the marueilous 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 coming downe into earth, he hath made vs a way to go vp into heauen: that putting vpon him our mortalitie, he hath giuen vs his immortalitie: y taking on him our weakenesse, he hath strengthened vs with his power: that taking our pouertie to himselfe, he hath conueyed his riches to vs: that taking to him the weight of our vnrighteousnes, wherewith we were oppressed, he hath clothed vs with his righteousnesse.

3 Of all these things we haue so full a witnessing in this sacrament, that wee must certainly determine, that Christ is truly giuen vs, as if Christ himselfe were set present lie before our eyes, and handled with our hands. For this worde can neither lie to vs, nor mocke vs: Take, eate, drinke: this is my bodie which is deliuered for you: this is the bloud, which is shed into the forgiuenesse of sinnes. Whereas he commaundeth to take, he signifieth that it is ours. Whereas he commaundeth to eate, he signifieth that that is made one substance with vs. Whereas he saith of the bodie, that it is deliuered for vs: of the bloud, that it is shed for vs: therein he teacheth that both are not so much his as ours: because hee tooke and laide away both, not for his commoditie, but to our saluation. And truly it is to bee diligently marked, that the chiefe and in a manner whole pith of the sacrament standeth in these wordes, Which is deliuered for you, Which is shed for you. For otherwise it should not much profit vs, that the bodie and bloud of our Lord are nowe 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 wee before sayde, that from the corporall things which are shewed forth in the Sacraments, we are by a certaine proportionall relation guided to spirituall things. So when bread is giuen vs for a signe of the bodie of Christ, we ought by & by to conceiue this similitude: As bread nourisheth, susteineth, and maintaineth the life of our bodie: so the bodie of Christ is the onely meate to quicken and giue life to our soule. When wee see wine set forth for a signe of his blood: wee must call to minde what vses wine bringeth to the body, that wee may consider that the same are brought to vs spirituallly by the blood of Christ: those vses be, to cherish, to refresh, to strenthen, to make mery. For if wee sufficiently weye, what the deliuering of this holy bodie, 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 verie well accorde with them towarde vs when they are communicated vnto vs.

4 Therefore the chiefe partes of the Sacrament are not simply and without hier consideration to reach to vs the bodie of Christ but rather that same promise, whereby he testifieth, that his flesh is verily meat, & his blood is drinke, with which we are fed into eternall life: whereby he affirmeth himselfe to be the breade of life, of which who so eateth, he shall liue for euer: to seale (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 beene truely perfourmed, and in all points fulfilled. For we do not well and healthfully eate Christ but crucified, when we do with liuely feeling conceiue the effectualnes of his death. For whereas he called himselfe the bread of life, he did not borrowe that name of the sacrament, as some do wrongfully expound it: but because he was giuen vs such of the Father, and perfourmed 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 accursednesse 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 glorie and vn-corruption.

5 It remaineth that by appliance all the same may come to vs. That is done, both by the Gospell, and more clearely by the holy Supper, where both he offereth himselfe to vs with all his good things, and wee 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 taste and sauour of that bread, then it maketh vs to feele the strength of that bread. For it promiseth vs, that whatsoeuer Christ did or suffered, the same was done to giue life to vs. Then, that this giuing of life is euerlasting, by which wee may without ende be nourished, susteined, and preferued in life. For as Christ should not haue beene to vs the bread of life, vnlesse hee had beene borne and had died for vs, vnlesse hee had risen againe for vs:

so nowe he should not be the same vnlesse the effectualnesse and fruite of his birth, death and resurrection, were an euerlasting and immortall thing. All which Christ hath very well expressed in these wordes: The bread which I will giue, is my flesh, which I wil giue for y life of the world. By which words without dout he signifieth, that his body should therefore be to vs for bread, to the spirituall life of the soule, because it should be giuen forth to death for our saluation: and that it is deliuered to vs to eate of it, when by faith he maketh vs pattakers of it. Once therefore he gaue it, that he might bee made bread, when he gaue forth himselfe to be crucified for the redemption of the world: daily he giueth it, when by the worde of the Gospel he offereth it vnto vs to be receiued, so farre as it was crucified: where hee sealethe that deliuerance with the holy mysterie of the Supper: where he inwardly fulfilleth that which he outwardly betokeneth. Nowe herein we must beware of two faultes, that neither doing too much in abasing the signes, we seeme to pluck them from their mysteries to which they are in a maner knitte fast: nor that being immeasurable in aduancing the same, wee seeme in the meane time somewhat to darken the mysteries themselves. That Christ is the breade of life, wherewith the faithfull are nourished into eternall saluation, there is no man but he granteth, vnlesse he be altogether without religion. But this point is not likewise agreed vpon among all men, what is the maner of partaking of him. For there be that in one worde define, that to eate the flesh of Christ, and to drinke his bloud, is nothing else but to beleue in Christ himselfe. But I thinke that Christ meant some certainer and hier thing, in that notable sermon where he commendeth to vs the eating of his flesh: namely, that wee are quickned by the true partaking of him: which also he therefore expressed by the wordes of eating and drinking, least any man shoulde thinke, that the life which we receiue of him is conceived by bare knowledge onely. For as not the sight, but the eating of bread suffiseth the body for nourishment: so it behoueth that the soule be truely & 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 y 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 only to beleue: but I say y the flesh of Christ is eaten with beleueing, because by faith he is made ours, and I say that eating is the fruite and effect of faith. Or, if you will haue it plainer, with them eating is faith: and I thinke it rather to folowe of faith. In wordes verily the difference is but small: but in the thing it selfe, not small. For though the Eph. 3. 17. Apostle teacheth that Christ dwelleth in our hartes by Faith: yet no man will expounde this dwelling to be faith: but all men doe perceiue that there is expressed a singular effect of faith, for that by it the faithfull doe obtaine to haue Christ dwelling in them. After this maner, the Lorde meant, in calling Ioh. 6. 51. himselfe the bread of life, not only 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, ministereth liuelinesse to the body.

6 Neither did Augustine, whome they bring in for their patrone, in any other

Other meaning write that wee eate by beleeuing, than to shewe that this eating is of faith, not of the mouth. Which I also denie not: but yet therewithall I adde, that we doe by faith embrace Christ, not appearing a farre of, but making himselfe one with vs, that he may be our head, and we his members. Yet doe not I vtterly disallowe that manner of speaking: but onely I denie it to be a full declaration, if they meane to define what it is to eate the fleshe of Christe. Otherwise I see that Augustine hath oft vsed this forme of speeche: as when he sayeth in the thirde booke Of Christian doctrine, Vnlesse ye eate the fleshe of the sonne of man: this is a figure teaching that wee must communicate with the passion of the Lorde, and must sweetely and profitably lay vppe in remembraunce that for vs his fleshe was crucified and wounded. Againe when he sayeth, that the three thousande men whiche were conuerted at Peters sermon, did drinke the bloude of Christ by beleeuing, which they hadde shedde by cruell dealing. But in many other places he honorably setteth out that benefite of faith, that by it our soules are no lesse refreshed with the communicating of the fleshe of Christ, than our bodies are with the breade which they eate. And the same is it which in a certaine place Chrysostome wryteth, that Christ doeth not onely by sayth, but also in deede make vs his body. For he meaneth not that we doe 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 bee named, should conceiue a naked imagination. As for them that wil haue the Supper to be only a marke of outward profession, I do now passe them ouer: because I thinke y I haue sufficiently confuted their error, when I entreated of Sacramentes generally. Onely this thing let the readers marke, that when the cup is called the couenant in the bloude, there is a promise expressed that may be of force to confirme faith. Whereupon followeth, that vnlesse wee haue respect to God, and embrace that which he offreth, we doe not rightly vse the holy Supper.

7 Moreouer they also do not satisfie me, which acknowledging that we haue some communion with Christ, when they mean to expresse it, do make vs partakers onely of the Spirite, without making any mention of fleshe and bloude. As though all those thinges were spoken of nothing, that his fleshe is verily meate, that his bloude is verily drinke: that none hath life, but hee that eateth that fleshe, and drinketh that bloude: and such other sayings that belong to the same ende. Wherefore if it be certaine that the full communicating of Christ proceedeth beyond their descriptiō, as it is too narrowly strained: I will nowe goe about to knit vp in fewe wordes, howe large it is and howe farre it extendeth it selfe, before that I spake of the contrarie fault of excesse. For I shall haue a longer disputation with the excessiue teachers, which, when according to their owne grossenesse they frame a maner of eating and drinking full of absurditie, doe also transfigure Christ stripped out of his fleshe into a fantasie: if yet a man may with any wordes comprehend so greate a mysterie, which I see that I can not sufficiently comprehend with minde: and therefore I do willingly confesse it, that no man shoulde measure the hinesse thereof by the small proportion of my childishnesse. But rather I exhorte the readers, that they do not restraine the sense

Hom. in Ioh.
31. and 40.
A& 2. 41.

Hom. 60.

Luk. 22. 20.

of their minds within these too narrow bounds: but endeavour to rise vp much higher, than they can by my guiding. For I my selfe, so ofte as I speake of this thing, when I haue traueiled to say all, thinke that I haue yet saide but litle in respect of the worthinesse thereof. And although the minde can doe more in thinking than the tongue in expressing: yet with greatnesse of the thing, the minde also is surmounted and ouerwhelmed. Finally therefore nothing remaineth, but y^e I must breake forth into admiration of that mysterie, which neither the minde can suffice to thinke of, nor the tongue to declare. Yet after such manner as I can, I will set foorth the summe of my sentence: which as I nothing doubt to be true, so I trust that it will not be disallowed of godly heartes.

8 First of all, wee are taught out of the scripture, that Christ was from the beginning that life bringing worde of the Father, the fountaine and originall of life, from whence all things euer received their hauing of life. Wherefore Iohn sometime calleth him the worde of life, and sometime writeth that life was in him: meaning that hee euen then flowing into all creatures, powred into them the power of breathing & liuing. Yet the same Iohn addeth afterward, that the life was then and not till then openly shewed, whē the Sonne of God taking vpon him our fleshe, 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, sawe on euery side death hanging ouer him: that he might recouer hope of immortalitie, it behooued that he shoulde be receiued into the communion of that worde. For howe small a confidence maiest thou conceiue thereof, if thou heare y^e 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 rounde 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 fleshe, nowe it lieth not a farre off hidden from vs, but presently deliuereth it selfe to be partaken of vs. Yea and it maketh the very fleshe, wherein it resteth, to bee of power to bring life to vs, that by partaking thereof wee may bee fedde to immortalitie. I am (saith hee) Iohn 6.48^o
and 58. the bread of life, y^e am come down from heauen. And the bread which I wil giue is my flesh, which I will giue for the life of the worlde. In which wordes hee reacheth, not onely that he is life, in respect that hee is the eternall worde of G O D which came downe to vs from heauen, but that in coming downe he powred the same power into the fleshe which he did put on, that from thence the communicating of life might flowe foorth vnto vs. Hereupon also these things nowe follow, that his flesh is verily meat, and his blood is verilie drinke, with which sustentances the faithfull are fostered into eternall life. Herein therefore consisteth singular comfort to the godly, y^e nowe they finde life in their owne fleshe. For so they doe not onely with easie passage atteine 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 heart y^e they may embrace it being present, and they shall obteine it.

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 sub-

iect.

Ioh. 5. 19.

iest to mortalitie, and now being endued with immortalitie, liueth not by it selfe: yet it is rightfully called lifebringing, which is filled with fulnesse of life to poure it into vs. In which meaning I doe with Cyril expounde that saying of Christ: as the father hath life in himselfe, so hee hath also giuen to the sonne to haue life in himselfe. For there he properly speaketh of his gistes, nor which hee from the beginning possessed with the father, but with which he was garnished in the same fleshe in which he appeared. Therefore hee sheweth that in his manhoode also dwelleth the fulnesse of life, that whosoever partaketh of his fleshe and bloode, 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 dronke, sometime is drawen, sometime by forrowes is conueied to the watering of groundes, which yet of it selfe doeth not ouerflow into so manie vses, but from the verie spring it selfe which with cuerlasting flowing yeeldeth and ministreth vnto it from time to time newe abundance: so the fleshe of Christ is like a rich and vnausted fountaine which powreth into vs the life springing from the Godheade into it selfe. Nowe who seeth not, that the communion of the fleshe and bloode of Christ is necessarie to all that aspire to heavenly life? Hereunto renderth that saying of the Apostle, that the Church is the body of Christ and the fulfilling of it: and that he is the heade out of which the whole body coupled and knit together by ioyntes maketh encrease of the body: that our bodies are the members of Christ. All which thinges we vnderstande to be impossible to be brought to passe, but that hee must wholly cleaue to vs in Spirit and body. But that most neere fellowship whereby we are coupled with his fleshe, hee hath yet set out with a more glorious title, when he saide that

Eph. 5. 30.

we are members of his bodie, and are of his bones and of his fleshe. At the last, to declare it to be a matter greater than all wordes, he concludeth his saying with an exclamation, This is (saith hee) a great secret. Therefore it shoulde be a point of extreeme madnesse to acknowledge no communion of the faithfull when the fleshe and bloode of the Lorde, which the Apostle declareth to bee so great, that hee had rather wonder at it than expresse it.

10 Let the summe bee, that our soules are so fedde with the fleshe and bloode of Christ, as breade and wine doe maintaine and susteine the bodily life. For otherwise the proportionall relation of the signe shoulde not agree, vnlesse soules did finde their foode in Christ. Which can not be done, vnles Christ doe truly growe into one with vs, and refreshe vs with the eating of his fleshe and drinking of his bloode. But although it seeme incredible, that in so great distance of places the fleshe of Christ reacheth to vs that it may bee meate to vs: let vs remember howe much the secreete power of the spirit surmounteth about all our senses, and howe foolishe it is to goe about to measure his vnmeasurableness by our measure. That therefore which our minde comprehendeth not, let our faith conceiue, that the spirit truly kniteth in one those thinges that are seuered in places. Nowe that same holy communicating of his bodie and bloode, whereby Christ powreth his life into vs, euen as if hee pearced it into our bones and marowes, hee in the supper

Supper also testifieth and sealeth : and that not with setting before vs a vaine or voyde signe, but bringing forth there the effectuall working of his spirite whereby he fulfilleth that which he promiseth . And verily he there offreth & deliuereth the thing signified to all them that sit at that spirituall banquet: although it be receiued with fruit of the faithfull only, which receiue so great bountifulnesse with true faith and thankfulnessse of minde. After which manner the Apostle sayde, that the bread which we breake is the communion of the bodie of Christ : and that the cuppe which wee hallowe with the worde and prayers to that purpose, is the communion of his bloud. Neither is there any cause why any man should obieſt, 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 beeing admitted, yet we shal rightly gather of the deliuerance of the signe, that the thing it selfe is deliuered . For vnlesse a man will call God a deceiuer, he can neuer be so bolde to saye that hee setteth before vs an emptie signe . Therefore if by the breaking of bread the Lorde doth truely represent the partakinge of his body, it ought to be out of dout that he truely 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 trueth of the thing signified is there present . For to what purpose should the Lorde deliuer to thee into thy hande the signe of his body, but to assure thee of the true partaking of it ? If it bee true, that a visible signe is giuen vs, to seale the gift of an inuisible thing : when wee receiue the signe of the bodie, let vs no lesse certainly beleue that the body it selfe also is giuen vs.

II Ifay therefore (which both hath bin alway receiued in the Church, and all they teach at this day that think right) that the holy mysterie of the Supper consisteth of two thinges : that is to say, of the bodily signes, whiche beeing set before our eyes doe represent vnto vs inuisible thinges according to the capacitie of our weakenesse : and of spirituall trueth, which is by those signes both figured and deliuered . Of what sorte that is , when I meane to shewe it familiarlie, I vse to set three thinges : the signification, the matter which hangeth of y signification, the vertue or effect which foloweth of both. The signification consisteth in the promises, which are after a certaine manner wrapped together with the signe . The matter of substance I call Christ with his death and resurrection. By effect I vnderstand the redemption, righteousnessse, 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 cauillation: as though when I say that Christ is receiued by faith, I would haue him conceiued with vnderstanding only and imagination. For the promises offer him, not that wee should sticke fast in the sight alone and in bare knowledge : but that we shoulde enioy the true communicating of him . And truely I see not how any man may haue confidence that he hath redemption and righteousnessse in the crosse of Christ, and life in his death, but principally standing vpon the true communion of Christe himselfe. For those good thinges shoulde not come to vs, vnlesse Christ first made himselfe ours, I say therefore, that in the mysterie of the Supper, by the signes

signes of bread and wine Christ is truly deliuered to vs, yea and his body and blood, in which he hath fulfilled al obedience for purchasing of righteousnes to vs: namely y first we should grow together into one body with him: & then being made partakers of his substance, we may also feele his power in the communicating of all his good things.

12 Now I come down to the excessiue mixtures, which superstition hath brought in. For herein Satan hath played with maruelous futtlecie, 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 we must not dreame such a presence of Christ in the Sacrament, as the craftesmen of the court of Rome haue fained: as though the body of Christ were made present with presence of place, to be handled with hands, to bee broosed with teeth, and swallowed with mouth. For this forme of recantation Pope Nicolas endited to Berengarius, to bee a witnesse of his repentance: namely with words so farre monstrous, that the author of the glose crieth out y there is danger, if the readers do not wisely take heede to themselves, least they should sucke out of them an heresie worse than was that of Berengarius. In the seconde distinction, in the Chapter beginning thus, Ego Berengarius. But Peter Lombarde, although he trauaile much in excusing the absurditie, yet more inclineth to the contrary sentence. For as wee nothing doubt that it hath limites according to the perperuall nature of the bodie of men, and is holden in heauen, into which it was once receiued, vntil hee returne to iudgement: so to drawe it backe vnder these corruptible elementes or to imagine it present euery where, we account it to be vtterly vlawfull. Neither verily is it so needefull to this that we may enioy the partaking of it: forasmuch as the Lorde 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 spirit of Christ, by the knitting whereof we be coupled together, and as it were a certaine conduit, by which whatsoever Christ himselfe both is & hath, is conueyed to vs. For if we beholde the sunne shining foorth with his beames vpon the earth after a certaine manner to cast forth his substance vnto it to engender, nourishe, and quicken the fruites thereof: why should the extending of beames of the Spirite 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 Spirite. Yet in steede of many, one place shalbe sufficient. For Paul in the eight Chapter to the Romanes, sayth that Christ dwelleth in vs none otherwise than by his Spirite: whereby yet hee taketh not away that communion of his fleshe and blood of which we nowe speake, but teacheth that the Spirite alone worketh that wee possesse whole Christ and haue him dwelling in vs.

13 The schoolemen thought more shamefastly which were withholden with horrour of so barbarous vngodlinesse. Yet they also themselves do nothing but mocke with futtler deceites. They graunt that Christ is not contained there by way of circumscription 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 pointe that Christe 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, doe they not fasten him to the whitnes which they there leaue? But (say they) he is so contained in the Sacrament, that he abideth in heauen: and we determine no other presence but of habitude. But whatsoeuer wordes they bring in to clooke it with a deceitfull colour, this is the ende of all, that that is by consecration made Christ, which before was bread: that from thence forth Christ lieth hid vnder that colour of bread. Which also they are not ashamed in plaine wordes to expresse. For these be the wordes of Lombarde: that the body of Christ, which in it selfe is visible, when the consecration 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 eies. Neither neede wee many coniectures, to finde what snares they minded to lay with these wordes, sith the thing it selfe plainly speaketh it. For it is to be seene with howe great superstition in certaine ages past, not onely the common sort of men, but also the verie cheefe of them haue bene holden, and at this day be holden in popishe Churches. For hauing little care of true faith (by which alone we both come into the fellowship of Christ, and doe cleaue together with him) so that they haue a carnal presence of him, which they haue framed beside the worde, they thinke that they haue him present enough. Therefore in a summe, we see that this hath ben gotten by this wittie suttlety, that bread was taken for God.

Lib. 4. dist.

14 From hence proceeded y^e 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 y^e substance of breade, but that by and by many absurdities did thrust the felues in place. Therefore they were driuen of necessitie to flee to this inuention, that there is made a turning of breade into the body: not that the body is properly made to God, but because Christ y^e he might hide himselfe vnder the forme, bringeth the substance to nothing. But it is meruellous, y^e they fell to so great ignorance, yea senselesse dulnesse, that not only y^e scripture but also the consent of y^e olde Church fighting against it, they brought abroad that monster. I grant indeed that some of the olde writers sometime vsed the name of turning: not for that they would destroy the substance in y^e outwarde signes, but that they might teach that the bread dedicate to y^e mysterie differeth farre from common bread and is now other. But ech where they plainly declare, that the holy supper consisteth of two partes, an earthly part, and a heauenly: and the earthly part they do without controuerse expound to be bread and wine. Truly whatsoeuer 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 worde of God. For it is not so long agoe since it was inuented: it was verily vnknown not only to those better ages, in which y^e purer doctrine of religion yet flourished, but also euen when that same purenesse was much defiled. There is none of the old writers y^e doth not in expresse words confesse y^e the holy signes in the Supper are bread and wine: although, as we haue saide, they sometime set
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it out with diuerse titles, to aduaunce the dignitie of \bar{y} mysterie. For whereas they say \bar{y} in the consecration is made a secrete turning, that now it is another thing than bread and wine: I haue euen nowe giuen warning \bar{y} they do not thereby meane \bar{y} the things themselues are brought to nought, but that they are now to be otherwise esteemed than common meates, which are appointed onely to feede the belly: forasmuch as in them is deliuered to vs the spirituall meat and drinke of the soule. This wee also denie not. If (say these men) there bee a turning, it must needes be that there is of one thing made an other 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 their owne imagination, let them answere me what change they thinke to be made in baptisme. For herein the fathers also do determin a maruelous turning, when they say that of a corruptible element is made a spiritual washing of \bar{y} soule, yet none of them denieth that water remaineth. But (say they) there is no such thing in baptisme, as is \bar{y} 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 thā in baptisme. Therefore farewell they with these snares of syllables, whereby they doe nothing else but bewray their owne hungtrinesse. For otherwise the signification would not agree together vnlesse the trueth which is there figured, had a liuely image in outward signe. Christes will was by the outward signe to testifie that his flesh is meate. If hee did fet before vs onely an emptie imaginatiue forme of bread not true bread, where were the correlatiō or similitude which should lead vs from the visible thing to the inuisible? For, that all thinges may agree together, the signification shall extende no further, but that we be fedde with the forme of the flesh of Christ. As, if in baptisme the forme of water shoulde deceiue our eyes, it shoulde not bee to vs a certaine pledge of our washing: yea by that deceitful shew there should be giuen vs an occasion of wauering. Therefore the nature of the Sacrament is ouerthrowen, vnles in the maner of signifying the earthly signe aunswer to \bar{y} heauenly thing. And therefore we loose the trueth of this mysterie, vnlesse true bread represent to vs the true body of Christ. I repeat it againe: Sith \bar{y} Supper is nothing else, than a visible testifying of that promise which is in the sixt Chapter of Iohn, namely that Christ is the breade of life, which came downe from heauen: there must be visible bread vsed for a meane, whereby \bar{y} same spirituall bread may be figured: vnles we will that wee loose all the fruit which in this behalfe God tenderly granteth to susteine our weakenes. Now

1. Cor. 10. 17

by what reason shoulde Paul gather, that al we are one body and one bread, which doe together partake of one bread, if there remained onely an imaginatiue forme and not rather a naturall trueth of bread?

15 But they coulde neuer haue bene so fowly beguiled with \bar{y} deceites of Satan, but because they were already bewitched with this ertour, that the body of Christ inclosed vnder bread was by the bodily mouth sent downe into the belly. The cause of so brutish imagination was, that consecration signified as much among them as a magicall enchauntment. But this principle was drawn to them, that bread is a sacrament to none but to men, to whome the worde it directed: like as \bar{y} water of baptisme 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 appeare 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 doeth figure to vs in the Supper. For Paul teacheth that they drunke the same spiritual drink. But it was a common watering for the beasts and catel of the people. Whereupon it is easily gathered, that in earthly elements, when they are applied to a spirituall vse, there is made no other turning but in respect of men, in so much as they are to them seales of the promises. 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 waywardnesse wickedly disapoint the same, which do in deede call vs to Christ, but lurking inuisibly vnder bread. For it is not possible that the minde of men, vncombring it selfe from the immeasurable bleness of places, should 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 should neede no heauenly neerenesse of Christ. Loe, this is the necessitie, that compelled them to transfigure the bodie of Christ. In Bernardes time, although a harder maner of speaking was growen in vse, yet transubstantiation was not then knowen. And in all ages before that, this similitude did flie about in euery mans mouth, that there is with bread and wine a spirituall thing ioyned in this mysterie. Of the words they aunswere, as they thinke, wittily: but bringing nothing fit for this present cause. The rod of Moses (say they) being turned into a Serpent, although it did get the name of a Serpent, yet keepeth still the old name, & is called a rod. 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 appeareth to the eyes. But what likelihoode or neerenesse finde they betweene a cleare miracle, and their fained illusion, of which no eye in earth is witnesse? The Magicians had mocked with deceits, so that the Aegyptiās were perswaded, that they excelled in diuine power to change creatures about the order of nature. Moses came foorth, and driuing away all their deceites, shewed that the inuincible power of God was on his side, because his own rod consumed al the rest. But forasmuch as that was a turning discernable with eyes, therefore as we haue said, it pertaineth nothing to this present cause: and in a litle time after, the rod visibly returned into his own forme. Beside that it is not knowen, whether that sudden turning was of substance or no. Also the alluding to the rods of the Magicians is to be considered, which 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 myst before the eyes of the beholders. What likenesse herewith haue these formes of speeche, The bread which we breake, So oft as ye shall eat this bread, They communicated in breaking of bread, & such other? It is certaine that their eyes were onely deceiued with y^e enchantment of the Magicians. As concerning Moses, the matter is more doutfull, by whose hand it was no more hard for God to make of a rod a Serpent, & againe of a Serpent to make a rod, than to cloth Angels with fleshy bodies, and by and by after to vncloth them. If the nature of this mysterie

Exod. 17. 6.
1. Cor. 10. 4.

Exod. 4. 3.
and 7. 10.

1. Cor. 10. 26
and 11. 26.
A. 24.

were the same or like, there were some colour for their solution. Let this therefore remaine certaine, that it is not truely nor fitly promised vs that in the Supper the flesh of Christ is truely 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 is put in his bread: meaning that by the crueltie of his enimies, 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 y^e crosse. But some of the olde fathers thought so. As though wee ought not rather to pardon their ignorance, and to burie their shame, than to adde shamelesnes 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 & the thing signified, can not be ouerthrowen, but that the truth of the mystery must fall, do confesse that the bread of the Supper is verily a substance of an earthly and corruptible element, and suffreth no change in it selfe, but hath vnder it selfe the body of Christ enclosed. If they did so declare their meaning, that when the bread is deliuered in the mysterie, there is adioyned the deliuering of the bodie, because the truth is vnseuerable from the signe: I woulde not much striue with them. But because they placing the body in the bread, do 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 drawe such subtleties out of their dennes. For my mind is not yet as of set purpose to go through with al this point: but onely that I may lay the foundations of the disputation which shall by and by followe in place fit for it. They will therefore haue the body of Christ to be inuisible & immeasurable, that it may be hid vnder the bread: because they thinke they do not otherwise communicate with him than if he descend into the bread: but they comprehend not the maner 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 appeareth, 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 & bloud, but which consisteth either of ioyning & 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 & wide as heauen & earth is broad. Whereas he was borne a child out of the wombe, whereas he grewe, whereas hee was spread abroad on the crosse, whereas he was enclosed in the sepulchre, the same was done by a certaine dispensation, that he might be borne & die, and performe the other duties of man. Whereas after his resurrection he was seene in his wonted forme of body, whereas he was taken vp to heauen, whereas last of all also after his ascension he was seene of Stephen and Pauli it was done by the same dispensation, that it might appeare to the sight of men y^e he was made a king in heauen. What is this else, but to raise vp Mar-

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Ier. 11. 19.

Psal. 69. 22.

A. 2. 1. 3. 9. &
7. 55. & 9. 3.

cion out of hell: For no man can dour that the body of Christ was a fantasie or a fantastical thing, if he was of such state. Some slip away somewhat more suttelly, with saying that this bodie 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 maner of bodie Christ gaue to the disciples, the day before th at he suffred: do not the wordes found that hee gaue the same mortall bodie, which was within a litle after to be deliuered? Hee had already before (say they) shewed his glorie to be seene to three of the disciples. That is true in deede, but his will was by that brightnesse to giue them a taste of immortalitie for an houre. In the meane time they shall not there finde a double bodie, but that one body which Christ did beare, garnished with newe glorie. But when he distributed his bodie at his first supper, the time was nowe at hand, when he being striken of God, and humbled shoulde lie without glorie as a leprous man: so farre is it off that he then would shewe foorth the glorie of his resurrection. And howe great a window is here opened to Marcion, if the bodie of Christ was seene in one place mortal & base, and in an other place was holden immortall & 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 monstrousnes, are so not ashamed of their own shame, that they do vnprooked hainously raile at vs, because we do not subscribe to them.

Matt. 17. 2.

Esa. 53. 4.

18 - Now if they list to fasten the bodie & bloud of the Lorde to bread & wine: the one shall of necessitie be plucked in sunder from the other. For as the bread is deliuered seuerally from the cup, so the bodie vnited to y bread must needes be deuided from the bloud enclosed in the cup. For when they affirme that the bodie is in the bread & the bloud in the cup: and the bread & wine are by spaces of place distant the one from the other: they can by no shift escape, but that the bodie must be seuered from the bloud. But whereas they are wont to alleage, that by accompanying (as they faine) in the body is the bloud, & likewise in the bloud is the bodie, y verily is too trifling: forasmuch as the signes in which they are enclosed, are so seuered. But if wee bee lifted vp w our eyes & mindes to heauen, y we seeke Christ there in the glory of his kingdom: as the signes do allure vs to him whole, so vnder the signe of bread, we shalbe fed with his bodie, vnder the signe of wine we shall seuerally drinke his bloud, y at length we may enioy him whole. For although he hath taken away his flesh from vs, & in his bodie is ascended vp into heauen, yet he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, that is to say hee reigneth in the power, & maiestie, & glorie of the Father. This kingdome is neither bounded with any spaces of place, nor compassed about with any measurings, but y Christ may shew forth his might whersoever it please him both in heauen & in earth: but that he may shewe himselfe present with power & strength: but that he may alway be at hand with them y be his, breathing his life into them, may liue in them, strengthen them, quicken them, preferue 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 doeth by the

power of his Spirite powre into them. After this maner the bodie and blood 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 compasse him in, (for it is plaine that all these things abate his heauenlic glorie) finally such as may neither take from him his owne measure, nor diuersly draw him in many places at once, nor faine to him such an vnmeasurable greatnesse as is spread abroad throughout heauen and earth, for these things are plainly against the trueth of the nature of man-hood. 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 bound to any earthly creatures. The other, that nothing be by faining, applied to his bodie, that agreeth not with the nature of man: which is done, when it is either said to be infinite, or is set in many places at once. But these absurdities being taken away, I willingly receiue whatsoeuer may auaille to expresse the true and substantiall communicating of the body and blood 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 enjoy it in deed 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 diuel hath with horrible bewitching madded their mindes. Truely that which we teach, doth in all points very wel agree with the Scriptures: it containeth neither any absurditie, nor darknesse, nor doubtfulnesse: it is not against true godlinesse and sound edification: finally, it hath nothing in it, that may offend, sauing that in certaine ages past, when that ignorance and barbarousnesse of Sophisters reigned in the Church, so cleare light and open trueth hath bene vnworthily oppressed. Yet because Satan at this day also trauaileth by troublesome spirites to spot it with all the slaunders and reproches that hee can, and bendeth himselfe to no other thing with greater endeouour: it is profitable the more diligently to defende and rescue it.

20 Now before that wee go any further, wee 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 wordes 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 wordes. Three Euangelistes and Paul rehearse, that Christ tooke bread, when he had giuen thanks he brake it, gaue it to his disciples and saide, Take, eat: this is my bodie which is deliuered, or broken for you. Of the cuppe Matthewe and Luke say thus: This cuppe is the blood of the Newe testament, which shall be shedde for many vnto forgiveness of sinnes. But Paul and Luke say thus: This cuppe is the Newe testament in my blood. The patrones of transubstantiation will haue by the pronoune (this) the fourme 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 bee holders

Mat. 26, 26

Mar. 14, 22.

Luke 22, 17.

1, Cor, 11, 24.

with religious care of the wordes, because Christ testified, that that which he reached into the disciples hands, was his body: truly this their deuise, 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, he affirmeth to be his bodie: but he tooke bread: who therefore can not vnderstande that bread is yet shewed? and therefore there is no greater absurditie, than to remoue that to the forme, which is spoken of the bread. Other, when they expounde this worde (is) for (to be transubstantiate,) doe flee to a more enforced and violently wrested glose. Therefore there is no cause why they shoulde pretende that they bee moued with reuerence of words. For this was vnheard of among all nations and languages, that the word (is) should 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 bodie of Christ, they much differ among themselues. They which speak more modestly, although they precisely exact the letter, This is my bodie, yet afterward swarue from their precisenesse, and say that it is as much in effect as that the bodie of Christ is with bread, in bread, and vnder bread. Of the matter it selfe which they affirme, wee haue already touched somewhat, and wee shall by and by haue occasion yet to speake more. Nowe I dispute onely of the words, by which they say they are restrained that they cannot admit bread to be called the bodie, because it is a signe of the body. But if they shunne all figures, why do they leape away from the plaine shewing of Christ, to their owne maners of speaking farre differing from it? For there is great difference betweene this that bread is the bodie, and this that the bodie is with bread. But because they sawe it to be impossible, that this simple proposition might stande, that bread is the bodie: they haue attempted to scape away by those formes of speache, as it were by crooked turnings. Some more bolde sticke not to affirme that euen in proper speaking, bread is the bodie, and by this meane they truly proue themselues to be literall men. If it be objected, that therefore the bread is Christ, and is God: this verily they will deny, because it is not expressed in the wordes of Christ. But they shall nothing preuaile by denying it: forasmuch as all do agree that whole Christ is offred 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 body of Christ. If they graunt that they are diuerse, (which we will enforce them to graunt whether they will or no) then let them aunswere whence commeth the difference. I thinke they will bring none other but that the bread is after the sacramentall manner called the bodie. Whereupon followeth, that Christs wordes are not subiect to the common rule, nor ought to be tried by Grammar. Also I aske of all the precise and stiffe requirers of the letter, where Luke and Paul do call the cuppe the testament in the bloud, whether they do not expresse the same thing which they did in the first parte, where they call bread the bodie. Truly the same religion was in the one parte 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 words bring a fit exposition, that it is the Testament in the bodie. For why? Shal wee neede to seeke a more faithfull or surer expositor than Paul and Luke? Neither yet do I tende hereunto, 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 brawle about wordes. I vnderstande, by the authoritie of Paul and Luke, that the bread is the bodie of Christ, because it is the couenant in the bodie. If they fight against this, they haue warre not with me, but with the spirite of God. Howsoeuer 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 so refuse all the reasons which wee obiekt to the contrarie. In the meane time, as I haue alreadie giuen warning, it is conuenient to learne, what manner of thing this is, The testament in the bodie and bloud of Christ: because the couenant stablished with the sacrifice of death, shoulde otherwise not profit 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 deede, but not without a most fit proportionall agreement. I leaue allegories and parables, lest any man should quarrell that I seeke startingholes, and wander out of the present purpose. I say that this is a speech by figure of transnomination which is commonly vsed in the Scripture, when mysteries are entreated of. For neither can you other wise vnderstand that which is said: that circumcision is a couenant: that the lambe is the Passeouer: that the Sacrifices of the lawe 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 onely from the hier 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 bushe: 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 heavenly, 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 empiric token, but doeth also truely deliuer it in deede: why may not the name of the thing rightly accorde with it? If signes deuifed by men, which are rather images of things absent, than markes of thinges present, which selfe absent thinges, they doe often, times deceitfully shadowe, are yet sometime garnished with the titles of the thinges: then those thinges that are ordeined of God, do by much greater reason borrowe the name of those thinges, of which they alway both beare a sure and not deceitfull signification, and haue the trueth adioyned with them. There is therefore so great likenesse and neerenesse of the one to the other, that it is easie to draw their names to & fro. Therefore let our aduersaries cease to heap vnfauourie scoffings against vs, in calling vs Tropists, because we expound y sacramental

Exod. 3. 2.
Psal. 84. 8. &
42. 3.
Matt. 3. 16.

maner of speaking after the common vse of the Scripture. For whereas y^e Sacraments agree together in many things: in this transferring of names, they haue all a certaine community together. As therefore the Apostle teacheth, y^e stone out of which spiritual drinke did spring to y^e Israelites, was Christ, because it was a visible signe, vnder which that spirituall drinke was truly in deede but not discernably to the eye perceiued: so bread is at this day called the body of Christ, forasmuch as it is a signe wherby the Lord offereth to vs the true eating of his body. Neither did Augustin otherwise think or speake least any man should despise this as a newe inuention. If (sayth he) the Sacramentes had not a certaine likenes of those thinges whereof they are Sacramentes, they should not be Sacramentes at all. And of this likenesse oftentimes they take the names of the things themselues. As therefore after a certayne manner the Sacrament of the body of Christe, is the bodie 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 heap together, sith that same one sufficeth: sauing y^e the readers must be warned that the holy man teacheth the same thing in the Epistle to Enodius. But it is a trifling shift to say, that where Augustine teacheth, that when transferring is often and commonly vsed in mysteries, hee maketh no mention of the Supper: because if this shift were receiued, we might not reason from the generalltie to the specialtie, neither were this a good argument: Euery feeling creature hath power of mouing, therefore an ox and a horse haue power of moouing. Howbeit long disputation hereof is in an other place ended by the wordes of the same holy man, where he sayth, that Christ sticket not to cal it his body, when he gaue the signe of his body. Against Adimantus, the Manichean, in the twelfth Chapter. And in an other place, vpon the thirde Psalme. Maruelons (sayth he) is the patience of Christ, that he receiued Iudas to the banker, 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, do stand only vpon this worde (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 wee graunt to them: euen in the wordes of Paul is reade the substantiue verbe, where he calleth bread the communicating of the bodie of Christ. But the communicating is an other thing than the bodie it selfe. Yea commonly where Sacramentes are entreated of, we finde the same worde vsed. As: This shall be to you a covenant with me. This lambe shall be to you a passeouer. To rehearse no moe: when Paul sayeth that the rocke was Christe, why doe they take the substantiue verbe in that place to be of lesse vehemence than in the speeche of Christ? Let them also aunswere, where Iohn sayth, 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 eternal essence of the holy Ghoste shall bee destroyed, as though it tooke beginning at the ascension of Christ. Finally lette them aunswere, what meaneth that saying of Paul, that baptisme is the washing of regeneration and renewing, which it is euident to bee vnprofitable to many. But nothing is stronger

1. Cor. 10. 4.
Epi. 29. ad
Bonifac.Gen. 17. 13.
Exod. 12. 431. Cor. 10. 4.
Iohn 7. 39.

Tit. 3. 5.

to confute them, than that saying of Paul, that y^e Church is Christ. For, bringing a similitude of the body of man, he addeth, So is Christ: in which place he vnderstandeth the only begotten son of God, not in him selfe, but in his members. Hereby I thinke I haue obtained that to soundwitted and vncorrupted men the sclanders of our enemies, are lothsome, when they spread abroad, that we withdrawe credite from the wordes of Christ: which we do no lesse obediently embrace than they, and doe wey them with more godly reuerence. Yea their negligent carelesnesse sheweth that they do not greatly care what Christ meant, so y^e it giue them a buckler to defende their obstinacie: like as our earnest searching ought to be a witnessse how much we esteem the authoritie of Christ. They odiously spreade abroad, y^e naturall sense of man withholdeth vs from beleeuing that which Christ hath vttered with his owne holy mouth: but how maliciously they burden vs with this slander, I haue a great part already made plaine, and hereafter it shall more clearly appeare. Therefore nothing withholdeth vs from beleeuing Christ when he speaketh, nor from obeying so soone as hee doeth but with becke will this or that. Only this is the question, whether it be vnlawfull to enquire of the naturall meaning.

23 These good masters, that they may seeme wel lettered, do forbid men to depart be it neuer so litle 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 maner of speaking, doe not dout that it is a comparison taketh from men. And truely vpon none other pretence in the olde time the Anthropomorphits 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 hande stretched out, The earth his foote stole, they cryed out that God had his body taken from him, which the Scripture assigneth vnto him. If this lawe be receiued, outrageous barbarousnesse shal ouerwhelme the whole light of faith. For, what monsters of absurdities may not phrenetike men picke out, if it be graunted them to alleage euery small tittle 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 darkely, maketh of our side. For if it had not come in y^e mindes of the Apostles, that bread was figuratiuely called the body, because it was the signe of the body, they had without dout bin troubled with so monstrous a thing. Almost at the same moment Iohn reporteth that they did sticke in perplexitie at euery of the least difficulties. They which striue among themselues, howe Christ will go to the Father: and do moue question, how he will goe out of the worlde: they which vnderstande nothing of those things that are spoken concerning the heavenly Father, till they see him: how would they haue bene so easie to beleue that which al reason refuseth, that Christ sitteth at the boorde in their sight, and is enclosed inuisible vnder bread? Whereas therefore they in eating the bread without douting, testified their consent, hereby appeareth that they tooke Christs wordes in the same sense that wee 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 disciples, as it is to vs, a certaine and

cleare comfort, intangled with no riddle. Neither is there any other cause why some shoulde depart from our exposition, but because the inchantment of the deuill hath blinded them, namely that they should faine darknesse to themselues, where the exposition of an apte figure offereth it selfe. Moreouer if wee precisely stand vpon the wordes, Christ shoulde wrongfully haue spoken in one place seuerally an other thing concerning y^e bread than he speaketh of the cup. He calleth the bread his body, hee calleth the wine his blood: either it shall be a confused vaine repetition, or it shall bee such a partition 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 ordeined: I graunt it indeed: but in the meane time they shal not vnwinde themselues, but that their error must drawe this absurditie with it, that the breade is the blood, and the wine is the body. Nowe I wote not what this meaneth, when they grant the breade and the body to be diuerse things, yet to affirm that the one is spoken of the other properly and without any figure: as if a man should say that a garmēt is indeed a thing differing from a man, & 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. Nowe it shalbe easie for vs to shewe to the readers how vniust wrong these catchers of syllables do to vs, when they fill y^e simple with this opinion, y^e we withdraw credite from the wordes 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 vtter purged, till an other crime be wiped away. For they spread abroad, y^e we be so addicted to natural reason, that we giue no more to the power of God, than the order of nature suffereth and common sense teacheth. From so malicious sclanders I appeale to the verie doctrine it selfe which I haue declared: which doeth clearly enough shew, y^e I do not measure this mysterie by the proportion of mans reason, nor do make it subiect to the lawes of nature. I beseech you, haue we learned out of naturall philosophie, y^e Christ doth so from heauen feed our soules & bodies with his flesh, as our bodies are nourished with bread & wine? Whence commeth this power to flesh, y^e it may giue life? All men will say that it is not done naturally. It wil no more please mans reason, y^e the flesh of Christ reacheth to vs, y^e it may be food vnto vs. Finally whosoeuer hath tasted of our doctrine, shalbe rauished into admiration of the secrete power of God. But these good men that be so zealous of it, forge to themselues a miracle, which being taken away, God himselfe vanisheth with his power. I desire to haue y^e readers once againe warned, y^e they diligently wcy 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 wel with the outward signe as with his spirit, descendeth to vs, that he may truly quicken our soules with the substance of his fleshe and of his blood. In these fewe wordes he that perceiueth not to bee contained many miracles, is more than senselesse: forasmuch as there is nothing more beside
nature

nature, than that soules should borowe spirituall and heauenly life, of the fleshe which tooke her beginning of the earth, & which was subiect to death. Nothing is more incredible, than that thinges 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 fleshe of Christ. Therefore let waywarde men cease to procure hatred to vs, by a filthie slander, as though we did enuiously reſtraine any thing of the immeasurable power of God. For they do either too foolishly erre or too maliciously lie. For it is not here in question what God could, but what he wold.

Heb. 4. 15.

We affirme that to be done which pleased him. But it pleased him, y^e Christ should be made like to his brethren in all thinges, except sinne. What manner 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 seene? And why (say they) may not God make, that one selfe same fleshe 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 fleshe 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 willesh light to be light, darkenesse to be darkenesse, flesh to be flesh. He shall indeede when it pleaseth him, turne darkenes into light, and light into darkenesse: but when thou requirest that light and darkenesse may not differ, what doest thou else but peruert the order of the wisdome of God? Therefore fleshe must be flesh: and Spirit, Spirite: euerie thing in such lawe 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 & of her forme. With this condition Christ tooke flesh vpon him, to which (as Augustine witnesseth) he hath giuen indeede vncorruption and glory, but he hath not taken from it nature and truth.

Ep. adDard.

25 They aunswere, that they haue the word, whereby the wil of God is made plaine: namely if it be granted them to banish out of the Church y^e gift of expositiō, which may bring light to the word. I grant y^e they haue the words: but such as in old time the Anthropomorphites had, when they made God hauing a body: such as Marcion and the Manichees had, when they fained y^e body of Christ to be either heauenly or fantastical. For they alleaged for testimonies, The first Adam was of the earth earthly: the second Adam is of heauen, heauenly. Again, Christ abaced himselfe, taking vpon him the forme of a seruant, and was found in likenes as a man. But the grosse eaters thinke y^e there is no power of God, vnles 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 proue what hee can doe. For out of what word haue they taken, y^e the body of Christ is visible in heauen, but lurketh inuisible in earth vnder innumerable litle peeces of bread? They wil say y^e necessitie requireth this, y^e the body of Christ should be giuen in the supper. Verily because it pleased them to gather a fleshly eating out of the words of Christ: they being caried away by their owne foreiudgement, were driuen to necessity to coine this sutlerie, which the whole scripture crieth out against. But y^e any thing is by vs diminished of the power of God, is

1. Cor. 15. 47
Phil. 2. 7.

so false y by our doctrine the praise of it is very honorable set out. But forasmuch as they alway accuse vs, that we defraud God of his honour, when we refuse that which according to comon sense is hard to be beleueed, although it haue bin promised by the mouth of Christ: I make againe the same answer that I made euen now, that in the mysteries of faith wee doe not aske counsell of common sense, but with quiet willingnesse to learne, and with the spirite of mekenesse which Iames comendeth, we receiue the doctrin come from heauen. But in that when they perniciously erre, I denie not that wee follow a profitable moderation. They hearing the wordes of Christ, This is my body, imagine a miracle most farre from his mind. But when out of this fained inuention arise fowle absurdities, because they haue alredy with hedlong hast put snares vpon themselues, they plunge themselues into the bottomlesse depth of the almightinesse of God, that by this meane they may quench the light of trueth. Hereupon commerth that proude precisenes: We will not knowe howe Christ lyeth hid vnder the breade, 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 sounde vnderstanding of this place: neither do we with preposterous heate rashly and without choice catch holde 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 ministrerth: and standing therevpon we do fro aloft despise whatsoever earthly wisdome it set against it. Yea we holde our mindes captiue, that they may not be bolde so much as with one litle word to carpe against it: and do 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 Sacramentes, al they that haue ben thought but meanely exercised therein, do knowe. Neither doe we, after the example of the holy Virgin, thinke it lawfull for vs, in a hard matter to enquire howe it may be done.

26 But because nothing shall more auaille to confirme the faith of the godly, than when they haue learned that the doctrine which we haue taught is taken out of the worde of God, and standeth vpon the authoritie thereof: I will make this also eident with as great brieuenesse as I can. The body of Christ, since the time that it rose againe, nor 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 worlde, they answer that that departing is nothing else but a changing of mortall state. But after this manner, Christ should not set the Holie Ghost in this place to supplie (as they call it) the want of his absence: forasmuch as hee doeth not succede into this place, nor Christ himselfe doth descende againe out of the heauenly glory to take vpon him the state of mortall life. Truely the comming of the Holy Ghost, and the ascending of Christ are thinges set as contrary: therefore it can not be that Christ should according to the fleshe dwell with vs after the same manner that hee sendeth his spirite. Moreouer hee in plaine wordes expresseth, that hee will not be alway with his disciples in the worlde. This saying also they thinke

Iam. 1. 21.

Luke 1. 34.

Ioh. 14. 28.
and. 28.

Matt. 26. 11.

that

that they doe gaily wipe away, as though Christ saide that hee will not alway be poore and miserable or subiect to the necessities of this fraile life. But the circumstance of the place crieth 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 honour. The anointing pleased not the disciples, because they thought it to be a superfluous & vnprofitable cost, and neere vnto riotous excessse, 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 expounde it, whose wordes bee these which are nothing doubtful. 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 prouidence, according to his vspeakeable and inuisible grace, this was fulfilled which he saide, beholde, I am with you euen to the ending of the word. But according to the flesh which the worde tooke vnto him, according to this that he was borne of the Virgin, according to this y^e hee 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, y^e he was laid in the graue, that he was manifestly shewed in the resurrection, this was fulfilled, Yee shall not alway haue mee with you. Why so? Because he was conuersant according to the presence of his bodie fortie dayes with his disciples, and while they accompanied him in seeing not in following, he ascended. Hee is not here: for he sitteth there at the right hand of the Father. And yet hee 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 saide, But me ye shall not alway haue. For according to the presence of the fleshe, the Church had him a fewe daies: nowe shee holdeth him by faith, but seeth him not with eyes. Where (that I may note this also briefly) he maketh him present to vs three waies, by maiestie, prouidence, and vspeakeable grace, vnder which I comprehend this maruellous communion of his bodie and blood: if so that wee vnderstande it to be done by the power of the holy Ghost, not by that fained enclosing of his bodie vnder the element. For our Lorde hath testified, that he hath flesh and bones which may be felt and scene. And to Goe away and Ascende do not signifie to make a shewe of one ascending and going away, but to doe in dedde that which the wordes sounde. Shall wee then (will some man say) asigne 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 doeth the name of ascending so oft repeated? doeth it not signifie a remoouing from one place to an other? They denie it: because after their opinion, by height is onely signified maiestie of Empire. But what meaneth the verie manner of ascending? was hee not in sight of his disciples looking on, lifted vp on hie? Doe not the Euangelistes plainely declare that he was taken vp into the heauens? These wittie Sophisters do answer that with a cloud set betweene him and them, hee was conueied out of their sight, that the faithfull might learne that from thence soorth he should not

bee

Tract. in Ioh
50.

Matt. 28. 20

Lib. de fide
symb. ca. 16.

AQ. 1. 9.
Mar. 16. 16.
Luk. 24. 51.

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 compass him before y^e he stirred his foote. But when he is caried vp on hie into the aire, & with a cloud cast vnderneath him, teacheth y^e he is no more to be sought in earth: we safely gather, that now he hath his dwelling place in the heauens: as Paul also affirmeth, and from thence biddeth vs to loke for him. After this maner the Angels warned the disciples, y^e they in vain 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 sounde doctrine start away with a pleasant shift as they thinke, saying that hee 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, & do not simply make the disciples witnesses of his going vp seeing it with their eyes, y^e no douting might remaine: euen as if they had said: he in your sightes 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 worlde: because he is now entered into heauen, not that he may alone possess it, but that hee may gather together with him you and all the godly.

Phil. 3. 10.

28 But forasmuch as the defenders of this bastard doctrine are not ashamed to garnishe it with the consenting voyces of the olde writers and specially of Augustine: I will in few wordes declare how peruersly they go about it. For whereas their testimonies haue bene gathered together of learned and godly men, I will not doe a thing already done: lette him that wil, 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 bee content to shewe by a fewe that he is without controuersie whole on our side. As for this that our aduersaries, to writhe him from vs, doe alleage that it is commonly read in his bookes, that the fleshe and bloude of Christ is distributed in the Supper, namely the Sacrifice once offered in the crosse: it is but trying: sith he also calleth it either Thanksgiuing, or the Sacrament of y^e body. But in what sense he vseth the wordes of fleshe and bloude, wee neede not to seeke with long compassing about: forasmuch as he declareth himself, saying that Sacramentes take their names of the likenesse of the thinges which they signifie: and that therefore after a certaine maner the Sacrament of the body is y^e body. When with accordeth an other place which is well enough knowne: The Lorde sticke 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 grounde, and entreteth 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 sayeth, that when the mysteric is ended the breade is consumed: because he had a litle before sayde: sith these thinges are knowen to men, forasmuch as they are done by men, they may haue honour as thinges: but as maruelous thinges, they may not. And to no other ende tendeth that which our aduersaries do too vnadvisedly drawe to themselues: that Christ did (after a certaine manner) beare himselfe in his owne handes, when he reacheth the mysticall breade to the disciples.

Ad Bonifac.
Epist. 25.Contra A-
dama. Mani,
Lib. 1. 2.Lib. 5. do
trin. c.

ciples.

ciples . For by enterlacing this aduerbe of likenesse (after a certaine maner) he sufficiently declareth, that he was not truly nor really enclosed vnder the bread . And no maruell : sith in an other place he plainely affirmeth that bodies, if spaces of places bee taken from them, shalbe no where : and because they shall be no where, they shall not be at all . It is a hungry cauillation, to say that in that place is not entreated of the Supper , in which God vttereth speciall power : because the question was moued concerning the fleshe of Christ, and the holy man of set purpose answering sayeth : Christ gaue immortallitie to his flesh, but tooke not nature from it . After this forme it is not to be thought that he is eche where spread abroad : for we must beware that we doe not so affirme the Godhead of the man, that we take away the trueth of the body . And it followeth not, that that which is in God must be eche where as G O D is . There is a reason by and by added : for one person is God and man, and both are one Christ : eche where, by this that he is God : in heauen, by this that he is man . What a negligence hadde it beene, not to except the mysterie of the Supper becing a thing so earnest and weightie , if there had beene in it any thing against the doctrine which he entreated of . And yet if a man doe heedefully reade 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 G O D , and the same the sonne of man, is eche where whole present as God : that he is in the temple of God (that is in the Church) G O D as it were there dwelling , and in some certaine place of heauen by reason of the measure of his true body . We see howe, to the vniting of Christ with the Church, he doeth not drawe his bodie out of heauen : which surely hee woulde haue done , if the body of Christ were not truly meate to vs vnlesse it were enclosed vnder bread . In an other place defining howe the faithfull doe nowe possesse Christ . Thou hast him (sayth he) by the signe of the crosse, by the Sacrament of Baptisme, by the meate and drinke of the altar . Howe rightly hee reckneth a superstitious vsage among the signes of the presence of Christ , I doe not nowe dispute : but hee that compareth the presence of the fleshe 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, wee alway haue Christe : that according to the presence of the fleshe, it is rightly sayde, Mee ye shall not alway haue . They aunswere, that this is also added , that according to an vnspokeable and inuisible grace, it is fulfilled which is sayde of him, I am with you, euen vnto the ending of the worlde . But that is nothing for their aduantage : because this is at length restrained to his maiestie, which is euer in cōparison set against the body, & his flesh by expresse name is made different from his grace & power . As in an other place the same cōparison of contraries is red in him, that Christ by bodily presence left the disciples, that by spirituall presence he may be still with thé : where it is plaine y the substance of the flesh is distinguished from the power of the Spirit, which conioyneth vs with Christ, though we be otherwise farre seuered by distance of places . The same manner of speaking he oftentimes vseth , as when he saith : He is

In Psal. 33.

Episto. ad Dardan.

Tract. 50. in Ioh.

Matt. 26. 11.

Matt. 28. 20

to come again to the quick and the dead with bodily presence, according to the rule of Faith & sound doctrine. For with spiritual presence he was also to come to them, and to abide with the whole Church in the worlde vntill the ending of the worlde. Therefore this speech is directed to the beleeuers whome hee had alreadye begonne to saue with bodily presence, & whom hee was to leaue with bodily absence: that hee 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) hee clearly expresth that he doth powre 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 howe well they hide themselues in it. First they shall not bring forth one syllable out of the scriptures, whereby they may prooue 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 bee giuen in the Supper but being couered with the visor of bread. And this is the verie point about which they striue with vs, so farre is it of from hauing the place of a principle. And when they so babble, they are compelled to make a double bodie of Christ: because after their opinion it is in it selfe visible in heauen, bur inuisible in the supper after a speciall manner of dispensation. But howe trimly 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 cōteined in heauen, til he come again. These men teach that hee is euery where, but without forme. They take exception and say that it is vniust dealing, to make the nature of a glorified bodie subiect to the lawes of common nature. But this aunswere draweth with it that docting error of Seruettus, (which is worthily to bee abhorred of all the godlic) that the bodie was swallowed vp of the Godheade. I doe not say that they thinke so. But if this bee reckened among the qualities of a glorified bodie, to fill all things after a visible manner, it is euident, that the bodilie substance is destroyed, and that there is leste no difference of the godheade and the nature of man. Againe if the bodie of Christe bee of so manie fashions and diuerse, that it is seene in one place, and is inuisible in an other: where is the verie nature of a bodie which consisteth of his measured proportions? and where is vnitie? Much more rightlic doeth Tertulian say, which affirmeth that the bodie of Christ was a true and naturall bodie, 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 verilie Christ sayde of his glorified body, see and feele, for a Spirite hath not fleshe and bones. Loc by Christes owne mouth the truth of the fleshe is prooued, because it can bee felte and seene. Take away these things, then it shall cease to bee fleshe. They still flee to their denne of dispensation which they haue framed to themselues. But it is our parte so to embrace that which Christ absolutely pronounceth, that that which hee meaneth to as firme may bee of force with vs without exception. Hee prooueth himselfe to bee no Ghost, because hee is visible in his fleshe. Let that be taken away which hee claimeth as proper to the nature of his bodie: must they not then

A&., 3. 31.

Luk. 24. 39.

then be faine to coine 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 wee look for a Saviour from heauen, which shall fashion our base bodie like to his glorious bodie. For we may not hope for a like fashioning in those qualities which they sayne to Christ, that eue-ry one should haue an inuisible and vnmeasurable body. Neither shall there be found any man so dul witted whom they may make to beleue so great an absurditie. Let them not therefore ascribe this gift to Christes glorified bodie, to be at once in many places, and to be conteyned in no space. Finally let them either openly denie the resurrection of the flesh, or let them grant that Christ being clothed with heauenly glorie, did not put off his flesh, who shall make vs in our flesh fellowes and parteners of the same glorie, when we shall haue the resurrection common with him. For, what doeth the scripture reach more plainly, than that as Christ did put on our true fleshe when he was borne of the Virgin, and suffered in our true fleshe when hee satisfied for vs: so hee receiued againe also the same true fleshe 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) he 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 trueth of a bodie, to bee conteyned in space, to consist of his measured proportions, to haue his forme. Therefore away with this foolish deuise, which doeth fasten both the minds of men & 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 withdrawe not onely our eyes but all our senses from the earth, forbidding himselfe to bee touched of the women vntill hee had gone vp to his Father. When hee seeth Marie with godlie zeale of reuerence to make hast to kisse his feet, there is no cause why he should disallowe and forbid this touching till hee haue bene taken vp into heauen, but because he will be sought no where else. Whereas they obiect that hee was afterwarde seene of Stephen, the solution is easie. For neyther was it therefore necessarie that Christ should change place, which could giue to the eyes of his seruauant such sharpenesse of sight as might pearce through the heauens. The same also is to bee saide of Paul. Whereas they obiect that Christ came out of the Sepulchre being shut: and entred in among the disciples, the doers being shut: that maketh neuer a whitte more for maintenance of their error. For as the water like a fast pauement made a way to Christ walking vpon the lake: so it is no maruell, if at his comming the hardnes of the stone yelded it selfe. Howbeit it is more proueable, that by his commandement the stone was remoued, and by and by after passage giuen him returned into his place. And to enter, the doers being shut, is not asmuch in effect as to pearce through the whole substance, but by diuine power to open an entrie for himselfe, that hee sodenly stode among the disciples, verilie after a maruellous manner, when the doers were fast locked. That which they alleadge out of Luke, that Christ sodenly vanished away

Phil. 3. 21.

Ioh. 20. 27.

Aa. 7. 56.

Aa. 9. 4.

Matt. 28. 6.

Ioh. 20. 19.

Matt. 14. 25.

Luk. 24. 31.

away from the eyes of the disciples with whom he went to Emaus, profiteer 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 helde their eyes. But these fellows do not onely transforme Christ, that he may be conuersant in earth, but in diuerse places they make him diuerse and vnlike himselfe. Finally, in so trifling they doe not by one word in deede, but by a circumstance, make of the flesh of Christ a spirit: and not contented therewith, they put vpon it altogether contrarie qualities. Whercupon of necessitie followeth that it is double.

30 Now although we graunt them that which they prate of the inuisible presence, the vmeasurableness shall not be yet proued, without which they shall in vaine attempt to enclose Christ vnder bread. Vnlesse the bodie of Christ may be euery 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 euery wher. 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 allege, to be drawn to the bodie, I am with you cuen to the ending of the world. First the continuall conioyning can not stand, vnlesse Christ dwel in vs corporally without the vse of the Supper. Therefore there is no iust cause why they shoulde so sharply brawle about the wordes of Christ, that they may in the Supper enclose Christ vnder bread. Againe the text it selfe proueth, that Christ speaketh nothing lesse than of his flesh, but promiseth to his disciples inuincible helpe, whereby he may defend and susteine them against all the assaults of Satan and the world. For when he inioined them a hard charge: least they should dout to take it in hand, or should fearefully execute it, he strengtheneth them with affiance of his presence: as if he had saide, that his succour shall not faile them, which shalbe impossible to be overcome. Vnlesse they list to confounde all things, ought they not to haue made distinction of the manner of presence. And verily some had rather with great shame to vtter their ignorance, then to yeeld neuer so litle of their errour. I speake not of the Papistes: whose doctrine is more tolerable, or at the least more shamefast. But contentiuousnes so carrieth some away, that they say that by reason of the natures vnited in Christ, wheresoeuer the Godhead of Christ is, there is also his flesh, which cannot be seuered from his Godhead. As though that same vniting haue compounded of those two natures I wote not what meane thing which was neither God nor man. So in deede did Eutiches, and after him Scructus. But it is plainly gathered out of the Scripture, that the only one person of Christ doth so consist of two natures, that either of them hath stil her owne properie remaining safe. And that Eutiches was rightfully condemned, they will bee ashamed to denie: it is marueile that they marke not the cause of his condemning, that taking away the difference betweene the natures, enforcing the

vnitie 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 bodie of Christ out of the heauenly sanctuarie? For whereas they bring for themselues 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 senselesse dulnesse, to despise the communicating of properties which was in olde time not without cause inuented of the holy Fathers. Truely, when the Lorde of glorie is said to be crucified, Paul doth not meane that he suffred 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 said 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 manhoode of Christ it dwelled corporally, y^e is to say naturally and after a certaine vnspeakable maner. It is a common distinction in scholes, which I am not ashamed to rehearse: that although whole Christ be euery where, yet not y^e whole that is in him is euery where. And I would to God the Scholemen themselues had well weyed the pith of this saying: for so should the vnsauourie inuention of the fleshly presence of Christ haue bene met withall. Therefore our mediatour, sith he is whole euery where, is alway at hand with his, & in the Supper after a speciall maner giueth himself 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 till hee appeare to iudgement.

31 But they are farre deceiued, which conceiue no presence of y^e fleshe of Christ in the Supper, vnlesse it be made present in bread. For so they leaue nothing to the secrete 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 aswel enjoy his presence. Therefore the question is onely of the maner: because they place Christ in the bread, but we thinke it not lawful for vs to pluck him out of heauen. Let the readers iudge whether is the righter. Only let this cauillation be driuen away, that Christ is taken away from his supper, vnlesse he be hidden vnder the couer of bread. For sith this mysterie is heauenly, it is no neede to draw Christ into the earth, that he may be ioyned to vs.

32 Nowe if any man doe aske me of the maner, I will not be ashamed to confesse, that it is a hier secret than that it can be either comprehended with my witte, or vttered with my wordes: and, to speake it more plainly, I rather feele it, than I can vnderstande 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 bloud is the drinke. With such foode I offer my soule to him to be fedde. In his holy Supper hee commaundeth me vnder the signes of breade and wine to take, eate, and drinke his body and bloud. I nothing dout that both he doeth truly deliuer them,

and

and I doe receiue them. Onely I refuse the absurdities, which appeare to be either vnworthy of the heauenly maiestie of Christ, or disagreeing from the trueth of his nature of manhood: forasmuch as they must also fight with the worde of God, which also teacheth that Christ was so taken vp into the glorie of the heauenly kingdome that it listeth him vppe aboute all estate of the worlde, and no lesse diligently setteth foorth in his nature of man, those things that are properly belonging to his true manhoode. Neither ought this to seeme incredible, or not consonant to reason: because as the whole kingdom of Christ is spiritual, so whatsoever he doth with his Church, ought not to be reduced to the reason of this worlde. Or, that I may vse the words 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 greate force, and great effectualnesse, that it not onely bringeth to our mindes vndoubted trust of eternal life, but also assureth vs of the immortality of our flesh. For it is nowe quickned of his immortall fleshe, and after a certaine manner communicateth of his immortalitie. They which are caried aboute this with their excessiue speches, do 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 nowe speake of a Sacrament, all the parts whereof ought to be referred to faith. But we do no lesse deintily and plentifully feede fayth with this pertaking of the body which wee haue declared, than they that plucke Christ himselfe out of heauen. In the meane time I plainly confesse, that I refuse y^e mixture of the flesh of Christ with our soule, or the pouring out of it such as they teach: because it suffiseth vs, that Christ doth out of the substance of his fleshe breath life into our soules, yea doeth powre into vs his owne life, although the very fleshe of Christe doeth not enter into vs. Moreouer it is no doubt that the proportion of faith, whereby Paule willeth vs to examine all exposition of Scripture, doeth in this behalfe very well agree with me. As for them that speake against so euident a trueth, lette them looke after what rule of faith they fashion themselues. He that doeth not confesse that Iesus Christ is come in the fleshe, is not of God. These men, although they cloke it, or marke it not, doe spoile him of his flesh.

Luk. 24. 16.

Iren. lib. 4.
cap. 34.

Rom. 12. 3.

2. Iohn 7.

33 Of communicating is to be likewise thought, which they acknowledge none, vnlesse they deuour the fleshe of Christ vnder breade. But there is no smal wrong done to the Holy Ghost, vnlesse we beleue that it is brought to passe by his incomprehensible power, that wee 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 knowen to the olde Church from fower hundred yeres ago, were weyed according to the worthinesse of it, there was enough and more whereupon we might be satisfied: the gate had benee shut against manie fowle errors, out of which haue benee kindled many horrible dissensions whe rewth both in old time and in our age the Church hath benee miserably vexed, while curious men doe enforce an excessiue maner 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 poupe of godlinesse. It principally behoued to knowe, howe the bodie of Christ, as it was once deliuered for vs, is made ours: howe we are made partakers of his bloude that was shedde: because this is to possesse whole Christ crucified, that we may enioy al his good thinges. Now these things, in which was so great importance, being omitted yea neglected & in a maner buried, this only crabbed questiō pleafeth them, how the body of Christ lyeth hidde vnder bread or vnder the forme of bred. They falsely spread abroad that whatsoeuer we teach concerning spirituall eating, is contrarie to the true and reall eating, as they call it: because wee haue respecte to nothing but to the manner, which among them is carnall, while they enclose Christ in breade: but to vs it is spirituall, because the secret power of the Spirit is the bonde of our conioyning with Christ. No truer is that other obiection, that we touch onely the fruite or effect which the faithfull take of the eating of the flesh of Christ. For wee haue sayde before, that Christ himselfe is the substance of the Supper: and that thereupon followeth the effect, that by the sacrifice of his death wee are cleansed from sinnes, by his bloud we are washed, by his resurrection we are raised vp into hope of the heauenly life. But the foolish imagination, whereof Lombarde was the author, hath peruerted their mindes, while they thinke that the eating of the flesh of Christ is the Sacrament. For thus sayeth he: The Sacrament and not the thing are the formes of breade and wine: the Sacrament and the thing, are the flesh and bloud of Christe: the thing and not the Sacrament, is his mysticall fleshe. Againe within a litle after. The thing signified and contained, is the proper fleshe of Christ: the thing signified and not contained, is his mysticall body. Whereas he maketh difference betweene the flesh of Christ, and the effectuall power of nourishing, wherwith it is endued, I agree: but whereas hee faineth it to be a Sacrament, yea and contained vnder bread, it is an error not to be suffred. Hereupon hath growen the false exposition of sacramentall eating, because they haue thought that wicked men also and euill doers doe eate the flesh of Christ, how much so euer they be strangers from him. But the fleshe 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 voyde of the Spirit of Christ, can no more eate the fleshe of Christe, than they can drinke wine wherewith is ioyned no tast. 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 fleshe and drinketh my bloude, abideth in me, and I in him. They aunswere that in that place is not entreated of the sacramentall eating: which I graunt, so that they will not nowe and then stumble against the same stone, in saying that the fleshe it selfe is eaten without fruite. But I woulde knowe of them, howe long they holde it when they haue eaten it. Here, in my iudgement, they shall haue no way to get our. But they object, that nothing can bee withdrawn or faile of the promises of God by the vnthankfulnessse of men. I graunt in deede, and I say that the force of the mysterie remayneth whole, howe soeuer wicked men doe, as much as in them lyeth, endeuour to make it voyde. Yet it is one thing to be offered, and another

thing.

Li. 4. Dist. 8.

302.6.56.

thing to be receiued, Christ reacheth this spirituall meate and offreth this spirituall drinke to all men: some do greedily eate of it, some do lothingly refuse it: shal 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 vnfauourie, is neuertheless his flesh. But I denie that it can be eaten without the tast of faith: or (if wee list rather to speake as Augustine doeth) 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 trueth and effectualnesse thereof remaineth vnminished, although the wicked depart emptie from the outwarde partaking of it. If they againe obiekt 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 bee acknowleden true in the receiuing it selfe, but in the stedfastnesse of his owne goodnesse, when he is readie to giue, yea liberally offreth to the vnworthie that which they refuse. And this is the fulnesse of the Sacrament, which the whole world cannot breake, y the flesh and bloud of Christ is no lesse giuen to the vnworthie than to the chosen faithful ones of God: but therewithall it is true, that as water lighting vpon a harde stone, falleth away, because there is no entrie open into the stone: so the wicked do with their hardnesse driue backe the grace of God that it cannot pearce into them. Moreouer, that Christ should bee receiued without faith, is no more agreeing with reason, than seede to budde in the fire. Whereas they aske, how Christ is come to damnation to some, vnlesse they receiue him vnworthily, it is a verie colde question: for asmuch as wee now where reade, that men do procure death to themselues by vnworthily receiuing Christ, but rather by refusing him. Neither doth Christs parable helpe them, where he saith that seede groweth vp among thornes, and afterwarde being choked is marred: because he there entreateth, of what value the faith is which endureth but for a time, which they doe not thinke to bee necessarrie to the eating of Christes flesh and drinking of his bloud, that in this behalfe do make Iudas egally fellowe with Peter. But rather by the same parable their error is confuted, where Christ saith that some seede falleth in the hie way, other some vpon stones, and neither of them taketh roote. Whereupon followeth that to the vnbeleeuers their owne hardnesse is a let that Christ attaineth not to them. Whosoeuer desireth to haue our saluation holpen by this mysterie, shall finde nothing fitter, than that the faithfull being led to the verie fountaine, should drawe life out of the Sonne of God. But the dignitie of it is honorably enough set out, when wee keepe in minde that it is a helpe whereby wee be grafted into the body of Christ, or being grafted do more & more growe together, til hee doe fully make himselfe one with vs in the heauenly life. They obiekt that Paul ought not to haue made them guiltie of the bodie & bloud of Christ, vnlesse they were partakers of them. But I aunswere that they are not therefore condemned because they haue eaten them, but onely because they haue prophaned the mysterie, in treading vnder feete the pledge of the holy conioyning with God, which they ought reuerently to receiue.

Mat. 13. 7.

1. Cor. 11. 29

34 Now because Augustine among y old writers chiefly hath affirmed

that article of doctrine, that nothing is abated from the Sacraments, nor the grace which they figure is made void by the infidelitie or noughtinesse of men: it shalbe profitable to prooue clearly by his owne wordes, howe vn-
 fitly and peruersly they do drawe that to this present cause, which cast the
 bodie of Christ to dogges to eate. The sacramentall eating, after their opi-
 nion, is whereby the wicked receite the bodie and blood of Christ without
 the power of the Spirit, or any effect of grace. Augustine contrari wise wey-
 ing wisely those words, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, shal
 not die for euer, sayeth: Namely the power of the Sacrament, not onely the
 visible Sacrament: and verily within, not without: he that eateth it wth heart,
 not he that presseth it with tooth. Whereupon at length he concludeth that
 the sacrament of this thing, that is to say, of the vnitie of the body & blood
 of Christ, is set before men in the Supper of the Lorde, 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, whosoeuer bee partaker of it.
 That none should here cauil, that the thing is called not the bodie, but the
 grace of the Spirit which may bee seuered from the bodie, the contrarie
 comparison betweene these two words of addition Visible and Inuisible dri-
 ueth away al these mysts: for vnder the first of them cannot be comprehen-
 ded the bodie of Christ. Whereupon followeth that the vnbelceuers doe
 communicate onely of the visible signe. And that all douting may be better
 taken away, after that he had saide that this bread requireth the hunger of
 the inward man, he addeth: Moses and Aaron 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 wee also at this day haue receiued spirituall
 meat: but the Sacrament is one thing, and the power of the sacrament is an
 other. A litle after: and by this he that abideth not in Christ, and in whome
 Christ abideth not, without dout neither eateth spirituallly his flesh, nor drin-
 keth his blood, though carnally & visibly he presseth with teeth the signe of
 the bodie and blood. We heare againe that the visible signe is set in compa-
 rison as contrarie to spirituall eating. Whereby that error is confuted, that
 the bodie of Christ inuisible is in deed eaten sacramentally, though not spi-
 rituallly. We heare also y^e nothing is granted to prophane & vnclane men
 beside the visible receiuing of the signe. Hereupon commeth his famous say-
 ing, that the other disciples did eate the breade the Lorde, but Iudas did
 eate the bread of the Lord: wherein he plainly excludeth the vnbelceuers frō
 the partaking of the body & blood. Neither tēdeth it to any other end which
 he saith in another place: What maruilest thou, if to Iudas was giuen y^e bred
 of Christ, by which he might be made bond to the diuel: when thou seest on
 the contrary side y^e to Paul was giuen the Angel of the diuel, by whome hee
 might be made perfect in Christ? He saith verily in another place, y^e the bread
 of the Supper was the bodie of Christ to them to whom Paul saide, He that
 eateth vnworthily, eateth & drinketh iudgement to himselfe: and that they
 haue nor therefore nothing, because they haue receiued noughtily. But in
 what sense, he declareth more fully in another place. For taking in hād pur-
 posely to define how the wicked & euil doers, which professe the Christian
 faith

Hom. in
 Ioh. 26.
 Ioh. 6. 50.

Exod. 16. 14

Hom. in
 Ioh. 59.

Hom. 62.
 2. Cor. 11. 7.
 Li. 5. de bap.
 cont. Dona.
 1. Cor. 11. 29

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 (sayth he) ought it to be sayd that they eate the body of Christ, because they are not to be reckened among the members of Christ. For (to speake nothing of the rest (they can not together be the members of Christ, and the members of a harlot. Finally where himselfe sayth, He that eareth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him, he sheweth what it is not sacramentally but in very deed to eate the body of Christ. For this is to abide in Christ, that Christ may abide in him. For he so sayd 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 doeth eate my body, or drinke my blood. Let the readers wey the thinges set as contraries in the comparison to eate, sacramentally, and in very deede: and there shall remaine no doubt. Hee confirmeth the same, no lesse plainly in these wordes: Prepare not your iawes, but your heart: 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 litle & are fatted in heart, Therefore not that which is scene, but that which is beleued, doeth feede. Here also y^e which the wicked receiue, he restraineth to the visible signe: and teacheth that Christ is none otherwise receiued thā 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 vtterly haue left that vnspoken which was more fit for his matter. Also in another place, entreating of the eating and the fruite thereof, he cōcludeth 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 trueth it selfe spiritually eaten, spiritually dronk. Therefore who so make vnbeleeuers partakers of the flesh & blood of Christ, that they may agree with Augustine, lette them shewe vs the visible body of Christ: forasmuch as, by his iudgement, the whole truth is spiritual. And it is certainly gathered out of his wordes, that the Sacramental eating, when vnbeleefe closeth vp the entrie to trueth, is as much in effect as visible or outwarde eating. If the body of Christ might be eaten truly and yet not spiritually, what shoulde that meane which he sayeth in an other place? Ye shall not eate this body which ye see, and drinke the blood which they shall shedde that shall crucifie me. I haue commended a certaine Sacrament vnto you, being spiritually vnderstanded it shal quicken you. Verily he would not denie but that the same bodie which Christ offred for sacrifice, is deliuered in the Supper: but he did sette out the manner of eating: namely that being receiued into heauenly glorie, by the secreete power of the Spirite, it breatheth life into vs. I graunt in deede that there is oftentimes founde in him this maner of speaking, that the body of Christ is eaten of the vnbeleeuers: but he expoundeth himselfe, adding, In Sacrament. And in an other place hee describeth spirituall eating, in which our bitinges consume not grace. And least mine aduersaries should say, that I fight with them with a heape of places, I would knowe of them howe they can vnwinde themselues from one saying of his, where he sayeth that Sacramentes doe worke in the

Joh. 6. 26.
Lib. de ciui.
Dei, 21, c. 25e

Cont. Faust.
li. 13, ca. 16.
Ser. de verb.
Apost.

In Psal. 96.

Hom. in Job.
27.

only elect that which they figure. Truly they dare not deny but y^e bread in the Supper figureth the body of Christ. Whereupon foloweth y^e reprobate are debarred from the partaking of it. That Cyrill also thought none otherwise, these wordes do declare. As if a man vpon molten waxe do powre other waxe, he wholly tempereth the one waxe with the other: so it is necessary if any man receiue the flesh & bloud of the Lord y^e he be ioined with him that Christ may be found in him & he in Christ. By these words I thinke it is euident, that they are bereued of the true and reall eating, that do but sacramentally cate the body of Christ, which can not 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 drawe vs away from the carnall worshipping, which some haue with peruerse rashnesse erected in the sacrament: because they made account with themselues in this maner: If it be the body, then both the soule and the Godhead are together with the body, which now can not be seuered: therefore Christ is there to be worshipped. First if their accompanying which they pretende be denied them, what will they do? For howe much soeuer they cry out vpon an absurditie, if the body be seuered from the soule and the godhead: yet what soundewitted and sober man can perswade himselfe that the body of Christ is Christ? They thinke themselues in deede gaily to proue it with their logicall arguments. But sith Christ speaketh distinctly of his body and bloud, but describeth not the manner of presence: howe will they of a doubtfull thing gather certainly that which they would? What then? if their consciences chaunce to be exercised with any more greiuous feeling, shal not they by & by with their logical arguments be dissolued and melt? namely when they shall see themselues destitute of the certaine word of God, vpon which alone our soules do stand fast, when they are called to account, & without which they faint at euery first moment: wheⁿ they shall call to mind that the doctrine and examples of the Apostles are against them, & that themselues alone are to themselues the authors of it. To such motions shalbe added other not small prickings. What? Shall it be a matter of no importance, to worship God in this forme, where nothing was prescribed vnto vs? When it concerned the true worship of God, ought they with so great lightnesse to haue attempted that of which there is no where reade any one worde? But if they had, with such humblenesse as they ought, holden all their thoughtes vnder the worde of God, they would truly haue harkened to that which he sayde, Take, eate, 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 swarue from Gods commandement: than which assurednes there is nothing better when wee take any worke in hand. They haue the example of the Apostles, who we read not to haue fallen down flat & worshipped it, but euen as they were sitting, to haue receiued it & eaten it. They haue the vse of the Apostolike Church, wherein Luk reporteth y^e faithful did communicate not in worshipping but in breaking of bread. They haue the Apostles doctrine, wherwith Paul instructed the Church

Church of the Corinthians, professing that he had received of the Lord that which he deliuered. 1. Cor. 11.

36 And these things verily tend to this end, that the godly reader should weye howe 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 about sayde, ought to deliuer vs from all dout in this behalfe. For that godly soules may therein rightly take holde of Christ, they must needs be lifted vpp to heauen. If this be the office of a Sacrament, to helpe the mind of man which otherwise is weake, that it may rise vppwarde to reach the height of spirituall mysteries: then they which are holden downe in the outwarde signe do stray from the right way of seeking Christ. What then? Shall wee denie that it is a superstitious worshipping, when men doe throwe themselues downe before bread, to worship Christ therein? Doubtlesse the Nicene Synode meant to meet with this mischiefe, when it forbade vs to be humbly intentiue 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 loude voice be put in mind to haue their heartes lifted vppwarde. 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 & conuersation: 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 vppward, and to seeke him in heauen sitting at the right hand of y^e 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 y^e haue inuented the worshipping of the Sacrament, haue not only dreamed it of themselues beside the Scripture, in which no mention of it can bee shewed (which yet should not haue bene ouerpasse if it had bene acceptable to God.) But also all the Scripture crying out against it, they haue framed to themselues a God after the will of their owne lust, leauing the liuing God. For what is idolatry, if this be not, to worship the giftes in steede of the giuer himselve? Wherin they haue doublely offended: For both y^e honor taken from God was conueyed to a creature: and hee himselve also dishonoured in the defiling and prophaning of his benefite, when of his holy Sacrament is made a cursed idole. But let vs contrariwise, least we fall into the same pitte, throughly settle our eares, eyes, heartes, minds, and tongues in the holy doctrine of God. For that is the schoole of the holy Ghost, y^e best scholemaister, in which such profit is attained, that nothing neede more to bee gotten from any where else, but we willingly ought to be ignoraunt of whatsoeuer is not taught in it.

Sursum
corda.

Col. 3. 24

37 But now (as superstition, when it hath once passed the right bounds, maketh no end 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 onely is lawefull, which resteth not in the signe, but is directed to Christ sitting in heauen. But now by what pretense doe they boast that they worshipp Christ in that bread: when they haue no promise

thereof? They consecrate an host, as they call it, which they may carry 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 wordes, This is my body. But I will object to the contrary, that it was therewithall sayde, Take and eat. Neither will I doe that of nothing. For when a promise is knit to a commandment, I say that the promise is so contained vnder the commandment, that being seuered it is made no promise at all. This shalbe made plainer by a like example. God gaue a commandment, when he sayde, Call vpon me: He added a promise, I will heare thee. If any man calling vpon Peter & Paul, do glory vpon this promise, will not all men cry out that he doth wrongfully? And what other thing I pray you, doe they which leauing the commandment concerning eating, doe catch holde of a maimed promise, this is my body, to abuse it to strange ceremonies from y^e institution of Christ? Let vs therefore remember that this promise is giuen to them which keepe the commandment ioyned with it: but that they be destitute of all the word, which remoue the Sacrament to any other way. We haue heretofore entreated howe the mysterie of the holy supper serueth our Faith before God. But forasmuch as the Lorde doeth here not onely bring into our remembrance so great largesse of his bountie, as we haue before shewed, but doth as it were from hande to hande bring it forth, & stirreth vs to acknowledge it: he doth therewithall warne vs that we be not vnthankfull to so plentiful liberalitie: but rather that we should publish it with such praises as it is meete, and aduance it with thanksgiuing. Therefore when hee deliuered the institution of the Sacrament it selfe to the Apostles, he taught them that they shoulde doe it in remembrance of him. Which Paul expoundeth, to declare the Lordes death. That is, publively and altogether with one mouth openly to confesse, that all our assurance of life and saluation is reposed in the death of the Lorde: that wee may gloryfie him with our confession, and may by our example exhorte other to giue glorie to him. Here againe it appeareth whereunto the marke of this Sacramente is directed, namely to exercise vs in the remembrance of the death of Christ. For, this that wee are commanded to declare the Lordes death till he come to iudge, is nothing else but that wee should publishe that with confession of mouth, which our faith hath acknowledged in the Sacrament, that is, that the death of Christ is our life. This is the second vse of the Sacrament, which pertaineth to outwarde confession.

38 Thirdly the Lorde also willed it to be to vs in steede of an exhortation, than which none other can more vehemently encorage and enflame vs both to purenesse and holines of life, and also to charitie, peace and agreement. For the Lorde doeth therein so communicate his body to vs, that he is made throughly one with vs, and we with him. Nowe sith hee hath but one body, whereof he maketh vs all partakers, it is necessarie that al we also be by such partaking made one body. Which vnitie the breade which is deliuered in the Sacrament, representeth: which as it is made of many graines in such sort mingled together that one can not be discerned from an other: after the same manner we also ought to be conioyned and knit together with so great agree-

agreement of minds, that no disagreement or diuision come betweene vs. This I had rather to be expressed with Paules wordes. The cup of blessing (saith he) which we blesse, is the communicating of the blood of Christ: & 1. Cor. 10. 16 the breade of blessing which wee breake, is the partaking of the body of Christ. Therefore we all are one bodie, that partake of one breade. Wee shall haue verie well profited in the Sacramente, if this thought so shall bee imprinted and ingrauen in our mindes, that none of the brethren can bee hurte, despise I, refused, abused, or anye wise bee offended of vs, but that therewithall wee doe in so doing hurte, despise, and abuse Christe with our iniurious dealinges: that wee can not disagree with our brethren but that wee must therewithall disagree with Christe: that Christ cannot bee loued of vs, but that he must be loued in our brethren: that what care we haue of our owne body, such also we ought to haue of our brethren which are members of our body: as no part of our body is touched with any feeling of greefe, which is not spread abroad into al the other partes, so wee must not suffer our brother to be greued with any euill whereof we shoulde not also be touched with cōpassion. Therefore Augustine not without cause so oft calleth this sacrament y^e bond of charitie. For what sharper spur could be put to vs, to stir vp mutuall charitie among vs, than when Christ giuing himself to vs, doth not onely allure vs with his owne example that we should mutuallly dedicate and deliuer our selues one to another: but in so much as he maketh himselfe common to al, he maketh al vs also one in himselfe?

39 But hereby is that verie well confirmed which I haue saide in an other place, that the true ministratiō of the Sacrament standeth not without the word. For whatsoever profite commeth to vs of the Supper, requireth the word: whether we be to be confirmed in faith, or to be exercised in confession, or be stirred vp to ductie, prayer is needfull. Therefore nothing can be more disorderly done in the supper, than if it bee turned to a dumbe action: as hath bene done vnder the tyrannie of the Pope. For they would haue the whole force of consecratiō to hang vpon y^e intent of the Priest, as though this nothing pertained to the people, to whome it most of all behooued that the mysterie should be declared. But therevpon hath growen this errour, y^e they marked not that those promises wherewith the consecration is made, are directed not to the elementes themselues, but to them y^e receiue thē. But Christ speaketh not to the bread, y^e it may be made his bodie, but commandeth his disciples to eat, & promiseth to them the cōmunicating of his body & blood. And none other order doth Paul teach, than that together with the bread and the cup, the promises should be offered to the faithfull. Thus it is truly. We ought not to imagine any magicall inchantment, that it be sufficient to haue mūbled vp y^e words, as though the elementes did heare them: but let vs vnderstande that those words are a liuely preaching, which may edifie the hearers, which may inwardly pearce into their mindes, which may bee imprinted and settled in their hearts, which may shew forth effectualnes in the fulfilling of y^e which it promiseth. By these reasons it clearly appeareth, y^e the laying vp of the sacrament, which many do earnestly require, y^e it may be extraordinarily distributed to y^e sick, is vnprofitable: For either they shall re-

receiue it without rehearsing of the institution of Christ, or the minister shall together with the signe ioyne the true declaration of the mysterie. In silence is abuse and fault. If the promises be rehearsed, and the mysterie declared, that they which shall receiue it may receiue it with fruite, there is no cause why we should doubt that this is the true consecration. To what ende then will that other consecration come, the force whereof commeth not so farre as to the sicke men? But they that do so, haue the example of the old church. I graunt: but in so great a matter, and in which wee erre not without great daunger, nothing is safer than to follow the trueth it selfe.

40 Nowe as we see that this holy breade of the Supper of the Lorde is spirituall meate, no lesse sweete and delicate than healthfull to the godly worshippers of God, by the tast whereof they feele that Christ is their life, who it raiseth vp to thankesgiuing, to whome it is an exhortation to mutuall charitie among themselues: so on the other side it is turned into a most noysome poyson to all them whose Faith it doeth not nourishe and confirme, and whome it doeth not stirre vp to confession of praise and 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 nourishe: 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 vnbeleeuing men nothing is cleane, though otherwise it bee neuer so much sanctified by the blessing of the Lorde. For (as Paul saith) they that eate & drinke vnworthily, are guiltie of the bodie and blood of the Lorde, and doe eate and drinke iudgement to themselues, not discerning the bodie of the Lorde. For such kinde of men as without any sparcke of faith, without any zeale of charitie, doe thrust themselues forth like swine to take the Supper of the Lorde, doe not discern the body of the Lorde. For in so much as they doe not beleene that that bodie is their life, they doe as much as in them lieth dishonour it, spoiling it of all the dignitie thereof, and finally in so receiuing 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 bodie of Christ with their disagreements, it is no thanks to them that the bodie of Christ is not rent in sunder, and limmemale torne in peeces. And so not vnworthily they are guiltie of the bodie and blood of the Lord, which they doe with vngodlinesse full of sacriledge so fowlie defile. Therefore by this vnworthie eating, they take to themselues damnation. For whereas they haue no faith reposed in Christ, yet receiuing the sacrament they professe y there is saluation for them no where else than in him, and doe forswear all other affiance. Wherefore they themselues are accusers to themselues, they themselues pronounce witness against themselues, and they themselues seale their owne damnation. Againe when they being with hatred and euill will diuided and drawn in sunder from their brethren, that is, from the members of Christ, haue no part in Christ: yet they doe testifie that this is the onely saluation to communicate with Christ, and to bee made one with him. For this cause Paul commaundeth, that a man prooue himselfe, before y hee eate of this breade or drinke of this cup. Whereby (as I expound it) he meant

Tit. 1. 15.
2. Cor. 11. 29.

1. Cor. 11. 21

meant that euerie man shoulde descende into himselfe, and weie with himselfe, whether hee doe with inwarde affiance of heart rest vpon the saluation which Christ hath purchaced: whether hee acknowledge it with confession of mouth: then whether hee doe with desirous endeouour of innocence and holinesse aspire to the following of Christ: whether after his example hee be readie to giue himselfe to his brethren, and to communicate himselfe to them with whome he hath Christ common to him: whether, as he himselfe is accompted of Christ, he do likewise on his behalfe take al his brethren for members of his owne bodie: whether hee couet to chcerish, 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 dayly more and more encrease our Faith begon.

41 Commonly when they goe about to prepare men to such worthines of eating, they haue in cruell wise tormented and vexed poore consciences: and yet they brought neuer a whitte of all those thinges that might serue to the purpose. They saide that those did eate worthily which were in state of grace. To be in state of grace they expounded to bee pure and cleansed from all sinne. By which doctrine al the men that euer haue at any time bin or now be in earth, were debarred from the vse of this sacrament. For if we goe about this, to fetch our worthines frō our selues, we are vtterly vndone: onely despeire and damnable ruine abideth for vs. Though we endeour with our whole strengthes, we shall nothing more preuaile, but that then at laste we shall be most vnworthie, when wee haue most of all trauelled about seeking of worthines. To salue this sore, they haue deuised away to attaine worthines: that, as much as in vs lieth, making examination, and requiring of our selues accompt of all our doinges, we shoulde with contrition, confessiō, and satisfaction cleanse our vnworthines: which way 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 y these be too hungrie and vanishing comfortes, to dismaied and discouraged consciences, and such as as stricken with horrour of their sinne. For if y 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 mā assured of his owne righteousnes which hee heareth to be required of God. But whereby 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 bolde to assure himselfe that he hath done as much as in him lay? So when there is made no certaine assurance of our worthines, the entrie shall alway remaine shut by that horrible forbidding, whereby is pronounced that they eate and drinke iudgement to themselues, which eate and drinke vnworthily.

42 Nowe it is easie to iudge what maner of doctrine this is which reigneth in the Papacie, and from what author it hath proceeded, which with y outrageous rigor thereof, bereaueth and spoyleth, miserabie sinners & such as be tormented with feare and sorow, of the comfort of this Sacrament in which yet al the sweete delicates of the Gospel were set before them. Surely the

the deuil could: by no readier way destroy men, than by so making them senselesse, that they could not perceiue the taste and saouour of such foode, wherewith it was the will of the most good heauenly Father to feede them. Least therefore we runne into such headlong downfall, let vs remember that this holy banquet is medicin: to the sicke, comforte to sinners, liberall gifte to the poore: which bring no profite to the healthie, righteous, and rich, if any such could be founde. For whereas in it Christ is giuen vs for meate: we vnderstand that without him we pine, starue, and faint, like as famine destroyeth the liuely strength of the body. Againe whereas he is giue vs for life: we vnderstand y without him wee are in our selues vtterly deade. Wherefore this is the worthinesse both the onely and best that we can bring to God, if we offer to him our own vilenes & (as I may so call it) vnworthines, y of his mercie he may make vs worthy of him: if we despeire in our selues, that we may be comforted in him: if we humble our selues, that we may be raised vp of him: if we accuse our selues, y we may be justified of him: moreouer if we aspire to that vnitie which he commendeth to vs in his supper: & as he maketh vs all one in himselfe, so if we wish to vs al altogether one soule one hart one tongue. If we haue these things throughly well weied & considered, such thoughts although they shake vs, yet shal neuer ouerthrow vs. As, how shold we being needie & naked of al good things, we deified with filthines of sins, we halfe dead, eat the bodie of the Lord worthilie? We wil rather think that we being poore come to the liberal giuer, we sick to y Phisician, we sinners to the author of righteousnesse, finally we dead men to him that giueth life: that that worthinesse which is commaunded of God, consisteth chiefly of Faith, which reposeseth all things in Christ and nothing in vs: and next of charitie, and the selfe same charitie which it is enough to offer vnperfect to God, that hee may increase it to better, forasmuch as it cannot be giuen perfect. Some other agreeing with vs in this, that the worthinesse it selfe consisteth in Faith and charitie: yet in the measure of worthinesse haue gone farre out of the way, requiring a perfection of Faith, whereunto nothing may bee added, and a charitie egall with that which Christ hath shewed towarde 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 shold receiue but vnworthily, forasmuch as all without exception shoulde be holden guiltie and conuict of their vnperfectnesse. And truly it were a point of too much amazed dulnesse, I will not say foolishnesse, 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 stirre vp, to pricke forward and exercise the affection of faith and charitie, and to correct the default of either of them.

43 But so much as concerneth the outward forme of doing, whether faithfull receiue it in their hand or no, whether they deuide it, or euerie one eate that which is giuen him: whether they put againe the cup in the hand of y deacon, or deliuer it to y next: whether the bread be leauened, or vnleaued: whether the wine be read or white: it maketh no matter. These things he indifferent and left in the libertie of the Church. Howebeit it is certain

taine, that the vsage of the olde Church was, that euerie one shoulde take it into his hande. And Christ saide, 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 reaso I see not, vnlesse it were with a newe sight to drawe the eyes of the common people to wondring at it, rather than to instruct their mindes with good religion. I adiure all them that are touched with any though but light zeale of godlinesse, to tel whether they do not evidently see, both howe much more brightly the glorie of G O D shineth herein, and how much more abundant sweetenesse of spirituall comfort commeth to the faithfull, than in these cold and playerlike trifles, which bring none other vse but to deceiue the sense of the amazed people. This they call the holding of the people in religion, when being made foolish & senselesse with superstition it is drawn, whither they list. If any man will defende such inuentions by antiquitie, I my selfe also am not ignorant how auncient is the vse of chresme, and blowing in Baptisme: Howe nie to the age of the Apostles the Supper of the Lord was infected with rustinesse: but this verily is the waiwardnes of mans boldnesse, which can not withhold it selfe but that it must alway play and bee wanton in the mysteries of God. But let vs remember that God doeth so highly esteeme the obedience of his word, y he willeth vs in it to iudge both his Angels and the whole worlde. Now, bidding farewell to so great a heape of ceremonies: it might thus haue been most comelily ministred, if it were oft and at least euery weake set before the Church, but that first they shoulde beginne with publike prayers: then a sermon shoulde be made, then the minister, hauing breade and wine set vpon the boorde, shoulde rehearse the institution of the supper: and then shoulde declare the promises that are in it left vnto vs: and therewithall shoulde excommunicate all them that by the Lords forbidding are debarred from it, afterwarde they should pray y with what liberalitie the Lord hath giuen vs this holy foode, he would instruct & frame vs also with the same faith, and thankfulnessse of minde to receiue it, and that forasmuch as wee are not of our selues, he woulde of his mercie make vs worthie of such a banquet: that then either Psalmes should be song, or somewhat red, and the faithfull should in seemely order communicate of y 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 praises be song to God: which being ended the congregation should be let goe in peace.

44 These things that wee haue hitherto spoken of this Sacrament doe largely shewe, that it was not therefore ordeyned, that it shoulde be receiued yearely once, and that slightly for manners sake (as nowe commonly the custome is) but that it shoulde be in often vse to all Christians: that with often remembrance they shoulde reape the passion of Christ: by which remembrance they might susteyne and strengthen their Faith, and exhort them selues to sing confession of praise to God, and to publishe his goodnesse: finally by which they might nourishe mutuall charitie; and re-
 use it among them selues, whercof they sawe the knot in the vaitie of the bo-
 die

dy of Christ. For so oft as wee communicate of the signe of the body of the Lord, we doe as by a token giuen and receiued, interchangeably binde our selues one to another vnto all dueties of loue, that none of vs doe any thing whereby he may offende 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 bee no assemblie 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 father vppon Anaclerus and Calixtus, that when the consecration is done, all shoulde communicate, that wil not be without the doers of y^e Church. And it is red in those old Canons, which they cal the canons of the Apostles: that they which continue not vnto the ende, and do not receiue the holy Communion, must bee corrected as men that mooue 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 doe absteine from the communion, shoulde be removed from the Church, till they haue amended this faulte. Which although in the first Councell at Toletum it was either somewhat qualified or at least set fourth in milder wordes, yet it is there also decreed, that they, which when they haue hearde the sermon, are founde neuer to communicate, shoulde be warned: if after warning they absteyne, they should be debarred from it.

45 Verily by these ordinances the holy men meant to reteyne & maintaine the often vse of the Communion, which often vse they had receiued from the Apostles theselues, which they saw to be most wholsom for the faithfull, & by litle and litle by the negligence of the common people to grow out of vse. Augustine testifieth of his owne time: The Sacrament (saith hee) of this thing, of the vnitie of the Lordes bodie, is somewhere daily, somewhere by certaine distances of the dayes, prepared vnto the Lordes table, and is there receiued at the table, to some vnto life, to othersome vnto destruction. And in the first Epistle to Ianuarius: some doe dayly communicate of y^e body and bloode of the Lorde: some receiue it at certaine dayes: in some places there is no day let passe wherein it is not offered: in some other places onely vppon the Saturday and the Sunday, and in some other places neuer but on the Sunday. But forasmuch as the common people was (as wee haue said) somewhat slacke, the holy men did call earnestly vpon them with sharpe rebukings, least they should seeme to winke at such slouthfulnesse. Such an example is in Chrysostome vpon the Epistle to the Ephesians. It is not said vnto him that dishonored the banquet: wherfore didst thou sit down? but, wherfore diddest thou come in? Whosoeuer is not partaker of the mysteries, hee is wicked and shamelesse for that hee standeth here present. I beseech you, if any be called to a banquet, washeth his handes, sitteth down, seemeth to prepare himselfe to eat, and then doeth tast of nothing: shal he not shame both the banquet, and the maker of the banquet? So thou standing
among

AG. 2. 42.

In 6. cap. 10.
h. 2. c. 26.In cap. 1.
Hom. 26. 12.

among them that with prayer doe 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 doest not partake: had it not bin better that thou hadst not bin 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.

46 And truly this custome, which commaundeth to communicate yereley once, is a most certaine inuention of the diuel, by whose ministerie soeuer it was brought in. They say that Zepherinus was author of that decrec, which it is not likely to haue bene such as we now haue it. For he by his ordinance did peradventure not after the worst maner prouide for the church, as the times then were. For it is no dout but that then the holy supper was set before the faithfull so oft as they came together in assembly, neither is it any dout 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 y they which were mingled with prophane men and idolaters, should by some outward signe testifie their faith: the holy mā 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 bene euil wrested of them that came after, when a certaine lawe was made of one communicating yeatly: 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 yere, sleepe soundly on both eares. It ought to haue bene 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 feede vs spiritually at it: none should in deede be cōpelled by necessitie, but all should bee exhorted and pricked forward: the sluggishnesse also of the slothful 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 diuel this custome was thrust in, which when it appointeth one certaine day of the yere, maketh men slothfull for all the rest of the yere. We see in deede 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 grievous wordes in the same place which I euen nowe alleaged, y there is so great inequalitye of this matter, that often in some times of the yere they came not euen when they were cleane, but at Easter they came euen when they were vnclane. Then he crieth out: O custome. O presumption. Then in vaine is the daily offering vsed: 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 proceded 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 bloud, which bec ing denied to lay & profane men (for with such titles forsooth they set out Gods inheritance) became a peculiar possession to shauen and annoyned men.

It is the commaundement of the eternall God, that all should drinke: which commaundement man dare discontinue and repell with a new and contrarie law, commanding that not all should drinke. And y^e these lawmakers shoulde not seeme to fight without reason against their God, they pretende perils that might happen if this holy cup were commonly giuen to all: as though those dangers had not beene foreseene & marked of the eternall wisdom of God. And then suttelley 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 bodie. Therefore by accompanying the bodie containeth the blood. Lo how our wit agreeth with God, when it hath neuer so litle begon with loose reines, to be wanton and wilde. The Lord shewing bred saith that it is his bodie: 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 bodie: as though the Lorde had for no cause seuered his body from his blood both in wordes and in signes: or as though it had eu^er been heard spoken that the bodie or blood of Christ is called God & 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 weakenesse, did set the cup seuerally from the bread, to teach that he sufficeth no lesse for drink than for meat. Nowe let one parte be taken away, then wee shall finde but the one halfe of the nourishmentes in him. Therefore, although it be true which they pretende, that the blood is in the bread by way of accompanying, and againe, the bodie in the cup, yet they defraude godly soules of the confirmation of faith which Christ deliuereth vs as necessarie. Therefore bidding their suttleties farewell, we must hold fast the profir which is by the ordinance of Christ in the two earnestes.

48 I knowe in deede that the ministers of Sathan do here cauill, as it is an ordinarie thing with them to make mockerie of the Scriptures. First they alleage that of one bare doing ought not to be gathered a rule whereby the Church shoulde be bounde to perpetuall obseruing. But they lie when they say that it was but a bare doing: for Christ did not onely deliuer the cup, but also did institute that his Apostles should in tyme to come do the same. For they are the wordes of a commaunder, 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 whome he had alreadie chosen & taken into the order of the sacrificing Priestes. But I woulde haue them answer me to fise questions, from which they shall not be able to escape, but that they shalbe easily conuincid with their lies. First, by what oracle haue they this solution reuealed, beeing so strange from the worde of God? The Scripture reckoneth twelue that sate with Iesus: but it doeth not so obscure the dignitie of Christ that it calleth them sacrificing Priestes of which name wee will speake hereafter in place fit for it. Though he gaue it then to the twelue, yet he commaunded that they shoulde doe the same, namely that they should so distribute it among them. Secondly, why in that better age, from the Apostles almost a thousande yeares, were all without exception made

made partakers of both the signes? was the old church ignorant what gestures Christ had receiued to his Supper? It were a point of most desperate shamelesnesse, here to sticke and dally in granting it to be true. There remaine the ecclesiasticall histories, there remaine the bookes of the olde writers, which minister euident testimonies of this matter. The fleshe (sayth Tertullian) is fed with the body and bloud of Christ, that the soule may be fatted with feeding vppon God. Howe (sayde Ambrose to Theodosius) wilt thou receiue with such handes the holy body of the Lorde? With what boldenesse wilt thou with thy mouth partake of the cup of the precious bloud? And Hierome sayth. The priestes which make the Thankesgiuing, and doe distribute the bloud of the Lorde to the people. Chrysostome. Not as in the old lawe the Priest did eate part, and the people parte: but one body is set before all, and one cuppe. Those things that pertaine to the Thankesgiuing are all common betwene the Priest and the people. The selfe same thing doeth Augustine testifie in many places,

Lib. de resur-
re& carnis.
Theod. lib. 3
cap. 8.

Eucharistia.
Hier. in 2.

Mal.
Chrys. in 2.
Cor. cap. 8.
Eucharistia.

49 But why dispute I about a thing most knowen? Let all the Greeke and Latine writers be read ouer: such testimonies shall ech where offer theselues. Neither was this custome growen out of vse, while there remained one drop of purenesse in the Church. Gregorie, whome you may rightly say to haue bene the last Bishop of Rome, teacheth that it was kept in his time. What is the bloud of the lambe, ye haue now learned, not by hearing but by drinking. His bloud is poured into the mouthes of the faithfull. Yea it yet endured foure hundred yeares after his death, when all thinges were growen out of kinde. For neither was that taken onely for an vsage, but also for an inuolable law. For then was in force the reuerence of Gods institution, & they doubted not y^t it was sacrilege, to seuer those things which the Lord had conioyned. For thus saith Gelasius. We haue founde, y^t some receiuing only the portion of the holy body, do absteyne frō the cup. Let them without dout, because they seeme to be bound with I wot not what superstition, either receiue the Sacraments whole, or be debarred from the whole. For the diuiding of this mystery is not comitted without great sacrilege. Those reasons of Cyprian were heard, which truly ought to moue a Christian mind. How (sayth he) do we teach or prouoke them to shed their bloud in the confessing of Christ, if we deny his bloud to them that shall fight? Or how do 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 drink the cup of the Lord. Whereas the Canonists do restraints that decree of Gelasius to the Priestes, that is so childish a cauill that it neede not to be confuted.

De consec.
dist. 2. cap.
comper.

Ser. 5. de lap.

50 Thirdly, why did he simply say of the bred, that they should eat: but of the cuppe, that they should all drinke? euen as if he had meant of set purpose to meete with the craft of Sathan. Fourthly, if (as they would haue it) the Lorde vouchsafed to admit to his supper onely sacrificing Priestes, what man euer durst call to the partaking of it, strangers whom the Lorde had excluded? yea and to the partaking of that gift, the power whereof was not in their handes, without any commandement of him which only could giue it? Yea vpon confidence of what warrant do they vse at this day to distribute to the common people the Signe of the body of Christe, if they haue neither

comandement nor example of the Lord? Fifthly, did Paul lye, when he said to the Corinthians, that he had receiued of the Lorde that which he had deliuered to them? For afterwarde he declareth the thing that hee 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 drue away almost all the people of God: because they can not nowe pretende God to be the author of it, with whom there is not yea and nay. And yet full 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 vnderfooote, scatter abroad, and destroy the doctrine and institution of Christ: or the Apostolike Church were not the church, in which the whole force of religion flourisheth.

The xvij. Chapter.

*Of the Popish Masse, by which sacrilege the Supper of Christ
hath not onely bin prophaned, but also brought
to naught.*

With these and like inuentions Satan hath trauailed, as by ouerspreading of darkenesse to obscure and defile the holy supper of Christ, that at least the purenesse of it should not be kept still in the Church. But the heade of horrible abomination was when hee aduanced a signe, by which it might not onely be darkened and peruered, but being vtterly blotted and abolished shoulde vanishe 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 forgiuenesse of sinnes. Howe at the beginning the founder sorte of the schoolemen tooke this doctrine, I nothing regarde: farewell they with their crabbed sutleties: which howsoever they may be defended with cauilling, yet are therefore to be refused of all good men, because they doe nothing else but spreade much darkenesse ouer the brightnesse of the Supper. Therefore bidding them farewell, lette the readers vnderstande that I here match in fight with that opinion, wherewith the Romishe Antichriste and his Prophetes haue infected the whole worlde, namely that the Masse is a worke whereby the sacrificing Priest which offereth vp Christ, and the other that doe partake at the same oblation, doe deserue the fauour of GOD: or that it is a cleansing sacrifice, whereby they reconcile GOD to themselves. Neither hath this bene receiued onely in common opinion of the people, but the very doing it selfe is so framed, that it is a kinde of pacifying wherewith satisfaction is made to GOD for the purging of the quicke and dead. The wordes also which they vse, doe expresse the same: and no other thing may we gather of the daily vse of it. I knowe howe deepe rootes this pestilence hath taken, vnder howe great seeming of goodnes it lurketh, howe it beareth in shewe the name of Christe, howe in the one name of Masse many beleue that they comprehend the whole summe of faith. But when it shalbe by the worde of God most cleerely proued, that this Masse,

how

how much fouler it bee coloured & gloriqus, yet shamefully dishonoureth Christ, burieth & oppresseth his crosse, putteth his death in forgetfulness, taketh away the fruite that commeth thereof vnto vs, doth weaken & destroy the Sacrament wherein was left the memorie of his death: shall there then be any so deepe roots, which this most strong axe, I meane the word of god, shal not cut downe & ouerthrowe? Is there any face so beautifull, that this light cannot bewray the euil which lurked vnder it?

2 Let vs therefore shewe that which hath bene set in the first place, that in it is intollerable blasphemie & dishonour done to Christ. For he was consecrate of his Father a Priest & bishop, not for a time as wee reade that they were ordeined in the old testament, whose life being mortall their priesthod also could not be immortal: for which cause also there needed successours y^e should from time to time be put in the place of them that died. But in place of Christ, which is immortal, there nedeth no vicar to be set after him. Therefore he was ordeined of the Father a priest for euer, according to the order of Melchisedech, that he should execute an euerlasting priesthood. This mysterie had bene long before figured in Melchisedech, whome when y^e 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 ende of his life. After this point of likenesse, Christ was called a priest according to his order. Nowe they that do daily sacrifice, must needes appoint priests to make the oblations, whome they must appoint as it were successors and vicars in the steede of Christ. By which putting in steede of him; they doe not onely spoyle Christ of his honour, and plucke from him the prerogative of eternal priesthood, but also trauaile to thrust him downe from the right hande of his Father, on which he cannot sit immortal, but that hee must therewithall remaine the eternall 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 wordes 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 frowardnesse, they arme themselues with the example of Melchisedech to defende their wickednesse. For, because it is saide that he offered bread and wine, they gather that he was a foreshewing of their Masse: as though the likenesse betweene him and Christ were in the offering of breade 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 the being wearie after their journey and battaile: What is this to a sacrifice? Moses praiseth the gentlenesse of the holy king: these fellows vnseasonably coyne a mysterie whereof no mention is made. Yet they deceitfully paint their error with an other color, because it followeth by and by after, And he was the priest of the hiest God. I answere, that they wrongfully draw to the bread and wine that which the Apostler 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

He. 5. 5. & 7
17. & 9. 11.
and 21.

Psal. 110. 14

Gen. 14. 18.

Heb. 7. 13.

Hebr. 7. 7.

his excellencie, because the lesser is blessed of the greater. But if the oblation of Melchisedech were a figure of the sacrifice of Masse, would the Apostle, I pray you, which searcheth out all euen the least things, haue forgotten so earnest and weightie a thing? Nowe (howsoever they trifle) they shall in vaine goe aboute to ouerthrowe the reason which the Apostle himselfe bringeth, that the right and honour of sacrificieng priesthoode ceaseth among mortall men, because Christ which is immortall, is the onely and perpetuall sacrificieng priest.

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 sone as the alter 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; undoubtedly the force and effectualnesse of that sacrifice continueth without any end. Otherwise we should think nothing more honourably of Christ, than of oxen and calves which were sacrificed vnder the lawe: the offerings whereof are proued vneffectuall & weake 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 sayeth, that this chiefe bishop Christ once appeared by offering vp of himselfe before the ending of the worlde, to the driuing away of sinne. Again; That we are sanctified by the will of God, by the offering of the bodie of Iesus Christ once. Again; That Christ with one oblation for euer hath made perfect them that are sanctified: wherunto he adioyneth a notable sentence that forgiuenesse of sinnes being once purchaced, there remaineth no more any oblation. This also Christ signified by his last saying and vttered among his last gaspings, when he said, It is ended. We are wont to note the last sayings of men when they are dying, for oracles. Christ dying testifieth that by his one sacrifice is perfected & fulfilled whatsoever was for our saluation, Shall it be lawful 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 teacheth out, and protesteth, that this sacrifice was once fully done that the force thereof remaineth euerlasting; 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 such sort that there may euery day be made a hundred thousand sacrifices; to what end tendeth it, but that the passion of Christ, whereby he offered him an only sacrificed oblation to the Father, should ly buried & drowned? Who, vnlesse he be blind, cannot see that it was the boldnes of Satan which wrestled against so open and cleare trueth? Neither am I ignorant with what deceits that Father of lying vseth to colour this his fraud, saying that there are not sundrie nor diuerse sacrifices, but that one selfe same sacrifice is repeated. But such smokes are easily blown away. For in the whole discourse the Apostle trauaileth to proue: not only y there are no other sacrifices, but y that one sacrifice was once offered vp, & shal no more be repeated. The sut-seller men do yet slip out at a narrower hole, saying, y it is not a repeating
but

Heb. 9. 12.

Heb. 9. 26.
and 10. 10.

Ioh. 19. 30.

but an applying. But this Sophistical 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 y by the preaching of the Gospel, & ministring of the holy Supper, the fruit thereof should be communicated vnto vs. So Paul saith that Christ our passcouer was offered vp, & biddeth vs to eate of him. This (I say) is the meane whereby the Sacrifice of the Crosse is rightly applyed to vs, when it is communicated to vs to take the vse of it, & 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 drawe to this purpose the prophetic of Malachie, whereby the Lord promiseth 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 newe 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 Gentiles should be called into the true felowship of religion. Like as also they are wont altogether to describe by figures of their law, the truth that was deliuered by the Gospel. 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 faithful in the kingdom of Christ, dreames & visions: That therefore which they alleage, is like vnto an other prophetic of Esay, where the Prophet foretelleth of three altars to be set vp in Assyria, Ægypt, and Iury. For first I aske, whether they doe not grant that the fulfilling of this prophetic is in the kingdom of Christ. Secondly, where be these altars, or when they were euer set vp. Thirdely whether they thinke that to euery seuerall kingdom is appointed a seuerall Temple, such as was that at Ierusalem. These things if they wey, I thinke they will confesse, that the Prophet vnder figures agreeable with his time, propheticeth of the spirituall worship of God to be spread abroad into the whole world. Which we giue to the for a solution. But of this thing sith there doe euery where examples commonly offer themselues, I wil not busie my self in longer rehearfall of them. Howbeit herein also they are miserably deceiued, that they acknowledge no sacrifice but of the Masse, where as in deede the faithfull do nowe sacrifice to the Lord, & do offer a cleane offering, of which shall be spoken by and by.

Mal. 1. 8.

Iocl. 2. 28.

Esa. 19. 21.

5 Nowe I come downe to the thirde office of the Masse, where I must declare howe 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 vppon the death of the testator: so also our Lorde hath with his death confirmed the testament whereby hee hath giuen vs forgiuenesse of sinnes and eternall righteousnesse. They that dare varie of 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 diuerse testament? For why? Doeth not euery seuerall Masse promise newe forgiuenesse of sinnes, newe purchasing of righteousnesse: so that nowe there bee so many testaments, as there be Masses? Let Christ therefore come againe,

and with an other death confirme this testament, or rather with infinite deathes confirme innumerable testaments of Masse. Haue I not therefore said true at the beginning, that the only 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 be the death of the testator. The Masse sheweth it selfe to be a newe testament of Christ therefore it requireth his death. Moreouer the hoste which is offered, must necessarily be slaine and sacrificed. If Christ in euery seuerall Masse be sacrificed, then hee must at euery moment bee in a thousande 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 worlde. I knowe that they haue an aunswere in readinesse, whereby also they charge vs with slander. For they say that that is objected against them which they neuer thought, nor yet can. And wee knowe, that the death and life of Christ is not in their hand. Wee looke not whether they goe 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 contrarie 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 & inuiolable ordinance of God should faile. Whereupon followeth that this is a sure principle of the Apostle, that there is required shedding of bloud, that washing may not be wanting.

6 Now is the fourth office of the Masse to be entreated of, namely to take away from vs the fruite 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 newe redemption in the Masse? Who can trust that sinnes are forgien him, when he seeth a newe forgienesse? Neither shall he escape that shall say, that wee do for no other cause obtaine forgienesse of sinnes in the Masse, but because it is alreadie 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 & fire, that we when in the Masse wee offer vp Christ to his Father, by this worke of offering do obtaine forgienesse of sinnes, & are made partakers of the passion of Christ. What nowe remaineth to the passion of Christ, but to be an example of redemption, whereby we may learne to be our owne redeemers? Christ himselfe, when in the Supper he sealeth y confidence of pardon, doth not bid his disciples to sticke 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 bee appeased, must haue bene offered but once. For neither is it enough to knowe y Christ is the onely sacrifice, vnlesse the onely sacrificing be ioyned with it, y our faith may be fastened to his crosse.

7 Now I come to the conclusion, namely that the holy Supper, in which the Lorde 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 received with thanksgiuing. The sacrifice of the Masse is fained to pay a price to God, which he may receive for satisfaction. Howe much difference there is betweene to giue and to receive, so much doth the sacrifice differ from the Sacrament of y^e Supper. And this truly is the most wretched vnthankfulnessse of man, that where the largesse of Gods bountie ought to haue bin acknowledged, and thanks to be geuen, therein he maketh God his dettor. The Sacrament promised, that by the death of Christ we are not onely once restored into life, but are continually quickned, because then all the partes 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 profit vs. The Supper should haue bene distributed in the common assemblie of the Church, that it might enforme vs of the communion whereby we all cleaue together in Christ Iesus. The sacrifice of the Masse dissolueth and plucketh in sunder this communitie. For after that the error grewe in force, that there must be sacrificers that shoulde sacrifice for the people, 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 Lorde. An entrie was made open to priuate Masses, which might rather resemble a certaine excommunication, than that same communitie ordained of the Lord, when the petie sacrificer willing seuerally by himselfe to deuour his sacrifice, doth seuer himselfe from the whole people of the faithfull. I cal priuat Masse (least any man be deceiued) wherefoeuer 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 sprong, I could neuer certainly iudge: sauing 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 strining 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 & bloud? Therefore when one taketh it without distributing, what likeness 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 priuatly taketh to himselfe that which ought not to haue bene done but among many? But because the wordes of Christ and Paul are plaine enough, we may briefly conclude, that wherefoeuer is not breaking of bread to the communion of the faithfull, there is not y^e Supper of the Lord, but a false and wrongfull counterfaying of the Supper. But a false counterfaying is a corrupting. Now the corrupting of so great a mystery is not without wickednesse. Therefore in priuate Masses is a wicked abuse. And (as one fault in religion from time to time breedeth another) after that that manner of

offring without communion was once crept in, by litle and litle they began in euery corner of Churches to make innumerable Masses, and diuersly to draw the people hither and thither, which should haue come together into one assembly, that they might reknowledge the mysterie of their owne vnitie. Now let them go and deny it to be ydolatrie, that in their Masses they shew forth bread to be worshipped in steede of Chrst. For in vaine they boast of those promises of the presence of Chrst, which howsoeuer they be vnderstoode, verily were not giuen to this purpose, that wicked & prophane men, so oft as they will, and to whatsoeuer abuse they list, may make the body of Chrst: but that the faithfull, when with religious obseruation they doe in Celebrating of the Supper follow the commandement of Chrst; may enjoy the true partaking of him.

9 Beside that, this peruersnes was vnknownen to the purer Church. For howsoeuer the more shainlesse sort among our aduersaries do here go about to disguise the matter with false colours, yet it is most sure that all antiquitie is against them, as wee haue afore prooued in other thinges, and it may more certainly be iudged by the continuall reading of old writers. But ere I make an ende of speaking of it, I aske our Massing doctors, sith they knowe that obedience is more esteemed of God than oblations, and that hee more requireth that his voyce be harkened to, than that sacrifices bee offered: howe they beleue that this manner of sacrificing is acceptable to G O D, whereof they haue no certaine commaundement, 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 priesthoode, but he that is called as Aaron was: yea & that Chrst himselfe did not thrust in himselfe, but obeyed the calling of his Father: either they must bring forth God the author and ordeiner of their sacrificing priesthoode, or they must confesse that the honour is not of G O D, into which they haue with wicked rashnes brokē in vncalled. But they can not shew one title of a letter y mainteineth their sacrificing priesthoode. Why therefore shal not their sacrifices vanish away, which can not bee offred without a priest?

10 If any man doe thrust in short sentences of the olde writers gathered here and there, and doe by their authority trauaile to proue that the sacrifice which is done in the Supper is farre otherwise to be vnderstanded than wee doe expounde it: let him be briefly 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 worde Sacrifice: but therewithall they expounde, that they meane nothing else but the remembrance of that true and onely sacrifice, which Chrst our onely sacrificing priest (as they ech where reporte of him) made on the crosse. The Hebrues (sayeth Augustine) in the sacrifices of beastes which they offred to G O D, did celebrate a prophetic of the sacrifice to come, which Chrst offred: the Christians doe with the holy oblation and partaking of the body of Chrste celebrate a remembrance of the sacrifice already made. Here verily he teacheth altogether the same thing, which is written in moe words in the booke of faith to Peter the Deacon, whosoever be y author of it. The words be these, Belceue most stedfastly
and

J. Sam. 16. 22

Li. 20. contr.
Fausl. ca. 18

and doubt not at all, that the onely begotten himselfe, being made fleshe for vs, offered himselfe for vs a sacrifice and oblation to God into a sauour of sweetenesse: to whome with the Father and the Holy Ghost in the time of y^e olde testamēt beastes were sacrificed: and to who me now with the father and the holy Ghost (with whome hee hath one godhead) the holy Church throughout the whole worlde ceaseth not to offer the sacrifice of bread and wine. For in those fleshy sacrifices was a figuring of the flesh of Christ which he should offer for our sinnes, and of his blood which hee should shed to the forgiuenesse of sinnes. But in this sacrifice is thanksgiuing and rehearsal of the flesh of Christ which he offered for vs, & of his blood which y^e same he hath shed for vs. Wherupon Augustine himselfe in many places expoundeth it to be nothing else but a sacrifice of praise. Finally you shal commonly find in him, y^e 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 the xxiii. Chapter, where after that he hath discoursed of the onely sacrifice, he thus concludeth: because in a sacrifice fouer things are considered, to whom it is offered, and of whom, what is offered, and for whome. The same he himselfe the one and true mediator reconciling vs to God by the sacrifice of peace, remaineth one with him to whome he offered: maketh them one in him for whome he offered: is one himselfe which offered, and the thing which he offered. To the same effect also speaketh Chrysostome. But they so chalenge the honour of sacrificing priestthoode to Christ, that Augustine testifieth it to be the voice of Antichrist if any man make a Bishop intercessor betweene God and men.

Cōt. aduers.
legis.

II Yet doe wee not denie but that the offering vp of Christ is there so shewed in vs, that the spectacle of the crosse is in a maner 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 y^e those old Fathers also wrested this remembrance an other way than was agreeable with the institution of the Lorde (because their supper contained I wote not what repeated or at least renewed forme of sacrificing) the safest way for godly hartes shalbe 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 finde that they haue kept a godly and true sense of this whole mysterie, and I do not perceiue that they meant to abate any thing were it neuer so litle from the onely sacrifice of the Lord, I cannot condemne them of vngodlinesse: yet I thinke y^e they cannot be excused, but y^e they haue offended somewhat in the maner of the celebration. For they counterfaited the Iewish maner of sacrificing more nerely than either Christ had ordeined, or the nature of the Gospel did beare. Therefore that same ouerswartt appliance to heauenly things is the onely thing wherein a man may worthily blame them, for that being not contented with the simple & natural institution of Christ, they swarued to the shadowes of the law.

Lib. 1. cont.
parm. cap. 8.

Gal. 3. 1.

III If a man doe diligently wey, that this difference is put by the worde of the Lord betweene the sacrifices of Moses, and our Thanksgiuing, that whereas those did represent to the Iewish people, the same effectualnesse

of

of the death of Christ, which is at this day deliuered to vs in the Supper, yet the manner of representing was diuerse. For in those, the Leuiticall Priests were commaunded to figure that which Christ should performe it: there was brought a sacrifice which shold be in the steed of Christ himselfe: there was an altar whereupon it should be offered: Finally al things were so done, y^e there was set before their eies an image of y^e sacrifice which was to beoffred to God for a satisfactorie cleansing. But since the time that the sacrifice is ended, the Lorde hath appointed to vs an other order: namely that it should conuey to the faithfull people the fruite of the sacrifice offered to him by the sonne. Therefore hee hath giuen vs a table whereat wee shoulde eate, not an altar whereupon sacrifice shoulde be offered: hee hath not consecrated priestes to sacrifice, but ministers to distribute the holy banquet. Howe much more hie and holie the mysterie is, so much more religiously & 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 truely if wee consider that it is the Supper of the Lorde and not of men, there is no cause why we should suffer our selues to bee remooued one heire breadth from it by any authoritie of men or prescription of yeares. Therefore when the Apostle minded to cleanse it from all all faultes which had alreadie crept into the Church of the Corinthians, hee vseth the readiest way thereunto, that is, he calleth it bycke to the onely institution of it, from whence he sheweth that a perpetuall rule ought to be fetched.

1. Cor. 11, 20

13 Nowe least any wrangler, shoulde stirre vs vp strife by reason of the names of sacrifice and sacrificing priest, I will also declare, but yet breesely what in the whole discourse I haue meant by a sacrifice, and what by a sacrificing priest. Whofo stretche the worde sacrifice to all holy Ceremonies and doinges of religion, I see not by what reason they doe it. We doe knowe that by the continuall vse of y^e scripture a sacrifice is called that which the Greekes call sometime Thusia, sometime Prosphora, sometime Telete. Which being generally taken comprehendeth whatsoever 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 Lorde willed to represent to his people the whole trueth of sacrifices. Of those although there were diuerse formes, yet they may all bee referred to two sortes. For either there was oblation made for sinne after a certayne manner 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 thankesgiuing, to testifie thankfulness of minde for benefites receiued: sometime onely for an exercise of godlinesse, to renewe the stablishing of the couenaunt: to which latter sort pertained burnt offeringes, drinke offeringes, oblations, first frutes, and peace offeringes Wherefore let vs also diuide ours into two kindes: and for teachinges 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

fice of Thanksgiuing : forasmuch as it is giuen to God of none but of them that being loden with immeasurable benefites, do render to him themselues with all their doinges. The other may be called propitiatorie 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 filthy spots of them, and restored into puritie of righteousness, may returne into fauour with God himselfe. So in the lawe those were called sacrifices that were offered for the purging of sinnes: Exo. 29. 39 not for that they were sufficient to recouer 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 effectualnesse and force of that one sacrifice which Christ hath fully done, is eternall, as he himselfe hath testified with his owne mouth, when he sayd that it was ended and fulfilled: that is to say, Ioh. 19. 30 that whatsoeuer was necessary to the reconciling of the Fathers fauor, to the obteyning of the forgiuenesse of sinnes, to righteousness and to saluation, all the same was performed and fulfilled with that his onely oblation, and there so nothing wanted therof, that there was afterward no place left to any other sacrifice.

14 Wherefore I determine, that it is a most wicked reproch, & blasphemy not to be suffred, as well against Christ as against the sacrifice which hee 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 righteousness. But what is else done by Massing, but that by deserting of new oblation we may be made partakers of the passion of Christ. And, y^e there might bee no measure of madding, they thought it but a small thing to saye that there is made indifferently a common sacrifice for the whole Church, vnlesse they further sayd that it is in their choise to apply it peculiarly to this man or that man to whō they would, or rather to euery one who-soeuer he were that would buy for himselfe such ware with ready money. Now because they could not reach to the price that Iudas had, yet that they might in some maner resemble their author, they kept the likeness of number, Iudas sold him for thirtie siluer pence : these fellowes sell him, after the French account, for thirtie brassen pence: but Iudas sold him once, these fellowes sell him as oft as they can finde a buier. In this sense also we denie that they bee sacrificing priestes, that is to say, they y^e with such an oblation are meanes to God for the people, they y^e appeasing God, may purchase the satisfactorie purging of sinnes. For Christ is the onely Bishop & sacrificing priest of the new Testament, into whom all Priesthoodes are remoued, & in whom they be shut vp and ended. And if the Scripture had made no mention of the eternal Priesthoode of Christ: yet for forasmuch as God, since that he hath taken away those old Priesthoods, hath ordeined none, y^e Apostles argument remaineth inuincible, y^e no man taketh honor 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 comon price of a masse in France is 3 karolus which make 20 deniers, about y^e value of a sterling groate. Iob. 5. 4

15 Plato hath an excellent place in his second booke of common weale. Where

Where when he entreateth of the olde maners of expiation, and laugheth to scorne the foolish confidence of euil men and wicked doers, which thought that their wicked doings were by these as by couerings hidden that y gods could not see them, and did, as if they had gotten warrat of the gods by covenant, more carelesly followe their owne lustes: hee seemeth throughly to touch the maner of satisfactorie purging of the Masse, such as is at this day in the worlde. To beguile and vndermine an other man, all men knowe to be vnlawfull. To greue widowes with wrongfull dealinges, to robbe the fatherlesse, to trouble the poore, by euill crafty meanes to catche other mens goods to themselues, with forewearinges and deceits to enter forceably into any mans possessions, to oppresse any man with violence & 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 doe them? Truly, if we rightly weye it, no other cause doeth 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 compounde with him. Then Plato proceedeth further to scorne their grosse blockishnesse, which thinke that by such satisfactorie cleansinges those peines are redeemed that otherwise they shoulde 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 been most cruell tyrantes, or most rauenous robbers, or giuen foorth to al mischieuous doings, should as though they were redeemed by this price, escape the fire of purgatorie?

16 Vnder the other kinde of sacrifice, which we haue called the sacrifice of Thankesgiuing, 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, praisinges, giunges of thanks, and what soeuer we do to the worshipping of God. All which things finally do hang vpon the greater sacrifice, whereby we are in soule and body halowed to be a holy temple to the Lorde. For neither is it enough, if our outwarde doings be applied to the obeying of him: but first our selues, and then all that is ours ought to be consecrat and dedicate to him: that whatsoeuer is in vs, may serue his glory, and may sauor of zealous endeouour to aduance it. This kinde of sacrifice tendeth nothing at all to appease the wrath of God, nothing at all to obtaine forgiuennesse of sinnes, nothing at all to deserue righteousnesse: but is occupied only in magnifying & extolling of God. For it can not be pleasant and acceptable to God, but at their handes, whom by forgiuennesse of sinnes already receiued he hath by other meanes reconciled to himselfe, and therefore acquitted them from giltinesse. But it is so necessarie for the Church, that it can not be away from it. Therefore it shalbe euerlasting, 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 prophecie, For from the rising of the sunne to the going downe thereof, great is my name among the Gentiles, and in euerie place incense shalbe offred to my name, and a cleane offering: because my name is terrible among the Gentiles, sayth the Lord: so far is it off, that we would put it away. So Paul biddeth vs to offer our bodies

a sacri-

a sacrifice liuing, holy, acceptable to God, a reasonable worshipp. Where he spake verie pithilie, when hee 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 lawe of Moses. So liberall doing of good and communicating are called sacrifices by which God is pleased. So the liberalitie of the Philippians, whereby they had releued the pouertie of Paul, is called a sacrifice of sweete smelling. So all the good workes of the faithfull are called spirituall sacrifices.

Heb. 13. 16.
Phil. 4. 18.

17 And why doe I seeke out many examples? For commonly this manner of speaking is often founde in the scriptures. Yea and while the people of God was yet holden vnder the outwarde schooling of the lawe, 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 prayer might as incense ascende into the sight of God. And Osee called giuings of thanks, the calues of lippes, which in another place Dauid calleth the sacrifices of praise. Who the Apostle himselfe following, calleth them also the sacrifices of praise, & expoundeth them the fruites of lippes confessing to his name. This kind of sacrifice the Supper of the Lorde cannot want: wherein when we declare his death and render thankesgiuing, wee doe nothing but offer the sacrifice of praise. Of this office of sacrificing, all wee Christians are called a kingly Priesthood: because by Christ wee offer to God that sacrifice of praise of which the Apostle speaketh, the fruit of lippes that confesse to his name. For neither doe we with our giftes appeare in the sight of God without an intercessor. Christ is hee, which being the mediator comming between, we offer vs and ours to the Father. Hee is our Bishoppe, which being entred into the sanctuarie of heauen, hath opened the entrie to vs. Hee is the altar, vpon which wee lay our giftes, that in him wee may bee bolde all that wee are bolde. It is hee (I say) that hath made vs a kingdome and Priests to the Father.

Psal. 141. 2.
Osee. 14. 3.
Psal. 51. 21.
Hebr. 13. 15.

1. Pet. 2. 9.

Ruel. 1. 6.

18 What remaineth, but that the blinde may see, the deafe may heare, children themselues may vnderstande. this abomination of the Masse, which being offered in a golden cup, hath made drönke the kings and peoples of the earth, from the hiest to the lowest, hath so stricken them with drowinesse and giddinesse, that being become more senselesse than bruite beasts, they haue set the whole ship of their safetic only in this deadly deuoring gulfe. Truly Satan neuer did bend himself with a stronger engine than this to assaile and vanquish the kingdome of Christ. This is the Helene, for whome the enemies of the trueth fight at this day with so great rage, so great furiousnesse, so great crueltie: and a Helene in deede, with whome 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 markettinges they vse, how vnhonest gaines they make with their massinges, with howe great rauening they fill their couetousnes. Onely I doe point vnto, and that with fewe and plaine wordes, what manner of thing is euen the verie holiest holinesse of the Masse, for which it hath

Queene Helen the Grecian harbor, cause of the warre of Troy.

deferred in certain ages past to be so honorable & to be had in so great reuerence. For, to haue these so great mysteries set out according to their worthinesse, requireth a greater worke. and I am vnwilling to mingle herewith those filthy vncleanneses 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 toppe swarmeth full of all kinde of wickednes, blasphemie, idolatrie, and sacrilege.

19 The Readers nowe haue in a maner almost all those things gathered into an abridgement, which we haue thought behoouefull to be knowne concerning these two Sacramentes; the vs: of which hath bene deliuered to the Christian Church from the beginning of the newe testament, to continue to the verie end of the worlde: namely, that Baptisme shoulde be as it were a certaine entrie into it, and an admission into faith: and the supper shoulde be as it were a continual foode, wherewith Christ spiritually feedeth the familie 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 vnderstande y they be continually fed with Christ. Beside these two as there is no other sacrament ordeist 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 mā to raise and set vp newe sacraments, he shall easily vnderstande that remembreth that which hath bene here before plainly enough declared, that is, that sacramentes 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 bin Gods counseller, that might promise vs any certaintie of his will, or assure vs, and bring vs out of care, 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 forth a signe to be a testimonie of any will or promise of his: it is he himself alone, that can by a signe giuen testifie to vs of himselfe. I will speake it more briefly, and peraduenture more grossly, but more plainly, A Sacrament can neuer be without promise of saluation. All men gathered on a heape together can of themselves promise nothing of our saluation. Therefore neither can they of themselves 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 thirde for the present time, but also not desire or looke for any to the end of the world. For where- as certaine diuerse sacramentes, beside those their ordinatie ones, were giuen to the Iewes, according to the diuerse course of times, as Manna, Water springing out of the rocke, the Brasen serpent and such other: they were by this change put in minde that they shoulde not stay vpon such figures, whose state was not verie stedfast: but that they shoulde looke for some better thing from God, which should continue without any decaying, and without any end. But wee are in a farre other case, to whome Christ is openly shewed: in whom all the treasures of knowledge and wisdom are hidden

with

Esa 40. 13.
Rom. 11. 34.

Exo. 16. 13.
and 17. 6.
1. Cor. 10. 3.
Num. 21. 8.

Ioh. 3. 14.

with so great abundance and plentie, that either to hope for or looke for any newe encrease to these treasures, is verily to moue God to wrath, and to pro- uoke him against vs. Wee must hunger for, seeke, looke vppon, learne, and throughly learne Christ alone, vntill that great day shall appeare, wherein the Lord shall openly shewe to the full the glorie of his kingdome, and him- selfe 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 dayes, the last times, that no man should deceiue himselfe with vaine looking for any new doctrine or reuelation. For many times & in many sorts he spake before of his prophets: in these last dayes the heauenly Father hath spoken in his beloued Sonne, which onely can manifestly shewe the Father: and in deede he hath mani- festly shewed him to the full, so much as behoueth vs, while we now beholde him by a glasse. As therefore this is nowe taken away from men, that they cannot make newe Sacraments in the Church of God: so it were to be wis- shed, that as litle 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 lumpe of doae 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 natu- rall purenesse, as they be handled at this day. There is echwhere too much of pompes, ceremonies, and gesturings: but of the worde of God in y meane time there is neither any consideration nor mention, without which euen the Sacraments themselues are not Sacramentes. Yea and the verie cere- monies that are ordeined of God, in so great a rout cannot once lift vp their head, but lie as it were oppressed. Howe litle is that seene in baptisme, which onely ought there to haue shined and beene looked vpon, as wee haue in an- other place rightfully complained, euen baptisme it selfe: As for the Supper, it is vtterly buried, since that it hath been turned into the Masse, sauing that it is seene once every yeare but in a mangled and halfe torne fashion.

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 falsly named Sacraments: where is declared, that the other five which haue beene hitherto commonly taken for Sacraments, are not Sacraments: and then is shewed what manner of things they be.

OVr former discourse concerning Sacraments might haue obtained this with the sober and willing to learne, that they shoulde not ouer curi- ously proceede any further, nor shoulde without the worde of God embrace any other Sacramentes beside those two which they knewe to be ordeined of the Lorde. But forasmuch as that opinion of the seuen Sacraments, be- ing commonly vsed in all mens talke, hauing wandered through al schooles and preachings, hath by very auncientie gathered rootes, and is yet still settled in the mindes of men: I thought that I should do a thing worth the trauel, if I shoulde severally and more neerly search those other five that are commonly adnumbred among the true and naturall Sacraments of the

Lord, and wiping away al deceitful colour, should set them forth to be seene of the simple such as they be, and how falsely they haue beene hitherto také 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 struing, but that I am by weightie causes led to fight against the abuse of it. I am not ignorant that Christians are Lords, as of words, so of all things also, & therefore may at their will apply words to thinges, so that a godly sense bee kept, although there be some vnpropernesse in the speaking. All this I graunt: although it were better that the wordes should be made subiect to thinges, than thinges to the wordes. But in the name of Sacrament there is another consideration. For they which make seuen Sacraments, do 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 righteousness, causes of the obtaining of grace. Yea and the Master of the sentences himselve denyeth that the Sacraments of the lawe 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 Lorde hath hallowed with his owne mouth, which he hath garnished with excellent promises, should not bee accounted for Sacramentes: and in the meane time this honour shoulde bee conueyed away to those vsages which men either haue deuised of themselues, or at least doe obserue without expresse commandement of God? Therefore either let them chage the definition, or let them absteyne from the wrongful vsing of this word, which doth afterward engender false opinions & full of absurditie. Extreme annoynting (say they) is a figure and cause of inuisible grace, because it is a Sacrament. If wee ought in no wise to graunt that which they gather vpon it, then truly we must resist them in the name it selfe, least therby we admit that it may giue occasion to such an errour. Againe when they would prooue it to be a Sacrament, they adde this cause, for that it consisteth of the outwarde signe and the word. If we finde neither commaundement nor promise of it, what can we do else but crie out against them?

2 Now appeareth that we brawle not about the worde, but do moue a controuersie not superfluous concerning the thing it selfe. Therefore this we must strongly hold fast, which we haue with inuincible reaso before confirmed, that the power to institute a Sacrament is in the hande of none but of God only. For a Sacrament ought with a certaine promise to raise vp and comfort the consciences of the faithfull: which could neuer receiue this certaintie from man. A sacrament ought to bee to vs a witnessing of the good will of God toward vs, whereof none of all men or Angels can be witnes, for asmuch as none hath bene of Gods counsel. Therefore it is he alone which doth with right authoritie testifie of himselfe to vs by his word. A sacrament is a seale, wherewith the testament or promise of God is sealed. But it coulde not be sealed with bodily thinges and elements of this world, vnlesse they be by the power of God framed and appointed thereunto. Therefore man can not ordaine a Sacrament, because this is not in the power of man, to make that so great mysteries of God should lye hidden vnder so base thinges. The worde of God must go before, which may make a Sacrament to be a Sacrament,

ment, as Augustine verie well teacheth. Moreover it is profitable that there be kept some difference betweene the Sacramentes and other ceremonies, vnlesse we will fall into many absurdities. The Apostles prayed kneeling: therefore men shall not kneele without a Sacrament. It is said that the disciples prayed toward the East: therefore the looking into the East shall be a Sacrament. Paul willeth men in euery place to lift vp pure handes, and it is rehearsed that holy men often times prayed with their hands lifted vp: then let the lifting vp of hands also be made a Sacrament. Finally let al y gestures of the holy ones turne into Sacraments. Howbeit I wold not also much passe vpon these things, if so that they were not ioyned with those other greater discommodities.

Hem. in Ion.
80.
Act. 19. 40.
and 10. 3 6.

1. Tim. 2. 8.

3 If they will presse vs with the authoritie of the old Church, I say that they pretende a false colour. For this number of seuen is no where founde among the Ecclesiasticall writers: neither is it certaine at what time it first crept in. I graunt in deede that sometime they be verie free in vsing the name of a sacrament: but what meane they thereby? euen all ceremonies & outwarde rites, and all exercises of godlinesse. But when they speake of those signes that ought to be witnesses of the grace of God toward vs, they are contented with these two, Baptisme, & the Supper. Least any man shoulde thinke that I falsly boast of this, I wil here rehearse a fewe testimonies of Augustine. To Ianuarius he saith, First I would haue thee to hold fast y which is the chiefe point of this disputation, that our Lord Christ (as he himselke saith in the Gospel) 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 verie few in number, verie easie in obseruing, verie excellent in signification. As are Baptisme hallowed in the name of the Trinitie, and the Communicating of the body & bloud of the Lorde, & whatsoeuer else it set forth in the Canonical Scriptures. Again, in his booke of Christian doctrine, Since the Lords resurrection, the Lord himself & the doctrine of the Apostles hath deliuered certaine fewe 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 bloud of the Lorde. Why doth he here make no mention of the holy number, that is, of the number of seuen? Is it likely that hee woulde haue passed it ouer, if it had bene at that time ordeined 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: doeth hee not sufficiently signifie, that these two mysteries do excell in singular dignitie, and that the other ceremonies doe rest beneath in a lower degree? Wherefore I saye that these Sacramentarie Doctors are destitute not onely of the worde of the Lorde, but also of the consent of the olde Church, howe much soeuer they glorie of this pretence. But nowe let vs come downe to the speciall things themselues.

Epist. 118.

Lib. 3. cap. 9

Of Confirmation.

4 This was the maner in olde time, that the children of Christians, whē they were growen to age of discretion, should be brought before the bishop: that they shoulde fulfill that duetic which was required of those that beeing

grown in yeares did offer themselues to baptisme. For these sate among those that were to be catechised, til 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 ende of their childhood or in the beginning of their yeeres of discretion presented againe by their parents, and were examined of the Bishop according to the forme of the Catechisme, which they had then certaine & 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 handes. So that same childe, his faith being allowed, was let go with solemne blessing. The olde writers doe oft make mention of this maner. Leo the Pope writeth: If any returne from Heretikes, let him not be baptised againe: but (which he wanted among the Heretikes) let the vertue of the Spirit be giuen him by the Bishops laying on of his handes. Here our aduersaries will crie out, that it is rightfully called a Sacrament, in which the holy Ghost is giuen; but Leo himselve doeth in another place declare what he meaneth by those wordes: Who so (sayth hee) is baptised among heretikes, let him not be rebaptised, but with calling vpon the holy Ghost, let him be confirmed with laying on of handes: because he receiued onely the forme of baptisme without sanctifying. Hierome also maketh mention of it, writing against the Luciferians. But although I doe not deny that Hierom somewhat erreth therein, for that hee sayeth that it is an obseruation of the Apostles: yet he is most farre from these mens follies. And the verie same also he qualifieth, when he addeth, that this blessing is giuen to the bishops onely, rather in honor of their priesthod than by the necessitie of lawe. Therefore such laying on of hands, which is done simply in steede of blessing, I praise and would that it were at this day restored to the pure vse thereof.

§ But the later age hauing in a manner blotted out the thing it selfe, hath set I wote 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 his forme of wordes, I signe thee with the signe of the holy crosse, and confirme thee with the chresme of saluation, in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost. All this is gaily and trimly done. But where is the word of God, that may promise here the presence of the holy Ghost? They cannot bring foorth one title. Whereby then will they certifie vs, that their chresme is the vessel of the holy Ghost? We see oyle, that is, a thicke and fat liquor & nothing else. Let the worde (saith Augustine) bee added to the element, & there shalbe made a Sacrament. Let them (I say) bring foorth this worde, if they will haue vs in the oyle to looke vppon any thing but the oyle. If they did acknowledge themselues ministers of the Sacramentes, as they ought, we needed to striue no longer. This is the first law of a minister, that he do nothing without commaundement. Go to, let them bring foorth any

Epi. 39.

Epi. 77.

commaundement of this point of ministerie, & I will not speake one worde more. If they haue no commaundement, they cannot excuse their boldnesse full of sacrilege. After this maner the Lord asked the Pharisees, whether the baptisme of Iohn were from heauen or from men: if they had answered, frō 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 lest they should too much slander Iohn, they durst not confesse that it was from men. If therefore Confirmation be from men, it is proued to be vaine and trifling: if they will persuaue vs that it is from heauen, let them proue it.

6 They do in deede defend themselves with the example of the Apostles, whome they thinke to haue done nothing rashly. That is wel in deede: neither would we blame them, if they shewed themselves followers of the Apostles. But what did the Apostles? Luke reporteth in the Actes, that the Apostles which were at Hierusalem, when they heard that Samaria had receiued the worde 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 laid their hands vpon them: by which laying on, the Samaritans receiued the holy Ghost. And of this laying on of hands he diuerse times maketh mention. I heare what the Apostles did: that is, they faithfully executed their ministerie. The Lord willed that those visible and wonderfull 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 handes. But vnder this laying on of handes: I thinke there was not contained any hier mysterie: but I expound it, that they adioyned such a ceremonie, that by the verie outward doing they might signifie, that they commended and as it were offred to God him vpon whome they laid their hāds. If this ministerie which the Apostles then executed, were yet stil remaining in the Church, the laying on of hands also ought to be kept. But since that same grace hath ceased to be giuen, whereto serueth the laying on of hāds? Truly the holy Ghost is yet present with the people of God, without whom being guider & director, the Church of God cannot stand. For we haue the eternall promise & which shal euer stand in force, by which Christ calleth to himselfe them that thirst, that they may drinke liuing waters. But those miracles of powers, & manifest workings, which were distributed by the laying on of hands, haue ceased, neither behoued it that they shoulde bee, but for a time. For it behoued that the preaching of the Gospel while it was newe, should be gloriously set forth & 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 & the dignitie of his worde was excellently enough disclosed. In what point therefore will these stageplayers say that they folow the Apostles? They shoulde haue done it with laying on of hands, that the euident power of the holy Ghost might by and by shewe forth it selfe. This 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 another end?

7 This hath like reason as if a man should teach that y^e breathing wherewith the Lord breathed vpon his disciples, is a Sacrament whereby the holy Ghost is giuen. But whereas the Lord did this once, hee did not also will y^e we should do the same. After the same maner also the Apostles laid 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 only playe like & without the thing in deede counterfait an emptie & cold signe, as these apes do. But if they prooue that in laying on of hands they follow the Apostles, (wherein they haue no like thing with the Apostles, sauing I wote not what ouerthwart wrongfull counterfaiting) yet whence commeth 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 the elements of this world, which condemneth nothing more than the sticking to such pety obseruations? But this I boldly pronounce, not of my selfe, but from the Lorde. Who so call oyle the oyle of saluation, they forswear the saluation which is in Christ, they denie 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: do you measure with the same measure, the water wherewith we be baptised, and the bread & wine vnder which the Supper of the Lord is giuen? I answer that in Sacramentes 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 worde of God printed in it, wherein lyeth the whole strength. In respect therefore that the bread, wine, and water that are in the Sacramentes offered to our sight, doe keepe their own substance, this saying of Paul alway hath place, Meate for the belly, and the belly for meates: God that destroy them both. For they passe and vanish away with the fashion of this worlde. But in respect that they be sanctified by the word of God, that they may be Sacraments, they do not hold vs in the flesh, but do truely and spirituallly teach ys.

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 denie 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 parteners of his resurrection? But this fellowship with the death & life of Christ Paul expoundeth to be the mortifying of our flesh, and quickning of our Spirit: for that our old 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 worde of God: why did they not yet at least reuerence y^e Church, to whom they will in euery point seeme so obedient? But what can bee brought forth more strong against their doctrine, than y^e decree of the Milcuitane council? Who so saith

that

Ioh. 20. 22.

Gal. 4. 9.
Col. 2. 20.

1. Cor. 6. 13.

Rom. 6. 4.

that baptisme is giuen only for forgiueneſſe of ſinnes, and not for a helpe of grace to come, accuſed be he. But whereas Luke, in the place which wee haue alleged, ſaith that they were baptiſed in the name of Ieſus Chriſt, which had not receiued the holy Ghoſt: he doeth not ſimply denie that they were endued with any gift of the holy Ghoſt, which beleeued in Chriſt with hart, and confeſſed him with mouth: but meaneth of that receiuing of the holy Ghoſt, whereby the open powers and viſible graces were receiued. So is it ſaide that the Apoſtles receiued the Spirit on the day of Pentecoſt, whereas it had bin long before ſayde vnto them of Chriſt, it is not you that ſpeake, but the Spirit of my Father which ſpeaketh in you. Behold al ye that are of God, the malicious and poiſonous deceite of Sathan. That thing which was truly giuen in baptiſme, hee lyingly ſayth to be giuen in his confirmation, that he may by ſtealth leade you vnto from baptiſme. Who now can dout that this is the doctrine of Satan, which cutting away from baptiſme the promiſes properly belonging to baptiſme, doth conuey away and remoue them, to another thing? It is found (I ſay) vpon what maner 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 giſtes. The word of the anointers is, that they receiued in baptiſme no promiſe, by which they may be armed in battails. That is the voyce of truth, therfore this muſt be y^e voyce of lying. Therfore I can more truly define this confirmation than they haue hitherto defined it: namely, y^e it is a notable ſlander of baptiſme, which darkeneth, yea abolitheth the vſe therof: that it is a falſe promiſe of the deuill, which draweth vs away from the truth of God. Or, if you wil, it is oyle defiled with the lying of the deuill, which as it were by ouerſpreading of darkeneſſe 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 founde full Chriſtians: becauſe he ſhal neuer be a Chriſtian, y^e is not chreſmed with the biſhoppes Confirmation. Theſe be their owne ſayings worde for worde. But I had thought y^e whatſoever things pertained to Chriſtianitie, were all ſet forth 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 wiſedome of God, the heauenly trueth, the whole doctrine of Chriſt, doth but begin Chriſtians, and oyle maketh them perfect. By this ſentence are damned all the Apoſtles, and ſo many Martyrs, whome it is moſt certaine to haue neuer bene chreſmed: forasmuch as the oyle was not yet made, which beeing poured vpon them, they might fulfil al y^e parts of chriſtianity, or rather might be made Chriſtians which yet were none. But, though I holde my peace, they doe largely confute themſelues. For howe many of the number of their owne people doe they anoint after baptiſme? why therefore doe they ſuffer ſuch halfe chriſtians in their flocke, whoſe imperfection might eaſily bee holpen? Why doe they with ſo careleſſe negligence ſuffer the to omit that which was not lawfull to be omitted without greuous offence? Why do they not more ſeuerely call vpon the keeping of a thing ſo neceſſarie, and without which ſaluatioⁿ can not be obtained, vnleſſe peraduente ſome be prevented by death? Verily

Act. 8. 26

Act. 2. 4

Gal. 3. 27.
De confe.
diſt. 5. ca. 5.Verba. cap. 10.
de Conſec.
diſt. 5. cont.
aurel. cap.
v^e Ieiuni.

when they so freely suffer it to be despised, they secretly confesse that it is not of so great value as they boast it.

IO Last of all they determine that this holy anointing is to bee had in greater reuerence than baptisme: because this anointing is peculiarly ministered by the hands of the chiefe bishops, but baptisme is commonly distributed by euery Priest. What may a man here say, but y they are vtterly mad, which so flatter their owne inuentions, that in cōparison of the m they carelesly despise the holy ordinances of God? O mouth that robbest God, darrest 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 worde of God? But thy wickednes accounted this but a smal matter, vnlesse thou didst also prefer it about the same. These be the answeres of the holy sea, these be the Oracles of the Apostolike trestle. But some of them, euen in their owne opinion, begonne somewhat to qualifie this vnbridled madnesse. It is (say they) to be worshipped with greater reuerence: peradventure not for the greater vertue and profit y it giueth: but because it is giuen of the worthier men, & 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 auaille more to forgiveness. 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 admitte, that Confirmation bee called the worthier by reason of the worthinesse of the Bishops hand. But if a man aske of them, from whence so great prerogatiue hath bene giuen to Bishoppes, what reason will they bring beside their owne lust? The Apostles alone vsed that power, which alone distributed the holy Ghost. Are the bishoppes 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 bishoppes alone ought to touch the Sacrament of the bloud in the Supper of the Worde: which they therefore deny to laymen, 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 priestes: but now y giddines of their head carrieth them an other way, suddenly to create them bishops. Finally Ananias was no Apostle, to whō yet Paul was sent, that he should receiue his sight, be baptised, and be filled with the holy Ghost. I wil adde this also to the heape: If by the law of God this was the proper office of bishops, why haue they bin so bold to giue it away to common priestes? as we read in a certaine epistle of Gregorie.

II As for their other reason; how trifling, fonde, and foolish is it, to call their confirmation worthier than the baptisme of God, because in it the forehead is annointed with oyle, and in baptisme the hinder part of the head, although baptisme were done with the oyle and not with the water? I call the godly to witness, whether these losels doe not endeouour themselues to this onely ende, to corrupt the purenesse of the Sacraments with their leauen. I haue already spoken this in an other place, that in the Sacraments, y which is of G O D, scarcely glimmereth through at holes, among the rout of the inuentions of men. If any man did not beleeue me therein, lette him nowe

Cap. de his
vero, Dist.
eadem.

Trestle,
Apollo
among
the Heathen
gaue an-
sweres and
prophecies
at a three-
footed bord
or trestle.

Li. 4. Sentē.
Dist. 7. cap. 2.

Act. 19. 17.

Dist. 19. cap.
Beruenit.

at least beleeue his owne maisters. Loe passing ouer the water, and making no account of it, they highly esteeme the onely oyle in baptisme. Wee therefore on the contrary side doe say, that in baptisme the foreheade also is dipped in water. In comparison of this, wee esteeme not your oyle worth one peece of dong, whether it be in baptisme or in confirmation. If any alleage that it is solde 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 vngodlines, while they prate that in confirmation is giuen a greater increase of vertues than in baptisme. By the laying on of handes the Apottles distributed the visible graces of the Spirite. In what thing doe these mens fat liquor shewe it selfe fruitefull? But away with these qualifiers, that couer one sacriledge with manie sacrileges. It is like the Gordian: which it is better to breake in sunder, than to labour so much in vndoing it.

12 But nowe when they see themselues destitute of the worde of God & probable reason, they pretende as they are wont, that it is a most auncient obseruation and stablished by consent of many ages. Although y were true, yet they winne nothing thereby. A Sacrament is not from the earth, but fro 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 no where reckon moe sacraments than two? If a foretresse of our faith were to be sought from men, we haue an inuincible tower, that the old fathers neuer acknowledged those for sacraments which these men do lyingly faine 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 prayer. Neither let them here barke againste 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 reconciliation. The booke remaineth and is abroad in the hands of men. If I wrest it to any other sense than Augustine himselve 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 handes sufficeth, that by the bonde of peace the Lord may giue them the holy Ghost. But for asmuch as it might seeme an absurditie, that the laying on of handes 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 prayer vpon a man? And y this is his meaning appeareth by an other place, where he saith: Hand is laid vpon heretikes and mended, for the coupling of Charitie, which is the greatest gift of the Holy ghost, without which whatfoeuer holy things are in man they auaille not to saluation.

Liber. 2. de
bap. contra
Donat. c. 16

Lib. 5. ca. 23

13 But I would to God we did keepe still the manner which I haue saide to haue bin 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 faine, which cannot once be named without iniury to baptisme: but a catechising,

wherby children or they that were neere to the age of discretion did declare an accompt of their faith before the Church. But it shoulde be the best manner of Catechising, if a forme were written to that vse, containing and familiarly setting out a summe in a manner of all the articles of our religion, in which y^e whole Church of the faithful ought without controuersie to agree: that a childe being ten yeres old should offer himselfe to the Church to declare a confession of his faith, shoulde be examined of euery article, and answer to euery one: if he were ignorant of any thing, or did not vnderstande it, he might be taught. So shoulde he, before the Church witnessing and beholding it, professe the onely, true, and pure faith; wherewith the people of the faithful doth with one mind worship the one God. If this discipline were at this day in force, truly the slouthfulnesse of some parentes would be whetted, who doe carelesly neglect y^e 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, & not so great ignorance and rudenesse of many: some should not be so rashly caried away with new and strange doctrines: finally al should haue as it were a certaine orderlie instruction of Christian learning.

Of Penance,

14 In the next place they set Penance, of which they intreate so confusedly & disorderedly, that consciences cannot beare away no sure or sounde thing of their doctrine. We haue already in an other place declared at large, what we haue learned out of the scriptures concerning repentance, & then what they also teach of it. Nowe we haue this onely to touch, what reason they had y^e raised vp the opinion, which hath heretofore raigned in Churches and schooles, that it is a sacrament. But first I will briefly say somewhat of the vsage of the old Church, the pretence whereof they haue abused to stablish their fained inuention. This order they kepte in publike penance, y^e they which had fully done the satisfactions enioyned them, were reconciled with solemne laying on of hands. That was the signe of absolution, wherby both the sinner himselfe was raised vp before God with trust of pardon, & the Church was admonished gently to receiue him into fauor, putting away the remembrance of his offence. This Cyprian ostentimes calleth, to giue peace. That this doing might bee of great dignitie, and haue more commendation among the people, it was ordeyned that the Bishops authoritie shold alway be vsed for y^e meane herein. From hence came y^e decree of the second council at Carthage: Be it not lawful to a priest at the Masse publikely to reconcile a penitent. And another decree of the council at Arausiu, 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 recouer of their sickenesse let them stand in the degree of penitentes, and 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 council at Carthage: Let not the priest without the authoritie of the bishop, reconcile a penitent. Al these tended to this end, y^e the seueritie which they would haue to be vsed in y^e behalfe, should not with too much lenitie grow to decay. There-
fore

Epi. li. t. ca. 2

Cap. 33.

fore they willed the bishop to be iudge of it, which was likely y^e hee would bee more circumspect in the examinatioⁿ thereof. Howbeit Cyprian in a certtain 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 & the clergie, they receiue power to partake of the communion. Afterward by pro- cesse of time it came to this point, that beside publike penance they vsed this ceremonie also in priuate absolutions. Hereupon came that distinction in Gratian betweene 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 disallowe it, or at least speake more sharply against it, yet I thinke it to be lesse necessaric. Howsoeuer it be, yet we see that the lay- ing on of hands in penāce is a ceremonie ordeined of mē, not of God, which is to be set among meane things & outward exercises: & those verily which are not to be despised, but which ought to be in a lower degree, than those y^e are commended vnto vs by the worde of the Lord.

Decret. 26.
quæst. 6.

15 But the Romanistes and the schoolemen, (which haue an ordinary custome to corrupt all things with wrong expounding them) doe here verie carefully traueil in finding out a sacrament. Neither ought it to seeme any maruell, for they seeke a knot in a rushe. But where they haue it best, they leaue a thing entangled in suspense, vncertaine, and confounded and trou- bled with diuersitie of opinions. They say therefore either that the outwarde penance is a sacrament, and if it be so, that it ought to bee taken for a signe of the inwarde penance, that is, of the contrition of hearte, which shall be the thing of the Sacrament: or that they both together are a Sacra- ment, not two Sacramentes, but one ful one. But, that the outward penance is onely the sacrament: the inwarde is both the thing and the Sacrament: & that the forgiueneesse of sinnes is the thing and not the Sacrament. Let them which keepe in remembrance the definition of a Sacrament which we haue aboue set, examine thereby that which these men call a Sacrament, & they shall finde that it is not an outwarde ceremonie ordeined of the Lorde for the confirming of our faith. If they cauill that my definition is not a lawe which they neede to obey: let them heare Augustine, whom they saie that they esteeme as most holy. Visible Sacramentes (saith hee) were ordeined for carnall mens sakes, that by degrees of sacramentes they may be conuei- ed from those things that are seene with eyes to those things that are vnder- standed. What like thing doe either they themselues see, or can they shewe to other in that which they call the sacrament of Penance? The same Augustine saith in an other 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 do these things in any wise agree with the Sacrament of pe- nance, such as they saie it, where there is no bodily forme that may repre- sent a spirituall fruit.

Li. 4. Senten.
dist. 12. ca. 2

Lib. 3. quæ
vet. testam.

Sermone de
bap. infant.

16 And, to kill these beastes vpon their owne fighting place, if there be any sacrament here to be sought, may it not be much more colourably said y^e the

the absolution of the priest is a sacrament, than penance either inwarde or outward? For it might redily be said, that it is a ceremonie to assure our faith of the forgiuenesse of sinnes, and hath a promise of the keyes as they call it, Whatsoeuer ye shall binde or loose vpon earth, shall be bound or loosed in heauen. But some man would haue obiected, that the most part of them y^e are absolved of the Priestess, obteine no such thing by such absolution: where as by their doctrine the Sacramentes of the newe law ought to worke indeed y^e 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 y^e absolution is receiued two waies? Yet coulde I not hicherto vnderstande what they meant with this their doctrine, which we haue already taught how farre it disagreeeth from the truth of God, whē we purposely intreated of that argument. Here my mind is onely to shewe, that this doubt withstandeth not, but that they may call the absolution of y^e priest a Sacrament. For they might aunswere by the mouth of Augustine y^e sanctification is without the visible Sacramēt, & the visible sacrament with out inwarde sanctification. Againe, that the sacramentes doe worke in the onely elect that which they figure. Againe, that some doe put on Christ so far as to the partaking of the Sacrament, other some to sanctification: the one, the good and euill egally doe: this other, the good onely. Truely they haue more than childishly erred and be blinded in the cleare sunne, which trauelling with great hardnesse, yet espied not a thing so plaine and open to euery man.

17 Yet least they shoulde waxe too proude, 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. Agayne, because whatsoeuer ceremonie is here shewed forth, it is the meere inuention of men: whereas we haue alreadie proued y^e the ceremonies of Sacraments cannot be ordeined but of God. Therefore it was a lie and decite 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 shipwrecke: because if a man haue by sinning marred y^e garment of innocencie which he receiued in baptisme, hee may by penance repaire it. But it is y^e saying of Hierom. Whose soeuer it be, it cannot be excused but y^e it is vtterly wicked if it bee expounded after their meaning. As though baptisme be blotted out by sinne, and is not rather to be called to remembrance of euery sinner, so oft as he thinketh of the forgiuenesse of sinne, that he may therby gather vp himselfe, and recouer courage, and strengthen his faith, that he shall obteine the forgiuenesse of sins 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 expositours draw to their wickednesse. Therefore you shall most fitly 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 bee our deuise, beside this y^e it agreeth with

the

Lib. 3. que
vet. Testam.
De bap. par.
Liber. 5.
de bap. cōtr.
Donat.

Lib. 4. Sent.
dist. 14. ca. 1.
De peni. dist.
1. cap. 2.

the wordes of the Scripture, it appeareth that it was in the old Church commonly spoken like a most certaine principle. For in the booke of Faith to Peter, which is sayd to be Augustines, it is called the Sacrament of Faith and of penance. And why see we to vncertain sayings? As though we could require any thing more plaine, than that which the Euangelist reciteth: that Iohn preached the baptisme of repentance vnto forgiveness of sinnes?

Decret. 15.
quæ. 1. cap.
firmissime.
Mar. 1. 4.
Luk. 3. 3.

Of extreme unction as they call it.

18 The third sained Sacrament is extreme unction, which is not done but of the priest, and y^e in extremes, (so they terme it) & with oyle consecrate of the bishop, and with this form: By this holy anointing, & by his most kind mercy, God pardō thee whatsoeuer thou hast offended by seeing, by hearing, by smelling, feeling, tasting. They saie y^e there be two. vertues of it, the forgiveness of sins, and ease of bodily sicknes if it be so expedient: if not, the saluation of the soule. They say that the institution of it is set of Iames, whose wordes 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 oyle in the name of the Lord: & the prayer of Faith shall saue the sicke man, and the Lorde shall raise him vp: and if he be in sins, they shalbe forgiven him. Of the same sort is this anointing, of which wee haue aboue shewed that the other laying on of handes is, namely a playe like hypocrisie, wherby without reason & 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 Lorde, raised vp dead men, cast out deuils, cleansed leprous men, healed the sicke, and y^e in healing of the sicke they vsed oyle. They annointed (saith he) many sicke men with oyle, and they were healed. Hereunto Iames had respect, when hee commaunded the Elders to be called together to anoint the sicke man. That vnder such Ceremonies is contained no hier mystery, they shall easily iudge which marke how great liberty the Lord and his Apostles vsed in these outward thinges. The Lord going about to restore sight to the blinde man, made cley of dust & spittle, some he healed with touching, other some with his word. After the same maner the Apostles healed some diseases with y^e word only, some with touching, other some with anointing. But it is likly that this anointing was not (as a) other things also were not) causelessly put in vre. I grant: yet not that it should be a mean of healing, but only a signe, that the dulnes of the vnskilfull might bee put in minde from whence so great power proceded, to this ende that they should not giue the praise thereof to the Apostles. And, that the holy Ghost and his giftes are signified by oyle it is a cōmon and vsual thing. But that same grace of healinges is vanished away, like as also the other miracles, which the Lord willed to be shewed for a time, whereby he might make the newe preaching of the Gospel maruelous for euer. Therefore though wee graunt neuer so much, that annointing was a Sacrament of those powers which were then ministred by the handes of the Apostles, it nowe nothing pertaineth to vs to whom the ministratō of such powers is not committed.

Iam. 5. 14.

Mar. 6. 13.

Ioh. 9. 6.
Matt. 9. 29.
Luk. 18. 42.
Aç. 3. 6. & 5.
16. & 19. 12.
Psal. 45. 8.

19 And by what greater reason do they make a Sacrament of this anointing,

Ioh. 9. 7.

ring, than of all other signes that are rehearsed to vs in the Scripture? Why do they not appoint some Syloah to swim in, whereinto at certaine ordinarie recourses of times sicke men may plunge theselues? That (say they) should be done in vaine. Truely no more in vaine than anointing. Why doe they not lie along vpon dead men, because Paul raised vp a dead child with lying vpon him? Why is not clay made of spittle & 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 stil enioyed such blessing of God. They affirme in deed that there is yet still the same force in their anointing: but we finde it otherwise by experience. Let no mā now maruell how they haue with such boldnesse mocked soules, which they knowe to be senselesse and blinde when they are spoyled of the word 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 body. Therefore they make themselves worthy 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, & so oft as neede is he helpeth their sicknesses no lesse than in old time: but he doth not so vtter those manifest powers, nor distributeth miracles by the hands of the Apostles: because this gift both was but for a time, and also is partly fallen away by the vnthankfulness of men.

20 Therefore as not without cause the Apostles haue by the signe of oyle 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 Ghoste, which make a stinking oyle and of no force, to be his power. This is altogether like as if one would say that all oyle 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 to. 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 ordeined of God, nor hath any promise. For when we require these two things in a Sacrament, that it be a ceremonie ordeined of God, & that it haue a promise of God: we do therwithall require that the same Ceremonie be giuen to vs, and that the promise belong vnto vs. For no man doth affirme that Circumcision is nowe a Sacrament of the Christian Church, although it both was an ordinance of God, and had a promise knitte vnto it: because it was neither commaunded 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 euidently 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.

21 Howebeit although they obtaine this, that that which Iames commaundeth concerning anointing, agreeth with this age (which they are most farre from) yet euen so they shall not haue much preuailed in prouing of their vnction wherewith they haue hitherto anointed vs. Iames willeth that all sicke men bee anointed: these men infect with their fatte liquor,

not sicke men, but corpses halfe dead, when the life lieth already laboring at the toppe of their lippes, or (as they themselues tearme 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 comforte to the soule, they are too cruell that doe neuer heale in time. James willett: 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 bee Priestes, and fondly say that the plurall number is there set for comelinesse sake: that is but trifling: as though the Churches at that time abounded with swarmes of sacrificing Priestes. y they might go in a long pompous shew to carrie a pageante of holy oyle. When James simply biddeth y sicke men be annointed, I vnderstande by it none other annointing but of common oyle: & none other is founde in Markes rehearfall: These men vouchsafe to haue none other oyle, but y which is halowed 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 maner: thrise Haile holy oyle: thrise haile holy chrisme: thrise haile holy balme. Out of whome haue they sucked such coniurations: James saith: that when the sicke man is annointed with oyle, and prayer hath beene 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 y paine: not meaning that sinnes are put away with fat liquor, but that the prayers of the faithfull whereby the afflicted brother is commended to God; shall not be vaine. These men do wickedly ly, that by their holy, that is to say, abhominable anointing, sinnes are forgiuen. Lo howe gaily they shall preuaile, when they haue bin at large suffred to abuse the testimonie of James at their pleasure. And least we should neede to trauaile long in prooffe hereof, their owne chronicles do discharge vs of this hardnes. For they report that Pope Innocentius which in Augustines time gouerned the Church of Rome, ordeined that not onely Priestes, but also all Christians should vse oyle to annoint for their necessitie and others. Author hereof is Sigebert in his Chronicles.

Of Ecclesiastical Orders.

22 The fourth place in their register hath the Sacrament of Order: but the same so fruitfull, that it breadeth out of it selfe seauen litle sacramets. But this is verie worthie to be laughed at, that whereas they affirme y there bee seauen Sacramentes, when they goe about to rehearse them; they reken vpthirtene. Neither can they alleage for themselues, that they are but one Sacrament, because they tende all to one Priesthoode; 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 themselues say that there be diuerse graces: no man can doubt but that they ought to be called seuen sacraments if their opinions be receiued. And why stroue we about it as though it were a thing doubtfull, forasmuch as they themselues do plainly and seuerally declare seuen? But first we will briefly knit vp by the way, how many & howe ynfauorie absurdities they thrust in vnto vs, when they go about to comend

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 bee, dorekeepers, Readers, Exorcistes, Acoluthes or followers, Subdeacons, Deacons, Priestes. And vii. they say that they bee, for the seuenfoolde grace of the Holy Ghost, wherewith they ought to be indued that are promoted vnto them. But it is increased and more largely heaped to them in their promotion. Nowe the number it selfe is hallowed with a wrongfull expounding of scripture, when they thinke that they haue red in Esay vii. vertues of the holy Ghost, whereas both in deede Esay there rehearseth but sixe, and also the Prophete meint not to comprehend them all in that place: for hee is else where as well called the spirite of life, of sanctification, of adoption of the children, as he is in that place called the Spirite of wisdom, of vnderstanding, of counsell, of strength, of knowledge, and of the feare of the Lorde. Howbeit some sutteler men make not seauen orders, but nine, after the likeness (as they say) of the Church triumphing. But among them also there is strife: because some woulde haue the shauing of the cleargie to be the first order of all, and Bishoprike the last: other some excluding shauing altogether, reckon Archebishoprike among the orders. Isidore otherwise diuideth them. For he maketh Psalmists and Readers to be diuerse: he appointeth the Psalmists for songs, & the Readers to the reading of the Scriptures, wherwith the people may be instructed. And this distinction is kept by the Canons. In so great diuersitie what will they haue vs to followe or flee? Shall wee say that there bee seauen orders? So teacheth the maister of the schoole: but the most illuminate doctors doe otherwise determine. Againe they also disagree among themselues. Moreouer the most sacred Canons call vs an other way. Thus forsooth doe men agree, when they dispute of godly matters without the word of God.

23 But this exceedeth all follie, that in euerie one of these they make Christ fellowe with them. First (say they) hee executed the office of dorekeeper, when hee did with a whip made of cordes, driue the buiers and sellers out of the temple. Hee signifieth himselfe to be a dorekeeper, when he saith, I am the dore. Hee tooke vpon him the office of Reader, when hee red Esay in the Synagoge. Hee did the office of an Exorcist, when touching the tongue and eares of the deafe and dummie man, hee restored to him his hearing. Hee testified himselfe to be an Acoluth or follower in these wordes. Hee that followeth mee, walketh not in darkenesse. He executed the office of Subdeacon, when being girded with a linen cloth hee washed the disciples feete. Hee did beare the person of a Deacon, when hee distributed his bodie and blood in the snpper. He fulfilled the office of Prieste, when hee offered himselfe vpon the crosse a sacrifice to his Father. These thinges cannot so bee 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 suttlerie wherewith they play the Philosophers about the name of Acoluth, calling him a Ceroferar, a taper bearer with a worde (as I thinke) of Varceric, truelie such a one as was neuer heard of in all nations

Lib. 4. Sent.
dist. 34, ca. 9

Es. 11. 3.
Ezech. 1. 10.
Rom. 1. 4. &
8. 15.

The first is
opinion of
Huc, & other
of William
of Parise.
Isidor. li. 7.
Dist. 21. &
dist. 33. cap.
Lect. & cap.
Oitarius.

Iohn 2. 15.

Iohn 10. 7.
Luk. 4. 17.
Mar. 16. 33.
Ioh 8. 13.
Iohn 3. 4.
Matt. 26. 26.
Matt. 27. 50.
Eph. 5. 2.

nations and languages, whereas Acoluthos in Greeke simply signifieth a follower. Howbeit if I should earnestly tarric in confuting these menne, I should my selfe also worthily be laughed at, they are so trifling & very mockeries.

24 But that they may not be able yet still with false colours to deceiue euen very sillie 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 child or some base fellowe of the laitie, that maketh his gaine thereof? Do not the same men sing, Doe they not shut and open the Church doers? For who euer sawe in their temples an Acoluth, or a Dorekeeper executing his office? But rather hee that when he was a boy did the office of an Acoluth, whē 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 of the office when they take vpon them the tude. Beholde why they haue neede to be consecrat by Sacramentes, and to receiue the holy Ghost, namely, that they may do nothing. If they alleage for exercise, that this is the frowardnesse of times, that they forsake and neglect their ministerie: lette them therewithall confesse that there is at this day in the Church no vse nor fruit of their holy Orders, which they maruelously 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 worthy to touch but they that are consecrat Acoluthes: and because it committeth the songes 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 y^e the Iewes had their Exorcistes: 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 handes vppon mad men, them that are to bee catechised, and men possessed with deuils: but they can not perswade the deuilles that they haue such power, because y^e deuils do not onely not yelde to their commaundementes, but also vse commaunding authoritie ouer them. For a man can scarcely finde euery tenth of them, that is not ledde with an euill Spirite. Therefore whatsoeuer thinges they babble concerning their petie Orders, are patched together of foolish and vsauorie lies. Of the olde Acoluthes, and Dorekeepers, and Readers, we haue spoken in an other place, when we declared the order of the Church. Our purpose here is only to fight against that newe founde inuention of the seuenfold Sacrament in ecclesiasticall orders. Of which there is no where any thing red, but among these foolish praters the Sorbonistes and Canonistes.

A.C. 19. 13.

25 Now let vs consider of the ceremonies which they vse about it. First whosoever they receiue into their order of soldiers, they do with one common signe enter them into Clergie. For they shauie them in the crowne, that the crowne may betoken kingly dignity, because Clerkes ought to be kings, that they may rule themselves and other. For Peter speaketh thus of them, Ye

Cap Dupl.
12, 911. 10. 7

1. Pet. 2.9. 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 mē: as though it were said to them alone, be ye holy: as though they alone were purchased by y^e blood of Christ: as though they alone were by Christ made a kingdom 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 beholde the glorie of God. Or that they may be taught that the faultes of their mouth & their eyes must be cut off. Or the shauing of their head is the putting away of temporall things, and the hayrie compassse 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 beeing persuaded that they haue gaylie discharged their duties, because they haue figured such things by their crowne, of the verie thinges in deede they perfourme nothing at all. How long will they mocke vs with such false colours and deceits? The clergie by shearing of a fewe hayres doe signifie that they haue cast away the aboundance of temporall goods, that they beholde 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 senselesly dull, more lustfull. Why do they not rather truely performe holinesse, than with false & lying signes counterfait a shewe of it?

26 Moreouer when they say that the crowne of y^e Clergie hath the beginning and reason from the Nazarites: what other thing do they alleage than y^e their mysteries are sprong out of the Iewish ceremonies, or rather y^e they are in eere Iewishnesse? But whereas they further say, y^e Priscilla, Acila, & Paul himself, taking a vowe vpon them did sheare their heads, that they might be purified: they bewray their grosse ignorance. For it is no where red of Priscilla: & of Acila also it is doubtful: for y^e same shearing may as wel 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 sheare his head for any sanctification, but onely to serue the weaknesse of his brethren. I am wont to call such voves the voves of charitie not of godlinesse: that is to say, not taken in hand for any seruice of god, but to beare with the rudenesse of the weake: as he himself saith, that he was made a Iewe to the Iewes, &c. Therefore he did this, & the same but once, & for a short time, y^e he might for a time fashion himself to the Iewes. These mē when they wil without any vse counterfait the purifyings of the Nazarites, what do they else but raise vp another Iewishnesse, when they wrongfully couet to follow the old Iewishnesse? With the same religiousnesse was that decretall Epistle made, which, according to the Apostle, forbiddeth clerkes that they shoulde not suffer their haire to growe, but sheare it rounde 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 & worthinesse are those other mysteries that follow, into which there is such an entrie.

27 Whence the shearing of Clerkes tooke beginning, appeareth sufficiently euen by Augustine alone . Whereas at that time none suffred their haire to growe, but nice men, & such as coucted a smothenesse & trimnesse not meete enough for men: it seemed to be a point of no good example, if y were permitted to the clergie. Therefore Clerkes were commaunded either to sheare their head or to shaue it , that they should not beare any shewe of womanlike trimming. But this was so common, that certaine Monkes, that they might the more set out their holinesse with notable & seuerall attire from other men, did let their haire growe long. But afterwarde when the fashion turned to wearing of haire, and certaine nations were added to Christiandome which alway vsed to weare long haire, as Fraunce, Germanic, & England: it is likely that clerkes did euery where sheare their heads, least they should seeme to couet the gaineffe of haire. At the last in a corrupter age, when all olde ordinances were either peruerted or gone out of kind into superstition, because they saw no cause in the shearing of the clergie (for they had retained nothing but a foolish counterfaying) they fled to a mysterie, which now they superstitiously thrust in vnto vs for the approouing of their Sacrament. The dorekeepers 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 exorcistes receiue the formes of exorcismes, which they should vse ouer mad and them that are to be catechised. The Acolythes receiue their tapers & cruet. Lo these are y ceremonies, wherein (if God will) there is so much secret power, y they may be not only signes & tokens, but also causes of inuisible grace. For this they require by their definition, when they will haue them taken among the Sacramentes. But to make an end in few words, I say it is an absurditie that in their scholes and canons they make these lesser orders Sacraments: whereas euen by their owne confession that teach this, they were vnknownen to the primitive Church, & deuised many yeres after. For Sacraments, sith they contain the promise of God, can not be ordeined of Angels, nor of me, but of God alone, whose office alone it is to giue promise.

28 There remaine three orders, which they call the greater. Of the which, Subdeaconry (as they call it) was remoued into that number, since that the rout of the smaller ones beganne to growe. But because they seeme to haue a testimonie for these out of the worde of God, they doe peculiarly for honors sake, call them holy orders. But nowe it is to be scene, how crokedly they abuse the ordinances of God to their pretence. We will beginne at the order of Priesthoode or the sacrificers office. For by these two names they signifie one thing, and so they call them to whome they say that it pertayneth to offer vpon the altar the sacrifice of the body and bloude of Christe, to pronounce prayers, 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 handes are annointed: by which signe they are taught, that they haue power giuen them to consecrate. But of the Ceremonies we shal speak hereafter. Of the thing it self I say: it so hath no title of the worde of God which they pretende, that they coulde not more wickedly corrupt the order

Aug. de opo.
monac. in
fine. Item
in Retra&

Lib. 4. Sent.
Dist. 24. c. 8.

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 al wrong doers to Christe, which call themselves sacrificing priestes, or offer a sacrifice of appeasement. Hee was appointed and consecrate of the Father a priest with an oth, 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 al sacrificing priestes, but to praises and giuinges of thankes, finally to offer vs and ours to God. It was his singular office alone, with his offering to appease God, and to purge sinnes. When these men take that vpon them, what remaineth but that their sacrificing Priesthoode is vngodly and full of sacrilege? Truly they are too wicked, when they dare garnish it with the name of a Sacrament. As touching the true office of Priesthoode, which is commended to vs by the mouth of Christ, I willingly account it in that degree. For therein is a ceremonie, first taken out of the Scriptures, then such a one as Paul testifieth not to be vaine nor superfluous, but a faithfull signe of spirituall grace. But whereas I haue not set it for a thirde in the number of Sacramentes, I did it because it is not ordinarie and comon among all the faithfull, but a speciall rite for one certaine office. But sith this honour is giuen to the Christian ministerie, there is no cause therefore why the Popish sacrificers should be proude. For Christ commaunded distributors of his Gospell and mysteries to be ordained, not sacrificers to be consecrated. Hee gaue them commaundement to preach the Gospell and to feede the flocke, not to offer sacrifices. He promised them the grace of the holy Ghost, nor to make satisfactorie purging of sinnes, but rightly to execute and to mainteine the gouernement of the Church.

29 The ceremonies agree very well with the thing it selfe. Our Lorde when he sent forth the Apostles to preach the Gospell, did blowe vpon them. By which signe he represented the power of the holy Ghost which hee gaue vnto them. This blowing these good men haue reteined, and as though they did put forth the holy Ghost out at their throte, they whisper ouer their silly priestes that they make, Receiue the holy Ghost. So leaue they nothing which they do not ouerthwartly counterfait: I will not say like plaiers (which vse their gesturings neither without art nor without signification) but like apes, which counterfait euery thing wantonly & without any choise. We keepe (say they) the example of the Lorde. But the Lorde did many things which he willed not to be examples to vs. The Lord sayd to the disciples, Receiue the holy Ghost. He sayd also to Lazarus, Lazarus come forth. He sayd to the man sicke of the palsie, Rise and walke. Why do not they say the same to all dead men and sicke of the palsie? He shewed a profe of his diuine power, when in blowing vpon the Apostles hee filled the with the grace of the holy Ghost. If they goe about to doe the same thing, they enuiously counterfaite God, and doe in a maner chalenge him to striue with them: but they are farre from the effect, and do nothing with this foolishe gesturing but mocke Christ. Verily they be so shamelesse, that they dare affirme that they giue the holy Ghost. But how true that is, experience teacheth, which crieth

Psal. 110. 4.
Heb. 5. 6. &
7. 3.

2 Tim. 4. 14

Matt. 28. 19.
Mar. 16. 15.
John 21. 15.

John 20. 22

John 20. 22.
John 21. 42.
Matt. 9. 5.
John 5. 8.

out that so many as be consecrated priests are of horses made asses, of fooles made mad men. Neither yet do I strive with them for that: onely I condemne the ceremonie it selfe, which ought not to haue beene drawn 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 defende them.

30 But of whome receiued they the annoynting? They aunswere that they receiued it of the sonnes of Aaron, from whome their order also tooke beginning. Therefore they had rather alway to defende them selues with wrongfull examples, than to confesse that themselues haue deuised y^e 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 olde sacrificing priesthoods. In him therefore they were all contained and fulfilled, in him they ceased, as we haue sometimes teardie repeted, & the Epistle to the Hebrues without helpe of any glosses testifieth. But if they be so much delited with the ceremonies of Moses, why do they not hastily take oxen, calues, & lambes to make sacrifices? They haue in deede a good part of the old tabernacle and of the whole Iewish manner of worshipping: but yet this wanteth in their religion, that they doe not sacrifice calues and oxen. Who cannot see, that this obseruation of annoynting is much more hurtfull than Circumcision, specially when there is adioyned superstition and Pharisaiicall opinion of the worthinesse of the work? For the Iewes did set in Circumcision, trust of righteousnesse: these men do set in annoynting, spiritual graces. Therefore while they couet to bee counterfeiters of the Leuites, they are made Apostataes from Christ, and do put themselues from the office of Pastors.

31 This is (if God wil) the holy oyle that printeth the marke that can not be raced out. As though oyle could not be wiped away with dust & salt, or if it sticke faster, with sope. But this marke is spirituall. What hath oyle to do with the soule? Haue they forgotten that which they oft chaunt to vs out of Augustine, that if the worde be taken from the water, it shall be nothing but water, and that it hath this from the worde that it is a Sacrament? What word wil they shewe in their fat liquor? Will they shewe the commandement that was giuen to Moses, concerning the annoynting of the sonnes of Aaron? But there is also commaundement giuen, of the coate, the ephod, the hat, the crowne of holinesse, with which Aaron was to be garnished, and of the coates, girdles, and miters, wherewith the sonnes of Aaron were to bee clothed. There is commaundement 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 bloud of another ram, and innumerable other obseruations, which being passed ouer, I maruile why the onely annoynting of oyle pleaseth them. But if they loue to be sprinkled, why are they rather sprinkled with oyle than with bloud? Forsooth they goe about a wittie thing, to make one religion of Christianitie, Iewishnesse, and Paganisme, as it were of patches sowed together. Therefore their annoynting stinketh which is without the salt, that is, the worde of God. There remaineth laying on of

Lib. 4. Sent.
dist. 24. ca. 8
& in canon.
dist. 21, ca. 16

Exod. 30. 36

hands, which as I graunt in true and lawfull Orderings to bee a Sacrament, so I denie that it hath any part in this play, where they neither obey the commandement of Christ, nor haue respect to the end whereunto the promise ought to leade vs. If they will not haue the signe denied them, they must apply it to the thing it selfe, whereunto it is appointed.

32 About the order also of Deaconrie I woulde not striuie with them, if that same ministerie which was in the Apostles time & in the purer church, were restored to the vncorrupted state thereof. But what like thing haue they whome those men faine to be deacons? I speake not of the men (least they should complaine that the doctrine is wrongfully weyed by the faultes of the men) but I affirme that for those whome they deliuer vs by their doctrine, they vnworthily fetche 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 readie the Lordes table, and to couer it: to carrie the crosse, to pronounce and sing the Gospel and Epistle to the people. Is here any one worde of the true ministerie of Deacons? Now let vs heare the instituting of them. Vpon y Deacon that is ordered, the Bishop alone layeth his hande. He layeth a prayer booke and a Stoale vpon his left shoulder, that he may vnderstand that hee hath receiued the light yoke of the Lorde, whereby hee may subdue to the feare of God those things that pertaine to the left side. He giueth him the text of the Gospel, that he may perceiue himselfe to be a publisser of it. And what belong these things to Deacons? They do euen like as if a man woulde say that he ordeined them Apostles whome hee appointed onely to burne frankincense, to trimme the images, to sweepe the Churches, to catche mice, to driue away dogges. Who could suffer such kinde of men to be called Apostles, and to be compared with the verie Apostles of Christ? Therefore let them not hereafter lyingly say that those be Deacons, whome they institute onely for their enterludelike playes. Yea & by the very name it selfe they sufficiently declare what maner of office they haue. For they call them Leuites, and will haue their order & beginning referred to y children of Leui. Which I giue them leaue to do, so that they do not afterward garnish the with the fethers of other.

33 Of Subdeacons to what purpose is it to speake? For whereas in deed they were in old time appointed for care of the poore, they assigne to them I wote not what trifling businesse, as to bring the chalice and the patine, the litle cruet with water, and the towel to the altar, to powre water to washe hands, &c. Now whereas they speake of receiuing & bringing in of offerings, they meane those which they deuoure as abandoned to their holy vse. With this office verie well agreeth the forme of their consecrating. That he receiue of the bishop, the patine and the chalice: of the Archdeacon, the cruet with water, the manuale, 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, wee may determine the same of them y we do of the rest. Neither neede wee to

repete 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 promisor rather verily but where is a promise scene in a Ceremony. Here is not founde 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 red that any one is institute of God. Therefore here can be no Sacrament.

Of Matrimonie.

34 The last is Matrimonie, which as all men confesse to be ordeined 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 Sacramentes. For there is not onely this required in a Sacrament, that it bee the worke of God, but that it be an outwarde 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 conioying of Christ with the Church. If by this word Signe, they vnderstand a Tokē 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 which is brought to expresse a similitude, I will shew how wittily they reason. Paul sayth, As one star differeth from an other starre in brightnes, so shalbe the resurrection of the dead. Loe here is one Sacrament. Christ sayth, The kingdome of heauen is like a graine of mustardseede. Loe here is an other. Againe, The kingdome of heauen is like vnto leauen. Loe here is the third. Esay faith, Behold, the Lord shall feede his flocke as a shepheard. Loe here is the fourth. In an other place, The Lorde shall go forth as a Giant. Loe here is the fifth. Finally what end or measure shall there be? There is nothing but by this meane it shalbe a Sacrament. How many parables and similitudes are in the Scripture, so many Sacramentes there shalbe. Yea & these shalbe a Sacrament, because it is written, the day of the Lorde is like a thiefe. Who can abide these sophisters prating so foolishly? I grant in dede that so oft as we see a vine, it is very good to call to remembrance that which Christ sayth, I am a vine, ye be branches, my Father is the vinedresser. So oft as a shepheard with his flocke commeth toward vs, it is good also that this come to our minde, I am a good shepheard, my sheepe heare my voice. But if any man adde such similitudes to the number of Sacramentes, he is meete to be sent to Antycira.

1. Cor. 15. 42
Matt. 13. 33.
and 33.
Esa. 40. 11.
Esa. 42. 13.
1. Theil. 5. 2.
Iohn 15. 1.
Iohn 10. 11.

Antycira,
where groweth Hel-
lebor, a good
purgation
for phren-
tike heades.
Ephes. 5. 29.

35 But they still lay forth the wordes of Paul, in which he giueth to Matrimonie the name of a Sacrament: hee that loueth his wife, loueth himselfe. No man euer hated his owne fleshe, but nourisheth it and cherisheth it, euen as Christ doth the Church: because we are members of his bodie, of his fleshe and of his bones. For this a man shall leaue his Father and mother, and shall cleaue to his wife, and they shalbe two into 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. Paule; so

shewe to married men, what singular loue they ought to beare to their wiues, setteth fourth Christ to them for an example. For as he poured fourth the bowels of his kindnesse vpo the Church which he had espoused to himselfe: so ought euery man to be affectioned towards his owne wife. It followeth after, He that loueth his wife loueth himselfe: as Christ loued the Church. Nowe to teach howe Christe loued the Church as his selfe, yea howe hee made himselfe one with his spouse the Church, hee applieth to him those thinges which Moyses reporteth that Adam spake of himselfe. For when Eue was brought into his sight, whom he knewe to haue beene shapen out of his side: This woman (sayth hee) is a bone of my bones, and fleshe of my fleshe. Paul testifieth that all this was spiritually fulfilled in Christe and vs, when he sayeth that wee are members of his body, of his fleshe, and of his bones, yea and one fleshe with him. At length he addeth a concluding sentence, This is a great myserie. 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 spiritual marriage of Christ and the Church. And truly it is in deede a great myserie, that Christ suffered a ribbe to be taken from himselfe, whereof wee might be shapen: that is to say, whē he was strong, he willed to be weake, that we might be strengthened with his strength: that nowe wee may not our selues liue, but hee may liue in vs.

36 The name of Sacrament deceiued them. But was it rightful that the whole Church should suffer the punishment of their ignoraunce? Paul sayde Myserie: which word when the translator might haue left being not vsued with Latin eares, 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 myserie. Nowe let them go and with crying out raile against the skill of tongnes, by ignorance whereof they haue so long most fowly beene blinde in an easie matter, & such as offred it selfe to be perceiued of euery man. But why do they in this one place so earnestly sticke vpon this litle worde Sacrament, and some other times do passe it ouer vnregarded? For also in the first Epistle to Timothee the Translator hath vsed it, and in the selfe same Epistle to the Ephesians; in euery place for Myserie. But let this slipping be pardoned them: at least the liers ought to haue had a good remembrance. For, when they haue once set out Matrimonie with title of a Sacramente, afterward to call it vncleannesse, defiling, and fleshly filthinesse, how giddy lightnesse is this? Howe great an absurditie is it to debarre priestes from a Sacrament? If they denye 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 carnall copulation. Howbeit some of them haue here founde two Sacramentes: the one of God and the soule, in the betrothed man & woman: the other of Christ and the Church, in the husband and the wife. Howsoever it be, yet copulation is a Sacrament, from which it was vnlawfull that any Christian should be debarred: Vnlesse peraduenture the Sacramentes of Christians doe so ill agree, that they can not stande

Gen. 2.23.

Gal. 2.20.

1. Tim. 3.9.
Eph. 1.9.
Lib. 4. Sent.
Dist. 17. ca. 4.
& in Dec. 27
quzst. 2. cap.
Cum Socra.
glos. lex
diu. lbid.
Decret.
Lib. 4. Sent.
dist. 33. cap.
2. & in dec.
32. quzst. 2.
Quicquid.

stand together. There is also an other 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: & they deny that at copulation y^e holy Ghost is at any time present.

37 And, because they would not simply mocke the Church, howe long a roawe of errorrs, lies, deceites, and wickednesses haue they knitte to one errorr? so that a man may saye, that they did nothing but seeke a denne of abominations, when they made of matrimonie a Sacrament. For when they once obtained this, they drew to themselues y^e hearing of causes of matrimonie: for it was a spirituall matter, which prophane iudges might not medle with. Then they made lawes, whereby they stablished their tyrannie, but those partly manifestly wicked against Gad, and partly most vniust toward men. As are these: That mariages made betweene yong persons without consent of their parentes, should remaine of force and stablished. That the mariages be not lawfull betweene the kinsfolkes to the seuenth decree: and if any such be made, that they be diuorced. And the very degrees they faine against the lawes of all nations, and against the ciuile gouernment of Moses. That it be not lawfull for a man that hath put away an adulteresse, to mary 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 Midsummer, nor from Aduent to Twelfetide. And innumerable other like, which it were long to rehearse. At length wee must creepe out of their mire, wherin our talke hath now tarried longer than I would. Yet I thinke I haue somewhat profited, that I haue partly plucked the Lyons skinned from these asses.

Deut. 18. 6.

The xx. Chapter,

Of ciuill Government.

NOwe whereas we haue aboue sette two kindes of gouernment in man, and whereas we haue spoken enough of the one kinde which consisteth in the soule or in the inwarde man, and hath respecte to eternall life: this place requireth that we speake somewhat also of the other, which pertaineth onely to the ciuile and outwarde righteousnesse of manners. For the course of this matter seemeth to be seuered from the spirituall doctrine of faith, which I tooke in hande to entreate of: yet the proceeding shall shewe 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 go about to ouerthrowe this order stablished by G O D: 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 mischicues be met with al, the purenesse of faith shalbe lost. Beside that it is not smally for our behoofe, to knowe howe louingly God hath in this behalfe prouided for mankinde, that there may flourish in vs a greater desire of godlinesse to witnes our thankfulnessse. First, ere we enter into the thing it selfe, wee must holde fast that distinction which wee 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 regarde to Christ alone: they thinke that they can take no fruite of their libertie, so long as they see any power to haue preeminence ouer them. Therefore they thinke that nothing shal 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 between the body and the soule, between 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 gouernment are things farre a sunder, Sith therefore that is a Iewish vanitie, to seeke and inclose y^e kingdome of Christ vnder the elementes of this worlde: let vs rather thinking, as the scripture plainly teacheth, that it is a spirituall fruite, which is gathered of the benefite of Christ, remeber to keep within the bonds thereof this whole libertie which is promised and offered vs in him. For, what is y^e cause why the same Apostle which biddeth vs to stand, and nor to be made subiect to the yoke of bondage, in an other place forbiddeth bond seruantes to be carefull of their state: but because spiritual libertie may verie wel 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 Iewe nor Grecian, Circumcision, Vncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, Bondman, Freeman: but Christ is all in all. Whereby hee signifieth, that it maketh no matter in what estate thou be among men, nor vnder the lawes of what nation thou liuest: forasmuch as in these things consisteth not the kingdome of Christ.

2 Yet doeth not this distinction tende hereunto, that we should thinke that the whole order of policie is an vncleane thing, nor perteing at all to Christian men. So indeed do the phrentike men, that are delighted with vnbridled licentiousnesse, crie out and boast. For sith we be dead by Christe to the elementes of the worlde, and being remoued into the kingdome of God doe sit among the heauenly ones: they thinke that it is vnworthie for vs, and farre beneath our excellence, to bee occupied with these prophane and vncleane cares that are busied about affaires not perteing to a Christian man. To what purpose (say they) are lawes without iudgements and iudgement seates? But what hath a Christian man to do with iudgements themselves? yea if it bee not lawfull to kill, whereto serue lawes and iudgements among vs? But as we haue euen nowe giuen warning, that this kinde of gouernment is seuerall from that spirituall and inward kingdome of Christ: so it is also to be knowne that they nothing disagree together. For the Ciuil gouernment doeth now beginne in vs vpon earth certaine beginninges of the heauenly kingdome, and in this mortall and vanishing life, doeth as it were enter vpon an immortal and incorruptible blessednesse: but the intent of his spirituall gouernment is, so long as wee shall liue among men, to cherish and maintaine the outward worshipping of God, to defende the sounde doctrine of Godlinesse and the state of the Church, to frame our life to the fel-

Gal. 5. 6.
1. Cor. 7. 21.

Gal. 3. 28.
Col. 3. 11.

fellowship of men, to fashion our manners to ciuill righteousnesse, to procure vs into friendship one with an other, 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 heauenly countrey, should bee 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 her owne moderate gouernment sufficeth it for a lawe: they themselues doe foolishly imagine that perfection which can neuer be found in the common fellowshipp of men. For sith of naughtie men the pride is so great, and the wickednesse so obstinate, as can not be restrayned with great sharpenes of lawes: what thinke wee that they will doe, if they see vnpunished libertie lye open to their lewdnesse, which can not euen with force be sufficiently compelled not to do euill?

3 But of the order of policie, there shall bee another fitter place to entreate. Nowe our meaning is to haue this onely vnderstanded, that to think to driue it away, is outrageous barbarousnes, the vse whereof is no lesse among men, than of breade, water, the sunne, and aire, but the dignitie much more excellent. For it tendeth not onely hereunto (which is the only commoditie of all those things) that men may breath, eate, drinke and bee cheerished (although indeede 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 trueth, and other offenses of religion may not rise vp and be scattered among the people, that commonquiet be not troubled, that euery mā may keepe 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 shewe of religion, and among men may be manlike ciuilitie. Neither let any man bee moued, for that I doe nowe 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 allow the ordinance of policie, which endeoureth hereunto, that the true religion which is contained in the lawe of GOD, be not openly and with publique sacrileges freely broken and defiled. But the readers being holpen by the verie plainnesse of order, shall better vnderstande what is to bee thought of the whole kinde of ciuill gouernment, if we seuerallie 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 hee 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 bee a lawfull vocation and allowed of God, what maner of office hee hath, and howe great is his power: then w^h what lawes a Christian ciuill state is to be ordered: then last of all, what profite of the lawes commeth to the people, what reuengence is due to the magistrate,

4 The Lorde 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 whosoever be in place of magistrats are named Gods, let no man thinke that in that naming is smal importance. For therby is signified that they haue commandement from God, that they are furnished with the authoritie of God, and doe altogether beare the person of God, whose steede they do after a certaine maner supplie. This is not my cauillation, but the exposition of Christ. If the scripture (saith hee) called them Gods to whome the word of God was giuen: What is this else, but that God hath committed his businesse to them, that they shoulde serue in his office, and (as Moses and Iosaphat saide to their iudges whome they appointed in euerie seuerall citie of Iuda) that they shoulde sit in iudgement, not for man but for God? To the same purpose maketh this that the wisdom of God affirmeth by the mouth of Salomon, that it is his worke, that Kings reigne, and counsellors decree righteous things, that princes beare principallitie, and all the iudges of the earth execute iudgement. For this is al one in effect as if it had bene said, that it commeth not to passe by the peruerfenes of men, that the government of al things in earth is in the hand of kings and other rulers, but by the prouidence & holy ordinance of God, to whom it so seemed good to order the matters of men: forasmuch as he is both present & present among them in making of laws and in executing vprightnes of iudgements. Which Paul also plainly teacheth, when he reckoneth governments among the giftes 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 & they shoulde haue the rule of ordering the pnblike discipline (which office in the Epistle to the Corinthians hee calleth Government) yet forasmuch as we see that the ende of ciuill power commeth to the same point, it is no doubt but that he commendeth vnto vs all kinde of iust government. But he speaketh more plainly, where he purposely maketh a full discourse of that matter. For hee both sheweth that Power is the ordinance of God, & that there are no powers, but they are ordained of God: & that the Princes themselves 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 some haue possessed kingdomes, as Dauid, Iosias, Ezechias: other some, Lordships, as Ioseph and Daniell: other some, Ciuill governmentes in a free people, as Moses, Iosue, and the iudges: whose offices the Lord hath declared that he alloweth. Wherefore none ought nowe to doubt that the ciuill power is a vocation not onely holie and lawfull before GOD, but also the most holy, and the most honest of all other in the whole life of men.

5 They which couet to bring in a state without Rulers, take exception and say that although in oldetime there were kinges and iudges ouer & rude people, yet at this day that seruile kind of governing agreeth not with & perfection which Christ hath brought with his Gospell. Wherein they bewray

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not onely their ignorance, but also their deuclish pride, while they take vpon themselues perfection, of which not so much as the hundreth part is seene in them. But what maner of men soeuer they be, it is easie to confute it: because where Dauid exhorteth all kinges and Rulers to kisse the sonne of God, he doth not bid them, giuing ouer their authoritie, to stake theselues to a priuate life, but to submit the power that they beare to Christ, that hee alone may haue preeminence aboue all. Likewise Esay, when he promisseth that kings shall bee 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 to the godlie worshippers of God. For, that propheticie pertaineth to the comming of Christ. I do wittingly passe ouer many testimonies which do eche where offer themselues, and specially in the Psalmes wherin all gouernours haue their right maintained. But most cleare of all is the place of Paul, where admonishing Timothee that in the common assemblie prayers must bee made for kinges, 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 sauegarding.

6 Which consideration ought continually to busie the magistrats theselues, forasmuch as it may put a great spurre to them whereby they may be pricked forward to their duetie, and bring them a singular comfort whereby they may mitigate the hardnesse of their office, which truely are both many and great. For with howe great an endeuour of vprightness, wisdom, mildnes, continence, & innocencie, ought they to charge theselues, which know themselues to be appointed ministers of the righteousnes of God? By what affiance shall they admit vniustice to their iudgement seat, 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 trueth of God? With what conscience shall they subscribe to wicked decrees with the hande which they knowe to bee ordeined to write the acts of God? In a summe, if they remember that they be the vicegerentes of God, they must watch with all care, earnestnes, & diligence, that they may represent in themselues vnto men a certaine image of the prouidence, preseruation, goodnes, good will, and righteousnes of God. And they must continually set this before their eyes, that if al they bee accursed, y^e do execute in deceite the worke of the vengeance of God, they are much more grieuouly accursed, that vse themselues deceitefully in a rightful vocation. Therefore when Moses and Iosaphat minded to exhort their iudges to their duetie, they had nothing more effectuall to moue their mindes 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 nere to you in y^e cause of iudgement. Now therefore let the feare of the Lorde bee vpon you. Looke & be diligent: because there is no peruelnes with the Lord our God. And in an other place it is said, the God stood in the assembly of the Gods & sitteth iudge in the middest of the gods, y^e they may bee encouraged to their duetie when they heare that they bee the deputies of God, to whome they must one day yelde accompt of the gouernment of their charge. And wor-

Psal. 3. 12.

Esa. 49. 23.

1. Tim. 2. 2.

1er. 48. 11.

Deut. 1. 16.
2. Chro. 19. 6.
Psal. 82. 1.
Esa. 3. 14.

thily

thily this admonition ought to be of great force with them. For if they make any default, they are not only wrong doers to men who they wickedly vex, but also sclaundersers 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 bolde 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 whome can not but be ioyned with the reproche 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 sayde this truely of the people of Israel, because they had refused the gouernement of Samuel: why shall it be lesse truely sayde at this day of them that giue themselves leaue to rage against all governmentes ordained of God? But sith the Lorde sayde to the disciples, that the kings of nations beare rule ouer them, but that amoag 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 gouernmentes vpon them. O handsome expositors! There rose a strife among the disciples, which of them excelled other: the Lorde, to suppress this vaine ambition, taught them that their ministerie is not like vnto kingdomes, in which one man hath preeminence aboue the rest. I beseech you, what doeth this comparison make to the dishonour of kingly dignitie? yea what doeth it prooue at all, but that the ministerie of an Apostle is not the office of a king? Moreouer although among the magistrates themselves there be diuers formes, yet there is no difference in this behalfe but that wee ought to take them all for the ordinances of God. For Paul also doeth comprehend them altogether, when hee sayeth 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 olde time could lesse be allowed of noble and the excellent sort of natures. But the Scripture, to meet with their vniust iudgementes, expressly by name affirmeth, that it is the prouidence of Gods wisdom that kinges do reigne, and peculiarly commandeth the king to be honored.

8 And truely it were very vaine that it should be disputed of priuate men which shoulde bee the best state of policy 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 parte of the order of this question consisteth in circumstances. And if thou compare also the states themselves 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 tyranny: 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

from the peoples government, to sedition. Truly, if those three formes of governments which the Philosophers set out, to be considered in themselves I will not denie that either the government of the cheefest men, or a state tempered of it and common government farre excelleth all other: not of it selfe, but because it most seldome chaunceth that kinges so temper themselves, that their wil neuer swarueth from that which is iust and right, again, that they bee 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 tollerable that many shold haue the government, that they may mutually one help an other, one teach and admonish an other, and if any aduance himselfe hier than is meet, there may be ouerseers and maisters to restrain his wilfulnes. This both hath alway bin approoued by experience, and the Lord also hath confirmed it with his authoritie, when he ordeined among the Israclites a government of the best men verie neere vnto common government, at such time as hee minded to haue them in best estate, till he brought forth an image of Christ in Dauid. And as I willingly graunt 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 compt them also most blessed, y may enioy this estate: & if they stoutly and constantly trauell in preseruing and retaining it, I graunt that they do nothing against their duetie. Yea & the magistrates ought with most great diligence to bende themselves herunto, 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 litle carefull therein, they are false Faithbreakers in their office, and betrayers of their countrie. But if they woulde bring this kinde to themselves, to whome the Lorde hath appointed an other forme of government, so that thereby they be moued to desire a change, the very thinking thereof shall not onely bee foolish and superfluous, but also hurtfull. But if thou bende not thine eyes onely to one citie, but looke about or behold the whole world together, or as least spreade abroad thy sight into farther distances of countries, without doubt thou shalt find that this is not vnprofitably appointed by the prouidence of God, that diuerse countries shold be ruled by diuerse kindes of government. For as the elementes hang together but by an vnegall temperature, so countries also are with their certaine inequalitye very wel kept in order. Howbeit al these things also are spoken in vaine to them whome the will of the Lord shall satisfie. For if it be his pleasure, to set kinges ouer kingdomes, Senates, or officers ouer free cities, whosoeuer he maketh rulers in the places where we are conuersant, it is our duetie to shew our selues yeelding and obedient vnto them.

9 Now the office of Magistrates is in this place to bee declared by the way, of what sort it is described by the worde of God, and in what thinges it consisteth. If the scripture did not teach, y it extendeth to both the tables of y law, we might learne it out of the prophane writers. For none hath intreated of the dutie of Magistrats, 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

of godlinesse: and that those lawes be preposterous which neglecting y^e right of God, doe prouide onely for men. Sith therefore with all the Phylosophers religion hath the first place, & sith the same hath alway bin obserued by the vniuersall consent of all nations, let Christian princes and magistrates be ashamed of their slouthfulnes, if they endeouour not themselves to this care. And we haue already shewed, that this duetic is specially enioyned them of God: as it is meete, that they shoulde employe their trauell to defende and maintaine his honour, whose vicegerentes they bee, 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 toke care of religion, that it might flourish pure and safe vnder them.

Iud. 22. 35.

But contrariwise y^e holy historie reckoneth states without gouernors, among faultes, saying that there was no king in Israel, and that therefore euerie mā did what pleased himselfe. Whereby their follie is confuted, which woulde haue them, neglecting the care of God, onely to applie themselves to bee iudges of law among mē. As though God appointed gouernours in his name to decise controuersies, and omitted that which was of much weightier importance, that hee himselfe shoulde be worshipped according to the prescribed rule of his lawe. But a desire to innouate all thinges without punishment moueth troublesome men to this point, that they wishe all reuengers of the breach of peace to be taken away. As for so much as pertaineth to y^e seconde table, Ieremie warneth kings, to do iudgement and righteousnes, to deliuer the forcibly oppressed frō the hand of the false accuser, not to grieue y^e strāger and widow, not to do wrong, and not to shed innocent blood. To y^e same purpose maketh the exhortation which is read in the 82. Psalme, that they should render right to the poore and needy, acquite the poore and needie, deliuer the poore and needy from the hand of the oppressor. And Moses giueth charge to the Princes whom he had set in his steed: let them heare the

Ier. 22. 3.

cause of their brethren, and iudge betwene a man and his brother & a strāger, and not know faces in iudgement, let them heare as well the litle as the great, and be not afraid of any man: because it is the iudgement of God. But I speake not of these things: that kinges should not get to themselves multitudes of horses, not cast their minds to couetousnesse, not to be lifted vp aboue their brethren: that they may bee continually busied in studying vpon the lawe of the Lorde all the dayes of their life: that Iudges swarue not to y^e one side, nor receiue giftes: because in declaring here the office of magistrates, my purpose is not so much to instruct the magistrates themselves, as to teach other what Magistrates bee, and to what ende they are set of God.

Deut. 1. 16.

Deut. 17 16.

Wee see therefore that they bee ordeined defenders and reuengers of innocence, modestie, honestie, and quietnesse, whose onely indeuour should bee to prouide for the cōmon safety and peace of al men. Of which vertues Dauid professeth y^e he will be an examplar, when hee shall be aduanced to y^e royall seate: that is, that hee will not consent to any euill doinges, but abhorre wicked men, slanderers, and proude men, and gette to him selfe from eche where honest and faithfull men. But sith they cannot performe this, vnlesse they defende good men from the wronges of the euill, let them helpe y^e good with succour and defence, let them also be armed with power whereby they

Psal. 101.

may

may feuerally suppress open euil doers and wicked men by whose lewdnes the common quiet is troubled or vexed. For we throughly find this by experience which Solon said, that comon weales consist of reward & punishment; & that when those be taken away, the whole discipline of cities faileth & is dissolued. For the care of equitie & iustice waxeth cold in the minds of many, vnlesse there be due honor 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 he biddeth kinges and other gouernours to do iudgement and righteousnes. Righteousnes is, to take into charge of tuition, to embrace, to defend, to reuenge, to deliuer innocent. Iudgement is, to withstand the boldnes of wicked men, to repress their violence, to punish their offences.

10 But here, as it seemeth, doth arise a hie and hard question: If by the law 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 together both godly & 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, wee shalbe nothing combed with this dout. The lawe of the Lorde forbiddeth to kill: least manslaughter should be vnpunished, the lawe maker him selfe giueth to the ministers the sworde in their hande, which they should drawe forth against all manslayers. To afflict and to hurt, is not the doing of the godly: but this is not to hurt, not to afflict, by the Lordes commaundement to reuenge the afflictions of the godly. I woulde 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 that commaundeth, which going before vs, we neuer swarue out of the right way. Vnlesse perhaps there be a bridle put vpon the righteousnesse of God, that it may not punish wicked doings. But if it be not lawfull to appoint any law to it, why shall we cauil against the ministers of it? They beare not the sworde in vaine, sayeth Paul: for they be the ministers of God to wrath, reuengers to euil doers. Therefore if Princes & other rulers know that nothing shalbe more acceptable to God than their obedience, let them apply this ministerie, if they desire to shewe their godlinesse, righteousnesse, & vncorruptnesse allowable to God. With this affection was Moses led, when knowing himselfe appointed by the power of the Lorde to bee the deliuerer of his people, hee layde his handes vpon the Aegyptian. Againe, when by slaying of three thousand men in one day, he tooke vengeance of the sacrilege of the people. Dauid also, when nye to the end of his life he gaue commaundement to Salomon his sonne to slay Ioab & Semei. Whereupon he also rehearseth this among the vertues of a king, to slay the wicked of the lande, that all workers of wickednes, may be driuen out of the citie of God. To which purpose also pertaineth the praise that is giuen to Salomon. Thou hast loued righteousnes and hast hated wickednesse. How doth that milde & gentle nature of Moses burne out into so great crueltie, that being sprinkeled and embrued with the bloud of his brethren, he runneth throughout the campe to newe slaughters? How doth Dauid, a man of so great gentlenes in all his life, among his last bre-

Ier. 21. 12
and 22. 3

Exo. 20. 13
Deut. 5. 17
Matt. 5. 21
Esa. 11. 9. and
45. 25

Rom. 13. 4

Exod. 2. 12
Act. 7. 28
Exod. 32. 27
1. King. 2. 5

things make that bloudie testament, that his sonne should not bring y^e hoare haire of Ioab and Semei in peace to the graue? But they both when they executed the vengeance committed to them of God, so sanctified with cruell dealing their handes which they had defiled with sparing. It is an abomination with kings, saith Salomon, to doe iniquitie, because his throne is stablished in righteousnesse. Againe, The king which sitteth in the throne of iudgement, spreadeth his eyes 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 righteousnes. Againe, He that iustificeth the wicked, and he that condemneth the righteous, both are abomination to the Lorde. Againe, A rebellious man purchaceth euill to himselfe, and a cruell messenger is sent vnto him. Againe, who so sayeth to the wicked man, thou art righteous, him peoples and nations do curse. Now if their true righteousnes be, with drawen sworde to pursue gilty and wicked men: let them put vp their sworde, and holde their handes pure from bloud, while in the meane time desperate men do range with murthers and slaughters: then they shall make them selues gilty of most great wickednesse, so much lesse shall they get thereby the praise of goodnesse and righteousnesse. Onely let there be no precise and cruell rigorousnesse, and that iudgement seate which may worthily be called the rocke of accused men. For I am not hee that either fauour extreme crueltie, or do thinke that righteous iudgement can be pronounced, but while clemencie the best and surest counsellor of kings, as Salomon affirmeth, the preferuer of the kinges throne is assistant, which a certaine man in old time truly saide to be the principall gift of Princes. Yet a magistrate must take heede to both; that he do neither with rigorousnes of minde, wound rather than heale, or by superstitious affectation of clemencie fall into a most cruell gentlenesse, if with soft and loose tendernesse he be dissolute to the destruction of many men. For this was in old time not without cause commonly spoken vnder the empire of Nerua, that it is in deede euil to liue vnder a prince vnder whome nothing is lawfull, but much worse vnder whome all things are lawfull.

II But sith sometime kings and peoples must of necessitie take sworde in hande to execute such publique vengeance, by this reason wee 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, wherby they may helpe the forceably oppressed, whereby they may punish euil doings: can they at fitter seasons vtter it, than to suppress his rage which troubleth both priuately the rest of euery man, and the common quiet of all men, which seditiously maketh vprores, which committeth violent oppressions and haynous euil doings? If they ought to bee preferuers and defenders of the lawes, they must also ouerthrowe the enterprises of all them by whose wicked doing the discipline of lawes is corrupted. Yea if they worthily punish those theues whose iniuries haue extended onely to a fewe: shall they suffer a whole countrey to be without punishment vexed and wasted

with

with robberies? For it maketh no difference whether hee be a king or one of the basest of the cōmonalty, y^e inuadeth an others cōuntry into which he hath no right, & spoileth it like an enemy: all are alike to be taken & punished for robbers. This therefore both natural equity, & the rule of dutie teacheth that Princes are armed not only to restraine priuate duties with iudiciall punishments, but also to defend with warre the dominions cōmitted to their charge if at any time they be enimiellike assailed. And such warres the holy Ghost by many testimonies of Scripture declareth to be lawfull.

12 If it be obiected against me, that in the newe Testament is neither witnesse nor example which teacheth that war is a thing lawfull for Christians: first I answere, that the same rule of making warre which was in old time remaineth also at this day, and y^e on the contrary 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 cōming changed nothing in this behalfe. For if Christian doctrine (y^e I may speake in Augustines own words) condemned all warres, this should rather haue bin sayd to soldiars when they asked counsell of saluation, that they should cast away their weapons, and vtterly withdraw themselues from the warre. But it was sayd to them: strike no man, do no man wrong, let your magistrates suffice you. Whom he taught y^e their wages ought to suffice them, he did verily not forbid them to be warriors. But al magistrates ought here to take great heed, y^e they nothing at al folow their owne desires: but rather, if they must punish, let them not be borne away with a headlong angriuesse, let them not be violently caried with hatred, let them not broile with vnappeasable rigor, yea let them (as Augustine sayeth) pity cōmon nature in him in whom they punish his priuate fault. Or if they must put on armour against the enemy, that is, the armed robber, let them not lightly seeke occasion thereof, nor take it being offered vnlesse they be driuen to it by extreme necessitie. For if we ought to performe much more than that heathen man required, which would 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 kindes 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 thē, not for their owne cōmodity, but for others benefit and ministry. Moreouer of the same rightful rule of making warre hangeth the order both of garrisons, & leagues and other ciuill fortifications. Garrisons I cal those that are placed in rownes to defend the borders of the countrey: Leagues, vvhich are made with Princes adioyning for this couenant y^e if any trouble happen in their landes they may mutually helpe them, and ioine their forces in cōmon together to suppress the common enemies of mankind: Ciuill fortification, whose vse is in the art of warre.

13 This also I wil last of al adde, that tributes and taxes are the lawfull reuenues of princes, which they may chiefly employ to sustain y^e cōmon charges of their office: which yet they may likewise vse to their priuate royaltie

Aug. epi. 5.
ad Marcel.

Luk. 3. 14

Cicero of
ducties.

which is after a certaine maner conioyned with honor of the princely state that they beare. As wee see that Dauid, Ezechias, Iosias, Iosaphat, and other holy kings, and Ioseph also and Daniell, according to the state of the person that they did beare, were without offence of godlines sumptuous of the common charge, and we read in Ezechiel that there was a very large portion of land assigned to the kings. Where although he paint out the spiritual kingdome of Christ, yet he fetcheth the exemplar of his similitude from the lawfull kingdome of men. But yet so, that Princes againe on their behalues shoulde remember, that their treasure chambers are not so much their own priuate cofers, as the treasures of the whole people (for so Paul testifieth) which they may not without manifest wrong prodigally wast or spoyle; or rather that it is the yerie blood of the people, which not to spare, is moste cruell vnnaturallnesse: 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 communitie without cause, is tyrannicall extortion. These things do not encourage Princes to wastfull expence and riot, (as verily there is no neede to adde a firebrande to their lustes that are of themselues too much already kindled) but sith it much behoueth that they should with pure conscience before God be bolde to do all that they are bold to do, least with wicked boldnes they come into despising of God, they must be taught how much is lawfull for the. Neither is this doctrine superfluous for priuate men, that they shoulde not rashly and stubbornly giue theselues leaue to grudge at any expenses of Princes, although they exceede common and ciuill measure.

14 Next to the magistrate in ciuile 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 coulde be more truly sayde, than that the lawe is a dumbe Magistrate, and that the Magistrate is a liuing lawe. But wheras I promised to speake, with what lawes a Christian ciuill state ought to be ordered, there is no cause why any man should looke for a long discourse of the best kind of lawes, which both shold be infinite, and pertained not to this present purpose and place: yet in a few wordes, and as it were by the way, I will touch what lawes it may vse godlily 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 vnderstande that many do herein perillously erre. For there be some that denie that a common weale is well ordered, which neglecting the ciuile lawes of Moses is gouerned by the common lawes of nations: Howe 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 in to mortall, ceremonicall, and iudiciall lawes: and all the partes are to be seuerally considered, that we may knowe what of them pertaineth to vs, & what not. Neither in the meane time lette any man bee combred with this doubt, that iudiciall and ceremonicall also pertaine to the morall lawes: For although the olde writers which haue taught this diuision; were not ignoraunt that these

crave their ayde, namely sith they are forbidde to reuenge, to sue in the law, 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 ordeined of God, that we being defended by his hande & succours against the maliciousnes and iniuries of mischeuous men, may liue a quiet & assured life. If he be in vaine giuen vs of the Lorde for defence, vnlesse it be lawfull for vs to vse such benefite: it sufficiently appeareth that he may also without vngodlinesse be called vpon & sued vnto. But here I must haue to do with two kinds of men. For there be many men that boyle with so great rage of quarelling at the law, that they neuer haue quiet with theselues vnles they haue strife with other. And their controuersies they exercise with deadly sharpnes of hatred, and with mad greedines to reuenge & hurt, and do pursue them with vnappeasable stiffenes euen to the very destruction of their aduersarie. In the meane time, y they may not be thought to doe any thing but rightfully, they defende such peruersnes with colour of law. But though it be granted thee to go to law with thy brother, yet thou maist not by & by hate him, not be caried against him with furious desire to hurt him, not stubbornly to pursue him.

18 Let this therefore be sayd to such men, that the vse of lawes is lawfull, if a man do rightly vse it. And that the right vse both for the pleintife to sue, & for the defendant to defend, is if the defendant being summoned do appeare at an appointed day, & 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 law: and if the pleintife being vnworthily oppressed either in his person or his goods, doe resorte 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 heare of contention, but rather ready to yeelde of his owne and to suffer any thing, than to be carried with an enenlike mind 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 parte of charitie, the whole proceeding euen of a most iust cause can not but be wicked. For this ought to be a determined principle to all Christians, that a controuersie though it be neuer so righteous, can neuer be rightly pursued of any man, vnlesse hee beare as good will and loue to his aduersarie, as if the matter which is in the controuersie were already concluded and ended by composition. Some man wil here peraduenture saye, that such moderation is so neuer vsed in going to lawe, that it should be like a miracle if any such were founde. I graunt in deede, as the manners of these times be, 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 here that the help of the Magistrate is a holy gift of God: we must so much the more diligently take heed, that it be not defiled by our fault.

19 As for them that precisely condemne all contendings at law, let the vnderstand that they do therewithall despise the holy ordinance of God, and a

gift of that kinde of giftes which may be cleane to the cleane : vnlesse per-
 aduerture they will accuse Paul of wicked doing, which did both put away
 from himselve the slanders of his accusers with declaring also their deceite
 and maliciousnesse, and in iudgement claimed for himselve the prerogatiue
 of the citie of Rome, and when neede was he appelled from an vnrighteous
 gouernour to the Emperours iudgement seate. Neither withstandeth it, that
 all Christians are forbidden to desire reuenge, which we also do driue farre
 away from Christian iudgement seates. For, if the contention bee about a
 common case, he goeth not the right way that doth not with innocent sim-
 plicitie, commit his cause to the iudge as to a common defender, thinking
 nothing lesse than to render mutuall recompence of euill, which is the af-
 fection of reuenge: or if any matter of life & death, or any great criminal acti-
 on be commenced, we require that the accuser be such a one, as commeth in
 to the court being taken with no boyling heate of reuenge, & touched with
 no displeasure of priuate iniurie, but only hauing in minde to withstande 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 commaundement whereby reuenge is forbidden to Christians.
 But they are not onely forbidden to desire reuenge, but they are also com-
 maunded to waite for the hande of the Lorde, which promiseth that he will
 be a present reuenger for the oppressed and afflicted: but they doe preuent
 all reuenge of the heauenly defendor, which require helpe at the Magi-
 strates hande either for themselues or other. Not so. For wee must thinke
 that the Magistrates reuenge is not the reuenge of man but of God, which
 (as Paul sayeth) hee extendeth and exerciseth by the ministerie of man
 for our good.

20 And no more do we disagree with the wordes of Christ, by which he
 forbiddeth to resist euill, and commaundeth 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 minds
 of his shoulde so much abhorre from desire of recompensing like for like,
 that they should sooner suffer double iniurie to be done to themselues, than
 desire to reacquite it: from which patience neither do we also leade them a-
 way. For Christians truely ought to bee a kinde of men made to beare re-
 proches and iniuries, open to the malice, deceits, and mockeages of nough-
 ty men: and not that onely but also they must be bearers of all these euilles,
 that is to say so framed with all the ir heartes, that hauing receiued one dis-
 pleasure they make themselues ready for an other, promising to themselues
 nothing in their whole life but y bearing of a continuall Crosse. In the mean
 time also they must doe good to them that do them wrong, and wishe well to
 those that curse them, and (which is their onely victorie) striue to ouer-
 come euill with good. Being 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 body to be mang-
 led, and their goods to be maliciously taken from them, that they will for-
 giue and of their own accorde pardon those euils so sone as they are done to
 them. Yet this euennesse and moderation of mindes shall not withstande,

but

Act. 23.1. &
 24.12. and
 25.10.

Numb. 19.18
 Matt. 5.19.
 Deu. 32.35.
 Rom. 12.19.

Rom. 13.4.

Matt. 5.39.

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 publicke commoditie may sue a guiltie and pestilent man to be punished, whome they knowe that he can not be amended but by death. For Augustine truly expoundeth that all these commaundementes tend to this end, that a righteous and godly man should be ready to beare patiently the malice of them whom he seeketh to haue made good men, that rather y^e number of the good may encrease, not that he shoulde with like malice adde himselfe also to the number of the euill: then, that they more pertaine to the preparation of the heart, which is inwardely, than to the worke which is done openly: 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 whome wee ought to beare good will.

Epist. 5. ad
Marcel.

21 But this which is wont to be obiected, that contendings in lawe are altogether condemned of Paul, is also false: It may easily bee perceined by his wordes, that there was an immeasurable rage of striuing at lawe in the Church of the Corinthians: so farre forth that they did make the Gospell of Christ and the whole religion which they professed, open to the caullations and euil speaking of the wicked. This is the first thing that Paul blameth in them, that by their intemperance of contentions they brought the Gospell in sclander among the vnbelieuers. And then thus point also, that in such sort they striued among themselves brethren with brethren. For they were so farre from bearing of wrongs, that they greedily gaped one for an others goods, prouoked one another, & being vnprouoked did hurt. Therefore he inueryeth 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 trauaile euen to contentions for the preserving of them: namely when they were so easily moued with euery damage, and for most small causes did runne to the court of lawe and to controuersies, he sayth that this is a prooffe that they were of a minde too ready to anger & not well framed to patience: Christians verily ought to doe this, that they had alway rather to yelde of their owne right than to goe to lawe, from whence they can scarcely get out again 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 hindrance vnto him: if he do so he offendeth nothing against this saying of Paul. Finally (as we haue taught in the beginning) charitie shal giue euery man best counsell, without which whatsoever controuersies are taken in hande, and beyond which whatsoever do proceede, we hold it out of controuersie that they be vniust and wicked.

1. Cor. 6. 8.

22 The first dutie of subiectes toward their magistrates is, to thinke most honorably 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 yelde themselves very obedient to their magistrates, and woulde not that there were not some whom they should obey, because they so knowe 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 honoured: & Salomon, when he commaundeth God and the king to be feared. For Peter vnder the word of Honoring containeth a syncre & wel deeming estimation: & Salomon ioyning the king with God, sheweth that he is full of a certaine holy reuerence & dignitie . This is also a notable commendation in Paul, that we obey not only for wrath but for conscience. Whereby he meaneth that subiects ought to be ledde not only with feare of princes & rulers to be holden in their subiection (as they are wont to yeeld to their armed enimie, which see that vengeance shal redily be taken vpon them if they resist) but because the obediences that are shewed to them are shewed to God himselfe, forasmuch as their power is of God . I speake not of the men, as if the visor of dignitie did couer foolishnesse, or sluggishnesse, or cruelties, or wicked maners & full of mischieuous doing; but I say that the degree it selfe is worthie of honor & reuerence: that whosoeuer be rulers may be esteemed with vs, & haue reuerence, in respect of their being rulers.

23. Of this then also followeth another thing: that with mindes bent to the honoring 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 commaundements. Let euery soule (saith Paul) be subiect to the hier 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, y they be ready to euery good worke . And Peter sayth, Bee ye subiect to euery humaine 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. Moreouer y they should restifie that they do not faine subiection, but are syncrely and heartly subiect, Paul addeth that they should commend to God the safetie and prosperitie of them vnder whom they liue. I exhort (sayth he) that there be made prayes: beseechings, intercessions, thankesgiuinges for all men, for kinges and for all that be set in superioritie, that wee may liue a peasable and quiete life with all godlinesse and honestie. Neither let any man here deceiue himselfe . For sith the Magistrate can not 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 wil strongly take vengeance on the despising of himselfe . Moreouer vnder this obedience I containe moderation, which priuate men ought to binde themselues to keepe in cases touching the publike state, that they do not of their owne heade entermedle in publike busineses, or rashly breake into the office of the Magistrate, and enterprise nothing publikely . If any thing shall in a publike ordinance be behouefull to bee amended, lette not themselues raise vprores, nor put their handes to, the doing of it, which they all ought to haue fast bounde in this behalfe: but lette 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

1. Pet. 2. 17.
Prou. 24. 24.Esa. 7. Diu.
1. 2. 2. 2. 2.

Rom. 13. 5.

Rom 13. 1.
Tit. 3. 1.

2. Pet. 3. 13.

1. Tim. 2. 1.

ruler is adioyned, then are they also furnished with publike authoritie. For as they are wont to call the counsellors of a king, his eares and eyes: so not vnfitly a man may call them the handes of the prince, whom by his commandement he setteth in authoritie for the doing of things.

24 Now forasmuch as we haue hitherto described a magistrate such as is indeede the same that he is called, namely the father of the country, and (as the Poet calleth him) the pastor of the people, the keeper of peace, the protector of righteousnesse, the reuenger of innocencie; he is worthily to be iudged a mad man, that alloweth not such a gouernment. But whereas this is in a manner the experience of all ages, that of princes some being careles of all thinges to the foreseeing whereof they ought to haue bene heedfully bent, do without all care slouthfully wallowe in delites; other some addicted to their gaine, doe set out to sale all lawes, priuileges, iudgements, and grauntes; other some spoile the poore communitie of monie which they may after waste vpon mad prodigale expendinges; other some exercise meere robberies, in pilling of houses, defiling of virgins and matrones, murdering of innocentes: many cannot bee perswaded that such should be acknowledged for princes, whose authoritie they ought to obey so far as they may. For in so great lianous vnworthinesse among doinges so much contrarie to the duetie not onely for a magistrate, but also of a man, they beholde no forme of the image of God which ought to shine in a magistrate: when they see no toké of that minister of God, which was giuen for praise to the good and for vengeance to the euill: so neither doe they also acknowledge such a gouernour, whose dignitie and authoritie the scripture commendeth vnto vs. And truly this feeling of affection hath alway bene naturally planted in the minds of men, no lesse to hate and abhorre tyrants, than to loue and honour lawfull kinges.

25 But if wee looke to the worde of God; it will leade vs further, that we be subiect not only to the gouernment of those princes which execute their office towarde vs well and with such faithfulnessse 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 duetie of princes. For though the Lord testifieth that the magistrate is a speciall great gift of his liberalitie for preseruing of the safetic of men, and appointeth to magistrates themselues their bounds: yet he doth therewithall declare, that of what sort soeuer they bee, they haue not their authoritie but from him: that those indeede, which rule for benefite of the common weale, are true examplars and paternes of his bountiffulnessse: that they that rule vniustly and wilfully, are raised vp by him to punish the wickednes of the people: that all egally haue that maiestie wherewith hee hath furnished a lawfull power. I wil proceed no further, till I haue added some certaine testimonies of that point. Yet wee neede not much to labor to proue that a wicked king is the wrath of God vpon the earth, for asmuch as I think that no man will say the contrarie, and otherwise there should bee 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 murtherer that seeketh to kill thee, whereas the scripture reckoneth all such calamities among the

Iob. 34. 30.
Osee. 13. 17.
Esa. 3. 4. & 10
5.
Deut. 28. 29.

cur'es

curſes of God. But let vs rather tarie vpon prouing that, which doeth not ſo eaſily ſettle in the mindes of men: that in a moſt naughty man, & moſt vnworthie of all honour, if ſo that he haue the publique power in poſſeſſion, remaineth that noble and diuine power which the Lord hath by his word giuē to the miniſters of his righteouſnes and iudgement: and therefore that hee ought of his ſubiects to be had in as great reuerence and eſtimation, ſo much as pertaineth to publique obedience, as they would haue the beſt King if he were giuen them.

26 Firſt I would haue the Readers to perceiue & 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

Dan. 2. 21. Kinges whome it pleaſe th him. In Daniell, it is ſaide: The Lorde changeth times and courſes of times, he caſteth away and maketh kings. Againe: That y^e liuing may know y^e the Hieſt is mightie in the kingdom of men, & he ſhal giue it to whō he wil. With which maner of ſentences wheras y^e whole ſcripture aboundeth, yet y^e ſame prophecie of Daniel ſpecially ſwarmeth ful. Now what manner of king was Nabuchadonezar, he that conquered Hieruſalem, it is ſufficiently knowen, namely a ſtrong inuader and deſtroyer of other.

Ezec. 29. 19. Yet in Ezechiel the Lorde affirmeth that hee gaue him the lande of Egypte for the ſeruiſe that hee had done to him in waſting it. And Daniel ſaide to

Dan. 3. 37. him: Thou king art y^e king of kinges, to whom the king of heauens hath giuē a mightie, and ſtrong, and glorious kingdom: to thee, I ſay, he hath giuen it, and all the landes where dwell the children of men, the beaſtes of y^e wood and foules of the aire: hee hath deliuered them into thy hande, and hath made thee to beare rule ouer them. Againe hee ſaide to his ſonne Belfaſar:

Dan. 5. 18. The hieſt God hath giuen to Nabuchadonezar thy Father kingdom and royaltie, honour and glorie: and by reaſon of the royaltie that he gaue him, all peoples, tribes, and languages were trembling and fearefull at his ſighte. When we heare that a king is ordeined of God, let vs thereof call to remembrance thoſe heavenly warnings concerning the honor and fearing of a king: then we ſhall not doubt to accompte, a moſt wicked tyraunt in the ſame place wherein the Lorde hath vouchſaued to ſet him. Samuel, when he gaue warning to the people of Iſraell, what manner of thinges they ſhoulde ſuffer at the handes of their kinges, ſaide: This ſhall be the right of the king that ſhal reigne ouer you; hee ſhal take your ſonnes and put them to his chariot, to make them his horſemen, and to plowe his land, and reape his crop, and to make instrumentes of warre. He ſhall take your daughters, that they may be his dreſſers of ointmentes, his cookes and bakers. Your lands, your vineyardes, and your beſt Oliue plantes hee ſhall take away and giue to his bonde ſeruauntes. Hee ſhall take tithes of your ſeedes and vineyardes, and ſhall giue them to his eunuches and bonde ſeruauntes. Hee ſhall take away your bonde men, your bonde women and your aſſes, and ſet them to his worke. Yea and hee ſhall take tithes of your flockes: and ye ſhall be his bond ſeruauntes. Verily kinges ſhoulde not haue done this of right, whome the lawe did verie well inſtruct to all continence: but it was called a right ouer y^e people which it behooued them of neceſſitie to obey, and they might not reſuſt it: as if Samuell had ſaide. The wilfulneſſe of kinges ſhall runne to ſuch

such licentiousness, which it shall not be your parte to resist, to whome this onely thing shalbe left, to obey their commandementes and harken to their worde.

27 But chiefly there is in Ieremie a notable place and worthy to be remembered, which although it be somewhat long, yet I will be content to rehearse, because it most plainly determineth this whole questio. I haue made the earth and men, sayth the Lord, and the living creatures that are on the ouerface of the earth in my great strength and stretched out arme, and I wil deliuer it to him whom it pleaseth in mine eyes. And nowe therefore I haue giuen all these landes into the hande of Nabuchadnezar my seruant, and all nations and great kinges shall serue him, till the time shal come of that land. And it shalbe as a nation and a kingdome that hath not serued the king of Babel, I will visit that nation in sworde, famine, and pestilence. Wherefore, serue ye the king of Babel and liue. Wee see with howe great obedience the Lorde willed that cruell and proude tyrant to be honored, for no other reason but because he possessed the kingdome. And the same was by the heauenly decree, that he was sette in the throne of the kingdome, and taken vp into kingly maiestie, which it was vnlawfull to violate. If wee haue this continually before our mindes and eyes, that euen the worst kinges are ordeined by the same decree by which the authoritie of kinges is stablished these seditious thoughtes shall neuer come into our minde, that a king is to be handled according to his deseruings, & that it is not meete that we should shewe our selues subiectes to him that doth not on his behalfe shew himselfe a king to vs.

Ier. 27. 50

28 In vaine shall any man obiect that this was a peculiar commaundement to the Israelites. For it is to be noted with what reason the Lord confirmeth it. I haue giuen (sayth he) the kingdome to Nabuchadnezer. Wherefore serue ye him and liue. To whomsoever therefore it shalbe certaine that the kingdome is giuen, let vs not dout that he is to be obeyed. And so soone as the Lord aduanceth any man to the royall estate, hee therein declareth his will to vs that he will haue him reigne. For thereof are general testimonies of the Scripture. Salomon in the xxviij. Chapter, Many Princes are because of the wickednesse of the people. Againe Iob in the xij. chap. He taketh away subiection from kinges, and girdeth them again with the girdle. But this being confessed, there remaineth nothing but that we must serue and liue. There is also in Ieremie the Prophete an other commaundement of the Lorde, wherein he commaunded his people to seeke the peace of Babylon, whither they had beene ledde away captiue, and to pray to him for it, because in the peace of it should be their peace. Behold the Israelites being spoiled of al 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 commaunded to pray for our persecutors: but that the kingdome may be preserued to himselfe and quiet, that they themselues may also liue prosperously vnder him. So Dauid being already appointed king by the ordinance of God, and annoynted 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

Prou. 28. 2.
Iob. 12. 18.
Ier. 29. 7.

which the Lorde hath hallowed with the honour of kingdome. Farre bee it
 i.Sam. 24.7. from me (saide he) that I should before the Lorde doe this thing to my Lord
 the annointed of the Lord, that I should lay my hand vpon him, because he
 1.Sam. 26.9 is the annointed of the Lord. Againe, My soule hath spared thee, and I haue
 saide, I will not lay my hand vpon my Lorde, because hee is the annointed
 of the Lord. Againe, Who shall lay his hande vpon the annointed of y^e Lord
 and shal bee innocent? So sure as the Lorde liueth, vnlesse the Lorde strike
 him, or his day be come that he die, or he goe downe into battell: farre be it
 from me that I should lay my hand vpon the annointed of the Lord.

29 Finally wee owe this affection of reuerence yea and deuotion to al
 our rulers, of what sort soeuer they be, which I do therefore the oftener re-
 peate, that we may learne not to search what the men themselues bee, but
 take this for sufficient, that by the will of the Lorde they beare that perso-
 nage, in which the Lorde himselfe hath imprinted and ingraued an inuiola-
 ble maiestie. But (thou wilt say) Rulers owe mutuall duties to their
 subiectes. That I haue alreadie confessed. But if thou thereupon con-
 clude, that obediences are to be rendred to none but to iust gouernors, thou
 art a foolish reasoner. For, husbandes also are bounde to their wiues and
 parentes to their children with mutuall dueties. Let parentes and husbands
 depart from their ductie: let parentes shewe themselues so hard and vnplea-
 Eph. 6.1. sible to their children, whom they are forbidden to prouoke to anger, that
 Eph. 5. 26. with their peeuishnes they do vnmeasurablie wearie them: let the husbands
 most despitefully vse their wiues, whome they are commaunded to loue, and
 1.Pet. 3 7. to spare them as weake vessels: shall yet therefore either children be lesse o-
 bedient to their parents or wiues to their husbands? but they are subiect both
 to euill parentes and husbandes and such as doe not their ductie. Yea, where
 as all ought rather to endeour themselues not to looke behinde them to the
 bagge hanging at their backe, that is, not to enquire one of an others due-
 ties, but euery man set before him that which is his owne ductie: this ought
 chiefly to haue place among those that are vnder the power of other. Where-
 fore if we be vnmercifully tormented of a cruell prince, if we be rauencously
 Dan. 9.7. spoiled of a couetous or riotus Prince, if we be neglected of a slothful prince,
 finally if wee be vexed for godlinesse sake of a wicked and vngodly Prince:
 let vs first call to minde the remembrance of our sinnes, which vndoubted-
 ly are chastised with such scourges of the Lorde. Thereby humilitie shall bridle
 our impacience. Let vs then also call to minde this thought, that it per-
 teineth not to vs to remedie such euils: but this onely is lefte for vs, that we
 craue the helpe of the Lorde, in whose hande are the heartes of kings, and
 the bowings of kingdomes. He is the God that shall stande in the assemblie
 of gods, and shall in the middest iudge the gods, from whose face all kings
 shall fall, and be broken, and all the iudges of the earth that shall haue not
 Prot. 21.1. kissed his annointed, that haue written vniust lawes to oppresse the poore in
 Psal. 82.1. judgement, and do violence to the cause of the humble, to make widowes a
 Psal. 2.10. pray, and robbe the fatherlesse.
 Esa. 10.1.

30 And here both his maruellous goodnes, and power, and prouidence
 sheweth it selfe: for sometime of his seruants he raiseth vp open reuengers, &
 furnisheth them with his commandemēt, to take vengeance of their vniust

gouernment, and to deliuer his people many wayes oppressed out of miserable distresse: sometime he directeth to the same ende the rage of men that entend and goe about an other thing. So he deliuered the people of Israel out of the tyrannie of Pharao, by Moses: and out of the violence of Chusam king of Syria, by Othoniell: 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: the boldnes of Babylon, by the Medians, and by the Persians when Cyrus had subdued the Medians. And the vnthankfulnes of the kinges of Iuda and Israel, and their wicked obstinacie towarde his so many benefits, he did beat down and bring to distresse sometime by the Assyrians, sometime by the Babilonians, albeit not al after one maner. For, the first sort of mé when they were by the lawful calling of God sent to doe such actes: in taking armour against kinges, they did not violate that maiestie which is planted in kinges by the ordinance of God: but being armed from heauen they subdued the lesser power with the greater: like as it is lawful for kinges to punish their Lords vnder them. But these latter sort, although they were directed by the hande of God whither it pleased him, and they vnwittingly did his worke, yet purposed in their minde nothing but mischeefe.

Exod. 3. 7.
Iud. 3. 9. &c

31 But howsoeuer the verie doings of men be iudged, yet the Lorde did as well execute his worke by them, when he did breake the bloody scepters of proude kinges, and ouerhewe their intolerable gouernmentes. Let Princes heare and be afraide. But we in the meane time must take great heede, that we do not despise or offende that authoritie of Magistrates full of reuerende maiestie, which God hath stablished with most weightie decrees, although it remaine with most vnworthie men, and which doe 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 think that it is committed to vs, to whome there is giuen no other commaundement 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 kinges of Lacedemonia, or the Tribunes of the people, against y^e Romane Consuls: or the Demarchy, against the Senate of Athens: and the same power also which peradventure, as things are nowe, the three estates haue in euerie realme, when they hold their principall assemblies.) I doe so not forbid them according to their office to withstande the outraging licentiousnesse of kinges: that I affirme that if they winke at kinges wilfully raging ouer and treading downe the poore communitie, their dissembling is not without wicked breache of faith, because they deceitfully betray the libertie of the people, whereof they knowe themselues to bee appointed protectors by the ordinance of God.

Parleam^{ts}.

32 But in that obedience which we haue determined to bee due to the authorities of Gouvernors, this is alway to bee excepted, yea cheefely to bee obserued, that it doe not leade vs away from obeying of him, to whose will the desires of all kinges ought to be subiect, to whose decrees all their com-

man-

maundements ought to yelde, to whose maiestie their maces ought to bee submitted. And truly howe vnorderly were it, for the satisfying of men to runne into his displeasure for whom men them selues are obeyed? The Lord therefore is the king of kinges, who, when he hath opened his holy mouth, is to be heard alone for altogether and aboue all: next to him wee bee subiect to those men that are set ouer vs: but no otherwise than in him. If they commaunde any thing against him, let it haue no place and let no accompt be made of it: neither let vs herein any thing stay vpon al that dignitie wherewith y Magistrats excel, 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 reaso Daniel denieth that he had any thing offended against the king, when he obeyed not his wicked proclamation: because the king had passed his boundes, and had not onely beene a wrong doer to men, but in listig vp his horns 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 commaundement 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 ordinances of their kinges. With this y Prophet sharply reprocheth them, that they embraced the commaundements of the king: so farre is it of, that the pretence of humilitie may deserue praise wherewith the flatterers of the court doe 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 had resigned his right to mortall men, giuing them the rule of mankinde: or as though the earthly power were minished, when it is made subiect to the author of it, before whom euen the heauenly powers doe humble tremble for feare. I know how great and howe 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 whatsoever it be, than swarue from godlines. And that our courages shoulde not faint. Paul putteth also an other spur to vs: That we were therefore redeemed of Christ with so great a price as our redemption cost him, y we should not yelde our selues in thraldome to obey the peruerse desires of men, but much lesse should be bound to vngodlinesse.

Dan. 6. 22.

Osee. 5. 13.
1. Kin. 12. 30

Aa. 5. 29.

1. Cor. 7. 13.

Prayse be to God.

T. N.

A TABLE OF THE CHIEFE MAT- ters contained in this booke.

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<i>Angels.</i> bo. 1. ca. 14.	<i>Confirmation popish.</i> bo. 4.	<i>Holy Ghost & his offices.</i>
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A TABLE OF THE MAT- TERS ENTREATED OF IN THIS BOOKE, DISPOSED IN FORME

of common places, wherein is briefly re-
hearsed the summe of the Doctrine concer-
ning euery point taught in the
booke before at large, col-
lected by the Author.

*The first number signifieth the booke, the second the Chapter,
the third the Section.*

A.
Coluthes.

A Coluthes in the olde 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 gluttony, but of infi-
delitie: for he despising the word and
trueth of God, turned out of the way
to the lyes of Sathan: which infidelity
opened the gate to ambition & pride,
whereunto was adioyned vnthankful-
nesse: and ambition was the mother
of disobedience. 2. 1. 4.

By the fal of Adam sith other crea-
tures haue beene after a sort deformed,
it is no maruell, that all mankinde was
corrupted, that is to say: swarued out
of kinde from his first original, & made
subiect to curse. This the old Doctors
called Originall sinne, but yet did not
so plainly set foorth this point of Do-
ctrine as was conuenient. In the mean
time it is proued by reasons and testi-
monies of Scripture, y^e Pelagius sowly
erred when he sayd that by imitation
only, not by propagation, sinne passed
from the first man into all his poster-
tie. 2. 1. 5, 6.

And though the pestilence of sinne
doe principally abide in the soule, yet
it doeth not therefore pertaine to the
discussing of this Doctrine, to dispute

whether the soule of the childe com-
meth of the engendring substance of
the father: forasmuch 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 giftes
which he at the first had giuen to man,
man shoulde haue and loose them for
him and his. Finally it maketh not a-
gainst this doctrine, that the children
of the faithfull are sanctified. 2. 1. 7.

That by the fal of Adam the natu-
rall giftes 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 say-
ing is expounded. 2. 2. 12. that is to say
that the supernaturall giftes, faith, the
loue of God, charity toward our neigh-
bours, desirous endeouour of holinesse
and righteousnesse were taken away,
but are restored by Christ: & y^e the natu-
rall giftes, namely the vnderstanding
mind, and the heart are corrupted, be-
cause the soundnes of vnderstanding
and the vprightnes of heart were both
taken away: Also that reason in man
was not vterly blotted out, but partly
weakened and partly corrupted: & so
Will, because it can no be seuered fro
the nature of man, was not vterly de-
stroyed, but made thrall to corrupt de-
sires. 2. 2. 12.

It is proued by the testimonies of
Augustin

Augustine & of the Scripture, y^e God not only foresaw or suffred, but also by his will disposed the fal of the first mā, and in him the vaine of his posteritie. 3.23.7,8.

Angels.

Angels are creatures of God although Moises do not expresse them in the history of the creation. 1.14.3.

Of the time or order wherein they were created, it is not expedient to enquire, forasmuch as y^e Scripture (which we ought to follow for our rule) declarerh nothing thereof. 1.14.4.

Why the heauenly Spirits are called Angels, Armies, Vertues, Principalities, powers, Dominiōs, Thrones, Goddesses. 1.14.5.

Concerning Angels the Scripture reacherh so much as is auailable for our comfort and for the confirming of our faith, namely that they are distributors and ministers of Gods bountifullnes towarde vs, and the same by diuers wayes. 1.14.6,9.

Not onely one Angel hath seuerall care of euery one of vs, but they all with one consēt do watch for our safety: and therefore it is superfluous to enquire whether euery man haue his seuerall angel assigned to be his keeper. 1.14.7.

Of the number and degrees of Angels, it is curiousnes to require, & 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 & such other fantastical men, it is proued by sundry testimonies of the Scripture, that Angels are not qualities or inspirations without substance, but very spirites in deede. 1.14.9.

That superstition is herein to be auoided, and that wee giue not to Angels those things that belong only to

God and Christ. 1.14.10.

For auoyding of this peril, we must consider that whereas God y^eseth their seruice, hee doeth it not of neede, as though he could not be without them, but for the comfort of our weakenesse 1.14.11. And therefore whatsoeuer is sayd of the ministry of Angels, ought to be referred to this ende, that ouercomming all distrust, our trust in God should be thereby the more strongly stablished, & not that they should lead vs away from God. 1.14.12.

That the Angels also were created after the likenes of God. 1.15.3.

Archbishops and Patriarches.

See Bo.4. Chap.4. Sect.4. and 7.15. Of the Ascending of Christ into Heauen.

Although Christ in his rising againe beganne more fully to shewe forth his glory and power: yet in his Ascending into heauen he first truely beganne his kingdom, because he then powred out greater abundance of his Spirit, more royally aduanced his reigne, & shewed greater power both in helping thē that are his, and in ouerthrowing 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 maiestie, and with the faithful according to his vnspeakeable and inuisible grace. 2.16.14.

Of Christs sitting at the right hand of his father, and of the manifold fruit which our faith gathereth thereof. 2.16.15,16.

Auricular confession.

See Confession Auricular.

B.

Baptisme.

THe definition of Baptisme. The first end therof is to serue our faith before God, the other ende, to serue our confessiō before mē. It bringeth to our

our faith three things, first that it is a signe of our cleansing, assuring vs that all our finnes are done away. 4. 15. 1. which is proued by testimonies of the Scripture, and that it is not the water that cleanseth vs, but the bloude 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 all our life: and yet that we may not heereof take a liberty to sinne frō thence forward. 4. 15. 3.

The power of the keies (as they call it) that is to say, the ministerie of the Church, by which the forgiuenes of finnes is dayly preached vnto vs, is not to be seuered from baptisme. 4. 15. 4.

The second fruite of faith by baptisme, is that it sheweth to vs our mortifying in Christ, and a new life in him 4. 15. 5.

The thirde fruite is, that it testifieth that wee are so vnited to Christ, that wee are partakers of all his good things. For which cause Christ is called the proper object of baptisme, and the Apostles baptised into the name of Christ, in whome wee do so obtaine the matter both of our cleansing & of our regeneration, as wee obtaine the cause thereof in the father, & the effect in the holy Ghost. 4. 15. 6.

It is proued that the baptisme was allone which was ministred of Iohn and of the Apostles, although some of the olde Doctors thought otherwise. 4. 15. 7. and that it maketh not to the contrarie, that more abundant graces of the Spirite are poured out, since the resurrection of Christ. But yet there is in baptisme a difference to be made of the person of Christ from Iohn, and from the Apostles & other ministers. 4. 15. 8.

Both our mortifying & our cleansing

were as by shadowe signified among the people of Israel, by the passage through the sea, & the comfortable calling of the cloude. 4. 15. 9.

It is false which some haue taught, that by Baptisme wee are restored to the same righteousnesse & purenesse of nature which Adam had at the beginning. And there is shewed that in the children of God doe remaine yet some leauings of sinne, although the same reigne not in them: which doth whet their endeouours, and doeth 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, & for a confession before men. Where it is shewed that the graces of God are not enclosed in the Sacrament, so as they be giue to vs by the vertue thereof. 4. 15. 14, 15.

Baptisme is nothing encreased by the worthinesse of him that doth minister it, nor diminished by his vnworthinesse: against the Donatistes, and our Carabapustes which require a rebaptising, because wee haue beene baptised in the kingdom of the Pope. 4. 15. 16. their arguments are confuted Sect. 17, 18.

Baptisme is a continuall Sacramēt of repentance for all our life, so that wee neede 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 y

The Table.

Church & not to priuate men, much lesse to women: and the contrarie obiections are confuted. 4. 15, 20, 21, 22.

Baptisme of infants.

The baptizing of infants doth very well agree with Christes institution, and with the nature of the signe. 4. 16. &c.

Baptisme succeeded in the place of Circumcision, Wherin they be like, & wherein they be vnlike. 4. 16. 3, 4.

Infants are not to bee debarred frō baptisme, sith the Lorde doeth make them partakers of the thing signified in Baptisme. 4. 16. 5. and that the Lord doeth regenerate infants. Sect. 17, 18, 19.

Sith it is certaine that the same couenant, which it pleased God to make with Abraham, is sealed in infantes 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 handes vpon them. 4. 16. 7.

A confutation of certain argumētts of the enimies of infantes baptisme. 4. 16. 8, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29.

There commeth great fruit by the baptizing of infantes, both to the faithfull parentes and to the children. 4. 16. 9. Which fruite Satan trauaileth by the Anabaptistes to take from vs, 4. 16. 3. 2.

A confutation of the aduersaries arguments, saying, that ther be other things signified in baptisme than ther are in Circumcision: that our couenant differeth from the old couenāt: 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 fainded differences betweene Circumcision and baptisac. 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 infantes, the baptisac 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, that Christ was not baptised till his age of 30. yeares, 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 rehearfall of the arguments wherewith wicked Seruetus did fight against the baptisme of infantes, and a confutation of the same argumentes. 4. 16. 31.

Of baptizing of infantes. 4. 8. 16.

Bearing of the crosse.

It behoueth that wee 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 already giue vs great ground of patience and comfort. 3. 8. 1.

It is for many causes necessary for vs to leade our life vnder a continuall crosse: first to beate downe our arrogancie and trust of our owne strength. And this remedie euen the most holy do neede, as is proued by the example of Dauid. 3. 8. 2. Hereby our trust in God is confirmed, and our hope increased. Sect. 3.

Secondly, that our patience may be tried, and wee may be framed to obedience.

dience. 3. 8. 4. Which is most needeful for vs, fith the wantonnes of our flesh is fo great to make vs shake off y yoke of God when he doth once handle vs gently. Sect. 5.

Sometime also to punish our offences committed: wherein we acknowledge that he doth the office of a good father toward vs, but contrariwise the vnfaithfull are oftentimes made more obstinate. 3. 8. 6.

A singular comfort when we suffer either shame or losse, or any other calamitie for righteoufnes: which crosse most properly belongeth to the faithfull. 3. 8. 7.

Howe necessarie it is for the faithfull, in the bitterneffe of afflictions, to be furnished with this thought, that God loueth them, but is angry with their faults. 3. 4. 3. 4.

Bishops.

The name of Bishop in the olde church was giuen to some one in eue-ry feuerall company of ministers, for politike order, and not that they should beare a lordly rule ouer other. 4. 4. 2.

It was the office as well of the bishop as of other priestes, to preach & minister the Sacraments. 4. 4. 3.

The olde 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 Lorde and his worde. 4. 9. 12.

What bishops, and of what qualities, be made in the papacy. 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 ende. 4. 5. 4, 5.

Of the gifts of benefices in the papacy. 4. 5. 6, 7.

How faithfully al Priestes in the papacie do execute their office, whether they bee 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 ecclesiasticall gouernance as it is at this day in the papacy, is nothing else but a place of spoyle, wherein theeues do rob without lawe and measure. 4. 5. 13.

Of the dissolute licentiousnes in all partes of their life, which Priestes and bishops. &c. vse in the papacy. 4. 5. 14.

C.

Calling.

OF the effectual 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 doe make man a worker with God. Also against them that hang election vpon that which followeth election. 3. 24. 3.

The certieintie of our election is to be knowen by the word and calling of God, and we ought not to preace into the eternal counsell of God. 3. 24. 4.

The father hath chosen vs only in Christ, in him therefore let vs behold the stedfast ground of our election. 5. 24. 5. and so, that therof also wee may conceiue a sure confidence of perseverance to the end. 3. 24. 6, 7, 8, 9.

Two kindes of calling vniuersall, & speciall. 3.24.8.

It is proued by diuerse 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 no dreame, that there is a certaine seede of election planted in their hearts euen fro their natiuitie. 3.24.10,11.

It is shewed at large that as God doth by the effectualnesse of his Calling towards the elect, make perfect the saluation to which he had by his eternall counsell appointed them: so he hath his iudgements against y^e reprobates, whereby he putteth his purpose concerning them in execution, & maketh a way for his predestination. 3.24.12,13,14.&c.

Cardinals.

When the name of Cardinals first began, & howe they haue so suddenly flart vp to so great honor. 4.7.30.

Ceremonies.

The olde Ceremonies are taken away, as touching their vse onely, but not as touching their effect, for wee haue the same effect at this day most evidently and effectually in Christ. And this doth nothing diminish their holinesse, as it is proued. 2.7.16. & being weyed by themselues & without Christ, they ar worthily called of Paul handwritings against vs. 2.7.17.

The ordinances concerning Ceremonies in the Popes lawe, do commaunde obseruation for the most part vnprofitable, and sometime also foolish although they haue a great seeming of wisdom: morcouer 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 y^e lawe

were: because there appeareth in this point a manifest differēce between vs & the people before Christ. 4.10.14.

The popish ceremonies are beleued to be Sacrifices cleansing sinnes, & deseruing eternal life: they are without doctrine, and are snares to catch mony. 4.10.15.

Charitie toward our neighbour.

It is proued, against the Sorbonists, that Charitie is the loue of our neighbour & not of our selues. 2.8.54.

Vnder the name of neighbour is contained euery man, be he neuer so much a straunger to vs, and ouremie. 2.8.55. and therefore the Schoolmen are condemned of ignorance, which of the commaundementes of God, not to desire reuenge, & to loue our enemies, haue made counsels, to the necessary keeping wherof monkes alone do binde themselues: and it is proued y^e the old doctors of y^e Church, yea & Gregorie himselve, thought otherwise. 2.8.56,57.

We haue need of patience, that wee be not wearie of doing good to other. And we ought not to haue respect to the vnworthinesse or other qualities of men which might withdrawe vs, but to God which so commaundeth vs. 3.7.6.

To the fulfilling of all the partes of Charitie, it is not enough if wee performe all the dutifull deedes of Charitie, but wee must do it with a sincere affection of heart. Wherein the chiefe point is, that wee take vpon our selues the person of him whome wee see to neede our helpe. So shall we auoid disdainfull pride & other corruptings of Charitie. 3.7.7.

Christ & y^e Apostles in rehearsing the summe of the lawe doe sometime leaue out the first table: not for that it more auaieth to the summe of righteousness to liue innocently with men,

than

than to honour God with Godlinesse: but because vnfaigned Charitie is the prooffe of true Godlines. 2.8.52,53.

A confutation of the Pharisees of our time, which hold that we are iustified by charity, because Paul saith that Charity is greater than faith and hope 3.18.8.

An exposition of the tenth cōmandement, wherein (as in the former cōmandementes) is forbidden not only all purpose to hurt our neighbour, but also all lust or desire against Charitie. 2.8.49,58.

God doth for good cause and worthily require of vs so great feruentnes and vprightnes of loue. 2.8.50.

An exposition of the sixth commandement, wherein not only the slaughter or hatred of our neighbour is forbidden vs, but also the preseruing of his life is commanded vs, because man is both our flesh and the Image of God. 2.7.39,40.

Children.

See Obedience of Children to parentes.

Church.

The Church the mother of y^e faithfull. 4.1.1,4,5.

An exposition of this Article of the Creede, I beleue the holy Church. 4.1.2,3.

The holinesse of the Church is not yet perished. 4.8.12.

Of the inuisible Church: and of the visible Church, the signes whereof are the pure preaching of the worde and ministratiō of Sacramentes. 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 faulte creepe in, either in doctrine or in ministratiō of Sacraments, for y^e which yet we ought not to cast of the communion of that

Church, & much lesse for the imperfection of life and corruptnesse of manners: And herein the Anabaptistes are reprobud. 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 be the Church, as is proued by testimonies of Scripture and the experience of all ages. 4.1.17,18,19.

See *Ministry of the Church.*

Churches power as touching Articles of faith.

It is proued by the example of the Apostles and Prophets, and of Christ himselve, that whatsoeuer authoritie the Church hath, is properly not giuē to men, but to the word, the ministratiō whereof is committed to them: And therefore it was neuer lawfull for the Church, to teach any other thing, than y^e which she receiued of the Lord 4.8.1,2,3,4,8,9.

Christ hath euer taught his Church: and yet he hath vsed diuers maners of teaching according to the diuersity of times, ere the lawe was written, in the time of the lawe and the Prophetes, & last of all since that he himselve was openly shewed in the flesh. 4.8.5,6,7.

False Church.

Where lying and falshood hath gotten the vpperhand & reigneth, there is not the Church: And this is proued to bee in the papacy, although they there boast of a perpetuall succession of Bishops. 4.2.1,2,3,4.

They are not heretikes or schismatiques that depart from the papacie. 4.2.5,6.

How much soeuer a man make the best of the faultes of y^e popish Church, yet the state thereof is no better than was in the kingdome of Israell vnder Ierobeam. 4.2.7,8,9,10.

Yet by the goodnesse of God there remaine in the papacie certaine foot-
stepes

steppes of the Church: and so is that fulfilled which hath bene 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 tyranny of the Pope & his ministers in forging new articles of faith. 4.8. 10. Of the papists principle, y^e the Church can not erre. 4.8. 13,

It is false to say that it behoued that the Church should ad to the writings of the Apostles. 4.8. 14, 15, 16.

A confutation of the argumentes which the papists make, to proue that there is power giuen to the Church to coine newe articles of faith. 4. 8. 11, 12.

Christ.

The Godhead of the Sonne is proued. 1. 13. 7.

Against certaine dogges, which do priuily steal away from the sonne of God his eternity, affirming y^e hec then first began to be, when GOD spake at the creation of the world. 1. 13. 8.

Diuerse testimonies of Scripture, which affirme Christ to bee God, and first out of the olde testament. 1. 13. 9, 10. then out of the newe testament. Sect. 11.

A prooue 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 thinges. Sect. 13.

A difference betweene Christs working of miracles, and the Prophets or Apostles doing of the like. 1. 13. 13.

It is proued by many & most strong testimonies of Scripture, that Christe rooke vpon him a true substance of mans flesh, & not a Ghost or counterfaite shape of man, as the Marcionites fained, nor yet a heauely body as the Manichees lyingly affirmed. 2. 13. 1.

An expostio of the places of Scrip-

ture, which Marcion writted to the confirmation of his error, and also of those which Manicheus wrested, and many of their disciples do wrest at this day. 2. 13. 2, 3. where also are confuted the new Marcionites, which to proue that Christ tooke his body of nothing doe holde that women haue no seede: There are also certaine other thinges confuted, which are obiected 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 Merit of Christ.

See Priesthood &c. of Christ.

See Redeemer Christ.

See Resurrection of Christ.

Christian libertie.

Howe necessary is the knowledge thereof. 3. 19. 1.

Christian liberty consisteth in three partes: The first is entreated of. 3. 19. 2, 3. The second. Sect 4, 5, 6. The third. Sect. 7, 8.

Christian liberty is a spiritual thing, and all they doe wrongfully expound it, which either make it a cloke for their lustes, or do abuse it with offence of their weake brethren. 3. 19. 9, 10.

Ciuill government.

See Publike government.

Clerkes or Clergie.

Of Clerkes in the old Church. 4. 4. 9

Concupiscence or Lust.

The difference betweene concupiscence and counsell. 2. 8. 49.

That al the concupiscences of men are euill and guilty 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 weyed. 3. 3. 12. and this is proued by manie places of his writings. 3. 3. 13.

Confession Auricular.

The Table.

Concerning Confession, the scholē diuines do fight against the Canonists, affirming that it is not by the commandement of God. A confutation of the argumentes wherevpon the first sorte doe stande, first because the Lorde in the Gospel did send the Leprous whō hee had cleansed to the Priestes: and there is shewed the true meaning of y^e doing. 3.4.4.

A confutation of their second argument, for that the Lorde commaunded his disciples to lose & vnwind Lazarus whē he was raised frō deth. 3.4.5

A true exposition of two places by which they trauell to uphold their confession: that is to say, that they which came to the Baptisme of Iohn did confesse their sins, & Iames willesh vs to confesse our sins one to another. 3.4.6

The vse of cōfessing to a priest is very auncient, but yet free as a politike order, not as a law set by Christ or his Apostles: and afterward the same was abrogate by Nectarius Bishop of the Church of Constantinople, because of a Deacon which had vnder that pretence abused a womā. This tyrannous law was not laide vpon Churches before the time of Innocent the third, about three hundred yeares past, and the foolishnesse and barbarousnes of that ordinance is declared. 3.4.7.

Witnesses of the saide abrogation, out of Christostome Bishop of Constantinople. 3.4.8.

An exposition of Innocentes law concerning the confession of al sinnes where are rehearsed the diuerse opinions of the Romish diuines concerning the number and vse of keyes, and the power of binding & loosing. 3.4.15.

The lewdnes of al the particular articles of the law of confessing, & specially of y^e concerning y^e rehearsing of all sins. 3.4.16. & a plaine description of y^e crueltie wherewith poore consciences

were by diuerse circumstances tormented therein. 3.4.17.

By a similitude is described howe a great part of the world hath hitherto obeyed such illusions. That it is an impossible law, & maketh men hypocrites. And thē is shewed a most certain rule of confession according to the example of the publicane. 3.4.18.

A confutation of this article, y^e sins are not forgien, & that the gate of paradise is shut, &c. vnles there bee first firmly cōceiued a vow of confessing, where also their obiection is confuted y^e iudgement can not bee pronounced til the cause be heard, that is to say, y^e absolution can not be giuen till all the sins be rehearsed. 3.4.19.

It is no maruell y^e we condemne & abolish auricular confession, & our aduersaries do falsly assigne so gret profit vnto it, forso much as on y^e other side it armeth mē to boldnes of sinnig. 3.4.19

They do falsly pretend y^e they haue the power of y^e keyes, sith they are not the successors of y^e Apostles, nor haue y^e holy ghost, forasmuch as they do dayly without consideration loose these things which the lord hath commanded to be bound, & bind what he hath commanded to be loosed. 3.4.20.

It is proued false y^e they say that the power of the keyes may sometime be vsed without knowledge, forasmuch as by y^e meane the absolutiō should be vncertaine. Where also is spoken of y^e absolution or condēnation which the ministers of the gospel or the Church do pronounce according to the worde, & of the certaintie thereof. 3.4.21.

The absolution of the Priestes in y^e papacie is vncertaine, as wel on the behalfe of him y^e assoileth as of him y^e cōfesseth; 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

only sacrifice of Christ, and do yelde to the grace offered vnto him. 3. 4. 22.

The Popish Doctors, when they alledge for themselves the power of loosing giuen to y^e Apostles, do wrongfully wrest to auricular cōfession those sayings which Christ spake partly of preaching of the Gospel, and partly of excommunication. The errors of Lōbard and such other in this matter: & 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 worde of God, namely to cōfesse to God the knower of our hartes and of all our thoughtes. 3. 4. 9.

Out of this secret confession made to God, followeth a voluntarie confession before men, so oft as it is behouefull for the glorie of God or the humbling of our selues. And of this second kinde there was an ordinary vse in the old Church, & is also in the Church at this day. But yet extraordinarily it ought after a speciall manner to be vsed, whensoever it shall happen that the people bee guiltie in any generall offence, or to be plagued with any calamitie. Of the profite of such confession. 3. 4. 10, 11.

Of two other sortes of priuate confession: of which the first is vsed for our owne cause, when we require comfort of our brethren, because the feeling of sins doth vex and trouble vs: in which case we must chiefly resort to our pastors: and this remedy is warely & moderately to be vsed, that no bondage be brought in. The other sorte is to appease and reconcile our neighbour, if he bee in any thing offended by our fault, vnder which kinde is contained

their Confession which haue sinned so farre 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 fruite which they that confesse do receiue thereby, because they knowe that forgiuence of sinnes is declared to them by the messenger of Christe. 3. 4. 14.

Of confession of sinnes one sorte is generall an other speciall. 3. 20. 9.

Confirmation Popish.

The ceremonie of laying on of hands, when the children of the faithfull, which were baptised in their infancie, did yeelde an accompt of their faith. 4. 19. 4.

Of the popishe sacrament of Confirmation foisted in place of that holy institution. 4. 19. 5.

That the example of the Apostles is wrongfully alleadged for defence thereof. 4. 19. 6.

It is blasphemie when they call it the oyle of saluation. 4. 19. 7, 8. & when they say that none are made full Christians till they be annointed with the Bishoppes Confirmation. Sect. 9. and when they say that this annointing is to be had in greater reuerence thā 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 accompt of their faith. 4. 19. 13.

Conscience.

Consciences, when they seeke assistance of their iustification before God ought to forget all the righteousnesses of the law. 3. 19. 2, 3.

The Consciences of the faithful do not follow the lawe as constraigned by necessitie of the lawe, but being free from the yoke of the law, doe voluntarily obey the wil of God. 3. 19. 4, 5, 6.

Of the freedom of conscience in outward

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ward and indifferent things. 3. 19. 7, 8

The Consciences of the faithful being sette at libertie by the benefite of Christ, are made free from the power of all men: and howe this is to be vnderstoode: 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 sayeth, 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 auncient Councils. 4. 9. 1.

By the Scripture the Couñcels haue no authoritie, vnlesse they bee 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 y^e Church vnlesse it bee among the pastors, and that the Church it selfe is not vnlesse it remaine to be seene in general Couñcels. 4. 9. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

What thinges are to bee weyed in searching the authoritie of any Council: and that Augustine prescribeth a very good way therein. 4. 9. 8.

Councils one against an other. 4. 9. 9. and euen in those former and auncient Councils are found faultes and errors. 4. 9. 10, 11.

Creation of the world.

Although God ought to bee knowne by the Creation of things, yet least the faithful should fall away to the fained inuentions of the heathen, his will was y^e historie of the Creation

should remaine written, & the time thereof expressed in the Scripture. 1. 14. 1. where their vngodly scoffing is constituted, which aske why it came not sooner in Gods mind to creat heauen & earth 1. 14. 1.

For the same purpose it is rehearsed that G O D ended his worke, not in a moment, but in six dayes: and likewise the order is set forth, namely that Adā was not created til God had first furnished the world with al plenty of good thinges. 1. 14. 2, 22.

A confutation of the error of Manicheus concerning two originall beginnings. 1. 14. 3.

It is proued by the Scriptures that y^e knowledge of God which appeareth in the workmanship of the worlde can not by it selfe alone bring vs into the right way. 1. 5. 13. and yet are we rightfully without all excuse. Sect. 14.

Although the beholding of heauen and earth and the consideration of the ordering of thinges pertaining to men, doe moue vs to worshippe God, yet all these thinges passed away without profit, euen from the wisest Philosophers, 1. 5. 10.

Herupon came the infinite number of gods, and the contrarieties of opinion among the sects of Philosophers concerning God. 1. 5. 11.

The substance of God is incomprehensible: but in his workes, by engraving certain points of his glory therein he hath after a certaine maner presented himselfe to be seene. 1. 5. 1.

The wisdom of God is testified, not only by those thinges which philosophers & learned men do find by speculation in heauen and earth, but also which common men do perceiue by the onely helpe of their eyes. 1. 5. 2.

That wee may with true faith conceiue so much as behoueth vs to know concerning God, it is good to learne the

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the historie of the Creatiō of y world, in such sort as Moses hath set it forth, the chiefe pointes whereof are briefly rehearsed. 1. 14. 20.

The consideration of the workes of God, that is to say, of the Creation of all things, ought to be applyed to two principall endes: first that we doe not with vnthankful neglecting or forgetfulnes passe ouer his vertues which he presenteth apparently to bee seene in his creatures. 1. 14. 21. secondly, y wee may learn to apply them to our selues, wherby we may stirre vp our selues to the trust, inuocation, praise, and loue of him. 2. 14. 22.

Crosse.

See bearing of the Crosse.

D.

Deacons

OF Deacons and the two sortes of them. 4. 3. 9.

In the olde Church y office of Deacons was the same that it was in the Apostles time. Of subdeacons & archdeacons, and when they first beganne 4. 4. 5.

How the Church goods were vsed and bestowed in the olde Church. 4. 4. 6, 7.

Of popishe Deacons, their office, and the ceremonie of their ordering. 4. 19. 32.

Of popish subdeacons, and their trifling office, & the fond maner of their ordering. 4. 19. 33.

Of popish Deacons and their institution. 4. 5. 15.

The Papists haue no true Deaconry left, forasmuch as all the disposition of Church goods among them is openly turned to sacrilege and robbery. 4. 5. 16, 18, 19.

A confutation of the shamelesnesse or certaine papists, which say that the riotous excesse of priestes and of all the popish Church, is the gloriousnes

of the kingdome of Christ which the holy prophetes spake of before. 4. 5. 17.

Death of Christ.

Although christ hath by the whole course of his obedience, that is to saye by his whole life and al the parts thereof, redeemed vs, yer y Scripture to set forth more plainly the manner of our saluation, doth ascribe the same as peculiar & proper to the death of Christ. In the which the voluntary yelding 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 innocency was oftentimes testified euen by the iudges owne mouth. 2. 1. 5.

The manner of his Death is to be marked, y is to say, the accursed crosse. And it is declared by many testimonies of Esay & the Apostles, that this behoued so to be, that the curse wich was dew to vs being cast vpō him and so ouercome and take away, we should be diluiered. 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 wherunto 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 greate thing, and is of no small importance to the effect of our redemption. Diuerse expositions of this article are rehearsed and confuted. 2. 16. 8. 9.

A true, godly, holy and comfortable exposition thereof out of the word

of God, which is also confirmed by the testimonie of the old doctors, y^e Christ did not onely suffer a bodily death, but also did feele the rigor of Gods vengeance, whereby hee might both appease his wrath and satisfie his iust judgement: and therefore it behoued that he should, as it were hand to hand wrestle with the power of hel and with y^e horror of euerlasting death, yet was God not at any time either his enemy, or angrie with him. But hee did suffer the greenousnesse of Gods seueritie, in respect that hee beeing stricken and beaten with the hand of God, did feele al the tokens of Gods wrath and punishment. 2.16.10,11.

A confutation of certaine wicked and vnlearned men, which at this day doe find fault with this exposition crying out that the sonne of God hath wrong done to him, and that hee is charged with desperation, which is contrary to faith. Therefore it is prooued against the with manifest testimonies, that these two things do very wel stand together, that Christ feared, was troubled in spirit, was affraide, was tempered in euery point as we are, and yet y^e he is without sinne. 2.16.12.

Deuelles.

Those things y^e the scripture teacheth concerning deuils, tend commonly to this end, y^e we should be carefull to beware of their deceits, & furnish our selues with those weapons which may be able to beat 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 deuils, but gret armies of euil spirits y^e make war against vs: & in what sense it sometime speaketh of the diuill in the singular nuber. 1.14.14

This ought to enflame vs to a continuall war with the diuel, for that hee is euery where called enemy to God

and vs. 1.14.15.

The Deuill is naturally wicked, a murderer, a lyer, and forger of all maliciousnes. 1.14.15. But this euilnesse of nature is not by creation, but by corruption. 1.14.16.

It is curiositie to enquire of y^e cause, maner, time & fashion of the fall of the euill Angels, forasmuch as the scripture leaueth it vnspoken. 1.14.16.

This the Deuill hath of himselfe and of his owne naughtinesse, desirously and purposely to striue againste God, but he can do and performe nothing vnlesse God be willing & grant it. 1.14.17.

God so tempereth this gouernment, that he giueth Satan no reigne ouer the soules of the faithfull, forasmuch as in the ende they euer obteyne the victorie, although in some particular doinges they bee wounded and beaten down: 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 Deuelles are nothing else but euil affections 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 necessary 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 bee subiect to the Discipline of y^e church, & so was it wont to be
in the

requireth a full & settled assurednes: & hereunto are to be referred al those titles of commendation wherewith y^e holy Ghost setteth forth the authoritie of the word of God. 3.2.15.

Many do so conceiue the mercy of God, that they receiue verie litle comfort thereof, because they dout whether he wil be mercifull to themselues or no; but there is a farre other feeling of the abundant store of Faith, the chiefe ground whereof is that wee do not thinke the promises to bee true without our selues onely, but rather y^e by inwardly embracing 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 vnquietnesse, but also are sometime shaken with most grievous terrours: yet this withstandeth not but that faith bringeth assurednesse with it, because howsoeuer they bee troubled, yet they neuer fall & depart from y^e sure affiance which they haue conceiued of the mercie of God, but striuing with their owne weakenesse they alway get the vpper hand at last: which is prooued by many examples, in Dauid. 3.2.17.

A description of the battell of the flesh & the spirite within a faithfull soule. 3.2.18.

The assurednesse of Gods good will. 3.2.18.

A confutation of the moste pestilent subtle reasoning of certaine halfe papistes, which although they cōfesse that so oft as we looke vpon Christ, we finde plentifull matter to hope well; yet will needes haue vs to wauer and dout in consideration of our owne vnworthinesse. And it is prooued that wee ought neuer thelesse to looke for assu-

red saluation, forasmuch as Christ by a certaine maruelous cōmunion doth daily growe together more & more into one bodie with vs. 3.2.24.

So soone as wee haue any one drop of faith we begin to behold God mercifull vnto vs, although a farre offindeede, yet with so assured sight, as wee knowe we are not decieued: Both these points are prooued by testimonies of Paul. 3.2.19, 20.

It is shewed by examples, howe Faith armeth and fortifieth it selfe with the worde of God to beare the violent assaults of tentations, & how the godly minde neuer suffereth the affiance of Gods mercie to bee plucked away from it, although it be assailed with many remnants of vnbeliefe and distrust. 3.2.21.

In the good wil of God, which faith is said to haue respect vnto, although faith doe chiefly looke vnto the assured expectation of eternall life, yet there are also contained promises of this present life and a perfect surerie of all good things, but the same such as may be gathered of the word: both these pointes are confirmed by testimonies of Scripture. 3.2.28.

Faith, although it embrace y^e worde of God in euery point, that is to say, in the commaundements also and in the prohibitions, and threatenings, yet hath her foundation and proper marke whereunto it is directed, in the free promise of mercie: and for this reason the Gospell is called the worde of faith; and is set as contrary to the lawe. 3.2.29.

Yet doe wee not by this distinction tearre faith in sunder as Pyghius shamefully cauilleth. 3.2.30.

Faith doth no lesse neede y^e worde of God, than the fruit doth neede the liuely roote of the tree, and with the word must be ioyned a consideration of

of the power of God, without y^e which mens cares will either not willingly heare the word, 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, & by his benefits either particular or auncient, and such as hee hath bestowed vpon the whole Church. 3.2.31.

The faithful oftentimes so behaue themselves, that some errors are mingled with their faith, & they seeme to passe the bounds of the word, but yet so, y^e faith hath alway the vpper hand: This is proued by the exāples of Sara & Rebecca, whome in the crooked turnings of their minde, God did by a secret bridle hold fast in the obediēce of his word. 3.2.31.

By reason of our blindnes & stiffneckednes, the worde suffiseth not to make vs haue faith, vnlesse the spirite of God do enlighten our minde, and strengthen our heart with his power: & the same spirit is not onely the beginner of our faith, but also doeth encrease it by degrees. 3.2.33.

Although it seeme to the moste parte of men a most strange doctrine, that no man can beleue in Christ, but he to whome it is giuen, yet, it is proued to bee most true by reasons, testimonies of Scripture, and exam- ples. 3.2.34.

Therefore faith is called the Spirit of Faith, the worke and good pleasure of God: and it is a singular gift, which hee giueth by singular priuilege to whome he will, as it is proued by notable sentences taken out of Augustin 3.2.35.

It is not enough that the minde be enlightened with vnderstanding of the worde, 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, & the spirite of promise. 3.2.36.

Although faith bee tossed with diuerse doutings, yet it alway at the last escapeth out of the gulfe of tentations and receiueth most sweete quietnes. 3.2.37.

A confutation of the damnable doctrine of the Schoolemen, which saye y^e we can none otherwise determine of the grace of God toward vs, than by morall coniecture. 3.2.38.

They are proued to bee miserably blinde, in saying that it is rashnes for vs to conceiue an vndouted knowlege of the will of God: A good comparison of them and Paul in this point of doctrine. 3.2.39.

A confutation of their trifling shift, that although we may take vpon vs to iudge of the grace of God according to the present state of righteousnes, yet the knowledge of persevering to y^e end abideth in suspence. 3.2.40.

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 y^e schoolemen, that charitie is before faith and hope, is confuted by the testimonie of Bernard. 3.2.41.

Hope is alway engendred of faith, & is the vndeuided cōpanion of faith, so that whosoever lacketh hope, is proued also to haue no faith. Also faith is nourished & strengthened by hope, & how necessarie are the helps of hope to stablish faith, which is assailed with so many sortes of tentations. 3.2.42.

By reason of this conioyning and alliance of faith & hope, the scripture doth many times vse those two words 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 workes 3.2.43.

Of the imperfection of faith, & the confirming & encrease thereof. 4.14.7, 8.

Of the summe of our faith, which we call the Creede, or Simbole of the Apostles 2.16.18.

The conclusion of the 16. Chapter, wherein are brefely contained the benefites that came to vs by those thinges that are spoken concerning Christ in the Simbole of the Apostles. 2.16.19.

See iustificacion of Faith.

Fasting.

Of that parte of Discipline of the Church, which concerneth the appointing of Fastings, or extraordinary prayers: & how pastors ought to vse it. 4.12.14, 16, 17.

It is to be provided that no superstition creepe in in fasting. 4.12.19.

The holy & rightfull Fasting hath three ends. 4.12.15.

The definition of fasting. 4.12.18.

Of the superstition of Lent, & the diuersitie of obseruing the same Fasting. 4.12.20, 21.

Feare.

The faithfull are oftentimes troubled with Feare & distrust by reason of the feeling of their owne weaknes. 3.2.17.

Another kinde of Feare conceiued in a godly heart, either by examples of Gods vengeance against the wicked, or by consideration of his owne misery: Such feare is so much not contrary to faith, y^e the faithfull are much exhorted to haue it. Neither is it any maruel, if there be in a faithfull soule both feare & faith, sith on y^e other side in y^e wicked there are both dull negligence & carefulesnes. 3.2.22, 23.

The feare of God proceedeth out of a double feeling, namely when wee honor God as our father, & feare him

as our Lord: Neither is it any maruell if one minde haue both those affections. 3.2.26.

This feare differeth from the feare of the vnfaithfull, which they comonly call a seruite 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 wee are not at our own libertie, but hallowed & dedicate to God. And therefore wee ought to forsake our selues, & our owne reason (which as the Philosophers thinke, ought alone to be obeyed) to the end that we may be gouerned by y^e worde & Spirite of the Lord. 3.7.1.

Also that wee ought not to seeke those thinges that are our owne, but those thinges 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, & partly, yea, & chiefly in respect of God. Toward other men, the scripture comandeth vs to do two things: namely to preferre them in honour before our selues, & with vnfained truth to employ our selues wholly to procure their comodities. How y^e first of these points is to be performed, is taught in the 3.7.4. & also how the Scripture lea- deth vs by the hande to the seconde point is shewed in the 3.7.5.

See certaine things persaining to this purpose. 3.20.43.

Free will.

Man was endued with Free will in the first estate of his creation. 1.15.8. which he lost by his fall. Of this the

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Philosophers were ignorant, & 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 bee but a staffe made of a reede, yea, but a smoke. In the meane time we must beware, that while wee take all vprightnesse from man, we do not thereof take occasion of slothfulnesse. But rather wee ought thereby to be stirred vp to seeke in God all the goodnes whereof wee our selues are void. The defenders of freewill do rather throwe it down headlong than stablish it. 2. 2. 1.

The Philosophers determine three powers of the soule, Vnderstanding, Sense, & Wil or Appetite: and they thinke that the reason of mans vnderstanding suffiseth for his good gouernance: that will is by sense moued to euill, so that it doth hardly yelde it self to reason, and sometime is diuersly drawen from the one to the other, but yet that it hath a free election and can not be stopped, that it may follow reason her guide in al things: finally that vertues & vices are in our powers. 2. 2. 2, 3.

The Ecclesiasticall writers, although they acknowledged the soundnesse of vnderstanding, & the freedom of will to haue bene sore wounded by sinne, yet haue spoken too much philosophically of this matter. The old writers did it for this purpose, first because they were loth to teache a thing that should be an absurditie in the commo iudgement of men, & also specially least they should giue a newe occasion of slothfulnes to the flesh being already to much dul to goodnes, as appeareth by many sayings of Chrystostoe &

Hierome. The Greeke doctors about all other, & specially Chrystostome, do exceede measure in aduancing freewill. But all the old writers generally, except Augustine, doe so varie & wauer in this point of doctrine, y^e there can almost no certaintie be gathered of their writings. They which came after the, fel one after another to worse & worse. The definitiōs of freewill out of Origen, Augustin, Bernard, Anselm, Peter Lombard, & Thomas. 2. 2. 4.

In what things they do commonly giue freewill to man, & of the three sorts of mans will. 2. 2. 5.

Also of the common distinction of the three sorts of libertie. 2. 2. 5.

Whether man be wholly deprived of power to do good, or whether hee haue yet some power though it bee weake: where it is spoken of the common distinction of grace working & grace working together, & what is admisse in the same distinction. 2. 2. 6.

Forasmuch as it cannot otherwise be said that man hath freewill, but because he doth euill of his own will, and not by compulsion, it had bene very good for the church y^e this word freewill had neuer bene vsed, which had raised vp men to a damnable trust of theselues. The old writers also do oft declare what they meane by y^e worde, specially Augustine, out of whō there are many places alleaged, where hee weakeneth & mocketh the strength therof, both when he calleth it Bondwill, & when he expoundeth the thing it selfe as it is at large. 2. 2. 7, 8.

Although y^e old Ecclesiasticall writers do sometime too much aduance freewill, and haue spoken doubtfully & diuersly in y^e matter: yet it appeareth by very many of their sayings, y^e they litle or nothing esteeming mans power, gaue the whole praise of al goodnes to the holy Ghost. Many such sentences

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tences are rehearsed out of Cyprian, Augustine, Eucherius, Chrysostome. 2.2.9.

The power of mans wil is not to be weyed by the successe of thinges, but by the choise of iudgement & the affection of will. 2.4.8.

It is proued against the defenders of freewill that sinne is of necessitie, & yet neuertheless ought to be impured: also that it is voluntarie, and yet cannot be auoided. 2.5.1.

A solution of an other obiection of theirs, wher they say that vnlesse both vertues & vices proceed of Free election of will, it were no reason that mā should either bee punished or rewarded. 2.5.2.

Also another obiection, wher they say that if this were not the power of our will, to choose good or euil, then of necessitie either all men shoulde be good, or all men euill. 2.5.3.

Against the same men also it is proued that exhortations, admonitions & rebukings are not in vain, although it be not in the power of the sinner to obey: and there is shewed what effect the same doe worke both in the wicked & in the faithfull. 2.5.4, 5.

It is not to be gathered by the commaundements and lawe of God, that man hath freewill & strength to perfourme them, for God doth not onely commaunde what ought to be done, but also promiseth grace to obey. 2.5.6, 7, 9.

This is proued as well in the commaundements which require the first conuersion to God, as also in those which speake simply of the obseruing of the lawe, and those which commaund men to continue in the receiued grace of God. For the same God which requireth those things, doth testifie y^e the conuersion of a sinner, holinesse of life, stedfastnes of continu-

ance, are his free gifts, and the praise thereof is not to be parted betweene God & man. 2.5.8, 9, 11.

The conditionall promises, as, if ye wil, if ye heare, and such like, do not proue that there is in man a free power of willing or hearing; yet it is proued that God doth not mocke men in so bargaining with them. Also what is the vse of such protestations, both towarde the godly and toward the vngodly. 2.5.10.

The reprochings, wherein God saith to his people that they were the cause that they receiued not all kinde of good thinges at his hande, doe not proue that it was mans power to escape the euils wherwith they were afflicted. And there is spoken of the vse of such reprochings as well towarde them y^e obstinaty go forward in their faults, as toward the conformable that are conuerted to repentance. Also where as the Scripture doth sometime giue to vs the office of doing, it doeth so for no other reason but to awaken y^e slothfulnes of the flesh. 2.5.11.

The saying of Moses, The commaundement is necre to thee, in thy mouth & in thy heart &c. maketh nothing for the defenders of free will, forasmuch as he there speketh not of the bare commaundements, but of the euangelical promises of y^e 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 me will do. 2.5.13.

Also those places where good works are called ours, and wee are saide to do that which is holy and pleasing to the Lord. And here is shewed that the only spirit of God worketh all good motions in vs, but yet not as in stocks. 2.5.14, 15.

An expositio of certaine other places of scripture, which the enemies of the

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the grace of God do abuse, to stablish
Freewill. 2. 5. 16, 17, 18, 19.

G.

God.

THe Scripture teaching the immea-
surable and spirituall substance of
God, doth ouerthrow not only the fol-
lies of the common people, but also
the subtile inuention of prophane phi-
losophy, and the error of the Mani-
chees concerning two originall begin-
nings, & the false opinion of the An-
thropomorphites concerning a bodi-
ly God. 1. 13. 1.

In what sense it is sayde that God is
in heauen, and what doctrine is to bee
gathered thereof. 3. 20. 40.

What is, the name of God to be san-
ctified. 3. 20. 41.

Of the kingdom of God among me
and of the encreasing and fulnes ther-
of. 3. 2. 42.

See knowledge of God.

See Image of God in man.

Gospell.

Christ, although hee were known
to the Iewes in time of the law, was yet
shewed in deede only by the Gospell:
and the holy fathers tasted of y^e grace,
which is now offered to vs with full a-
boundance, they saw the day of Christ
albeit with a dim sight, the glory wher-
of now shineth in the Gospel, without
any veile betweene vs and it. 2. 9. 1, 2.

In the same place also is shewed,
that the Gospell is properly & special-
ly called the publishing of the grace
giuen in Christ, and not the promises
that are written by the Prophets con-
cerning the remission of sinnes. Against
the doctrine of Seruetus, which taketh
away the promises vnder this pretence
that by the faith of y^e Gospell we haue
the fulfilling of all the promises, it is
proued that though Christ offer to vs
in the Gospel a present fulnesse of spi-
rituall good things, yet the enioying

thereof lyeth hidden vnder the custo-
dy of hope so long as wee liue in this
world, 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 works
with the imputation of free righteous-
nesse. 2. 9. 4.

John y^e Baptist had an office meane
betweene the prophetes expositors of
the lawe, and the Apostles publishers
of the Gospell. 2. 9. 5.

Government.

See Politike Government.

H.

Handes

See laying on of Handes.

Holy water of Papiſts.

See Booke. 4. Chap. 10. Section. 20.

Holy Ghost.

Testimonies wherby the Godhead
of the holy Ghost is proued. 1. 13. 14,
15.

The holy Ghost is the bond wher-
with Christ doeth effectually binde vs
to him, and without it, all that Christ
hath suffered and done for the saluati-
on of mankind doth nothing profit vs.
3. 1. 1, 3.

Christ came after a singular maner
furnished with the holy Ghost, to se-
uer vs from the world, and therefore he
is called the Spirite of sanctification.
Why he is sometime called the Spirit
of the father, and sometime the Spirit
of the Sonne. He is called the Spirit of
Christ, not only in respect that Christ
is y^e eternal Word, but also according
to his person of Mediator. 3. 1. 2.

An exposition of the titles wherwith
the Scripture setteth forth the holy
Ghost: and there is entreated of the
beginning & whol restoring of our sal-
uation: The titles be these: y^e Spirit of
adoption, the earnest & seale of our in-
heritance, life, water, oyle, oynment,

X x x 4 fire,

fire, a fountaine, the hand of God, &c.

3.1.3.

Faith is the chiefe work of the holy Ghost, and therefore to it for the most part are al those things referred which are commonly found in the Scripture to expresse the force & effectual power of the holy Ghost. 3.1.4.

Humility.

It is not the true Humilitie which God requireth of vs vnlesse we acknowledge our selues vtterly voyde of all goodnes and righteousnesse. 3.12.6.

Of this humility there is an example shewed in the Publicance. 3.12.7.

That we may giue place to the calling of Christ, both presumption and carelesnes must be far away from vs. 3.12.8.

There is no danger least man should take too much from himself, so that he learne that which wanteth in himselfe is to be recouered in God. It is a deuillish word, although it be sweet to vs, y^e listeth vp man in himselfe: for repulsing whereof, there are recited out of the Scripture many weighty sentēces, which do rigorously throw down man: and also there are recited certain promises, which do promise grace to none but to them that doe pine away with feeling of their owne pouerty. 2.2.10.

Certaine notable sayings of Chrysostome & Augustine concerning true Humilitie. 2. 2.11.

I

Idols.

The Scripture setteth out God by certain titles of addition & marks, not to the entent to binde him to one place or to one people, but to put difference betweene his holy Maiestie and Idols. 2.8.15.

An exposition of the first commandēt: where is shewed that worshipping, trust, inuocation, and thankesgiuing, belong wholly to G O D, and no

whit thereof may be conueyed any otherwhere without great iniury to him to whose eyes all things are open. 2.8.16.

An exposition of the seconde commandement: where is spoken of Idols and Images. 2.8.17.

The Scripture, to the entēt to bring vs to the true God, doth expressly exclude all the gods of the Gentiles. 1.10.3. & specially al Idols and Images. 1.11.1.

God is feuer ed from Idols, not only that he alone should haue the name of God, but that he alone should be wholly worshipped, & nothing that belongeth to the Godhead should be conueied to any other. 1.12.1.

The glory of G O D is corrupted with false lying, when any forme is appointed to it. 1.11.1.

It is proued by textes and reasons, that God generally misliketh all Portraytures & Images that are made to expresse a figure of him, and this prohibition pertained not to the Iewes only. 1.11.2.

God did in olde time so shewe his presence by visible signes either to the whole people or to certain chosen mē, that y^e same signes admonished them of the incomprehensible substance of God. 1.11.3.

It is proued euen of Iuuenals testimony that the Papisfs are mad, which defend the Images of God & of Saints with the example of the Cherubs cōuering the propiciatorie. 1.11.3.

The stuffe it selfe & also the workmanship which is done with the hands of men, do sheweth that Images are not Gods. 1.11.4.

Against the Grecians, which make no grauen Image of God, but do giue the meselues leaue to paint him. 1.11.4.

The saying of Gregory, vppon which the Papisfs say that they stand, that Images are vnlearned mēs bokes,

The Table.

is confuted by the testimonie of Hierome, Habacuc, Lactantius, Eusebius, Augustine, Varro, and the decree of the Elebertine councill. 1. 11. 5, 6, 7.

The Papiſtes Portraitureſ or Images whereby they represent the holy martyrs and virgins, are paternes of moſt wicked riotous exceſſe and vnchaſtneſ. 1. 11. 7. 12.

The people ſhal learne much more by the preaching of the word and miniſtration of ſacramentes, than by a thouſand wodden croſſes. 1. 11. 7.

The antiquitie and beginning of Idolatrie, for that men thinking God not to be neere them, vnleſſe hee did ſhewe himſelfe carnally preſent, raiſed vp ſignes in which they beleued that hee was carnally conuerſant before their eies. 1. 11. 8.

Aſter ſuch an inuention by and by followeth the worſhipping of y Image, like as of God or of any other creature in the Image: both which the lawe of God forbiddeth. 1. 11. 8, 9.

Againſt them, which for defence of abominable Idolatrie, doe pretende that they doe not take the images for Gods, it is prooued that neither the Iewes did thinke their caſe to be God nor the heathen when they made to themſelues Images did euer thinke the ſame to be God, whom yet no man excuſe. 1. 11. 9.

The Papiſtes are ſo perſwaded as y heathen and the Idolatrous Iewes were, that they worſhippe God himſelfe vnder Images. 1. 11. 10. Neither can they eſcape away with their diſtinction of ſeruiſe and worſhippe. 1. 11. 11. 16. & 1. 12. 2.

When Idolatry is condemned, grauing and painting are not vtterly reprooued, but there is required a true and right vſe of them both, that God be not counterfaiſed with bodily ſhape but onely thoſe things which our eyes

may behold. 1. 11. 12.

Of Images in the temples of Chriſtians. 4. 9. 9.

Euen the Idolaters themſelues in all ages, naturally vnderſtood y there is one onely God: but this vnderſtanding auayled no further than to make them to be vnexcusable. 1. 10. 3.

Idolatrie is an euident prooſe that the knowledge of G O D is naturally planted in the mindes of all men. 1. 3. 1.

Image of God in man.

What it is, that man was create aſter the Image of God: And here are confuted the ſonde expoſitions of Oſiander and of other: and here is declared that though the Image of God doe appeare alſo in the outwarde man and doe extende to the whole excellence wherewith the nature of man paſſeth all kinde of liuing creatures, yet the principall ſeate thereof is in the minde and in the heart, or in the ſoule and the powers thereof. 1. 15. 3. & 2. 2. 1.

The Image of God at the beginning appeared in Adam, in light of minde, vprightneſſe of heart, and the ſoundneſſe of all his partes: which is prooued by the repaying of corrupted nature, wherein Chriſt newly faſhioneth vs aſter the image of GOD, and by other argumentes. 1. 15. 4.

Indulgences.

See Pardons.

Infantes.

See Baptiſing of Infantes.

Laſt Iudgement.

Of the viſible preſence of Chriſt when he ſhall appeare at the laſt day: Of the Iudgement of the quicke and deade, 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.

sciences. 3. 25. 7, 8.

Of the incōprehensible grieuoufnes of Gods vengeance against the reprobate. 3. 25. 12.

Judiciall proceedings in Law.

Of the vse of Iudiciall proceedings, Magistrates, and Lawes, among Christians. It is lawful for Christians to sue for their right before a Magistrate, so that the same be done without hurting of pietie and of the loue of our neighbour. 4. 20. 17, 18.

Desire of reuenge, is alway to be auoided, whether it bee a common or conuinciall action wherein men strue before a Iudge. 4. 20. 19.

The commaundement of Christ, to giue thy clooke to him that taketh away thy coate, and such like, prooue not but that a Christian may sue before a Magistrate, and vse his help for the preferring of his goods. 4. 20. 20.

Paul doeth not viterly condemne sutes, but reprooueth the vnmeasurable rage of suing at law among the Corinthians. 4. 20. 21.

Iustification of Faith.

Of the Iustification of faith, & first of the disination of the name, & 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 workes, and what it is to be iustified by faith. 3. 11. 2, 3, 4.

A confutation of the error of Oslander, concerning essenciall righteousness, which taketh from men, the earnest feling of y 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 righteousness 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 & workes, it is proued that when the one is stablished, the other must needs be ouerthrown. 3. 11. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

It is proued by y Scripture against the Sophisters, that this is a sure principle, that we are iustified by faith only. 3. 11. 19, 20.

It is proued by testimonies of scripture y the righteousness of faith is reconciliation with God, which consisteth onely vpon y remission of sins. 3. 11. 21, 22.

By the onely intercession or meane of the righteousness of Christ, we obtayne to be iustified before God. 3. 11. 23.

That we may be throughly 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 & 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 whē men haue to doe with God, the onely place of refuge for conscience is in the free mercie of God, excluding a trust of workes: And this is proued by testimonies of Augustine and Bernarde. 3. 12. 3.

Two things are to bee obserued in free Iustification: the first, that the Lord keepe fast his glorie vnminshed: which is done whē he alone is acknowledged to bee righteous, for they glorie against God which glorie in themselves. 3. 13. 1, 2. the seconde, that our consciences may haue quietnesse in the sight of his iudgement. 3. 13. 3, 4, 5.

What manner of beginning is of Iustification, and what continuall proceedings. 3. 14.

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A briefe summe of the foundation of Christian doctrine, take out of Paul.

3.15.5.

This foundation being laide, wise builders doe 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 minds are drawn away from affection of wel doing, when we take from them the opinion of deserting. 3.16.2,3.

It is a most vaine slander, that men are prouoked to sinne, when wee affirme a free forgiuenesse of sinnes, in which we say that righteousnes consisteth. 3.16.4.

In what sense the Scripture oftentimes saith that the faithful are iustified by works. 3.17.8,9,10,11,12.

The doers of the lawe are iustified. 3.17.13.

He that walketh in vprightnesse is righteous. 3.17.15.

An exposition of certaine places, wherein the faithfull doe boldly offer their righteousnesse to the iudgement of God to be examined, and pray to be iudged according to the same, & it is proued that this disagreeeth not with the free iustification of Faith. 3.7.24.

The saying of Christ, If thou wite enter into life, keepe the commandments, disagreeeth not with the free iustification of faith. 3.18.9.

K.

Kingdome of Christ.
See Priesthoode.

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 know of him, and so much as auai-

leth for his glory, and is expedient. 1.2.1.

The knowledge of God ought to tend to this ende, first to frame vs to feare and reuerence: and then that by it guiding & teaching vs we may learn to aske al good things of him, & to account the same receiued at his hande. 1.2.2. & 1.5.3.

The Philosophers had no other knowledge of God than y^e 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 do maliciously depart from God. 1.4.1.

See certaine things pertaining to this matter, in the Title of Creation of the worlde.

L.

Laying on of handes.

OFlaying on of handes in ordering of Ministers. 4.14.20.

Of the laying on of handes in making of Popish priestes. 4.19.31.

Laye.

The law, that is to say the forme of religion set forth by Moses, was not giuen to holde the olde people still in it, but to nourishe in their heartes the hope of saluation in Christ vntill his comming: which is preoued by this that Moses repeateth the mention of the couenant: and by the order of the ceremonies appointed as well in sacrifices as in washinges, also by the office of priesthood of y^e tribe of Leui & y^e honor of kingdō in Dauid & his posteritie. The law also of y^e ten cōmandements was giuen to prepare men to seeke Christ

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Christ 2.7.1,2. and that is done, when it maketh vs vnexcusable beeing on eue-ry side conuicted of our sins, to moue vs to seeke for pardon of our guiltines 2.7.3,4.

It is proued by the Scripture and declared that the obseruing of the law is impossible .2.7.5.

There are three vses and offices of the morall law: The first is, that shewing vnto vs the righteousnesse which onely is acceptable vnto God, it may be as a glasse for vs, wherein wee may beholde our weaknesse, and by it our wickednesse, and finally by them both our accursednes: Neither turneth this to any dishonour of the lawe, but maketh for the glorie of the bountifulnes of God, which both with help of grace aideth vs to doe that which wee are commaunded, and by mercie putteth away our offences. Neither yet doth this office altogether cease in the reprobate 2.7.6,7,8,9.

The seconde office, is to restrain the reprobate with feare of punishmēt least they vnbrideledly committe the wickednesse which inwardly they alway nourishe and loue: and also to drawe backe the children of God before their regeneration from outward licentiousnesse .2.7.10,11.

The third office, concerneth the faithfull: for the lawe although it bee already written with the finger of God in their heartes, yet profiteth the two wayes: For by studying vpon it they are more confirmed in the vnderstanding of the will of the Lord, and are stirred vp & strengthened to obedience, that they goe not out of kinde by the sluggishnesse of the fleshe. 2.7.12,13. For as touching the curse of the Lawe, it is taken away from the faithfull, that it can no more extende it selfe against them in damning & destroying them. 2.7.14.

By the ten commandements of the Law we learne the same things which wee but slenderly tast by instruction of the lawe of nature: First that we owe to god reuerence, loue, and feare, that righteousnesse pleaseth him, and wickednesse displeaseth him: finally, that examining our life by the rule of the Lawe, wee are vnworthie to bee accounted among the creatures of God, and that our power is vn sufficient, yea no power at all to performe the lawe. Both these pointes engender in vs humilitie & abacing of our selues, which teacheth vs to flee to y^e mercy of God, and to craue the helpe of his grace. 2.8.1,2,3.

Forasmuch as God the Lawmaker is spirituall, that is to say, speaketh as well to the soule as to the bodie, therefore the lawe likewise requireth not only an outward honestie, but also an inwarde and spirituall righteousnesse and a verie angelike purenesse. 2.8.6. which is proued by Christes owne exposition, when hee confuted the Pharisees wrong interpretation, which required only a certaine outward obseruation of the Lawe. 2.8.7.

There is alway more in the commaundementes and prohibitions of the Lawe, than is expressed. Therefore for the right & true expounding of them, it behooueth to wey what is the entent or end of euerie of them: Then from that which is commaunded or forbidden, wee must drawe an argument to the contrarie, that wee may vnderstande, that not onely an euill is forbidden, but also the good is commaunded which is contrary to that euill. 2.8.8,9.

Why God spake by way of emplied comprehending, in setting foorth the forme of his commaundementes. 2.8.10.

Of the diuiding of the Lawe into two

two tables: and howe therein wee are taught that the first foundation and the very soule of righteousnes is the worshipping of God. 2.8.11.

Of the diuision of the ten commandements, and how many commandements are to be appointed to the first table, and howe many to the seconde. 2.8.12, 50.

An exposition of the commaundements of God: Where is declared that the Lorde is the beginning of the law, to stablishe his owne maiestie, vseth three arguments: First by chalenging 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 swetnes of the promise of grace: thirdly he moueth vs to obedience with rehearal of the benefit that we haue receiued. 2.8.13, 14, 15.

The Law teacheth not only certain introductions and principles of righteousnes, but the very accomplishment thereof, the expressing of the image of God, and the perfection of holinesse: which law is all contained in two points that is to say, the loue of God & of our neighbour. 2.8.51.

The Law of Nature. 2.2.22.

Lawes Politike.

Neither can Lawes be without the Magistrate, nor the Magistrat without Lawes. A confutation of them which say that a common weale is not well ordered, vnlesse it be gouerned by the politike lawes of Moses. For this purpose is rehearfed a diuision of y^e Lawes of Moses into morall Lawes, ceremonies, and iudiciall Lawes, and the end of euery one of them being discussed, it is proued that it is lawfull for euery seuerall nation to make politike Lawes, 4.20.14, 15. so that they agree with that naturall equitie, the reason wherof is set forth in the morall Lawe

of Moses. Therefore it is shewed by examples y^e they may alter the ordinances of penalties according to the diuersitie of the countrey, time, and other circumstances. 4.20.16.

Libertie.

See *Christian Libertie.*

Lying.

An exposition of the ninth commandement: wherein the Lord forbiddeth falshood, wherewith we by Lying or backebiting, doe hurte any mans good name, or hinder his commodity 2.8.47.

We many times sinne against this commandement, although we do not Lye. But in this point there must be a difference wisely made betweene the flaudring which is here condemned, and iudiciall accusation or rebuking, which is vsed vpon y^e desire to bring to amendment. 2.8.48.

Life of a Christian man.

The lawe containeth a rule how to frame a mans Life, and diuers places also of the Scripture do here and there declare it, and not without an orderly maner of teaching, although not so exquisite and curious as the Philosophers do. 3.6.1.

Herein the Scripture doeth two things: it stirreth vs vp to the loue of righteousnesse & teacheth a rule how to followe the same. The first point it worketh by diuers argumentes & reasons. 3.6.2. and herein the Scripture layeth much better foundations, than can be founde in all the bookes of the Philosophers. 3.6.3.

Against them that pretend a knowledge of Christ, when their life & manners resemble not the doctrine of Christ. 3.6.4.

Though perfection were to be wished in all mé, yet we must also acknowledge for christians y^e most part of men which haue not yet proceeded so farre.

We.

We must alway endeuor forward, and not despire for the smalnesse of our profiting. 3.6.5.

Out of a place of Paul these are gathered to be the parts of a wel framed Life: cōsideration of the grace of God, forsaking of wickednes and of worldly lustes, sobernes, righteousnesse, godlinesse (which signifieth true holinesse) and the blessed hope of immortalitie. 3.7.3.

Life present, and the helps 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 do neither binde our consciences wih too much rigorousnes nor giue lose reignes to the intemperance of men. 3.10.1,3.

God both in clothing and in foode provided not onely for our necessitie, but also for our delite. 3.10.2.

It is most necessarie, that euery one of vs in all the doings of his life do loke vpon his vocatiō, that we attempt nothing rashly or with doubtfull conscience. 3.10.6.

God disdaineth not to provide also for the necessities of our earthly body, and in what sense wee aske of him our daily bread. 3.20.44.

Life so come.

God doth by diuers mysteries teach vs the contempt of this present Life, that wee may earnestly desire Life to come. 3.9.1,2,4.

Such a cōtempt of this life is required of vs, y we neither hate it nor be vnthankfull to God, of whose clemency it is a testimony to the faithful. 3.9.3

An admonition to them which are holden with too much feare of death, that Christians ought rather to desire that day which shall make an ende of their continuall miseries, and fi them with true ioy. 3.9.5,6.

Of the incomprehensible excellencie of the eternall felicitie (which is the ende of the resurrection) the tast of the sweetenesse whereof we ought heere continually to take, but yet to auoide curiositie wherupon do arise trifling and noysome questions, yea and hurtful speculations. And there shalbe an equall measure of glory 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 doe moue concerning the state of the children of God after the resurrection.

In what sense eternall Life is sometime called y reward of works. 3.18.2,4
M.

Magistrates

THe office of Magistrates is not only holy and lawfull before God; but also the most holy and honorable degree in all the life of men, and this is proued by diuerse titles wherewith the Scripture doth set it forth, and by the examples of holy mē, which haue borne ciuill power. 4.20.4.

This consideration is a pricke to godly Magistrates to moue thé to the doing of their dutie, and also it is a cōfort to ease the hard trauailes of their office. 4.20.6.

A confutation of them, which saye that though in the old time vnder the lawe Kings & Iudges ruled ouer Gods people, yet this seruile kind of gouernmēt doth not agree with the perfection which Christ hath brought with his gospel. 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 wel of the worshipping of GOD as of common peace and honestie, which they can not thorowly performe without the power

power of the sword. 4. 20. 9.

A declaration of this question by scripture, howe the magistrates may bee godly, and also drawe their sword, and shed the blood of men, and it is prooved, that they are so farre from sinning in punishing offenders, that this is one of the vertues of a King, and a profe of their godlinesse. Here in the Magistrats must beware of two faultes, namely extreme rigoroufnes, & superstitious desire of pitie. 4. 20. 10.

It is the duty of subiectes towarde Magistrates, to thinke honourably of them as of the ministers and deputies of God, forasmuch as cōcerneth their degree, but not y they should esteeme the vices of men for vertues. 4. 20. 12.

It is also their duetie with mindes heartily bent to the honoring of the to declare their obedience towarde the, whether it bee in following their decrees or in paying of tributes, &c. to pray to God for their safetic & prosperitie, to raise no tumultes and not to thrust themselues into the office of the Magistrate. 4. 20. 23.

Euen wicked princes of euill life, and which rule tyrannously (for so much as pertaineth to publike obedience) ought to be had in as great reuerence and honour as wee woulde giue to the best king that might bee, 4. 20. 24, 25. because euen they also haue the publike power not without the prouidence and singular power of God. Which is prooned by diuerse testimonies and examples of scripture: and there is shewed with what considerations those subiectes ought to bridle their owne impatiēce which liue vnder suche vngodlie and wicked tyrantes. 4. 20. 26, 27, 28, 29, 31.

It is not lawfull for private men to rise vp against tyrantes, but onely for them which by the lawes of the king-

dome or of the countrie, are the defenders of the libertie of the people. 4. 20. 31.

The Lord by his maruellous goodnesse and prouidence, doeth sometime raise vp some of his seruantes to punish tyrantes, and sometime also hee directeth therevnto the rage of wicked men while they intende an other thing. 4. 20. 30.

In the obedience which is due to the cōmaundementes of kings and rulers this is alway to bee excepted, that it drawe vs not away from the obedience of God: Neither is any wrong done to them when we refuse to obey them in such thinges as they cōmand against God: And this is our duty, how great and present peril soeuer do hang vpon such constancie. 4. 20. 32.

Man.

Man is by knowledge of himselfe not onely moued to seeke God, but also lead as it were by the hande to finde him. 1. 1. 1.

The creation of man is a notable shewe of the power, wisdom, & goodnesse of God: wherefore Man is by some of the Philosophers called a little world. 1. 1. 3.

The vnthankfulness of men, which feeling tokens of the prouidence of God both in their soule and bodie, yet doe not giue G O D prayse. 1. 1. 4.

Two sortes of knowledge of our selues, y one in our first original estate, the other after Adams fall, and the latter is not to be receiued without considering the first, least wee shoulde seeme to impute corruption to God the author of nature. 1. 1. 5. 1.

The knowledge of himselfe is most necessary for Man, which consisteth in this (as the truth of God prescribeth) that first considering to what ende he is created, and endued with excellent gifts,

giftes, he should hang altogether vpon God, of whom he hath all things by gite: then, that weying his own miserable estate after the fall of Adam, hee should truly loth him selfe and conceiue a newe desire to seeke God, that in him hee may recouer these good things, of which he himselfe is found vtterly void and empirie. Wherefore we must beware that in this pointe we hearken not to the iudgment of the fleshe and to the bookes of Phylosophers, which while they withhold vs in considering onely our good things, would carrie vs away into a most wicked ignorance of our selues. 2. 1. 1, 2, 3.

Man can neuer come to the trewe knowledge of himselfe, vnlesse hee haue first beholden the face of God; that is to say, till hee haue begon to knowe and weigh by the word of God what and howe exact is the perfectiō of his righteousness, wisdom, and power, to the which wee ought to be made of like forme. 1. 1. 2.

Euē the most holy men were stricken with feare and astonishment, whē 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 vnderstanding minde, and in heart or will) is prooued by diuerse titles wherewith the scripture describeth him, specially when it saith that hee is fleshe: And there is declared that this worde flesh is not referred only to the sensuall part but also to the superiour part of the soule. 2. 3. 1.

That men doe in vaine seeke for any good thing in their owne nature, is prooued by Paul, which intreating of the vniuersall kindred of the children of Adam, and not rebuking the corrupted maners of some one age alone, but accusing the perpetuall corrupti-

on of nature, taketh from men righteousness, that is to say vprightnesse, & purenesse, and then vnderstanding, & last of all the feare of God. 2. 3. 2.

A confutation of the obiection concerning certain heathen men, which forasmuch as they were all their life long by the guiding of nature bent to the endeuour of vertue and honestie, doe seeme to warne vs, that we should not esteeme the nature of Man, altogether corrupt. Therefore it is declared that in the vnbeleuers God doth not inwardly cleanse the corruption of nature wherewith Man is in eche part defiled, (as he doeth in the elect) but by his prouidence sometime hee bridleth it in them, that it breake not forth into deedes, and restrayneth it by diuerse wayes, 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 proues of the purenesse of nature, forasmuch as their mind was inwardly not vpright, being corrupted with ambition or some other poison, & not directed with desire to set forth the glory 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 certain measure giueth to prophane Men, as oftentimes to kinges, & sometime to priuate Men. 2. 3. 4.

See Image of God in Man.

Marriage.

An exposition of the seuenth commandement; wherein the Lord forbiddeth fornication & requirerth chastitie and cleannesse, which we ought to keepe & preserve both in our mind, and in our eyes, and in the apparell of our bodie, and in our tongue, and in y moderate vse of meate and drinke. 2. 8. 41, 44.

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Conti[n]e[n]ce is a singular gi[ft]e of God, which he giueth not to all men, but to some, yea and that sometime for a season: As for them to whome it is not graunted, let them alway flee to Mariage, which is ordeined of y^e Lord for the remedie of mans necessitie. 2. 8. 41, 42, 43.

Maried persons must beware that they commit nothing vnbecoming the honestie & temperance of Mariage: Otherwise they seeme to be adulterers of their owne wiues, and not husbands. 2. 8. 44.

The papistes doe wrongfully call mariage a sacrament: And their reasons are confuted. 4. 19. 34. It is proued that the place of Paul, wherwith they seeke to cloke themselues, maketh nothing for them. 4. 19. 35.

In the meane they disagree with themselues when they exclude priests from this sacrament, & do say that it is vnclannesse and defiling of y^e flesh. 4. 19. 36.

By this false colour of Sacrament, the Pope with his cleargie haue draven to theselues the hearing of causes of Matrimony, and haue made laws of mariage, which partly are manifestly wicked against God, & partly most vniust toward men, which lawes are rehearsed 4. 19. 37.

Mediator Christi.

It behoued that Christ, to the ende that he might performe the office of Mediator, should be made man, forasmuch as God had so ordeined, 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 could be remedie for mans obedience against mans disobedience. 2. 12. 1, 2, 3.

A confutation of their fantastical conceit, which affirme that Christe should haue become man, although there had needed no remedie for the redeeming of mankinde. And it is proued by many reasons and textes, that forasmuch as the whole scripture crieth out that hee was cloathed with flesh, to the ende that he might be the redemer, therfore it is too great rashnesse to imagine any other cause or purpose. 2. 12. 4.

Neither is it lawfull to searche further concerning Christ. and those that do search further, do with wicked boldnesse runne forward to the faining of a new Christ: And herein Osiander is reproued, which hath at this time renewed this question, and affirmeth that this error is confuted by no testimonie of Scripture. 2. 12. 5.

And the principle is ouerthrowen which he buildeth on, that man was create after y^e image of God, because hee was formed after the likenesse of Christ to come, that he might resemble him whome the Father had already decreed to cloth with flesh: And there is shewed that the image of god in Adam, was the markes of excellencie wherewith God had garnished him, which doth also shine in the Angels. 2. 12. 6, 7.

A solution of other obiections or absurdities which the same Osiander seareth: namely, that then Christ was borne & creat after the image of Adam but as it were by chauce: & that the Angels shoulde haue lacked their head, & men shold haue lacked Christ their king. 2. 12. 6, 7.

How the two natures do make one person of the mediator in Christ: Which is shewed by a similitude take of the ioyning of the soule and bodie in one man: And then it is proued by diuerse places that the scripture doth

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many

many times giue vnto Christ those things which properly belongeth to ϕ godhead, and sometime those things which must bee referred onely to the manhoode, and sometime giueth to the one nature that which is proper to the other: which figuratiue manner of speache is called Communicating of properties, 2.14.1, 2. and sometime also giueth to Christ those things which do comprehend both natures together, but doe seuerally well agree with neither of them. Which last point the most part of the old writers haue not sufficiently marked: Yet it is good to be noted, for the dissoluing of many doubt, and for auoyding of the errors of Nestorius and Eutiches. 2.14.3, 4.

A confutation of the error of Seruettus, which had put in the steede of the sonne of God, an imagined thing made of the substance of Gods spirite, flesh, & three elements vncreate: His subtletie is disclosed, and there is proued (which thing hee denieth) that Christ was the sonne of God, euen before that he was borne in the flesh, because he is that worde begotten of the father before all worldes. 2.14.5.

Also it is proued that he is truly & properly the sonne of God in fleshe, that is to say in the nature of Man, but yet in respect of his godhead, and not of his flesh, as Seruettus babbleth. 2.14.6.

An exposition of certaine places which Seruettus 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 all them which doe not acknowledge Christ the sonne of God but in the

flesh: And there are briefly rehearsed the grosse subtleties of Seruettus, wherewith he hath bewitched himself and other, ouerthrowing that which pure faith beleueth concerning the person of the sonne of God: And thereupon is gathered that with the craftie darke subtleties of that filthy dog, the hope of saluation is vtterly extinguished. 2.14.8.

Merit of Christ.

It is truly and properly sayd that Christ merited for vs the grace of god and saluation: Where it is proued that Christ was not onely the instrument or minister of saluation, but also the author and principall doer thereof: And in so saying, the grace of God is not defaced, because the merite of Christ is not set against mercie, but hangeth vpon it. And those things which are Subalterna, fight not as contraries. 2.17.1.

The distinction of the Merite of Christ & of the grace of God is proued by many places of Scripture. 2.17.2.

There are alleged many testimonies of Scripture, out of which it is certainly and soundly gathered, that Christ by his obedience hath truly purchased & deserued fauour 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 rashnes to affirme it. 2.17.6.

Merites of Workes.

The boastings that are made of the Merites of workes, doe ouerthrowe as well the praise of God in giuing righteousnes, as also the certaintie of saluation. 3.15.

Whosoeuer first applyed the name of Merit to good workes in the sight of Gods iudgement, he did against the purenes of faith. And though the olde fathers

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fathers vsed that name, yet they vsed it that they haue in many places shewed that they attribute nothing to workes. 3.15.2.

An exposition of certaine places, wherewith the Sophisters go about to prooue that the name of Merite towards God is founde in the Scripture 3.15.4.

It is proued by authoritie of the Apostles & Augustine, that the rewards of righteousness doe hang vpon the meere liberalitie 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 afterwarde we do Merite by our owne workes. 3.15.6, 7.

There be certaine things touching merites in the title of Iustification by faith.

Ministerie of the Church.

Of the Ministry of the Church, and of them which despise this manner of learning. 4.1.5.

Of the efficacie of the Ministry. 4.1.6.

God, which might teach y^e Church either himself alone or by Angels, yet doeth it by the Ministry 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, Euangelists, Pastors, and Teachers: and what is the seuerall office of euery of them. 4.3.4, 5.

The chiefe parts of the office of Apostles and pastors are to preach the Gospel, and Minister the Sacraments. 4.3.6.

Pastors are so bound to their Churches, that they may not remoue to any other place without publike authority. 4.3.7.

They are called in the Scripture, Bishops, Priests, 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 word of God is compared to seeede which is scattered in the ground: Whereby wee vnderstand that the whole encrease proceedeth of the blessing of God and the effectuall working of the holy Ghost. 4.14.11.

What maner of mē ought to be chosen Bishops, & in what sort and of whō they are to be chosen, and with what forme or ceremony they are to be ordered. 4.3.11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

The olde Church before the papacy, diuided al their Ministers into thre degrees, Pastors, Elders, and Deacons. 4.4.1.

Of the commission to remit and retaine sinnes, or to bind & loose, which is a part of the power of the keyes, & pertaineth to y^e Ministerie of the word 4.11.1.

Monkerie.

Monasteries in olde time were the seeede plottes of ecclesiasticall orders: And there is described out of Augustin the forme of the old Monkerie, & how they were wonte at y^e time to get their liuing with the labour of their hands. Whereby appeareth that at this day the maner of popish Monkerie is far otherwise. 4.13.8, 9, 10.

Of the proude title of perfection wherewith the Monks do set out their kinde of life. 4.13.11. because they bind themselues to keepe the counsels of the Gospell (as they call them) whereunto other Christian men are not bounde. Sect. 12. and because they haue forsakē all their possessions. Sect. 13.

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As many as go into Monasteries, do 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 misliked euen in the profession of the old Monkerie, and they that were the authors therof brought a perillous example in to the Church. 4.13.16.

Monkes with their vowes do consecrate theluelus not to God but to the Deuill. 4.13.17.

As all vowes vnlawful & not rightly made, are of no value before God, so they ought to be voyde to vs. 4.13.20.

Therefore they which depart from Monkerie 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 parentes.

AN expositiō of the fifth commandment: The end and sum therof. 2.8.35.

How farre this worde honoring extendeth: & there be three partes therof, Reuerence, Obedience, & Thankfulness. 2.8.36.

Of the promise adioined to the fifth commaundement, concerning long continuance of life, and howe farre the same pertayneth to vs at this day. 2.8.37.

How and by howe diuerse meanes, God sheweth his vengeance vpon the disobedient: Yet obedience is not due to parentes and other, but sauing the lawe of God. 2.8.38.

Offences.

What Offences are to be auoyded, and 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 weak, to whom we must beware that we giue no offence. 3.19.12.

Whereas we are commanded to beware that we Offende not the weake, the same is meant only 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 Papisicall.

The Sacrament of Order breedeth to the papists seuen other petie Sacramentes, of whose names and differences they themselues be not yet agreed. 4.19.22.

Their sonde and vngodly foolishnesse, forasmuch as they make Christ fellow Officer with them in euery one of them. 4.19.23.

Of Acoluthes, Dorekeepers & Readers, whom the papistes do make Orders of the Church and Sacramentes, 4.19.24, & with what ceremonies they consecrate them, Sect. 27.

Of Exorcistes or Coniurers an order of the popish church. 4.19.24.

The orders of Psalmistes, Dorekeepers and Acoluthes, are vaine names among the papists, forasmuch as they themselues doe not execute the Offices, but some boy, or any layman. 4.19.24.

Of the shauing of the Clergie, and the signification therof by the doctrine of the Papistes. 4.19.25;

They doe wrongfully apply it to Pauls example, which shaued his head: when he tooke a vowe, or to the olde Nazarites. 4.19.26.

It is shewed out of Augustin whence

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it first began. 4.19.27.

Of the three hier orders: and first of Priesthood or sacrificerhip; where is shewed that the papistes haue most wickedly peruerted the order appointed by God, and doe wrong to Christ the onely & eternall sacrificing priest. 4.19.28.

Of their blowing at the making of popish Priests, and howe in that ceremonie they do wrongfully counterfait Christ: Where is declared y the Lorde did many things which he would not haue to be examples for vs to follow. 4.19.29.

Of the vndelible character or vndefaceable marke of the oyle wherewith popish Priestes are annoynted at their creation. And howe 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.

Original sinne.

A definition and expounding of Original sinne. 4.15.10, 11, 12.

A true definition of Originall and a declaration of the same definition: Wherein is shewed, that not only punishment came from Adam vpon vs, but also that the infection distilled from him remaineth in vs, and how it is the sinne of an other & also our own sinne: Finally, that such infectio pearced not onely into the inferior desire, but also into the verie vnderstanding minde & 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 we say that men are naturally faultie: And there is proued, that man is corrupt by naturall vicioufnesse: (to the ende that no man shoulde thinke it to be gotten by euill custome) but yet such as proceeded not from nature, but

is an accidentall qualitic, & not a substantiall propercie fro the beginning. 2.1.10, 11.

Othe.

See Swearing.

P.

Patience.

A Part of y forsaking of our selues, in respect of God, is contentation of minde and sufferance: Which we shall perourme, if in seeking the commoditie or quietnesse of this present life wee yeeld our selues wholly to the Lorde, and do not desire, hope for, or thinke vpon any other meane of prospering than by his blessing. 3.7.8.

So shal it come to passe that we shal neuer seeke our owne commodities by vnlawful meanes or with wronging of our neighbours: also that we shall not burne with vnmeasurable desire of richesse or of honors: finally if things prosper well with vs, wee shall yet be holden from pride, & if they happen ill, we shall yet be restrained from impatience, 3.7.9. Which extendeth to all chaunces wherunto our present life is subiect, whereof the faithfull doe alwayes acknowledge the hand of God their father, and not fortune, to be the gouernor. 3.7.10.

The Patience of the faithfull is not such as is without all feeling of sorow, but such as beeing vpholden by godly comfort, fighteth against the naturall feeling of sorow. Therefore the Patience of the Stoikes is to bee reiected: neither is it in it self any fault to weep or feare. 3.8.8, 9.

A description of that struing which is engedred in the hearts of the faithfull by the feeling of nature, which feeling cannot be cleane done away, and by the affection of godlinesse wherewith that same feeling must bee subdued & tamed. 3.8.10.

There is great difference between Philosophicall & Christian patience: Forasmuch as y^e philosophers do teach vs to obey because wee 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 darkenesse of errors men haue been drowned these certaine ages past. 3. 5. 1.

What Pardons are by the papistes doctrine: Whereby is proued y^e they are a dishonoring of y^e bloud of Christ: A comparison of Christ & popish pardons. 3. 5. 1.

A confutation of the wicked doctrine of pardons, by the notable sayings of Leo bishop of Rome, & of Augustine. And there is shewed that the bloud of martyrs is not vnlawfull, although it haue no place in forguienes of sinnes. 3. 5. 3. 4.

Either the Gospel of God must ly, or pardons must be lying deceits. And there is shewed what seemeth to haue bene the beginning of them. 3. 5. 5.

Penance, the Popish Sacrament.

Of the vsage of the olde Church in publike penance: and of the laying on of handes at reconciliation. Also how in processe of time the laying on of hands was vsed in priuate absolutions. 4. 19. 14.

The diuerse opinions of y^e scholemen howe penance is a Sacrament: And there is shewed that the definition of a Sacrament doth not agree wth it. 4. 19. 15, 16.

It is a lye, and a deceitfull error which they haue inuented concerning the Sacrament of Penance: and it is a wicked and blasphemous title wherewith they haue garnished it, a second boorde after shipwracke from Bapistine. 4. 19. 17.

Perseuerance.

See booke 2. Chap. 5. Sect. 3.

A confutation of the most wicked error, that Perseuerance is giuen of God according to the Merit of men, so as euery man hath shewed himselfe not vnthankful for the first grace: and in this opinion is shewed a double error. Of the comon distinction of grace working, & working together: & howe Augustine vsed it, qualifying it with an apt definition. 2. 3. 11.

Politicke gouernement.

There is a difference to bee made betweene policie, and the inwarde gouernement of the soule. Their doctrine is to be reiected which go about to ouerthrowe policie as a thing not necessarie for Christians, or as a thing y^e ouerthroweth the spirituall libertie of the soule. Also those flatterers are to be reiected, which do giue too much vnto it, & do set it in cōparison against the authoritie of God. 4. 20. 1, 2.

Policie is the gift of God, which bringeth great commodities to mankind, & no small helpe to the defence of the state of religiō. Politicke gouernment hath three partes, the magistrat, the Lawes & the people. 4. 20. 3.

Of three formes of Ciuile gouernment, Aristocracie the gouernmēt of the best chosen men, Democracie the gouernment of the people, Monarchie the gouernement of one: it can not simply bee determined which of these is the best: yet it commeth to passe by the fault of men, that it is safer & more tollerable to haue many to gouerne than one to reigne. But all these forms are of God, & 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 clergy take to themselves, which

was altogether vnknowne to the Bishops of the old Church. 4.11.15.

In matters of Faith, the iudgement in the old time pertained to y^e Church and not to Princes; although sometime Princes enteredmeddled their authority in ecclesiasticall matters, but the same was donne to preserve 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 papacy: and how they haue by litle and litle from so small beginnings grown 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. 4.6.1,2,3,14.

Neithe had Peter any principality in the Church or among the Apostles. 4.6.5,6;7.

Neither is it profitable nor may be, that one man shoulde beare rule ouer the whole Church. 4.6.8,9,10.

Although Peter had had a supremacy in y^e Church, yet it foloweth not that the seat of that supremacie ought to be at Rome. 4.6.11,12,13.

It is proued by many argumentes that Peter was not bishop of Rome. 4.6.14,15.

The supremacy of the sea of Rome is not according to the vse of the olde Church. 4.6.16,17.

Of the beginning & encreasings of the Romish papacy, vntill it aduanced it selfe to that height, whereby both the liberty of the Church is oppressed and all moderate gouernement hath bene ouerthrowen. 4.7.

In the most part of the councilles, the Bishoppe of Rome nor his legates had not the chiefe place, but some other of the bishops had it at the Councille of Chalcedon: but yet without order. 4.7.1,2.

Of the title of supremacy and other titles of pride wherewith the Pope boisterh himself, and when and how they crept in. 4.7.3.

Gregory pronounceth that the title of vniuersall bishop was denised by the deuil, and published by the crier of Antichrist. 4.7.4.

It is proued by the vse of the olde Church, y^e it is false which the bishop of Rome boasteth, that he hath iurisdiction ouer all Churches. 4.7.5. Whether ye consider y^e 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 old Bishoppes of Rome in the most part of their Epistles did ambitiously set foorth the glory of their sea, but those Epistles at that time had no credite: Also they did thrust in certain forged things as though they had ben 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 farre from vnbridled dominion & tyranny. 4.7.12,13,22.

There was strife for the supremacy betweene the bishop of Constantino- ple and the bishop of Rome. 4.7.14,15, 16: vntill Phocas graunted to Boniface the thirde, that Rome shoulde be the heade of all Churches: which afterwarde Pipine confirmed, when hee gaue to the sea of Rome iurisdiction ouer the Churches of Fraunce. 4.7.17.

From thence forth the tyranny of the sea of Rome encreased more and more, partly by ignorance & partly by negligence of Bishops: which destruction of the whole order of the Church Bernarde lamenteth and layeth

to the Popes charge. 4. 7. 18, 22.

The insolence & shamelesnes of the bishops of Rome in setting forth their owne supreme authoritie. 4. 7. 19, 20. which is reprov'd by sayings of Cyprian and Gregory. Sect. 21.

Rome can not be the mother of all churches, forasmuch as it is no church. Neither can the bishoppe of Rome be head of bishops, sith he is no bishop. 4. 7. 23, 24.

It is proved by Paul, that the Pope is Antichrist. 4. 7. 25.

Although the Church of Rome in olde time had had the honor of supremacy, yet the same is not to be bound to a place. 4. 7. 26, 29.

Of the maners of the city of Rome of the Pope, and of the Cardinals and their diuinity. 4. 7. 27, 28.

The Bishop of Rome first laid hand vpon kingdomes, and then vpon the Empire: Which is prooued by most sharpe reprehensions of Bernarde to be vnmeete for him that boasteth himselfe the successour of the Apostles. 4. 11. 11.

Of the gift of Constantine, where-with he laboreth to hide his robbery, 4. 11. 12. and howe there are not yett fiue hundred yeares past, since the Popes were in subiection of Princes, and by what occasion they haue shake it of, Sect. 13. and howe they brought the city of Rome into their power, but about a hundred and thirty yeare ago. Sect. 14.

Prayer.

Truc faith can not be idle from calling vpon God. 3. 20. 1.

How necessary & how many wayes 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 mind, Sect. 3.

The first rule of well framing our Prayer, is that we be no otherwise dis-

posed in heart and mind then becometh them that enter into talke with God. 3. 20. 4, 5.

The second rule is, that in praying we alway feele our owne needines, and that earnestly considering y we want all these things that we aske, wee ioine with our Prayer an earnest and feruēt desire to obtaine. 3. 20. 6.

We ought to pray at all times, and in the greatest quietnes of our estates, the onely remembrance of our sinne ought to bee no small prouocation to moue vs to that exercise. 3. 20. 7.

The third rule of praying well, is y we forsake all confidence of our owne glory, least if we presumptuously take any thing, be it neuer so litle, vnto our selues, wee 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 and plaine confession of offence. 3. 20. 9.

In what sense the Praiers of certain holy men are to be taken, in which to entreate GOD, they seeme to allege their owne righteousnes. 3. 20. 10.

The fourth rule of Praying well, is that being so ouerthrowen and beate downe with true humilitie, wee be neuerthelesse encouraged to Pray with an assured hope to obtaine: So in our Prayers, faith & repentance do meeete together. 3. 20. 11.

Of the certainty of faith, whereby the faithfull do determine that God is fauorable vnto them: And how necessary the same is in Prayer: Neither is that certainty weakened, when it is ioined with acknowledging of our owne misery. 3. 20. 12.

God commaundeth vs to call vpon him: he promiseth, y we shall be heard: both these things are necessarie, that we may Pray in faith. 3. 20. 13.

There are reherfed diuers promises of

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of God, with the sweetnesse whereof they y are not stirred vp to Pray, are altogether vnexcusable. 3. 20. 14.

An exposition of certaine places, wherein God seemeth to haue assented to some mennes Prayers which yet were grounded vpon no promise. 3. 20. 15.

These foure rules of Praying well, are not examined with so extreeme rigor, but y God herein doth beare with many infirmities, yea many intemperances in them that bee his, which is proued by many examples. 3. 20. 16.

We must alway Pray in the name of Christ only, 3. 20. 17. neither were the faithfull euer hearde 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 Christes office of mediator: that we be commanded to Pray one for an other. 3. 20. 19.

A confutation of the Sophisters deuise, which say that Christ is the mediator of redemption, & the faithfull are mediators of intercession. 3. 20. 20.

Against them, which make dead Saincts intercessors to God for them, or do mingle the intercessio of Christ with the Prayers and merites of dead men 3. 20. 21.

This foolishnesse hath proceeded in the papacy to grosse monstrousnes of vngodlinesse, and to horrible sacrifices. 3. 20. 22.

A confutation of the argumentes wherewith the papistes labour to confirme the inrercession of dead Saincts. 3. 20. 23, 24, 25, 26.

It is vnlawfull to direct our Prayers to dead Saincts forasmuch as this kind of worshipping doeth most properly belong to God alone. 3. 20. 27.

Of the sorts of Prayer, and chiefly of thanksgiuing: Also of the continu-

all exercise of the faithfull in Prayer and thanksgiuing. 3. 20. 28, 29.

Of the babbling of the Papists, and of auoyding all boasting in Prayers, of departing into secret places, and of publike Prayers. 3. 20. 29.

Publike Prayers must bee made in the common and natiue speech of the land. And there is entreated of kneeling & vncouering 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 cometh vnto vs thereby. 3. 20. 34.

A diuision of the Lordes prayer, 3. 20. 35.

An exposition of the same prayer. 3. 20. 36.

The same in euery point is a perfect and vpriht prayer, 3. 20. 48. wherunto nothing ought to be added, although we 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 cuen the conscience of our sinnes ought not to ouerthrowe. 3. 20. 36, 37.

Although we ought to praye for all men, & specially for them of the household of faith, yet this withstandeth nor, but that wee may pray specially, both for our selues and certain other. 3. 20. 38, 39, 47.

Of the boldnes of asking which the Lorde graunteth to his, and the trust of obtaining. 3. 20. 47.

It is good that euery one of vs for exercise, appoint to himselfe certaine peculiar houres to pray so that it be don without superstitious obseruation 3. 20. 50.

In al our prayer we ought diligently to beware that we goe not about to bind God to certaine circumstances. 3. 20. 50.

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Of perseveraunce and pacience in the exercise of prayer. 3. 20. 51. 52.

Predestination.

It is proued that the doctrine of Predestination is a doctrine of most sweet fruit. There are rehearsed three principall profits thereof: and they are admonished which being moued with a certaine curiositie doe beyonde the boundes of Scripture breake into the secretes of the wisdom of God. 3. 1. 1. 2. and also they which woulde haue all mention of Predestination to be buried. Sect. 3. 4.

What is Predestination, and what is the foreknowledg of God, and how the one of them is wrongfully set after the other. The example of Predestination in all the offspring of Abraham in respect of other nations, is confirmed by many testimonies of Scripture 3. 21. 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 Merites the cause of Predestination Also of other men that blame God because he electeth some and passeth ouer other. 3. 22. 1.

God as well 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. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11.

This is proued by Augustine, Sect. 8. and the trifling suttle deuse of Thomas to y^e contrary is confuted. Sect. 9.

The promises of saluation are not directed to all, but peculiarly to the elect. 3. 22. 10.

These two sayings do not disagree,

that God by y^e outward preaching of the word caletch many, & yet he giueth the gift of faith to fewe. 3. 22. 10.

Against them which so confesse election, that yet they deny any to bee reprobate of God. 3. 23. 1.

The reprobate do in vaine contend with God, forasmuch as God oweth them nothing, and willeth nothing otherwise than righteously, and they themselves may finde iust causes of their damnation in themselves. 3. 23. 2, 3, 4, 5.

An answer to the wicked question of certaine men, why GOD shoulde blame men for these things whereof he hath layed a necessity vpon them by his Predestination. 3. 23. 6, 8, 9.

A definition of Predestination. 3. 23. 8.

A confutatiō of them which gather of the doctrine of Predestination, that God hath respect of persons. 3. 23. 10, 11.

Against those hogges which vnder color of Predestination do go carelesly forwarde in their sinnes: and against all them which say that if this doctrine take place, all endeour of well working decayeth. 3. 23. 12.

Against them which say that this doctrine ouerthroweth all exhortations to godly life, it is proued by Augustine y^e preaching hath his course, and yet the knowledge of Predestination is not hindered thereby, 3. 23. 13.

In this point of doctrine we must so temper our maner of teaching y^e truth, that so farre as we may, wee wisely beware of offence. 3. 23. 14.

Whereas some obey the preaching of the worde of God, and other some despise it, or bee more blinded and hardened therby, although this come to passe by their owne malice and vnthankfulnesse, yet wee must therewith also know, that this diversity han-

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geth vpon the secreete 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 cometh to passe by his ordinance that the wicked perish, but inasmuch as against his will they wilfully bring destruction vpon themselves. 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 Predestination of the reprobate: and yet not without cause are they framed vniuersally. 3. 24. 16.

Here also are confuted certain objections of the which denie this point of doctrine.

Priesthoode, Kingdome, and Prophetical office of Christ.

That we may knowe to what ende Christ was sent of his father, and what he brought vnto vs, three thinges are cheefely to be considered in him, his Prophetical office, his kingdome, and his Priesthoode: and therefore is giue 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 prophetes and teachers to his Church, yet it is propoued that all the Godly looked for full light of vnderstanding, onely at the comming of Messias: and that hee when hee appeared was annointed a Prophet, not onely for himselfe, but also for all his body. 2. 15. 1, 2.

As touching his kingdome, first we must note the spiritual nature thereof, wherevpon also is gathered the eternall continuance of it, which is of two sorts: the one pertaineth to the whole body of the Church, the other is pro-

per to euery member: both sortes are declared and plainly set foorth by testimonies of scripture. 2. 15. 3.

It is declared that the profit of the kingdome of Christ cannot otherwise be perceiued of vs, but when we knowledge it to be spirituall: and the same profite consisteth in two thinges, namely that it enricheth vs with all good things necessarie to eternall saluation, secondly y^e it fortifieth vs with strength and vertue against the deuill and all his assaults: And so Christ reigneth for vs rather than for himselfe, wherevpon wee are rightfully called Christians: Where it is saide that at the last day hee shall yield vp his kingdome to God and his father, and such like sayings the same maketh nothing against the eternitie of his kingdome. 2. 15. 4, 5.

As touching his Priesthoode, that the efficacie and profite thereof may come to vs, it is shewed that wee must beginne at the death of Christ. Herevpon it followeth that hee is an euerlasting intercessor, by whose mediation wee obteyne fauour, whereby ariseth to Godly consciences both boldnesse to pray, & quietnesse: finally that hee is so a priest, that hee ioyneth vs in the fellowship of so great an honour, to the ende that the Sacrifices of prayers and praise which came from vs, may be acceptable to God. 2. 15. 6.

Promises.

Not without cause all the Promises are concluded in Christ: forasmuch as euery promise is a testifying of the lawe of God towards vs, and none of vs is beloued of God without Christ. Neither was Naaman the Syriā, Cornelius the captaine, nor the Eunuche to whome Philip was caried, without knowledge of Christe, although they had but a very small tast of him, and

3. 2. faith in some part vnexpressed. 3. 2.
32.

The Lorde, to the ende to fill our heartes with loue of righteousnesse & hatred of wickednesse, was not content to set forth bare commaundementes onely, but addeth promises of blessings both of this present life & of eternall blessednesse, & 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, and his wonderfull goodnesse towards men. 2. 8. 4.

Of the Promise of Gods mercie to be extended to a thousande generations. 2. 8. 21.

Although the promises of the lawe bee conditional, yet they are not giue in vaine. 2. 7. 4.

Propheticall office of Christ.

See Priesthoode. &c.

Providence of God.

Prophane men, by fleshly vnderstanding doe confesse God the creator, otherwise than wee doe by faith: forasmuch as faith doeth teache that hee is also the gouernour of all things not by a certaine vniuersall motion, but by a singular providence which extendeth euen to y^e least sparow. 1. 16. 1.

They which giue any thing to fortune, doe burie the Providence of God, by whose secreete counsel all successes are gouerned. 1. 16. 2.

Things without life, although ech of them haue their propertie naturally planted in them, yet doe not put forth their force, but so farre as they bee directed by the present hande of God: which is prooued by the sonne, before which hee woulde both light to bee, and the earth to abounde with all kinde of good things: which also we reade to haue stande still by the space of two dayes, and gone backe two de-

grees at the commaundement of God. 1. 16. 2. also by the starres and signes of the heauen, which the vnbeleueurs do feare. Sect. 3.

The almightinesse of God is busied in continuall doing, so that it extendeth to euery particular acte, and nothing happeneth but by his counsel: Which who so do 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 prooued that the Providence of God doth not onely behold things that are done, but gouerneth all successes: Whereby is ouerthrowen the fained inuention of bare foreknowledge and of vniuersall Providence onely: also the errour of the Epicures is confuted, and of them which giue to God a gouernaunce onely aboute the middle region of the aire. Yet there may a certaine vniuersall Providence bee graunted, but so, that the speciall Providence bee not darkened, which doth gouerne not onely certayne but all particular doings. 1. 16. 4, 5.

That not onely the beginning of motion is in the disposing of God, is prooued by the plentifulnesse of one yeare and the barrennes of another, for whereas God calleth the one his blessing, and the other his curse and vengeance. 1. 16. 5.

The Providence of God in gouerning the worlde, is chiefly to be considered in mankind, and in the diuerse estate of all men, and diuerse disposing of successes. 1. 16. 6, 7. Against them which cauill, that this doctrine of the Providence of God, is the Stoikes doctrine of fate or destinie 1. 16. 8.

Whether any thing happen by fortune or chaunce: Where is rehearsed the saying of Basilus Magnus, that
Chaunce

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Chaunce and Fortune are wordes of heathen men: also the saying of Augustine, that hee repented that he had vsed the name of fortune. Yet those things may bee saide to happen by fortune in respect of vs, which being considered in their nature, or weyed according to our knowledge, do seeme so, although in the secrete counsell of God they be necessarie: Also al 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 wee haue the profit thereof: and where the causes of those things that happen, appeare not vnto vs, we must beware that wee doe not thinke, that things are rolled by the sway of fortune: but wee must so reuerence his secrete iudgements, that we esteeme his will the most iust cause of al things 1. 17. 1.

Against certaine dogges, which at this day 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 gospel that he illuminateth the minds 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 worlde is called a bottomlesse depth, because whē we knowe not the causes thereof, yet we ought reuerently to honour it. 1. 17. 2.

Such prophane men doe foolishly comber them selues, when they alleadge that if the doctrine of the Prouidence of God be true, then the prayers of the faithfull in which they aske any thing for time to come are vayne, no counsell is to bee taken for things to come, and then men which doe any

thing against the lawe of God, do not sinne: These daungerous errors they shall auoide, which in considering the Prouidence of God, shall frame them selues to true modestie. 1. 17. 3.

As concerning things to come, it is prooued that the scripture doth well ioyne the aduise mentes 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 Lorde, whereby wee may serue his Prouidence, in the preferuing of our owne life. 1. 17. 4.

In all successes of time past the will of God doeth gouerne: and yet the doers of wicked deeds are not excused, because they are accused by their own conscience, and doe not obey the wil of God, but their owne lust: They are indeede the instruments of God, prouidence, but so, that they finde the whole euill in them selues, 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 Ierobeam, the tenne tribes forsaking the house of Dauid, the slaughter of the sonnes of Achab, and in the betraying of the son of God.

A Godly and holy meditation of y^e Prouidence of God, which is taught by the rule of godlinesse: first that being certainly perswaded that no thing happeneth by fortune, wee alway cast our eyes to God the cheefe cause of all things: then that wee doubt not that his singular Prouidence watcheth for vs, whether wee haue to doe with men as well euill as good, or with his other creatures: To which vse wee must applie the promises of God: in the

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the scripture which testify the same, the examples whereof are rehearsed. 1.17.6.

Wee must also adioyne those testimonies of scripture which teach that all men are vnder the power of God, whether wee neede to get their good wils or restrain the malice of our enemies: which last point God worketh diuerse wayes, sometime by taking away their wit, sometime when he granteth them wit, he frayeth them that they dare not goe about that which they haue conceived: and sometime also when hee suffereth them to goe about it, he breaketh their enterprises: Vpon which knowledge necessarily followeth a thankfulness of minde in so prosperous successe of things. 1.17.7.

In aduersitie when we are hurte by men, is required pacience and quiet moderation of mind: Which is shewed in the examples of Ioseph being afflicted of his brethren, Iob persecuted of the Chaldees, and Dauid rayled vppon of Semei. If wee happen to be distressed with any misery without the worke of men, this selfe same doctrine is the best remedie against impatience because the scripture testifieth, y^e euen aduersities also do come from God. 1.17.8.

A Godly man principally regarding the prouidence of God, yet will not leaue inferiour causes vnmarked. Therefore if hee haue receiued a benefite of any man, he will hartily know and confesse himselfe to be bounde vnto him. If hee haue taken harme or done harme to any other by his negligence or want of heed, he will impure it vnto himselfe, much lesse will he excuse his owne offences. In things to come cheefely he wil haue consideration of inferiour causes, but yet so that in determining he will not be carried away with his owne wit, but com-

mit himselfe to the wisdom of God: neither shall his trust so stay vpon outward helps, that hee will carelesslie rest vpon them if hee haue them, nor be dismayed for feare if he want them. 1.17.9.

A large description of the inestimable felicitie of a godly mind which resteth vpon y^e Prouidence of God: & on the otherside the miserable carefulnes wherwith we must needs be distressed when the weakenesse of this earthly corage maketh vs subiect to so manie diseases, sith our life and safetic is besieged with infinite dangers at home, abroad, vpon the land, in the water, by men, & by deuils. 1.17.10,11.

Those places of scripture where it is said that God repented him: make nothing against the doctrine of Prouidence, for asmuch as therein (like as also when hee is sayd to be angry) the scripture applying it selfe to our capacitie describeth him, not such as he is, but such as wee feele him to be. Likewise, where hee spared the Niniuites, to whome he had threatned destruction within fortie dayes: whereas hee prolonged the life of Ezechias for many yeares, to whome he had declared presēt death: because such threatnings containe an vnexpressed condition. Which is well proued 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 y^e righteousness of God with a lying defence, when they say: y^e those things which Satan & al the reprobate do naughtily, are done by y^e sufferance of God, & not by his prouidence and wil. And it is proued by the affliction of Iob, the deceiuing of Achab, the killing of Christ, the incestuous adulterie of Absolon, and many other examples, that men do work nothing

thing but that which he hath alreadie decreed with himselfe, and doeth appoint so to be by his secreete direction. 1.18.1.

And this hath place, not onely in outward doings, but also in secret motions. For it is prooued by the hardening of Pharao and other testimonies that God worketh euen in the mindes also and hearts of the wicked. Neither maketh it any thing to the contrarie, that oftentimes the worke of Satan is vsed therein: For God worketh neuertheless, but after his owne manner, vsing a iust reuenge, 1.18.2. and therefore God is not y author of sinnes. Sect. 4.

They are proued guiltie of intolerable pride, which refuse this doctrine vnder pretence of Modestie. A confutation of their obiection whē they say, that if nothing happen but with y will of God, then hath he in himselfe two contrary wils, forasmuch as hee doeth appoint those things to be done by his secret counsel, which hee hath openly forbidden by his lawe. And there is shewed, that God doeth not disagree with himselfe, y the will of God is not chaunged, that he doth not faine himselfe to nil y which he willet: but whereas there is in God, but one simple will, y same to vs appeareth diuers, because for the weakenes of our vnderstanding, we conceiue not how he diuersely both willet not, and willet one selfe thing to be done. Finally it is proued by Augustine, that man sometime with good wil willet something which God willet not: & sometime willet y thing with euil 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 parts that are in the. 1.5.5.

The fellowship of men is so gouerned by the prouidence of God, that he

sheweth himselfe liberall, mercifull, righteous, and seuer. 1.5.6.

Those things which in the life of men are compted chaunces, as well of prosperitie as aduersitie are so many tokens of the heauenly prouidence, 1.5.7. & ought to awaken vs to the hope of the life to come. Sect. 9.

Howe God worketh in the heartes of them that bee his, and Satan in the that be his, but yet so, that they are not excused. 2.4.1.

God worketh also in the wicked; & euen in the same worke wherein Satan worketh, and yet is not God so said to bee the author of sinne, neither is Satan or the wicked excused, but there is difference betweene 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 wayes in the reprobate, namely by forsaking them, and taking his spirite from them, and also by deliuering them to Satan the minister of his wrath. 2.4.3, 4.

The ministerie of Satan is vsed to stirre forward the reprobate, when fouer the Lord by his prouidence directeth them hither or thither. 2.4.5.

Purgatorie.

Wee ought not to winke at the doctrine of Purgatorie, forasmuch as it is a damnable inuention of Satan which maketh void the crosse of Christ, &c. 3.5.6.

An exposition of certaine places, of Scripture which the Papistes doe wrong.

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wrongfully wrest to the confirmation of their Purgatorie. 3. 5. 7, 8, 9.

An aunswere to the obiection of the papistes, that it hath bene an auncient vsage of the Church that prayers should be made for the deade. Where is shewed that this was done by them in the olde time, without the worde of God, by a certaine wrongfull imitation, least Christians if they were slow in hauing care of funerals & the dead, should seeme worse than heathen me. Yet herein was a great difference betweene this slipping of these old men; and the obstinate error of the papists 3. 5. 10.

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Redeemer Christ.

The knowledge of God the Creator is vnprofitable vnto vs, vnlesse faith do also folow, setting him forth in Christ a father and Redeemer to vs, and this doctrine from the beginning of the worlde in all ages hath bene holden among the Children of God. 2. 6. 1.

It is prooued by diuerse arguments and testimonies of scripture, that the happie state of the Church hath alway bene grounded vpon the person of Christ. For both the first adoption of the choosen people, and the preferuing 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 Godly 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 wee may finde in him all thinges necessarie for vs; sith (as Bernarde saith) hee is to vs light, meate, oyle, fault, &c. 2. 16. 1.

An exposition howe wee should 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 hee before embraced vs. And there is shewed that the scripture vseth this speech and such other, to aplye it selfe to our capacitie: and yet it doeth not the same falsely. And al this is proued by the authority of scripture and the testimonie of Augustine. 2. 16. 2, 3.

Regeneration.

- Against certain Anabaptists which inuent a phrentike intemperance instead of spiritual Regeneration, namely that the Children of G O D being nowe restored into the state of innocencie, ought no more to bee careful to bridle the lust of the fleshe, but onely to followe the spirit 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 G O D. 1. 4. 4.

They are deceiued which say that Religion was deuised by the suttletie of certain men to hold the simple people in order. 1. 3. 2.

The verie wicked and godles men are compelled, whether they will or no, to feele that there is a God. 1. 3. 2. and in what sense Dauid saith y 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 dettes, and how wee are sayde to forgiue other y haue offended against vs. 3. 20. 45.

Of the distinction of fault & peine, where-

where with most strong testimonies of Scripture, the doing error of the papistes is confuted, namely y when the fault is forgiuen yet God rety-
neth the paine, which remaineth to be redeemed with satisfactions: 3. 4. 29, 30. and there also is shewed y they can not scape away with their distinction betweene cuerlasting peine & temporall peines.

Of certaine places of Scripture wherewith they go about to cōfirme their error: where is declared y there are two kindes of the iudgement of God: the one of vengeance, the other of chastisement, which are wisely to be distinguished asunder. 3. 4. 31.

The first of these, that is to saye, vengeance, the faithfull haue alway earnestly prayed to escape: the other that is to say chastisement, they haue receiued 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 sorowe wherewith they are stricken so soone as they beare any parte of his seueritie: and this is profitable for them. On the other side the reprobate, when they are stricken with the scourges of God, do already after a certaine manner beginne to feele the peines of his iudgement. All which thinges are prooued by testimonies of the Scripture, and also by the expositions of Chrysofome & 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 he is mercifull) subiect to the common miseries of this life. 3. 4. 35.

An exposition of the article of the Creede, concerning remission of sins. 4. 1. 20, 21.

The keyes were giuen to y church, to forgiue sinnes, not onely to men at their first conuersion to Christ, but to the faithfull all their life long. 4. 1. 22.

This doctrine is proued by testimonies of Scripture against the Nouatians and certaine of the Anabaptistes, which saine that the people of God are by baptisme regenerate into an angelike life, and afterwarde there remaineth no pardon for them that fall. 4. 1. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27.

A confutation of them which make a voluntary transgression of the lawe a sinne vnardonable. 4. 1. 28.

Repentance.

Repentance commeth of faith, & goeth not before it. 3. 3. 1.

A confutatiō of their reasōs which thinke otherwise, but hereby is not signified any space of time wherein faith breedeth repentance: but only is shewed that no man can earnestly endeavour himselfe to Repentance vnlesse hee knowe himselfe to be Gods. Of y error of certaine Anabaptists, Iesuits, & such other which appoint to their nouices, certaine days for repentance 3. 3. 2.

Certaine learned men long before this time, made two partes of Repentance, namely Mortification, which they commonly call contrition, & Viuification which they wrong fully expounde to be comfort by the feeling of the mercie of God, whereas it rather signifieth a desire to liue wel. 3. 3. 3.

They do also make two other sorts of Repentance, the one of the lawe, y other of the Gospell: where also are shewed examples of either sorte out of the Scripture. 3. 3. 4.

A true definition of Repentance taken out of the Scripture, And howe Repentance though it cannot be secured, 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 requiring 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 sorrowfulnes that is according to god 3.3.7.

Thirdly, that saying is declared y^e Repentance consisteth of two parts, the mortification of the flesh, & the quickening of the Spirite. 3.3.8.

Both these things do wee obtaine by partaking of Christ, the first by communicating of his death, the seconde of his resurrection. Therefore Repentance is a newe forming of the image of God in vs, and a restoring into the righteousnesse of God by the benefit of Christ: And this restoring is not fulfilled in vs in one moment. 3.3.9.

But there remaineth in all y^e saints, while they liue in mortall body, matter of strife with their flesh, and so thought all the ecclesiasticall writers that haue beene of sounde iudgemēt: & specially Augustine, which calleth this nourishment of euill and disease of lusting in the elect, weakenesse, and sometime sinne: And in deede it is sinne. 3.3.10.

This is confirmed by the testimonie of Paul, and by the summe of the commandements. Whereas it is said that God cleanseth his church from all sinne, the same is spoken rather of the giltyenesse of sinne than of y^e matter of sinne it selfe, which ceaseth not to dwell in y^e regenerate (but ceaseth

to reigne in them) though it bee not imputed. 3.3.11.

A declaration of the seuen causes or effectes, or partes or affections of Repentance, which Paul rehearseth: Those be studie or carefulnesse, excusing, displeasure, feare, desyre, zeale, reuenge. Whereunto also is added out of Paul, and declared by an excellent admonition of Bernard, that in such reuenge wee must keepe a measure. 3.3.15.

The fruits of Repentance are, deuotion towarde God, charitie toward men, holines and purenes in all our life: but all these ought to begin at the inward affection of the heart, from whence outward testimonies may afterward spring forth: 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 heart 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 bee 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 drawn from his naturall sense to this outwarde profession. Publike cōfession is not alway necessarie in sinnes: but priuate confession to God may neuer be omitted, wherein wee ought to confesse, not onely those things that we haue lately committed, but the displeasure of our grieuous fall ought also to call vs backe to remembrance of our passed offences. Of speciall penance which is required of haynous offenders and certanother: and of the ordinary penance which y^e childre of God, euen
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the most perfect, ought to vse all their life long. 3.3.18.

God doeth therefore freely iustifie thē that be his, that he may also with the Sanctification of his spirite restore them into true righteousness: therefore John, Christ & the Apostles preached Repentance and remission of sinnes. The effect of which saying is declared. 3.3.19.

Christians ought to exercise themselves in a continual Repentance, and 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 whome hee purposeth to saue, and which the Apostle pronounceth that it shall neuer be giuen to wilful apostataes whose wickednesse is vnardonable, y^e is to say, such as haue sinned against the holy ghost 3.3.1.

Although fained repentance doeth not please God, yet he sometime for a season spareth hypocrits which make a shew of some conversion, which he doth not for their sakes, but for comon example, that we may learn more cherefully to giue our mindes to vnfaigned Repentance: And this is proued by the examples of Achab, Esau, and the Israelites. 3.3.25.

The Schoole sophisters do fowly er in those definitions which they make of Repentance, and no better do they diuide it, when they part it into contrition of heart, confession of mouth, and satisfaction of worke: Where is entreated of certaine questions which they moue: wherupon is easily gathered, that they babble of things which they knowe not, when they speake of Repentance. 3.4.1.

When they require those three things in Repentance, they must needs binde thereunto forgiveness of

sinnes: And if it be so, thē are we most miserable, forasmuch as we can neuer haue quietnes of conscience: which is proued first in that contrition of heart such as they require. 3.4.2.

There is great difference betwene the doctrine of such contrition, & that contrition which the Scripture requireth of sinners, y^e they truly hunger and thirst for the mercy of God. 3.4.3.

In what sense y^e old wryters thought that solemn penance, which was then required for haynous offences, might no more be estoones done than Baptisme. 4.1.29.

Reason of Man.

Mans vnderstanding is not so to be condemned of perpetual blindness, that wee leaue it no whit of vnderstanding in any kinde of thing: but it hath some knowledge inasmuch as he is naturally carried with desire to searche out truth. And yet this desire by and by falleth into vanitie, because the minde of man can not for dulnesse, keep the right way to search out truth, and for the moste part he discerneth not of what things it is behouefull for him to seeke the true knowledge. 2. 2.12.

As touching earthly things, it is proued by examples y^e the minde of man hath a sharp vnderstanding, as first of all in ciuil policy and in gouernance of householdes, sith euery man vnderstandeth that the fellowshipes of men must be holden together by lawes, and comprehendeth in minde the principles of those lawes. 2.2.13.

Also in liberal artes & handy crafts for learning whereof, yea for amplifying and garnishing of the same, there is in man a certaine aptnesse, although some bee more apt than other. But the light of Reason and vnderstanding in mē is so a general good qualitie in all men, that yet it is a free

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gift of Gods liberalitie towarde euerie man: which thing God sheweth when he createth some Idioties and dull witted: also when hee maketh one man to excell in sharp inuention, an other in iudgement, an other in quicknesse of mind, againe when he powreth into men singular motions according to euerie mans calling, and according to the time & matter that is to bee done 2.2.14,17.

The inuention of artes, the orderly teaching or deepe & excellent knowledge ther eof, which appeare to haue bin in the old Lawyers, Philosophers, Phisitians, being prophane men, doe declare vnto vs that the mind of men howe much foucer it bee fallen from his first vprightnesse, is yet still garnished with excellent giftes of God. 2.2.15.

They are the giftes of y^e holy Ghost which the Lorde giueth to whom hee will, euen to the vngodly for the publike benefit of mankind. Therefore we ought to vse them although they bee communicate vnto vs by the ministry of the wicked, to whō they are but transitory and fleeting, because they are without the sounde foundation of truth. 2.2.16.

It is shewed in the first two pointes, that mans Reason seeth nothing that concerneth the kingdome of God and heauēly matters, which are contained in three things, that is to say, to knowe God, his fatherly fauour toward vs, & the way to frame our life according to the rule of his law. 2.2.18. and to that purpose are alleaged diuerse testimonies of Scripture. Sect. 19, 20, 21. In the third it seemeth that he hath some more vnderstanding than in the other, forasmuch as man is instructed by the lawe of nature to a right rule of life. But such knowledge is vnperfect in the vnbeleeuers, and auayleth to

no other ende, but to make the man vnexcusable: neither doe they by that naturall light, see the truth in euerie thing. And here is expounded the saying of Themistius, that vnderstanding in the vniuersall definition is seldom deceiued, but the error is when it descendeth to particular causes, and there is shewed, that mans vniuersall iudgement in the difference of good and euill, is not alway sound and vpright. For it attaineth not those which are the chiefe thinges in the first table of the lawe, 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 gouernement, and not to reuenge wronges: also it knoweth not the disease of desire in the whole obseruation of the lawe. 2.2.22, 23, 24.

It is proued by the Scripture, that the sharpnesse of our reason in all the partes of our life, is nothing before the Lord: and our mindes do read the grace of enlightning, not onely at the beginning, or for one day, but at euery moment. 2.2.25.

See vnder the title of Freewill, certaine thinges pertaining to this matter.

Resurrection of Christ.

Without the Resurrection of Christ allis vnperfecte that we beleue concerning his crosse, Death, and Buriall. Thereof wee receiue three profit: forasmuch as it hath both purchased vs righteousnesse before God, and is to vs a pledge of the Resurrection to come, and by his life, wee are now regenerate into newenes of life. 2.16.13.

A declaration of the history of the Resurrection of Christ. 3.25.3.

Last Resurrection.

Forasmuch as the faithful, do chiefly neede hope & patience, least they should faint in the course of their calling: he hath soundly profited in the Gospel 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 & hard to beleeue: for the ouercomming of which hardnesse by faith, the Scripture giueth two helpes, the example of Christ, and the almightinesse of GOD. 3. 25. 3, 4.

A confutation of the Sadduces, which deny the Resurrection: and of the Millenaries which appoint the kingdom of Christ to endure but a thousand yeares. 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 clothed, but shall haue newe and other bodies. 3. 25. 7, 8.

Of the maner of the last Resurrection. 3. 25. 8.

By what reaso the last Resurrection, which is a singular benefite of Christ is common also to the wicked and the accursed of God. 3. 25. 9.

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Sabbath.

AN exposition of the fourth commandement, the end thereof, & the three causes wherupon wee must note that it consisteth. 2. 8. 28.

The first cause is a shadowing of spirituall rest, that is to say, of our sanctification: This is proued by diuerse places to haue bene the chiefe thing in the Sabbath. 2. 8. 29.

Why the Lorde appointed the seventh day. 2. 8. 30, 31.

This part, forasmuch as it was ce-

remoniall, is taken away by the death of Christ. 2. 8. 31.

The two later causes, that is to say, that there should be certaine dayes appointed for assemblies in y^e Church, and that there should be giuen to seruants a rest from their labor, do serue for all ages. 2. 8. 32.

Of dayes of meeting in the church to heare the worde of God & commō prayers: Where is spoken of obseruing of the Sunday, 2. 8. 32, 33. and of superstition to be auoyded in this behalf. 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 hee prouiderth helpe for our ignorance & dulnesse, & also for our weakenes. 4. 14. 3, 5, 6, 12.

A Sacrament consisteth of y^e worde & the outward signe: But the Sacramentall worde is to be taken otherwise than the papists thinke. 4. 14. 4.

Sacramentes cease not to be testimonies of the grace of God, although they bee giuen also to the wicked, whiche doe gather to themselues more grieuous damnation thereby. 4. 14. 7.

Our faith is so confirmed by sacraments, that yet it hangeth vpon y^e inward effectual working of the Spirite, 4. 14. 9, 10, 11. and no vertue is to be put in the creatures. Sect. 12.

A confutation of the diuelish doctrine of the Sophisticall scholes, that the Sacramentes of the newe lawe doe iustifie and doe giue grace, so that wee do not stop it with deadly sinne. 4. 14. 14.

Augustins good distinctiō betwene a Sacrament and the thing of the Sa-

erament, whereby is proued y^e though God in Sacramentes doe truely offer Christ, yet y^e wicked receiue nothing but the Sacrament, that is to say, the outward signe. 4. 14. 15; 16.

Wee must not thinke that there is ioyned or fastened to the Sacraments any secrete vertue, whereby they by themselves do giue vs the graces of the holy Ghost. 4. 14. 17.

In the olde time God gaue vnto his people some Sacraments in miracles, and some in natural things. And there is spoken of the tree of life and of the raynebowe. 4. 14. 18.

Sacraments are on the Lordes behalfe testimonies of grace & saluatiō, and on our behalfe tokens of our profession. 4. 14. 19.

The sacraments of the old church vnder the lawe, tended to the same ende that our Sacramentes doe, that is to say, Christ: whome yet our Sacraments do more plainly represent. Wherefore the Scholemens doctrine is to be reiected, which say, that y^e old sacraments did shewe a shadow of the grace of God, and ours do giue it presently. 4. 14. 20, 21, 22, 23, &c.

The five falsly called Sacraments.

When wee denye those five to be Sacramentes which are inuented by men, wee striue not about the name but the thing: because the papists will haue them to be visible formes 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, & other ceremonies. 4. 19. 2.

The number of seuen sacramentes cannot be proued by the authoritie of the Old Church. 4. 19. 3.

Although the olde Church vnder the law, had mo sacramets, 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 adde vnto these any thing of their owne. 4. 18. 20.

Sacrifices.

A difference betweene the sacrifices of Moses his lawe, and the supper of the Lord in y^e Christiā church 4. 18. 12.

What the name of a sacrifice properly signifieth: and of the diuerse kinds of sacrifices vnder the lawe: which may be deuided into two sorts, wherof 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 wee haue many, as all the duties of charitie, prayers, prayes, 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, & in the supper of the Lord: And thereupon all Christians are sacrificing Priests.

Satisfactions Papiſcally.

Of satisfaction, which they make the thirde thing in penance, of retaining the paine, the fault being forgiven, and such likelyes, which all are ouerthrowen, by setting against the free forgiveness of finnes, by the name of Christ. 3. 4. 25.

A confutation of the blasphemous error of the Schoolemē, that forgiveness of finnes, and reconciliation is once done in baptism, but after baptism, we must rise againe by satisfactions. 3. 4. 26.

By such error, Christ is spoyled of his honor, & the peace of consciences is troubled, forasmuch as they can neuer certainly determine, that their finnes are forgiven them. 3. 4. 27.

In Daniell, when Nabuchadoncher is commanded to redeeme his sinnes with righteousnesse, that same redeeming is referred to God, rather than to men, and the cause of pardon is not there set foorth, but rather the maner of true conuersion. The same is to be sayd 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 loued much*: Meaning that loue is not the cause, but the prooffe of forgiveness. 3.4.37.

The olde writers of the church did not speak of satisfactions in such sense as the papists do: for they vnderstood that the penitent do make Satisfaction to the Church, and not to God. 3.4.38, 39.

*Scripture, the Worde of God,
and the authoritie
thereof.*

Men do not sufficiently know God the creatour, and discern him from fained goddesses, by consideration of his creatures, vnlesse they be also holpen by the light of his Worde. And God hath kept this order in teaching them that be his, not onely since that hee choose the Iewes for his peculiar people, but also from the beginning, euen towarde Adam, Noe, and the other fathers. 1.5.1.

Either by oracles, or by visions, or by the ministry of other, the fathers had the word which they were certainly perswaded to be the worde of God, whereby they knewe the true GOD the creator and gouernor of al things: which Worde afterwarde, that hee might prouide for men in all ages, he caused to be writté in the law and the Prophetes, as it were in publicke registers, 1.6.2, 3, in which place also is prooued by testimonies of Scripture, that the doctrine of the Worde, must be

ioyned to the consideration of creatures, least we conceiue a fickle knowledge of God.

Of them which say that the authoritie of Scripture hangeth vpon the iudgement of the church, & in how ill case we should be, if it were so. 1.7.1.

This error is wel confuted by the place of Paul in the second chapter to the Ephesians, where hee sayeth that the faithfull are builded vpon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophetes. 1.7.2.

In what sense Augustine sayth, that he would not haue beleued the Gospell, vnlesse the authoritie of y church did moue him: which place they doe cauillously wrest to the confirmation of their error. 1.7.3.

Although there be many other argumentes, which do proue, yea, do enforce the wicked to confesse, that the Scripture came fró God: yet by none other meane, than by the secreete testimony of the holy Ghost, our hearts are truly perswaded that it is GOD, which speaketh in the lawe, in the prophetes, and in the gospell. And this is proued by many places of Esay. 1.7.4, 5.

The orderly disposition of the wisdom of God, the doctrine sauoring nothing of earthlinesse, the goodly agreement of all the partes among themselves, and specially that basenesse of contemptible wordes, vttering the hie mysteries of the heauenly kingdome, are seconde 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 doeth not himselfe inuent a newe God, but setteth foorth to the Israelites, the God of their fathers. 1.8.3, 4.

Whereas Moses doth not hide the shame

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shame of Leui his father, nor the murmuring of Aarō his brother, & of Mary his sister, nor doth aduance his own children: the same are argumentes, y^e in his bookes is nothing fained by mā
1.8.4.

Also y^e miracles which happened, as well at the publishing of the lawe, as in all the rest of time. 1.8.5.

Which miracles, when y^e prophane writers could not deny, they cauilled, that Moses did the by Magicall artes. Which sclander, is confuted by most strong reasons. 1.8.6.

Also wheras Moses speaking in the person of Iacob, assigneth the government to the tribe of Iuda, and where he telleth before of the calling of the Gentiles, whereof the one came to passe foure hundred yeares after, and the other almost two thousand yeres: these are arguments, y^e it is God himselfe which speaketh in the bookes of Moses. 1.8.7.

Wheras Esay telleth before of the captiuitie of the Iewes, and their restoring by Cyrus (which was borne a hundred yeares after the death of Esay) and where Ieremie before that the people was led away appointeth their exile to continue threescore and tenne yeares, whereas Ieremy and Ezechiell, being farre distant in places the one from the other, doe agree in all their sayings: where Daniel telleth before of things to come, for six hundred yeares after: these are most certaine proues, to stablish the authoritie of the bookes of the Prophets. 2.8.8.

Against certaine vngodly scoffers which aske how we knowe that those are the writings of Moses & the Prophets, which are red in their names: and how we knowe 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 commaunded them all to be burned. And there is spoken of the wonderful prouidence of God in preserving them so many ages, among so many enimies, and so cruell persecutions. 1.8.10.

The simplicitie of speeche of the first three Euangelistes, containing heauenly mysteries, the phrase of Iohn thondering frō on hie wth weightie sentences, the heauenly maiestie shining in the writings of Peter and Paul, the sudden calling of Mattheue from the boorde, the calling of Peter and Iohn from their fisherbotes to the preaching of the Gospel, the conuersion & caling 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, & of so diuerse minds in embracing the Scripture, and the rare godlinesse of some, ought to stablish the authoritie thereof among vs. 1.8.12.

Also the bloud of so many martyrs, which for the confession therof, haue suffered death with a constant & sober zeale of God. 1.8.13.

Against certaine phrentike men, which forsaking the reading of scripture & learning, do boast of the spirite & do flie to reuelations. 1.9.1.2.

A confutation of their obiection, that it is not meete that the spirite of God, to whom all things ought to be subiect, should be subiect to the scripture. 1.9.2.

Also where they say y^e 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 spirite. 1.9.3.

Such as the beholding of the heauen & earth & other creatures doth depeaint

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depaint out God vnto vs, such doth y^e Scripture set him foorth, y^e is to say, eternall, ful of goodnes, clemency, mercy, righteousnes, 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 do wrongfully abuse this colour to the confirmation of their errors and blasphemies. 4. 9. 14.

Of Singing in the Church.

Voyce and Singing auaille nothing in prayer, without affection of the hart 3. 20. 31, 33.

Of the vsage of Singing in Churches. 3. 20. 32.

Single life.

Their shamelesnesse which doe set forth the comlinessse of Single life for a thing necessaric, to y^e great reproch of the olde Church. By what degrees this tyranny crepte into the church: and how it can not bee defended by y^e presence of certaine old canons. 4. 12. 26, 27, 28.

Priestes were forbidden to marrie by wicked tyranny, and against the word of God, and against all equity. 4. 12. 23.

An answer to the aduersaries objection, that the priest must by some marke differ from the lay people. 4. 12. 24.

The blasphemy of the Pope, saying that mariage is defiling and vncleanes of the flesh. 4. 12. 24.

It is sonde to defend the forbidding of mariage with the examples of the Leuiticall Priestes, 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 sinnes, which they cal desires without a determined assent, which do not long rest in the heart: it is proued that euery sinne, euē y^e lightest desire deserueth death, and is deadly, except in the saintes which obtaine pardon by the mercie of God. 2. 8. 58, 59.

A confutation of their fond distinction betwene deadly & veniall sins, and of their sclauder when they saie that wee make all sinnes equall. 3. 4. 28.

Howe it is to bee expounded, that God visiteth the iniquity of y^e fathers vpon the children vnto the third and fourth generation: and whether such reuengement bee vnseemelic for the righteousnesse of GOD. 2. 8. 19, 20.

Sinne against the holy Ghost.

The true definition of Sin against the holy Ghost, and examples thereof out of the Scripture. 3. 3. 22.

It is not one or an other particular falling, but a generall forsaking, the description wherof is declared by the Apostle. Neither is it any maruell if God will be alwayes vnappeasable to them that haue so fallen. 3. 3. 23. forasmuch as he promisseth pardon only to them that repent, which they shal neuer do. And though the Scripture doe say that some such haue grieved 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 immortal substance, although it were created, is proued by conscience, by the knowledge of God, and by so many excellent gifts wherwith the minde of man

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is endued, yea, and by those things which it conceiueth in sleepe, and also by many arguments taken out of scripture. 1. 15. 2. Finally by this that it is said, that man was created after the image of God. Sect. 3.

Against them that vnder the colour of Nature doe denie the prouidence and gouernance of God vttering it selfe in the maruellous and in a maner innumerable powers of y^e soule 1. 5. 4, 5.

A confutation of the error of the Manichees and of Seruettus, that the soule is a deriuation of the substance of God; also of the error of Osiander, which acknowledge no image of god in man without an essentiall righteousness. 1. 15. 5.

Concerning the immortalitie of the soule, in a maner 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 agreable with Christian doctrine, that is to say, that the powers of the soule are vnderstanding and will: and the office & 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, & that the soules at the last shall rise againe with the bodies. 3. 25. 6.

Of the state of soules from death to the last day. 3. 25. 6.

A description take out of Bernard, of the miseries of a faithfull soule, being considered as it is in it selfe & of it selfe: and on the other side, of the assured glorying of a faithfull soule in Christ, which blotteth out all her vnworthinesses. 3. 2. 25.

Superstition.

The simplicitie of the superstitious doeth not excuse them, because their blindness is founde 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 followe the consent of antiquitie or the custome of any citie, yet they depart from the one & true God. 1. 5. 12.

It is proued by the etimologie of the wordes *Superstition*, *Religion*, *Essebeia* or godlines, what difference is betweene Religion and superstition. 1. 12. 1.

The craft of superstition, when granting the chiefe place to the one God, it besetteth him with a route of smaller Gods. 1. 12. 1, 3.

Supper of the Lorde.

Of the bread and wine the signes in the holy supper: and it is declared by his owne words at his Supper, why the Lorde willed that wee should vse them. 4. 17. 1.

Wee gather a great fruite of confidence & sweetenesse out of this sacrament, which testifieth that wee are so growen together into one body with Christ, that whosoeuer is his, we may lawfully call it ours. 4. 17. 2.

This is declared by the wordes of the Supper. 4. 17. 3.

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The cheife office of the sacraments is not to giue vnto vs the body of christ without any hier consideration, but rather to seale that promise where in he testifieth that his flesh is verily meat. 4.17.4.

The supper maketh not Christ then first to beginne to be the bread of life, but that we should feele the force of y bread. He once gaue his flesh for the life of the world, and daily 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 saide, that in beleuing we eat the flesh of Christ. 4.17.6.

They doe not say enough, which passing ouer the mention of flesh and bloode, doe thinke that we are made partakers onely of the spirit 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 greatnes thereof. 4.17.7.

Howe farre the perfect communicating of Christ extendeth. Where is declared that Christ, which from y beginning was the life giuing worde of the father, made the fle she which hee rooke vpon him to be also life giuing to vs. 4. 17.8,9.

The faithful doe truly eate of the same flesh howe great distance of places soeuer there be betweene them & it. 4.17.10.

The mysterie of the Supper consisteth of two things, the bodily signes, and the spirituall truth: Which spirituall truth containeth three things, signification, matter, and effect. 4. 17.

II.

Of the transubstantiation of bread

and wine into the body and bloode of Christ, which the craftesmen of the court of Rome haue forged. 4.17.12, 13, &c. and 20.

They are without testimonie of antiquitie. And in what sense the old writers saide that in the consecration is made a secrete turning. Also the signification of the Supper agreeth not, vnlesse the substance of the outward signes remaine. 4.17.14.

The breade is a sacrament to none but to men to whome the worde is directed. And here are confuted certain argumentes of the teachers of transubstantiation. 4.17.15.

Of some men, which though they doe at one worde graunt that the substance of the signes remaineth, yet placing the bodie of Christ in bread and vnder breade, they fall backe into the locall presence, and faine 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 y testimonies of Augustine, nor by authority of scripture. 4 17.28,29,30,31.

A confutation of certaine other of their obiections, and cheefely of this that they say, that whatsoeuer wee reach of spirituall eating, is agaynst the true and reall eating: where also is declared that the bodie of Christe is in the Supper offered to the infidels, but they receyue it not. 4. 17. 33.

Neither can the saying of Augustine bee drawn to this purpose, that the sacramentes are nothing appayred by the infidelitie of men. Which is proued by diuerse other testimonies of the same man. 4.17.34.

How the body and blood of Christ is giuen to vs in the Supper, and what maner of presence of Christ we ought

to holde therein. 4. 17. 18, 19, 32.

Of the exposition of the wordes 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 carnal adoration, & conuincement, and consecration of y^e host (as they call it) and carrying it about in pompe. 4. 17. 35, 36, 37.

The mysterie of y^e Supper ought to stirre vs vp to geeuing of thankes, to exercise vs in remembring y^e death of Christ, to kindle vs to holynesse of life, and chiefly to charitie. 4. 17. 37, 38.

In the papacie the Supper (the true ministracion whereof is not without the worde) is turned into a dumme action. And here is spoken of the laying vp of y^e Sacrament to be extraordinarily distributed to sicke men. 4. 17. 39.

The doctrine of the papistes, wh^e they goe about to prepare men to the worthinesse of eating the bodie of Christ, doeth in cruell wise torment consciences: And the deuill could not by any readier way destroy men. Of the best remedie to auoyde this destruction. They erre which in the supper doe require of the faithfull perfection of faith. 4. 17. 41, 42.

As touching the outward v^sage of the ministracion of the Supper, there are many thinges indifferent: And howe it ought to bee ministred most comely. 4. 17. 43.

Of the small assemblie at this day at the partaking of the Supper, which is a token of contempe, wherewith y^e holy fathers in olde time were much displeased: And howe the custome which commaundeth men to communicate once euery yere, was a most certaine inuention of the deuill. 4. 17. 44, 45, 46.

It is proued by authoritie of the Scripture and by the vsage of the olde Church, foure hundred yeares before the death of Gregorie, and by many other arguments, that the constitution which toke away from lay men the cup of the Lorde, came out of the deuils workshop. 4. 17. 47, 48, 49, 50.

Of the concomitance of the blood in the fleshe of Christ, which is a popish inuention. 4. 17. 47.

The Supper of the Lorde is profanely abused, if it be given to all men without choice. Of the dutie of ministers in reiecting y^e vnworthie. 4. 12. 5.

A breefe sum of those things which we ought to know concerning the two Sacramentes. And why the Supper is oftentimes ministred, and Baptisme but once. 4. 18. 19.

Swearing.

An exposition of the thirde commaundement, in which these three things are contained, that we neither think nor speak any 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 we must beware that our othes containe not any dishonour to the name of God, which is done in Forswearing: or any contempt of it, which is done in superfluous oths, or in which y^e name of any other than God is vsed. 2. 8. 23, 24, 25.

It is proued by Scripture against the Anabaptistes: that all othes are not forbidden vs, y^e 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 only publike, but also priuat othes are permitted, keeping the moderation which the lawe commaundeth. 2. 8. 27.

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T. Temples.

OF Temples of Christian men for assemblies of the congregation. 3.20.30.

It is proued by the authoritie of the olde Church, and the reasons of Augustine, that it is not expedient, that there shoulde be any images in Christian temples. 1.11.13.

The preaching of the worde and the Sacramentes, are liuely images which onely are fit to be in Christian Temples. 1.11.7,13.

The wickednes of the Nicene Synode which was holden by the commandement of Irene the Emperesse, & the filthy follies thereof in allowing images in Temples, and the worshiping of them. 1.11.14,15,16.

Of the garnishing of Temples and holy things in the old Church, 4.4.8. and 4.5.18.

Temptations.

Of diuerse kindes of Temptations: and in what sense it is sayde that God tempteth vs. 3.20.46.

Testament, old, and newe.

Of the likenesse of the olde, & new Testament: Where is declared, that they are all one in substance and matter, but onely do differ in ministracion. The likenesse standeth chiefly in three pointes. 2.10.1,2.

The first point is, that the old Testament did not holde the fathers in earthly felicitie, but had chiefe regard to the life to come. Which is proued by Paul, which sayth that the promises of the Gospell are contained vnder it. 2.10.3.

The same also is proued by the law and the Prophetes: First, by considering the wordes of the couenant: *I am your God.* 2.10.7,8.

Againe, *I will be the God of your seede*

after you: Sect. 9. Also by the life of the holy fathers, as Adam, Abel, Noe, Sect. 10. Abraham, Sect. 11. Isaak, Iacob, Sect. 12, 13, 14. And by many testimonies of Daud. Sect. 15, 16, 17, 18. Of Iob. Sect. 19. Generally of all the latter Prophets, Sect. 20. But namly of Ezechiel. Sect. 21. Of Esay and Daniell. Sect. 22. A conclusiō of this point with rehearsing certaine testimonies out of the new Testament, Sect. 23.

The seconde point is that the olde Testament did not stand vpon ŷ merites of men, but vpon ŷ free mercie of God. The thirde point is that the couenant of the fathers with God, did then stand vpon like knoweledge of Christ the mediator. 2.10.4.

Also in signification of Sacramentes the Israelites vnder the lawe were equall with the Christian people. 2.10.5,6.

There are foure differences of the olde Testament from the newe, wherunto we may adde a fift. The first is, that although in the olde time also the Lords will was to direct the soules of his people to the heauenly inheritaunce: Yet to the ende that they might be the better nourished in the hope therof, he gaue it them to be beholden, and after a certaine manner tasted vnder earthly benefites: But nowe the grace of the life to come, being more clearly reuiled by the Gospell, he directeth our mindes the streight way to the meditation therof, leauing the inferior manner of exercising which hee vsed among the Israelites. 2.11.1.

Therefore the olde Church is compared to an heire vnder age, which is gouerned by Guardians. 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 where-

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wherewith the old testament did shew forth the image and shadowe of spirituall good things: The new testament giueth the present trueth and perfect body. There is also a reason shewed why the Lorde kept this order: And a definition of the olde testament. 2. 11. 4.

In this sense it is sayde, that the Jewes were by the introduction or schooling of the lawe led vnto Christ: before tha the was deliuered in y flesh: 2. 11. 5. which appeared in the most excellent Prophetes that were endued with singular grace of the spirit. Sect 6.

The thirde difference, is taken out off y one and thirtie chapter of Jeremy, and the third chapter of the second Epistle to the Corinthians, that the old testament is literall, and the newe testament is spirituall: the olde bringeth death, the new 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 feare in mens mindes: but the new is called the Testament of liberty, because it raiseth them vp to confidence and suertie. The three latter differēces are comparisons of the law and the Gospel. The first, containeth also the promises made before the law. The fathers liued so vnder the law and the olde testament, y they stayed not there, but alwayes aspired to the new, yea and embraced a certaine communicating thereof. 2. 11. 9, 10.

The fifth difference is, that before the comming of Christ, the Lord had seuered one nation, in which he would keepe the couenant of his grace, in the meane time neglecting all other nations. So the calling of the Gentiles is a certaine signe, wherewith the excellencie of the newe testament is

set forth about the olde: a thing so incredible, that it seemed yet new to the Apostles themselues, 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 obiections of some men, which say that this variety in the Church, this diuerse maner of teaching, so great change of vsages and ceremonies, is a great absurdity. Where is declared that the constancy of God appeareth in this chaunging, and hee hath done nothing but wisely, righteously, & in mercy, when he gouerneth his Church, after one sort in childhod and after an other sort in riper age, & also when hee did keepe cloose in one people the shewing forth of his grace before the comming of Christ, which afterward he poured forth vpon all nations. 2. 11. 13, 14.

Thefts.

An exposition of the eight Commaundement: where is entreated of diuerse kindes of Theftes, and some which although men iudge otherwise, yet are accounted Thefts before God. And so hee that doeth nor performe that which by the office of his calling he oweth to other, is a theefe. 2. 8. 45.

What wee ought to doe, that wee may obey this commaundement, is shewed by diuers examples according to the diuersitie of persons & offices. 2. 8. 46.

Traditions.

Forasmuch as the Lorde, willing to reache a rule of true righteousnesse, hath drawn all the partes thereof to his owne will, thereby it appeareth, that all the good workes which men deuise of their own wittes, are nothing worth before him: But the true worshipping standeth vpon obedience only, which is the beginning, mother, and

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and preseruer of al 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 popishe constitutions, whiche they call Traditions of the Church, into such as containe ceremonies, and other which are saide to pertaine to discipline. The wickednesse of both sorts, because they place the worshipp of God in them, and consciences are bounde with precise necessitie of them. 4.10.9.

For them the commaundement of God is made voide. 4.10.10.

A true marke of mens traditions, which ought to bee reiected of the Church, and of all Godly men. 4.10.16.

A confutation of y^e pretence which some men vse that defende popishe Traditions to be 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, wherewith the Church hath heretofore bene oppressed. 4.10.18, 19, 20.

The example of the Apostles, whē they commaunded the Gentiles to absteyne from thinges offered vnto Idols, from strangled, and from blood, is falsely alleadged to excuse the tyrannie of the Popes lawes. 4.10.21, 22.

The Lordes kingdome is taken frō him, when hee is worshipped with the lawes of mens Traditions: which is prooued by examples and testimonies of scripture to haue alwayes bene a most hainous offence in the sight of God. 4.10.23, 24.

The inuentions of men cannot be defended by the example of Meno-

ha, which being a priuate man offered sacrifice, nor 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 tend vnto. 4.10.1.

Of such ordinances of the church as ought to be accompted holy, namely those which serue for comelinesse, or doe preserue order and peace in the Church. 4.10.27, 28, 29. Wee must wisely consider, which bee of that sort 4.10.30.

It is the duetie of Christian people, to obserue such ordinances: And what errors herein are to bee taken heede of: And howe in the meane time, the liberie of consciences may still bee preserued safe. 4.10.31, 32.

Tributes.

Of Tributes, Taxes, Impositions, and Finances, which are payed 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 cal them *Hypostases*) 1.13.2.

A confutation of them which in this matter do condemn 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 word *Homoansio* Consubstantiall, and against Sabellius y^e name of three properties or persons. 1.13.4, 16.

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 bee esteem-
ed. 4. 13. 1, 6.

Three things are to be considered
in Vowes: Who it is to whome wee
Vowe, namely God which delireth in
obedience. 4. 13. 2. Who we be that do
Vowe, that wee measure our owne
strength and looke vpon our calling,
that we neglect not the benefite of li-
bertie which God hath giuen vs. Sect.
3. And with what minde wee Vowe.
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Of the Priestes, Monkes, and
Nonnes Vowe of single life. 4. 13. 3, 17,
18, 19.

There be foure ends of Vowes, two
haue respect to the time past, & two to
the time to come. 4. 13. 4, 5.

There is one common Vowe of all
the faithfull which they make in bap-
tisme. 4. 13. 6.

Of the rashnesse and superstition
of the worlde in making of Vowes. 4.
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W.

Of Warres.

Warres are lawfull, when Magi-
strates are driuen of necessitie to take
weapon in hande, to execute publike
revenge vpon those that trouble the
peace of their dominion, whether
they be ciuile or forreine enemies. 4.
20. 11.

It maketh not to the contrary her-
of, which many alleage, that there is
not in the newe Testament any tes-
timonie or example which proueth
that Warre is a thing lawfull for Chri-
stians. But Magistrates ought to take
great heede, that in taking of weapō
in hande, they nothing at all followe
their owne lustes. As Warre, so garri-
sons also, leagues and ciuill fortificati-
ons are things lawfull for Christians

to vs. 4. 20. 12.

Will of God.

Of the secret Will of God. Also of
an other Wil, whercunto aunswareth
Willing obedience. 3. 20. 43. and 3.
24. 1, 7.

Will of Man.

Whether the Will of man be in e-
uery part through defiled and corrup-
ted so that it bringeth foorth nothing
but euill: Or whether it yet reteine
some libertie of choise. Where is de-
clared the common saying taken out
of the Philosophers, that all thinges
by naturall disposition couet y^e which
is good. And there is shewed that the
libertie of will cannot bee proued
thereby. 2. 2. 26.

The soule hath not onely a weake
power but no power at all of it selfe to
aspire to goodnesse. And sith y^e whole
man is subiect to the dominion of
sinne, it is proued by testimonies of
Scripture & of Augustine, that the wil
of man is bounde with moste streit
bondes. 2. 2. 27.

Man by his fall lost not his will, but
the soundnesse of his Will, so that hee
cannot moue, much lesse apply him-
selfe to goodnesse, but is necessarily
drawen or led into euill, howbeit not
by compulsio but voluntarie. Which
is proued by Augustine and Bernard.
A large declaration of the difference
betweene compulsion and necessitie.
2. 3. 5.

Sith the Lorde both beginneth &
perfiteth good in our heartes, sith he
worketh in vs to will, that is to say the
good will, sith hee createth a newe
heart, taketh away the stony heart &
giueth a fleshy heart, it followeth,
that the Will of man is vtterly cor-
rupted and hath no goodnesse at all.
2. 3. 6.

It is clerely proued by reasons and
diuerse testimonies of Scripture, that

God worketh good will in them that be his, not onely in preparing or turning them from the beginning so as it may afterward do some good of it self. But because it is his onely worke that will conceiue a loue of goodnesse, that it is enclined to the study thereof, that it is stirred and moued to an endeuour to followe it, & againe that the choise, studie, and endeuour doe not faint, but proceede to effect, finally that man goeth constantly forward in them and continueth to the ende.

2.3.7.8.9.

Therefore it is proued by the authoritie of scripture and 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 & other like sayings are viterly false.

2.3.10.11.12.13.14.

Also in doings, which of these lues are neither righteous nor vnrighteous, and belong rather to the bodily than the spirituall life, the will of man is not free, but by the speciall motion of God is enclined to clemencie, mercie, wrath, feare, and other diuerse affections, when it pleaseth him to make way for his prouidence. Which is proued by scripture, by daily experience, and by the authoritie of Augustine.

2.4.6.7.

Workes.

A comparison of the purenesse of God with all the righteousnes of mē.

3.12.4.5.

All the offspring of Adam being deuided into foure kindes of men, it is proued that they haue no holinesse or righteousnesse: First in them which are endued with no knowledge of God, in whome although there doe sometime appeare excellent qualities (which are the gistes of God) yet there is in them nothing pure. 3.14.1,

2.3.4.5.6.

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 vain false colours do hide the wickednesse of their heart. 3.14.7, 8.

Finally, it is proued that euen the children of God truly regenerated by his Spirit, can not stand by any righteousnes 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 any such worke, yet one sinne is enough to blot out the remembrance of all former righteousnes. 3.14.9; 10, 11.

A confutation of the papistes shifts concerninge the righteousnesse of workes: and specially of the same horrible monster of workes of supererogation. 3.14.12, 13, 14, 15.

When wee entreate of workes, wee must thrust two pestilences out of our mindes: that wee put no trust in the righteousnes of our owne workes, and that we ascribe no glorie vnto them. 3.14.16.

The Scripture setteth out and declareth foure kindes of causes in establishing our saluation: And it is proued that in them all there is no regard of workes. 3.14.17.

Where sometimes the sainctes do bolden themselues with remembrance of their owne innocencie & vprightnesse: how the same is to be taken: and how it doth in no wise abate anything from the free righteousnes in Christ. 3.14.18, 19, 20.

Where the scripture saith that the good workes of the faithfull do moue God, to doe them good, the order is there.

therein rather expressed than y^e cause.

3.14.21.

Why the Lord in the scripture calleth good workes oures, & promisseth reward to them. 3.15.3.

A confutation of the Sophisters inuention, concerning mortal workes, whereby men be made acceptable to God, before that they bee grafted in Christ. 3.15.6. & 17.4.

Those rewardes are giuen to the works of the faithfull, which the Lord in his law hath promised to the followers of righteousness: but thereof there are three causes to be considered. 3.17.3.

Wee may note in the scripture two acceptances of man wth God, of which the latter although it haue respect to the good workes of the faithfull, yet is also the free mercy of God. 3. 17. 4.5.

When it is saide that God doeth good to them that loue him, here is not rehearsed a cause why he should doe them good, but rather the maner

of what sorte they bee by his grace. 3.

17.6.

An exposition of certaine places wherein the scripture giueth to good workes the name of righteousness. And there is shewed y^e those places are not against the doctrine of iustification of faith. 3.17.7.

One good worke or many doe not suffice for righteousness before God, although one sin suffice to condemne. And here the principel hath no place the contraries haue all one rule. 3. 18.10.

Why the Lorde saide that hee rendereth to workes that which hee had freely giuen before Workes. 3. 18.3. And therein hee helpeth our weakness least wee should be discouraged. 3.18.4,6,7.

Hereupon hangeth the righteousness of the good workes which y^e faithfull do, that by pardon they are allowed of God. 3.18.5.

World.

See Creation of the World.

THE END OF THE TABLE.

TO THE CHRISTIAN

AND STUDIOVS READERS OF

this Booke, Augustine Marlorate

wiseth health.



Ho so euer shall reade and peruse these two Tables following, and especially the latter, may maruell what I meane (after so many impressions and corrections of this worke to collect and gather al the places of holy Scripture therein alledged: and a great part of the authorities therein expounded, whereas if any fruite or profite thereof were to bee had, the same long before might haue bene done: and specially about three yeares past, when the author himselfe was so diligent therein: who besides the many and profitable additions (which he contineith) he himselfe setting the same in order, with his owne handes, and reducing it to a most exact perfection, did then see: and publish it forth, in such sort, that in foure bookes being diuided into chapters and diuerse sections, hee hath

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The Preface.

right worthily and in familiar manner, comprised the summe of the whole Christian religion. And certainly I cannot denie but it woulde have bene very good and commodious, if that any one man would have taken the payne, faithfully and truly to have collected those places: which thing I thought once to have done by the advise of the inprinter, saying that my charge and office did else where call mee: as also when I had perused and set it in an other order than it was before, and had euen finished it, I was compelled to omit it, or at the least, to surcese for the time. And after that this booke being put forth both in Latine and French, was set to sale in every place, because I sawe no man, who then did take the paine to reduce the places of Scripture to a Table, and understanding how profitable the same would be to all men: I could not choose but after my power, and as leasure served in those troublesome times, to employ my whole care and travell therein. And because all things should be done and come forth more certain and in better order: I would not give credite, nor trust to the numbers which the inprinter 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 verie soone to such as are not best skilfull in examining and perusing the places of holy scripture to be soone deceived. Wherefore all things diligently rectified, and that supplied which seemed to want, I did so order the places of Scripture collected out of the old and newe testament that if there were any, through forgetfulness, or by any other meanes omitted or ouerskipped: (as it cannot be but that in a great harvest some one earre of corne shall escape the reapers hand) I durst warrant so fewe shall be found, that this Table being brought to trial you shall not finde one much more plentifull or larger. Nevertheless I do pray and request the readers, that if they do finde any, they will aduertise the inprinter, wherby the same may better be examined and corrected. And this is to bee noted, that such whole verses as I have comprised in this table, they were not wholly but in part alleged, much lesse expounded in the Institution: which thing I did upon good consideration. For often times it happeneth that in diuerse places of the Institution, some authorities are alleged, which are proved but by some part of the verse. And because in noting the places and numbers, we must use repetitions (which for the most part bring a loshsomnesse to the reader) I thought it better to put in the whole verse, than by often diuision, to use vaine and superfluous repetition. And as concerning the commoditie which the reader may gather by this my travell: (besides that which by use and experience I am taught by those Tables, which for mine owne private studie and exercise I wrote upon the Institutions heretofore set forth) 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, do diligently endeavour themselves thereunto, they shall finde a large and a plaine way, both with dexteritie to expounde the writings of the Prophetes and Apostles, as also, aptly to apply the authorities here alleged, & such like to the edifying of the Church, which is the verie end of the whole. And although we want not good Commentaries to discover unto vs the naturall sense of the Scripture, which we do none studie and apply: yet because they who wrote the same, and who with good success have travelled therein, were contented with the plaine and syncere exposition of the text: none could tell by the use of the saide Commentaries onely (vnlesse they were well practised in the principles of religion) howe and to what common place they ought to apply the argument then in hande. But who can so be contented to use this Table, whensoever hee shall finde the places which hee entreateth, hee shall see howe and to what ende the same is to bee applyed, 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.

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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 principal points of Christian Religion. For it is manifest howe simple and slender is their oration and speech, which bring and allege nothing else, but as they read in the Commentaries: where the authors themselves (being most worthe and well learned) do chiefly desire brevitie, because the readers should use and studie the common places themselves, to the end they should the more largely be applied to those things which in the Commentaries are but briefly expounded. Againe, forasmuch as we have not alwayes in readinesse, what good authors have written upon the scriptures: and verie fewe cōmentaries upon some books, and namely upon this Institution, are to be found or had. This Table expounding the obscure and harde 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 have rather followed the selfe same words, as they be in the Bible, than as they be alleged by Caluin in this his institution: For he being a man most excellently well learned, and of great reading (as by his workes it doth appeare, how readie & familiar the Scriptures were to him) had not alwayes the bookes in readines, or lying open before him, when he wrote: neither was it necessarie that whatsoever he did auouch out of the old or new Testament, he should expresse or write it in the selfesame words: for it is sufficient, that the sense be faithfully retained, and the true proprietie of the worde obserued, and so to eschewe the cavillings of all men, saving such as will finde fault in that, which in the least part cannot be followed nor obserued. Being therefore persuaded, that neither he himselfe will be offended, nor the reader mislike, if the sentences in the Bible be translated according to the Hebrewes, as concerning the olde Testament, and according to the Greeke, as touching the newe Testament: I have aduented to aduouch the authorities of the Scriptures in an other order (as concerning the words) than they are alleged in this booke of Institutions. And therefore sometimes that which is recited in the thirde person, this Table doth expresse it in the seconde, and so contrariwise: but yes so, that the sense and meaning is alwayes reserved, which thing euery man shall easily perceiue, if diligently and without hastie iudgement, he do conserue euery thing together: for else curious heads do lose 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 have not followed the common translation, but that which is most agreeable to the Hebrewes. And therefore we do aduertise the readers, that they do not take the first booke of the Kings, for the first of Samuell: nor the seconde of Kings, for the second of the same Prophet: which is so done by them, who heretofore haue corred 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 appeare to all men, some bookes of the olde Testament are not rightly intitled: and the Psalmes otherwise and in an other order denided, than did the Hebrewes. And forasmuch as all the principall points of religion, are in this booke copiously and faithfully expounded, we may easily refute the false opinions of the aduersaries. 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 verie 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 upon the firme foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, who wrote and spake, being inspired by the holy ghost,

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who hath willed and commaunded his most precious and deare worde, to be red, heard, & handled, in all feare and reuerence, without adding therunto, or taking from the same: least we be worthily reprov'd of our folly. Let vs therefore, in all simplicitie and feare of God, reade so wholesome and necessarie things, and daily proceede therein, in the grace & knowledge of God, who onely is the saviour, head and Doctor of the Church: To whome nowe and for ever be all glorie. *Calend. Maij. 1562.*

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*The first number signifieth the Booke, the second the Chapter,
the thirde the Section.*

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If at any time you doe finde two numbers in the margent, the firste signifieth the chapter of the Bible, the second sheweth the Verse of the same Chapter: but if you finde one number alone, then that signifieth the Verse onely. The first number put after the text signifieth the Booke of the Institutions, the seconde the Chapter, and the third the Section.

GENESIS.

1. **I**N the beginning God created heaue and earth. 1.14.20.
2. And the spirite of God was vpon the deepes. 1.13.14. & 1.13.22.
3. And God sayd, let light be made, and light was. 1.13.7. & 1.13.8. & 1.16.2.
11. Let the earth shoot forth greene flourishing herbes, and bearing seed according to his kinde. 1.16.2.
26. Let vs make man to our image and likenesse. 1.13.24. & 1.15.3.
27. And God created man to his image & similitude, hee created the tothe image of God, male & female. 1.11.14. & 1.15.3. & 2.1.1.
28. And rule you ouer the fishes of the sea, and ouer the foules of the heauen, and ouer euery beast that moueth on the earth. 1.14.22.
31. And God sawe all things that he had made, and they were exceeding good. And Euening and morning was made the sixth day. 1.14.22 & 3.23.8.
- 2.1. Therefore heauen and earth was finished, and all the garnishing of them. 1.14.4.
2. God did throughly finishe the 7. day his worke that hee had made, and he rested the seuenth day from all the worke that hee had done. 1.14.2. & 2.8.30.
7. The Lord God therefore did fashion man of y slime of y earth, and inspired into his figure the breth of life, & man was made into a liuing soule. 1.15.5. & 2.14.8.
9. And the tree of life was in the midst of Paradise, and the tree of the

- the knowledge of good and euill. 4. 14.18
17. In what day fouer you shall eate thereof, you shall dye with death. 3.2.7
18. It is not good that man be alone, let vs make him a help like to himselfe. 4.13.3
23. This, now bones of my bones, & flesh of my flesh, she shall be called woman, because shee was taken of man. 2.12.7 & 4.19.35
- 3.4. The serpent sayde to the woman, ye shall not dy. 1.14.15
6. Therefore the woman sawe that the tree was good to eate, & beautiful to the eye, and pleasant to looke vpon, and sheooke of the fruite thereof, and did eate, and did giue to her husband which did eate 2.1.4
15. I will put hatred betweene thee & the woman, betweene thy seede and the seede of her, she shall bruse smal thy head, and thou shalt lay waite to intrapppe his heele. 1.14.18. & 2.13.2
17. In thy labors thou shalt eate thereof all the dayes of thy life. 3.14.13 & 2.10.10
22. Nowe therefore leaue hee stretch forth his hande, and take also of the tree of life, and eate thereof and liue for euer, let vs cast him out 4.14.12
- 4.4. And the Lord had regard to Abel and to his giftes. 3.14.8
7. And his desire shall be subiect vnto thee, and thou shalt be Lorde ouer it, or thou shalt rule ouer it. 2.15.16
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- 6.3. My spirite shall not abide in mā for euer, because he is flesh, &c. 3.14.1
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6. Then it repented the Lorde that he had made man on the earth. 1.17.12
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- 9.2. And the feare and dread of you be vpon all beafts of the earth, and vpon all birdes of the aire, with euery thing that moueth vpon the earth, all the fish of y sea be giuen to your handes. 1.14.22
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25. He sayde, cursed be Chanaan, he shall be a seruant of seruantes to his brethren. 1.11.8
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16. I haue sworne by my selfe (saith
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the seruantes of his father Abram
had digged, at that time filling the
vp with earth. 2.10.12
20. 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 one to the other. 2.8.27
35. Which both did offend the mind
of Isaac and Rebecca. 2.10.12
- 27.9. Goeth wayes forth to the
flocke, and bring vnto me two good
Kiddes, &c. 3.2.31
- 14 He went and brought, and gaue
vnto his mother. 2.10.14
27. So soone as hee sented the smell
of his garmentes, blessing him, hee
saide, beholde the smell of my son
as the smell of a full field the which
the Lord hath blessed. 3.11.23
38. Esau with a great houlung wepte.
3.3.24. & 3.3.25
39. Thy blessing shall exceede in the
fatnesse of the earth, and in the dew
of heauen. 3.3.25
- 28.5. Isaac therefore let Iacob depart.
2.10.12
11. And he sawe in his sleepe a ladder
standing on the earth, and the top
thereof touching heauen. 2.9.2
12. And also the Angels of God going
vp and going downe by the way. 1.
14.12
18. Iacob therefore rising early, toke
the stone which hee did lay vnder
his heade, and hee reared it vp for a
remembrance, pouring oyle there-
upon. 1.11.15
22. I will offer the tenthes vnto thee
of all things that thou shalt giue
mee. 4.13.4
29. 20. Iacob serued for Rachell. 7.
yeares. 2.10.11.
23. And in the euening he brought in
Lelia his daughter to Iacob. 2.10.
12.
27. Fill vp the weeke of dayes of this
coupling, and I will giue her vnto
thee for the worke by which thou
shalt serue mee in seuen other yeres
2.10.12
- 30.1. But Rachell seeing that she was
vnfruitfull, she enuid her sister, &
saide vnto her husbände, giue mee
children, othetwise I will die. 2.10.
12.
2. Whether or no am I a God that
hath také from thee the fruit of thy
wombe? 1.16.7
- 31.19. And Rachell stole away the I-
doles of her father. 1.11.8
23. Who toke his brethren vnto him,
and following after him 7. dayes, 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 eyes. 2.10.12
53. Therefore Iacob swöre by the
feare of his father Isaac. 2.8.27
- 32.1. Iacob went on the iourney that
he had taken in hande, and the An-
gels of the Lord met him. 1.14.5
7. Iacob feared wonderfully, &c. 2.
10.12
10. I am not worthie of the least of al
thy compassions, and all the trueth
which thou hast shewed vnto thy
seruaunt: for with my staffe haue
I passed ouer this Iordan. 3.20.14. &
3.20.26
11. Deliuer me from the hand of my
brother Esau, because I feare him
verie much, least he comming, doe
strike the mother with her sonnes.
2.10,12. & 3.20.14
28. For

28. For if thou were strong against God, howe much more shalte thou preuaile against men? 1.14.5
29. Iacob asked him, tell mee what is thy name? he aunswered, why dost thou seeke after my name? which is maruellous? and hee blessed him in that place. 1.13.10
30. And Iacob called the name of y place Phanuell, saying, I sawe the Lorde face to face, and my soule is safe. 1.13.10.
- 33.3. And he going soorth worshipped prostrate on the earth seuen times, vntill his brother drewe nie. 2.10. 12.
- 34.5. Iacob vnderstoode that he had rauished his daughter Dina. 2.10. 12.
35. Simeon and Leui the brethren of Dina went into the citie boldely with their swordes and all the male beeing slaine, &c. 2.10.12. and 4. 1.24
29. You haue troubled mee, and haue made me bee hated of the Chananites & Pharefits inhabitants of this countrie. 2.10.12
- 35.18. But her soule departing for greefe, & 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 vnknownen vnto him. 2.10. 12 & 4.1.24
- 37.28. And y Madianites Marchants passing by, they drewe him out of the Cesterne, they sold him to the Ismaelites for twentie peeces of siluer mony. 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 one copulation, &c. 2.10.12. & 4.1.42.
- 42.6. The brethren of Ioseph came & did reuerence vnto him. 1.12.3
36. You haue made mee to bee without children: Ioseph is not aliue any more, Simeon is holden in chaines and you carie Benjamin away: all these euils hath fallen on mee. 2.10. 12.
- 43.14. My omnipotent God make him fauorable towards you, and that he let loose with you your brother that hee holdeth in chaines and this Benjamin: for I shall bee as one destitute without children. 2.4.6
- 45.8. I was not sent hither by your counsell, but by the will of God. 1. 17.8.
- 47.7. And Iacob saluted Pharao. 1.11. 15
9. The daies of Pilgrimage of my life be 130. yeares: fewe and euill. 2.10. 12. And they came not vnto y daies of my fathers, in the which they were pilgrimes. 2.10.13
29. Thou shalt keepe promise & shalt deale pitifully with mee, that thou burie mee not in Egypt. 2.10.13
30. But I will sleepe with my fathers, and thou shalt carie mee from this countrie, and put thou mee in the sepulchre of my Auncestors. 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 hande, put it on the heade of Ephraim. 4.3.16.
16. The Angell which hath delueered 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 yonger brother shall bee greater than he, and his seede shall grow into nations. 3.22.5
- 49.5. Simcon & Leui brothers, warlike

8. 21. like vessel of iniquitie. *1. 11. 8. 4.*
 9. Iuda the whelp of a Lyon; my sonne
 thou ascendest to the pray, being
 still thou diddest lie as a Lyon; and
 as a the Lyon who shall raise thee?
 The Scepter shall not be caried a-
 way from Iuda; neither the Cap-
 taine from his home, vntill he come
 that is to be sent, and he shalbe that
 the Gentils looke for. *1. 8. 7.*
 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 he might exalt mee as you see
 presently. *1. 17. 8.*
 25. When God shall visite you, carie
 away with you my bones from this
 place. *1. 10. 13.*
 EXODVS. *1. 1. 1.*
 2. 12. **W**HEN he looked here and
 there, and sawe that no
 body was present, hee hid
 the Egyptian which he stroke, or kil-
 led, in the sand. *4. 20. 10.*
 3. 2. And the Lord appeared vnto him
 in a flame of fire from the middest
 of a bramble bush. *4. 17. 21.*
 6. I am the God of thy father, y God
 of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the
 God of Iacob. *1. 2. 8. 15. & 2. 10. 9.*
 8. I haue come downe that I may del-
 uer them from the handes of the
 Egyptians, & that I may bring them
 out of that countrie. *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 mee vnto you. *1. 13. 23.*
 21. I will giue fauour vnto this peo-
 ple before the Egyptians, and when
 you goe forth you shall not goe
 forth emptie. *1. 17. 7.*
 4. 3. And the Lord said, throwe it on
 the earth, he threw it, & it was tur-
 ned into a snake. *1. 17. 4. 17. 15.*
 11. Who hath made the mouth of my
 or who hath framed the dumme &
 deafe, the seeing & the blind? not I?
 See thou do all things openly be-
 hind Pharao which I haue put into
 thy handes, I will harden his heart,
 & he shall not let the people go. *4. & 3. 24. 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 vncircu-
 cision of her sonne. *4. 15. 22.*
 6. 7. And I will take you vnto mee for
 a people, and I will bee your God. *2. 10. 8.*
 23. Aaron tooke Elizabeth to wife the
 daughter of Aminadab the siter of
 Nahafon, which bare vnto him Na-
 dab, and Abiu, & Eleazar, and Itha-
 mar. *2. 13. 3.*
 7. 1. And the Lorde saide vnto Moses,
 beholde, I haue ordained thee the
 God of Pharao, & Aaron thy bro-
 ther shall be thy Prophet. *1. 13. 9.*
 3. But I will harden his heart, & will
 multiple my signes and wonders in
 the land of Egypt, *1. 18. 2. & 2. 4. 3. & 2. 4. 4.*
 10. Aaron tooke his rod before Pha-
 rao & his seruantes, and it was tur-
 ned into a snake. *4. 17. 15.*
 11. Pharao called his wife men & in-
 chanteres, and they made vnto him
 likewise certaine wonders through
 Egyptiacall inchantments. *1. 8. 9.*
 12. And they inlike 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 quiet-
 nes was giuen him, he made his
 heart worse. *1. 18. 2.*
 10. 1. And the Lord said vnto Moses,
 go in vnto Pharao: for I haue harde-
 ned

- ned his heart, and the hearts of his seruantes, that I may make these tokens on him. 2.4.4
- 11.3. The Lorde will giue fatiour to his people before y^e Egyptians. And Moses was a great man in the countrie of Egypt before the seruants of Pharao and all the people. 2.4.6
- 12.5. It was a Lambe without spot, a she lambe of a yeare old. 4.16.31
- 25.2. And when your children shall say vnto you, what religion is this? 4.16.30
- 43.7. This is the religion of passing ouer, euerie stranger shall not eate thereof. 4.17.22.
46. Neither shall you breake y^e bones thereof. 4.17.9
- 13.12. Sanctifie to me euerie first boone that doth open the womb, amongest the children of Israell, as wel of me as of beaft, for they be all mine, 4.16.31
- 14.19. And the Angell of the Lorde, lifting vp himselfe, which did goe before the campe of Israel, went after them. 1.14.6
21. And when Moses had extended his hande against the sea, the Lord rooke it away, a mightie wind blowing and burning all the night, &c. 4.17.9
26. And the Lorde saide vnto Moses, stretch out thy hande ouer the sea, that the waters may returne to the Egyptians and vpon the chariots & horsemen of them. 4.17.9
31. The people feared the Lorde and beleued 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 glorie of the Lorde; I haue heard you murmuring against the Lorde. But wee, what bee wee that you doe murmure against vs priuily. 1.8.5
14. And when the dew was ascended that was fallen, beholde vpon the vpper parte of the earth there appeared a hile thing in a manner of the likenesse, &c. 4.17.34. and 4.18.20.
- 17.6. Beholde, I will stande there before thee vpon the rocke Horeb, & thou shalt strike the rock, and water shall proceede there from, that the people may drinke. 4.17.15. & 4.7.21. & 4.18.20.
15. And Moses did builde an altar, & called the name therof *Iehonab-Nissi*. 1.13.9
- 18.16. And when there shall bee any disputation amongest them, they shall come vnto me, y^e I may iudge betwene them, and that I may shew the commaundements of God and his lawes. 4.11.8
- 19.5. You shall bee vnto mee as the treasure and best of al the people, for all the earth is mine. 4.16.13
6. And you shall be vnto me a kingly Priesthooce, and a holy people. 7.1
16. And now the third day was come and it waxed bright in the morning and behold thundering beganne to bee heard, and lightenings to flashe, and thicke cloudes to couer the hill, and the sound of the trompet did make a noyse verie vehemently, and the people did teare which were in the tentes. 1.8.5.2
- 20.3. Thou shalt not haue straunge Gods before me. 1.13.24
4. Thou shalt not make to thy selfe a grauen image, neither any likenesse that is in heauen aboue the earth, neither y^e is in the earth beneath, neither of those things that be in the waters beneath the earth. 1.11.1. & 1.11.12. & 1.13.24
5. Thou

5. Thou shalt neither worship them nor serue them: I am thy mightie Lorde God, ielalous, visiting the iniquitie of the fathers vpon the children, to the thirde and fourth generations of them that hate mee. 1.12.1
6. And being merciful vnto thousands of them that loue me and keepe my commaundements. 2.10.9
13. Thou shalt not kill. 4.20.10
24. In which shall bee the memory of my name, I will come to thee and blesse thee. 4.1.5
- 21.13. But hee that hath not lyen in wayte, but that God hath giuen him into his hands, &c. 1.16.6. & 1.18.3
27. Hee that shall curse his father or mother, shall die the death. 2.8.36
- 22.1. If any man shal haue stollen an Oxe, or a sheepe, and shall haue killed him or solde him, hee shall restore fiue Oxen for one Oxe, and foure Sheepe for one Sheepe. 4.20.16
8. If the theefe bee not founde, the master of the house shalbe brought to the Iudges, and he shal sweare that he hath not &c. 4.20.4
11. An othe shall be betweene them, that hee hath not stretched out his hande to the thing of his neighbor. 2.8.26
26. Thy tenthes and first fruits 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 witnessse for the wicked. 2.8.47
4. If thou shalt meete the Oxe or Assie of thy enemie going astray, bring him backe vnto him. 2.8.36
5. If thou shalt see the Assie 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 Assie may take rest, and that the sonne of thy hande maiden may bee 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 fruities into the house of the Lorde thy God. 3.7.5
20. Beholde I will sende my Angell, which may goe before thee, & may keepe thee in the way, and may bring thee into the place which I haue prepared. 1.14.6
- 24.18. And Moses entring y^e midst of the cloud, ascended into the hill, & was there 40. dayes & 40. nights. 1.8.5. & 4.12.10
- 25.17. Also thou shalt make a mercie seate 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 golden Cherubines beate out on both sides of the Oracle. 1.11.3
20. Thou shalt couer both sides of y^e mercie seate, stretching out their winges, and couering the Oracle, and their faces one to an other, 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 do according to the example which was shewed thee in the mountaine. 2.7.1. and 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

- ding to the birth of them. 3.20.18
12. And Aaron shall carry the names of them before the Lorde, 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 & his sonnes, & thou shalt put on them bonets, & they shall be priestes to mee by a perpetual religion, &c. 4.1.9
36. And thou shalt offer a calfe euery day for reconciliation, & thou shalt cleanse the altar, &c. 2.17.4. & 4.18.13
- 30.10. And Aaron shall make reconciliation vpon the hornes thereof once a yeare, with the blood that is offered for sinne. 2.15.6
30. Thou shalt annoint Aaron & his sonnes, & thou shalt sanctifie them that they may minister vnto me in the priestes office. 4.19.31
- 31.3. And I haue filled Beseleel with the spirit of God, with wisdom, vnderstanding, and knowledge in eche worke. 2.2.16
23. See that you keepe my Sabaoth, because it is a signe betweene me & you in your generations. 2.8.29
- 32.1. Arise, make vs gods that may go before vs, for why, wee knowe not what hath happened to this man Moses, that brought vs out of the land of Aegypt. 1.11.8
4. And they said, these be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee forth of the land of Aegypt. 1.11.9
27. Let euery man put his sword by his side, and go to and fro fro gate to gate through the hoste, and slay euery man his brother, and friend, & neighbour. 4.20.10
32. Either pardon them this fault, or else if thou do it not, wipe mee out of the booke which thou hast written. 3.20.35
- 33.19. I will haue mercy on whome I will, and I will be fauourable vnto whome it shall please mee. 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 & liue. 1.11.3
- 34.6. The Lord passing before him, he said: the Lord, the Lord, strong, mercifull, and gracious, patient & of much mercie. 1.10.2
7. Which doest paye the iniquitie of the fathers to the children, and vpon the childrens children, vnto the thirde and fourth generation. 2.8.29
28. Therefore Moses was there with the Lord 40 dayes & 40. nightes, he eate 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 testimonie were in his handes (and he wist not that the skinne of his face did shine bright after that God had talked wth him.) 1.8.5
- 35.2. You shall worke sixe dayes, the seuenth day shall be vnto you the holy Sabaoth of the Lordes rest. 2.8.29
30. Behold, the Lord hath called by name Beseleel the sonne of Uri, the sonne of Hur of the Tribe of Iudah. 2.2.16
- 40.34. And a cloud did couer the Tabernacle, the maiestie of the Lord glittering and shining. 1.8.5

LEVITICVS.

- 1.2. **W**Hosoever of you shall offer a sacrifice vnto y^e Lorde, ye shall offer it of cattel, C c c c. as

- as of Beefes & of sheepe. 4.14.20
- 4 And he shal put his hand vpon the head of the sacrifice, & it shalbe acceptable & profitable for his atonement. 4.3.16
- 5. And he shal offer vp the calfe before the Lord. 4.18.11
- 4.2. A soule when it shall sinne through ignorance in any of the commaundementes of the Lorde, &c. 4.1.18
- 5.13. And the priest shal make an atonement for him as touching his sinne, that he hath sinned in one of these pointes, & it shalbe forgiuen him, &c. 2.17.4
- 8.6. And all the multitude being gathered together before the dore of the Tabernacle, he 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 hee enter not eche time into the sanctuarie that is betwene the vail before the propitiatorie, &c. 2.15.6
- 21. And Aaron putting both his hands vpon the liue Goate, confessed all the iniquities of the childre of Israel, &c. 3.4.10
- 18.5. The which things if a man do, he shal 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 bloud that hee shoulde reueale their shamefulnesse. 4.19.13.
- 19.2. Be you holy, because I \bar{y} Lord your God am holy. 2.8.14. & 3.6.3 & 4.19.25
- 12. Thou shalt not forswear in my name, neither shalt thou defile the name of thy God. I am the Lorde, &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 auengence, neither shalt thou bee mindfull of wrong of thy Citizens to thee. 2.8.56. & 4.20.19
- 31. You shal draw away your promises from them that worke with spirits, neither enquire you any thing of soothsayers that you shoulde be polluted by them. 4.1.5
- 20.6. The soule which followeth after coniuers and soothsayers, and goeth a whoring after them, I will put my face against him, &c. 1.8.5
- 7. Sanctifie your selues and be you holy, because I your Lord God am holy. 4.19.25
- 9. Hee which curseth his father or mother, shall dye by death. 2.8.36.
- 26.3. If you shall walk in my wayes, and shal keepe my cōmandeméts, and do them. 2.5.10
- 4. I will giue you raine in his time. 16.5. & 2.8.4
- 12. I will walke amongst you, and I will be your God, & you shalbe my people. 2.10.8
- 20. Your strength shalbe consumed in vaine, the earth shall not bring forth her fruite, neither the trees, &c. 3.20.44
- 23. Yet if by these you wil nor receiue my discipline, but will walke contrary vnto me. 1.17.8
- 26. Afterwardes I shall haue broken the staffes of your bread, in such sorte, that tenne women may bake bread in one ouen, and they shall deliuer them by wayght, &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 shal be desert, &c. 2.11.1
- 36. And such of you as shal remaine, I will

I will cause feare in your heartes. 1.
18.2.&2.4.6

NUMBERS.

6.5 **A**L the while of his separation,
the rasor shall not passe ouer
by his head. 4.19.26

18 Then the Nazarite shalbe shauen
before the doore of the Tabernacle
of promise, by the lockes of his
consecration and he shall take his
heare and put it vpon the fire. 4.19.
26

9.18 All the dayes that the cloude did
stande vpon the Tabernacle, they
did erect their tentes there accord-
ing to the commandement of the
Lorde. 4.15.9

11.9 And when the dewe did fall by
night vpon the camp, the Manna did
fall together with it. 1.8.5

18 Be you sanctified, to morowe you
shall eate flesh. 3.20.51

31 A winde going out from the Lord,
brought quailes from beyonde the
sea. 1.16.7

33 As yet the flesh was betwene their
teeth, neither as yet was chawed, &
beholde the wrath of the Lord was
stirred amongst his people, &c. 3.20
51

32.1 Mary and Aaron spake against
Moses for his wiues sake, which was
an Echiopian. 1.8.4

14.43 The Amalekites & Chananites
are before you, by whose sworde
you shal fall, for because you would
not stay your selues vpon the Lord,
neither will the Lorde be with you.
2.5.11

15.32 It came to passe when the
children of Israell were in the de-
serte, and hadde founde a man ga-
thering stickes on the Sabaoth. 2.8.
29

16.24 Commaund all the people, that
they be separated from the Taber-
nacles of Chore, Dathan, and Abi-

ron. 1.8.5

20.10 The multitude being gathered
before the rock, he said vnto them,
harken you rebels & infidels, whe-
ther or not shall wee bring you wa-
ter out of this rocke? 1.8.5

26 And when you shall haue stripped
the father from his garment, cloth
Eleazer his sonne with it. 4.3.15

21.8 Make a brasen Serpent, and put
him for a signe, whosoeuer being
stroken and looke vpon him, shall
liue. 4.18.20

9 Moses made therefore a Brasen ser-
pent, and sette him for a signe, the
which when they that were stroken
did beholde, they were healed. 2.12
4

23.10 Lette my soule die the death of
the righteous, and let my last end be
like to 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
shoulde offer, two Lambes of two
yeares old without spot, daily for a
continuall sacrifice. 4.1.5

DEUTERONOMIUM.

1.16 **H**Eare them, & iudge you that
is right, whether he be a Ci-
tizen or stranger. 4.20.4,6,9.

39 Your litle ones whome you say de
should be caried captiues, and your
sonnes which this day knewe not
good from euill, they shall enter in.
4.16.19

2.30 The Lord thy God will harden
his spirite, and will make his heart
obstinate, so that hee shalbe deliue-
red into thy handes. 1.18.2. & 2.4.3.
& 2.4.4

4.2 You shall not adde to the worde
which I speake vnto you, neither
take therefrom. 4.9.2

7 Neither is there a nation so greate,
which hath the gods so at hande,

The Table.

- as our God is at hande at euery 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 heart all the dayes of thy life, &c. 2.8.5
11. And you came vnto the foote of the hil, which did burne to heauen, there was therein darknes, clouds, and mistes. 1.11.3
15. Keepe your soules therefore carefully, you sawe not any likenes in y day that the Lord 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 be vpon: he earth, or of flying birds vnder the heauens. 2.8.17
- 5.14. That thy seruant & 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 heart, & with al thy strength. 2.7.5. & 2.8.5. 1. & 3.19.4
13. Thou shalt feare the Lorde thy God, and serue him onely, & thou shalt sweare by his name. 2.8.25
16. Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, as thou temptest him in y place of temptation. 4.13.3
25. Hee will haue mercie vpon vs, if we doe keepe and doe all his commaundementes before our Lorde God as he hath commaunded vs. 3.17.7
- 7.6. Because thou art a holy people vnto the Lord thy God: y Lord thy God hath chosē thee, that thou shouldest be vnto him a peculiar people of all the people which bee on earth. 2.8.14
7. Not because you did exceede in number the rest of the nations, is the Lord ioined vnto you and hath chosē you, when as you be y least of all nations. 3.22.5
8. But because the Lord loued you, & did keepe his othe that he swore to your fathers, &c. 3.12.5
9. And thou shalt know, because the Lord he is the strong God & faithful, keping couenant & mercie with them that loue him, and with them that keepe his commaundement. 3.17.5
12. If after you shall heare these iudgements, you shall keepe & doe them, the Lord thy God will keepe the conenant & mercie with thee, which hee swore to thy fathers. 3.17.1
13. And he will loue thee, and blesse & multiply the fruite of thy womb, and the fruite of thy lande, &c. 3.17.1
- 8.2. And thou shalt remember all thy iourney by the which the Lorde thy God lead thee fourtie yeares by the desert, that he might afflict thee and prooue thee. 3.20.46
3. That he might shewe thee, that man liueth not onely by bread, but by euery worde that goeth out of the mouth of the Lorde. 1.16.7. & 3.20.44
- 9.6. Knowe thou therefore, the Lord thy God gaue thee not this good cuntry for to possesse for thy righteousnesse sake, when as thou art a people of a most hard necke. 3.21.5
- 10.12. And now Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but that thou shouldest feare the Lord thy God, &c. 2.8.51
14. Loe, behold the heauen, and the heauen of heauens, the earth, and al that be in them be the Lord thy Gods.

The Table.

- Gods. 2.11.11.&3.21.5
15. And yet notwithstanding the Lord was ioyned vnto thy fathers, & loued them, & chose their seede after them,&c. 3.21.5
16. Circumcise therefore the vncircumcision of your hearts, & hardē not your neck any more. 2.5.8.&3. 3.6.&4.16.3.&4.16.21
20. Thou shalt feare the Lorde thy God and shalt serue him only,thou shalt cleaue vnto him , and shalt swear by his name. 2.8.25
- 11.26. Loe, I put before your sight this day a blessing and a cursing. 3 17.1
- 12.13. Beware thou offer not thy burnt offerings in euery place that thou shalt see. 4.2.9
14. But in that place that thy Lord god hath chose, in one of thy tribes there thou shalt offer thy offerings, and thou shalt doe whatsoever I commaund thee. 4.2.9
28. Keepe & harken to all that I commaund thee, that it goe well with thee,& thy children after thee for cuer,&c. 2.8.5
32. Thou shalt not adde nor diminish any thing. 4.10.17
- 13.3. The Lord your God prooued you, that it might appeare, whether you loued him or not with all your heart, & with all your soule. 3.20.46
- 14.2. Thou art a holy people to the Lorde thy God, and he 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 weekes vnto the Lorde thy God a willing offering of thy handes, 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 doe blinde the eyes of the wise, and do change the wordes of the iust . 4. 20.9
- 17.8. If thou shalt perceiue harde & doutfull iudgement betwene bloud and bloud, and cause & cause, &c. 3.4.4
9. Thou shalt come vnto the priest of the Levites, 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 teache thee according to that law, and thou shalt folow their iudgement. 4.8.2
12. Whosoever shalbe 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 mā shall die, and thou shalt take away cuill from Israell. 4.8.2
16. And when he shalbe ordained, he shall not encrease his horse, neither shall he cary the people backe into Aegypt. 4.20.9
- 18.11. Neither he which seeketh the trueth at the dead. 3.5.6
13. Thou shalt be perfect & without spotte with thy Lorde God. 2. 8.51
15. The Lord thy God wil raise vp a Prophet vnto thee of thy nation,& 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
- 21.18. If a man shall beget a contumelious & stubborne sonne, which will not be ruled by his father or mother, and shall 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 in-

- to a blessing, because hee did loue thee. 3.21.5
- 24.13. But by and by thou shalt restore vnto him his pledge before y^e sunne set, that sleeping in his garment he may blesse thee, & that thou mayst haue righteousnes before y^e Lorde thy God. 2.17.7
- 26.18. Behold, the Lord hath chosen thee this day, that thou shouldst be vnto him a peculiar people, as hee told thee, & that thou mightst keep all his precepts. 2.8.14
- 27.16. Cursed be he that doth not abide by the words of this lawe, and that doth not thoroughly doe the in worke. 2.7.5. & 2.7.15. & 2.16.6. & 3.11.19. & 3.12.1. & 3.14.13. & 3.17.1. & 3.17.9.
- 28.1. If thou shalt heare the voice of the Lord thy God, that thou do & keepe al his commandements that I commaund thee this day, y^e 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 shal come vpon thee, and shal ouertake thee if thou shalt harken to those precepts. 2.8.4
32. The Lord shall open his best treasure, y^e heauen, & he shal giue raine vnto thy lande, &c. 1.16.5
29. And alwayes thou shalt suffer reproche, & thou shalt be oppressed by violence, neither hast thou any to deliuer thee. 4.20.25
36. The Lorde shall leade thee & the king which thou doest ordaine ouer thee, into a nation which thou doest not know, neither thy fathers &c. 2.11.1
35. For the Lord shall giue vnto thee a fearefull heart, and failed eyes, and a soule consumed with griefe. 2.4.6
- 29.2. You haue seene all that the lord did before you in y^e land of Egypt. &c. 2.2.20
4. And the Lord gaue not vnto you an vnderstanding hart, & seeing eyes, and eares which might heare. vntil this present day. 2.2.20
18. Least there be amongst you a man or woman, or family, or tribe, whose heart this day is contrary from the Lord our God, y^e it should go & serue, &c. 3.17.5
19. And when hee hath heard the wordes of this othe, he blesse himselfe in his heart, saying: Peace shalbe vnto mee, and I will walke in the wickednesse of my heart: and so he take with dronkenesse thirst 3.17.5
20. And the Lord shall not forgie him, but then most of all shall his rage flame & his zeale against that man, and all the curses shall light vpon him that are written in this booke, &c. 3.3.7
29. The secrete things belong vnto our lord God, but those that be manifest, vnto vs and our children for euer, that wee may do euery thing of this law. 1.17.2. & 3.21.3
- 30.2. And thou shalt returne vnto him, and thou shalt bee obedient vnto his government, as I haue commaunded thee this daye, with thy children, &c. 3.3.6
3. The Lord thy God shall bring thee backe from thy captiuitie, and hee shall haue mercie of thee, and hee shall gather thee together againe from amongst all the nations amongst whome he. had scattered thee. 4.1.24
6. Thy Lord thy God wil circumsede thy heart, & the heart of thy seede that thou maicst loue the Lord 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

- voice of the Lord thy God, & shalt keepe his preceptes & ceremonies which be commaunded in this lawe, &c. 1.7.5
11. The commaundement that I do commaund thee this day, is not a-boue thee, neither a farre of. 2.5.12
13. Neither is it set beyond the sea, y^e thou shouldest say: who of vs shall go ouer the sea & fetch it vs, that we may heare it? 2.5.12
14. But the worde is very neere vnto thee, in thy mouth and heart, that thou mayest doe it. 2.5.12. & 3.24.3
15. Consider that this day I haue put before thy sight life & good, & contrariwise, death & euil. 3.17.1
19. I doe call heauen and earth this day to witness, that I haue put before you, life and good, blessing & cursing: choose therefore life, that thou mayst liue and thy seede. 2.5.4 & 2.7.3
- 32.5. They haue corrupted theselues toward him by their vice, not beeing his children, but a frowarde & crooked generation. 1.8.6
8. When the almightie deuided the nations, when hee separated the sonnes of Adam, he appointed the boundes of the people, &c. 2.11.11 & 3.21.5
15. The well beloued is waxen fat: he hath kicked, being swollen vp with fatte, hath forsaken God his maker, &c. 3.8.5
17. They haue offered vp to deuils, & not to God. 4.13.17
21. They haue prouoked mee with that which was not God. 1.13.15
35. Vengeance is mine, and I will reward, &c. 2.8.56. & 4.20.19
46. Set your hearts vp^o all the words that I testify vnto you this day, y^e you may commaunde them vnto your children, that they may obserue and doe all the wordes of the law. 2.7.13
- 33.3. All holy men be in his hande. 2.10.9
29. Blessed art thou O Israel, who is like thee O people, which art faued in the Lord? &c. 2.10.8
- 34.5. And Moses the seruaunt of the Lord died in the land of Moab, the Lord commaunding. 4.6.11
- IOSVAH.
- 1.7. **S**warue not from it, neither to the right hand nor to y^e left, y^e thou mayst vnderstand all things that thou doest. 4.9.12
8. The volume of this law shall not departe 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 Lord hath deliuered 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 heart of vs fainted, neither was there any courage left in vs at y^e entrance of you: For the Lorde your God, he is God in heauen aboue, & in earth beneath. 2.4.6
- 5.14. I am the chiefe of the host of the Lord. 1.14.5
- 7.19. And Iosuah said to Acam, my sonne, giue glorie vnto the Lorde God of Israel, and confesse and shew vnto me what thou hast done. 2.8.24
- 10.13. And the Sunne and Moone stode still. 1.16.2
- 11.20. It was the iudgement of the Lord, that their heartes should be hardned, & that they shoulde fight against Israel. 1.18.2

- 24.2. Your fathers dwelt beyonde the flud, frō the beginning, euen Thare the father of Abraham, and the father of Naſtor & they ſerued ſtrāge 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 Gilgall to a place of, &c. 1.14.2
18. And when the Lord had raiſed vp them Iudges, in thoſe dayes, he was moued with compaſſion, and did heare the groanes of their afflictions, &c. 3.3.25. & 3.20.15
- 19 Yet after the Iudge was dead, they were turned, and they did much worſe thē their fathers did, following ſtrange gods. 3.3.25
- 3.9 And they cryed vnto the Lorde, which raiſed vnto them a ſauour, and he deliuered them. 3.20.15. & 4.20.30
12. And the children of Iſraell began againe to do euill in the ſight of the Lorde. 3.20.15
15. And afterwardeſ they cried vnto the Lorde, which raiſed them vp a ſauour, &c. 3.20.15
- 6.11 The Angell of the Lord came & ſate vnder the Oke. 1.14.6
34. And the Lorde looked vpon him and ſayd: go in, this thy ſtrength & thou ſhalt deliuer Iſraell from the hande of the Median. 1.13.10. & 1.14.5
34. But the ſpīte of the Lorde clothed Gedion, who ſounding a trumpet, called together the houſe of Abiezer that it ſhould follow him. 2.2.17
37. I will put this fleece of woll in the thrēſhing place: if dewe ſhall be in the onely fleece, and drineſſe on all

- the grounde, &c. 4.14.18
- 8.27. And Gedion made thereof an Ephod, and put it in his Citie Ephra, and all Iſraell went a whooring there after it, which was the deſtruction of Gedion and his houſe. 4.10.25
- 9.20. But if frowardly, lette fire come forth from Abimelech, & conſume the inhabitants of Sechem, and the towne of Mello, &c. 3.20.15
- 11.30. Iephte vowed a vow vnto the Lorde, ſaying: if thou ſhalt deliuer the ſons of Ammon into my hands, &c. 4.13.3
- 13.10. Behold, the man appeared vnto me which I did ſee before. 1.14.6
16. To whom the Angell aunſwered, if thou compell mee, I will not eate of thy bread, but if thou wilt make burnt offering, offer that vnto the Lorde. 1.13.10
18. Why doeſt thou inquire after my name, that is maruelous? 1.13.10
19. Therefore Manoah toke a Kidde of the goates and meate offerings, and put it vpon the grounde, offering it vnto the Lorde. 4.10.25
22. We ſhall die the death, becauſe we haue ſeen the Lord. 1.13.10. & 1.14.5
23. If the Lord would kill vs, he would not haue receiued a burnt offering and meate offerings at our hands. 1.11.10
- 16.28. O Lorde my God be mindfull of me, and giue me nowe mine olde ſtrength, that I may reuenge me of my enemies. 3.20.15
- 21.25. In thoſe dayes there was no king in Iſrael, but euery one did that that ſeemed right in his owne eies. 4.20.9

R V T H.

- 3.13. **I**F he will not haue thee, I will take thee without any doubt: The Lorde liueth. 2.8.27

I. S A M U E L.

- 1.13. **B**Vt Anna spake in her heart
and only her lips did moue,
and her voyce was not at all hearde,
wherefore Heli thought she was dron-
ken. 3.20.33
- 2.6. The Lord doth kill and quicken,
he doth lead vnto hell and bringeth
backe againe. 3.20.52
9. He wil keepe the feete of his Sain-
ctes: and the wicked shall keepe si-
lence in darkenesse. 2.18.18
10. And he wil giue rule vnto his king:
and hee will exalt the horne of his
annointed. 2.6.2
25. And they heard not the voyce of
their father, because the Lord wold
kill them. 1.18.3. & 3.24.14
34. And this shalbe a signe vnto thee,
that shal come vpon thy two sonnes
Ophne and Phinees: they shall die
both on one day. 1.18.1
- 6.9 And you shall see, and if so it goe
vp by the way of his coasts against
Bethsames, he did vs this great euil
&c. 1.16.9
- 7.3 If you doe turne vnto the Lorde,
with all your heartes, put away the
strange Gods from amongest you,
Baalem and Astaroth, and prepare
your heartes vnto the Lorde, &c. 3.
3.5
6. And in that day they fasted, & they
sayd there: we haue sinned against
the Lorde. 4.12.17
- 17 He built there an altar to the Lord
4.10.25
- 8.7 They haue not cast of thee, but
me that I shold not rule ouer them.
4.20.6
- 11 This shalbe the right of your king
which shall rule you, hee shall take
your sons and put them in his cha-
riotes, &c. 4.20.26
- 10.6 And the spirit of the Lord shall
come vpon thee, & thou shalt pro-
pheticie with them, and thou shalt

- be changed into an other man. 2.2
17. & 2.3.4
- 9 Therefore, when he had turned his
backe to go fro Samuel, God gaue
him an other hart, & all these signes
chaunced in that day. 3.2.12
- 26 Saule also went home to Gibeah,
and with him parte of the armie,
whose heart God had touched. 2.2.
17
- 11.6 Then the spirite of the Lorde
came vpo Saul, when he hard these
wordes, &c. 2.4.6
- 15 And all the people arose in Gilgal,
and made Saule their king befoie
the Lord, &c. 1.8.6
- 12.22 And the Lorde will not forsake
his people, for his great names sake,
because the Lord swore he woulde
make you his people. 3.21.5
- 14.44 And Saul sayd, God do so, and
more also vnto mee, thou shalt die
the death Ionathan. 2.8.24
- 15.11 It repenteth me, y I haue made
Saul king, because he hath forsaken
me, & hath not done as I comman-
ded him: and Samuel was sad, and
cried vnto the Lorde all night. 1.17
12. & 3.20.5
- 22 Whether will the Lorde haue
burnt sacrifice & offerings, and not
rather that the voyce of the Lorde
should be obeyed, &c. 4.10.17. & 4
18.9
- 23 For rebellion is as the sinne of
witchcrafte, and not to trust in the
Lorde as the sinne of idolatry, for
that thou hast cast away the worde
of the Lorde, &c. 3.4.33. & 4.10,
17
- 29 For the triumpher in Israel wil not
spare, neither wil he be changed by
repentance, neither is he man that
he should repent. 1.17.12
30. But he saide, I haue sinned: but
honour me, I pray thee, before the
seniors of my people, &c. 3.3.4
35 But

35. But Samuell did bewayle Saule: and it repented the Lorde that hee had made Saule king ouer Israel. 3. 20.15
 16.1 And the Lorde sayde vnto Samuell, how long wilt thou bewayle Saule? seeing I haue cursed him, as that he shall not reigne, &c. 3. 20.15
 13 Samuell tooke therefore his horn of oyle, and annointed him in the midst 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 an other day, the euill spirit of God entred Saul. 1. 14.17 & 2. 4.5
 19.9 And the euill spirite of the Lord was vpon Saule, and he sate in his house, and helde a Iaueline in his hande, &c. 2. 4.5
 23.26 And Saule and his men went on the one side of the hil, & Dauid and his men on the other side. 1. 16.9
 27 And a messenger came vnto Saul, and sayd: make hast and come, because the Philistines haue inuaded the country. 1. 16.9
 24.7 The Lord kepe me, that I do not this thing vnto my Lord the anointed of the Lorde, that I should lay my hand vpon him, which is the anointed of the Lorde. 4. 20.28
 11 But mine eye hath spared thee: for I said I will not stretch out my hand against my Lorde, because he is the anointed of the Lorde. 4. 20.28
 26.9 And Dauid said vnto Abisai, kill him not: for who shall stretch forth his hande against the anointed of the Lord, and be blamelesse? 4. 20.28
 12 All of them did sleepe, because the drowlines of the Lord fel vpon the. 1. 18.2
 23 The Lorde shall rewarde euerie man according to his righteousnes and faithfulnessse, for the Lord hath deliuered thee into my handes, &c. 3. 17.14
 31.13 And they tooke their bones, and buried them in a groue at Iabes and they fasted 7. dayes. 4. 12.17
 2. S A M V E L.
 5.8 **T**herfore it is said in a prouerb, the blinde and lame shall not enter into the temple. 4. 16.31
 7.14 The which if hee shall doe any thing wickedly, I will correct him with the rodde of men, and in the plagues of the sonnes of men. 3. 4. 32.
 17 Because thou O Lorde God of the hostes of Israel, hast reuealed vnto thy seruauant, saying: I will builde a house to thee, &c. 3. 20.13
 28 Nowe therefore, O Lorde God, thou art God, and thy wordes are true, thou hast spoken vnto thy seruauant these good things. 3. 20.14
 10.12 Be thou a stout man, and lette vs fight for our people, and for the citie of our God, and the Lord will doe that seemeth good in his owne eyes. 1. 17.9
 11.4 Dauid hauing sent messengers, brought her, who when she came vn to 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 scermish is, & forsake him, that being stroken hee may dy. Ibi-dem.
 12.12 Thou diddest it priuily, but I will do this thing in the sight of al Israel 1. 18.1
 13 And Dauid sayd vnto Nathan, I haue sinned against the Lorde. And Nathan said vnto Dauid: the Lord hath put away thy sinne, thou shalt not dy. 3. 3.4. & 3. 4. 10. & 3. 4. 31. & 4. 1.24
 14 Notwithstanding for because thou madest the enemies of the name of God

- God blaspheme for this thing, the sonne that is borne vnto thee shall die. 3.4.33
- 16.10. The Lord hath commanded him that he should curse Dauid, & who is it y 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 toppe of the house, & hee went in vnto the concubins of his father, before all Israel. 1.18.1.& 1.18.4
- 17.7. And Chusay said vnto Absolon, it is not good counsell that Achitophel gaue this time. 1.17.7
14. The profitable counsel of Achitophel is scattered abroad by the beck of the Lorde, that the Lorde might bring vpon Absolon euil. 1. 17.7.& 2.4.6
- 22 20. And he brought me forth into largenes, he deliuered me because it pleased him. 3.17.5
21. The Lorde hath giuen vnto mee according vnto my righteousnes, & according vnto the cleannes of my handes. 3.17.5
- 24.1. And the wrath of the Lorde was againe kindeled against Israel, and hee moued Dauid against the in that he said vnto Iacob, go number Israel and Iuda. 1.14.18
10. But the hart of Dauid stroke him after he had numbred the people: and Dauid said, &c. 3.3.4
20. And going forth, hee worshipped the king, groueling with his face toward the earth. 1.12.3
1. KINGES.
- 1.16. **B**Ethsabee 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 & I shal be coured offenders. 3.11.3
- 2.5. Thou knewest what Ioab the son of Seruic hath done vnto mee, and what hee hath done to the two capitaines of the host of Israel. 4. 20.10
6. Thou shalt do therefore according to thy wisdome, and thou shalt not bring his gray heares peaceably vnto the graue. 4.20.10
8. Thou hast also with thee Semei y sonne of Gera the son of Gemini, of Bahurim, which cursed mee with an euil curse, &c. 4.10.10
- 8.23. Which keepest couenantes and mercies with thy seruauents, which walke before thee w all their harts. 3.17.5
46. If they sin against thee (for their is not a man that sinneth not) and being angrie thou shal deliuer them vnto their enemies, &c. 2.7.5. & 3.14 9. & 4.1.15
47. And if they shal repent them with all their hearts 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 wayes, and that wee may keepe his commaundementes and ceremonies, &c. 2.3.9
- 11.12. Notwithstanding, in thy daies I wil not do it for Dauid thy fathers sake, But I will rent it out of y hand of thy sonne. 2.6.2
23. God stirred him vp an aduersarie &c. 1.18.1
31. I will rent the kingdom out of Salomons handes, & I will giue vnto the ten tribes. 1.18.1
34. Neither wil I take the whole kingdom out of his hand, but I will ordaine him a captain at the dayes of his life for Dauids sake, &c. 2.6. 2.
39. And I will for this, afflict the seed of Dauid, but not for euer. 2.6.2
- 12.10. And the yong men saide vnto him.

- him which were brought vp together with him, speake thus vnto this people, &c. 1.17.7
15. And the king harkened not vnto the people, before the Lorde was aduersarie vnto him, &c. 1.17.7. & 1.18.4. & 2.4.6
20. Neither did any follow the house of Dauid, but the tribe of Iuda only, &c. 1.18.4
18. Counsell being taken, hee made two golden calues, and saide vnto them: goe not further vp to Ierusalem, 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 y^e sons of Leui. 4.2.8
- 15.4. But for Dauids sake the Lorde his God gaue him a light in Ierusalem, that hee shoulde raise vp his sonne after him, and that he should establishe Ierusalem. 2.6.2
- 18.10. The Lorde thy God liueth, there is no nation or kingdome into the which my lord hath not sent &c. 2.8.27
41. And Elias said to Acab: come vp and eate and drinke, because there is a sounde of much raine. 2.20.3
42. But Elias came vp vnto the top of Carmel, and he put his face grouting on the earth betwene his knees 2.20.3
43. And hee said vnto his boy, go vp and looke towards the sea: who when hee went, and sawe and had beholden, hee saide, there is nothing: and he saide vnto him againe returne seuen times. 2.20.3
- 19.8. And he walked in the strength of that meat 40. days and 40. nights euen vntill the hill of God Horeb. 4.12.20
18. I haue left vnto my selfe in Israell 7000. men, whose knees haue not bowed before Bale. 4.1.2
- 21.12. They proclaimed a fast, and set Naboth amongst the cheefe of the people. 4.12.17
28. And the worde of the Lord came vnto Elias the Thesbite, saying, 3.25.
29. Hast thou not seene Achab humbled before mee? because hee was humbled before of mee, I will not bring the euill in his daies, &c. 3.3. 25. & 3.20.15
- 22.6. The king of Israell gathered therefore about 40. Prophetes. 4.9.6.
21. A spirite went forth and stode before the Lorde, and saide, I will deceiue. 1.14.17. and 1.17.7. and 1.18.1.
22. And hee saide, I will goe out and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his Prophetes. 4.9.6
27. Thus saith the king, sende this man into prison, and maintain him with the breade of tribulation and with the water of greefe vntill I returne in peace. 4.9.6

2. KINGES.

- 5.17. **A**N D Naaman saide, as thou wilt: but I pray thee grant 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 go into the Temple, &c. 3.2.32
19. And he saide vnto him, depart in peace, he went therefore fro thence

- a furlong of grounde. 3.2.32
- 6.15 Out alas maister, what shall wee do? 1.14.11
16. There be moe with vs than with them. 1.14.12
- 17 Lorde open the eyes of this boye, that he may see. And the Lorde opened the eyes of the lad, and he saw, and beholde, a mountaine full of horses & chariotes of fire round about Elizei. 1.14.7,8,11
- 31 The Lorde do so, and so vnto me, if the head of Elizei the son of Saphat shall stand vpon him this day. 2.8.24
- 10.7 And when letters came vnto the they tooke the sonnes of the king, and slue 70. men, &c. 1.18.4
10. Knowe nowe that there shall fall vnto the earth nothing of the word of the Lorde the which the Lorde hath spoken, &c. 1.18.4
- 16.10 And when he had seene the altar that was at Damascus, he sent to Vria the priest the paterne thereof, and the likenesse, according to the worke thereof. 4.10.23
- 17.24 The king of Assyria brought me from Babilon and from Cutha, &c. 4.10.23
- 25 And when they beganne to dwell there, they feared not the Lorde, & 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 hie places, &c. 3.2.13. & 4.10.23. & 4.15.22
- 33 And when they feared the Lorde they did serue also their Gods, according to the maner of the people from whence they were brought, &c. 3.2.12
- 34 Euen vnto this present day they followe the auncient custome, they feare not the Lorde, neither keepe his ceremonies, &c. 3.2.13
- 19.4 And make prayer for the reste that be found. 3.20.14
- 35 It came to passe in that night, the Angell of the Lorde came & stroke in the campe of the Assyrians one hundreth fowerscore & fise thousand. 1.14.6
- 20.1 Sette thy house in an order, for thou shalt die and not liue. 1.17.12
- 2 Then Ezechias turned his face to the wall, and he prayed to the Lorde 3.3.4
- 3 I beseech thee Lorde remeber I pray thee, howe I haue walked before thee in truethe & in a perfect heart, and haue done the thing that thou likest of. 3.14.19. & 3.20.10
- 5 Behold, I haue healed thee, y^e third day thou shalt go vp to the temple of the Lorde. 1.17.12
- 9 Will thou that the shadowe go forwards 10. degrees, or that it go backward so many. 4.14.18
- 11 And Isaias called vpon the Lorde and he brought backe the shadowe by the lines by the which it went downe into the clocke of Achab. 1.16.2
- 21.4 And he buist altars in the house of the Lorde, of the which the Lorde spake, I wil put my name in Ierusalem. 4.10.23
- 16 Moreouer Manasses shedde innocent blood ouer much, till he filled vp Ierusalem vnto the mouth, &c. 3.24.11
- 22.2 And he did the thing that pleased the Lorde, and he walked in all the wayes of his father Dauid, and declined not neither on the right hand, nor left. 4.10.23
8. And Heclias the hy priest said vnto Saphan the scribe, I haue found the booke of the law in the house of the Lorde, & Heclias gaue it to Saphan the scribe, and he read in it. 1.8.8.

- 1. CHRONICLES.**
 28.2 **A**Nd y^e fotesteole of the Lord
 our God. 4.1.5
- 2. CHRONICLES.**
 19.6 **S**EE what you do, sayd he: you
 do not execute the iudge-
 ment of man but of the Lord. 4.20.4
 & 4.20.6
- The 2. of Esdras, otherwise called
NEHEMIAH.
- 1.4 **A**Nd after y^e I had heard these
 things, I sat 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 Lorde God of heauen,
 mighty, great, and terrible, which
 keepest couenant and mercy with
 them that loue thee, &c. 3.17.5
- 7 We haue bene carried away by vā-
 nity, and haue not kept thy com-
 mandements, ceremonies, & iudge-
 mentes, which thou commaundest
 vnto thy seruant Moses. 3.4.11
- 9 14 And declarest vnto them thy Sa-
 baoth to be sanctified. 2.8.29
- I O B.**
- 1.6 **N**OW on a day when y^e childre
 of God came before y^e Lord,
 Sathan was also amongst the. 1.14
 17. & 1.14.19. & 1.18.1. & 2.4.5
- 12 The Lord said therfore to Sathan,
 behold, al things that he hath be in
 thy handes, only stretch not out thy
 hand vpon him. 1.17.7
- 17 And hee speaking, there came an
 other and sayd the Chaldees made
 three bāds & inuaded thy Camels.
 and caried them away, and killed
 the boyes with the sword, and I on-
 ly haue fled that I may tell it thee. 2
 4.2
- 21 The Lorde hath giuen, the Lorde
 hath taken away, the name of the
 Lorde be blessed. 1.17.8. & 1.18.1. &
 1.18.3. & 2.4.2
- 2.1 And Sathan came amongst them
 that he might stande in the sight of
 the Lord. 1.14.17. & 1.14.19. & 1.18.1
- 4.17 Whether shall a man be Iustifi-
 ed in cōparison of God, or shal a mā
 be purer than his maker? 3.12.1
- 17 Beholde, they which serue him be
 not stedfast: And he found wicked-
 nes in his Angels. 3.12.1. & 3.17.9
- 19 Howe much more, they which
 dwell in houses of clay, which haue
 an earthly fundation, shalbe consu-
 med, euen as a moth. 1.15.1. & 1.15.
 2. & 3.12.1
17. Blessed is the mā that is corrected
 of the Lord: reprove not therfore
 the correction of the Lorde. 3.4.32
- 9.2 I knowe for a truethe that it is so:
 And that man shall not be Iustified
 in comparison of God. 3.12.2
- 20 If I woulde Iustifie my selfe, my
 mouth shal condemne me: If I wold
 shewe my selfe innocent, he should
 make mee manifest to be wicked. 3
 12.5
- 10.15 And if I shalbe wicked, it is woe
 with me: and if I be iust, I will not
 lift vp my head, being filled with as-
 siction and miserie. 3.14.16
- 12.18 He looseth the collar of kings,
 and he girdeth their raynes with a
 corde. 4.20.28
- 20 He changeth y^e speech of the faith
 full, 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 vn-
 cleane? not thou onely which arte
 alone. 2.1.5. & 3.12.5
- 5 Short be the daies of men, the num-
 ber of his months is with thee: thou
 hast ordeined the limites thereof,
 which can not be passed. 1.16.9
- 17 Thou hast sealed vp my wicked-
 nes as in a bagge, & thou hast had
 care of my iniquitie. 3.4.29
- 15.15 Beholde, amongst his Sainctes
 there

there is none immutable, & the heauens be not cleane in his sight.

3.12.1

16. Howe much more abhominable and vnprofitable is mā, which drin- keth 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.

2.10.19. and 3.

25.4

26. And I shall bee compassed about againe with my skinne, & I shall see God againe in my flesh.

2.10.19

27. Whome I my selfe shal see, & my eyes shall beholde and none other, &c.

2.10.19

21.13. They lead their dayes in hap- pines, and in a moment they goe downe to the graue.

2.10.17

25.5. Beholde the Moone doeth not shine in his sight, and the Starres be not cleane.

3.21.1

26.14. Lo, these be part of his wayes: but howe little a portion heare wee of him? And who can vnderstande his fearefull power?

1.17.2

28.12. Where is wisdom founde, & what place is there [of vnderstand- ing?

1.17.2

21. It is hid from the eyes of all liuing, from the foules of the aire it is also kept close.

Ibidem.

23. But G O D vnderstandeth the way thereof, and he knoweth y way thereof.

Ibidem.

28. And he saide vnto man, beholde, the feare of the Lord is wisdom, and to depart from euill is vnder- standing.

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 poureth downe showers in manner of streames.

1.5.5

41.2. And who gaue mee first that I shoulde giue him againe? all that is

vnder the heauen be mine. 3.14.5.

P S A L M E S.

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, & in his lawe will he meditate day & night.

2.7.13

2.2. The kinges of the earth stood to- gether, and the princes assembled in one, against the Lord, & against his annointed.

2.16.3

3. Let vs breake the bandes a sunder, and let vs throw from vs their yoke, Ibidem.

4. Hee that dwelleth in heauen shal laugh them to scorne, the Lord shal haue them in derision.

1.5.1. and 2.

16.3.

8. Aske of me and I will giue thee the gentils for an inheritance, and for thy possessions y ends of the earth.

2.11.11.

9. Thou shalt rule them with an yron rod, and thou shalt breake them as an earthen vessell.

2.15.5. and 4.1.

19

12. Lay holde of discipline, least that the Lorde be angrie, and you perish from the right way.

2.6.2. & 4.20.5.

& 4.20.29

3.5. I slept and slumbred, and rose vp againe, because the Lord toke vpon him to keepe me.

3.2.37

4.7. The light of thy countenance hath bene sealed vpon vs.

1.11.14.

5.4. I wil be early present before thee & I will waite: for thou art a God y loueth not iniquitie.

3.20.12

8. I wil enter into thy house in y mul- titude of thy mercie, and I wil wor- ship at thy holy temple in thy feare.

3.2.23. & 3.20.11.

6.1

- 6.1. O Lord reprove mee not in thy
furie, and correct mee not in thine
anger. 3.3.32
- 7.6. Arise O Lorde in thy anger, and
bee thou exalted in the quarters of
my enemies, &c. 3.20.15
9. Judge mee O Lorde according to
my righteousnes, and according to
the innocencie of my cause. 3.17.14
- 8.3. Thou hast made perfecte thy
prayers by the mouth of infantes &
sucklings. 1.16.8
5. What is man that thou art mind-
ful of him? or the son of man that
thou doest visite him? 1.5.3. and
2.13.2
- 9.10. And they may trust in thee, that
haue knowen thy name. 3.2.31.
- 10.13. Hee saide in his hearre, God
hath forgotten, hee hath turned a-
way his face that hee should not see
at the end. 1.4.2
- 11.4. The Lorde in his holy temple.
1.5.1
- 12.2. They haue spoken vaine things
cuery man to his neighbour: deceit-
full lips, &c. 4.14.8
7. The wordes of the Lorde, are pure
words: as siluer tried in a furnace of
earth fined vii. folde. 3.2.15
- 14.1. The folish man said in his heart,
there is no God. 1.4.2
3. The Lord looked from heauen v-
pon the children of men, to see if
there were any that vnderstood or
sought after God. 3.14.1
4. There is not that doeth good, no
not one. 2.3.2
- 15.1. Lorde who shall dwell in thy ta-
bernacle? or who shall rest in thy
holie hill? 3.17.6. & 3.24.8
2. Hee that walketh without spot, and
worketh righteousnes, which speaketh
the trueth 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 saintes that be in earth: all
my delight is in them. 1.11.14. & 2.8.
53. & 3.7.5
5. The Lorde is the portion of my in-
heritance & cup, thou art hee that
doest restore vnto me my inheritace.
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. Hearc O Lord righteousnes: giue
care vnto my prayer. 1.17.14
3. Thou hast prooued my heart and
visited it by night, thou hast tried
mee by fire, and hast not founde in
mee iniquitie. Ibidem.
15. I will appeare in righteousnesse
before thy presence, I shall be satis-
fied when thy glorie shall appeare.
2.10.17. & 3.25.10
- 18.1. I will loue the O Lord my forti-
tude. 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
according to my righteousnesse, &
according to y purenes of my hand
shall he giue vnto mee. 3.17.5. & 3.
17.14
28. Because thou doest saue the hum-
ble & thou shalt bring low the eies
of the proud. 3.12.6
31. The worde of the Lorde is tried by
fire, he is a defender of al that trust
in him. 3.2.15
- 19.1. The heauens show foorth y glo-
rie of God. 1.5.1. & 1.6.4
8. The lawe of the lorde is pure, con-
uerting soules: the testimonie of
the lorde is faithfull, giuing wise-
dome to the simple. 2.7.12. and 4.
8.6
13. Who vnderstandeth his faultes,
cleanse me from my secrete sinnes.
3.4.16. & 3.4.18. & 3.17.2
- 20.3. Let him remember all thy offe-
rings,

- ringes, and let him make thy burnt offeringes fatte. 3.20.18.
10. Lorde saue the king, & heare vs when wee call vpon thee. 2.6.2.
- 22.1. O God my God, why hast thou forsaken mee? 2.19.11.
5. Our fathers trusted in thee: they trusted and thou didst deliuer the. 3.20.26
26. I will pay my vowes in the sight of them that feare him. 4.13.4
- 23.4. For although I shall walke in the midst of the shadowe of death, I will feare no euill because thou art with mee. 1.17.11. & 3.2.21. & 3.2.28
6. And thy mercies shall follow me all the dayes of my life. 2.3.12
- 24.3. Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? or who shall stande in his holy place? 3.6.2
4. Who hath innocent handes & a cleane heart, who hath not lift vp his minde vnto vanitie, nor hath not sworne to the deceite of his neighbour. 3.6.2
6. This is the generation of them y^e seeke him. 3.24.8
- 25.1. Vnto thee, O Lord, haue I lift vp my soule. 3.20.5
6. Remember O Lorde thy tender mercies and louing kindnes which be for euer. 3.20.9
7. Remember not the faults & ignorances of my youth, but according to thy kindnesse remember thou me. 3.3.18. & 3.20.9
10. Al the ways of the Lord are mercie & trueth to them that seeke after his will, &c. 3.20.7. & 3.17.2
11. For thy name sake, O Lorde, thou shalt be mercifull vnto my sin, for it is great. 3.17.2
18. Looke vpon my afflictioⁿ & trauel, & forgie all my sinnes. 3.20.9
- 26.1. Iudge mee O Lord, for I haue walked in my innocencie: & trusting in the Lorde, I shall not flyde. 3.17.14
2. Proue me Lord, & trie me, examine my raines 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, & the place of the habitation of thy glory. 1.11.14
9. Destroye not my soule with the wicked, and with men of, &c. 3.17.14
- 27.1. The Lorde is my light & my health whom shall I feare? 1.17.11
3. If camps shal stande against me, my heart shal not feare. 1.17.11
10. My father & mother hath forsakē mee but the Lorde hath taken mee vp. 3.20.36
14. Hope in the Lord & be strong & he will comfort thy heart, & trust in the Lord. 3.2.17
- 28.8. The Lorde is the strength of his people, and the strength of the saluation of his annoynted. 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 saide, I shal neuer be moued;
8. For thou O Lord of thy goodnes didst giue strength vnto my beauty thou turnedst thy face frō me, & I was troubled. 3.8.2
- 31.1. I haue trusted in thee O Lord, I shal not be confounded for euer: deliuer mee in thy righteoufnesse. 3.11.12
6. I commend my spirite into thy hands, thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth. 3.20.26

16. My lottes are in thy handes. 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 iniqui-
ties be remitted, & whose sins are
couered. 3.4.29. & 3.11.11. & 3.14
11. & 3.17.10
5. I haue made my faulde knowē vnto
thee, & I haue not hid mine vn-
righteousnesse. I haue said, I wil cō-
fesse against my selfe vnto y^e Lorde
mine iniquities, &c. 3.4.9
6. For this shal euerie one that is holy
in time conuenient, &c. 3.20.7. &
3.20.26
- 33.6. The heauens were established
by the worde of the Lorde, & 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 Lorde, a people whome he hath
chosen for an inheritance vnto
himselfe. 2.10.8. & 3.2.28. & 3
21.5
13. The Lorde looked from heauen &
saw all the children of men. 1.16.1
18. Beholde, the eyes of the Lorde
be vpon them that feare him, and
vpon them that trust on his mer-
cie. 3.20.40
22. O Lorde let thy mercie be vpon
vs as we trust in thee. 3.20.12
- 34.7. This poore man cried, & the
Lorde heard him, and he saued him
from all his tribulations. 3.20.26
8. The Angel of the Lorde pitcheth
round about them that feare him,
& he shal deliuer them. 1.14.6. &
1.14.8. & 3.20.23
15. Depart frō euil & do good. 3.3.8
16. The eyes of the Lorde be vpon y^e
iust, & his cares to their prayers. 1.
16.7. & 3.20.3. & 3.20.10
17. The countenance of the Lorde
is vpon them that do euil, that he
may roote from the earth their
memorie. 1.16.17
22. The death of the wicked is euil.
2.10.14. & 2.10.18
23. The Lorde redeemeth the soules
of his seruants. 2.10.16
- 36.1. The wicked man saide to him
selfe that he might do euil: there is
no feare of God before their eyes.
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 Lorde, reacheth vn-
to the heauens, and thy trueth vn-
to the cloudes. 3.2.7
7. Thy iudgements are wonderous
deepe. 1.17.2. & 3.23.5
10. With thee is the fountaine of life
and in thy light we shal see light. 2.
2.20
- 37.7. Be subiect to the Lorde and en-
treat him. 3.2.37
22. For because those that be blessed
of him, shal possesse the earth: but
they that be cursed of him, shal pe-
rish. 2.1.2
- 38.1. O Lorde in thy wrath reprocue
mee not, neither in thy anger cor-
rect me. 3.4.32
5. Mine iniquities haue gone ouer my
head, & as a heauie burden they
haue wayed 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 shal
see & feare, & they shal trust in the
Lorde. 3.20.26. & 3.20.28
6. Many hast thou made, O Lorde, thy
mar-

- maruelous workes, & there is none that is like to thee in thoughtes. 1.5
9.&1.17.1
- 7 Thou wouldest not sacrifice and offering, but thou madest vnto mee cares. 3.22.10
- 8 Then I sayde, behold, I come: it is written of me in the chapter of the booke. 2.16.5
- 9 I desired to doe thy good wil, O my God, and thy law is in the midst of my heart. 2.16.5
- 11 I haue shewed forth thy truth and saluation. I haue not hid thy louing kindnesse and truth from the great congregation. 3.2.7
- 12 Thy louing kindnesse & truth haue alwayes preferred me. 3.2.7
- 41.5 Heale my soule, for I haue sinned against thee. 3.10.12
- 42.3 My soule thirsted after the strong God, euen the liuing God: whē shal I come and appeare before the face of God? 4.17.21
- 5 I passed to the house of God with the voyce of mirth and praise, &c. 3. 4.9
- 6 Why art thou sadde my soule? and why doest thou trouble me? trust in the Lorde. 3.2.16
- 43.5 Why art thou sadde, O my soule? & why doest thou trouble me? trust in the Lorde. 3.2.16
- 44.4 Neither did they possesse y^e land 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 fauour them, 3.21.5
- 21 If wee haue forgotte the name of our God, and haue stretched forth our handes vnto a strang God. 3.20 27
- 22 Shall not God search this out? for he knoweth the secretes of the hart 3.20.27
23. For thy sake be wee slaine all the day long, we be esteemed as sheepe for the slaughter. 3.25.3
- 45.7 Thy seate, O God, endureth for euer, the rodde of thy kingdom is a rodde of direction. 1.13.9
- 8 Thou hast loued righteousnes and hated 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 do homage before thy face with gifts. 1.11.15.
- 46.2 God is our refuge and strength, our helper in time of tribulation. 3. 2.37
- 3 For all that we will not feare, whilst the earth is troubled, and the mountaines be caried into the hart of the sea. 3.2.37
- 6 God is in the midst thereof, it shall not be moued. 4.1.3
- 47.3 The Lord is high and terrible, a great king about all the earth. 1.13 24
- 5 He hath chosen vnto vs his inheritance, the beautie of Iacob whome he hath loued. 3.21.5
- 48.9 As we haue heard, so wee haue seene in the citie of the Lorde of power, in the citie of our God: God hath built it for euer. 1.11.14
- 11 According to thy name O God, such is thy prayse throughout the earth, thy right hand is ful of righteousnessse. 3.20.41. & 4.16.32
- 49.7 They that trust in their owne strength, & glory in the multitude of their riches. 2.10.17
- 8 He can by no meanes redeeme his brother, he shall not pay his raunsome to God. 2.10.17
- 11 When he shall see wise men dy, & ignorant persons and fooles perish. 2.10.17

12. The building of them from generations to generations, they called their names by their lads. 2.10.17
13. And man when he was in honor, knewe not thereof, he was copared vnto foolish beastes, and hee was made like vnto them. 2.10.17
14. This way vnto them is the stumbling block of them, & afterwarde they delight 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 morning. 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 y way by the which I will shewe 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 & 3.11.11. & 3.23.2
7. Behold, I was fashioned in iniquitic, & my mother conceived mee in sinne. 2.1.5. & 3.3.18. & 3.20.9 & 4.16.17
12. Creat in me O God, a clean heart, and reneue a right spirit within me. 2.2.25, 27. & 2.3.9
17. Open thou my lippes, O Lord, & my mouth shall shewe foorth thy praise. 3.20.28
39. The sacrifice to God is a broken spirite, a contrite and broke heart, O God, thou wilt not despise. 3. 20.16
41. Then thou shalt be delighted w offeringes, with the sacrifice and burnt offering of righteousness, then they shall lay calues vpō thine altar. 4.18.17
- 52.10. But I wil bee 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 y Lord, and he shall vphold thee: hee will not suffer the righteous to fall for euer. 1.17.6. & 2.10.17
24. Thou in y mean time O God, shall throw downe these bloud thirstie & deceitful ones, into the pit of destruction. 2.10.17
- 56.5. I haue trusted in God, I feare: nothing that flesh may doe vnto me. 1.17.11
10. So often as I call vpon thee, mine enemies giue backe: in this I am assured, that thou art my God. 3. 20.11
13. I will make vowes vnto thee, O God: I wil shewe foorth thy praise. 4.13.4
- 59.11. Thy goodnes O Lorde may preuent mee, bring it to passe O God, that I may see thy workes on my enemies. 2.3.12
- 60.14. In God we shall do valiantly, and he shall tread downe our enemies. 3.20.46
- 62.9. Poure out your hearts before him, for God is our refuge. 3.20.5
10. The sonnes of men be vaine, the sonnes of men be liers: if they were put in a paire of ballance, they woulde bee lighter than vanitie it selfe. 2.3.1
- 63.4. Thy louing kindnesse is more to 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 vowe be paid. 3.20.29
3. Thou hearest prayers, because of this shall all flesh come vnto thee. 3.20.13
5. Blessed is he whom thou choolest, he

- he shall dwell in thy courts, &c. 3. 21.5
- 68.19. Thou art gone vp on hy, 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 holy places: the God of Israell hee gueth strength to the people. 1.11.14
- 69.3. I am sonke downe into a deepe mier, in the which there is no botome, &c. 4.7.13
5. That I am constrained to repaye that I tooke not. 2.16.5
22. For they gaue me in my meate gall: and when I thirsted they gaue me vineger to drinke. 4.17.15
29. Let them bee wiped out of the booke of the liuing, & let them not be written amongst the iust. 2.10. 18.&3.24.9
- 71.2. For thy righteousnes sake rescue me, & deliuer me. 3.11.12
- 72.8. He shall rule from sea to sea, & from the fluddes vnto the ends 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 litle but my feete were readie to fall, my steps had almost slidden. 2.10. 16. & 3. 9.6
17. Vntil I entred the secrete places of God, and I vnderstoode what should become of them at the last. 2.10. 16. & 3.9.6
26. My flesh and heart is consumed, but God is the rocke of my heart, & my portion for euer. 2.11.2
- 74.2. Be mindful of thy flocke which thou didst purchase long ago: & of thine allotted inheritance which thou hast redeemed: the mount Sion in which thou wast wont to dwell. 3.20. 14
9. We see not our signes, there is not one prophet more, nor any with vs that knoweth how long. 2.15.1
- 75.7. For neither from the East, nor from the West, nor from the South doth preferment come. 1.16.6
- 77.10. Whether or not hath God forgotten to be mercifull? will hee shut vp his mercies in displeasure? 3.2.17
11. At last I thought, this is my infirmitie, the right hande 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 generation y set not their hearts aright, and whose spirites neuer beleueed God truely. 2.5.11
36. They flattered him w their countenances, but they lyed vnto him with their tounge. 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 vexation, by the sending out of euil spirites. 1.14.7
60. That he might leaue the Tabernacle Silo, the Tabernacle where he dwelt amongst men. 2.6.2
67. And he put away the Tabernacle of Ioseph, & chose nor the tribe of Ephraim. 2.6.2. & 3.21.6
70. And he chose David his seruant, from the foldes of sheepe tooke he him. 2.6.2
- 79.9. Helpe vs, O God of our saluatiō, for the glorie of thy name, & deliuer vs, & be mercifull vnto our sins, for thy names sake. 3.20. 14
13. And we thy people and sheepe of thy pasture shall praise thee for euer: and from generation to generation will set forth thy praise. 3.7.10

- 80.2. Thou which sittest betweene the Cherubins shewe thy brightnesse. 1.13.24.& 2.8.15.& 4.1.5
4. Turne vs againe O God, & cause thy face to shine that wee may be faued. 3.2.28
5. O Lord God of hostes, how long wilt thou be angrie against y^e praier of the people? 3.20.16
18. Let thy hand be with the man of thy right hande, with the sonne of man, whom thou hast made strong for thy selfe. 2.6.2
- 81.11. I am the Lord thy God which haue brought thee out of the land of Aegypt. 3.2.31
- 82.1. God standeth in the assembly of Gods, he playeth y^e iudge in the midst of gods. 4.20.4.& 4.20.6.& 4.20.29
3. Reuenge the poore and fatherles, let loose the miserable & afflicted. 4.20.9
4. Deliuer the feeble & needy 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 soule longeth & fainteth for y^e courts of the lord, my heart & flesh crie vnto the liuing God. 2.11.2
8. They shall goe from strength to strength, ech of them shal appeare before God in Sion. 4.17.21
- 86.2. Keepe my life because I am one that doeth good to other: O God keepe thou thy seruant. 3.20.10
3. For thou O lord, art good and merciful, of great kindnes vnto al that call vpon thee. 3.2.29
11. Direct mee O Lord in thy wayes, then shall I walke in thy truth: constrain my heart that it may feare thy name. 2.2.27.& 2.3.9.
- 88.17. Thy furies hath passed ouer me, and thy terrors haue destroyed me. 3.4.34
- 89.4. I haue made a couenant with my chosene, 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 lawe, and walke not in my iudgements. 3.4.32.& 4.1.27.
32. If they breake my statutes, & keepe not my commaundements. 3.4.32
33. I will visite their transgressions with the rodde, and their iniquities with whips. 3.4.32.& 4.1.27
34. And my louing kindnesse wil I not take from him, neither will I falsifie my trueth. 3.4.32 & 4.1.27
36. I haue once sworn by my holines, I will not faile Dauid. 2.15.3
37. His seede shal be for euer: and his throne shal be before me as y^e sunne 2.15.3
38. It shall abide sure as the Moone, which is a sure witnesse in heauen. 2.15.3
- 90.4. A thousand yeres 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 dayes were spent, thou being angrie we ended our yeares sooner than a thought. 3.25.12
11. Who knoweth the power of thine anger? as every 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 y^e shadow 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 pestilence. 1.17.12
11. For

- 11 For he will command his Angels for thy sake, that they kepe thee in all thy wayes. 1.14.6. & 2.8.42. & 3.20.23
- 15 He will call vpon me, therefore I will heare him, I will bee present with him in affliction, I will deliuer him, and will make him glorious. 3.20.14
- 92.6 Howe great are thy workes O Lord, wonderfull profounde be thy counsels. 2.10.17
7. A dullerd doeth not knowe this, neither doth a foole vnderstand it. 5.9
- 13 The iust shall flourish as y^e Palme, and shal growe as a Ceder in Libanus. 2.10.17
- 14 Those that be planted in the house of the Lorde, shall florische in the courtes of our God. 2.10.17
- 93.1 The Lord is king, and is clothed with maiestie, he hath, I say, put on strength, & hath girded himself, the worlde also shall bee so established that it can not be moued. 1.6.3
- 5 Holinesse becommeth thy house O Lorde, for euer. 1.6.4
- 94.11 The Lorde knoweth that the thoughtes of man are vaine. 2.2.25 & 3.14.1
- 12 Happy is the man O Lorde, whom thou hast chastened, & whom thou hast instructed in thy lawe. 3.4.34
- 19 In the passions of many thoughts, within me thy cōfortes recreated my soule. 3.20.7
- 95.7 If to day you shall heare his voyce, 3.2.6
- 8 Harden not your heartes as in Meribah, and in the day of Massa in the wildernesse. 2.5.11
- 96.10 Say amongst the nations, the Lord reigneth, and the worlde shall be established that it shake not, &c. 1.6.3
- 97.1 The Lorde raigneth: let y^e earth reioyce: & let the multitude of the lles be glad. 1.6.3
- 7 Worshipp him all yee gods. 1.13.11
- 10 The Lorde keepeth the soules of his Sainctes, he will deliuer the out of the handes of the wicked. 2.10.16
- 11 Light is sowne for the righteous, and gladnes for them that be of an vpright heart. 2.10.16
- 99.1 The Lord raigneth, let the people tremble: he sitteth betweene the Cherubins, let the earth be moued. 1.6.3. & 2.8.15
- 5 Exhale the Lord God and fall down before his footstool: 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 Knowe ye that the Lord is God: he made vs and not wee our selues: we be his people and the sleepe of his pasture. 2.3.6. & 3.21.5
- 101.3 I will set no wicked thing before mine eyes, I hate them that fall away, they shal neuer cleue vnto me 4.20.9
- 8 Betime will I destoy all the wicked of the lande, that all wicked doers, may be cut off from the city, 4.20.10
- 102.14 Thou wilt arise, y^e thou maist haue mercy on Sion. 1.13.11
- 16 And all nations shall feare y^e name of the Lord, 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 shalbe written for generatiens to come: and the people that shalbe created, shall praise the Lorde. 3.20.28
22. That men may celebrat the name of the lorde in Sion, and his praise D d d d. 4. in

- in Ierusalem. 3.20.28
- 26 For first, thou layedst the foundations of the earth: and the heauens be the worke of thy handes. 1.13.11 & 2.10.15
- 27 The which shall perishe, but thou doest abide, & al things shall waxe olde as a garment, &c. 2.10.15
- 28 But thou art the same for euer, & there shalbe no ende of thy yeares. 2.10.15
- 103.8 The Lord is full of compassion and mercy, slowe to anger, and of much mercy. 3.2.29
- 17 But the louing kindnesse of the Lorde, endureth for euer and euer, towards them that feare him. 2.10.15
- 20 Shew forth the Lorde, ye his Angels which excell in power, execute his will in obeying the voyce of his wordes. 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 embasadors, & his miuisters a flame of fier. 1.16.7
- 15 And wine that maketh the hart of man glad, and oyle that maketh his face shine. 3.10.2
- 27 All things depend vpon thee, that thou maist giue them their meat in due time. 1.16.1
- 28 And thou giuing, they doe 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: & if thou take their Spirit from them, they dy, & they be turned into dust. 1.16.1
- 30 Againe, liuing things be created if thou send forth thy Spirit, and thou doest renewe the face of the earth. 1.16.1
- 105.4 Seeke alwayes his face. 4.1.5
- 6 O ye seed of Abraham which loue him, ye sonnes of Iacob which be his elect. 3.21.5
- 25 Hee turned their heartes 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 doe alwayes that which is right. 3.17.10
- 4 Remember me O Lorde, with the fauour wherwith thou faourest thy people, & haue regarde of me, with thy sauing helth, that I may see the happinesse that is prepared for the elect, & that I may reioyce the ioye of thy people. 4.1.4
13. But incontinent they forgot him, neither followed they his counsell. 3.20.15
- 31 And it was imputed vnto him for righteousnesse for euer. 3.17.7.8.
- 37 For they killed their sonnes and daughters, for sacrifices to deuils. 4.1.7
- 46 And made them be faouored of all them that ledde them captiues. 2.4.6
- 47 Saue vs O Lorde our God, and gather vs fro among the nations, that we may confesse thy holy name, & celebrate thy prayers. 3.20.28
- 107.4 Which wandred in the deserts, in the solitary place thorow pathes, who found not a citie to dwell in. 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 he deliucted the from their distresse. 3.20.15
- 16 For hee hath broken the gates of brasse, and burst the barres of iron. 2.16.9
- 19 And they cried vnto the Lorde, &c. 3.20.15
- 25 Whoby his commaundement, doth stirre vp the stormy windes, which

- which doth lift vp on hie, the waues thereof. 1.16.7
29. And the storme being still, he maketh y^e sea calme, so that the waues cease, &c. 1.16.7
40. For God poureth contempt vpon Princes, & maketh them to erre in desert places out of the way. 2.18.2. & 2.2.17. & 2.4.4
43. Whosoeuer 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 lord, sit thou on my right hande, vntill I make thy enemies thy foote stooles. 2.15.3. & 2.16.16
4. The lord sware, neither repenteth it him, that thou art an euerlasting priest according to y^e 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 bee full of deade bodies, whē he shal smite the heads ouer many nations. 2.15.5
- 111.1. I will praise the lord with my whole hearte, in the assemblie and congregation of the iust. 4.14.8
2. Great are the workes of the lord, which are inquired out of all them which bee delighted therewith. 1. 18.3
10. The beginning of wisdom is the feare of the lord. 2.3.4. and 3.2. 26
- 112.1. The man is blest that feareth y^e lord, and is greatly delighted with his commaundements. 3.17.10
6. The memorie of y^e righteous shall remaine vntil. 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 he doth abase himselfe, to behold things in heauen & in earth 1.16.5
7. Who raiseth vp the feeble out of the dust, & lifteth the poore out of the durt. 1.5.7
9. Which maketh the barren woman to dwell with a familie, and a ioyful mother of children, 1.16.7
- 115.3. And our God is in heauen, who doeth what he will. 1.16.3. & 1.18.1. & 1.18.3 & 3.24.15
4. Their Images be siluer and golde, a worke that was wrought out by y^e worke of man. 1.11.4
8. To whome they be like that make them, and so is hee, whosoeuer trusteth in them. 1.11.4
- 116.1. I loue the lord because he hath heard my prayer. 3.20.28
7. Returne O my soule vnto thy quiet place, because the lord hath bene beneficiall vnto thee. 3.21.17
12. What shall I repay the lord for all his benefites bestowed on me? 3.20. 28
13. The cup being taken, wherewithal thanks being giuen, I will call vpō the name of the lord, for receiued saluation. 3.20.28
14. And I will pay my vowes now vnto the lord before all his people. 13.4
15. For pretious in the sight of y^e lord is the death of his saints. 2.10.14. & 2.10.18
- 18 I will pay my vowes nowe before all the people. 4.13.4
- 117.2. For his louing kindnes doth excell toward vs, & the truth of the lord shall continue for euer. 3.2.7
- 118.6. The Lord standing with mee, I wil not feare whatsoeuer man doth indeuor to bring against me. 1.17.11
18. The lord hath chastened me sore, but he hath not suffere d me that I should die. 3.4.52
25. Ah lord, saue I pray thee: Ah lord giue

1. giue I pray thee prosperous successe
 2.6.2. my tast, truely vnto my mouth it is
 more sweeter than honic. 3.2.15
26. We wish vnto him al good things
 that commeth in the name of the
 Lord 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, according to the lawe of the
 Lorde. 3.17.10
10. When I doe seeke thee with all
 my heart, let me nor stray from thy
 commaundementes. 2.2. 25. and 4.
 14.8
24. I am delighted in the way of thy
 testimonies, more than in al riches
 3.2.15
18. Pul the veile from my eyes, that
 I may see the wonderfull wisdome
 that is hid in thy law. 2.2.21
34. Teach me that I may holde thy
 law, and that I may keepe it with all
 my hart. 2.2.25.
36. Incline my hart vnto thy testimo-
 nies, and not to couctoufnesse. 2.3.9.
 & 2.5.11
41. And let thy louing kindnes come
 vnto me, and thy saluation, accord-
 ing to thy word. 3.2.31
43. And take not altogether out of
 my mouth the worde of trueth, for
 I looke for thy Iudgementes. 3. 2.
 17
71. It was good vnto mee that thou
 didest humble me, y I might learne
 thy righteousnes. 3.4.32
76. I pray thee that thy louing kind-
 nes may happen vnto mee, that it
 may comfort me, according to thy
 worde, that hath giuen hope vnto
 thy seruant. 3.3.4. & 3.20.14
80. Let my heart bee holy in thy sta-
 tutes, that I be not ashamed. 2.2.27
89. Thy word, O lord, abideth euer-
 lasting in heauen. 4.8.6
103. Howe sweete is thy worde vnto
 105. Thy word is a lanterne vnto my
 fecte, & a light vnto my wayes. 1.17
 2. & 2.7.12. & 4.8.6
111. Thy testimonies haue ben vnto
 mee 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 end, and that for euer. 2.5.
 11.
117. Wherefore I haue loued thy pre-
 cepts 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. Beholde he neither slumbreth
 nor sleepeth that keeperth Israell. 3.
 20.3
- 130.1. From the depth of euils I
 haue called vpon thee, O Lorde.
 3.20.4
3. If thou O lorde wilt marke iniqui-
 ties, O lorde who shall stand vnder
 it? 3.12.1. & 3.17.14
4. But with thee is mercie, & there-
 fore thou art feared. 3. 3. 2. & 3. 16.
 3.
- 131.2. It were euil 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 wained childe. 3. 7.9
- 132.2. Bee thou mindfull, O lorde, of
 all thinges with the which David
 hath bin afflicted. 3.20.25
- 7 Let vs goe vnto his tabernacle and
 worship before the footstool of his
 feete. 4.1.5
11. Of the fruite 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, here wil I
 dwel because I haue chosen her. 4.
 1.5.

- 1.5. 1.10.2.&3.20.9
 133.3. Because the Lorde hath commanded that there shall bee their blessing and life euerlasting. 2.11.2
 135.15. The Idols of the gentils bee filuer & gold, a work brought forth by the hands of men. 1.11.4
 138.1. I will confesse thee with all my whole heart, and before the iudges will I praise thee. 4.14.8
 2. I will confesse thy name for thy louing kindnesse, and for thy truth. 3.2.7.
 8. Forsake not the workes of thy hands. 3.24.6
 140.14. Surely the righteous wil 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, & the lifting vp of my handes, as the euening sacrifices. 3.20.14. & 4.18.17
 142.6. Therefore O Lord I call vnto thee, & say: thou art my hope and portion in the land of the liuing. 2.11.2
 8. And I will bee vnto the iust as a crowne, because thou hast bene beneficial vnto me. 3.20.26
 143.2. Deale not with thy seruant O Lord according to the law, for there is none liuing 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 workes. 3.2.31.
 144.15. Blessed bee the people y^e liue so, yea blessed be the people whose God is the lorde. 2.10.8. & 3.2.18
 145.3. Great is the lord & most worthy to be praised, whose greatnes is vnsearcheable. 1.5.8
 3. I will talke of the comelines of the maiestie of thy glorie, & of thy admirable workes. 1.5.8
 8. The Lorde is gracious and merciful, patient and of great goodnes.
9. The Lorde is good vnto all, and his mercie excelleth all his workes. 1.5.5.
 13. Thy kingdome is an euerlasting kingdome, & thy dominion doeth raine throughout all ages. 1.13.24
 18. The lorde is neere to all that call vpon him, yea to all that call vpon him in truth. 3.20.3. and 3.20.7. & 3.20.14
 19. He doth whatsoeuer they would 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. He doth not allow of the strength of a horse, and is not delighted with the legges of man. 2.2.10
 20. He hath not dealt thus with all nations, neither hath hee declared vnto them his iudgements. 3.21.6

PROVERBS.

- 1.7. **T**He feare of the lord is the beginning of knowledge. 3.2.26.
 2.21. The righteous shal inhabit the earth, & the vpriight shall liue long therein. 2.11.2
 22. But the wicked shall be cut from y^e earth, and the transgressors shal be vterly taken therefrom. 2.11.2
 3.11. Beware thou bee not against the chastisement of the Lord, my son, neither doe thou loth at his corrections. 3.4.32. & 3.8.6
 12. For whom the lord loueth, he doth chastise, and hee is delighted with him as a father with his child. 3.8.6
 8.15. By me, Princes raigne, & kinges decree Iustice. 4.20.4.7
 22. The Lord possessed mee in the beginning of his wayes, I was then before his workes. 1.13.7

23. I was ordained from euerlasting, and from the beginning before the earth. 1.13.7
24. As yet the deptes was not when I was formed, as yet the foun taines did not abounde with waters 1. 13. 7. & 2.14.8
- 9.10. The beginning of wisedome 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. & 3.17.15
12. Hatred doeth breade occasion of contention, but loue couereth all trespasses. 3.4.31. & 3.4.36
- 12.14. It shall be giuen to euery man, according to his worke. 3.18.1
28. In the path of righteousnes is life and the same doeth not leade vnto death. 3.17.15
- 13.13. Hee that feareth the commandement, shall bee rewarded. 3. 18.1.
- 14.21. He that contemneth his neighbour, sinneth: but hee that dealeth kindly with the afflicted, is blessed. 3.17.10
26. In the feare of the Lord is an assured strength, & it shall be a defence also for his children. 3.14.19
- 15.3. In euerie place the eyes of the Lorde doeth beholde the good and the euill. 4.17.23
8. The Lord doth abhorre the sacrifice of the wicked, but the prayer of y^e righteous is most acceptable vnto him. 3.14.8
- 16.1. Man may dispose his hearte, but the aunswere of the tongue is of the Lord. 1.16.6
2. To man all his wayes doe seeme to be cleane in his owne eyes, but the Lorde doeth dispose the spirite. 3. 12.5
4. The Lord doth worke all thinges for his owne sake, yea the wicked also against the day of euill. 3.23.6
6. By mercie and trueth iniquitie shall be forgiuen, and by the feare of the Lorde they depart from euil. 3.4.31. & 3.4.36
9. The heart of man doth deliberate of his way, but the Lord doth direct his steppes. 1.17.4
12. To commit wickednesse ought to be abhominable to kinges: for the throne ought to bee 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 lors are cast into the lap, but the whole disposing of the is of the Lord. 1.16.6
- 17.1. A seditious person seeketh onely strife, vnto this person a cruell messenger shall be sent against him 4.20.10
15. The lorde doeth alike hate as wel him that doth cleare the wicked, as him that doeth condemne the innocent. 4.20.10
- 18.10. The name of y^e Lord is a strong tower, the righteous runneth thither and is without the casting of earth. 1.13.13. & 3.20.14
- 19.17. Hee doth let out vnto the Lord whosoeuer doeth good vnto the poore: & it shall bee requited him, according to his good dedde. 3. 18.6
- 20.7. The iust doeth walke in his vp-rightnesse, his children bee blessed after him. 2.8.21
8. A king sitting in y^e throne of iudgement, doth chace away al euil with his eyes. 4.20.10
9. Who will say, my heart is cleane, I am pure from sinne? 3.13.3
12. The hearing of the eare, and the sight of the eye, both these y^e Lorde made. 2.4.7
20. Hee that curseth his father or mother, his light shall be put out in ob-

- obscure darkenes. 2.8.36
24. The steps of the mighty are ruled by the Lorde, how then can a man know his owne wayes? 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 wil he turneth it. 1.18.2. & 2.4.7. & 4.20.9
2. Euery mans wayes seemeth right vnto himselfe. 3.12.5
- 24.21. Feare the lord my sonne & the king. 4.20.22
- 24 Hee that sayeth 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 confesse a thing secrete, but the kinges honor is to search out a thing. 3.21.3
4. Take the drosse from the siluer, and there shall proceede a vessel for the finer, let the wicked be taken from the sight of the king, and then his throne shall be sure through righteousness. 4.20.10
- 21 If he hunger that doeth hate thee, fede him: if he thirst, giue him drinke 2.8.56
- 27 As it is not good to eate much hunny, so he which doth search out glory shall be oppressed therof. 3.21.2
- 26.10 The excellent that formed all things, both rewardeth the foole, & the transgressors. 3.23.4
- 28.2 For the transgressions of them which inhabite the lande, it commeth to passe oftentimes that others rule. 4.20.28
- 14 Blessed is the man that feareth alwayes, but he which hardneth his heart shall fall into euill. 2.2.23
- 29.13 The poore and the vsurer meet together, and the Lorde lighteneth both their eyes. 1.16.6
- 30.4 What is his name, & his sonnes name if thou do know? 2.14.7
- 5 Euery worde of God is pure, and a shield vnto them which leane vnto him 3.2.15
- 6 And not vnto his wordes, least he reprove thee, and thou be founde a lyer. 4.10.17

ECCLESIASTES.

- 2.11 **A**ND I turned my selfe vnto all the workes which my hands had wrought, & to the labour that I had done, & beholde all was vanity and griefe of minde. 2.2.12
- 3.19 The selfe same things are wont to happen vnto men and beasts: and what maner of death one hath, the same hath the other, and the selfe same spirite is in all: neither hath man any thing more excellent then the beasts: for why all thing is vanitie 3.2.38
- 21 Who knoweth whether the spirite of man do ascende vpwarde, or the spirit of beast descende downward into the earth? 3.25.5
- 7.30 God made man righteous: but they being made haue followed many vaine thoughtes. 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
- 2 All things come a like vnto all: both to the iust and wicked, &c. 1.16.9
- 4 A liue dogge is better than a dead Lyon. 3.25.5
- 5 They which liue, knowe they shall dye, but the dead knowe nothing at all. 3.20.24
- 6 Both their loue, hatred, and enuy, is nowe 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**hewe me thy countenance,
I speak vnto me, for thy voice
will be vnto me sweet, & thy coun-
tenance louely. 1.11.14

5.3 I haue put off my core, and howe
shall I put it on againe? and I haue
washed my feete, howe shall I de-
file them againe? 1.16.4

E S A I.

1.5 **T**O what purpose should you be
smitten any more? for ye fall
away more and more, euery head is
sicke, & euery heart is heauy. 3.4.33

10 Heare the word of the Lord ye ty-
rants of Sodom and thou people of
Gomorrah heare the law of the lord.

4.1.18

12 Who requireth y^e at your hands? 3

14.15

13 Bring no more oblations in vaine,
incense is an abhominatiō vnto me:
I can not suffer your new Moones
or Sabaothes, &c. 2.8.34. & 3.14.8

14 My soule hateth your new Moones
and appointed feastes, they make
me weary. 4.2.10

15 And when you stretch forth your
hands, I will hide my eyes from you,
& although you multiply your prai-
ser I will nor heare, for your hands
be full of blood. 3.20.7

16 Take away all naughtines. 3.3.8

17 Learne to doe well, seeke iudge-
ment, releue the oppressed, iudge
the fatherles, & defend the widow.

2.8.52. & 3.3.8

18 If your sins were as crimson, they
shall be made whiter than snowe:
and though they were as redde as
scarlet, they shold be made as woll.

2.4.29

19 If you consent and obey, you shall
enjoy the good things of the earth.

2.5.10

20 But if you refuse and be rebellious:
you shall bee deuoured with the

sword, because the mouth of y^e Lord
hath spoken it. 2.5.10

2.8 Their land was ful of idols, they
worshipped the workes of their
owne handes, and that which their
fingers made. 1.11.4

3.1. Behold the gouernor y^e lord of
hostes will take from Ierusalem and
Iuda the valiant and mightie: euen
all the strength of bread and water.

1.16.7

3 And I will make children their
princes, & effeminate persons shall
rule them. 4.20.25

4.1 Only let vs be called by thy name
and take away our reproche. 3.20.

25

5.8 Woe be to them y^e ioyned house to
house, and field to field, continuing
till there be none left, &c. 1.18.1. & 2

4.4

26 And he shall raise vp a signe to the
people that be afar of, and wil hiffe
vnto them from the endes of the
earth, &c. 3.19.9

6.1 I sawe the Lorde sit vpon a high
throne and lifted vp, and his lower
partes did fill the, &c. 1.13.11. & 1.

13.23

2 The Seraphines stode vpon it, e-
uery one had six winges. 1.11.3. & 1.

14.8

5 Wo vnto me, for I am brought to si-
lence, because I am a man hauing
polluted lips. 4.8.3

6 Then flue one of the Seraphins to
me, hauing in his hande a burning
coale, taken from the altar with the
tonges. 1.11.3

9 He sayd, go and say vnto this peo-
ple, in hearing ye shall heare & not
vnderstand, &c. 1.13.15. & 3.23.13. &

3.24.13

10 Make the heart of this people fat,
and make their eares dull, and shut
their eyes, least they see with their
eyes, &c. 2.4.3

74 Take

- 7.4. Take heede, be still, feare not, neither be faint harted, for the two tailes of these smoking firebrandes, &c. 1.17.11.&3.2.17
24. Beholde, a virgine shal conceiue and beare a sonne, and thou shalt call him Immanuel. 2. 6. 3. and 2. 12.1
18. It shal come to passe in that time that the Lorde shall hiss for the flies that bee at the vtermost part of the riuier of Egypt, and for the Bee that is in the lande of the Assirians. 2.4.4.
- 8.14. He 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 testimonie: seale vp the lawe among my disciples. 3.22. 10
17. I will looke for the lorde who hath hid his face from the house of Iacob, 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 boy is borne vnto vs, a sonne is giuen vnto vs, whose gouernment is vpon his shoulder, and his name shall bee called Wonderful, 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 hands is my indignation. 1.18.1.&4. 20.25
6. I will sende him to a dissembling nation, and against a people y^e hath deserued my wrath will I command him, that he take the spoyle & pray and to treade them vnder feete like the mire in the streete. 1.18.2
12. It will come to passe when the Lorde will make perfect his whole worke in Sion and in Ierusalem, &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 moueth it? as if the rodde shoulde lift 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 Lorde shall rest quietly vpon him, the spirite of wisdom and vnderstanding, the spirit of counsel & strength, the spirit of knowledge & godlines. 2.15.5. & 4.19.22
3. And hee shall make him prudent in the feare of the Lord, for he shal not iudge after the sight of his eyes, neither reprocue by the hearing of his eares. 2.3.4
4. With the spirite of his lips, shall he kil the wicked. 1.13.15
9. They shall not hurte nor wast through out all the holy hill, &c. 4. 20.10
10. And at that day the roote of Iesse shall stande 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 me, thy wrath is turned away, and thou comfortest me. 3.4.32
- 14.1. The Lorde shal haue compassion on Iacob, and will yet chose Israel. 3.21.5
27. The Lord of host determining it, who shal disanul it? & when he hath stretched out his hande, who shall turne it away? 1.17.14
- 19.18. In that day, there shall bee five Cities.

- Cities in the contrie of Egypt, speaking the language of the Cananites, and shall sweare by the Lorde of hostes, &c. 2.8.23.
19. In that day, the altar of the Lorde shalbe in the middest of the lande of Egypt. 4.18.4
21. The Lorde shalbe knowen of the Egyptians, and the Egyptians shall knowe the Lorde in that day and do sacrifice and oblations, & shall vowe vowes vnto the Lord, and performe them. 4.18.4.
25. Whom the Lorde of host hath blessed, saying: blessed be my people of Egypt and Asshur, the works of my hands. 1.18.1
- 25.1. Thou hast done wonderfull things, according to thy counsell of olde, with a stable truth. 3.24.4
8. He will destroy death for euer, and the Lord will wipe tears from euery face, &c. 3.9.6
9. Loe this is our God, we haue wayted for him, & he wil saue vs. 1.13.10 & 1.13.24
- 26.1. We haue a strong Citie, saluation shall God set for walles and bulwarkes. 1.17.6
19. The dead shall liue, and as my body shall they rise: awake, & sing ye that dwell in dust, &c. 2.10.21. & 3.25.4
21. Behold, the Lord commeth out of his place, to visite the iniquities of the inhabitauntes of the earth, and the earth shall shewe foorth her bloud, and shall no more hide her slaine. 3.25.8
- 28.16. He which beleeueth shall not make hast. 1.13.13
- 29.13. Because this people come neere me with their mouth, and doe honour me with their lips, but their hart is far from me, and their feare towards mee was taught by y^e precepts of men, &c. 3.20.7, 31.
- & 4.10.15, 16, 23.
14. Therefore beholde, I will also adde thereto that I may worke maruelously with this people, euen maruel & wonders: that is, the wisdom of their wisemen shall perishe, and the vnderstanding of their prudent men shall hide it selfe. 4.10.6
- 30.1. Woe vnto their rebellious children, saith y^e Lord, which dare take counsell but not of me, &c. 3.20.28.
15. In being quiet and keeping silence shalbe your strength 3.2.37
33. Tophet is prepared morcouer long ago: this is also prepared for the king: O how deep and wide he hath made it, his inwarde part is fire and much wodde, the breth of the Lord 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 be many. 3.20.28
7. For in that day euery man shall cast away his images of siluer, and his images of gold, which your wicked hand did make vnto you. 11.4
- 33.14. The sinners in Sion shalbe afraid, feare shall possesse the hypocrites, they shall say, which of vs shall abide with the consuming fire? who amongst vs shall dwell with the cuerlasting burning? 3.12.1. & 3.17.6
22. The Lorde is our iudge, the Lorde is our lawe giuer, the Lorde is our king, he shal 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 shalbe a path, and a way, and it shalbe 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 prayer for the remnaunt that are left. 3.20.5
16. O Lorde of hostes, God of Israell, which dwellest betweene the Cherubins, thou art onely God ouer al the kingdom of the earth. 2.8.15
32. Because a remnant shal goe forth of Ierusalem, 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 seruauant Dauids sake. 2.17.5
36. Wherefore the Angel of the Lorde went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians one hundred foure score and fife thousand. 1.14.6
- 38.1. Thus saith the Lorde, put thy house in a readinesse, for thou shalt die and not liue. 1.17.12. & 3.3.4
3. O my Lorde, remember I pray thee that I walked before thee in faith, & with an vpriight heart, & that I haue done those things that please thee. 3.20.10.
5. Beholde, I doe adde vnto thy daies 15. yeares 1.17.12.
8. Beholde, I will bring againe the shadowe the degrees whereby it is gone downe in the diall of Achaz. 4.14.18
20. The Lorde was ready to saue me, and wee will celebrate my song all the daies of our life in the house of the Lorde. 3.20.28.
- 39.6. Behold, the daies come that all that is in thy house, and which thy fathers haue laide vp in store vntill this day shalbe caried to Babylon, nothing shalbe left saith the Lord. 1.8.7.
7. And of thy sonnes that shall proceede out of thee, and which thou shalt beget, shall bee caried away, and they shall bee 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 y Lorde make straight in the deserc a path for our God. 3.3.2
6. A voice did say, Cry: & I said, what shall I crie? &c. 2.9.5. & 2.10.7.
11. Hee shall feede his flocke as a shepeheard. 4.19.34.
12. Who hath measured the waters with his fist, and counted heauen with his spanne, and comprehended the duste of the earth with his three fingers? 3.2.31
13. Who hath instructed the spirit of the Lorde? or who was of his counsell and hath taught him? 4.18.19. & 4.19.2
17. All people before him bee as nothing, and they are counted to him lesse than nothing and vanitie. 3.2.25.
18. To whom therefore wil you make God like? or what image will you set vs like him? 1.11.2, 12.
21. Hath not this bin shewed you fro the beginning of thinges? haue you not bin taught by the foundations of the earth? 1.11.4. & 1.14.1
22. Who sitteth vpon the circle of y earth, &c. 1.5.5.
- 29 He giueth rather strength to the wearie, and vnto him that might faileth, hee doth increase power. 2.2.10
- 41.7. So the workeman comforted y founder, and hee that smote with the hammer him y smote by course saying, It is ready for the sodering: and hee 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. Behold they are al vaine, & their works be nothing, their images are winde and confusion. 1.11.2.
- 42.1. Behold my seruauant: I will say
Eccc. vpon

- vpon him, &c. 2.14.2
8. I will not giue my glory to an other nor my prayers to carued images. 1.13.9
9. Beholde, the former things haue come to passe, & I shew new things the which I declared vnto you before they happened. 1.8.7
10. Sing vnto the Lorde a new song, sing forth his praise euen vnto the outmost partes of the earth. 3. 20.28
13. The Lord shall go forth as a Giant he shall stirre 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 witnessses, saith y^e lord & my seruants, whō I haue chosen therefore ye shall know & beleue mee, and ye shall vnderstand that I am: before nice there was no God formed, neither shall there be after me. 1.7.5
11. I, I say I am the Lord, & besides me there is no sauour. 3.4.15
25. I, I my self am euen he which do blot out thy transgressions, & 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 will poure out waters vpon the thirstie, & fluddes vpon the drie ground, that is, I will poure out my spirite vpon thy seede, & my blessing vpon thy buddes. 2.2.70. & 3.1 3. & 3.2.39
6. I am y^e first & I am y^e last, & besides me there is no God. 1.13.23, 24
12. The smith taketh an instrumēt & worketh in the coals, & 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 faileth 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 annointed, whose right had I haue holdē, y^e I might subdue nations before him: Therefore wil I weaken the loynes of kings, & open the doores before him, & the gates shall not be shut. 1.8.7
7. Making light and creating darkness, making peace and creating euil: I the Lord do all these. 1.17.8. & 1.18.3
9. Wo be to him that striueth with his maker, the potsherd with the potshards of the earth: shall y^e clay say vnto him that fashioneth it, what makest thou? or thy worke, it hath no hands? 1.11.2
23. Euery knee shall bow vnto mee, & euery tounge shall sweare by my name. 1.13.11. & 1.13.23. & 3.5.8. & 3.25.7
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 mee like or equall me, or compare mee, that I should bee like vnto him? 1. 11.2
- 47.6. I truly was angry with my people, that I did prophane my inheritance. 3.4.7.2
- 48.10. Beholde, I haue fined thee, but not as siluer: I haue chosen thee approoued in the fornace of affliction. 3.4.3.2
16. The Lord God & his spirit tent me. 1.13.14
4. 15. Doeth the mother forget her infant, that shee shoulde not haue compassion on the sonne of her wombe: &c. 1.17.6. & 3.20.36 23. And

23. And kinges ſhall be thy nurſe father, and Queenes thy nurſes, &c. 4
20.5
- 51.6 The heauens ſhall vaniſhe away like ſmoke, and the earth ſhall waxe old like a garment, and they ſhall dwell therein ſhall in like maner periſhe, but my ſaluation ſhall continue for euer, and my righteousnes ſhall not faile. 2.10.15
- 52.1 Ariſe: ariſe: put on thy ſtrength O Sion: put on the garment of comlineſſe O Ieruſalem, the holy Citie: for henceforth there ſhall not come into thee the vncircumciſed & vnclean. 4.1.17. & 4.5.17
- 3 You were ſolde for nought, and therefore you ſhall be redeemed without money. 3.4.25
- 7 O howe beautifull vpon the mountaines be the feete of them that declare and publiſh peace. 4.3.3
- 53.1 Who hath beleeued our preaching? & the arme of the Lord vnto whom hath it bene reuiciled? 1.7.5 & 3.22.10
- 4 Where as notwithstanding he bore our infirmities, & 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. and 2.16.9. & 2.17.4. & 3.4.
30
- 6 All we like ſheepe haue ſtraicd, euerie one hath followed his owne wayes, and the Lorde hath layde vpon him the iniquitie of vs all. 2.
16.6. and 3.4.27. & 3.12.5. & 3.24.11
- 7 He was puniſhed and afflicted, yet he openened not his mouth, he was led as a ſheepe vnto the ſlaughter, and he was ſtill as a Lambe before the ſheerers, and openened not his mouth. 2.16.5
- 8 Without delay and without iudgement was hee taken, and who ſhall ſhewe his generation? for hee 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
- 11 For he ſhall beare their iniquities, 2.16.5. & 3.11.8
- 12 And he was reckened among the tranſgreſſors. 2.16.5
- 54.13 And all thy children ſhall be taught of the Lorde, 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 ſhall haue no money come, bye meate and eate, &c. 2.2.10. & 3.1.3. & 3.15.4
- 2 Wherefore do you lay out your money, & not for that which is meate, and your labour for that that doth not ſatiſſie? 3.14.15. & 4.10.15
- 3 Encline your eares & come vnto me, harken and your ſoule ſhall liue, and I will ſtricke an euerlaſting covenant with you, euen the ſure mercies of Dauid. 2.5.3. & 3.2.6
- 4 Beholde, I gaue him for a witneſſe to the people, for a prince & maſter vnto the people. 2.6.3. & 2.15.1
- 6 Seeke the Lorde whileſt 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 reuiciled. 3.3.20
- 2 Blessed is the man that doeth this, and the ſonne of man that layeth holde of it, that is to ſay, keeping the Sabaoth that he pollute it not, Eccc 2 &c.

- &c. 2 8 29
 7. Those will I bring to my holy mountaine, and make the ioyfull in my house of prayer, their sacrifice and burnt offrings shal be acceptable on my altar, because my house shalbe called the house of praier for all people. 3 10.29
 10 Their watchmen are all blinde, they haue no knowledge, they bee dumme dogges, &c. 4.9.3
 57.15 Thus saith the hie & excellent he that inhabiteh the eternity, and whose name is holy, &c. 3.12.6
 38.5 Is it such a fast that I haue chosen, y a man should affli& his soule for a day, or that he should bow his head: &c. 4.12.19
 6 And doe not I choose rather this fast, to loose the bandes of iniquity, &c. 3 3.6
 7 And hide not thy selfe from thine owne flesh. 3.7.6
 9 Then thou shalt 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, sothat thou do not thy own will on my holy day, &c. 2.8.31 & 2.8.34
 59.1 Beholde, the Lordes hand is not shortned, that he can not saue, neither is his care heauie y it can not heare. 3.11.21
 2 But your iniquities haue separated betwene you and your God, & your sinnes hath hid his face frō you that he will not heare. 2. 12. 1. & 3. 11. 21
 7 Their feete doe runne to euil, and they make hast to shedde innocent blood: the thoughtes of them are wayne thoughtes, desolation and destruction is in their pathes. 2. 3. 2
 26 And when the Lorde did see(and that being abashed and wondred) that there was none, that there was none I say, that woulde offer himselfe, he made his arm the sauegard thereof, and his righteousnesse did susteine it. 3.24.6
 17 He put on righteousness for a brestplate, and the helmet of saluatiō on his head, &c. 1.11.12
 20 And the redemptor shall come to Sion, and vnto them that turne from their wickednes in Iacob. 3.3. 20, 21
 21 My spirit which is vpon thee, and my worde which I haue put in thy mouth, shall neuer departe out of thy mouth, neither out of y mouth of thy seede, &c. 1.7.4. & 1.9.1. & 4.8 5
 60.2 Beholde, darkenesse shall couer the earth and a mist the people, but the Lorde shall rise vpon thee, and his glory shall appeare vpon thee. 2 3.1
 6 All they of Saba shal come, bringing golde and incense, and they shall shew forth y prayses of God. 4. 5. 17
 7 All the shepe of Ceder shalbe gathe red vnto thee. 4.5.17
 19 The Sun shall serue thee no more for day light, and the brightnesse of the Moone shall not shewe to thee, &c. 2.2.10
 61.1 The spirite of the Lorde God is vpon me, for because the Lorde appointed me, & sent me that I should shew glad thinges 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 3.14.26
 63.10 But they did rebell and vexed his holy spirite. 1.13.15
 16 For thou art our father, though Abraham be ignorant of vs, and Israell knoweth vs not, thou Lorde art

The Table. *Jeremy.*

- art our father, our redeemer. 3.20
25,36
7. O lorde, why hast thou made vs to erre from thy waies? why hast thou hardened our hartes that wee shoulde 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 al as an vncleane thing, and all our righteousnesse is as a filthy cloth, and we all do fade like a leafe, &c. 3.2.25
- 65.1. I haue bine sought of them that asked not: I was founde 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 go not in a good way. 3.24.
16
16. He that will blesse hymselfe in the earth, shall blesse hymselfe 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 is my foote-stoole: where is y^e house therfore y^e you buyld for me? & where is that place of my rest? 3.
20.30. & 4.17.24
2. But to whome shal I haue regard, but vnto him that is humble & of a broken spirite, & who doeth tremble at my word? 3.12.6
22. For as the newe heauen and the new earth that I will make, shall remaine before me, saith the Lorde, so shall your seede & name continue. 2.10.22
23. And there shalbe continual newe Moones and continuall Sabaoths; and all flesh shall come that it may worship before me. 2.8.30
24. Their wormes shall not die, and their fire shall not be put out, and they shalbe lothsome vnto al flesh. 3.25.12

IEREMY.

- 1.6. **O** Lord God, behold, I cannot speake, for I am a childe. 4.8.3
9. Behold, I haue put my worde into thy mouth. 4.8.3
10. Behold this day haue I set thee ouer the nations and ouer kingdōs, to plucke vp & to roote out, and to destroy & scatter, that thou maist build & plant. 4.8.3
- 2.13. For my people haue committed two euils, they haue forsaken mee the fountain of liuing waters, to digge them pittes, euen broken pittes that can holde no waters. 3.
20.14
- 3.1. They say, if a man put away his wife, and shee go from him, & become an other mans, &c. 2.8.18. &
4.1.25
2. Lift vp thy eyes vnto y^e high places, & behold where thou hast not played the harlot, &c. 2.8.18
12. Go & crie these wordes towards the North, & say: thou disobediēt Israel, returne saith the Lorde, & I wil uor let my wrath fall vpon you for I am mercifull, &c. 4.1.25
- 4.1. O Israel, if thou returne, return vnto me, saith the lord: and if thou put away thine abominations out of my sight, then shalt thou not remoue. 2.5.10. & 3.3.6
4. Breake vp your fallow ground, & sowe not among the thornes: bee circumcised to the Lorde, and take away y^e foreskinnes of your hearts, ye men of Iudah, and inhabitantes of Ierusalem, &c. 2.5.8. & 3.3.6,7.
& 4.

8. & 4.16.21
9. And in that day, saith y^e Lord, the heart of the king shall perish, and the hart of the princes, & the priest shalbe astonished, & the prophets shal wonder. 4.9.6
11. At that time shall it be said to this people, & to Ierusalem, a drie wind in the hie places of the wilderness, commeth toward y^e daughter of my people, &c. 1.16.7
14. O Ierusalem, wash thine hart frō wickednesse, &c. 2.5.8
- 5.3. O Lord, are not thy eyes 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 thā a stone, & haue refused to turne. 3. 4.35. & 3.14.8
7. How should I spare thee for this? thy children haue forsaken mee, & sworne by them that are no gods, &c. 2.8.23
14. Because ye spake such words, behold, I will put my worde into thy mouth, like a fire, and this people shalbe as wood, and it shal deuoure them. 3.24.13
- 6.13. For from the least of them, euen to the greatest of them, euery one is giuen to couetousnes: & from the Prophet euen to y^e Priest, they shal deale falsely. 4.9.3
- 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 amend & redresse your wayes, & your workes, if you execute iudgement betweene a man and his neighbour, &c. 3.17.1
13. Therefore now, because ye haue done all these works, saith the lord, & I rose vpe early & spake vnto you: but when I spake you woulde not heare mee, neither when I called would ye answere. 2.5.11
14. I will do vnto this house, where-uppon my name is called, &c. as I haue done vnto Shilo. 2.5.11
22. For I spake not vnto your fathers, nor commaunded them, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offrings & sacrifices. 4.10.15
23. But this thing commaunded 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 crie vnto them, but they will not answere 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
- 9.23. Let not y^e wise man glory in his wisdom, nor the strong man glory in his strength, neither the rich mā glorie in his riches. 3.13.1
24. But let him that glorieth, glory in this, that he vnderstandeth & knoweth mee, for I am the Lord which sheweth mercie, and iudgement, & righteousnesse 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 stocke is a doctrine of vanitie. 1.11.5
11. The gods that haue not made the heauens and the earth, shal perish from the earth, & from vnder these heauens. 1.13.23
23. O Lorde, I know that the way of man is not in him selfe, neither is it in man to walk and to direct his steps. 2.16.6
24. O Lorde correct mee, but with iudgement, not in thine anger, lest thou

- thou bring me to nothing. 3.4.32
- 11.7. For I haue protested vnto your fathers, when I brought them vp out of the lande of Aegypt, vnto this daye, rising early, and protesting, saying: obey my voice. 3.20.7 & 4.10.17
8. Neuertheless they would not obey, nor encline their care, &c. therefore I will bring vpon them all the wordes of this couenant, which I commaunde them to doe, &c. 3.20.7
11. Beholde, I will bring a plague among them, which they shall not be able to escape, and though they crie vnto me, I wil not heare them. 3.20.7
19. Let vs destroy the tree with the frute thereof, & cut him out of the land of the liuing, &c. 4.17.15
- 12.16. And if they will learne the wayes of my people, to sweare by my name, the Lord liueth, as they taught my people to sweare by Baal, &c. 2.8.23
- 14.7. O Lord, though our iniquities testifye against vs, deale with vs according to thy name: for our rebellions are many: we sinned against thee. 3.20.8
14. The Prophets prophetic lyes in my name, I haue not sent them, neither did I commaunde them, &c. 4.9.3
- 15.1. Though Moses & Samuel stood before me, yet mine affectiō could not be toward this people: cast them out of my sight, & let them depart. 3.20.23
- 17.1. The sinne of Iudah is written with a pen of iron, & wth the point of a Diamond, & grauen vpon y^e table of your heart, & vpon the hornes of your altars. 3.4.29
5. Thus saith the Lord, cursed be the man y^e trusteth in man, & maketh flesh his arme, & withdraweth his hart from the Lord. 2.2.10
9. The heart is deceitful and wicked about 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 forth burdens out of your houses on y^e Sabbath day, neither do you any work, but sanctifie the Sabbath, &c. 2.8.29
27. But if you wil not heare mee to sanctifie the Sabbath day, & not to beare a burden, nor to go through the gates, &c. 2.8.29
- 18.8. But if this nation, against whom I haue pronounced, turne frō their wickednesse, I will repent of the plague that I thought to bring vpon them. 1.17.12
18. Come & let vs imagine some deuise against Ieremias: for the lawe shall not perish from the Priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor y^e worde from the prophet. 4.9.5
- 20.2. Then Phasur smote Ieremias the Prophet, & put him in y^e stocks y^e were in the hie gate of Benjamin, which was by the house of y^e Lord. 4.9.6
- 21.12. Execute iudgement in y^e morning, and deliuer the oppressed out of the hand of the oppressour, &c. 4.20.9
- 22.3. Execute ye iudgement & righteousnesse, and deliuer y^e oppressed from the hande of the oppressour, &c. 4.20.9
- 23.1. Woe bee vnto the pastors that destroy & scatter the sheepe of my pasture, saith the Lord. 4.9.3
5. Beholde, the dayes come, saith the Lord, that I will raise vnto Dauid a righteous branche, and a king shall raigne and prosper, and shall execute

- cute 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 wordes of the prophetes that prophecy vnto you and teach you vanitie,&c. 4.9.2
- 24 Do not I fill heauen & earth, saith the Lord? 4.1.5
- 28 The prophet that hath a dreame, let him tel a dreame,& he that hath my worde, let him speake my word faithfully. 4.8.3
- 24.7. And I wil giue them an heart to knowe me, that I am the Lord, and they shall be my people, and I will be their God, for they shall returne vnto me with their whole heart. 2.2.20
- 25.11 And this whole land shalbe desolate, and astonished, and these nations shall serue the king of Babell seuentie yeares. 1.8.7
- 12 And when the seuentie yeares are accomplished, I will visite the king of Babell, and that nation, sayth the Lord, for their iniquitie, &c. 1.8.7
- 29 For loc, I beginne to plague the city, where my name is caled vpon, and should you go free? &c. 3.4.34
- 27.5 I haue made the earth, the man and the beast that are vpon y^e ground &c. 4.20.27
- 6 But now I haue giuen all these lands vnto the hand of Nabuchadonozor the king of Babylon my seruant, &c. 4.20.27, 28
- 7 And all nations shal serue him, and his sonne and his sons sonne vntill the very time of his land come also, &c. 4.20.27
- 8 And the nation & kingdom which wil not serue the same Nabuchadonozor king of Babell, and that will not put their necke vnder y^e yoke of the king of Babell, &c. 4.20.27
9. Therefore heare not your prophetes, nor your southsayers, nor your dreamers, nor your inchaunters, nor your forcerers which say vnto you thus, ye shall not serue the king of Babell, &c. 4.9.3
14. Therefore heare not the wordes of the prophetes that spake vnto you, saying, yee shall not serue the king of Babell, &c. 4.9.3
- 17 Heare them not, but serue the king of Babel, that ye may liue, &c. 4.20.28
- 29.7 And seeke the prosperitie of the Citie, whether I haue caused you to be caried away captiues, & pray vnto the Lorde for it, for, &c. 4.20.28
- 31.18 I haue heard Ephraim lamēting thus, thou hast corrected me, and I was chastised as an vnrained calfe: conuert thou me and I shal be conuerted: for thou art the Lorde my God. 2.3.5. and 2.5.8. and 3.24.15
19. Surely after that I conuerted, I repented, and after that I was instructed, I smote vpon my thigh, &c. 2.5.8
- 31 Beholde, the daies come, saith the Lorde, that I will make a newe couenant with the house of Israel, & with the house of Iudah. 2.11.7. & 3.4.29
- 32 Not according to the couenaunt that I made with their fathers, when I tooke them by the hand, to bring them out of the lande of Egypt, the which my couenant they brake, &c. 2.5.9. & 2.11.7
- 33 After those daies saith the Lorde, I will put my lawe in their inwarde partes, and write it in their hearts, & will be their God, & they shalbe my people. 2.8.14. & 3.20.45
- 34 For I will forgieue their iniquitie, & wil remember their sinnes no more 3.4.29

- 34.29.&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 booke of the professiō vnto Baruch, the sonne of Neriah, I prayed vnto the Lorde, saying. 3.20.15
 18 Thou shewest mercy vnto thousandes, and recompenset the iniquitie of the fathers into the bosom of their children after them, &c. 2.8
 19
 23 But they obeyed not thy voyce, neither walked in thy lawe: all that thou commandest 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 and one way, that they may feare me for euer, for the wealth of thee, and of their children after thē, &c. 2.3.8
 33.8 And I will cense them from all their iniquitie, whereby they haue sinned against me: yea, I will pardon all their iniquities, whereby they haue sinned against me, &c. 3.20.45 & 4.1.20
 16 And in those dayes shall Iuda be saued, & Ierusalem shal dwel safely, and he that shal call her is the lord our righteousnesse, &c. 1.13.9
 42.2 Heare our prayer, wee beseech thee, and pray for vs vnto the lord thy God, &c. 3.20.14
 9 Thus sayth the Lord God of Israell vnto whome yee sent me to present your prayers before him, &c. 3.20. 14
 48.10 Cursed be hee that doeth the worke of the Lorde negligently, &c. 4.20.5
 50.20 In those daies, and at that time,

- sayth the Lord, the iniquity of Israell, shalbe fought for, & there shalbe none: and the sinnes of Iuda, & they shall not be found, &c. 3.4.29
 23 Howe is the hammer of the whole world, destroyed & broken? howe is Babell become desolate among the nations, &c. 2.4.4
 25 The Lord hath opened his treasure & hath brought the weapons of his wrath, for this is the worke of the Lord God of hostes, in the lande of the Chaldeans, &c. 1.18.1

LAMENTATIONS.

- 3.8 **A**lso when I cry and shout, he shutteth out my prayer, &c. 3.20.16
 38 Out of the mouth of the most high proceedeth not euil and good: 1.17.8
 4.20 The breath of our nostrils, the Anointed of the Lord was taken in their nets, of whom we sayd, vnder his shadowe we shalbe preserued aliuē among the heathen, &c. 2.6.2

EZECHIEL.

- 1.20 **W**hither their spirit led thē they went, and thither did the spirit of y wheles lead them, & the wheeles were lifted vp besides them, for the spirite of the beastes, &c. 4.19.22
 2.3 Sonne of man, I sende thee to the children of Israell to a rebellious nation that hath rebelled against me: for they and their fathers haue rebelled against me: euē vnto this very day. 3.24.13
 4 They are impudent children, and stiffe harted: I doe sende thee vnto them, &c. 3.24.13
 3.17 Sonne of man, I haue made thee a watchman vnto the house of Israell: therefore heare the word at my mouth, and giue them warning frō me, &c. 4.8.3
 18 The same wicked man shall die in

his iniquity: but his blood will I require at thine hand, &c. 4.2.5. & 4.3.

they should deliuer but their owne soules by their righteoufnesse, &c 3 20.23

7.26 Calamitie shall come vppon calamitie, and rumour shalbe vpon rumor: then shall they seek a vision of the prophete: but the lawe shall perish from the priest, and counsell from the auncient, &c. 1.18.2. & 4.9

16.20 Moreouer thou hast taken thy sonnes and thy daughters, whome thou hast borne vnto me, and these hast thou sacrificed vnto them to be deuoured, &c. 2.2.11. & 4 16.24

10.4 Then the glory of the Lord went vp from the Cherub, & stooode ouer the dore of the house; &c. 4.2.3

17.20 And I will spread my net vpon him, & he shalbe taken in my net & I will bring him to Babel, and will enter into iudgemēt with him, therefore his trespas, that he hath committed against me, &c. 2.4.4

5 And the sounde of the Cherubins winges was hearde into the outer court, &c. 1.14.8

18.4 The soule that sinneth shal die, &c. 2.8.4. & 3.4.28

11.19 And I wil giue them one heart and I will put a newe spirite within their bowels: & I will take the stony heart out of their bodies, and will giue them an heart of fleshe, &c. 1.13.10. and 2.3.8. & 2.5.5. & 3.24.

9 He that hath walked in my statutes, and hath kept my iudgements, to deale truly, he is iust, he shall surely liue, sayth the Lorde God, &c. 3.17 15

20 That they may walke in my statutes and keepe my iudgements, & execute them: and they shalbe my people, and I will be their God, &c. 2.5.5

20 The same soule which sinneth shall dy: the son shall not beare the iniquity 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

12.2 They are a rebellious house. &c. 3.24.13

21 But if the wicked will returne from all his sinnes, y he hath committed, and keepe all my statutes & do that which is lawefull and right, he shall surely liue and not die, 3.3.24. & 3 4 18. & 3.1.15

13 My net also will I spread vppon him, and he shalbe taken in my net and I wil bring him to Babel, to the lande of the Chaldeans, yet shal he not see it, though he shall dy there, &c. 2.4.4

23 Haue I any desire that the wicked should die, sayth the Lorde God? or shall he not liue, if he returne from his wayes? 4.1.25

13.9 They shall not be in the assembly of my people, neither shall they bee written in the writing of the house of Israell, &c. 2.24.9. and 4. 1.4

24 But if the right eous returne from his righteoufnes, and cōmit iniquity, and do according to al the abominations y the wicked man doeth &c. 3.4.29. & 3.14.10

14.9 And if the prophet be deceiued when he hath spoken a thing, I the Lord haue deceiued that prophet, &c. 1.18.2

27 Againe, when the wicked turneth away from his wickednesse that he hath cōmitted, and doth that which is lawfull and right, he shall saue his soule aliuē, &c. 3.4.29

14 Though these three men Noah, Daniell, and Iob, were among them

31. Cast away from you all your transgressions, whereby you haue transgressed, & make you a newe hearte, and a newe spirit, &c. 3.3.6
32. For I desire not the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord god: cause therefore one another to returne; and liue ye. 4.1.25
- 19.12. And the east winde dried vp her fruite, &c. 1.16.7
- 20.11. And I gaue them my statutes, and declared my iudgements vnto them, which if a man do, he shall liue in them, &c. 3.17.3
12. Moreouer I gaue them also my sabbathes, to be a signe betwen me and them, that they might knowe y I am the Lord that sanctifieth them &c. 2.8.29
42. And yee shall knowe that I am y lorde, when I shall bring you into the lande of Israell, into the lande, &c. 3.13.1
43. And there shall you remember your waies, & al your works where in ye haue bin defiled, &c. 3.13.1
- 22.8. Thou hast despised my holy thinges, and hast polluted my Sabbathes. 2.8.29
25. There is a conspiracie of her prophets in the middest thereof like a roaring lyon, rauening y pray: they haue deuoured soules, &c. 4.9.3
26. Her priests haue broken my law: and haue defiled my holy thinges, they haue put no difference betwen the holy, and prophane, &c. 4.9.3
- 23.37. And haue also caused their sons, whom they bare vnto mee, to passe by the fire to bee their meate. 4.16.24
38. They haue defiled my sanctuary in the same day, and haue prophaned my sabbathes. 2.8.29
- 28.10. Thou shalt die the death of the vncircumcised, by the handes of strangers: for I haue spoken it saith the Lord God. 2.10.18
29. 4. But I will put hokes in thy chawes, and I will cause the fishe of thy riuers to sticke vnto thy scales; &c. 1.17.11
19. Beholde, I will giue the land of Egypt vnto Nabuchadnezar y king of Babel, and he shall take her multitude, and spoyle her spoyle, and take her pray, and it shall bee the wages of his armie. 4.20.26
20. I haue giuen him the land of Egypt for his labor, that hee serued against it, because they wrought for me. 4.20.26
- 31.18. Thou shalt sleepe in y middest 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 bloode wil I requite 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 do that which is lawfull and right, &c. 3.17.15
- 34.4. But with crueltie and with rigour, haue ye ruled the, &c. 4.11.14
23. And I will set vp a shepherd ouer them, and he shall feed them, euen my seruant Dauid, hee shall feede them, and hee shall be their Shepheard. 2.6.3
- 36.21. But I fauoured mine holy name which the house of Israell had polluted among the heathen whither they went &c. 3.4.30
22. I doe not this for your sakes, O house of Israel, but for myne holy names sake, which yee polluted among y heathen, &c. 3.12.3. and 3.15.2
25. Then will I poure cleane water vpon you, and yee shall be cleane, yee,

- yea from al your filthinesse, & from
all your idols will I cleanse you, &c. 3.1.3
26. A newe heart wil I giue you, and
a newe spirite wil I put within you,
and I will take away the stonie hart
out of your bodie, and will giue you
a heart of flesh. 2.3.6. & 2.5.8. & 3.24.
1. & 3.24.15
27. And I will put my spirite with in
yours, and cause you to walk in my
statutes, & ye shall keep my iudge-
mentes and doe them. 1.3.10. and 2.
3.6
32. Be it knowen vnto you, that I doe
not this for your sakes, faithy lorde
God: therefore O yee house of I-
sraell, bee ashamed and confoun-
ded for your owne wayes. 3.4.3. & 3.
12.3. & 3.15.2
- 37.4. Againe he saide vnto mee, pro-
pheticke vppon these bones and say
vnto them, O ye drie bones, heare
the worde of the Lord. 2.10.21
25. And my seruant Dauid shall bee
their prince for euer. 2.6.3
25. Moreouer, I will make a couen-
nant of peace with them: it shal be
an euerlasting couenaunt with the,
&c. 2.6.3
- 48.21. And the residue shall be for the
prince on the one side and on the o-
ther of the oblatiō of the sanctuary
and of the possession of y^e Citie, &c.
4.2.13
35. And the name of the citie from
that day shall bee, The Lorde is
there. 1.13.4

DANIEL.

- 2.21. **H**E taketh away kinges: and
setteth vp kings, &c. 4.20.
26
37. Thou art a king of all kinges:
the God of heauen hath giuen thee
kingdome, power, and strength,
- and glorie. 4.20.26
44. And in the dayes of these kinges
shall the God of heauen set vp a
kingdome, which shall neuer be de-
stroyed: and this kingdome shall
not be giuen to another people, but
shall breake and destroye all these
kingdomes, and it shall stand for e-
uer, &c. 2.15.3
- 4.24. Wherefore, O king, let my cou-
sel be acceptable vnto thee, & break
of thy sinnes by righteousnesse, &
thine iniquities by mercie towards
the poore, &c. 3.4.31. & 3.4.36.
- 5.18. The most high God gaue vnto
Nebuchadnezar thy Father a king-
dome, and maiestie, and honor, &
glorie, &c. 4.20.26
- 6.22. And vnto thee O king, I haue
done no hurt, &c. 4.20.32
- 7.4. The first was as a Lion, and had
eagles wings: I behelde, till the
wings thereof were plucked of, &c.
1.8.7
10. And ten thousand thousands stood
before 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 y^e
saintes of the most high, & thinke
that he may change times, and
Lawes, &c. 4.7.25
- 9.5. We haue sinned, and haue com-
mitted iniquitie, and haue done
wickedly, yea we haue rebelled, &
haue departed from thy preceptes,
and from thy iudgementes. 3.4.9.
7. O Lorde righteousnesse belongeth
vnto thee, and vnto vs open shame
&c. 4.20.29
10. For we haue not obeyed the voice
of the Lord our God, to walke in his
wayes, which hee had layed before
vs, by the ministerie of his seruants
the Prophets, 2.5.11
18. For we do not present our supplica-
tions

- tions before thee for our own righteousness, 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 righteousness, &c. 2.7.2. &2. 15.1.&2.15.6
27. And hee shall confirme the covenant with many for one wecke: and in the middes of the wecke, he shall cause the oblation and sacrifice to cease: and for the ouer spreading of the abominations, he shall leaue it desolate, &c. 4.2.12
- 10.13. But the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood mee, &c. 1.14 7
20. But nowe I will returne to fight with the Prince of Persia, &c. 1. 14.7
- 12.1. And at that time shall Michaell stande vp, the great Prince, which standeth for y children of the people, & there shall be a time of trouble, &c. 1.14.7. and 1.14 8. and 2. 10.11
2. And manie of them that sleepe in the dust of the earth, shall awake, 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: and they that turne many to righteousness, shal shine as the starres, for euer and euer, 3.25.10.
25. For their mother hath plaide the harlot, shee that conceiued them, hath done shamefull; for shee said I will go after my louers, &c. 2.8.18
18. And in that day I will make a covenaut for them, with the wilde beastes, 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 mee for euer; yea I wil marrie thee vnto me in righteousness, and in iudgement, and in mercy, and in compassion. 3.14.6. &4.1.20
23. And I will haue mercie vpon her, that was not pitied, and I will say to them which were not my people, thou art my people: and they shall say, thou art my God. 3.14.6
- 8.5. Afterwarde shall the children of Israell conuert, and seeke the lorde their God, and Dauid their king, & shall feare the Lord & his goodnes in the latter dayes. 2. 6. 3. and 3. 2.23
- 5.11. Ephraim is oppressed, and broken in iudgement, because hee willingly walked after the commaundement. 4.20 32
15. I wil goe, 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 y lord for he hath spoiled, and he wil heale vs: he hath wounded vs and hee will 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. 1.18.4
- 9.8. The watchman of Ephraim, shold be in with my god: but that prophet is the snare of a fouler in all his waies, and hatred in the house of his God. 4.9.3
- 12.5. Yea the Lorde God of hostes, y Lorde

OSEA.

1.11. **T**hen shall the children of Iudah, and the children of Israell be gathered together, & appoint themselues one head, and they shall come vp out the lande, &c. 2.6.3

- Lorde 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 bound vp, and his sinne is hid. 3.4.29
 14. I will redeeme the from y power of the graue: I will deliuer them from death: O death, I will bee thy death: O graue, I will bee thy destruction, &c. 3.25.10
 14.2. Take away all iniquitie, and receiue vs graciously: so wil we render the calues of our lippes. 3.4.30.& 3.20.28.& 4.18.17
 3. Asshur shall not saue vs, neither will wee ride vpon horses: neither will wee say any more to the worke of our handes, ye are our Gods: for in thee, the fatherlesse findeth 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

IOEL.

- 2.12. **T**Vrne you vnto mee, with all your hearte, & with fasting and with weeping, and with mourning. 2.5.8.& 3.3.17
 13. And rent your hart, and not your clothes, &c. 3.3.16.& 4.12.19
 15. Blowe the trumpet in Zion, sanctifie a feast, cal a solemne assembly 4.12.14.& 4.12.17
 28. And afterwarde, will I poure out my spirite vpon all fleshe and your sonnes, & your daughters shal prophcie: your olde men shal dreame dreames, and your young men shal see visions. 2.15.2. and 3.1.2. and 4.18.4
 32. But whosoeuer shall call vpon the name of the Lord, shalbe saued: for in mount Zion, and in Ierusalem

- 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 Ierusalem be holy, and there shall no strangers goe through her any more. 4.1.17

A M O S.

- 1.2. **T**He Lord shal roare from Zion, and vtter his voyce from Ierusalem, &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, and I caused it to raine vpon one citie, and haue not caused it to raine vpon an other, &c. 3.22.10
 5.14. Seeke good and not euill, 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 beddes, &c. 3.19.9
 8.11. Beholde, the dayes come, saith the Lord God, that I will send a famine in the lande, and not a famine of bread, nor thirst for water, but of hearing of the worde of the Lorde. 3.22.10
 9.11. In that day will I raise vp the tabernacle of Dauid, y is fallen down and close vp the breaches thereof, and I will raise vp his ruines, and I will builde 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 Lorde sent out a great winde into the sea, and there was

- was a mightie tempest in the sea,
&c. 1.16.7
- 2.9. But I will sacrifice vnto thee, with
y voice of thankes giuing, and will
pay that I haue vowed: saluation is
of the Lord. 3.20.28
- 3.4. Yet fortie dayes, and Niniuech
shall bee ouerthrowen. 1.17.12
5. So the people of Niniuech beleued
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 workes that
they turned from their euill wayes:
and God repented of the euill that
he had saide, that he would doe vn-
to them, and he did it not, 1.17.14

MICHEAS.

- 2.13. **T**He breaker vp shal come vp
before the: they shal breake
out and passe by the gate, &
goe out by it, and the Lord shall be
vpon their heads. 2.6.3
- 3.6. Therefore night shall be vnto you
for a vision, and darkenesse shall be
vnto you for a diuination, and the
sunne shall go downe ouer the pro-
phets, and the day shal be darke o-
uer them. 4.9.6
- 5.2. And thou Bethelē. Ephratah, arte
litle to be among so many thousandes
of Iudah, yet out of thee shall hee
come soorth vnto me, that shall bee
the ruler in Israell: whose goinges,
&c. 2.14.7
13. Thine Idolles also will I cut out,
and thy images out of y middes of
thee: and thou shalt no more wor-
shippe the worke of thine handes.
1.11.4
- 7.9. I wil beare the wrath of the lord,
because I haue sinned against him,
vntill hee pleade my cause, &c. 3.
4.32
19. Hee will subdue our iniquities, &

cast all their sinnes into the bottom
of the sea. 3.4.29

H A B A C V C.

- 1.12. **A**R T not thou of old, O Lord
my God mine holy one?
we shall not die, O Lord, &c. 2.10.8
- 2.3. Though it tarrie, waite: for it
shall surely come, and shall not stay. 3.
2.42
4. But the iust shall liue by his faith.
3.14.11. & 3.18.5
18. What profiteth the images, for
the maker thereof hath made it an
image: and a teacher of lies, though
he y made it, truste therein, when
hee that maketh dumme idoles. 1.
5.12. & 1.11.5
20. But y Lord is in his holy Temple:
let al the earth keepe silence before
him. 1.5.12. & 1.10.3. & 2.8.15
- 3.2. In wrath remember mercie. 3.
4.32
3. God commeth from Teman, &c.
1.13.27
23. Thou wentest soorth for the sal-
tion of thy people, euen for saluati-
on with thine annointed, &c. 2.6.3

SOPHONIAS.

- 1.5. **A**ND them that worshippe the
hoast of heauen vpon the
house toppes, and them that
worship and sweare by the lord, and
by Malcham, &c. 2.8.23
- 3.11. For then I will take away out of
the middes of thee, them y reioice
of thy pride, and thou shalt no more
be proud of mine holy mountaine.
3.12.6

HAGGEVS.

- 2.12. **A**Ske nowe the Priestes con-
cerning the lawe, and say,
if one beare holy flesh in the skirt
of his garment, &c. 3.14.7

ZACHAR IAS.

- 1.3. **T**urne yee vnto mee, saith the Lord of hostes, and I will turne vnto you, &c. 2.5.9. & 3.24.15
- 2.4. And another angell went out to meete him, and saide vnto him, run speake to this yong man, and say, Ierusalem shall bee inhabited without walles, for the multitude of me and cattell that are therein. 1. 13. 10.
8. For he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye. 1.13.10. & 1.17.6
11. And many nations shall bee ioynd to the Lorde in that day, and shall be my people: and I will dwel in the middest of thee, & thou shalt know that the lorde of hostes hath sent mee vnto thee. 1.13.10
12. And the Lord shal inherite Iudah his portion in the holy lande, and shall choose Ierusalem againe. 3. 21.5
- 3.10. In that day, sayeth the Lord of hostes, shall yee call euery man his neighbour vnder the vine, and vnder the figge tree. 3.13.4
- 7.13. Therefore it is come to passe, that as he cried and they would not heare, so they cried, and I would not heare, saith the Lorde of hosts. 3.3. 24
- 9.9. Reioyce greatly, O daughter Sion: shout for ioy, O daughter Ierusalem: beholde, thy king commeth vnto thee: he is iust & sau'd, poore &c. 2.6.3. & 2.17.6
11. Thou also shalt be sau'd, through the bloode of the couenant I haue loosed thy prisoners, out of the pit wherein was no water. 2.16.9.
- 12.4. In that day I will smite, saith the lorde, euery horse with stonishment, and his rider with madnesse. &c. 4.9.5
- 13.9. They shall call on my name, & I will heare them: I will say, it is my people, and they shall say, the lorde is my God. 3.20.13
- 14.9. And the Lorde shall be king ouer all the earth: in that day shall be one lorde, and his name shall be one. 1.12.3

M A L A C H I A S.

- 1.2. **W**AS not Esau Iacobs brother? sayth the Lord. &c. 3.21.6
3. Yet I loued Iacob, and I hated Esau, &c. 3.21.6
6. A sonne honoureth his Father, & a seruauant his maister. 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. & 3.6.3.
11. For from the rising of the Sonne vnto the going downe of the same, my name is great among the gentiles. And in euery place incense shall be offered vnto my name: and a pure offering &c. 4. 18.4. and 4. 18.16
- 2.4. And yee shall know, that I haue sent this commandement vnto you that my couenant, which I made with Leuie, might stande, saith the Lorde of hoastes. 4. 2.3. and 4. 8. 2.
5. My couenant was with him of life and peace, and I gaue him feare, & he feared me, and was afraide before my name. 4.2.3
6. The law of truth was in his mouth: and there was no iniquitie found in his lips. 4.2.3. & 4.8.2
7. For the Priestes lips should keepe knowledge, and they shoulde seeke the lawe at his mouth, for hee is the messenger of the lord of hostes. 4.8. 2. & 4.8.6. & 4.9.2
8. But yee are gone out of the way: yee haue caused many to fal by the lawe:

- law: ye haue broken the couenant of Leui,&c. 4.7.30
- 3.1. And the Lord whom ye seeke,shal speedily come to his Temple: eue the messenger of y couenant who ye desire,&c. 1.13.10.& 1.14.9
17. I will spare them, as a man spareth his owne sonne y serueth him. 3.19.5
- 4.1. For, behold the day commeth y shall burne as an ouen: and all the proude, yea, & all that do wickedly, shal be as stubble, and the day that commeth shall burne them vp,&c. 3.24.12
2. But vnto you that feare my name, shall the sunne of righteousness, &c. 2.6.1.& 3.24.12
4. Remember the lawe of Moses my seruaunt, which I commaunded vnto him in Horeb for all Israel, &c. 4.8.6
5. Behold, I wil send you Eliah the prophet before the comming of y great and feareful day of the Lord. 2.9.5
6. And he shal turne the heart of the fathers to their children, & y heart of y children to their Fathers, &c. 4.1.6

TOBIAS.

- 3.25. **A**Nd Raphaell was sent to heale them both,&c. 1. 14.8

SAPIENTIA.

- 14.16. **T**Hus by proces of time this wicked custom preuailed, and was kept as a law, & idols were worshipped by the commandemēt of tyrants. 1.11.8

ECCLESIASTICVS.

- 15.14. **G**OD made man from y beginning, and left him in the hand of his counsell, and gaue him his commaundements & precepts. 2.15.18
15. If thou wilt, thou shalt obserue

- the commandements, and testifie thy good will. 2.15.18
16. He hath set water and fire before thee, stretche out thy hande vnto which thou wilt. 2.15.18
17. Before man is life & death: good and euil: what him liketh shal be giuen him. 2.15.8
- 16.14. He wil giue place to all good deeds, & cuery one shal find according to his works, & after y vnderstanding of his pilgrimage. 3.15.4

BARVCH.

- 2.18. **B**Vt the soule that is vexed for the greatnes of sin, & he y goeth cokedly, & weak, & the eyes that faile, & the hungry soule will giue thee praise & righteousness, &c. 3.20.8
19. For we do not require mercie in thy sight, O Lord our God, for the righteousness of our fathers, or of our kings. 3.20.8
20. But because thou hast sent out thy wrath and indignation vpon vs, as thou hast spoken by thy seruaunts the Prophets, &c. 3.20.8

I. MACHABEES.

- 1.59. **A**Nd the bookes of the lawe, which they founde, they burnt in the fire, and cut in pieces. 1.8.9

II. MACHABEES.

- 12.43. **A**Nd hauing made a gathering through the company sent to Ierusalem about two thousand drachmes of siluer, to offer a sinne offering, &c. 3.5.8
- 15.39. If I haue don 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

MATTHEWE.

- 1.5. **A**Nd Salomon begat Booz of Rachab, and Booz begat Obed of Ruth, and Obed begate Ffff. Iesse.

- Iesse. 2.13.3 & 3.2.32.& 3.8.1.& 3.24.5
16. And Jacob begate Ioseph the husband of Marie, of whome was borne Iesus which is called Christ. 4.2. And when he had fasted fortie dayes & fortie nights, he was afterward hungrie. 4.12.20
21. And shee shal bring forth a sonne, and thou shalt call his name Iesus: for he shal saue his people frō their sinnes. 2.13.3 3. Then came to him the tempter, & said, if thou be the sonne of God, commaunde that these stones bee made bread. 3.20.46
23. Beholde, a virgine shalbee with childe, and shal beare a sonne, and they shall call his name Emanuell, which is by interpretation, God with vs. 2.6.1 4. Man shall not liue by bread onely, but by euery woorde that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. 3.20.44
- 2.6. And thou Bethlem in the land of Iuda, art not the least among the Princes of Iuda: for out of thee shal come the gouernor that shal feede my people Israel. 2.12.1 10. Then saide Iesus vnto him, a-uoide Sathan: for it is written, thou shalt worship the Lorde thy God, and him onely shalt thou serue. 1.12.3
- 3.2. Iohn said, Repent: for the kingdome of heauen is at hand. 3.3.2.& 3.3.5.& 3.3.19 11. Then the diuel left him: and beholde, the angels came, and ministered vnto him. 1.14.6
6. And they were baptized of him in Iordan, confessing their sinnes. 3.4.6.& 4.15.6.& 4.16.24 17. From that time Iesus began to preache, and to saye, Amend your liues: for the kingdome of heauen is at hande. 2.9.2. & 3.3.2. & 3.3.19
11. In deede I baptize you with water to amendment of life, &c. 4.11.6.& 4.15.8.& 4.16.25 19. Follow mee and I will make you fishers of men. 4.16.31
12. Which hath his fanne in his hand and wil make cleane his floore, and gather his wheat into his garner, but will burne vp the chaffe with vnquenchable fire. 3.25.12.& 4.1.13.& 4.1.19 5.3. Blessed are the poore in spirit, for theirs is the kingdome of heauen. 3.17.10
13. Then came Iesus from Galile to Iordan vnto Iohn, to be baptized of him. 4.15.6.& 4.16.27 4. Blessed are they that mourne, for they shalbe comforted. 3.8.9
15. Let be now: for thus it becōmerh vs to fulfill all righteousnes. So he suffred him. 2.16.5 8. Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God. 3.25.6
16. And Iohn saw the spirit of God descending like a doue, & lighting vpon him. 1.11.3.& 4.17.21.& 4.19.20 10. Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousnes sake: for theirs is the kingdome of heauen. 3.8.7
17. And lo, a voice came from heauē, saying: this is my beloued sonne, in whome I am well pleased. 2.16.11 12. Reioyce and be glad, for great is your rewarde in heauen, &c. 3.18.1
13. Ye are the salt of the earth, &c. 3.3.& 4.5.14.& 4.8.4 14. Ye are the light of the world, &c. 4.3.3.& 4.5.14.& 4.8.4
15. Neither do men light a candell and put it vnder a bushell, but on a can-

- candlestick, 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 and 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 destroye them, but to fulfill them. 2.7.14
- 19 Whosoever therefore shall breake one of these least commandements and teach men so, he shalbe called the least in the kingdom of heauen: but whosoever shall obserue, &c. 2.8.59
- 21 Ye haue heard, that it was said vnto them of the olde time, thou shalt not kill: for who so euer killeth, shall be culpable of iudgement. 4.20.10
- 22 But I say vnto you, whosoever is angry, with his brother vnadvisedly shalbe culpable of iudgement, &c. 2.8.7. & 2.8.39
- 25 Agree with thine aduersary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him lest, &c. 3.5.7
- 26 Verily I say vnto thee, thou shalt not come out thence, till thou hast payed the vttermost farthing. 3.5.7 & 3.25.6
- 28 Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery 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 checke, turne to him the other also. 4.20.19. & 4.20.20
- 44 Loue your enemies: blesse thē that curse you, &c. 2.8.57. & 3.7.6. & 4.13.12
- 45 That ye 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 y publicanes 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, & in the streets, to be prayesed of men. Verily I say vnto you, they haue their rewarde. 3.7.2
- 6 But when thou prayest, enter into thy chamber: and when thou hast shutte the doore, pray to thy father which is in secrete, &c. 3.20.29
- 7 Also when you pray, vse no vaine repetitions as the heathen, for they thinke to bee hard, for their much babbling. 3.20.29
- 9 After this maner therefore pray ye, Our father which art in heauen, hallowed by 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 detters. 3.4.38. & 4.12.23
- 21 For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also. 3.2.25. & 3.18.6. & 3.25.1
- 23 But if thine eye be wicked, then all thy body shalbe darke. Wherefore if the light which is in thee be darkenes, how great is y darkenes? 2.25
- 7.7 Aske, and it shalbe giue you: seeke, and ye shal find: knocke, and it shall be opened vnto you. 3.20.13
- 11 If yee then which are euill, can giue to your children good giftes, howe much more shall your father whiche is in heauen, giue good things

- things to them that aske him: 3. 20.
- 12 Therefore, whatsoeuer ye would that men should doe vnto you, euen so do ye to them: For this is the law and the prophets. 2. 8. 53
- 15 Beware of false prophetes, which come to you in sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are rauening wolves 4. 9. 4
3. 4 Then Iesus said vnto him, see thou tell no man: but goe, and shewe thy selfe vnto the priest, & offer the gift that Moses comanded, for a witness to them. 3. 4. 4
- 10 And when Iesus heard this, hee marueiled, and sayd to them which followed him: verily I say vnto you I haue not found so great faith euen in Israell. 3. 2. 13
- 11 Many shal come from the East and from the West, and shall sit downe with Abraham, and Isaac & Iacob, in the kingdome of heauen. 2. 10 23 & 4. 16. 13
- 12 And the children of the kingdome shalbe cast out into vtter darkenes: there shalbe weeping and gnashing of teeth. 3. 25. 12
- 13 Then Iesus sayd vnto the Centurion go thy wayes, and as thou hast beleued, so be it vnto thee. And his seruant was healed the same houre. 3. 20. 11
- 25 Then his disciples came, & awoke him, saying: maister, saue vs we perish. 3. 2. 21
- 29 Iesus the sonne of God, what haue we to doe with thee? art thou come hither to torment vs before y^e time? 1. 14. 19
9. 2 And loe, they brought to him a man sick 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 forgiven thee. 3. 2 13. & 3. 4. 35. & 3. 20.
- 3 Certaine of the scribes sayde with in theselues, this man blasphemeth. 1. 13. 12
- 4 But whē Iesus saw their thoughtes. &c. 1. 13. 12
- 5 For whether is it easier to say, Thy sinnes are forgien thee, or to say, Arise and walke? 4. 19. 29
- 6 And that ye may knowe that the sonne of man hath authority to forgive sinnes in earth, (then sayde he to the sicke of the palsie,) arise, take vp thy bed and go 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 cal the righteous, but the sinners to repentance 3. 3. 20. & 3. 12. 7. & 3. 14. 5
- 15 Can the children of the mariage chamber mourne, as long as the bridegrome, &c. 3. 3. 17. and 4. 12. 17
- 29 Then touched he their cies, saying: according to your faith, be it vnto you. 3. 2. 43. & 3. 4. 21. & 3. 20. 11. & 4 19. 18
- 34 But the Pharisees sayd, he casteth out deuils, through the prince of deuils. 3. 3. 22
- 35 And Iesus went about all cities, and towns, preaching in their synagogues, & preaching the Gospel of the kingdome, &c. 2 9. 2
10. 1. And hee called his twelue disciples vnto him, and gaue them power against vnclene spirites &c. 4. 3. 5
- 5 Go not into the way of the gentiles and into the cities of y^e Samaritanes enter ye not. 2. 11. 12
- 8 Heale the sicke: cleanse the lepers, raise vp y^e dead, cast out deuils, &c. 13. 13
- 18 And ye shalbe brought to the gouernours and kinges for my sake, in

- witnessing to them and to y^e Gentiles. 3.4.4
20. For it is not ye that speake, but y^e spirite of your father that speaketh in you. 4.19.8
28. And feare ye not them which kill the bodie, but are not able to kill y^e soule: but rather feare him which is able to destroy both soule & body in hell. 1.15.2. & 3.23.7
29. Are not two sparowes sold for a farthing, and one of them shall not fall en the ground without your fathers? 1.16.1. & 1.16.3. & 1.17.6
30. Yea, & al 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 me before men, him will I also denie before my father which is in heauen. 4.1.26
- 11.10. For this is he of whome it is written: beholde, I sende my messenger before thy 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 Iohn Baptist, nor withstanding he that is least in y^e kingdome of heauen, is greater than he. 2.9.5
13. For al the Prophets & the lawe prophecied vnto Iohn. 2.11.5.10
23. And thou Capernaum, which art lifted vp vnto heauen, shalt be brought downe to hel: for if y^e great workes which haue bin don in thee had bin done among them of Sodomie they had remained to this day. 3.24.15
25. At that time Iesus answered, & 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 hee to whome the sonne wil reueale him. 4.8.5
28. Come vnto mee all ye that be weary 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, & learne of me that I am meeke and lowly in heart & ye shall finde rest vnto your soules. 3.18.9
30. For my yoke is easie, and my burden light. 4.19.3
- 12.24. But when the Pharises heard it, they said, This man casteth the diuels no other wise out, but through Beelzebub the prince of diuels. 3.22.22
31. Euery sinne and blasphemie shall be forgien vnto me: but the blasphemie against the holy ghost shall not be forgien vnto men. 1.13.15. & 3.3.21. & 3.3.22
32. And whosoever shall speake a worde against the sonne of man, it shall be forgien him: but whosoever shall speake against the holy ghost it shall not be forgien him, neither in this worlde, nor in the worlde to come. 3.5.7
41. The men of Ninive shall rise in iudgement, with this generation, and shall condemne it: for they repented at the preaching of Ionas, &c. 3.24.15
43. Nowe when the vncleane spirite is gone out of the man, he walketh througout dry places, seeking rest, and findeth none. 1.14.14 & 1.14.19
- 13.4. And as he sowed, some seedes fel by the way side, and the foules came and deuoured them vp. 3.22.10.

- And some fell vpon stonie ground where they had not much earth, & anon they sprong vp, because they had no depth of earth. 4.17.33
7. And some fell among thornes, & the thornes sprong vp, & choked them: by the same way 4.17.33
9. Hee that hath eares to heare, let him heare. 3.23.13
11. Because it is giuen vnto you, to knowe the secretes of the kingdome of heauen, but to them it is not giuen. 13.35. & 3.24.13
16. But blessed are your eyes, for they see: & your eares, for they heare, 9.1
17. For verily I say vnto you, that many prophetes and righteous men haue desired to see those things which yee see, & haue not seene them, &c. 2.11.6
24. The kingdome of heauen is like vnto a man, which soweth good seede in his feelde. 4.1.13
29. But he said, nay: least while ye go about to gather the eares, ye pluck vp also with them the wheate. 4.12.11
31. The kingdome of heauen is like vnto a grain of mustardseed, which a man taketh & soweth in his feelde 4.19.34
33. An other parable spake he vnto them, saying: the kingdom of heauen is like vnto leauen, which a woman taketh & hideth in three pecks of meale, till it bee all leauened. 4.19.34
39. And the enimie which soweth them, is the diuel, &c. 1.14.15
47. The kingdome of heauen is like vnto a net, that was cast into y^e sea, and gathered of all kinde. 4.1.13. & 4.16.31
- 48.25. And in the fourth watch of the night, Iesus went vnto them, walking on the sea. 4.17.29
- 15.3. Why do ye also transgresse the commaundement of God by your tradition? 4.10.10
4. For God hath commanded, saying, Honour thy father and mother, and he that curseth father & mother, let him die the death. 2.8.36
8. This people draweth neere vnto mee with their mouth, and honoureth mee with their lippes, but their heart is farre off from mee. 3.20.31
9. But in vaing they worship mee, teaching for doctrines, mens precepts. 4.10.15. & 4.10.23
13. Every plant which mine heauenly father hath not planted, shal be rooted vp. 2.3.9. & 3.2.12. & 3.23.1. & 3.24.6
14. Let them alone: they be y^e blinde leaders of the blind, & if the blinde lead the blind, both shall fall in the ditch. 3.19.11. & 4.9.12
24. I am not sent, but vnto the lost sheepe of y^e house of Israel. 2.11.12
- 16.6. Take heede and beware of the leauen of the Pharisees, & Saduces 4.10.25
12. Then vnderstood they that he had not said that they should beware of the leauen of bread, but of the doctrine of the Pharisees, & Saduces. 4.10.26
16. Thou art Christ the sonne of the liuing God. 4.6.6
17. Blessed art thou Simon the sonne of Ionas, for flesh & blood hath not reuealed 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 Peter, & vpon this rocke I will build my church. 4.6.3. & 4.6.5
19. And I wil giue vnto thee y^e keyes of the kingdome of heauen: & what soeuer thou shalt binde vpon earth, shal be

- shalbe bound in heauen: & whatsoeuer thou shalt loose on the earth shalbe 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 mee, Satan: thou art an offence vnto mee, &c. 4.7.28
24. If any man will follow mee, let him forsake himselfe, and take vp his crosse, and followe mee. 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 hee 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, & his clothes were as white as the light. 4.17.17
5. While hee yet spake, beholde, a bright cloude shadowed them: and beholde, there came a voyce out of the cloude, saying: this is my welbeloued sonne in whome I am wellpleased, 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 beholde 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 trespasse against thee, go, and tell him his fault betwene thee and him alone: if hee heare thee, thou hast wonne thy brother. 4.12.3
17. And if hee will not vouchsafe to heare them, tel it vnto the church: and if he refuse to heare y church also let him be vnto thee as an heathen man, and as a publicane. 4.8. 15. & 4.11.2. & 4.12.3
18. Verily I say vnto you, whatsoeuer ye bind on earth, shalbe bounde in heauen: and whatsoeuer ye lose on earth shalbe 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 shalbe 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. I say not to thee, vnto seue times: but vnto seuentie times seue times. 4.12.3
29. And his fellow there fore fel down and besought him, saying, haue patience with me, and I wil pay thee all. 4.12.3
- 19.6. Wherefore they are no more twaine, but one fleshe: 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 born 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 kingdom of heauen, &c. 2.8.42
13. Then were brought vnto him litle children, that hee shoulde put his hande vpon them, and praye: and the disciples rebuked them. 4.16.7
14. Suffer litle children to come vnto me, and forbid them not for of such is the kingdom of heauen. 4.16.7 & 4.16.17. & 4.16.26
15. And when he had put his hands

- on the, he departed thence. 4.3.16
17. There is none good but one, euen God: but if thou wilt enter into life, keepe the commaundments. 4.11.8
18. Thou shalt not kill: thou shalt not commit adulterie: thou shalt not steale, &c. 2.8.35, 36.37, 38, 39, &c. to the ende of the chapter. 4.11.8
19. Honour thy father and thy mother, &c. 2.8.12, 35
21. If thou wilt bee perfect, go, sell that thou hast, & giue to the poore, & 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 sau'd? 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 Iesus said vnto them, verily I say 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 his houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my names sake, he shall receiue an hundred folde more, and shall inherite life euermolasting. 3.25.10
- 30.1. For the kingdome of heauen is like vnto a certaine housholder, which went out at the dawning of the day, to hier labourers into his vineyard. 3.18.3
25. Ye knowe, that the lordes of the Gentiles haue dominatio ouer the, and they that are great, exercise authoritie ouer them, 4.11.8
26. But it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will bee great among you, let him be your seruât. 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 raunsome of many. 2.16.5
- 21.9. Moreouer, the people that went before, and they also that followed cryed, saying: Hosanna the sonne of Dauid: blessed be hee that cometh in the name of the Lorde, &c. 2.6.4
22. Whatsoeuer yee shall aske in prayer: if ye beleue, ye shall receiue it. 3.20.12
25. The baptisme of Iohn whence was it? frõ heauen, or of men? then they reasoned among themselues saying, if we shall say from heauen, he wil say vnto vs, why did ye not then beleeue him? 4.19.5
31. Whether of them twaine did the will of the father? they saide vnto him, the first. Iesus saide vnto them, verily I say vnto you, that y Publicans 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, and hast not on a wedding garment? 4.17.45
13. Bind him hand & foote, take him away, and cast him into vter darkness: there shall be weeping & gnashing of teeth. 3.25.12
14. For many are called, but fewe are choosen. 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

- neither marry 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 Iacob: God is not the God of y 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 minde. 2. 8. 11. & 2. 8. 51. & 3. 3. 11
- 39 And the seconde is like vnto this, thou shalt loue thy neighbor as thy selfe. 2. 8. 11
23. 4 For they binde heauie burdens, and greuous to be borne, and laye them on mens shoulders, but they theselues will not moue them with one of their fingers. 4. 10. 1. & 4 10 26
- 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 not 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 lawe, as iudgement, and mercy, 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, and of the platter, but within they are full of bribery and exceffe. 3. 4. 36
- 37 Ierusalem, Ierusalem, which killest the prophets, & stonest them which are sent to thee, howe often would I haue gathered thy children together, &c. 3. 24. 16
24. 11. And many false Prophets shall arise and shall deceiue manie. 4. 9. 4
- 14 And this Gospel of the kingdom shall be preched through the whole worlde, for a witnesse vnto all nations: and then shall the ende come. 3. 4. 4
- 24 For there shall arise false Christes, and false Prophetes, and shall thew greate signes and wonders: so that if it were possible, they shoulde deceiue the very elect. 4. 9. 4
- 30 And then shall appeare the signe of the sonne of man in heauen, and then shall all the kindredes of the earth mourne, and they shall see the sonne of man come in the cloudes of heauen with power and greate glory. 2. 16 17
- 36 But of that day and houre knoweth no man, no not the Angelles of heauen, but my father onely. 1 14. 9
- 45 Who then is a faithfull seruaunt, and wise, whome his maister hath made ruler ouer his housholde, to giue them meate in season? 4. 16 31
25. 3 The foolish tooke their lampes, but tooke no oyle with them. 3. 5. 7
- 21 Then his maister said vnto him, it is well done good seruaunt and faithfull: thou hast bene faithfull in litle, I will make thee ruler ouer much: enter into thy maisters ioy. 2 3. 11
- 23 It is well done good seruaunt and faithfull, thou hast bene faithfull in litle, &c. 2. 3. 11
- 29 For vnto euery man that hath, it shall be giuen, and hee shall haue abundance: and from him that hath not, euen that he hath, shall be taken away. 2. 3. 11. & 3. 15. 4
- 31 And when the sonne of man cometh in his glorie, and all the holy Angels with him, then shall he sitte vpon the throne of his glorie. 2. 16

- 17
 32 And before him shall be gathered all nations, & he shall separate one from another, as a shepheard separateth the sheep from the goats. 2.16.17. & 3.25.9
- 34 Come ye blessed of my father, inherit ye kingdom 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, & ye gaue me drinke, &c. 3.18.1
- 40 Verilie 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 euerlasting 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 euerlasting paine, and the righteous into life eternall. 3.25.5
- 26.10 Why trouble yee the woman? for she hath wrought a good worke vpon me. 3.25.8
- 11 For yee haue the poore alwayes with you, but me shall ye not haue with you alwayes. 4.3.1. & 4.17.26. & 4.17.28
- 12 For in that she powred this oyntment vpon my body, shee did it to bury me. 3.25.8
- 15 And he sayd to them, what will ye giue mee, and I will deliuer him vnto you? and they appointed vnto him thyrty peeces of siluer. 4.18. 14
- 26 And as they did eate, Iesus tooke the bread: and when he had giuen thanks hee brake it, and gaue it to the disciples, and sayde, take, eate: this is my body. 4.14.20. and 4.16.30 and 4.17.1. and 4.17.20. and 4.19 23
- 27 Also he toke the cup, and when he had giuen thanks, he gaue it to the, saying, drinke ye all of it. 4.9.14
- 38 Then said Iesus vnto the my soule is very heauy euen vnto the death: tary ye here, and watch with me. 2. 16.12. & 3.8.9
- 39 So he went a litle further, and fell on his face, & praied, saying: O my Father, if it be possible let this cup passe from me, neuertheles not as I will, but as thou wilt. 2.16.12
- 53 Thinkest thou that I can not now pray to my Father, and he will giue me more then twelue legions of Angels? 1.14.8
- 74 Then began hee to curse himselfe and to sweare, saying, I knowe not the man. 4.1.26
- 75 Then Peter remembered the words of Iesus, which saide vnto him, Before the cocke crowe thou shalt deny me thrise. So hee went out, and wept bitterly. 3.3.4
- 27.4 I haue sinned betraying the innocent blood, but they sayde, what is that to vs? see thou to it. 3.3.4
- 12 And when he was accused of the chiefe Priests and Elders, he answered nothing. 2.16.5
- 14 But he answered him not to one word, in so much that the gouernor marueiled greatly. 2.16.5
- 23 Then said the gouernour, but what euill hath he done? then they cried the more, saying, let him be crucified. 2.16.5
- 24 When Pilate sawe that he auailed nothing, but that more tumult was made, he tooke water and washed his handes 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 cryed with a loude voyce, saying, Eli, Eli, Lamasabaethani? that is, my

my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? 2.16.11

50. Then Iesus cried againe with a loude voice, and yelded vp y^e ghost. 4.19.23

52. And the graues did open themselves, and many bodies of y^e saintes which slept, arose, 2.10.23. and 3. 25.7

53. And came out of the graues after his resurrection, and went into the holy citie, and appeared to manie. 2.10.23

66. And they went and made the sepulchre sure with the watch & sealed the stone. 3.25.3

28.5. But the Angell answered, and saide to the women, feare yee 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 he is risen from the dead, &c. 1.14.6.

11. Nowe when they were gone, beholde, some of the watch came into the citie, and shewed vnto the hie priestes all the things that were done. 3.25.3

12. And they gathered themselves together wth the Elders, and tooke couⁿsell, & gaue large monie 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 mee in heauen and in earth. 3.15.5

19. Go therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and 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 alwayes, vntill the end of the world. 2.13.14. & 4.3.8. & 4.8.11. & 4.17.26. & 4.17.28. and 4. 17.30

M A R K E.

1 THE beginning of the Gospel of Iesus Christ the sonne of God. 7. 9.2

4. Iohn did baptise in the wildernes, and preached the baptisme of amendment of life for remission of sinnes. 3.3.19. & 4.19.17

15. And saying the time is fulfilled, & the kingdom of God is at hand, repent & beleue the gospell. 3.3.19

3.15. And that they might haue power to heale sickneses, and to cast out deuils. 1.13.13

28. Verily, I say vnto you, all sins shall bee forgiven vnto the children of men, and blasphemics, wherewith they blasphemie. 3.5.7

29. But he that blasphemeth against the holy Ghost, shall neuer bee forgiven, but is culpable of eternal damnation. 1.13.15. & 3.3.22

6.7. And gaue them power ouer vncleane spirites. 1.13.13

13. And they cast out many deuils, & they annointed many that were sick with oyle, and healed them. 4.19.18 & 4.19.21

7.33. Then he tooke him aside from y^e multitude, & put his fingers in his eares, and did spit, and touched his tongue. 4.19.23

8.38. For whosoeuer shall be ashamed of mee, and of my wordes among this adulterous and sinfull generation, of him shall the sonne of man be ashamed also, &c. 4.1.26

9.24. Lord, I beleue: helpe my vnbeleefe. 4.14.7

43. To go into hel, into the fire that neuer shall be quenched. 3.25.12

44. Where their worme dieth not, & 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 shal receiue a hundred fold nowe at this present :troues, and brethren, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and landes with persecutions:and in the world to come eternall life. 3.18.3

11.24. Whatsoeuer ye desire when ye pray, beleue that ye shalt haue it and it shalbe done vnto you. 3.20.11

12.18. Then came the Sadduces vnto him (which say, that there is no resurrection) and they asked him, saying. 3.25.5

13.32. But of that day & houre knoweth no man, no, not the Angels which are in heauen, neither the sonne himselte, saue onely the Father. 2.14.2

14.22. And as they did eat, Iesus toke the breade, and when he had giuen thanks, hee brake it and gaue it to them, and saide, take, eate: this my body. 4.17.1. & 4.17.20

33. And he tooke with him Peter, and Iames, and Iohn, & he began to bee afraide, and in great heaumeffe. 3. 8.9

34. And saide vnto them, my soule is verie heaueie, euen vnto death: tary 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 whome hee had cast seuen deuils. 1.14.14

15. Goe yee into all the worlde, and preach the Gospell to euery creature. 4.3.4. & 4.3.12. & 4. 16. 27. & 4. 19.28

16. He that shal beleue and be baptised, shall bee saued. 4.15. 1. & 4. 16.27

19. So after the Lord had spoken vnto them, he was receiued into heauen and sat at the righthand of God. 2. 14.3. & 4.17.27

1.6. **B**Oth were iustified before God and walked in all the commandementes and ordinances of the lorde, without reproofe, 3.17.7

15. And hee shall bee filled with the holy ghost, euen from his mothers wombe. 4.16.17

17. For hee shall goe before him in the spirite and power of Elias: to turne the heartes 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. Hee shall be great, and shall bee called the sonne of the most high, & 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 kingdom shall bee none ende. 2.14.3. & 2.15.3

34. Then saide Marie vnto the Angel, how shall this be, seeing I know no man? 4.17.25

35. And the Angel answered, & saide vnto her, the holy Ghost shal come vpon thee, and the power of y most high shall ouershadou thee: therefore also, that holy thing which shal 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

34. Hee hath vpholden Israell his seruant, being mindful of his mercie. 2.10.4

72. That he would shew mercie towards our fathers, and remember his holy couenant. 2.10.4

73. And

- 73 And the oth which hee sware to our father Abraham. 2.10.4
- 74 That we beeing 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 sitte in darkenesse, and in the shadowe 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 Citie of Dauid a Sauiour, which is Christ the Lorde. 2.15.5
- 13 And streight way there was with the Angell a multitude of heauenly soldiers, praying God, &c. 1.14.5
- 37 And shee was a widowe about fourescore and fowre yeares, and went not out of the temple, & serued God with fastings, and prayers, night and day. 4.12.16
52. And Iesus increased in wisdom, and stature, and in fauor with God and men. 2.14.2
- 3.3. And he came into al the coastes about Iordan, preaching the baptisme of repentance for the remission of sinnes. 3.3.19. & 4.15.7. & 4.19.17.
8. Bring forth therefore fruites worthy amendement 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 wee doe: and he saide vnto them, do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely, and be content with your wages. 14.20.12
- 16 Iohn answered, and sayd to them al, in deed I baptize you with water, but one stronger then I, commeth, whose shooes latchet I am not worthy to vnloose: he will baptize 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 shap like a Dove, vpon him, and there was a voyce from heauē, saying, thou art my beloued sonne: in thee I am well pleased. 4.17.21
- 23 And Iesus himselve began to be about thirtiē yeares of age, being as men supposed the sonne of Ioseph, which was the sonne of Elic. 4.25.27
- 38 Which was the sonne of Enos, whiche was the sonne 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 hee founde the place where it was written. 4.19.23
- 18 The spirite of the Lord is vpon me 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 & 3.20. & 3.4.3
- 5.13 And touched him, saying, I will, be thou clean. And immediatly the leprosie departed from him.
- 14 And he commanded him that he shoulde tell it to no man: but goe, saith he, and shewe thy selfe to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing, as Moses hath commanded, for a witness vnto them. 3.4.4
- 34 Can ye make the children of the wedding chamber faste, as long as the bridegrome is with them? 4.12.17
- 6.13 And when it was day, he called his disciples, and of them he chose twelve

- 22 **conclude**, which also hee called Apo-
 stles. 4.3.5
 23 Reioyce ye in that day, and be glad:
 for behold, your reward is great in
 heauen, &c. 3.18.1
 24 But woe be to you that are riche,
 for you haue receiued your consol-
 ation. 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 baptised with the baptisme of
 Iohn. 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 woulde eate with him:
 and hee went into the Pharisees
 house, and sat downe at the table. 3.
 4.37
 47 Wherefore I say vnto thee, many
 sinnes are forgiven her: for she lo-
 ued much. To whom a litle is forgi-
 uen, he doth loue a litle. 3.4.31
 8.2 And certaine women, which were
 healed of euill spirites, and infirmi-
 ties, as Marie whiche was called
 Magdalene, out of whome went se-
 uen deuils. 1.14.14
 7 And some fell among thornes, and
 the thornes sprung vp with it, and
 choked 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 rootes, which for a while
 beleue, but in the time of tentation
 go away. 3.2.10
 15 But that which sel on good ground,
 are they which with an honest, and
 good hart heare the worde, & keepe
 it, & bring forth fruit with pacience
 4.14.11
 9.23 If any man will come after me, let
 him deny himselfe, and take vp his
 crosse daily and followe me. 3.15.8
 26 For: whosoever shall be ashamed
 of me, and of my words, of him shall
 the sonne of man be ashamed when
 he shall come in his glory, & in the
 glorie of the father, and of the holy
 Angels. 1.14.9
 55 But Iesus turned about, and rebu-
 ked them, and sayd, ye know not of
 what spirite ye are. 3.20.15
 10.1 After these things the Lord ap-
 pointed other 70. also, & sent them
 two and 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 sawe Sathan, like lightening, fall
 downe from heauen. 1.14.18
 20 Neuerthelesse, in this reioyce
 not, that the spirites are subdued
 vnto you: but rather reioice, because
 your names are written in heauen.
 3.24.9
 21. The same houre reioyced Iesus in
 the spirite and sayd, I confesse vn-
 to thee father, Lorde of heauen
 and earth, that thou hast hid these
 things from the wise and learned,
 and hast reuealed them to babes, e-
 uen so, father, because it so pleased
 thee. 3.2.34
 22 All things are giuen me of my fa-
 ther: & no man knoweth who the
 sonne is, but the father: neither who
 the father is, saue the sonne: and he
 to whom the son will reueale him. 3
 2.1. & 4.18.20
 23 Blessed are the eyes, 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, and haue not
 seene them, &c. 2.9.1. & 2.11.6
 25 Maister, what shall I do, to enhe-
 rite

- rite eternall 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 neighbour as thy selfe. 2.8.11
30. And a certaine man went downe from Ierusalem to Iericho, and fel among theeues. 1.5.19
- 36 Which nowe of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour to him? fell among the theeues? 2.8.55
- 11.2. And he saide vnto them, when ye pray, say, Our father which arte in heauen, 3.20.6. & 3.20.34
- 3 Our dayly breade 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 cometh vpon him, & ouercommeth him, he taketh from him, all his armour wherein he trusted, and deuideth his spoiles. 1.14.18
39. And the lord saide vnto him, in deed ye Pharisees make cleane the outside of the cup, & of the platter, but the inwarde parte is full of rauening and wickednesse. 3.4.36
- 12.5. Feare him which after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell, &c. 1.15.2
10. And whosoeuer shall speake a worde against the sonne of man, it shall be forgien him: but vnto him that shal blaspheme the holy ghost, it shall neuer be forgien. 1.13.15. & 3.3.21, 22. & 3.5.7
24. Man, who made me a iudge, or a deuider ouer you? 4.11.9. & 4.11.11
- 14.21. Goe out quickly into the places and streetes of the Citie, and bring in hither the poore, & the inaimed, and the halt, and the blinde, 4.16.
- 15.7. I say vnto you, that likewise ioye shall be in heauen for one sinner y conuerteth, more than for nintie & nine iust men, which neede no amendment of life. 1.14.7.
20. And when he was yet a great way off, his father sawe him, and had compassion, and ran & 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? gine an accompt of thy stewardship, for thou maist be no longer steward. 3.10.5
9. And I say vnto you, make you freeds with the riches of iniquitie, y when you shall want, they may receiue you into euerlasting habitations. 3.18.6
15. Yee are they which iustifie your selues before men but God knoweth your harts, &c. 3.11.3. & 3.12.2
16. The lawe and the prophets endured vntill Iohn, & since that time the kingdome of God is preached, and euery man presseth into it, 2.7. 16.
22. And it was so, that the begger died, and was caried by the Angels into Abrahams bosome, &c. 1.14.7. & 1.15.2. & 3.25.6
- 17.3. If thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him: and if hee repent, forgie him. 3.7.6
4. And the Apostles saide vnto the Lorde, increase our faith. 4.14.7
7. Who is it also of you, that hauing a seruant plowing or feeding cattel, would say vnto him by and by, whē he were come from the field, &c. 3.14.5
10. So likewise yee, when yee haue done all these things which are commanded you, say, we are vnprofitable seruants, we haue done y which was our due to doe. 3.14.14. and 3.15.0.

- 3.15.3
 14. And when he saw them, he said vnto them, goe, shew your selues to the Priestes. And it came to passe, that as they went, they were cleansed. 3.4.4
 20. And when hee was demanded of the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God should come, he answered them and said: the kingdom of god commeth not with obseruation. 2.15.4
 18.1. And he spake also a parable vnto them to this ende, y they ought alwayes to pray, and not to waxe faint. 3.20.7
 13. But the publicane standing a far off, would not lift vp so much as his eyes to heauen, but smote his brest, saying: O God, be mercifull to mee a sinner. 3.4.18. & 3.12.7
 14. I tell you, this man departed to his house iustified, rather than the other: for euerie man that exalteth himselfe, shall be brought low, & he that humbleth himselfe, shall be exalted. 3.4.35. & 3.11.3
 42. And Iesus said vnto him: receiue thy sight, thy faith hath sau'd thee. 4.19.12
 19.17. And hee saide vnto him, well, good seruant because thou hast bin faithfull in a very little thing, take thou authoritie ouer ten cities. 2.3.11. & 3.15.4
 26. Vnto all them that haue, it shall be giuen, & from him that hath not euen that he hath shall be taken fro him. 2.3.11. & 3.15.4
 20.27. Then came to him certaine of the Sadducees, which denie that there is any resurrection, &c. 2.10.23. & 3.25.5
 37. And that the dead shall rise again, euen Moses shewed it besides the bush, when he said, the Lorde is the God of Abraham, and the God of I-
 saac, and the God of Iacob. 2.10.9
 38. For he is not the God of y dead, but of them which liue. 4.16.3
 21.15. For I will giue you a mouth & wisdom, where against, all your aduersaries shal not be able to speak or resist. 4.3.12
 28. And when these things begin to come to passe, then looke vp, & lift vp your heades, for your redemption draweth neere. 3.9.5
 22.17. And hee tooke the cup, & gaue thanks, and said, 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, he brake it, and gaue to them, saying, this is my bodie, 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 hee tooke the cup, saying, this cup is the new Testament in my bloode, which is shed for you. 2.11.4. & 2.17.4 & 4.17.6, 20
 25. The kings of the Gentiles reigne ouer them, & they that beare rule ouer the, are called gracious lords. 4.11.8.9. & 4.20.7
 26. But ye shall not be so: but let the greatest among you, be as the least: and the chiefest, as he that serueth 4.11.8
 32. But I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith faile not, &c. 3.24.6. & 4.7.27, 28
 43. And there appeared an Angel vnto him from heauen, comtorting him. 1.14.6. & 2.16.12
 44. And his sweat was like droppes of bloode, trickling downe to the ground. 2.16.12. & 3.8.9
 61. Then the Lord turned backe, & looked vpon Peter: and Peter remembered the worde of the Lord, howe hee had saide vnto him, Before

- fore the cocke crowe, thou shalt denie me thrise. 3.4.35
62. And Peter went forth, & wept bitterly. 3.3.4
- 23.42. And he saide vnto Iesus, Lord remember mee, when thou comest into thy kingdome. 3.24.1.& 4.16.31
43. Then Iesus said vnto him, verily I say vnto thee, to day shalt thou be with mee in Paradise. 3.25.6
46. And Iesus cried with a loud voice, and saide, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit, &c. 1.15.2.& 3.25.6
- 24.5. They said vnto them, why seecke ye him that liueth amōg the dead? 1.14.6
6. He is not here, but is risen: remember howe he spake vnto you, when he was yet in Galilee. 3.25.3
11. But their words seemed vnto the afaigned thing, neither beleueed they them. 3.2.4
12. Then arose Peter, & ranne vnto the sepulchre, and looked in, and sawe the linen clothes laid by themselves: and departed wondering in himselfe at that which was come to passe. 3.2.4
16. But their eyes were holden, that they coulede not knowe him. 4. 17 29
26. Ought not Christ to haue suffered these things, & to enter into his glory? 2.17.6 & 3.18.7. & 4.17.32
27. And he began at Moses, and at all the Prophets, & interpreted vnto the in all the scriptures y^e 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 & my secte: for it is my selfe. handle me and see: for a spirite hath not flesh & bones, as ye 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, & in the Prophets, & in y^e Psalmes. 3.5.8
45. Then opened he their vnderstanding, that they might vnderstande the Scriptures. 3.2.34
46. Thus it is written, & thus it behoued Christ to suffer, and to rise again from the dead the third day. 2.12.4. & 3.3.19
47. And that repentance, & remission of sinnes should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Ierusalem. 2.12.4. & 3.3.1. & 3.3.19
49. But tary ye in the citie of Ierusalem, vntill yee be endued with power from on hie. 4.3.12
51. And it came to passe, that as he blessed them, hee departed from them, and was caried vp into heauen. 4.17.27

IOHN.

- 1.1. **I**N the beginning was the word, & the word was with God, & that 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 men. 1.13.13 & 1.15.4. & 2. 2.19. & 2.6.1. & 4.17.8
5. And the light shineth in the darknes, & the darknes comprehended it not. 2.2.12
9. That was the true light which lighteneth euery man that cometh into the world. 2.12.4
10. Hee was in the worlde, and the worlde was made by him, and the world knewe him not. 2.12.4
12. But as many as receiue him, to them he gaue power to be y^e sonnes of God, cuen 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 blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. 2.2.19. & 2.13.2. & 3.1.4
14. And the worde was made flesh, and dwelt among vs, & we saw the glorie thereof, as the glorie of the only begotten sonne of the father, ful of grace & truth. 1.13.11. & 2.12.4. & 2.14.1. & 2.14.8
16. And of his fulnesse have all wee receiued, and grace for grace. 2.13.1. & 2.15.5. & 3.11.9. & 3.20.1
17. For the law 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, he 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 wildernes, make straight the way of the Lorde, as said the Prophet Esaias. 2.9.5
29. Behold the lamb of God, which taketh away the sinnes of the world. 2.14.3. & 2.16.5. & 2.17.4. & 3.4.26 & 4.15.7
32. So Iohn bare witness, saying, I sawe the spirite come downe from heauen like a doue, and it abode vpon him. 2.15.5. & 4.19.20
33. And I knewe him not: but he that sent me to baptise with water, hee said vnto mee, vpon whome thou shalt see the spirite come downe, & tarrye still on him, that is he which baptiseth with the holy Ghost. 2.15.5
36. Beholde the Lambe of God. 2.9.5
40. Andrewe, Simon Peters brother, was one of the two which had hard it of Iohn, and that followed him. 4.6.5
42. And hee brought him to Iesus, &c. 4.6.5
51. Hereafter shall ye see heauen open, & the angels of god ascending and descending vpon the sonne of man. 1.14.12. & 2.9.2
- 2.2. And Iesus was called also, and his disciples vnto the marriage. 4.13.3
9. Nowe when the gouernour of the feast had tasted the water that was made wine, &c. 4.13.3
15. Then he made a scourge of small cordes, and draue them all out of the temple, with the sheepe and oxen, and poured out the changers money, and ouerthrew the tables. 4.19.23
19. Iesus answered and saide vnto the, destroy this temple, and in three dayes 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. Nowe when hee was at Ierusalem, at the passeouer in the feast, many beleued in his name, when they sawe his miracles which hee did. 4.2.5
24. But Iesus did not commit himselfe vnto them, because hee knewe them all. 3.2.12
33. Verily, verily, I say vnto thee, except a man be borne againe, hee can not see the kingdome of God. 2.3.1 & 4.16.17
5. Except that a man be borne of water and of the spirite, hee 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 spirit, is spirit. 2.1.6. & 2.3.1
13. For no man ascendeth vp to heauen, but hee that hath descended from heauen, euen the sonne of man which is in heaue. 2.14.2. & 4.17.30
14. And

14. And as Moses lifted vp the serpent in the wildernes, so must the sonne of man be lift vp. 2.12.4.&4 18.20
16. For God so loued the world, that he gaue his onely begotten sonne, that whosoever beleueeth in him, shoulde not perishe, but haue life euerlasting. 2.12.4.&2.16.4.&2.17.2. & 3.14.17. & 3.24.5. & 3.24.7
23. And Iohn also baptised in Enow 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 word of God: for God giueth him not the spirite by measure. 2.15.1.&2.15.5
36. He that beleueeth in the sonne, hath euerlasting life: and he that obeyeth not the sonne, shal not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him. 4.16.31
- 4.1. Now when the Lord knew, that the Pharisees had heard, that Iesus made and baptised more disciples than Iohn. 4.15.6
14. But whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall giue him, shal neuer be more a thirst: but the water that I shal giue him, shal be in him a well of water, springing out into euerlasting life. 3.1.3
22. Ye worship that which ye knowe not: wee worship that which wee know: for saluation is of the Iewes. 1.5.12.&1.6.4.&2.6.1
23. But the houre commeth, & now is: when the true worshippers shall worship the father in spirit & 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
35. Behold, I say vnto you, lift vppe your eyes, and looke on the regions, for they are white already vnto haruest. 4.16.31
42. And they said vnto the woman, now we beleuee not because of thy saying: for we haue heard him our selues, & know that this is in deede the Christ, that sauour of the world. 3.2.5
53. Then the father knew that it was the same houre in the which Iesus had saide vnto him, thy son liueth. And he beleued & al his household. 3.2.5
- 5.8. Iesus said vnto him, rise: take vp thy bed, and walke. 4.19.29
17. My father worketh hitherto, and 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 hee had broken the Sabbath: but said also that God was his father, and made himselfe equal with god. 1.13.12
21. For like as the father raiseth vp the dead, and quickeneth them, so the sonne quickeneth whome hee 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 al men should honor the sonne, as they honor 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, & beleueeth in him that sent mee, hath euerlasting life, and shall not come into

- 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 hour shall come, and now is, when the dead shall heare the voice of the sonne of God, & 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 hee giuen to the sonne, to haue life in himselfe. 4.17.9
28. Meruaile not at this for the houre shall come in the which all that are in the graues, shall heare his voice. 3.25.4. & 3.25.7
29. And they shall come forth, that haue done good vnto the resurrection of life: but they that haue done euil, vnto the resurrection of condemnation. 3.18.1
32. There is an other that beareth witness of mee, &c. 1.13.17
35. Hee was a burning, and a shining candell: and ye woulde 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 workes that I doe, beare witness of mee, that the father sent mee. 1.13.13
44. Howe can you beleue, which receiue honour one of an other, and seeke not the honor that commeth of God alone? 3.11.9
46. For had ye beleued Moses; ye would haue beleued mee: for hee wrote of me. 2.9.1
- 6.27. Labor not for the meate which perisheth, but for the meate which endureth vnto cuerlasting life, which the sonne of man shall giue vnto you, &c. 3.15.1. & 4.14.25
29. This is the worke of God, that ye beleue in him whom he hath sent 3.19.10
35. I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall not hunger, & he that beleueth in mee, shall neuer thirst. 3.24.5. & 4.17.4
37. All that the father giueth mee, shall come to me, and him which cometh 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 should loose nothing, but should raise it vp againe at the last day. 3.22.7. & 3.22.10. & 3.24.6. & 3.24.7. & 3.25.8
40. And this is the will of him that sent mee, that euery man which seeth the sonne, & beleueth in him, should haue cuerlasting life, &c. 3.22.10. & 3.24.6
44. No man can come to me, except the father which sent mee drawe him & I wil 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 be all taught of God. Euery man therefore that hath heard, and hath learned of the father cometh 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 he which is of God, he hath scene the father. 3.2.34. & 3.22.10. & 3.24.1
47. He that beleueth in me, hath cuerlasting life. 1.13.13
48. I am the bread of life. 3.11.9. & 4.17.4. & 4.17.8
49. Your fathers did eat Manna in the wilderness, and are dead. 2.10.6
50. This is the bread which cometh downe from heauen, that he which.

- which eateth of it, should not die. 2.10.6.& 4.17.34
51. I am the living breade, which came downe from heauen : if any man eat of this bread, hee 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, verily I say vnto you, except ye eate the flesh of the sonne of man, & drinke his blood, ye haue no life in you. 3.11.9.& 4.17.6
54. Whoso euer eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternall life, and I wil raise him vp at y last day. 3.11.9 & 4.17.34
55. For my flesh is meat in deede, & my blood is drinke in deede. 2.17.5 & 4.17.8
56. He that eateth my flesh, & drinketh my blood, dwelleth in mee, & I in him. 4.17.33
57. As the liuing father hath sent mee, so liue I by the father, and he 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 vnto him of my father. 3.23.13
70. Haue not I chosen you twelue, & one of you is a diuel? 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. Nowe in the last and great day of the feast, Iesus stode & cryed, saying: if any man thirst, let him come vnto me & drink. 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. 4.17.22
- 8.12. Then spake Iesus againe vnto them, saying, I am the light of the world: he that followeth mee, shall not walke in darknes but shall haue the light of life. 2.14.3. & 3.2.1. & 3.11.12. & 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 trewe: and the thinges that I haue heard of him, those speake I to the worlde. 2.8.26
30. As he spake these thinges, many beleued in him. 3.2.5
31. Then saide Iesus to the Iewes which beleued in him: if ye continue in my worde, ye are verily my disciples. 3.2.12
34. Verily, verily, I say vnto you, that whoso euer committeth sinne, is y seruant of sinne. 2.2.27
44. Ye are of your father the diuel, &c. 1.14.15. he hath bin a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the trueth, because there is no truth in him: when he speaketh a lie, then speaketh he of his own: for he is a liar, & the father thereof. 1.14.16. & 1.14.18. & 1.14.19
47. He that is of God, heareth gods words: ye therefore heare them not because ye are not of God. 4.24
50. And I seeke not mine owne praise but there is one that seeketh it, & iudgeth. 2.14.2
56. Your father Abraham reioyced to see my day: and he saw it, and was gladd. 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 works of God shoulde be shewed on him. 1.17.1.
5. As long as I am in the worlde, I am the light of the worlde. 2.14.3
6. As soone as he had thus spokē, he

1. Ipat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and annoynted the eyes of the blinde with the clay. 4. 19.18
 7. And said vnto him, go wash thee in the poole of Siloam (which is by interpretation, sent) hee went his way therefore, and washed, & came againe seeing. 4.19.19
 24. And said vnto him: giue glory vnto God, &c. 2.8.24
 31. Nowe we knowe that God heareth not sinners: but if any man be a worshipper of God, and doth his will, him heareth he. 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 he hath sent foorth his owne sheepe, hee goeth before them and the sheepe followe him: for they knowe his voice. 3.22.10. & 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 saide Iesus vnto them againe, verily, verily I say vnto you, I am the doore of the sheepe. 4. 19.23
 9. I am the doore: by me if any man enter in, he shalbe saued, and shal goe in and goe out, and finde pasture. 2.14.3
 11. I am the good sheepeheard, the good shepheard giueth his life for his sheepe. 2.14.3. & 4.19.14
 14. I am the good shepheard, and knowe mine, &c. 4.2.4.
 15. As the father knoweth mee, so know I the father, and I lay downe my life for my sheepe. 2.16.5.
 26. Other sheep I haue also, which are not of this fold: e: them also must I bring, &c. 3.24.6.
 17. Therefore doeth my father loue me, because I lay downe my life, y I might take it againe. 2.12.4.
 18. No man taketh it from me, but I lay it downe of my selfe: I haue power to lay it downe, and I haue power to take it againe: this comendement haue I receiued of my father. 2.12.4. & 2.16.5
 26. But ye belecue not: for ye are not of my sheepe, &c. 3.22.10
 27. My sheepe heare my voice, and I know them, &c. 3.24.6
 28. And I giue vnto them eternal life and they shall neuer perish, neither shall any plucke them out of my hand. 3.15.5. & 3.21.1. & 3.22.7 & 3.24.6
 29. My father which gaue them me is greater 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 lawe, I said, ye are Gods? 4.26.31
 35. If hee called them Gods, vnto whom the worde of God was giuen, and the Scripture cannot be broken. 4.20.4
 37. If I do not the works of my father belecue me not. 1.13.13
 11.25. I am the resurrection, and the life: hee that beleueth in mee, though he were dead, yet shall hee liue. 1.13.13. & 2.12.4. & 3.25.9. & 4.16.17
 41. Father, I thank thee, because thou hast heard me. 1.13.13
 43. As he had spoke these things, he cryed with a loude voice: Lazarus come foorth. 4.19.29
 44. Then he that was deade, came forth bounde hand and foote w bandes, and his face was bcu with a napkin. Iesus saide vnto loose him, & let him go.

- 47 Then gathered the hie priests, and the pharisees a councell, and sayd: what shall we do? &c. 4.9.7
- 12.27 Father, saue me fro this houre: but therfore came I vnto this houre 2.12.4. & 2.16.12
- 28 Father, glorific 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, will drawe all mine vnto me. 3.25.6
- 39 Therefore could they not beleecue because that Esaias saith again. 3.24 13
- 41 These things sayde Esaias, when he sawe his glorie and spake of him 1.13.11. & 1.13.23
- 43 For they loued the praise of men, more than the prayse of God. 3.11 9
- 49 For I haue not spoken of my selfe. & 4.8.13
- 13.4 He riseth from supper, and laieth aside his vpper garments, and toke a towell, and girde him selfe. 4. 19. 23
- 15 For I haue giuen you an example that ye should doe, euen as I haue done to you. 3.16.2
- 18 I speake not of you all: I knowe whom I haue chosē, &c. 3.22.7. & 3 24.9
- 34 A newe commaundement giue I vnto you, that ye loue one an other as I haue loued you, that euen so ye loue one an other. 3.16.2
- 14.1 Yee beleecue in God, beleecue also in mee. 1.13.13. & 2.6.4
- 5 Thomas said vnto him: Lorde wee knowe not whither thou goest: ho can we then knowe the way? 4. 17. 23
- 6 I am the way, and the trueth, and the life, &c. 1.13.17. & 2.6.1. & 3.20.21
- 8 And Philip sayd vnto him: Lorde, shewe vs the father, and it suffiseth vs. 4.17.23
- 10 Belieuest thou not, that I am in the father, and the father in mee? the wordes which I spake vnto you, I spake not of my selfe: but the father that dwelleth in mee, he doeth the workes. 2.14.2. & 4.8.13
- 11 Beleecue me, that I am in the father and the father in me: at the least beleeue me, for the very workes sake. 13.13
- 13 And whatsoeuer yee aske in my name, that wil I do, that the father may be glorified in the sonne. 3.20. 17
- 16 And I will pray the father, and he shall giue you an other comforter, &c. 1.13.17. & 4.8.11
- 17 Euen the spirite of trueth, whome the world can not receiue, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him: but ye know him, for he dwelleth with you, and shalbe in you. 3.1 4. & 3.2.39
- 26 But the comforter, which is the holy Ghost whome the father will sende in my name, hee shall teach you al thinges, and bring all things to your remembrance, which I haue told 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 Here after will I not speake many thinges vnto you: for the prince of this worlde commeth, and he hath nought in me. 1.14.18.
- 15.1 I am the true vine, and my father is an husbandman: euery branche that beareth not fruite in mee, hee taketh away: and euery one that beareth fruite, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more. 2.3.9. & 2. 14 3. & 4.19.34

- 3 Nowe are yee cleane through the word, which I hauespoken vnto you
3.6.3
- 5 I am the vine, ye are the branches: he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without me, &c. 2.2.8. & 2.3.9. & 2.5.4. & 4.19.34
- 10 If ye shall keepe my commaundements ye shall abide in my loue, euen as I haue kept my fathers commaundements and abide in his loue.
3.16.2
- 16 But I haue chosen you, and ordeined you, that ye go and bring forth frute, & that your frute 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 ye are not of the worlde, but I haue choosen you out of the worlde, therefore the worlde hateth you. 3.
22.7
- 26 Euen the spirite of truth, which proceedeth of the father, &c. 1.13.
17
- 16.2 They shal excommunicate you, &c.
4.2.6
- 7 It is expedient for you, that I goe away, &c. 1.13.26. & 2.16.14. & 3.25
3 & 4.17.26
- 11 Of iudgement, because the prince of the world is iudged. 1.14.13
- 12 I haue yet many thinges to say vnto you, but ye cannot beare them away.
3.21.2. & 4.8.14
- 13 When hee is come which is the spirit of truth, he will lead you into all trueth: for he shall not speake of him selfe, but whatsoeuer hee shall heare, that shall he speake, &c. 1.9.1. & 3.2.34. & 4.8.8. & 4.8.13
- 20 Verily, verily, I say vnto you, that yee shall weepe and lament, and the worlde shall reioyce: and yee shall sorrowe, but your sorrow shall be turned to ioye.
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, and came into the world: again, I leaue the worlde, and goe to my father. 4.
17.26
- 17.3 And this is life eternal, that they knowe thee to bee the onely verie God, and whome thou hast sente Iesus Christ. 1.13.26. & 2.6.1. & 3.2.
3
- 5 And nowe glorifie mee, thou father with thine owne selfe, with the glory 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 worlde 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 losste, but the child of perdition, that y Scripture might be fulfilled. 3.22.7. & 3.24.6,7,
9
- 15 I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the worlde: but y thou keepe them from euill. 2.5.11
- 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. & 3.11.12
- 21 That they all may be one, as thou father art in me, and I in thee, euen that they may be also one in vs: that the world may beleue, that thou hast

hast sent mee. 3.2.24.
 18.4 Then Iesus, knowing all things that should come vnto him: went forth, and saide vnto them: whom seeke yee? 2.16.5
 36 Iesus answered: my kingdome is not of this worlde: if my kingdome were of this worlde, my seruantes would surely fight, that I should not be deliuered to the Iewes: but now is my kingdome not from hence. 2. 15.3
 37 Euerie one that is of truth, heareth my voyce. 4.2.4
 38 Pilate said vnto him, what is truth? and when hee had sayde that, hee went out againe vnto the Iewes, & saide vnto them, I find in him no cause at all. 2.16.5
 39.30. Now when Iesus had receiued of the viniger, he said, it is finished, &c. 4.18.3.13.
 34. But one of the souldiers, with a speare, pearced his side, and forthwith came there out bloud and water. 4.14.22.
 36 Not a bone of him shalbe broken. 1.16.9
 30.8 Then went in also the other disciple, which came first to y^e sepulchre, and he sawe it, and beleeued. 3.2.4
 17. Tuch me not: for I am not yet ascended to my father, &c. 2.12.2. & 4 17.29
 39 The same day then at night, which was y^e first day of the weeke, and when the doores weere shutte where the disciples were assembled for feare of the Iewes, came Iesus & stooode in the middes, &c. 4.17.29
 22 And when he had sayd that, hee breathed on them, and sayde vnto them: receiue the holy Ghost. 4. 19.7.29
 23 Whoso euers sinnes ye remit, they are remitted vnto them: and who-

focuers sinnes yee 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 Lord, and my god. 1.13.11
 31. But these things are written, that ye might beleuee, y^e Iesus is Christe the sonne of God, and that in beleueing, yee might haue life, &c. 3. 2.6
 21.15. Simon sonne of Ioanna, louest thou mee more than these? he saide vnto him, yea lord, thou knowest y^e I loue the: he saide vnto him, feede my lambes. 4.6.3. & 4.11.1. & 4.19 28.
 8. When thou wast yong, thou girdedst thy self, and walkedst whither thou wouldst: but when thou shalt be old, &c. 3.8.10

A C T E S.

1.3. **T**O whome also hee presented himselfe aliuie after that he had suffred by many infallible tokens being seene of them by y^e space of fortie dayes, & speaking of those things which appertained to the kingdome of God. 2.16.14. & 3.25.3. & 4.17.17
 5. For Iohn in deede baptised with water, but ye shal bee baptised with the holy Ghost, within these fewe dayes. 4.15.18
 8. Burye shall receiue power of the holy Ghost, when he shall come on you: and ye shall be witnesses vnto me both in Ierusalem, and in Iudaea, 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 behelde, he was taken vp, for a cloud tooke him out of their sight. 2.16.14. & 3. 25. 1. & 4,

- 17.17.&4.17.27. 38. Amende your liues, and be baptised euerie 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.
10. Behold two men stood by them in white apparel. 1.14.6.
11. This Iesus which is taken vp from you into heauen, shall so come, as ye haue seene him go into heauen. 1.14.6 & 2.16.17. & 4.17.24,27.
12. And in those dayes Peter stood vp in the middes of the disciples, & said (now the number of names that were in one place, were about an hundredh and twenty) 4.3.15.
13. And they presented two, Ioseph called Barfabas, whose surname was Iustus, and Matthias. 4.3.13. & 4.3.14.
14. Then they gaue forth their lottes: and the lot fel on Matthias, and he was by a common consent counted with the eleuen Apostles. 4.3.15
15. And there appeared vnto them clouen tongues, like fire, and it sat vpon ech of them. 4.15.8.
16. And they were all filled with the holy Ghost, and beganne to speake with their tongues. 4.19.8.
17. Who so euer shall call on the name of the Lorde, shall be saued. 1.13.20.
18. Him, I say, haue yee taken by the handes of the wicked, being deliuered by the determinate counsell and foreknowledge of God, & haue crucified and slaine: 1.18.1.&3.22.6.
19. Whom God hath raised vp, & loosed the sorrowes of death, bicause it was vnpossible, that he shoulde bee holden of it. 2.16.11.&2.16.12.
20. Since then that hee by the right hand of God hath bene exalted, & hath receiued of his father the promise of the holy Ghoste, hee hath shed forth this which yee nowe see and heare. 2.16.15.
21. Men, and brethren, what shall we doe? 3.3.4.&4.16.23
22. Amende your liues, and be baptised euerie 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.
23. For the promise is made vnto you; and your children, and to all ye are a far off, euen as many as the lorde our God shall call. 4.16.15
24. Then they y gladly receiued his worde, were baptised: and the same day, there were added to y Church about three thousande soules. 4.15.7.&4.17.6
25. And they continued in the Apostles doctrine, and fellowship, and breaking of bread, and prayers. 4.17.5.&4.17.35.&4.17.44
26. Then saide Peter: Siluer & Gold haue I none, but such as I haue, that giue I thee: in y name of Iesus Christ of Nazareth, rise vp and walke. 1.13.13.&4.19.18
27. And yee killed the Lorde of life, whome God hath raised from the dead, whereof we are witnesses, 2.17.1
28. But those things which God before had shewed by the mouth of al his prophets, that Christ should suffer, &c. 1.18.1
29. Amende your liues therefore, and turne, that your sinnes may bee put away, &c. 3.3.20
30. Whome the heauen must containe vntill the time that all things be restored, which God hath spoké by the mouth of all his Prophetes, since the worlde began. 2.16.15.&4.17.29
31. Yee are the children of the prophets, and of the couenant, which God hath made vnto our fathers, &c. 2.10.23.&4.16.15
32. First, vnto you God hath raised vp his sonne Iesus, and him hee hath sent to blesse you, in turning euerie

- every one of you from your iniquities. 3.3.20
- 4.12. Neither is there saluation in any other: for among men there is giuen none other name vnder heauen, whereby wee must be sau'd. 2. 16.1
28. To doe whatsoeuer thine hand and thy counsell had determined before to bee done. 1.18.1. & 1.18. 3.
31. And the multitude of them that beleued, were of one hart & of one soule: &c. 4.1.3
- 5.4. Thou hast not lyed vnto men, but vnto God. 1.13.15
16. There came also a multitude out of the cities rounde about vnto Ierusalem, bringing sicke folkes, and them which were vexed with vn-cleane spirites, who were all healed 4.19.18
29. Wee ought rather to obey God than men. 3.3.19
- 31 Him hath God lift vppe with his right hande, to be a prince and a sauiour, to giue repentance to Israel, and forgiuenesse of sinnes. 3.3.19
41. So they departed from the council, reioycing that they were counted worthie to suffer rebuke for his name. 3.8.7
- 6.1. And in those dayes, as the number of the Disciples grewe, there arose a murmuring of the Grecians towards the Hebrewes, because that their widowes were neglected in the daile ministring. 3.2.6
2. Then the twelue called the multitude of the Disciples together, & saide: It is not meete that we should leaue the word of God to serue the tables. 3. 2. 6. and 4.3. 15. and 4. 11.9
3. Wherefore brethren, looke you out among you seuen me of honest report, &c. 4.3.9
6. And they prayed, and laide their hands on them. 4.3.16
7. And the worde 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 wisdom, and the spirite 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. 2.10.13
28. Wilt thou kill mee, as thou diddest the Egyptian yester day? 4. 20 10
44. Our fathers had the tabernacle of witness in the wildernesse, as he had appointed, speaking vnto Moses, that hee should make it according to the fashion that he had scene. 2.7.1
- 48 The most high dwelleth not in temples made with hands, &c 3.20. 30 & 4.1.5
53. Which haue receiued the law by the ordinance of angels, and haue not kept it. 1.14.9
55. But he being ful of the holy ghost looked stedfastly into heauen, and saw the glorie of God, & Iesus standing at the right hande of God. 3. 25.3. & 4.17. 17. & 4.17.29
- 56: And said: behold, I see y^e heauens open, & 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 saide, Lorde Iesus receiue, &c. 1.13.13. & 1.15.2. & 3. 25.6
- 8.13. Then Simon himselfe beleued also, and was baptised, and continued with Philip, and wondered when hee sawe the signes, &c. 3 2. 10
14. They sent vnto them Peter and Iohn. 4.6.7. & 4.15.3 15. Which

15. Which when they were come downe, prayed for them, that they might receiue the holy Ghost. 4. 19.6
16. For as yet he was come downe on none of them, but they were baptised onely in the name of the Lord Iesus. 4.15.6.& 4.19.8
17. Then laid they their hands on them, and they receiued the holic Ghost. 4.15.8.& 4.19.31
18. And when Simon saw, y^e through laying on of the Apostles hands, the holy Ghost was giuen, hee offered them monie. 3.2.10
22. Repent therefore of this thy wickednesse, and pray God, that if it be possible, the thought of thine harte may be forgiuen thee. 4.1.26
27. And hee arose, and went on: and behold, a certaine Eunuch of Ethiopia, Candafes Queene of the Ethiopians cheife gouernor, who had the rule of all her treasure, & came to Ierusalem to worship. 3.2.32
31. And he saide howe can I, except I had a guide? &c. 3.2.32
37. And Philip said vnto him, if thou beleueest with all thy hearte, 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 hee baptised him. 4.16.22.& 4.16.31
- 9.1. And Saul yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lorde, &c. 3.2.6
3. Now as he journeyed, it came to passe, that as hee was come neere to Damascus, suddenlie their shined rounde about him a light from heauen. 4.17.17.
4. And he fel to the earth, and heard a voice, saying vnto him: Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou mee? 3.25.3.& 4.17.29
6. Arise and goe into the citie, & it shall be tolde thee what thou shalt doe. 4.3.3
10. And there was a certain disciple at Damascus named Ananias; and to him saide the Lorde in a vision, Ananias, and he said, beholde, I am here, Lord. 3.2.6
13. Lord, I haue hearde by many of this man, howe much euill he hath done to thy saintes at Ierusalem. 1.13.13
14. Moreouer here he hath authoritic of the high priestes, to bind all that call on thy name. 1.13.13
15. He is a chosen vessel vnto me, &c. 4.3.5
17. Then Ananias went his way, & entered into the house, and put his hands on him, and saide, brother Saul, the Lorde hath sent me (euen Iesus that appeared vnto thee in y^e way as thou camest) y^e thou mightest receiue thy sight, &c. 4.19. 10
19. So was Saul certaine dayes with the Disciples which were at Damascus. 3.2.6
25. Then the disciples took him by night, & put him through the wall, and let him downe in a basket. 3.2. 6
36. There was also at Ioppa, a certayne woman a Disciple named Tabitha, which by interpretation is called Dorcas. she was ful of good workes and almes which shee did. 3.2.6
38. Nowe forasmuch as Lidda was neere to Ioppa, & the disciples had heard that Peter was there, they sent vnto him two men, &c. 3.2.6
40. But Peter put them al fourth, and kneeled downe, and prayed, &c. 4.19.2
- 10.2. A deuout man, & one that feared God with all his householde which gaue much alms to the people,

- ple, &c. 3.24.10
- 3 He saw in a vision evidently (about the ninth houre of the day) an Angel of God comming in to him, &c 4.3.3
- 15 And it came to passe as Peter came in, that Cornelius mette him, & fell downe at his feete, and worshipped him. 1.12.3
- 31 And sayd, Cornelius thy prayer is heard, & 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 hee that is ordeined of God a iudge of quicke and dead. 2.16.17
- 43 To him also giue all the prophets witnesse, that through his name all that beleue in him shal receiue remission of sinnes. 3.4.25. & 3.5.2
- 44 While Peter yet spak these words, y^e holy Ghost fell on al them which heard the worde. 4.16.31
- 48 So hee commaunded them to be baptised in the name of the Lorde &c. 4.15.15
- 11.3 Thou wentest in to men vncircumcised, & hast eaten with them. 4.6.7
- 4 Then Peter began, & expounded the thing in order to them. 4.6.7
- 16 Then I remembered the worde of the Lorde, how he said Iohn baptised with water, but you shalbe baptised with the holy Ghost. 4.15.18
- 18 When they hearde these thinges, they held their peace, and glorified God, saying: Then hath God also 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 sende succour, &c. 3.2.6
- 12.15 Then sayd they, it is his Angel. 1.14.7
- 13.2 Separate me Barnabas, and Saul, for the worke whereunto I haue called them. 4.3.14.
- 3 Then fasted they, and prayed, and laid their hands on them, & let the go. 4.3.15. & 4.12.14. & 4.12.16
- 36 Howbeit, Dauid after he had serued his time, by the counsell of God hee slept, and was layd with his father, and sawe corruption. 3.20.23
- 38 Be it knowen vnto you therefore, men and brethren, that through this man is preached vnto you the forgiuenes of sinnes. 3.11.3. & 3.11.22
- 39 And from all thinges, from which ye could not be iustified by the law of Moses, by him euerie one that belceueth, 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 hearde it, they were gladd, and glorified the word of the Lorde: and as many as were ordained vnto eternal life, beleued. 3.2.11. & 3.24.2,13
- 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 own wayes. 1.5.13. & 2.11.11.
- 20 Howbeit, as the disciples stooode rounde about him, he arose vp, and came into the citie, &c. 3.2.6
- 22 We must through many afflictions enter into the kingdom of God. 3.8.1. & 3.18.7 & 3.2.8
- 23 And when they hadde ordained them Elders by election in euerie Church, and prayed, & fasted: they com-

- commended them to the Lorde, in whom they beleueed. 4.3.7,12,15.& 4.12.16
- 15.7 And when there hadde beene great disputation, Peter rose vp, and said vnto them: Ye me and brethre, ye knowe that a good while ago, among vs, God chose out me, &c. 4.6 7
- 9 And he put not difference between vs and them a fter that by faith he had purged, &c. 3.14.8. & 4.14.4
- 10 Nowe therefore why tempt yee God, and lay a yoke on the disciples neckes? &c. 3.2.6
- 11 But we beleuee, through the grace of the lord Iesus Christ, to be saued, euen as they do. 3.5.4
- 20 But that we write vnto them, that they absteyne themseloes from filthinesse of idols, and fornication, and that that is strangled, &c. 4. 10 17,21
- 29 That is, that ye absteyne fro things offered to idols, &c. 4.10.17
- 16.1 Then came he to Derben and to Lystra: and behold, a certain disciple was there, named Timotheus, a womans son, which was a Jewesse, and beleueed, &c. 3.2.6
- 3 Therefore Paule would that hee should goe forth with him, and he toke and circumcised him, because of the Iewes which were in those quarters, &c. 3.19.12
- 14 And a certain woman named Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of the Thyatirians, which worshipped God, &c. 3.24.13
- 15 And when shee was baptised, and her housholde, &c. 4.16.8
- 33 And was baptised with all that belonged vnto him straight way. 4.16 8
- 37 Then sayde Paul vnto them, after that they haue beaten vs openly vncondemned, which are Romanes, they haue cast vs into prison: & 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 y Lord, if so be they might haue groped after him, & found him, though doubtlesse he be not farre from euery one of vs. 1 5.3,8,13
- 28 For in him we liue, and moue, and haue our being, as also certaine of your owne poets haue sayde, for we are also his generation. 1 15.5. & 1. 16.1,4
- 29 Forasmuch then as we are the generatiō of god, we ought not think, that the Godhead is like vnto gold, 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 nowe he admonisheth all men euery where to repent. 3.3.7
- 32 Nowe when they heard of the resurrection from the dead, some mocked, &c. 3.25.7
- 18 18 After that hee had shorne his head in Cēchrea: for he had a vow. 4.19.26
- 23 Strengthening all the disciples. 3 2.6
- 19.1 And found certaine disciples, and sayd vnto them, &c. 3.2.6
- 3 Vnto what were ye baptised? and they sayd vnto Iohns baptisme. 4.15 8.18
- 4 Iohn verily baptised with the baptism 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 hearde it, they were baptised in the name of the Lord Iesus. 4.15.6,8,18
- 6 And Paul laid his handes vpon the, & the holy ghost came vpon them, and they spake with tongues, and prophecied.

- prophecied. 4.3.15
12. So that fro his body were brought vnto the sick kerchifes or handkerchifes, & the diseases departed fro them, and the euill spirites went out of them. 4.19.18
13. Then certaine of the vagabonde Iewes, exorcistes, tooke in hande to name ouer them which had euill spirits, the name of the Lord Iesus, saying: we adure you by Iesus, whom Paul preacheth. 4.19.24
- 20.1. Nowe after the tumult was ceased, Paul called the disciples vnto him, and imbraced them, &c. 3. 2.6
10. But Paul went downe, and layde himselfe vppon him, and 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 al seasons. 4.3.7
20. And howe I kept backe nothing that was profitable, but haue shewed you, & 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 repentaunce towarde God, & faith towards our Lord Iesus Christ. 3.2.1. & 3.3. 2,5
26. Wherefore I take you to recorde this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men. 4.4.3. & 4.12.2
28. Take heede therefore vnto your selues, and to all the flocke, whereof the holy Ghost hath made you ouerseers, to feed 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 knowe 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 the 4.9.4
31. Therefore watch, and remember that by the space of three yeares I ceased not to warne euery one night and day with teares. 4.3.6
- 36 And when he had thus spoken, he kneeled down, and prayed with them all. 4.19.2
- 21.4. And when wee had sounde disciples, we taried there seuen dayes. 3.2.6
- 22.1. Yee men, brethren, & fathers, heare my defence nowe towards you. 3.20.19
16. Arise and be baptised, and washe away thy sinnes, in calling on the name of the Lord. 4.15.19
18. And I sawe him saying vnto mee: make hast and gette thee quickly out of Ierusalem, for they will not receiue thy witnesse concerning me. 4.17.17.29
25. And as they bound him with chonges, Paul saide vnto the Centurion that stood by, is it lawful for you to scourge one y^e is a Romane, and not condemned? 4.20.19
- 23.1. And Paul behelde earnestly the council, and said: Men & brethren, I haue in al good conscience serued God vntill this day. 3.17.14
8. For the Sadduces said, that there is no resurrection, neither Angell, nor spirite, &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 assēblie, and bound themselues with an oth, saying, that they would neither eat nor drinke, till they had killed Paul.

- Paul. 4.13.3
 24.12. And they neither found me in the temple disputing with any man neither making vtore among the people, neither in the synagogues, nor in the citie. 4.20.19
 15. And haue hope towards God, y the resurrection of the dead which they themselues looke for also, shall be both of iust and vniust. 3.25.9
 16 And herein I endeuour my selfe to haue alway a cleare conscience towards God, and towards men. 3.19.16.&4.10.4
 25.10. Then said Paul: I stand at Cefars iudgement seat, where I ought to be iudged: To the Iewes I haue done no wrong, as thou verie well knowest. 4.20.19
 11. For if I haue done wrong, or committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to dy: but if there be none of these things wherof they accuse me, no man can deliuer mee vnto them: I appeale vnto Cesar. 4.20.19.
 26.17. Deliuering thee from the people, & from the Gentiles, vnto who now I sende thee. 3.2.1
 18. To open their eyes, y they may turne from darkenesse to light, and from the power of Satan vnto God, that they may receiue forgiuenesse of sinnes, and inheritaunce among them, which are sanctified by faith in me. 3.2.1
 20. But shewed first vnto them of Damascus, and at Ierusalem, & through our all the coast of Iudea, and then to the Gentiles, that they shoulde repent, and turne to God, and doe works worthis amendement of life 3.3.5
 28.15. And from thence, when the brethren hearde of vs they came to meete vs. 4.6.17
 16. So when we came to Rome, the Centurion deliuered the prisoners

- to the general captaine, &c. 4.6.15
 25. Well spake the holy Ghost by Esaias the Prophete, vnto our fathers. 1.13.15

ROMANES.

- 1.1. Paul a seruaunt of Iesus Christ, called to bee an Apostle, put apart to preach the Gospel of God. 2.14.6.&4.3.10
 2. Which hee 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 y seed of Dauid, according to the fleshe. 2.13.1,3.&2.14.6
 4. And declared mightily to bee the sonne of God, touching the spirit of sanctification by the resurrection from the dead. 2.16.13.&4.19.22
 5. By whom we haue receiued grace and Apostleship, y obedience might be giuen vnto the faith in his name among all the Gentils. 3.2.6.&3.2.8 &3.2.29.
 7. Grace be with you, and peace frō God our father, and from the Lord Iesus Christ. 1.13.13
 9. For God is my witnesse, whome I serue in my spirite in the Gospell of his sonne, that without ceasing I make mention of you. 2.8.27
 16. For I am not ashamed of y gospel 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 righteousnesse of God is reuealed, from faith to faith: as it written, the iust shall liue by faith. 3.2.29.3.2.&3.11.19
 19. Forasmuch as that, which may be knowen to God, is manifest in the: for

- for God hath shewed it vnto the. 1.5.1.13
21. Because that when they knewe God, they glorified him not as god neither were thankful, but became vaine in their imaginations, &c. 1.5.12
22. When they professed themselues to bee 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 minde, to doe those things which are not conuenient. 1.18.2
- 2.6. Who will rewarde 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 lawe, shall perish also without the lawe, & as many as haue sinned in the law, shalbe iudged by the lawe. 2.2.22
13. For the hearers of the law are not righteous before God, but the doers of the law shalbe iustified. 3.11. 15.& 3.17.13
14. For when y^e Gentiles which haue not the law, do by nature y^e things contained in the law, they hauing not the lawe, &c. 2.2.22
15. Which shew the effect of the law written in their harts, their conscience also bearing them witness, and thoughtes accusing one another, &c. 3.19.15. & 4.10.3
25. If thou be a transgressour of the law, thy circumcision is made vncircumcision. 4.14.24
- 3.4. Yea, let God be true, & euery mā a lier, &c. 4.15.17
9. What then? are we more excellent? no, in no wise, for we haue alreadye proued, that al, both Iewes & 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 secte are swift to shed bloud, &c. 2.3.3
19. Now we know, that whatsoeuer the law saith, it saith it to them y^e be vnder the law: 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 workes 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 righteousnesse of God made manifest without the law, hauing witness of the lawe, & of the Prophets. 2.9.4. & 2.10.3. & 3 11.18,19
24. And are iustified frely 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 bloud, to declare his righteousnes, by the forgiveness of the sinnes that are passed through the pacience of God. 4.15.3
26. To shew at this time his righteousnes, that he might be iust, and a iustifier of him which is of y^e faith of Iesus. 3.11.12. & 3.13.1. & 3.13.2. & 3.14.17
27. Where is then thy reioycing? 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, hee hath wherein to reioyce, but not with God. 3.11.13. & 3.11.18

3. Abraham beleued God, & it was counted to him for righteousnesse. 2.15. & 3.14.5
3.17.8,10
4. Now to him that worketh, the wages is not counted by fauour, but by det. 3.11.20
5. But to him that worketh not, but beleueth in him that iustifieth y vngodly, his faith is counted for righteousnesse. 3.11 3,6
6. Euen as Dauid declareth the blessednesse of the man, vnto whome God imputeth righteousnes without workes, saying: 2.17.5. & 3.11.4, 20,22
7. Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sinnes 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 righteousnes of y faith which he had, when he was vncircumcised, &c. 4.14.5,21,23. & 4.16.20
12. And the father of circumcision, not vnto them only which are of y circumcision, &c. 4.16.12
13. For the promise y he should bee the heire of y world, was not giuen to Abraham, or to his seed, through the lawe, but through the righteousnes of faith. 3.14.11
14. For if they which are of y lawe, be heires, faith is made voide, and the promise is made of none effect. 3.11.11. & 3.13.3
15. For the lawe causeth wrath: for where no lawe is, there is no transgression. 2.7.7. & 3.11.19
17. As it is written: I haue made thee a father of many nations, euen before God whome he beleued, who quickeneth the dead, and calleth those things which be not as though they were. 2.10.11. & 3,
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 sinnes, 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 towarde God through our Lorde Iesus Christ. 3.2.16. & 3.13.5
3. Knowing that tribulation bringeth forth pacience, &c. 3.8.3
5. And hope maketh not ashamed, because the loue of God is shed abroad in our heartes 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. 2.12. 4. & 2.16.4. & 3.4.25
9. Much more then, being nowe iustified by his blood, wee shalbe saued from wrath through him. 2.16.5
10. For if when wee were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his sonne, much more being reconciled, we shalbe saued by his life. 2.16.2,4,5. & 2.17.3,6. & 3.11 21. & 3.14.6
12. As by one man sinne entred into the world, and death by sinne, and so death went ouer all men, forasmuch as all 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, and the gift by grace, which by one man Iesus Christ, &c. 3.5.4
16. Neither is the gift so, as y which entred in by one that sinned: for the fault came of one offence vnto

- condemnatō, 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. and 3. 11.4,9,12,23. and 4. 14. 21
- 20 Moreouer, the law entred there- vpō, that y offence should abound: neuerthelesse where sinne abounded, there grace abounded muche more. 2.5.6.& 2.7.7
- 6.3 Knowe ye nor, that all we which haue ben baptised into Iesus Christ, haue bene baptised into his death? 4.15.5
- 4 Wee are buried then with him in baptisme into his death, that like as Christ was raised vp from the dead by the glory of the father, so we also should walke in newnesse of life. 2.8 31.& 2.16.7,13.& 3.3.5.& 4.16.16,21 & 4.19.8
- 6 Knowing this, that our olde man is crucified with him, that the body of sinne might be destroyed, that hence forth we should not serue sin. 3.3.9,11
- 12 Let not sinne therefore reigne in your mortall bodie, 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 lawe, but vnder grace. 3.19.6.& 4.15. 12
- 18 Being then made free frō sinne, ye are made the seruants of righteousnesse. 3.6.3.& 3.16.2
- 19 I speake after the manner of men, because of y infirmitie of your flesh for as ye haue giuen your members seruantes to vncleanesse, and to iniquitie, to commit iniquitie, &c. 3.24 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.& 3.14.21
- 7.1 Knowe yee nor brethren, for I speake to them that knowe the lawe, that the lawe hath dominion ouer a man as long as he liueth? 4. 15.12
- 7 What shall we say then? is the law sinne? God forbid. Nay I know not sinne but by the lawe: &c. 2.5.6.& 2. 7.6
- 12 Wherefore the lawe is holy, and the cōmandement is holy, and iust, and good. 2.9.4
- 14 For we knowe that the law is spirituall, &c. 2.8.6
- 15 For I allowe not that which I do: for what I would that do I not, but what I hate that do I. 2.2.27
- 18 For I knowe, that in me, 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 woulde, but the euill, which I would not, that doe I. 2.2.27.& 3.3. 11
- 20 Nowe if I doe that I would not, it is no more I that doe it, but the sin that dwelleth in me. 2.2.27
- 23 But I see an other lawe in my members, rebelling against the lawe of my minde, 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 shal deliuer me frō the body of this death? 3.9.4. & 3.11. 11. & 4. 15.12
- 8.1 Nowe then there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Iesus, which walke not after the flesh, but after the spirit. 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 fleshe, God sending his

- his owne sonne, in the similitude of
 sinfull flesh, and for sinne, condem-
 ned sinne in the flesh. 2.7.5. & 2.12.4
 & 2.13.1,4. & 2.16.6. & 3.2.32. & 3.4
 27. & 3.11.23
- 6 For the wisdome of the fleshe is
 death: but the wisdome of the spi-
 rite is life and peace. 2.3.1
- 7 Because the wisdome of the flesh
 is enmitic against God: for it is not
 subiect to the lawe of God, neither
 in deed can be. 2.1.9. & 3.3.8. & 3.20
 24
- 9 Nowe yee are not in the fleshe but
 in the spirite, because the spirite of
 God dwelleth in you: but if any mā
 hath not y^e spirit of Christ, the same
 is not his. 3.1.2 and 3.2.39. & 4.17
 12
- 10 And if Christ be in you, the bodie
 is dead because of sinne: but the spi-
 rit is life for righteousnes sake. 2.1.6
 & 3.1.3. & 3.2.24. & 3.25.3. & 4.17.12
- 11 But if the spirite of him that raised
 vppe Iesus from the dead, dwell in
 you, he that raised vp Christ frō the
 dead, shal also quicken your mortal
 bodies, because that his spirit dwel-
 leth in you. 1.13.18. & 3.1.2. & 3.2.39
 & 3.25.3,8. & 4.17.12
- 14 For as many as are led by the spi-
 rite of God, they are the sonnes of
 God. 3.2.39
- 15 For yee haue not receiued the spi-
 rite of bondage, to feare againe: but
 ye haue receiued the spirit of adop-
 tion, &c. 2.11.9. & 2.14.5. & 3.1.3. & 3.
 2.11. & 3.13.5. & 3.20.1. & 3.24.1. & 4
 19.22.
16. The same spirite beareth witness
 with our spirite, that wee are the
 children of God. 3.2.39.
17. If wee bee children, wee are also
 heires, euen the heires of God, and
 heires annexed with Christ, &c. 2.
 12.2.
19. For the seruent desire of the crea-
 ture, waiteth when the sonnes of
 God shalbee reuiled. 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
 groneth with vs also, & traueileth
 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 wee doe sigh in
 our selues, waiting for the adoptiō,
 euen the redemption of our body.
 3.18.3. & 3.25.11
- 24 For we are saued by hope: but hope
 that is seene, is no hope, &c. 2.9.
 3
- 25 But if we hope for that we see not,
 we do with patience abide for it. 3
 2.41,42. & 3.25.11
- 26 Likewise the spirite also helpeth
 our infirmities: for wee knowe not
 what to pray as we ought, &c. 3.20.
 5
- 27 But he that searcheth the heartes
 knoweth what is the meaning of
 the spirit, for he maketh request for
 the saintes, &c. 3.20.5,34
- 29 For those which hee knewe be-
 fore, he also predestinat to be made
 like to the image of his sonne, that
 he might be the first borne among
 many brethren. 2.13.2. & 3.1.1,3. &
 3.8.1. and 3.15.8. & 3.18.7. & 3.24.
 1
- 30 Moreouer, whom he did predesti-
 nate, them also he called: And whō
 he called, them also he iustified: And
 whom he iustified, &c. 2.5.2. & 3.14.
 21. & 3.18.4. & 3.24.6
- 31 Who spared not his owne sonne,
 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 iustificieth. 3.11.3,6,11
34. Who shall condemne? it is Christ that is dead, yea or rather which is risen againe, who is also at y^e 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 nakednesse, or perill, or sworde? 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 come 3.2.16. & 3.2.40. & 3.15.8. & 3.24.6
39. Nor heighth, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate vs from the loue of god, which is in Christ Iesus our Lord. 3.2.16, 28,40
- 9.3. For I would wish my selfe to be seperated from Christ, for my brethren that are my kinsmen according to the flesh. 3.20.35
5. Of whome 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 al they are not Israelites, which are of Israel. 3.22.4. & 4.2.3
7. Neither are they all children, because they are the seede of Abraham: But in Isaac shall thy seede 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 seede. 3.21.7
11. For ere the children were borne, & whē they had done neither good nor euill, that the purpose of God might remaine according to election, not by works, but by him that calleth: 3.22.4
12. It was said vnto her, the elder shall serue the younger. 3.2.25
13. As it is written, I haue loued Iacob, and haue hated Elau: 3.21.7. & 3.22.11
14. What shall we say then? is there vnrighteousnesse with God? God forbid. 3.22.8
15. I will haue mercie on him to whō I wil shew mercie: & I wil haue compassion on him to whom I wil haue compassion. 3.22.6
16. So then it is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercie. 2.5.4, 17. & 3.24.1
17. For this same purpose haue I stirred thee vp, that I might shewe my power in thee, &c. 3.24.14
18. Therefore he hath mercie on whō he wil, & whom he will he hardeneth. 1.18.2 & 3.22.11
20. But, O man, who art thou that pleadest against God? &c. 3.23.1, 4. & 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 woulde, to shewe 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, not of the Iewes onely, but also of the Gentiles. 3.24.16
32. For they haue stumbled at y^e stumbling stone. 1.13.23
33. Behold, I lay in Sion a stumbling stone, and a rock of offence. 1.13.11

- And whosoever beleueth on him, shall not be confounded. 1.13.13
- 10.5. For they being ignorant of the righteousnesse of God, and going about to establish their owne righteousnesse, &c. 3.11.13
4. For Christ is the end of the lawe, for righteousnesse 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 righteousnesse of faith speaketh on this wise: Say not in thy heart, who shall ascend into heauen? &c. 1.17.2
7. Or, who shall descende into the deep? that is, to bring Christ again from the dead. 1.17.2
8. This is the worde of faith which we preach. 2.5.12.& 3.2.29,30.& 4.14.14
9. For if thou shalt confesse with thy mouth the Lorde Iesus, and shalt beleue in, &c. 3.11.14
10. For with the hart man beleueth vnto righteousnesse, and with the mouth man confesseth to saluatiō. 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, & 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 hee knewe before, &c. 3.22.6
4. But what saith the aunswere of God to him? I haue reserued vnto my self 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 y^e election of grace. 3.21.1
6. And if it be of grace, it is no more of workes: or else were grace no more grace, &c. 3.14.5
16. For if the first fruits 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, & thou being a wilde Oliue tree, wast graft in for them, and made partaker of the roote, & fatnesse of the Oliue tree. 3.17.8
20. Well, through vnbeleefe they are broken off; & thou standest by faith, be not hie minded, but feare. 2.3.22 & 3.24.6
26. And so all Israel shall be saued, as it is written: The deliuerer shall come out of Sion; and shall turne away the vngodlinesse 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 hee might haue mercie on all. 2.7.8. & 3.23.11.& 3.24.16
33. O the deepenesse of y^r riches both of the wisdome and knowledge of God: howe vnsearchable are his iudgements, and his wayes past finding out? 1.17.2.& 3.23.5
34. For who hath knowen the minde of the Lorde? or who was his counseller? &c. 3.2:34. & 4.18.19. & 4.19.2
35. Or who hath giuen vnto him first and hee shall be recompenced? 3.14.5.& 3.22.3.& 3.23.11
36. For of him, & through him, and for him, are all things, &c. 2.8.19
- 12.1. I beseech you therefore brethren, by thy mercies of God, y^e ye giue vp your bodies a liuing sacrifice, holy.

- holy & acceptable vnto God which
is your reasonable seruing of God. 4
3.7.1.& 3.16.3.& 4.18.16
- 2 And fashion not your selues like
vnto this world, but be ye changed
by the renewing of your minde, that
yee may prooue what is the will of
God, good, & acceptable, and per-
fect. 2.1.9.& 4.16.4
- 3 As God hath delt to euery man the
measure of faith, 4.13.3.& 4.16.4.&
4.17.3²
- 4 For as we haue many members in
onebody, and al members haue not
one office. 3.16.2
Whether we haue prophetic, let vs
prophetic according to the propor-
tion of our fayth. 4.16.4. and 4.17
32
- 7 Or an office, let vs waite on the of-
fice, or he y teacheth, on teaching.
4.3.8
- 8 Or he that exhorteth on exhortati-
on: he that distributeth, let him doc
it with simplicitie: he y rulerh, with
diligence: he that sheweth mercie,
with cherefulnesse. 4.3.8,9.& 4.11.1
& 4.20.4
- 10 Be affectioned to loue one an other
with brotherly loue: In giuing ho-
nour, goe one before an other. 3.7
4
- 14 Blesse them that persecute you:
blesse, I say, and curse not 4.20.
20
- 19 Derely beloued, auenge not your
selues, but giue place vnto wrath:
for it is written: Vengeance is mine
I will repay, sayth the Lorde. 4.20
19
- 21 Be not overcome of euil, but over-
come euill with goodnesse. 4.20.
20
- 13.1 Let euery soule be subiecte vnto
the higher powers: for there is no
power but of God: and the powers
that be, are ordeined of God. 3.19.
- 15.& 4.10.3,5.& 4.20.4,7,23
- 4 For he is the minister of God for
thy wealth: but if thou doe euill,
feare: for he beareth not the sword
for nought, for he 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 be subiect, not
because of wrath onely, but also for
conscience sake. 3.19.15.& 4.10.3.&
4.20.22
- 6 For, for this cause ye paye also tri-
bute: for they are Gods ministers,
applying themselues for the same
thing. 4.20.13
- 8 Owe nothing to any man, but to
loue one an other: for hee y loueth
an other, hath fulfilled the lawe. 2.8
53
- 9 For this, thou shalt not committe
adulterie, thou shalt not kill, thou
shalt not steal, thou shalt not beare
false witness, thou shalt not couet:
and if there be any other comman-
dement, it is breccly comprehended
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 con-
trouersies of disputations. 3.19
11
- 5 This man esteemeth one day aboue
an other day, & an other man coun-
teth euery day alike: let euery man
be fully persuaded in his mind. 2.8.
33
- 10 For we shall all appeare before the
iudgement seate of Christ. 1.13.11
& 3.5.8
11. For it is written I liue, sayeth the
Lorde: And euery knee shall bow to
me,

- me, & all tongues 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 before his brother. 3.19. 11.
14. I know, and am perswaded through the Lorde Iesus, that there is nothing vncleane of it selfe: but vnto him that iudgeth any thing to bee vncleane, to him it is vncleane. 3.19. 8.
17. For the kingdome of God is not meate and drinke: but righteousnes and peace, and ioye in the holy Ghost. 2.15.4
22. Hast thou faith? haue it with thy selfe before God: blessed is hee that condemneth not himselfe in that thing which he alloweth. 3.19.8
23. For he that doubteth is condemned if he eate, because hee eateth not off fayth: and whatsoeuer is not off fayth is sinne. 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 consolation, graunt that you bee like minded one towards another, according to Christ Iesus. 4.2.5.
6. That ye with one mind and with one 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 truche of God, to confirme the promises made vnto the fathers. 3.2. 32.& 4.16.15.
12. There shall be a roote of Iesse, & he that shall rise to reigne ouer the Gentiles, in him shall the Gentiles,
- trust. 1.13.13
19. So that from Ierusalem, and round about vnto Illyricum, I haue caused to abound the Gospel of Christ. 4.3.4
20. Yea, so I enforced my selfe to preach y^e Gospel, not where Christ was named, &c. 4.3.4
25. But now go I to Ierusalem, to minister vnto the Saintes. 4.6.14.
30. Also brethren, I beseeche you for our Lorde Iesus Christes sake, and for the loue of the spirite that yee woulde striue with mee by prayers to God for me. 3.20.20
- 16.3. Greete Priscilla and Aquila my fellowe helpers in Christ Iesus. 4. 6.14.
7. Salute Andronicus & Junia 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 shal tread Satan vnder your feete shortly. 1.14. 18.& 3.15.5
25. By the reuelation of the mysterie, which was kept secreete since the worlde began. 2.9.4.
26. But nowe is opened, & published among al nations by the scriptures of the Prophets, &c. 2.9.4

I. CORINTHIANS.

- 1.1. Paul called to be an Apostle of Iesus Christ, through the wil God, and our brother Sostenes. 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 whome yee are called vnto the fellowshipe of his sonne Iesus Christ, &c. 3.5.5
11. For it hath bin declared vnto me, my brethren, of you by them y^e are of the house of Cloe, that there are contentions among you. 4.1. 14.
12. Nowe

- 12 Nowe this I say, that euery one of you sayeth, I am Paules, &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 worlde? &c. 2. 2. 20
- 21 For seeing the world by wisdom knewe not God in the wisdom of God, it pleased God by the foolishnes of preaching to saue them that beleue. 2. 6. 1
- 23 But wee preach Christ crucified: vnto the Iewes, euen a stonbling blocke, and vnto the Grecians, foolishnesse. 3. 24. 14
- 26 For brethren, you see your calling how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called. 3. 23. 10
- 30 But yee are of him in Christ Iesus who of God is made vnto vs, wisdom 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 knowe 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 stode my worde and my preaching in the enticing speech of mans wisdom, but in plaine euidence of the spirite. 1. 8. 1. & 4. 1. 6. & 4. 14. 11
- 5 That your sayth should not be in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. 3. 2. 35
- 8 Which none of the princes of this worlde hath knowen, for had they knowen: &c. 1. 5. 12. & 2. 14. 2. & 4. 17
30
- 10 But God hath reueiled them vnto vs by the spirite: for the spirit searcheth all things, yea y deepe things of God. 1. 13. 14. & 3. 2. 34
- 11 For what man knoweth the things of a man, saue the spirite of a man which is in him? euen so the things of God knoweth no man, but the spirite of God. 3. 2. 34
- 12 Nowe wee haue receiued not the spirite of the worlde, but the spirite which is of God, that wee might know the thinges that are giuen to vs of God, 3. 2. 39. & 4. 8. 11
- 13 Comparing thinges spirituall with spirituall thinges. 4. 16. 31
- 14 But the natural man perceiueth not the things of the spirit of God: for they are foolishnesse vnto him: neither can he know them, because they are spirituall discerned. 2. 2. 20 & 3. 2. 34
- 16 For who hath knowen the minde of the Lorde, that he might instruct him? but we haue y mind of Christ. 1. 13. 14. & 3. 13. 4
3. 2 I giue you milke to drinke, and not meate: for ye were not able to beare it: neither yet now are ye able 3. 19. 13
- 3 For where as there is among you enuying, and strife, & diuisions, are ye not carnal, and walke as men? 2. 5. 4. & 4. 1. 14
- 4 For when one sayeth, I am Paules, another, I am Appollos, are ye not carnal? 4. 4. 2. & 4. 13. 14
- 6 I haue planted, Appollo watered, but God gaue the encrease. 4. 14. 11
- 7 So then neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth but God y giueth the encrease. 2. 5. 4 3. 23. 14. & 4. 1. 6
- 8 And euery man shall receiue his wages according to his labour. 3. 16 3. & 3. 18. 3
- 9 For we together are gods labourers ye are gods husbandry, and Gods building
Hh'h h building

- 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 shalbe reueiled by the fire &c. 3.5.9
- 14 If any mans worke that he hath built vpon, abide, hee shall receiue wages. 3.5.9
- 15 If any mans worke burne, he shall lose, but he shalbe safe himselfe: neuertheless yet as it were by the fire 3.5.9
- 16 Knowe ye not that ye are y^e Temple of God, & that the spirit of God dwelleth in you? 1.3.15.& 3.6.3.& 3.16.2.& 3.25.7.& 4.3.1
- 19 For the wisdom of this worlde is foolishnesse with God: for it is writtē He catcheth the wise in their owne craftinesse. 1.5.7.& 2.2.20
- 21 Therefore let no man reioyce in men: for all things are yours 4.19
- I
- 4.1 Let a man so thinke of vs, as of the ministers of Christ, and disposers of the secretes of God. 4.3.6.& 4.8.
- I
- 4 For I know nothing by my selfe, yet am I not thereby iustified: but he y^e iudgeth me, is the Lord. 3.12.2. & 3.17.14.
- 5 Therefore iudge nothing before the time, vntill the Lord come, who will lighten thinges that are hid in darknesse, and make the counsels of the heart manifest: &c. 3.2.4
- 7 For who separateth thee? and what hast thou, that thou hast not receaued? if thou hast receiued it, why reioycest thou, as though thou hadest not receiued it? 2.5.2 & 3.7.4.& 3.24.
- 12
- 1.5 For in Christ Iesus I haue begottē you through the Gospell. 4.1.6
- 5.1 It is heard certainly that there is fornication among you, & 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 whiche hath done this deede, might be put from among you. 4.1.15
4. When yee are gathered together, and my spirite, in the name of our Lorde Iesus Christ, that, such a one I say, by the power of our Lord Iesus Christ. 4.11.5. & 4.12.4
- 5 Be deliuered vnto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saued in the day of the Lord Iesus. 4.12.5,6
- 6 know ye not that a litle leauen, leaueneth the whole lump? 4.12.5
- 7 For Christ our passeouer is sacrificed for vs. 4.12.13. & 4.18.3
- 11 If any that is called a brother, be 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. & 4.12.5
- 12 For what haue I to doe, to iudge them also, which are without? doe ye not iudge them that are within? 4.11.5
- 6.6 But a brother goeth to lawe with a brother, & that vnder the infidels. 4.20.21
- 7 Nowe therefore there is vtterly a fault among you, because ye go to lawe, one with an other. 4.1.14
- 9 Knowe ye not that the vnrighteous shall not inherite the kingdome of God? &c. 3.4.21. & 3.24.10
- 10 Be no deceiued, neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers nor wantons, nor buggerers, nor theecues, nor couctous, nor drunkardes, nor railers nor extortioners shall

- shall inherite the kingdom of God. 3.
4.21,
11. But ye are iustified in the name of
the Lord Iesus, and by the spirite of
our God. 1.13, 14. & 3.1.1. & 3.6.3. &
3.14.6. & 3.24.10.
13. Meats are ordeined for the belly,
& 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 Knowe yee not, that your body 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 bo-
dy, and in your spirite: for they are
Gods. 2.17.5. & 3.25.7.
- 7.2. Neuerthelesse, to auoyde forni-
cation, let euery man haue his wife,
and let euery woman haue hir own
husband. 2.8.43.
3. Let the husband giue vnto the wife
due beneuolence, and likewise also
the wife vnto the husband. 4.12.
16.
5. Defraud not one an other, except
it be with consent for a time, that ye
may giue your selues to fasting, and
praier: 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 euery man hath
his proper gift of god, one after this
maner, and an other after that. 2.
8.42.
9. But if they can not abstaine, let
them marry: for it is better to marry
than to burne. 2.8.43. & 4.13.17.
14. For the vnbeleuing husband is
sanctified by the wife, and the vnbe-
leuing wife is sanctified by the hus-
bande, else were your children vn-
cleane: but nowe are they holy. 2.1.
7. & 4.16.6. & 4.16.15. & 4.16.31
19. Circumcision is nothing: and vn-
circumcision is nothing: but the
keeping of the commaundementes
of God. 4.14.24
21. Art thou called being a seruauant?
care not for it: but if yet thou maist
be free, vse it rather. 4.20.1
23. Ye are bought with a price: be not
seruants of men. 4.20.32
31. And they that vse this world, as
though they vsed it not: for the fa-
shion of this worlde goeth away. 3.
10.1.4. & 4.19.7
34. The vnmarried womā careth for
the things of the Lorde, that shee
may be holy both in body & in spi-
rite, & 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 thinges sacri-
ficed vnto idols, we knowe, that we
haue knowledge, & c. 4.10.22
4. For though there bee that are cal-
led Gods, whether in heauen, or in
earth, & c. 1.13.11
6. Yet vnto vs there is but one God,
which is the father, of whome are
all thinges, and we in him: and one
Lorde Iesus Christ, & c. 1.13.11. & 2.
3.6. & 2.14.3. & 2.15.5
9. But take heed least by any meanes
this power of yours be an occasion
of falling to them that are weake. 3.
19.11. & 4.10.22
- 9.1. Am I not an Apostle? am I not
free? haue I not seene Iesus Christ
our Lorde? are ye not my worke in
the Lord? 3.14.15. & 4.1.14. & 4.17
17. & 4.17.29.
2. For ye are the scale of my Apostle-
ship in the Lorde. 4.1.6
5. Or haue we not power to leade a-
bout a wife being a sister, as well

- as therest of the Apostles, and as the brethren of the Lorde, and Cephas? 4.12.25
12. Neuerthelesse, wee haue not vsed this power but suffer all things, that we should not hinder the gospel of Christ. 3.14.15.
16. And woe is vnto mee, if I preach not the gospel. 4.3.6
19. For though I be free from all men yet haue I made my selfe seruaunt vnto all men, that I might winne the more. 3.19.12
20. And vnto the Iewes I become as a Iewe, that I might winne y^e Iewes. &c. 4.19.26
22. To the weake I become as weake, that I may winne the weake: I am made all things to all men, that I might by all meanes saue some. 3.19.12
- 10.1. Moreouer, 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 cloude, and in the sea. 4.15.5.
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 spiritual rocke that followed them: and the rocke was Christ. 1. 13.10. & 2.9.1. & 4.14.26. & 4.17.15, 21, 22
5. But with many of them God was not pleased: for they were ouerthrown in the wildernesse. 4. 14.24
11. And all these things came vnto them for ensamples, and were written to admonish vs, vpon whom the endes of the worlde are come. 2.10.5. & 3.2.22.
12. Wherefore let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed least he fall. 3.2.40. & 3.24.6
13. There hath no tentation taken you but such as appeareth to man. &c. 3.20.46
16. The cuppe of blessing which we blesse, is it not the communion of the bloode of Christ? the breade which we breake, is it not the communion of the bodie of Christ? 4.17.10. & 4.17.15. & 4.17.22. & 4.17.38. & 4.18.8
17. For wee that are many, are one breade and one bodie, because wee al are partakers of one bread 4. 17.14.
23. All things are lawfull for me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawfull for mee, but all things edifie not. 3.19.12
25. Whatsoeuer is souled in the shambls, eate ye, and aske no question for conscience sake. 3.19.11
28. But if any man say vnto you, this is sacrificed vnto idoles, eate it not because of him that shewed it, and for thy conscience, &c. 3.19.6. & 4.10.4
29. And the cōscience I say, not thine but of that other, &c. 3.19.11. & 4.10.4
31. Whether therefore yee eate or or drinke, or whatsoeuer ye do, do al to the glory 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. Euery man praying or prophesying hauing any thing on his head dishonoureth his head. 4.19.26
5. But euerie woman that prayeth or prophecieth bareheaded, dishonoureth 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 bee contentious,

- tious, wee haue no such custome,
neither the Churches of God. 4.10
31.
20. When yee come together there-
fore into one place, this is not to
eate the lordes supper. 4.18.12
22. Haue yee not houfes to eate and
drinke in? despise ye 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 he had giuen thankes
he brake it, and saide, Take, eat: this
is my body, which is brokē for you:
this doe you in remembrance of
me. 4.17.1.& 4.17.20
25. After the same maner also he took
the cup, when he had supped, saying
this is the newe Testament in my
blood, &c. 4.17.20
26. For as often as yee shall eate this
bread and drinke this cup, ye shew
the Lordes death vntill he come. 4.
16.30. & 4.17.37
28. Let a man therefore examine him
self, 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 and drinketh
vnworthily, eateth and drinketh his
owne damnation, because hee dis-
cerneth not the Lords body. 4.1.15.
& 4.16.30. & 4.17.33,34.40
31. For if we would iudge our selues
we should not be iudged. 3.3.18
32. But when wee are iudged, we are
chastened of the Lorde, because we
should 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 opera-
tions, but God is the same, which
worketh all in all. 2.3.6,9
8. For to one is giuen by the spirite, y
worde of wisdome, and to an other
the word of knowledge, by the same
spirite. 4.3.11
10. And to an other diuersities of
tongues, and to an other the inter-
pretation of tongues. 1.13.14. & 3.2.9
11. And all these thinges worketh
euen the selfe same spirit, distribu-
ting to euery mā seuerally as he wil.
1.13.14. & 4.13.3
12. For as the body is one, and hath
many members, and all the mēbers
of the body which is one, though
they be many, yet are but one body:
euen so is Christ. 1.13.16. & 3.7.5.
& 3.16.2. & 4.17.22
13. For by one spirit are wee all bap-
tized into one body, whether wee are
Iewes or Grecians, &c. 4.2.4.7. & 4.
15.15. & 4.16.22
25. Least there should be any diuisi-
on in the bodie: but that the mem-
bers should haue the same care one
for an other. 3.20.20
28. And God hath ordeined some in
the Church, as first Apostles, second-
ly prophets, thirdly teachers, then
them that doe miracles: after y the
gistes of healing, helpers, &c. 4.3.8.
& 4.11.1. & 4.20.4
31. But desire you the best gistes, &
I will yet shewe you a more excel-
lent way. 3.2.9
- 13.1. Though I speake with y rongs
of men and Angels, and haue not
loue, I am as sounding brasse, or
a tincling Cymball. 2.5.4
2. If I had all faith, so that I coulde
remoue mountaines, and had not
loue, I were nothing. 3.18.8
3. And though I feed the poore with
all my goods, and though I giue my
body that I be burned, and haue not
loue, it profiteth me nothing. 4.13.
13.
4. Loue suffereth long: it is bounti-
full.

- full: loue enuieth not: loue doth not
boast it selfe: it is not puffed vp. 3.7.
5,6
9. For we knowe in part, and we pro-
pheticke in part. 3.2.20
10. But when that which is perfect, is
come, then that which is in parte,
shall be abolished. 3.2.13
12. For now we see through a glasse
darkely: but then shall we see face
to face, &c. 3.22.11 & 4.18.20
13. And now abideth faith: hope and
loue, euen thesethree: but the chief-
fest of these is loue. 3.18.8
- 14.15. What is it then? I will praye
with the spirite, but I will pray with
the vnderstanding also, &c. 3.20.5.
& 3.20.32
16. Else, when thou blestest with the
spirit, howe shall he that occupieth
the roome of the vnlearned, say A-
men 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 reueiled to an
other 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 permit-
ted vnto them to speake, &c. 4.10.29
40. Let all thinges be done honestly
and by order. 2.8.32. & 3.20.29. & 4.
3.10. & 4.10.27,30
- 15.6. After that, he was teene of mo
than siue hundredth brethre at once
&c. 3.25.3
10. But I labored more abundantly
than they al, yet not I, but the grace
of God which is in mee. 2.3.12. & 4.
1.6
12. Now if it be preached, that Christ
is risen from the dead, how say some
among you, that there is no resur-
rection of the deade? 3.25.7. & 4.
1.14,
13. For if there be no resurrection of y^e
dead, the is Christ not risen. 3.25.3.
14. And if Christ be not risen, then is
our preaching in vaine, & your faith
is also in vaine. 3.25.3
16. For if the dead be not raised, then
is Christ not raised. 2.13.2.
17. And if Christ bee not raised, your
faith is vaine, &c. 2.13.2. & 2.16.13.
19. If in this life onely we haue hope
in Christ, we are of all men the most
miserable. 3.9.6. & 3.18.4.
20. But nowe is Christ risen from the
dead, and was made the first frutes
of them that slept. 2.16.13.
27. For seeth by man came death, by
man came also the resurrection of
the dead. 2.1.6.
22. For, as in Adā all men dy euen so
in Christ shall all bee made alue. 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 thinges shall be sub-
dued vnto him, then shall the sonne
also himselfe bee 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 sow-
est is not quickned, except it dye. 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 an other glory of the
Sunne, an other glory of y^e Moone,
an other glory of the stars: for one
starre differeth from an other starre
in glory. 4.19.34
45. The first man Adam was made
a liuing soule: & the last Adam was
made a quickning spirite. 1.15.4. &
3.1.2
46. Howbeit that was not first made
which is spirituall, but that which is
naturall, and afterward that which
is spirituall. 4.16.31
47. The

The Table.

47. The first man is of the earth, earthly: the second man is the Lorde frō heauen. 2.12.7.& 2.13.2.& 2.13.4.& 4.17.25
50. Flesh and bloode cannot inherite the kingdome of God,&c. 4.16.17
51. Beholde, I shewe 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 y^e twinckling of an eye, at the last trumpet: for the trumpet shall blowe, and the deade 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 immortalitie, &c. 3.25.10
- 16.2. Euerie first day of the weake, let euerie one of you put aside by himselfe, and lay vp as God hath prospered him,&c. 2.8.33
7. For I will not see you nowe in my passage: but I trust to abide a while with you, if the Lorde permit. 1.17. 11
11. CORINTHIANS.
- 1.2. **G**Race be with you, and peace from God our father, and from the Lorde Iesus Christ. 1.13.13
3. The father of mercie, and y^e 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 wee also suffer: or whether we be comforted, it is your consolation and saluation 3 5.4
12. For our reioycing is this, the testimonie of our conscience, that in simplicitie and godlie purenesse, & not in fleshlie wisdome, &c. 3.2.41. & 3.17.14
19. For the sonne of God Iesus Christ who was preached among you by vs, &c. 4.17.50
20. For al 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 spirite in our heartes. 1.7.4.& 3. 1.3.& 3.2. 36.& 3.24.1
23. Nowe, 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 y^e wee are helpers of your ioy, &c. 4.8.9
- 2.6. It is sufficient vnto the same mā that he was rebuked of many. 3.4 13
7. So that nowe contrariwise, yee ought rather to forgiue him, and comfort him, least the same should bee swallowed vp with ouer much 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 onewe 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, & written not with ynke, &c. 2. 8. 57
5. Not that wee are sufficient of our selues, to thinke any thing, as of our selues, &c. 2.2.25, 27. & 2.3.6
6. Who also hath made vs able ministers of the newe Testament, not of the letter, but of the spirite: for the letter killeth, but the spirite giueth.

- giueth life. 1.9.3. & 2.7.2. & 3.1.4. & 4.1.6. & 4.14.11
7. If then the ministratiō of death written with letters and ingrauen in stones, was glorious, so that the children of Israel could not behold the face &c. 2.7.7
8. Howe shall not the ministratiō of the spirit be more glorious? 1.9.3
9. For if the ministerie of condemnation was glorious, much more doth the ministratiō of righteousness 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 old 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 hearts. 2.10.23
17. Nowe the Lorde is the spirit, and 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 Lorde, with open face, and are changed into y^e same Image, &c. 1.15.4. & 1.15.5. & 3.2.20 & 3.3.9
- 4.4. In whome the God of this world hath blinded the mindes, that is, of the infidels, that the light of the glorious Gospel 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 commaunded the light to shine out of the darkenesse is hee which hath shined in our heartes, &c. 2.9.1. & 3.2.1. & 4.1.5. & 4.3.3.
7. But we haue this treasure in earthe vessels, that the excellencie of that power might be of God, and not of vs. 4.1.5. & 4.3.1
8. Wee are afflicted on euerie side, yet are wee not in distresse: in p^ouertie, but not ouercome of p^ouertie. 3.8.9. & 3.15.8
9. Wee are persecuted, but not forsaken: cast downe, but wee perishe not. 3.15.8
10. Euerie where we beare about in our body, the dying of the Lord Iesus, that the life of Iesus also might bee made manifest in our mortall flesh. 3.15.5. & 3.15.8. & 3.18.7. & 3.25.3. & 3.25.7
13. And because wee haue the same sprite of faith, according as it is written, I beleued, and therefore haue I spoken, &c. 3.2.35
- 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 wee sigh, desiring to bee clothed with our house, which is from heauen. 3.9.5
4. Because wee would not be vnclodeth, but woulde be clothed vpon, that immortalitie might bee swallowed vp of life. 1.15.2. & 3.9.5
5. Who also hath giuen vnto vs the earnest of the sprite. 2.9.3. & 3.2.36
6. Therefore wee are alwayes bold, though we knowe that whiles wee are at home in this bodie, wee are absent from the Lord. 1.15.2. & 3.2.14. & 3.9.4. & 3.25.1. & 3.25.5
7. For wee walke by faith, and not by sight. 3.2.14
8. Neuertheles, wee are bolde, and loue rather to remooue out of the bodie, 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 thinges 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

19. For God was in Christ, and reconciled the world to himselfe, not imputing their sinnes vnto them, &c. 2.12.4.& 2.17.2.& 3.2.32. & 3.4.25. & 3.11.22. & 3.14.11.& 4.1.22.
20. Nowe then are wee ambassadors for Christ; as though God did beseeche 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 knewe no sinne, that we should bee made the righteousness 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.
6. 8. By honour, and dishonour, by euill report and good reporte, &c. 3.8.8.
16. For yee 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 spirite, &c. 1.15.2. & 2.5.11. & 29.3. & 3.16.2. & 3.25.7.
10. For godly sorrowe causeth repentance vnto saluation, nor to be repented of: but the worldly sorrowe causeth death. 3.3.7. & 3.4.2.
11. For behold, this thing that yee haue benee godly forie, what great care it hath wrought in you, &c. 3.3.15.
8. 11. Now therefore performe to do it also, that as there was a readines to wil, euen so ye may performe it of that which ye haue. 2.5.8.
16. And thanks be vnto God, which hath put in the heart of Titus the same care for you. 2.5.8.
17. Because we accepted the exhortation, &c. 2.5.8.
9. 6. That he which soweth sparingly shall reape also sparingly, and hee that soweth liberally, shall reape also liberally. 3.18.6.
7. As euery man wiseth in his heart, so let him giue, not grudgingly, or of necessitie: for god loueth a cherefull giuer. 3.16.3.
12. For the ministracion of this seruice, not onely supplieth the necessitie of the saints, &c. 3.7.5.
10. 4. For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God, to cast, &c. 4.8.9. & 4.11.5. & 4.11.10.
6. And hauing ready the vengeance against all disobedience, whe your obedience is fulfilled. 4.6.3.
8. For though I should boast somewhat more of our authoritie, which the Lord hath giuen vs for edification. &c. 4.8.1.
11. 14. And no marueil: for Satan himselfe is transformed into an Angell of light. 1.9.2. & 4.12.12.
12. 2. I knowe a man in Christ aboute fourteene yeares agoe. (whether hee were in the body, I can not tel, God knoweth) which was taken vp into the thirde heauen. 1.9.1. & 1.14.4. & 4.3.3.
4. Howe that hee was taken vp into Paradise, & heard wordes which cannot be spoken, which are not possible for man to vtter. 1.14.4.
7. And lest I should be exalted out of measure, through the abundance of reuelations, there was giuen vnto mee a pricke in the flesh, the messenger of Satan, &c. 1.14.18. & 3.3.14. & 4.17.34.
8. For this thing, I besought the lord thrise; that it might departe from me. 1.13.20.
9. And he said vnto me, my grace is sufficient for thee: &c. that the power of Christ may dwel in me. 1.3.13. & 1.13.20. & 3.3.14.
21. I feare least when I come againe,

- my God debase me among you, & I shall bewaile many, &c. 3. 18. & 4. 1. 27
13. 4. For though hee was crucified concerning his infirmitie, yet liueth he through the power of god. And we no dout, are weake in him, &c. 2. 13. 2. & 2. 14. 6. & 2. 16. 13
5. Proue your selues whether ye are in the faith: examin your selues: know ye not your own selues, howe that Iesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates? 3. 2. 39
10. According to the power which the lord hath giuen me, to edification, & not to destruction. 4. 8. 1
13. The grace of our Lorde Iesus Christ, and the loue of God, & the communion of the holy Ghoste, &c. 3. 1. 2
- GALATIANS.**
1. 1. **P**Aulan Apostle of men, neither by man, but of Iesus Christ, &c. 4. 3. 13. & 4. 3. 14
2. And all the brethren that are with me, vnto the Churches of Galatia. 4. 1. 14
3. Grace be with you, & peace from God the father, and from the Lord Iesus Christ. 1. 13. 13
6. I marueile that ye are so soone removed away vnto another gospel, from him that hath called you in the grace of Christ. 4. 1. 27
8. But though that we, or an Angell from heauen, preach vnto you otherwise then that which we haue preached vnto you, let him be accursed. 4. 9. 12
16. To reueale his sonne in me, that I should preach him among y^e Gentiles, &c. 3. 22. 7
28. Then after three yeares I came againe to Ierusalem to visite Peter, and abode with him fiftene dayes. 4. 6. 7. & 4. 6. 14
2. 1. Then fourteene yeares after, I went vp againe to Ierusalem with Barnabas, and tooke with me Titus also. 4. 6. 14
3. But neither yet Titus which was with me, though he were a Grecia, was compelled to be circumcised. 3. 19. 12
6. God accepteth no mans person, &c. 3. 23. 10
7. When they saw the gospel of the vncircumcision was committed vnto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was vnto Peter. 4. 6. 7
8. For he that was mighty by Peter in the Apostleship ouer the circumcision, was also mightie by mee towards the Gentiles. 4. 1. 6. & 4. 6. 7
9. And when Iames, and Cephas, & Iohn knewe of y^e grace that was giuen vnto me. &c. 4. 6. 13
14. But when I saw, that they went not the right way to the truth of the gospel, I said vnto Peter before al men, if thou, &c. 4. 12. 3
16. Knowe that a man is not iustified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Iesus Christ, &c. 3. 17. 2
19. For I through the law am dead to the lawe, & that I might liue vnto God, &c. 2. 16. 7
20. Thus I liue yet, not I nowe, but Christ liueth in me, &c. 4. 19. 35
3. 1. O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that ye should not obey the truth, &c. 1. 11. 7. & 4. 1. 27 & 4. 18. 11
2. Received ye the spirit by y^e workes of the law, or by the hearing of the faith preached? 3. 2. 33. & 4. 1. 6
6. Yea rather as Abraham beleued God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness. 3. 17. 8
8. For the Scriptures forescing, that God would iustifie the Gentiles through faith, preached before the Gospell: vnto Abraham, &c. 3. 11. 3
10. For

- 10 For as many as are of the workes of the lawe, are vnder the curse: for it is written, cursed is euerie man that continueth not in all things, &c. 2.7.5. & 2.7.17. & 2.16.2. & 3.11. 19
- 12 And the lawe 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 seede were y promises made, &c. 2.6.2. & 2 13.3. & 4.14.21
- 17 And this I say, that the law which was foure hundreth and thyrtye yeares after, can not disanull the couenant 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 lawe? it was added because of the transgression, &c. 1.14.9. & 2.5.6. & 2. 7.2
- 21 Is the lawe then 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 shoulde be giuen to them that beleue. 3.4.6
- 24 Wherefore the lawe was 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 Iew nor Grecian: there is neither bond nor free: there is neither male nor female: for ye are al 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 childe, differeth nothing from a seruant, though he be Lorde of all. 2.11.2. & 2.11.5. & 2.11. 13
- 2 But is vnder tutors & gouernours, vntill the time appointed of the father. 4.10.14
- 3 Euen so wee, when wee were children, were in bondage vnder the iudicementes of the world. 4.10.14
- 4 But when the fulnesse 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 he might redeeme thē which were vnder the law, y we might receiue the adoption, &c. 2.7.15. & 3. 19.2
- 6 And because ye are the sonnes, God hath sent forth the spirite of his son into your heartes, which crieth, Abba, that is, father. 2.14.5. & 3.1.3. & 3 2.11. & 3.13.5. & 3.20.37.
- 8 But euen then, when ye knewe not God, ye did seruiue vnto thē which by nature are not Gods. 1.4.3. & 1. 12.3
- 8 But nowe, seeing ye knowe God, ye are rather knowen of God, &c. 4. 1.27. & 4.10.10. & 4.19.7
- 10 Ye obserue daies, & monethes, and times, and yeares. 2.8.33
- 11 I am in feare of you, least I haue bestowed on you labour in vaine. 2. 8.33
- 22 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, an other thing is ment: for these mothers, are the two Testamentes, &c. 2.11.9
- 25 For Agar or Sina is a mountain in Arabia, and it answereth to Ierusalem that nowe is, &c. 3.2.6
- 26 But Ierusalem, which is aboute, is free: and is the mother of vs all: 4. 1.1
- 28 We are after the manner of Isaac, children of the promes. 4.16.12
- 30 Put out the seruant and her sonne, &c. 3.18.2
- 5.1 Stande fast in the libertie therefore wherwith Christ hath made vs free &c. 3.19.2. & 3.19.14. & 4.10.8. & 4. 10.9. & 4.20.1
- 4 Who so euer are iustified by the lawe, ye are fallen from gracc. 3.19. 14
- 5 For we through the spirite, wayte for y hope of righteousnes through faith. 3.2.43
- 6 In Christ Iesus neither circumcisiō auaieth any thing, nor vncircūcisiō, &c. 3.11.20
- 13 For brethren, ye haue beene called vnto liberty: only vse not your liberty, &c. 3.19.11
- 24 For all the lawe is fulfilled in one word, which is, Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. 2.8.53
- 17 For the fleshe lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh &c. 2.7.5. & 2.2.17
- 19 Moreouer the workes of the flesh are manifest, which are adultery fornication, vncleanesse, wantonnesse, 2.1.8 & 3.14.1. & 4.15.10
- 6.10 While wee haue therefore time, let vs do good vnto all 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 worlde is crucified vnto mee, and I vnto the worlde. 2.16 7

- 15 For in Christ Iesus, neither circumcisiō auaieth any thing, nor vncircūcisiō, &c. 4.14.24
- 17 From henceforth let no man put mee to businesse: for I beare in my body the markes, &c. 3.18.7. & 3.25. 8

EPHESIANS.

- 1.2 **G**RACE be with you, and peace from God our Father, & from the Lord Iesus Christ. 1.13.13
- 3 Which hath blessed vs with all spirituall blessing in heauenly thinges in Christ. 3.22.10
- 4 As he hath chosen vs in him before the foundation of the worlde, 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. & 3.24. 5
- 5 Who hath predestinate vs to be adopted through Iesus Christ vnto himselfe, &c. 2.12.5. and 3.11.4 & 3.18.2
- 6 To the praise of the glorie of his grace, wherewith he hath made vs accepted in his beloued. 2.17.2. & 3.23.2. & 3.11.4
- 7 By whome wee haue redemption through his blood, &c. 3.4.30
- 9 And hath opcned vnto vs the mysterie of his will, according to his good pleasure, &c. 4.14.2. and 4.19 36
- 10 That in the dispensation of the fulnesse of the times, he might gather together in one al things, both which are in heauen, and which are in earth, euen in Christ. 2.12.5. & 3.20.21
- 13 In whome also ye haue trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, euen y gospel of our saluation, &c. 1.7.4. & 2.9.3. & 2.10.3. & 3.1.4. & 3.2.36 & 3.24.1. & 3.24.8
- 14 Which is the earnest of our inheritance

- heritaunce, vntill the redemption,
&c. 3.24.8
17. That the God of our Lorde Iesus
Christ, the father of glorie, might
giue vnto you the spirite of wise-
dome, &c. 2.2.21
18. That ye may know, what y^e hope
of his calling, & what the riches of
his glorious inheritance is in the
sainctes. 3.2.16.&4.8.11
20. Which hee wrought in Christ,
when he raised him from the dead,
&c. 2.16.15
21. Far aboute all principallitie, & po-
wer, and might, & domination, and
euery name that is named, &c. 1.14
5. & 2.15.5. & 2.16.15
22. And he hath appointed him ouer
all thinges to bee the heade to the
Church. 2.15.5. & 4.6.9
23. Which is his body, euen the ful-
nesse of him that filleth all in all
thinges. 2.15.5. & 3.20.38. & 4.1.10.
& 4.17.9
- 2.1. That were dead in trespases, &
sinnes, &c. 3.24.10
2. Wherein, in time past ye walked,
according to the course of this
world, & after the Prince that ru-
leth in the ayer, &c. 1.14.13. & 1.14
18. & 2.4.1. & 3.24.10
3. Among whom we also had our cō-
uersation in time past, in the lustes
of our flesh, in fulfilling the wil of y^e
flesh, & of the mind, &c. 2.1.6. & 2.1
11. & 4.16.17
4. But God which is riche in loue,
through his great loue wherewith
he loued vs. 3.14.5
5. Euen when we were dead by sinnes
he quickened vs, &c. 2.5.19
6. And hath raised vs vp together, &
made vs to sit together in y^e heauē-
ly places in Christ Iesus. 2.16.16.
& 3.15.6. & 3.25.1
8. For by grace are ye sauēd through
faith, & that not of your selues: it is
the gift of God. 3.13.2. & 3.14.11
9. Not of workes, least any man
should boast himselfe. 3.13.2
10. For we are his workmanship cre-
ated in Christ Iesus vnto good
works, &c. 2.3.6. & 3.3.21. & 3.14.5
& 3.15.7. & 3.23.13
11. Wherefore remember that ye be-
ing in time past Gentiles in y^e flesh,
& called vncircumcision, &c. 4.14.
12. & 4.16.15
12. That ye were, I say, at that time
without Christ, & were alienates
from the common wealth of Is-
rael, &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. & 3.2.32. & 3.13.4. &
4.16.13
16. And that he might reconcile both
vnto God in one body by y^e crosse,
&c. 2.17.2
19. Nowe therefore, ye are no more
strangers & foreners: but Citizens,
&c. 3.25.1
20. And are built vpon y^e foundation
of the Apostles & Prophets, &c. 1.
7.2. & 4.2.1. & 4.2.4. & 4.6.5
21. In whome all the building cou-
pled together, groweth vnto an ho-
ly Temple in the Lorde. 3.15.5. &
3.16.2
- 3.2. If ye haue heard of the dispensa-
tion of the grace of God; which is
giuen me to you ward. 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 nowe vnto
principallities, and powers in hea-
uēly places, &c. 1.18.3. & 2.11.12.
& 3.24.16
12. By whom wee haue boldnes 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 Lorde Iesus Christ. 3.2.15
15. Of whome is named the whole family in heauen & in earth. 2.14.7
16. That he might graunt you according to the riches of his glorie, that ye may be strengthened, &c. 2.12.5
17. That Christ may dwell in your heartes by faith, &c. 2.9.3. & 2.12.5 & 4.17.5.
18. That ye being rooted and grounded in loue, may bee able to comprehend with al saints, &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 & 4.22.13
3. Indeuouring to keepe the vnitie of the spirite in the bond of peace. 4.12.11. & 4.12.13
4. There is one body, & one spirite, &c. 4.1.3. & 4.3.1. & 4.6.10
5. There is one Lord, one faith, & one baptisme. 1.13.16. & 4.2.5
7. But vnto euery one of vs is giuen grace, &c. 2.15.5. & 3.1.2. & 4.6.10
8. When he ascended vp on hie, he ledde captiuitie captiue, &c. 1.13.11 & 2.16.16
10. He y^e descended, is euen the same that ascended far aboue al heauē, &c. 2.16.14. & 4.3.2. & 4.6.10
11. Hee therefore gaue some to bee Apostles, and some to be prophets, &c. 4.1.13.5. & 4.3.4. & 4.6.10. & 4.8.12
22. For the gathering together of the Sainstes, that for the workes of the minister 12, &c. 4.1.5
23. Till we all meete together, in the vnitie of faith, &c. 4.14.8
14. That we be no more henceforth children, wauering & caried away with euery winde of doctrine, &c. 4.3.1
15. But let vs followe the trueth in loue, and in all things growe 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 knitte together by euery ioynt, &c. 2.13.1. & 4.6.9
17. This I say therefore, & testifie in the Lord, that ye henceforth walk 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 ye cast of, concerning the conuersation in time past, the old man, &c. 3.3.8. & 3.6.4
23. And be renewed in the spirite 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. 14.18
28. Let him that stole, steale no more, but let him rather labour, &c. 3.24.10
30. And grieue not the holy spirite of God by whom, &c. 2.5.8
- 5.1. Be ye therfore followers of God, as deere 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 ye were once darkened, but are now light in the Lord, &c. 3.16. 2. & 3.24.10
14. Awake thou that sleepest, & stand vp from the dead, and Christ shall giue thee light. 2.5.19. 23. For

23. For the husbände is the wiuēs head, euen as Christ is the head of the Church, &c. 3.6.3. & 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 & 4.15.2. & 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 wiuēs as their owne bodies, &c. 4.19. 35
29. For no man euer yet hated his owne flesh, but nourisheth, & cherisheth it, euen as the Lorde doeth the Church. 4.19.35
30. For we are members of his body, of his flesh, &c. 2.12.2. & 2.12.7. & 3.1.3. & 4.17.9
32. This is a great mystery, but I speak 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 children 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 bloud, &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. Aboue all take the shield of faith, wherewith ye may quench all, &c. 3.2.21. & 3.20.12
18. And pray alway with all maner of prayer and supplication in the spirite, &c. 3.20.5. & 3.20.7. & 3.20.12
19. And for mee, that vtterance may be giuen vnto me: that I may open my mouth boldly &c. 3.10.20

PHILIPPIANS.

- 1.1. Paul & Timothe the seruants of Iesus Christ, &c. 4.3.7. & 4.3.8
4. Alwayes in all my prayers for all you, &c. 2.2.25
6. I am perswaded of this same thing, that he that hath begon this same good worke in you, &c. 2.3.6. & 3.18. 1. & 3.24.6
20. As I hartily looke for, and hope that in nothing I shalbe ashamed, but that with all confidence, &c. 3.2.43
23. For I am greatly in dout on both sides, desiring to be loosed & to bee with Christ, &c. 3.9.4
29. For vnto you it is giuen for Christ, that not only ye should beleue in him, &c. 2.17.5
- 2.2. Fulfill my ioy, that ye be like minded, hauing the same loue, &c. 4.2.5
3. That nothing be don through cōtention, or vaine glorie: but that in meekenesse, &c. 3.7.4
5. Let the same mind be in you, that was cūen in Christ Iesus. 4.2.5
6. Who beeing in the forme of God, thought it no robbery, &c. 1.13.11 & 1.13.24
7. But he made himselfe of no reputation, & toke on him the forme of a seruant, & was made like vnto men, &c. 1.13.24. & 2.13.2. & 2.16.5 & 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 4.14.21
9. Wherefore God hath also highly exalted him, & giuen him a name, &c. 2.11.12. & 2.13.2. & 2.15.5. & 2.16.15. & 2.17.6
10. That

10. That at the name of Iesus should
euery knee bow, &c. 1.13.24. & 2.11
12. & 2.14.3. & 3.5.8
12. Wherefore my beloued, as you
haue alwayes obeyed, nor as in my
presence, &c. 2.5.11. & 3.2.23. &
3.18.1
13. For it is God that worketh in you
both the will, and the deede, &c. 2.
2.27. & 2.3.6. & 2.3.11. & 2.5.11. & 3.
2.23. & 3.11.12
15. That ye may be blamelesse, and
pure, and the sonnes of God with-
out rebuke, &c. 3.17.15
17. Yea and though I be offred vp v-
pon the sacrifice, and seruire of our
faith, I am glad & reioyce 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 own, & not that
which is Iesus Christes. 4.6.15
- 3.5. An Ebrewe of the Ebrewes, by
the lawe a Pharisee. 3.24.10
6. Concerning zeale, I persecuted the
Church, &c. 3.24.10
8. Yea, doutlesse I thinke all things
but losse, for the excellent know-
ledge sake of Christ Iesus my Lord
&c. 3.11.13. & 3.25.2
10. That I may know him, & the ver-
tue of his resurrection, &c. 2.16.13.
& 3.8.2. & 3.15.8. & 3.25.2
12. Not as though I had already at-
tained 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. & 3
3.25.1
15. Let vs therefore as many as be
perfect, be thus minded: and if ye
be otherwise minded: &c. 3.2.4. &
4.1.12
20. But our conuersation is in hea-
uen, from whence also we look for
the sauiour, &c. 3.25.2. & 4.17.27.

- & 4.17.29
21. Who shal change our vile body,
&c. 3.25.4. & 3.25.8. & 4.17.29
- 4.3. Yea, and I beseech thee, faithful
yokefellow, help those women that
laboured with mee in the gospell,
&c. 3.24.9
6. Be nothing careful, but in all things
let your requestes be shewed to
God in prayer & supplication, &c.
3.20.28. & 3.20.40
12. And I can be abased: and I can a-
bunde euery where in all things
I am instructed, &c. 3.10.5. & 3.
19.9
18. I was euen filled, after that I
had receiued of Epiphroditus, &c.
4.18.16

COLOSSIANS.

- 1.4 Since wee heard of your faith
in Christ Iesus, and of your
loue toward all sainctes. 2.10.3. &
3.18.3
5. For the hopes sake, which is layed
vp for you in heauen, &c. 3.18.3
& 3.25.1
9. For this cause wee also, since the
day wee 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. Giuing 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 whome 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 euery crea-
ture. 2.2.20. & 2.6.4. & 2.12.4. & 2.
12.7. & 2.14.2. & 2.14.5
16. For by him were all things crea-
ted, which are in heauen, & which
are in earth, things visible & inui-
sible, &c. 1.14.10. & 2.12.7
18. And he is the head of the body of
the

- the Church, &c. 2.12.7. & 4.6.9
- 20 And by him to reconcile all things vnto him selfe, &c. 1.14.10. & 2.17.2 & 3.4.27. & 3.15.5
- 21 And you which were in times past strangers & enemies, because your mindes, &c. 2.16.2. & 3.14.6
- 22 Hath he nowe also reconciled, in the body of his flesh, &c. 2.16.2.
- 24 Now reioice I in my sufferings for you, &c. 3.5.2. & 3.5.4. & 4.12.5
- 26 Which is the mysterie hid since the world began: and from all ages, but now is made manifest vnto his faints. 2.7.17. & 2.11.12. & 3.2.14. & 4.14.2
- 2.2 That their hearts might be comforted, & they knit together in loue &c. 3.2.14
- 3 In whome 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 lest there be any man that spoyle you through Philosophy, &c. 4.10.8. & 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 cōplete in him, which is the head of all principallitie, and power. 1.14.5. & 4.6.9
- 11 In whom also ye are circumcised with circumcision made without handes, &c. 4.14.24. & 4.16.11
- 12 In that ye are buried with him in baptisme, &c. 3.15.8. & 4.15.5. & 4.16.21
- 13 And yee which were dead, in sinnes, & in the vncircumcision of your flesh, &c. 2.7.17
- 14 And putting out the hande writing of ordinances that was against vs: &c. 2.7.17. and 2.17.5. and 3.4.25
- 15 And hath spoyled the principalties and powers, and hath made a shewe of them openly, &c. 2.16.6
- 16 Let no man therefore condemne you of meate & drinke or in respect of an holy day, &c. 2.8.33
- 17 Which are but a shadow of things to come: but the bodie is in Christ, 2.7.16. and 2.8.31. & 4.14.22. & 4.14.25
- 19 And holdeth not the head, where of all the bodie is furnished & knit together by ioyntes, &c. 2.15.1
- 20 Wherefore if you be dead with Christ from the ordinaunces of the worlde, &c. 4.10.9. & 4.10.13. and 4.19.7
- 21 Touch not, nor tast not, &c. 4.10.13
- 23 Which things haue in deede a shew of wisdom, in voluntary religion, &c. 4.10.11. & 4.10.24. and 4.13.2
- 3.1 If then yee be risen with Christ, seeke those things which are aboue &c. 3.6.3. & 4.17.36
- 2 Sette your affections on things whiche are aboue and 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. 2.16.1, 3, 6
- 6 For the which things sake y^e wrath of God commeth on the children of disobedience. 3.2.27
- 9 Lie not one to an other seeing that ye haue put of the olde man, &c. 3.3.8
- 10 And haue put on the new, which is renewed, &c. 1.15.4. & 2.12.9. & 3.9
- 11 Where is neither Grecian nor Iew circumcision nor vncircumcision, Barbarian, &c. 4.20.1
- 14 And aboue all these thinge, put

- on loue, &c. 2.8.53. & 3.18.8. & 4.13.
13
16 Teaching, and admonishing your
owne selues, in psalms, and hymnes
&c. 3.20.32
20 Children, obey your parentes, &c.
2.8.36
24 Knowing that of the Lorde, yee
shall receiue the rewarde of the in-
heritance, &c. 3.18.2
25 Neither is there no respect of per-
sons. 3.23.10
4.3 Praying also for vs, that God may
open vnto vs the dore of vtterance
&c. 3.10.20
17 And say to Archippus, take heede
to the ministerie, that thou hast re-
ceiued, &c. 4.3.7

I. THESSALONIANS.

- 2.18 **T**herefore wee woulde haue
come vnto you (I Paul) &c. 1
17.11
19 For what is our hope, or ioye, or
crowne of reioycing? 3.25.10
3.5 Euen for this cause, when I could
no longer forbear, I sent him that I
might knowe of your faith, &c. 3.20
46. & 4.1.6
12 And the Lorde increase you, and
make you abounde in loue one to-
warde an other, &c. 2.5.6
13 To make your heartes stable, and
vnblamable 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
vncleanes, but vnto holines. 3.16.2
& 3.19.2. & 3.23.13
15 For this say we vnto you by the
word of the Lorde, that we which
liue, and are remaining in the com-
ming of the Lorde, shal not prevent
those which sleepe. 3.25.8
16 For the Lorde him selfe shall desc-
end from heauen with a shout, and

- with the voyce of the Archangel, &
with the trompet of God: and the
dead in Christ shall first rise. 1.14.8
& 2.16.17
17 Then shall wee which liue and re-
maine, be caught vp with them also
in the cloudes, to meete the Lord in
the ayre: & so shall we be euer with
the Lorde. 2.16.17.
5.2 For you your selues know perfect-
ly, that the day of the Lorde shall
come, euen as a theef 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
17 Pray continually. 3.20.7. & 3.20.
28
18 In all things, giue thankes, for this
is the wil of God in Christ Iesus to-
warde you, &c. 3.20.28
19 Quench not the spirite. 1.9.3. & 2.
5.11
20 Despise not prophesying. 1.9.3
23 Nowe the very God of peace sancti-
fye you throughour: & I pray God
that your whole spirit and soule and
bodie, may be kept blameles vnto
the comming of our Lorde Iesus
Christ. 3.6.3. & 3.17.15. & 3.25.7
II. THESSALONIANS.
1.4 **S**o that we our selues reioyce of
you in the Churches of God be-
cause of your patience & faith in all
your persecutions and tribulations
that ye suffer. 3.2.11
5 Which is a token of the righteous
iudgement of God, that ye may be
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

- 7 And to you which are troubled, rest with vs when the Lorde Iesus shall shewe him selfe from heaven with his mightie Angels. 3.18.7
9. Which shall bee punished with euerlasting perdition, from the presence of the Lord, and from y^e glory of his power. 3.25.12
10. When he shall come to be glorified in his saintes, and to bee made merueilous in al them that beleeue (because our testimonie towarde you was beleeued) in that day. 3.25. 10
11. Wherefore, we also pray alwayes for you, y^e our God may make you worthie of his calling, and fulfill all the good pleasure of his goodnes, & the worke of faith with power. 2.5. 8.&3.2.35
- 2.3. Let no man deceiue you by any meanes: for that day shal not come except there come a departing first, and that that man of sinne bee disclosed, euen the sonne of perdition. 4.9.7
4. And exalteth himselfe against all that is called God, or that is worshipped so that he doeth 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 comming is by the working of Satan with al power and signes, and lying wonders. 1.14.17.&1.18.2. & 2.4.5
11. And therefore God shall send the strong delusion, that they shoulde beleeue lies. 1.14.17.&1.18.2. & 2.4.5
12. That all they might be damned, which beleeue not the truth, but had pleasure in vnrightheousnesse. 1.18.2.&2.4.5
13. But wee ought alwayes to giue thanks to God for you, brethren, beloued of the Lorde, because hee hath chosen you from y^e beginning to saluation, through sanctification of the spirit, & beleeve of the truth. 3.1.2.
14. Whereunto he called you by our Gospell, to the obtayning of y^e glory of our Lord Iesu Christ. 2.10.3
- 3.6. Wee doe commaunde you brethren, in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ that ye withdraw your selues fro 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 woulde not worke, that he should not eate. 4.16.29
12. Those that be such maner of persons, we commaunde, and beseech for our Lord Iesus Christ, that they worke with quietnes, and eate their owne breade. 3.1.26
14. And if there bee any that followe not our counsel, note by a letter, & haue no companie with him, that he may be ashamed. 4.12.5
15. Yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother. 4.12.10

I. TIMOTHE.

- 1.5. **T**He end of the Law, is loue our of a pure heart, and good conscience, and of faith vnfaigned. 2.5.6. & 2.8.51. & 3.2.12. & 3.19.16. & 4.10.4
9. Knowing that the lawe is not put for iust men, but for the lawles and disobedient, and for those that will not be ruled, for the wicked, &c. 2.7.10
13. I, I say which was first a blasphemmer, and a persecuter, and a doer of wrong: but hee had mercie of me, for I did it ignorantly, not beleeuing. 3.3.22
15. Christ Iesus came into the world to saue sinners, of the which I am cheefest.

- cheifest. 2.12.5
17. To the king eternal, immortal, invisible, the onely wife God, be honour and glory, &c. 1.13.11,24
19. Having faith & a good conscience the which being put awy, some haue made shipwrack of faith. 3.2. 12
- 2.1 I exhort therefore, that first of all prayers, supplications, intercessions & giuing of thankes be made for all men. 3.20.19.&4.20.23
2. For kings and for all that are in authoritie, that we may lead a quiet & peaceable life in al holinesse & honestie. 4.20.5,27.
4. Who woulde haue all men to be sauéd, & come to the knowledge of the trueth. 3.24.15
5. One God and one Mediator between God & man, the man Christ Iesus. 2.12.1.&2.17.5. & 3.20.17,20. & 4.12.25
6. Who gaue himselve a raunson for all men, I say Christ that testimony ordeined 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 be vnblameable, the husband of one wife, watchfull, 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 trueth. 4.1.10.&4.2.1,10.&4.8. 21.
16. And without controuersie great is the mysterie of godlinesse, God was made manifest in fleshe. 1.13. 11.&4.14.2
- 4.1 The spirite speaketh euidently, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, and shal giue heede to spirites of errour, and to doctrine of deuils. 4.19.4
2. Teaching lies through hipocricie, whose conscience is marked with a hote iron. 4.9.14
3. Forbidding mariage, and commaunding to abstaine from meats which God hath created to be receiued with thankes giuing of the faithfull and of them that haue knowen the truth. 4.9.14.&4.12.23.
4. For whatsoeuer God hath created is good, nor nothing is to be refused if it be taken with thankes geuing. 3.19.8
5. For it is sanctified by the worde of God and prayer. 3.19.8.&3.20.28
6. Being nourished vp in the wordes of faith, & in good doctrine, which thou hast continually followed. 3. 2.13
8. But godlinesse is profitable which hath promise of this life, & of the life to come. 2.9.3.&3.2.2.8.&3.20. 44
10. Therefore we labour and are reproched, bycause 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 gift that is in thee which was geuen thee to prophecy with laying on of the hands of the Elders. 4.3.16.&4.19.28
9. Let not a widow be taken into the number y is younger than 60. yeares olde, that hath bin the wife of one husband. 4.3.9
12. Therefore to be condéned, bycause they haue forsaken their first faith. 4.13.18
- 17 The Elders that rule well, are worthy

- thy double honor, but most chiefly those that do labour in the wordes and doctrine. 2.8.35.&4.11.1
- 20 Those that offend, reprove openly, that the rest may feare. 4.12.3
- 21 I charge thee before God and our Lorde Iesus Christ, & the elect Angels, that thou keepe these things without preferring one before another, & do nothing partially. 1.14.9,16.&3.23.4
- 22 Lay handes suddenly 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 wordes, of which there riseth enuie, strife, railings, and euil surmising. 1.13.3
- 10 For the roote of all euil is the loue of money, the which whilest some lusted after, they haue erred from the faith, & pearced the selues through with many sorrowes. 3.1.13
- 16 Who onely hath immortalitie dwelling in the light that none can attaine vnto, whom neuer man saw neither yet can see, vnto whome be honor & power euerlasting. Amen. 1.6.3.&1.18.3.&3.2.1
- 17 Charge those that be rich in this world, y they be not high minded, & 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 Timothee, keepe that that is committed vnto thee, & auoide profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called. 1.16.8
- II. TIMOTHEE.
- 1.1 Paul y 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 stirre 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 & grace, &c. 2.12.5.&3.14.5. &3.22.3.&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 & immortality to light through the gospel. 2.9.2. &3.25.1
- 12 For the which cause also I suffer these things, neither am I ashamed: I know whom I haue belceued, & I am perswaded, hee is able to keepe that I haue committed vnto him against that day. 3.2.31.&3.25.4
- 14 That worthy thing that was committed vnto thee, keepe through y holy Ghost which is in vs. 3.2.33
- 18 The Lord grant him, that he may finde mercy with the Lorde in that day. 3.25.10
- 2.10 Therefore I suffer all things for the elect sake; that they might also obtaine the saluation y is in Christe Iesu, with eternall glory. 3.5.4
- 12 If we be dead with him, wee shall also liue with him: and if we suffer, we shall also reigne with him. 3.15.8
- 13 If we beleue not, yet abideth he faithful: he can not deny himselfe. 1.4.2.&3.20.36
- 16 Stay profane babbling about vaine thinges, for they will proceede to more vngodhnes. 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 onely golden and siluer vessels, but also of wood, and of earth, and some of them be to honor, and some to dishonor.

- honour. 3.15.8
- 25 Instruct them with meekenes that are contrary minded, if y 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 be taken in the snare of the deuill, in the which they be held captiue, may, &c. 1.14 18.& 3.3.21
- 3.7 Euer learning, but they can neuer come to the knowledg of the truth. 3.2.5
- 8 And as Iannes and Iambres withstode Moses, so they withstand the truth, men corrupt in minde, & reprobate touching the faith. 3.2.13
- 16 The whole Scripture is giuen by inspiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to reprove, and 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, & before the lord Iesus Christ, who shall iudge the quicke and the dead at his glorious comming in his kingdome. 2.16.17
- 8 It remaineth, that there is a crown 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
- TITUS.
- 1.1 **P**aula seruant of God, and an Apostle of Iesus Christ according to the faith of the elect of God, and knowledge of the trueth, which is according to holines. 3.2.12.& 3.22 10
- 5 For this cause I left thee in Creta, that thou shouldest go forwards to amend those things that remaine, and y thou shouldest appoint euery where Elders, as I haue comanded thee. 4.5.7,8,15
- 6 If any be blamelesse, let it be the husbände of one wife, hauing children that be faithfull, &c. 4.3.12.& 4 12.23
- 7 A Bishoppe must be blamelesse, as the steward of God, &c. not greedy of filthy laker. 4.5.19
- 9 A holder of that faithfull worde which serueth to teach, that he may exhort by sound doctrine, and confute them that speake there against 4.3.6
- 13 This witnes is true: wherefore reprove the earnestly, that they may be found in faith. 3.2.13
- 15 All thinges 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 olde men be sober, shewing themselues worthy to bee 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, we 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 glory of that great God & Sauour euen Christ Iesus. 3.9.5.& 3.26.2
- 3.1 Put them in minde that they be subiect to principalities, and obey powers, that they be prepared to euery good worke. 4.20.23
- 4 But when the bountifulnes and loue of God our Sauour towards man appeared. 2.5.17.& 3.14.5.& 4.1. 26
- 5 Not by the workes of righteousness that we had done, but according to his

- his mercie hee 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, we should be made heires according to the hope of eternall life. 3. 15. 6
9. But stay foolish questions & genealogies, & contentions, & brawlinges 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 y^e prophets. 2. 9. 1. & 2. 15. 1. & 4. 8. 7
2. In these latter dayes he spake to vs by his sonne. 1. 13. 7. & 4. 8. 7. & 4. 18. 20
3. Who being the brightnesse of his glorie, and the ingraued forme of his person, and beareth vp all things by his mightie word, hath by him selfe purged our sinnes, &c. 1. 13. 2, 12. & 1. 16. 4. & 2. 2. 20. & 2. 14. 3
4. Being made so much more excellent then Angels, by howe much he hath obtained a more excellent name. 1. 14. 9
6. Let all the Angels of God worship him. 1. 13. 11, 23
10. And thou O Lorde, in the beginning hast laid the foundations of y^e earth: and the heauens be y^e workes of thy hands. 1. 13. 11, 23, 26
14. Be they not all ministring spirites sent forth to minister for their sakes that shalbe heires of saluatiō? 1. 14. 9. & 3. 20. 23
2. 5. He hath not put in subiection to the Angels, the worlde to come, of which we speake. 1. 14. 9
9. But wee see Iesus crowned with glorie and honor, which was made a litle while inferiour to Angels, by reason of suffering death, that by Gods grace he might tast of death for all men. 1. 13. 26. & 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 & power of death, that is the deuill, &c. 1. 14. 18. and 2. 13. 1, 2. and 3. 11. 12
15. And that he might deliuer all the, which for feare of death were all their life time subiect to bondage. 2. 16. 7
16. For in no wise hee tooke the Angels, but hee tooke the seede of Abraham. 1. 14. 9. & 2. 13. 1, 2
17. In all things it became him to bee made like to his brethren, that he might be mercifull, and a faithfull high priest in thinges concerning God. 2. 13. 1. & 2. 16. 2, 19
3. 14. We be made partakers of Christ, if wee keepe sure vnto the end that beginning wherewith wee are vp-holden. 3. 2. 16
4. 9. There remaineth therefore a rest to the people of God. 2. 8. 29
14. Having therefore a great high priest, that hath entred into heauē, cuen Iesus the sonne of God, let vs holde this profession 2. 7. 2. & 4. 14. 21
15. We haue not a hie priest that can not be touched with the infirmitie of our fleshe, but was in all thinges tempted in like sorte, yet without sin. 2. 12. 1, 7. & 2. 13. 1. & 2. 16. 12. & 4. 17. 24
16. Let vs approach therefore with boldnes vnto the throne of grace, y^e we may receiue mercy, and finde grace to helpe at time of neede. 3. 20. 12, 17
5. 1. Eueery hie priest is taken from amongest men, & is ordained for me in things pertaining to God, y^e hee may offer both giſts & sacrifice for sinnes

- 4: Neither doth any man take this honour to himselfe, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron. 4.3.10 & 4.15.22. & 4.18.9,14.
- 5: And so Christ tooke not to himselfe this honour, to be made hie priest, &c. 4.14.21. & 4.18.2
- 6: Thou art a priest for euer, after the order of Melchisedec. 4.19.28
- 7: Which in the dayes of his flesh did offer vp prayers and supplications with strong crying and teares vnto him, that was able to saue him from death, and was also hearde in that which he feared. 2.16.11
- 8: Although he were the sonne, notwithstanding he learned obediēce by those things that he suffred. 3.8.1
- 10: And called of God an hie priest, after y order of Melchisedec. 4.18.2
- 6.4. For it cannot be that those which were once lightened, and haue tasted of the heauenly giftes, and were made partakers of the holy Ghost. 3.2.11. & 3.3.21,23
- 6: If they fall, that they should be renewed againe by repentance, &c. 3.21
- 10: For God is not vnjust, that he should forget your workes and labour of loue, which ye shewed towards his name, &c. 3.18.7
- 13: For when God made the promise to Abraham, when as he could swere by none greater, he swore by himselfe. 2.8.25
- 16: For men verily swere by him that is greater then themselues, & 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 dayes, 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 ben a full perfection by the Leueticall priestthoode, &c. 2.11.4.
- 12: The Priestthoode therefore being changed, it must needes be, that there be 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. & 2.11.4
- 21: But this, he is made with an othe by him that said vnto him, The Lord hath sworne and will not repent, thou art a priest for euer, &c. 4.18.2.
- 22: Iesus is made so much greater surety of a better Testament 4.18.2
- 24: And he, because he abideth for euer, hath an euerlasting priestthod. 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 sum of that which we haue spoken: that we haue such an high priest, that sitteth on the right hand of the throne of maiesty in heauen. 2.16.15
- 5: Sec, quoth he, y thou make al things according to the paterne that was shewed thee in the mountaine. 2.7.1
- 6: But now our hie priest hath obtained a more excellent office, in as much as he is y 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 seconde went the hie priest alone once euery yeare not wout blood which he offered for himselfe and for the people. 2.7.17. &

8. Wherby the holy Ghost this signified, that the way into the holiest of all, was not yet opened, whilest as yet the first tabernacle was standing. 2.7.17.& 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.& 2.11.4.& 4.14.25
11. But Christ being come a hie priest of good things to come,&c. 2.16. 16.& 4.14.21.& 4.18.2
12. Neither by the blood of goates & calues, but by his owne blood entered he once into the holy place. 2. 17.4.& 4.18.3
13. For if the blood of bulles & goats, and 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 himself 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 newe Testament, that through death,&c. 2.7. 17. & 4.17.4
16. For where a testament is, there must be y death of him that made the testament. 4.18.5
22. And all things almost according to the law, was purified by blood, & without shedding of blood there was no remission. 2.15.6.& 2.17.4
26. But now once in the ende of the worlde 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 commeth the iudgement. 2. 16.17.& 3.25.8
28. So Christ was once offered to take away the sinnes of many, and vnto the that looke for him, shall he appeare the seconde time without sin vnto saluation. 3.25.2
- 10.1. For the law hauing the shadow of good things to come, & not the verie image of the thinges, can neuer w those sacrifices which they offer yearely, sanctifie the comers therto. 2.7.16,17.& 2.11.4.& 4.14.23
2. For would they not then haue ceased to haue bene offered because that y 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 bulles and goates cannot take away sinne. 4.14.25
7. Then I said, lo, I come (in the beginning of the booke it is written of me) that I should doe, O God, thy wil. 2.16.5
8. Aboue, when he said, sacrifice, and offerings, & burnt offerings, & sinne offerings, thou wouldest not haue, neither hast thou pleasure therein which are offered by the lawe, &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 he hath consecrated for euer, those that are sanctified. 3.5.2.& 4.18.7
19. Wherefore brethren, seeing wec haue libertie to enter the holy place through the blood of Iesus. 3.20.20
20. By the new & liuing way which he hath prepared for vs through y vaile, that is, his flesh. 3.20.18
26. If we sinne willingly after that we haue receiued the knowledge of the trueth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sinne. 3.3.21,23. & 4.19.3

- 27 But a fearefull looking for of iudgement, and violent fire which shall deuoure the aduersaries. 3.25.12
- 29 Of howe much more forer punishment-thinke ye,shal he be worthy, which treadeth vnder foote the son of God, and counteth the bould of the testament as an vnholly thing, wherewith hee was sanctified, and doth despise the spirit of grace. 3.3. 21
- 36 Ye haue neede of patience, that after ye haue done the will of God, ye might receiue the promises. 3.2. 37
- 11.1 Nowe faith is the gronde of thinges that are hoped for, and the euidence of things that are not seene 3.2.41.& 3.25.1
- 3 By faith we vnderstande, that the worlde was made by the worde of God, in such sorte, that the thinges 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 he that commeth to God must beleeuue that God is, and that he doth rewarde the 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 receaued the promises, offered his onely begotten sonne. 3.19.6
- 11 He worshipped God leaning vpon his staffe. 1.11.15
- 3 Consider him therfore that indured such speaking against of sinners least ye should be wearied and faint in your mindes. 3.3.15
- 5 And you haue forgotten the exhortation, which speaketh vnto you as vnto children: My sonne, dispise not the chastening of the Lord, neither faint in thy minde when thou art reprobued of him. 3.4.32
- 8 For if you be without correction, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastardes and not sonnes. 3.8.6
- 9 Moreouer, we haue had the fathers of our bodies, which corrected vs, and we gaue them reuerence, shold we not much rather be in subiection vnto the father of spirites, that wee might liue? 1.15.2
- 17 For ye know how that afterward when he would haue inherited the blessing, he was reiected, for he found no place to repent, although hee sought the blessing with teares. 3.3. 24
- 18 For ye came not to the mount that might be touched, nor vnto burning fire, nor to blacknesse, and darkenesse, &c. 2.11.9
- 22 But ye came to the mount Sion, and to the Citie of the liuing God, the celestiall Ierusalem, and to the company 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. Mariage is honorable amongst all men, and the bed vndefiled: but whoremongers and adulterers God will iudge. 4.9.14. & 4.12.25. & 4. 13.3
- 8 Iesus Christ the same yesterday, & 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 do good, and to distribute for.

