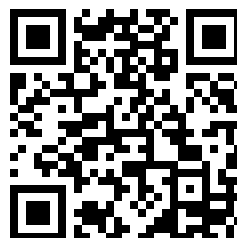


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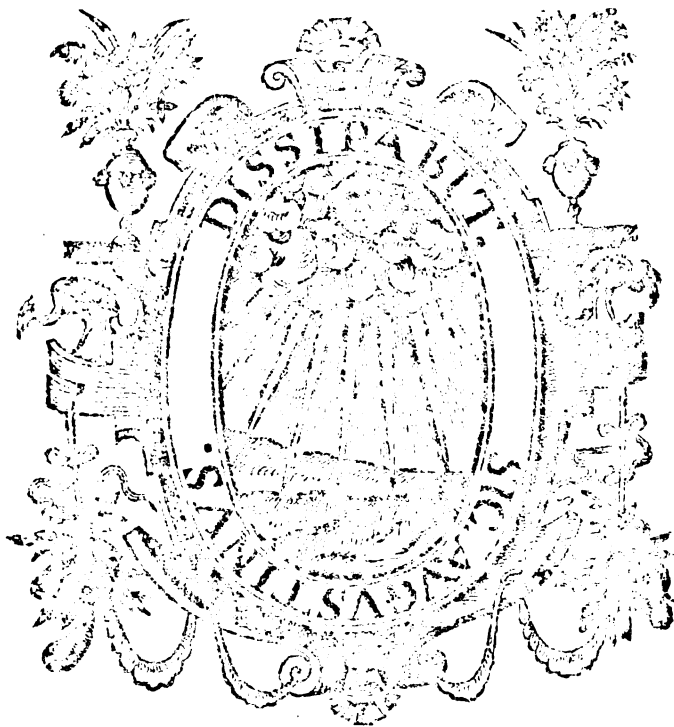






S.  
AVGVSTINE,  
OF  
THE CITIE OF GOD:  
WITH THE LEARNED  
COMMENT S  
OF  
Io. L O D. V I V E S.

*Englished by J. H.*



Printed by GEORGE ELD.  
1610.





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TO THE HONORABLEST  
PATRON OF MVSES AND  
GOOD MINDES, LORD

WILLIAM Earle of Penbroke,  
*Knight of the Honourable  
Order, &c.*

**R**ight gracious and gracefull Lord, your late imaginary, but now actual Trauailer, then to most-conceited *Viraginia*, now to almost-concealed *Virginia*; then a light, but not lewde, now a sage and allowed translator; then of a scarce knowne nouice, now a famous *Father*; then of a deuised Country scarce on earth, now of a desired *Citie* sure in heauen; then of *Utopia*, now of *Eutopia*; not as by testament, but as a testimonie of gratitude, obseruance, and hearts-honour to your Honor, bequeathed at hence-parting (thereby scarce perfecting) this his translation at the imprinting to your Lordships protecting. He, that against detraction beyond expectation, then found your sweete patronage in a matter of small moment, without distrust or disturbance in this worke of more worth, more weight, as he approoued his more abilitie, so would not but expect your Honours more acceptance.

Though these be *Church-men*, and this a *Church-matter*, he vnapt, or vnworthy to holde trafique with either;

*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

yet heere *Saint Augustine*, and his Commenter *Vives*, most fauour of the secular : and the one accordingly to *Marcellinus*, the other to our *King Henry*, directed their dedications ; and as translators are onely tyed, to haue, and giue, true vnderstanding : so are they freer then the authors to sute them-selues a Patrone. Which as to *Scipio*, the staffe and stay, the type and top of that Cic. in  
Brut. *Cornelian* stemme, *in quam, vt plura genera in vnam arborem, videtur insita multorum illuminata sapientia*, your poore *Pacuius*, *Terence*, or *Ennius*, (or what you list, so he be yours) thought most conuenient to consecrate. Wherefore his legacie laide at your Honours feete, is rather here deliuered to your Honours humbly thrise-kissed hands by his poore delegate.

*Your Lordships true-devoted,*

*Tb. Tb.*



HENRY King of England, to IOANNES  
LODOVICVS VIVES greeting.



WORTHY Sir, and our very welbeloued friend, as  
soone as Saint AVGVSTINE de ciuitate Dei, en-  
lightned with your comments came to our hands,  
being right welcome to vs, it caused vs to doubt,  
whom wee should most congratulate; either you, by  
whose so learned labour so choise a worke is fini-  
shed; or Saint AVGVSTINE, who long time imper-  
fect and obscure is now at last brought from darke-  
nesse to light, and restored to his ancient integri-  
ty, or all posterity, whom these your Commentaries  
shall infinitely profit. But whereas it pleased you, to  
dedicate these Commentaries to our name, wee

cannot but retaine a gratefull minde, and returne you great thanks, in that especially  
your minde therein seemeth to manifest no vulgar loue and obseruance towards vs.  
Wherefore wee would haue you perswaded, that our fauor and good will shall neuer faile  
in your affaires, whatsoever occasion shalbe offered, that may tend to your auaille.  
So fare you happily well. From our Court at Greenwich, the XXIIII. day of  
January M. D. XXIII.

IOANNES LODOVICVS VIVES to the renowned  
Prince HENRY the Eight, King of England,  
Lord of Ireland &c. Salutations.



IT is so ordered by nature of mens dispositions, most fa-  
mous King, as wee admire them truely and heartely, whom  
wee perceauce excell in that knowledge, which pleaseth vs  
most, and is approued amongst all: Diuers are giuen to di-  
uers studies and exercises, nature doth so ordaine, as by  
this variety the world should consist both beautifull and  
wonderfull: and yet, as hee speakes, *Every mans owne is  
fairest to himselfe.* Your Maiesty long since hath beene  
esteemed,

## L O D . V I V E S .

esteemed, yea and admired, for your opulency and so large extended Empire, not conquered by armes and homicide, but lineally conuained from your parents, as also for your strength of minde and body, and for your warlike prowes. But now since you haue also giuen good prooffe and essaies, how able you are in strength of wit and studies of wisdom, you are growne much greater and more admirable among all learned men, not, but that they highly esteemed you before, especially for that you ioyne mildnesse with maiesty, goodnesse with gouernment, thereby to appeare a louelier and liuelier image of the *Prince of Nature*, who as hee is greatest, so is hee best, yea best before he proued greatest. But men giuen to learning, doe not so much bewonder your wealth or your power, as with exceeding loue they embrace and adore, that you are good & gracious: not deeming it to be admired, that you are King, since euen wicked men haue oft bin Kings, yea and remarkeable for faire endowments of the body. But when your defense of the *Sacraments* came forth, the which nothing can be more elegant, more pure, more religious, and in one word more christian, the reputation of your mindes goodnesse was much more confirmed, if more it might be: for it was now infixed in the mindes of all, most firme & assured by many examples as if fastned with nailes, and admiration thereof arose in all men: yea euen in those who thinke nothing more honorable, more maiestical, then the power of a King; and those that place riches about all things, and that ascribe exceeding much to the gifts of the body, to beauty, brawny strength, and agility; and that are students in the arts of warre, as if war were the omnipotent commander of all things: where-hence it comes to passe, that all Princes, by all meanes and mediations they may, do ambitiously striue to hold friendship with you, all affecting to be ioyned to you, or by confederacy, or which is more wished by alliance. Nor want you the studies of priuate men, which by the splendor of your vertues you haue railed, alluring some with your beneficence, or rather magnificence, others with your humanity and sweetnesse of demeanor, all with wisdom & iustice, two vertues indeed for a king. You being such, I do in sooth confesse my impudency, that oftentimes I did affect to be known vnto you: for this is my opinion, that it is no meane praise to be but knowne of you. And whereas at all other times fit occasion was wanting, it now voluntary presented it self, my *Commentaries vpon S. AVGVSTINES bookes de ciuitate Dei*, being in a redinesse: which, when I bethought me to who I might dedicate in such sort, as both I might win some fauor worth the esteeming, for my labor, and he, to whom they should be presented, might not think so much learning as leasing, so much study as stubble, not a booke, but a burthen or bundell were profered vnto him; as also I might send them to a *Censor* as graue as gracious, who only allowing them, they might seeme approued and commended by the applause of all men, you onely came to minde for many reasons and respects. First, for that such is your vertue and learning, as euen to you I should haue presented them, if you had beene a priuate man: next did I see this was my next way to attaine my desire, which erst I had conceiued and in my selfe avowed. Moreouer, as they tell that haue tried, you are open-handed, and harted to such kinde of presents, then which scarce any may bee more welcome to you. For who should offer you gold, siluer, or gems, garments, horses or armor, should power water into the sea, and bring trees to the wood. And truly, as in all other things, so in this, you doe most wisely, to think that glory, befitting your vertue and deserts, is purchased with all posterity by bookes & monuments of learned men, if not by mine or those like me, yet surely by shewing your selfe affable and gracious to learned men, you shall light  
vpon

## to King HENRY.

upon some one, by whose stile, as a most conning pencill, the picture of that excellent and al-surmounting minde, purtraied and polished may be commended to eternity, not to bee covered with the rust of obliuion, nor corrupted by iniury of after ages, but that posterity an vncorrupted witnesse of vertues, should not be silent of what is worthy to bee spoken of, both to the glory of your selfe, when you are restored to heauen, though that be the best and best to be regarded, and also, which is principall and most to be aspired, to the example of them that shall then liue. Besides all this, this worke is most agreeable to your disposition and studies, wherein Saint AVGVSTINE hath collected (as in a treasury) the best part of those readings, which hee had selected in the ancient authors; as ready to dispute with sharpest wits best furnished with choicest eloquence and learning. Whereby it is fallne out, that he intending another point, hath preserued the reliques of some the best things, whose natiue seate and dwelling, where they vsed to be fet and found, was fouly ouerturned. And therefore some great men of this later age haue bin much holpen by these writings of AVGVSTINE, for VARRO, SALVST, LIVY, and TVLLI *de republica*: as HERMOLAVS, POLITIANVS, BLONDVS, BEROALDVS: all which you shal so read, not as they were new or vnheard-of, but recognize them as of old. Adde herevnto, that you and Saint AVGVSTINES point and purpose in writing, seeme almost to intend & attaine the same end. For as you wrote for that better *Rome* against *Babylon*, so Saint AVGVSTINE against *Babylon* defended that ancient, christian and holier *Rome*. This worke, not mine, but Saint AVGVSTINES, by whom I am protected, is also sutable vnto your greatnesse, whether the author bee respected, or the matter of the worke. The author is AVGVSTINE, (good GOD) how holy, how learned a man, what a light, what a leane to the christian common-wealth, on whom onely it rested for many rites, many statutes, customs, holy and venerable ceremonies! and not without cause. For in that man was most plentiful study, most exact knowledge of holy writ, a sharpe and cleare iudgement, a wit admirably quick and piercing. He was a most diligent defender of vndefiled piety, of most sweet behauior, composed and conformed to the charity of the Gospell, renowned and honored for his integrity and holinesse of life; all which a man might hardly profecute in a full volume, much lesse in an Epistle. It is well, I speake of a writer knowne of all, and familiar to you. Now the worke is not concerning the children of *Niobe*, or the gates of *Thebes*, or mending cloathes, or preparing pleasures, or manuring grounds, which yet haue bene arguments presented euen to Kings: but concerning both *Citties*, of the *World*, and GOD, wherein Angells, deuills, and all men are contained, how they were borne, how bred, how growne, whether they tend, and what they shall doe when they come to their worke: which to vnfold, hee hath omitted no prophane nor sacred learning, which hee doth not both touch and explaine; as the exploit of the *Romans*, their gods, and ceremonies, the Philosophers opinions, the originall of heauen and earth, of Angells, deuills, and men: from what grounds Gods people grew, and how thence brought along to our LORD CHRIST. Then are the *Two Citties* compared, of GOD and the *World*, and the *Assyrian*, *Sicyonian*, *Argiue*, *Attick*, *Latine*, and *Persian* governments induced. Next what the Prophets, both Heathenish, and Iewish, did foretell of CHRIST. Then speaking of true felicity, he refuteth and refelleth the opinions of the ancient Philosophers concerning it. Afterwards, how CHRIST shall come, the iudge of quick and dead, to sentence good and euill. Moreouer of the torments of the damned. Lastly of the ioyes and eternally felicity of Godly men. And all this with a wonder-

A

full

## LOD. VIVES,

full wit, exceeding sharpenesse, most neate learning, a cleare and polisht stile, such as became an author trauerfed and exercised in all kinde of learning and writings, and as besewmed those great and excellent matters, and fitted those with whom hee disputed. *Him* therefore shall you read most famous and best minded *King*, at such houres, as you with-draw from the mighty affaires and turmoiles of your kingdome to employ on learning and ornaments of the minde, and withall take a taste of our *Commentaries*; whereof let mee say, as *Ouid* sayd of his bookes *de Fastis*, when he presented them to GERMANICVS CÆSAR.

*A learned Princes iudgement & vndergoe,  
As sent to reade to Phæbus, our leaues goe.*

Which if I shall finde they dislike not you, I shall not feare the allowance of others, for who will be so impudent, as not to bee ashamed to dissent from so exact a iudgement? which if any dare doe, your euen silent authority, shall yet protect me. Farewell worthiest *King*, and recon VIVES most deuoted to you, in any place, so he be reconed one of yours. From Louaine the seauenth of Iuly. M. D. XXXII.

AN



AN  
ADVERTISMENT OF  
IOANNES LODOVICVS VIVES  
Of *Valentia.*

DECLARING VVHAT  
Manner of people the *Gothes*  
were, and how they tooke  
Rome.



HEREAS AVGVSTINE TOOKE OC-  
casion by the captivity of the Romaines to write  
of the Cittie of GOD, to answer them, which  
insuriously slandered the Christian Religion,  
as the cause of those enormities and miseries,  
which befell them: It shall not be lost labour for vs  
(sounding the depth of the matter) to relate from  
the Originall, what kinde of people the Gothes  
were, how they came into Italie, and surprized the  
Cittie of Rome. ¶ First it is cleare and eident,  
that the former age named those Getes, whome  
the succeeding age named Gothes, because this

age adulterated, and corrupted many of the ancient wordes. For those two Poets, to wit,  
RVTILVS and CLAVDIAN, when-soever they speake of the Gothes, doe alwaies  
name Getes. OROSIVS also in his Historse sayth, the Getes who now are named  
Goths, departing out of their Countrie with bagge and baggage, leaving their houses  
emptie, entred safely into the Romaine Prouinces with all their forces, being such a  
people, as ALEXANDER said were to be avoied, PYRRHVVS abhorred, and CÆSAR  
shunned. HIEROME upon Genesis, testifieth that the Gothes were named Getes of  
the learned in former time. Also they were Getes which inhabited about the Riuer  
Ister, as STRABO, MELA, PLINIE, and others aerre: possessing the Region  
adiacent, a great part of it lying waste and unmanured, being intemperate through ex-  
tremity of cold: also the further parts of Ister to Scithia, and the bether parts towards  
Thracia, where the Towne Tomus is, famous by the banishment of OVID, who of-  
ten writeth, that he liued amongst the Getes: They also inhabited the Mediterranean  
parts towards Germanie, and the spring head of the Riuer Ister. STRABO writeth in  
his seauenth book, that in former time they were named DACI and DAVI, when those  
nearer vnto Pontus were named GETES by the Greeks, and that both those people



spake one kinde of language. Although *PLINIE* intimateth unto us, that there was no other difference betweene this people, but that the Greekes named them *Getes*, whome the *Romaines* called *Daci*. But wee will follow *STRABO* in this place. The *Getes* (sayth hee), are a barbarous and saurige nation, strong and of a stout minde, contemning death, because they are perswaded that the soules doe retorne againe, as *MELA* writeth: or if they doe not retorne, yet that they are not utterly extinguished, and that they remoue into better places: But if neither happen, yet that death is better than life. It is reported that in later times the *Getes* were named *Ostrogothes*, and the *Daci* called *Viligothes* after their countrey names: because these bordred more toward the West, and the other more toward the East. But oftentimes these names are attributed as well to the one as to the other, without any difference, both by the olde and new writers. They report that this nation when the *Romaines* did flourish most, made an inuasion into a Prouince of the people of Rome, in the warre of *MITHRIDATES*: whome *L. CULLVS* being Generall, and managing the military affaires in Asia, with a great armie expelled out of *Misia*.

After that they departed out of their owne countrey boundes with *Bærebista* their Captaine after hee had accustomed them to labour and military discipline, and that they brought many Nations vnder the yoke of subiection. And that hauing passed ouer the riuer *Isther* with a great armie, they wasted and spoyled *Thracia*, *Macedonia*, *Illiryum* farre into the countries, putting the *Romaines* in great feare of them.

And that while the *Romaines* were making ready their forces to goe out against them *Bærebista* their Captaine dyed.

*AUGVSTVS* sent forth almost tenne Legions against them, and so wasted and diminished their forces, that hee brought them from two hundred thousand to forty thousand, and sped so well against them, that he had almost subiugated the whole Nation to the *Romaine* Empire. But a few yeares after they entring into the boundes of the *Romaines*, slew *OPPIVS SABINVS*, and his armie, who had borne the office of a *Consull*: yet *CORNELIVS FVSCVS* (*DOMITIAN* being Emperour) after many bickerings at last repressed their fury.

*TRAIANVS* the Emperour warred often against them, whereby he gotte him-selfe greate glory and renoune. *ANTONIVS CARACALLA* plagued them grieuouly, oportunity seruing his turne, when they neither dreamed nor suspected any such matter. Also in the daies of *GORDIANVS* they spread them-selues often into the bouas of the *Romains*: But *GORDIANVS* the younger compelled them with little labour to depart out of their Prouince with great losse. Now this stout and mutinous people, discontented with the limits of their owne abode, many times hunted after oportunity to inuaade the possessions of other nations.

Therefore *PHILIPPVS VOSTRENSIS* being Emperour (who first of the *Romaine* Princes professed Christian religion) More then three hundred thousand of them, making a great slaughter and spoyle, entred forcible into *Thracia* and *Mysia*, adioyning nearest vnto them. *DECIVS* was sent to driue them away, who had such bad lucke in his attempts, that hee gaue ouer before he obtained his purpose, which thing hee closely smothered succeeding *PHILIPPVS* in his government.

Afterward *GALLVS* the father and *VCLVS ANVS* his son concluded a peace with them vpon conditions unprofitable vnto them-selues, which the *Gothes* kept not very long, bearing them-selues bolde vpon the slothfulnesse and idlenesse of *GALIENVS* the Prince, and assayed not only to make an attempt against *Thracia*, and *Mysia*, but also against *Asia Minor*. They wasted and spoiled *Bythinia*, and returning into *Europe*, they made great spoyle and wast in *Thrasia* and *Macedonia*: and when they

## Concerning the Getes and Goths.

they were making towards Achaia, MACRINVS incountred them, discomfited them, and put them to flight, pursuing them so hard at the heeles, that hee draue them into their owne boundes. But they did not stay long there, although now departing out of their bounds, they were to deal with a most valiant Prince, who had bene no lesse fortunate than he was valorous, if he had liued longer in his Princely government. CLAVDIVS was the man which partly destroyed, and partly tooke CCC thousand of them. Which is an argument that the number of this people were almost infinite. For not many yeares after they rose up in armes against AVRELIANVS, possessing the Empire, and were vanquished at the first encounter at Danubius. FL CONSTANTINVS made such a slaughter of them, that at last he inforced them to be at quiet for many yerres. For the condition of their fight was such, that they did neither conquer without great harme done to their enemies: nor were ouercome without much hurt done to them-selues. And these things were acted by the Gothes, while they had proper places of their owne to inhabite. Now in the raigne of Prince VALENS, the Hunns which are likewise Scythians them-selues, yet more cruell, barbarous and rude, in the affaires of humane Commerce, remaining neare the Riphæan mountaines, enclosed betweene Tanais and the people, named Mafagetæ: chased the Gothes by force out of the region which they did inhabite. And although this region be not very commodious for the use of men, by reason of the extreme coldnes: yet the Hunns did esteeme it to bee more wholesome and pleasant than all the rest, being a people bred and brought up in a soile seldome warmed with the beames of the sun. Now the Gothes driuen out of their country houses and dwelling places, hauing bene accustomed before time to inuade the bounds of other Nations, were now in such a narrow streight, that they must either valiantly lose their liues, or remaine within the possessions of strangers, hauing none of their owne. There are some that affirme that those Getes (which we said were named Ostrogothes) came into the territories of the people of Rome, but that the Visigothes dismayed and amated with the aduerse fortune of their associats, aduised them-selues to shift their dwelling, dreading to abide the like tempest, that the Ostrogothes had suffered, the forces of the Hunns overflowing al, (like the swelling Sea) spoiling and destroying the neighbouring countries round about. This matter induced the Visigothes to dispatch Ambassadors with speedy expedition to VALENS the Romaine Emperor, who in the name of the whole Nation humbly intreated, that he would grant them the countrey of Mysia, which is on this side the Riuer Danubius, for their habitation and dwelling, earnestly protesting and vowing in the behalfe of all their Countrey-men, that they would all receiue the Christian Religion, and become true and faithfull Tributaries to the people of Rome, manfully defending those bounds of the Romanes by their sword and goods, from the violent inuasions of the rest of the Scythians. VALENS pleased with their conditions, sent LVPICINVS and MAVINVS vnto them, as Duumiri to decuide the grounde, and assigne places of habitations to the Visigoths. But they began to lay burthens of oppression vpon the necks of the people through their couetousnesse and crueltie: now for a while the Gothes did patiently beare and lightly regarded the wrong done vnto them, because they were loath, being but lately entered into the bounds of strangers to kindle any fire of sedition: supposing that those greedy Captaines being glutted with wealth would make an end of their oppressions. But while these couetous wretches had little care for the distribution and prouision of vituals: they caused such a greewous famine as was not onely a destruction to those hungry Captaines them-selues, but also to the Romaine prince, For the Gothes being assailed with pinching famine (like hungry beastes) tooke vppe their weapons hastily, killing the Romaine Captaines and their

The Gothes ar-  
driven out  
of their  
country by  
the Hunns,

Valens the  
Emperoe  
began aliue.

Guard, and then hauing armed them-selues, they range ouer all Mysia, and so from thence passe into the nearest Thracia, which they compelled to become tributary vnto them. Here VALENS encountred them, and there was a sore and bloody battell on both sides, so that the Romaines were scattered and put to flight, and a great many of them slaughtered. The Emperour him-selue beeing wounded was taken prisoner by the enemy, whome they burned aliue, so great was their furie after the effusion of so much blood. And then beeing proud of their victory, they march forward to Bizantium, and no repugnant forces stopping their passage, they besiege the Cittie, which held out for some space of time by her owne strength, by the industry and counsell of DOMINICA, who was wise vnto VALENS: for the hartes of the Cittizens were fast vniued toward the Prince by the great bounty and liberality of DOMINICA. Afterward, the siege beeing raised by the valour and power of VALENTINIANVS, brother to VALENS, they retired backe and departed. VALENTINIANVS adopted THEODOSIUS a Spaniard, sent for out of Spaine, and made him partaker of his Empire. He vanquished and putte the Gothes to the worst in many battels, compelling them to bee humble suitors for peace, which beeing graunted, HALARICVS their King comming to visite THEODOSIUS beeing sicke, fell him-selue also into a disease, of which hee died within a few moneths after: Neither had they any other King, or Captaine but such as the Romaine Emperoe elected and appointed ouer them.

In the meane while THEODOSIUS of Millan, who was a prince without all controuersie equall to the rest, and inferior to none of the most renowned, as well in warre, as peace, departed out of this life, leauing two sonnes behinde him, named ARCHADIUS and HONORIVS, and one daughter called PLACIDIA. He made ARCHADIUS gouernour ouer Byzantium and the Orientall Regiment, and HONORIVS ouer the Occidentall, and the Cittie of Rome. And because they were some-what young, hee assigned Tutors and Gardians ouer them in his Testament, for their better education: namely RUFPI-  
NVS ouer ARCHADIUS, and STILICO ouer HONORIVS, both of them beeing crafty and wicked wretches, and so qualified by nature, as they could easily insinuate them-selues into the bosome of Princes. These two had Protectors abusing the Minority of these Princes (beeing an age subiect to iniury) that they might increase their own riches and strengthen them-selues with great power: did not bend their affects to the fruition of any private greatnesse: but their ambitious and treacherous thoughts armed at the highest steppe of Royall dignity. RUFPIVS courted the Empire for him-selue, STILICO for his sonne. Thus both of them busied their wittes, and stretched the sinewes of their strength to satisfie their aspiring thoughtes: but they perceiued, that they could not come to the upshotte of their desires but in the time of warre: because then the peaceable state beeing troubled, with the tempest of warre, their hatefull thoughtes could not so well be discovered, and might with farre greater facility bee effected, the mindes of the Princes being perplexed with terrors of the warres, which might bee an occasion to grant any thing to men nearest vnto them, and such as should haue the chiefest command in the administration of all affaires. For they were not ignorant that in quiet time of peace (as in a fayre and calme day) the darke cloudes of their blacke mindes would soone haue bene discerned, and that punishment should with more expedition bee inflicted vpon them, the Princes and Nobles hauing leasure of consultation concerning that matter. Wherefore both of them sollicit and incite the Gothes (a people ready to blow the bellowes to kindle the flame of sedition and tumults of war) that they would make war against their Prince, setting an edge vpon their greedy appetit with hope of a great rich booty: the Gothes supposing now that oportunitie was their friend, so that they might do some great good for themselves: or at least (the  
war

## Concerning the Getes and Goths.

war not attempted) retorne home again with no smal prey: bedooke themselves to armes, and having created HALARICVS to bee their King, one of their owne bodie, and of the famous house of the BALTHI: depart out of their owne bounds, not without great feare and terror of those which bordered neare vnto them. And within a while after RADAGAI-<sup>The house of the Bal-</sup>svs ioyned himselfe vnto their King with two hundered thousand Gothes: and when<sup>thi.</sup> as no one land was able to nourrish two such high armies, the Generalls were constrained to seperate their Tents, and one of them going one way, and the other another way through Panonia, Illiricum, and Noricum, they burne, and spoile all things, that cometh in their way, and at last they come into Italy. Now RUFFINVS, foolishly execu-<sup>The death of the traitor Ruffinus.</sup>ting his designments, was slaine by those souldiers at Thessalonica. But STILICO more craftilie concealed his wicked plot. And now RADAGAISVS was come to the Cittie of Rome with his army marching through Etruria, putting all in great feare and terror, which way soeuer hee went. The City of Rome troubled with exceeding feare sendeth mercenarie captaines against him at his first approach. Now RADAGAISVS unadvisedly and rashly ordering his army, threw himselfe, as it were, head-long into places of disadvantage. So that the multitude of his souldiers pined, & were consumed with famine, deprived of their victual, And he himselfe seeing things were come to this unlucky event, attempted with a small company, to escape by flight by a secret and private way, but hee<sup>The death of Radagaisus.</sup> was intercepted, and slaine by the Romane souldiers, and a great multitude of Gothes were sold at a very low rate. After this overthrow, and slaughter of the Gothes, HALARICVS entresh into Italy, affrighting euery one with farre greater dread, then RADAGAISVS had done before. When tydings was brought vnto STILICO, which was at Byzantium, hee sent some of his souldiers before him, which should set vpon the reeward of the armie of the Gothes, and by that meanes hinder them from making any great slaughter, or spoile of the country.

Afterward, hee marched forward towards them by the coast of the upper sea, with all the forces of his horse-men and foote-men. The two armies pitch their Tents neere Rauenna, the Gothes got that part which is named Pollentia via, who in respect of their infinit number did farre exceed the Romanes: but in regard of skill, and militarie discipline, they were in no sort comparable vnto them. Now STILICO had often times gotte the upper hand ouer the Gothes by his warrelike politie, and had cooped them vppe in such a narrow place, that sitting idlie at home hee might haue ended the warres at his pleasure, if hee had beene willing. But hee resolved to remaine with his armie vntill the Vandalls his friends and favorites were come into France. For hee was perswaded without any doubt that then good occasion would be offered vnto him for obeyning the Empire for EVCHERIVS his sonne.

Therefore he trifled away the time by making a few light skirmishes with the enemy. But when HALARICVS had ferrited out his hidden drift by secret passages, hee disclosed it to HONORIVS. And when as by this good turne (as by a rich gift) hee supposed hee should both calme the fury, and insinnate himselfe into the fauor of HONORIVS: hee was encouraged to make petition vnto him, by the same ambassadors which he sent to reueale the treason of STILICO, that hee would grant part of France vnto him for his people to inhabit there, promising that they should liue after the lawes of the Romans, to the advancement of the Romane Empire, and their warres; and that they would be inferior to none of their Prouinces either in fealty, or dutifull seruice. The Emperour amazed with this doubtfull mischiefe, made choice rather to admit the Gothes into part of his dominion then to procure a small destruction to him and his, by the disloyalty of perfidious STILICO.

But HALARICVS was not the first, that discovered to HONORIVS what villanie STILICO was forging. Neuerthelesse he thought it was dangerous for him at any time to put such a man to death, as was father in law vnto him by his two wiues, beeing also so potent and mighty by his ritches farre aboue the highest degree of any priuat person. Therefore hauing dispatched his letters, hee sendeth them vnto STILICO by the ambassadors of the Goths, willing him without delay to permit the Goths, to haue free acesse into France. STILICO gaue but cold entertainment to this newes: for hee saw that he was defrauded of his great hope, and hee likewise suspected that his secret consultations some-time hidden in his brest, were now divulged and dispersed into the ayre. Yet for all that, his stout, and stuborne minde made some pause vpon the matter: at last making choice of that which was safest for him, hee answered that hee would obey the commaundement of his Prince.

Neuerthelesse being loath to giue ouer so, and that the matter might not slippe wholie out of his hands, hee suborneth one named SAVLVS and the souldiers of the Iewes to follow the Gothes hard at the heeles, who killing some thousands of them, oportunitie beeing offered, might by that meanes exasperat the mindes of the people and mooue them to breake the league. Now this SAVLVS vpon the LORDS Day, which by the ancient institution of our religion wee obserue as sacred and holie: wherein the Gothes were wholie intentiue to diuine seruices: made a suddaine and violent assault against them, and in the first tumult and vprore slew some of them. The Gothes being terrified with this vnexpected accident, consult suddenly, as well as they might, in such a sudden and fearefull case, whether they should arme themselues for their defence, or not. For they held it a haynous crime, to touch any weapons, to shedde mans blood, to make any slaughter of men on the festiuall day of Our Sauour. But when the furie of the Iewes was without any meane, and measure in killing, murdering and slaying, then euery priuat person following his owne minde, armed himselfe for his owne safety, attending no longer what councill might assigne them to doe. Now many of them beeing armed, and come together, HALARICVS hauing put his companies in arraise so well as shortnesse of time would giue leaue, easilie repressed the rage and madnesse of this weake and unwarlike people. For the Gothes hauing a little conflict with them dispersed the Iewes, and put them to flight. Afterward hauing complained that they were enforced to pollute and contaminate the sacred and diuine law, by the cruelty of them who had violated the lawes of men: and also calling vpon Christ, in whose name they tooke their oth when the league was confirmed betweene them, whose holy day they had polluted against their will, with effusion of blood, murders, and slaughter; then without delay inflamed with furie and rage, they march thorough Italic to displaie their bloudie coloures before the City of Rome.

Now not long before STILICO had dismissed some of his souldiers, as men of small reckning, and of no use but in time of warre: but by reason of the instant terror of imminent daunger, hee was constrained to send to the Emperour, so haue them sent backe againe vnto him, with a new supplie of other companies, that hee might goe with all the strength they could make to withstand the enterprizes of the Gothes. HONORIVS being thoroughly possessed concerning the plot of trayterous STILICO sendeth a great armie of souldiers vnto him: hauing prouidie giuen the captaines in charge, that watching fittie occasion they should suddenly kill STILICO and his sonne. Now they hauing consulted one with another concerning this action, and appointed a certaine day, when they might coragiously execute the commaundement of their prince: suddenly a . . . dat vnawares set vpon STILICO and his sonne, some on this side some on that, and so slew them both,

## Concerning the *Getes* and *Goths*.

both, and some of his kindred which made resistance to rescue them. This quick dispatch of these two Traitors was acted at Rome in Foro Paci, in the Market place of peace. But the improuident and carelesse Emperour, after his generall was slaine, had no care to place another in his roome. I think he did it to prevent that any other hauing the like powre should attempt the like practize. So that now the army beeing destitute of a chiefe commander, was pittisfully discomfited by the *Gothes*, who made such hauoke, and slaughter of the souldiers, that the very name of the *Gothes*, bred an exceeding terror and discouragement in the hearts of them all. Now the *Gothes* hauing put the Romanes to the foile, bring their bloudie ensignes to the City of Rome, and tooke the same, afflicted with a long siege, and beeing entered into the towne they beginne to ransacke and spoile it, beeing farre more greedy euery man to get a good bootie, then to commit slaughters, rapes, adulteries, and such like odious and filthy facts as are commonlie acted by the vnrbridled out-rage of dissolute souldiers, at the sacking of Citties. For when HALARICVS was ready to enter into the City, he caused two Edicts to be proclaimed to his souldiers. The one was, that euery man should abstaine from slaughter, and laying violent handes vpon any person: because such cruell deedes, did highly displease him. The other was, that whosocuer had taken Sanctuarie in the temples of the chiefe Apostles, should haue no harme done vnto them, nor those holie temples bee prophaned by any, and that the offender should suffer death. The City of Rome was taken by the *Gothes*, after it was founded Anno. M. C. L. XIII. Cal. April. FLAVIVS, and V. ARRO being Consuls. But after what manner it was taken, the Historiographers make small relation. EAPT STA EGNATIVS saith, that he had the manner of the taking of it, out of the workes of PROCOPIVS a Greeke author: and that hee did not a little maruell why the Interpreter did wittingly, and willingly ouer-skippe that place: or if it were so, that hee lighted vpon an vnperfect booke, that hee tooke no better heed to marke what was wanting. In my selfe haue not seene PROCOPIVS the Greeke author, therefore the truth of the cause shall relie vpon the credit of EGNATIVS: a man verie inaustrious and learned, as farre as I canne iudge by his workes. These are his words ensuing. HALARICVS had now besieged Rome, the space of two yeares, when HONORIVS remaining carelesse at Rauenna was neither able, nor durst come to succor and releue the City. For hee regarded nothing lesse then the wel-fare and safety of the City, after the death of STICCO, hauing no care to place another Generall in his roome, which might haue managed the warres against the *Gothes*. These things were motiues to stirre vp the *Gothes* to besiege the City, perceiuing that either the Romanes souldiers daylie decayed, or that they went about their affaires without any corage. But when they found that they could not winne it by force, hauing besieged it a long time in vaine: then their barbarous enemies turne their thoughts to attempt what they may doe by policy. And now they beginne to make a false shew of their departing home into their owne country, wherefore they call three hundered young men, out of their whole army, excelling in actiuity of body and corage of minde, which they giue as a present to the Noble-men of Rome, hauing instructed them before hand, that by their lowly carriage, and obsequious seruice, they should bend themselues to win the fauor, and good liking of their maisters; & that on a certaine day concluded betwen them, about noone-time, when the Romanes princes wete either a sleepe, or idly disposed, they should come speedily to the gate, which is named *Asinaria Porta*, & there suddenly rushing vpon the keepers, murder them speedely, and then set open the gate for their country-men to enter, beeing ready at hand. In the meane while the *Gothes* prolonged their returne, dissembling cunningly that some-time they wanted this

thing,

thing, and some-time that . At last these three hundred young men wakefull to take the tide of opportunity , dispatched their taske coragiously , which they had vnderaken, &, at the appointed day set the gate wide open to their countri-men, and friends. Now the *Goths* hauing gotten entrance, rifle, ransack, spoile, and wast the whole City, procuring far greater dishonor, & shame vnto the *Roman* Nation, then they did losse by the taking of it. There are some which thinke the gate was set open by the meanes of *PROBA*, a most famous, & wealthy woman, pitying the lamentable , and distressed case of the common people , who died euery where, like brute beasts, pined with famine, and afflicted with grieuous diseases.

There are two things worthy of serious marking, first that *HALARICVS* made an Edict, that no violence or harme should be offered vnto them, which fled into the Temples of the Saints , especially of Saint *PETER* and *PAVL*, which thing was carefully kept. Next, when it was told *HONORIVS* being at *Rauenna*, that *Rome* was lost : hee thought it had beene meant of a certaine French-man a quarrellous, and fighting fellow whose name was *ROME*, maruelling that hee was so soone gone, with whom hee had so little before beene most pleasant. *And thus much writeth EGNATIVS.*

*Now the most blasphemous and wicked people falsely imputed the cause of all their miseries and enormities vnto the Christian Religion: denying that euer it would haue come to passe, that Rome should haue beene taken, if they had kept still the Religions devoutly obserued by their Ancestors and commended by tradition vnto their Posterity. As though the French-men before time had not taken, wasted, and ransacked that Citty, for the very same cause, namely for the breach of their oth: yea at that time when the prophane ceremonies of their Heathenish Religion (as they say) were in their chiefest prime, and pride. And as though few Christian Emperors had managed their affaires well, or as though the decay of the Empire and ruine of it did not begin under the Emperors of the Gentiles. And as if *HONORIVS* had not lost *Rome*, by the same negligence, and sloathfulnesse, that *GALIENVS* lost *Egypt*, *Asia*, *Gallia*, passing the matter over with a pleasant iest when newes came vnto him of the losse of them. Wherefore against these slanderous persons who would haue beene enemies, and aduersaries of the Christian Religion though no calamity had happened to them, *AVGVSTINE* wrote two and twenty bookes: defending the Citty of God (that is to say) the Christian Religion, against the rage, and fury of their frantick and impious calumniations.*

● FINIS.

THE

# The argument out of the second booke of the *Retractions* of Saint Augustine.



Riumpant *Rome*, ruinated and deiected from her throne of Maieſty, into a gulphe of calamity, by the violent irruption of the barbarous *Gothes*, managing their bloody wars vnder the ſtandard of ALARICVS: the worſhippers of falſe, and many gods, (whom wee brand in the fore-head with the common name of heatheniſh Pagans) began to breath out more damnable and virulent blaſphemies againſt the true GOD, then their beſtiall mouthes had euer breathed out before: labouring with might and maine to lay a heape of ſlanders vpon the neck of *Chriſtian religion*, as the wicked *Mother* of all this miſchiefe, and murderer of their worldly happineſſe. Wherefore the fire and zeale of *Gods Houſe*, burning within my bowells, I reſolued to compile theſe bookes of the *Citty of God*, to batter down the ſtrongeſt hold of their bitter blaſphemies, and diſpel the thick cloudes of their groſſe errors. Some yeares paſſed ouer my head, before I could compile and finiſh the whole frame of this worke, by reaſon of many intercedent affaires, whoſe impatient haſt of quick expedition would admit no delay. But at laſt this great, and laborious worke of the *Citty of God*, was ended in two and twenty bookes: of which the firſt fiue rebate the edge of their erroneous opinions, which build the proſperity of humane affaires vpon ſuch a tottering foundation, that they thinke it cannot ſtand long, vnleſſe it be ſhored vppe by the worſhip of many gods, whom the blinded *Pagans* haue beene accuſtomed to worſhip and adore: auerring (but their truth is meere falſe-hood) that neglect and contempt of their vnworthy adoration hath beene the fountaine from whence theſe bitter waters of aduerſe occurrences haue ſtreamed abundantly, and ouerflowed them. But the other fiue following are not meale-mouthed, but ſpeake boldly againſt them which confeſſe, that the ſpring of worldly euills is not exhauſted, nor ſhal euer be dried vp: but the current flowing ſome-time more, ſome-times leſſe, ſome-times ſwiftly, ſome-times ſlowly, changing their ſtate according to the circumſtance of places times and perſons: yet fondly are they opinionated (for verity hath not made them a war-rant) that the deuout adoration of many gods, in which ſacrifices are offered vnto their imaginary *Deity*, is profitable for the life which wee hope for after death. Therefore in theſe ten bookes the abſurdity of theſe two vaine opinions, both deadly foes vnto *Chriſtian religion*, is diſcouered and confuted. But leaſt ſome man may vpbraide mee that I am too forward to diſproue the aſſertions of others, and ſlow enough to proue mine owne: the other part of this worke, which is confined within the bounds of twelue bookes, is directed to that purpoſe. Although in the firſt ten (where it is needfull) wee are not behinde hand to confirme the truth of our owne opinions and alſo to infringe the authority of contrary oppoſitions in the twelue bookes enſewing. Therefore the firſt foure of the twelue following, containe the originall of two *Citties*: of which one belongeth to GOD, the other to this *World*. The ſecond foure containe their progreſſe. The third foure, which are the laſt, containe their due bounds. Now though all the two and twenty bookes are compiled together of both *Citties*: yet they haue taken their title from the better part, and haue the name of the *Citty of God* printed on their fore-head. In the tenth booke it ought not to bee ſet downe for a miracle, that the fire falling from heauen ranne betweene the deuided ſacrifices, when ABRAHAM ſacrificed, becauſe this was ſhewed vnto him in a viſion. In the ſeauenteenth booke, where it is ſayd of SAMVEL, *He was not of the ſonnes of ARON*: it ſhould rather haue beene ſayd, *He was not the ſonne of the Prieſt*. For it was a more lawfull cuſtome, that the ſonnes of the *Prieſts* ſhould ſucceed in the roome of the deceaſſed *Prieſts*. For the Father of SAMVEL is found in the ſonnes of ARON, but hee was not a *Prieſt*: yet not ſo in his ſonnes, as if ARON had begot him, but in ſuch ſort as all of that people are ſaid to bee the ſonnes of ISRAEL. This worke beginneth thus. *That moſt glorious ſociety and celeftiall Citty of GOD &c.*

Retract. 1.  
Chap. 8.

Retract. 2.  
Chap. 5.

THE



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3. Of the Romaines fondnesse in thinking that those gods could helpe them, which could not helpe Troy, in her distresse.
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FINIS.



# THE FIRST BOOKE OF SAINT AVGVSTINE

Bishop of Hippo, his Cittie of God,  
VNTO MARCELLINVS.

*Of the aduersaries of the name of Christ, spared by the Barbarians  
in the sacking of Rome, onely for Christs sake.*

## CHAP. I.



**HAT** most glorious societie and celestiaall City of Gods faithfull, which is partly seated in the course of these declining times, wherein *he that liueth (a) by faith*, is a Pilgrim amongst the wicked; and partly in that solid estate of eternitie, which as yet the other part doth patiently expect, vntill *(b) righteousnesse be turned into iudgment*, being then by the proper excellence to obtaine the last victorie, and be crowned in perfection of peace; haue I vndertaken to defend in this worke: which I intend vnto you (*my dearest (c) Marcellinus*) as being your due by

Habac. 2.

Rom. 8.  
Psal. 93.

Psal. 61.

James 4.  
1. Pet. 5.

my promise, and exhibite it against all those that prefer their false gods before this Cities founder: The worke is great and difficult, but God the maister of all difficulties is our helper. For I know well what strong arguments are required to make the proud know the vertue of humilitie, by which (not being enhanced by humane glory, but endowed with diuine grace) it surmounts all earthly loftinesse, which totters through the owne transitory instability. For the King, the builder of this City, whereof we are now to discourse, hath opened his minde to his people, in the diuine law, thus: *God resisteth the proud, and giueth grace to the humble.* *(d)* Now this which is indeed only Gods, the swelling pride of an ambitious minde affecteth also, and loues to heare this as parcell of his praise.

*(e) Parcere subiectis & debellare superbos.*

To spare the lowly, and strike downe the proud.

AEnead. 6.

Wherefore touching the Temporall City (which longing after domination, though it hold all the other nations vnder it, yet in it selfe is ouer-ruled by the owne lust *(f)* after soueraignty) wee may not omit to speake what foecier the qualitie of our proposed subiect shall require or permit, for out of this, arise the foes against whom Gods City is to bee guarded. Yet some of these reclaiming their impious errors haue become good Citizens therein: but

B

others

others burning with an extreame violence of hate against it, are so thanklesse to the Redeemer of it for so manifest benefits of his, that at this day they would not speake a word against it, but that in the holy places thereof, flying thether from the sword of the foe, they found that life and safety wherein now they glory. Are not these *Romaines* become persecutors of Christ, whom the very *Barbarians* saued for Christs sake? yes, the Churches of the Apostles, and the Martyrs can testifie this, which in that great sacke were free both to their (*g*) owne, and (*h*) strangers. Euen thither came the rage of the bloody enimie: euen there the murders furie stopt: euen thither were the distressed led by their pittifull foes (who had spared them, though finding them out of those sanctuaries) least they should light vpon some that should not extend the like pittie. And euen they that else-where raged in slaughters, comming but to those places, that forbad what law of warre else-where allowed, all their head-long furie curbed it selfe, and all their desire of conquest was conquered. And so escaped many then, that since haue detracted all they can from Christianity: they can impute their cities other calamities, wholly vnto Christ, but that good which was bestowed on the only for Christs honor (namely the sparing of their liues) that they impute not vnto our Christ, but vnto their owne fate: whereas if they had any iudgement, they would rather attribute these calamities and miseries of mortalitie, all vnto the prouidence of God, which vseth to reforme the corruptions of mens manners, by (*i*) warre and oppressions, and laudably to exercise the righteous in such afflictions, & hauing so tried them, either to transport them to a more excellent estate, or to keepe them longer in the world for other ends and vses. And whereas the bloody *Barbarians* against all custome of warre, spared them both in other places, for the honor of Christ, and in those large houses that were dedicated vnto him, (made large, to containe many, for the larger extent of pittie;) this ought they to ascribe to these Christian times, to giue God thanks for it, and to haue true recourse by this meanes vnto Gods name, thereby to auoyde the (*k*) paines of eternall damnation: which name many of them as then falsely tooke vp, as a sure shelter against the stormes of present ruine. For euen those that you may now behold most petulantly insulting ouer Christs seruants, most of them had neuer escaped the generall massacre, had they not counterfeited themselues to be the seruants of Christ. But now through their vngratefull pride, and vngodly madnesse they stand against that name (in peruerfinesse of heart, and to their eternall captiuation in darknesse) to which they fled with a dissembling tongue, for the obtaining of the enjoying but of this temporall light.

*The Commentaries of Iohn Lodouicus Viues, vpon the first Chapter  
of the first booke of Saint Augustine, of the City of God.*

**H**E that liueth (*a*) by faith] *Habacuc. 2.4.* The iust shall liue by faith, so saith *Paul* in diuerse places: for this indeed is the prouision of our liues voyage. In the text it is diuersly read: some-time, *by my faith*; some-time, *by his faith*: the seuentie Interpreters translate it, *τὸ ἐν τῷ πισμὸς ἐπισμῶν*, he shall liue by the faith of himselfe, or his faith. (*b*) *Righteousnesse be turned into iudgement*] *Psal. 19.* The true *Hebrew* saith; *Because righteousnesse shall be turned into iudgement*: It is meant of the end of the world, wherevnto that also belongs that followeth: *The last victory*: The Church vpon earth warreth daily, and conquereth daily: but the end of one warre is but a step into another. That shall be the last and most perfect victory, when the Church shall be wholly translated into heauen, to remaine for euer  
in

in peace with the King and peace-maker, *Iesus Christ*. (c) *Marcellinus*, ] There are extant in *Augustines* Epistles, some dedicated vnto *Marcellinus*, and againe some from him to *Augustine*. Their acquaintance it seemes begun in *Affrica*: for thus writeth *Orosius* of this *Marcellinus*: *In those dayes by Honorius his command, and Constantines assistance, there was a generall peace and vnitie throughout the whole Church of Affrica, and the body of Christ (which we indeed are) was cured by a willing or thankfull consent on all sides: this holy command being put in execution by Marcellinus, a man full fraught with wisdom, industry, and endeour of all goodnesse.* (d) *Now this which indeed is onely Gods.* ] Either because such in their pride, desire what is properly Gods, namely to resist the proud; or, because pride (in others) is of it selfe so hated of the proud, that the proudest nation of all (the *Romanes*) reioyced to haue this reckoned vp as parcell of their glories, *that they kept downe the proud*: That the *Romanes* were proud themselues, and by reason of their owne pride hated it in all others, the words of *Cato Censorius* do prooue, in his Oration to the Senate for the *Rhodianes*: *They say (quoth he) the Rhodianes are proud: obiecting that which I would not haue spoken of my children: They are indeed proud: what is that to vs? Are you greened that any should be prouder then our selues?* Vnto which words *Gellius* addeth this. *There is nothing can be spoken either sharper or gentler then this reproofe vnto those most proud high-minded men, that loue pride in themselues and reproofe it in others.* (e) To spare ] *Virgill* hauing reckoned vp diuerse praises of other nations wherein they excelled the *Romanes*, at length turning to *Rome*, saith thus:

*Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento,  
Ha tibi erunt artes, paciꝫ imponere morem,  
Parcere subiectis & debellare superbos.*  
But (*Romane*) let thy study be to sway  
Thy realmes with awe, to force them peace obey;  
To spare the lowly, and to pull downe pride, &c.

To obey peace, is all one as to keepe or obserue it. (f) *Last after soweraignty* ]: It is an old Prouerbe: *The tyrants subiects are his slaves, and himselfe slave to his lusts and pleasures*. So said *Diogenes* the *Cynick* of the *Persian King*, and *Tully* in his *Paradoxes* of *Caesar*. (g) *Their owne* ] that is, *Christians*. (h) *Strangers*; ] namely such as did not worship *Christ*s God-head: whom *Augustine* termeth *Pagans*. (i) *By warre* ] This appeares most plaine in the *Romanes*, who liued more orderly in the times of warre, then at any time else, though in most secured peace. (k) *The paine of eternall damnation* ] Not onely those temporall and momentarie punishments:

*There neuer was warre wherein the conquerors would spare them  
whom they conquered, for the Gods they worshipped.*

## CHAP. 2.

**T**Here hath beene thus many warres chronicled, partly before *Rome* was builded, and partly since her founding: let them reade, and finde mee any one Citie taken by a stranger foe, that would spare any that they found retired into the temples of their gods, or any *Barbarian* Captaine, that euer commanded, that in the sacke of the towne none should bee touched that were fled into such or such temples. (d) Did not *Aeneas* see *Priamus* slaine before the Altar, and with his bloud

*Sanguine fadantem quos ipse sacrauerat ignes?  
Sprinkling the flames himselfe had hallowed?*

Did not (d) *Diomedes* & *Vlisses*, hauing slaughtred all the keepers of the high tower,

*----- casis summa custodibus arcis,  
Corripuere sacram effigiem manibusq; cruentis,  
Virgineas ausi diua contingere vitas.*

B z

Snatch

Snatch vp the sacred statue, and with hands  
Besmeer'd in bloud, durst touch the (d) Virgins vaile?

(e) Yet is not that true which followeth:

*Ex illo fluere ac retrò sublapsa refertur  
Spes Danaum.* —————

From thence the *Grecians* hopes decline, and faile.

For after all this, they conquered: after this they threw downe *Troy* with sword and fire: after this they smote off *Priams* head before the Altar that hee fled vnto. Neither perished *Troy* because it lost the *Palladium*: for what had the *Palladium* lost first, that it selfe should perish? perhaps the keepers? indeed it is true, they being slaine, it was soone taken away: For the Image kept not the men, but the men kept the Image (f) But why then was it adored as the preseruer of the country and Citizens, when it could not preserue the owne keepers?

### L. VIVES.

**Æneid. 2.** Did not (a) *Aeneas*,] so saith *Virgill*: There saw I *Priam*, *Hecuba*, and all their hundred daughters at the altar, &c. This happened vpon that night when *Troy* was taken and burned by the Greekes: and *Neoptolemus Pirrhus*, *Achilles* his sonne slue *Priam* at the altar. (b) *Himselfe had hallowed*,] Wherein he shows the greater indignity, because those gods did not assist him, which he himselfe had made and consecrated in that very place. I thinke it is meant of *Vesta* in whose temple perpetuall fire was kept: *Virgils* Commentators doe not explaine it: let each man take it as he please. (c) *Diomedes*,] This also is from *Virgill* in the said booke: the words are *Simons*, and meant of the *Palladium*, which in the *Trojan* warre *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* stole out of the Temple of *Pallas*. Nor feared they sacrilege, as to the which they added murther, and yet was (their party) the *Grecians*, conquerours ouer *Troy*. The *Palladium* was an Image of *Pallas*, whereof there are so many relations extant, that I shou'd thinke it idle to proceed in recounting all mens opinions thereof. Yet will I extract what seemes most likely, out of *Varro*, *Dionysius Halicarnassensius*, *Ouid*, *Plutarch*, and *Seruius*: *Chrysis* the Daughter of *Pallas* being married vnto *Dardannus*, brought with her for hir dowry this *Palladium*, and the Images of the Great gods: for which, *Dardannus* built a Temple in *Samoethracia*; all which Images afterward in his Grand-childs time, were transported from thence into *Ilium*, an Oracle forewarning them, that as long as the *Palladium* was there kept, so long the City shou'd continue vnruined. Wherefore it was placed in the most secret part of all the temple, and another *Palladium* made like that, was set in open sight, and carelesly respected. Now when *Pirrhus* had heard of *Helenus*, a Prophet, one of *Priams* sonnes, that *Troy* was inexpugnable, as long as the *Palladium* was safe, and that hee had told this vnto the Greeke Princes, *Ulysses* and *Diomedes* entred the towne in disguise, and getting to the Tower, set vpon the keepers, slew them, and tooke away that false *Palladium*. But the other, after the sack of *Troy*, together with the other great gods called the *Troians Penates*, *Sycas* deliuered vnto *Aeneas*, who carried them all into *Italy* with him. And so from *Alba Longa*, or (as *Varro* thinkes) from *Lavinium*, the *Palladium* was remooued vnto *Rome*, and set vp in the house of *Vesta*, which being by chance set on fire, *Lucius Metellus* then chiefe Priest, with the losse of his eyes, fetcht it forth of the midst of the flames. The *Palladium* was openly seene at the burning of the Temple of *Vesta*, in the time of *Heliogabalus*, saith *Herodian*. There was another *Palladium*, which *Nicias* did dedicate, in the Tower of *Athens*. (d) *Virgins vaile*,] For *Pallas* euer was a Virgin. (e) *Yet is not that true*,] For it was spoken by the lyer *Simon*: though it may bee held for true that then the *Grecians* hope was ouer-throwne. Neuerthelesse they gotte the *Cittie*. (f) *But why then*,] an argument which the *Logicians* call, *à minore*: how can that preserue the City and the countrie, that cannot preserue the owne keepers and garde, which is a worke of lesse moment, and yet in nature nearer concerning it?

The Image  
of the Pal-  
ladium.

Of

Of the Romanes fondnesse in thinking that those Gods could helpe them which could not helpe Troy, in her distresse.

## CHAP. 3.

Behold vnto what Patrones the Romanes reioyced to committe the protection of their Cittie! O too too pitteous error! Nay, they are angry at vs when wee speake thus of their Gods: but neuer with their teachers and inuentors, but pay them money for learning them such fooleries: yea and moreouer haue vpurchased their Authors, both stipends from the common treasury and ample honours besides; and namely in *Virgill*, who was therfore taught vnto their children, because that they thinke this great and most renowned Poet being fastned in their mindes, whilst they are young, will neuer easily be forgotten: according to that of *Horace*.

(a) *Quo semel est imbuta recens seruuabit odorem, --- Testa diuis*

Epist. 2.

The liquors that new vessels first containes,  
Behinde them leaue a tast that long remains.

Euen in the fore-named Poet *Virgill*, is *Iuno* presented as the *Troians* foe, inciting *Aeolus* the King of windes against them in these wordes:

(b) *Genus inimica mihi Tyrrhenum nauigat aquor*

*Ilum in Italiam portans, victosq; penates.*

Aene. 1.

The nation that I hate, in peace sayles by,  
with *Troy* and *Troies* false Gods to *Italy*.

(c) Yea would any wise-man haue commended the defence of *Rome* vnto Gods already proued vnable to defend them-selues? but suppose (d) *Iuno* spoke this as a woman in anger, not knowing what shee said: what saies (the so often sur-named (e) godly) *Aeneas* him-selue? does he not say plainly-

(f) *Panthus Otriales, arcis, Phœbiq; sacerdos,*

*Sacra manu, victosq; deos paruumq; nepotem*

Aene. 2.

*Ipse trahit, cursuq; amens ad limina tendit.*

*Panthus* a Priest of *Phœbus* and the Tower,

Burnd with his false gods, and in his hand

His poore young nephew, flies vnto the strand?

Doth he not hold these Gods (which he dares call *false*) rather commended vnto him, then he to them: it being said to him-

(g) *Sacra suosq; tibi commendat Troia penates.*

Aene. 2.

To thee doth *Troy* commend her Gods, her all?

If *Virgill* then call them fallen Gods, and conquered Gods; needing mans helpe for their escape after their ouerthrow and fall, how mad are men to thinke that there was any witte shewen in committing *Rome* to their keeping, or that it could not be lost, if first it lost not them? To worship conquered and cast Gods, as guardians, and defenders, what is it but to put by good deities, and adore

wicked (*i*) diuells? Were there not more wisdom shewen in beleeuing, (not that *Rome* had not come to this calamitie, vnlesse it had first lost them, but) that they had long since come to nothing, had not *Rome* beene as the especially carefull keeper of them? Who sees not (that will see any thing) what an idle presumption it is, to build any impossibility of being conquered, vpon defenders that haue bene conquered? and to thinke that *Rome* therefore perished because it had lost the Gods (*k*) guardians; when possibly, the onely cause why it perished, was, because it would set the rest vpon such soone perishing guardians? Nor listed the Poets to lye when they sung thus of these subuerted Gods; it was truth that inforced their vigorous spirits to confesse it. But of this, more fitly in another place hereafter: At this time (as I resolued at first) I wil haue a little bout (as wel as I can) with those vngrateful persons, whose blasphemous tongues throw those calamities vpon Christ, which are onely the guerdons of their owne peruerfnesse: But wheras Christs name alone was of power to procure them their vnderferued safety, that, they do scorne to acknowledge: and being madde with sacrilegious petulancy, they practise their foule tearmes vpon his name, which like false wretches they were before glad to rake vpon them to saue their liues by: and those filthy tongues which (when they were in Christs houses) feare kept silent, to remaine there with more safety, where euen for his sake they found mercy; those selfe-same, getting forth againe, shoot at his deity with al their envenomed shafts of mallice, and curses of hostility.

## L. VIVES.

**Q**uo (*a*) *semel*] *Horace* Epist. 2. Commonly cited to proue the power of custome in young and tender mindes; such is this too,

*Neg, amissos Colores Lana refert in defecta fove.*  
Wooll dyed in graine, will not change hew, nor staine.

(*b*) *Gens inimica*] *Aeneas* the 1. *Iuno* was foe to *Troy*: first, because they came from *Dardanus*, sonne of *Ioue* and *Eletra*, one of his whores. Secondly because *Ganymede*, *Trois* son being taken vp to heauen was made *Ioues* cup-bearer and *Hebe*, *Ioues* daughter put by. Thirdly because *Antigone*, *Laomedons* daughter, scorned *Ioues* beauty, being therefore turned into a storke: Lastly because shee was cast, in the contention of beauty, by the iudgement of *Paris*, *Priams* sonne. (*c*) *Yea?* would any wise man? The discourse of these *Penates*, houshold or peculiar Gods, is much more intricate then that of the *Palladium*. I thinke they are called *Penates*, quasi *Penites*, because they were their *penitissimi*, their most inward & proper Gods. *Macrobius* holdes with them that say they are our *Penates* by which we do *penitus spirare*, by whom we breath, and haue our body, & by whom we possesse our soules reason. So the *Penates* are the keepers or Gods Guardians of particular estates. The *Penates* of all mankind were held to be *Pallas*, the highest *Aether*, *Ioue* the middle *Aether*, and *Iuno* the lowest. Heauen also hath the *Penates* as *Martianus Capella* saith in his *Nuptia*. And on earth, euery Citty and euery house hath the peculiar Gods Guardians. For euery house is a little Citty: or rather euery Citty a great house. And as these haue the Gods, so hath the fire also: *Dionysius Halicarnassens* writeth that *Romulus* ordained perticular *Vesta's* for euery Court, ouer all which, his successor *Numa* set vp a common *Vesta*, which was the fire of the Citty, as *Cicero* saith in his 2. *De legibus*. But what *Penates* *Aeneas* brough into *Italie*, is vncertaine. Some say *Neptune* and *Apollo*, who (as we read) built the wals of *Troy*: Other say *Vesta*: For *Virgil* hauing said,

*Sacra suosq, &c.*

To thee doth *Troy* commend her Gods, &c. --- Addes presently,

*Sic ait, & manibus vitas, Vestaque potens,*  
*Eternumq, adytia effert penetralibus ignem.*

This

This said, he fetcheth forth th' eternall fire:  
Almighty *Vesta*, and her pure attire-----

Now I thinke *Vesta* was none of the *Penates*, but the fire, added to them, and therefore the *Dictator*, and the rest of the Romaine Magistrates on the day of their instalment sacrificed to *Vesta* and the Gods guardians. Of this *Vesta* and these Gods thus saith *Tully* in his twentieth booke *de natura deorum*. *Nam uesta nomen, &c.* The name of *Vesta* we haue from the Greekes: it is that which they call *Ἴστια*. And her power is ouer fires and altars: Therefore in the worship of that Godesse which is the guardian to the most inward and internall things, all the prayers and sacrifices offered are externall: Nor are the *Penates* far different from the power aforesaid: being either deriued from *Penus*, which is whatsoeuer man eateth, or of *penitus*, in that they are placed within, and therefore called of the Poets, *Penetrates*, chamber or closetary gods. Thus saith *Tully*. But here is no time for further dispute of this matter. *Dionysius* in his first booke saith he saw in a certaine blinde obscure temple not far from the *Forum*, two Images of the *Troian* gods, like two young men, sitting, and hauing *Iauelins* in their hands (two very old peeces of worke) and vpon them inscribed *D. Penates*: and that in most of the temples were Images in fashion and habit like these old ones. I make no question these were *Castor* and *Pollux*: for in other places they are called the *Romaines Penates*, which *Prudentius* testifies vnto *Symmachus* in these wordes.

What *Pē-*  
*nu* is.

----- *Gemini quoq; fratres*  
*Corrupta de matre nostri Ledeia Proles*  
*Nocturniq; equites celsa duo vumina Roma* *Impendent & c.*

----- And the two brothers  
The bastard twins of *Leda* and the Swan,  
Night-riders, as the Patron gods do watch  
The wals of stately *Rome*, &c. -----

But these were not the Patron Gods of *Troy*, for euen in the beginning of the *Troian* warre, presently vpon the rape of *Hellas*, they died. And therefore the being ignorant of their death, lookes for them amongst the other Greeke Nobles from the walles of *Troy*. *Homer. Iliad. 3.* Neither were these two the *Dii magni*, the great Gods, for *Heauen and earth* (as *Varro* saith in his 2. booke *de lingua Latina*) are (as the *Samothracians* principles doe teach) the *Dii magni*, the great Gods, and those whom I haue named by so many names. For neither were the two mens shapes which *Aeneas* set up before the gates at *Samothracia*, these great Gods, nor as the vulgar opinion holdeth, were the *Samothracians* Gods, *Castor* and *Pollux*: Thus saith *Varro*. The *Troian Penates* were those *θεοὶ μεγάλοι*, those great gods which sate as protectors of the City and *Latium*. Amongst which the *Palladium* was one, and the *Sempiternall fire* another, and herevpon it is that *Virgill* sings this.

Who were  
the *Dii*  
*magni*.

----- *Vestaq; mater*  
*Que Tuscum Tyberim, & Romana palatia seruas & c.*  
----- And mother *Vesta*, she that lookes,  
To *Rome* faire buildings, and old *Tyber*s brookes &c.

Though indeed they held it a wicked fact to name the peculiar god Guardian of the City, nor hold that it is *Vesta*. *Valerius Soranus* lost his life for being so bold as to name that name. But of this too much already, (d) But suppose *Iuno* spoke ] For *Seruius* and *Donate* say that *Iuno* called them the fallen gods to make them the more contemptible, and free *Aeolus* from suspecting that he went about to do ought against the gods. (e) Godly ] Godly in duty vnto his gods, his Father, and his Sonne, all whome he saued from burning. For Godliness is a dutifull worship vnto God, our Country, our Parents, and our kinfolkes: breesely, a thankfulness vnto all to whome we are indebted. (f) *Panibus* ] This is out of the second of the *Aeneads*, beginning at this verse.

Piety.

*Ecce autem telis Panibus delapsus. Achinim.*  
*Panibus Orriades & c.*



(g) *Sacra suosq;*] These are *Hectors* words spoken to *Aeneas* in a dreame. (h) That Rome had not come ] An Argument from the euent of one thing, to the euent of the like : the fence is corrupted in the latine : it should haue beene : *non Romam ad istam cladem*: that it had run thus : *Vt sapientius multo existimaret si non illud putaret, Romam ad hanc cladem non fuisse venturam, nisi illi perissent, sed illud potius putaret illos olim &c.* (i) *deuills* ] for the old writers acknowledged some of these *Damones*, or *Genii* to be very euill, and slothfull. For one *Genius* excelled another in vertue, wisdom, and power. *Augustus* his *Genius* was more cheerefull and lofty then was *Marke Anthonies*, as that same *Egyptian* magician affirmed in *Plutarke* in *Marke Anthonies* life. Nor doth our Christian religion deny that there is preheminance of some aboue others, aswell amongst the *Angells* as the *Deuills*; (k) *Gods guardians* ] Iust such guardians as *Plato* in his *Policy* saith that drunken and luxurious *Magistrates* are, that need guardians for themselves.

Of the sanctuary of Iuno in Troy which freed not any (that fled into it) from the Greekes at th: Citties sack, whereas the Churches of the Apostles saued all commers from the Barbarians, at the sacke of Rome. *Cæsars* opinion touching the enemies custome in the sacke of Citties.

## CHAP. 4.

NOr could Troy it selfe that was (as I sayd before) (a) the mother of the *Romanes* progeny, in al her hallowed temples, saue any one from the *Grecian* force and fury, though they worshiped the same gods: nay did they not in the very sanctuary of *Iuno*,

————— (b) *Ipsò Iunonis, as flo  
Custodes lecti (c) Phænix, & dirus Vliesses  
Predam asseruabant. Huc vndique Troia gaza  
Inceñsis erepta adytis, mensaque deorum,  
Crateresque auro solida, captiuaque vestis  
Congerit &c.*

————— To *Iunos* sanctuary  
Comes all the prey, and what they thither carry  
Is kept by choise men; the *Phenician*  
And dire *Vliesses*: thether the whole state  
Of *Troies* wealth swarmes, the gods, their temples plate,  
There lies the gold in heapes, and robes of worth  
Snatcht from the flaming coffers — &c.

Behold, the place dedicated vnto so great a goddesse was chosen out (not to serue for a place whence they might lawfully pull prisoners, but) for a prison wherein to shut vp all they tooke. Now compare this temple, not of any vulgar god, of the common sort, but of *Iupiters* sister, and Queene of all the other gods, vnto the Churches built as memorialls of the Apostles. To the first, all the spoiles that were pluckt from the gods and flaming temples were caried, not to be bestowed backe to the vanquished, but to bee shared amongst the vanquishers. To the second, both that which was the places owne and (d) what euer was found also els-where to belong to such places, with all religious honor and reuerence was restored. There, was freedome lost, here saued: there, was bondage shut in; here, it was shut out: thether were men brought by their proude foes, for to vndergo slauery: hither were men brought by their pittifull foes, to be secured from slauery. Lastly, the temple of *Iuno* was chosen by the (e) vnconstant *Greekes* to practise their proud couetousnesse in, whereas the Churches of *Christ* were by (f) the naturally cruell Barbarians, chosen to exercise

exercise their pious humility in. Perhaps the *Greekes* in that their victory spared those that fled into the temples of the (g) Common gods, and did not dare to hurt or captivate such as escaped thither: But in that, *Virgili* plaies the Poet indeed, and saignes it. Indeed there he describes the (h) generall custome of most enemies in the sacking of cities, and conquests; which (i) custome, *Cæsar* himselfe (as *Salust*, that noble, true historian recordeth) forgetteth not to auouch, in his sentence giuen vpon the conspirators in the Senate-house: that (in these spoiles) the Virgins are rauished, the Children torne from their Parents bosomes, the Matrons made the obiects, of al the victors lust, the temples, and houses all spoiled, all things turned into burning, and slaughter: and lastly all places stopt full of weapons, carcasses, blood, and lamentation. If *Cæsar* had not named temples, wee might haue thought it the custome of a foe to spare such places as are the habitations of their gods: but the Senators feared the ruine of their temples, not by an vnknowne or stranger enemy, but by (k) *Catiline*, and his followers, who were Senators and Citizens of *Rome* themselues. But these were villaines though, and their countries paricides:

### L. VIVES.

**M**Other (A) of the Romanes] For the *Troyans* that came with *Aeneas* into *Italy* built *Lauinium*; the *Lauinians*, *Alba longa*, the *Albans*, *Rome*. But *Saluste* sayth that the *Troyans* themselues that wandred about with *Aeneas* without dwellings, built *Rome* at the first. (b) *Iunonis*] They are *Aeneas* his words *Aenead.* 2. (c) *Phenix*] *Amintors* Son, *Achilles* his Maister, one that taught him to say well and do well: *Homer. Illiad.* 3. (d) *What euer was*] There was at this sacke of *Rome* a huge quantity of gold taken out of the *Vaticane*, but by *Alaricus* his command, it was al restored. *Oros. Lib.* 7. (e) *Vnconstant Greekes*] He was the *Greekes* character at *Rome*, & therefore they called them *Græculi*: and some coppies of *Augustines* bookes haue *Græcolorū*: Here *Cicero* in his oration for *Flaccus* saith these words; *Wherein we earnestly desire you to remember the rashnesse of the multitude, and the truly Greekish lenity*. So meaneth *Lucian* in his *Mortēs seruientibus*, and *Iamblichus* calls his *Grecians* *light-witted*. (f) *euen naturally cruell*] This is added for more fulnesse to the comparison. The *Barbarians* are apposed to the *Greekes*; not all *Barbarians*, but the naturally sauage and cruell, vnto those that would haue al humanity to be deriued from them alone. *Cicero* writeth thus to his brother *Quintus*, ruling then in *Asia minor*, which is *Greece*. *Seeing we rule ouer those amongst whom not onely humanity is in it selfe, but seemes from thence to be deriued vnto all others, verily let vs seeke to ascribe that chiefly vnto them from whom we our selues receiued it.* (g) *common gods*] For the *Greekes* and the *Troyans* worshipped the same gods. (h) *generall custome*] True, least his speech otherwise might haue made reprehension seeme rather peculiar vnto the *Greekes* then vnto other Nations in their conquests of Citties. (i) *which custome*] *Cains Cæsar* being then *Prator* (& afterwards *Dictator*) hauing discovered the conspiracy of *Catiline*, being asked by the Consul *Cicero*, what he thought fit should be done vnto the conspirators; answered, as *Saluste* setteth downe; That these euills which he had rehearsed, must needs haue come to effect, not only in this war, by reason it was domesticall, but that it is warres custome, to produce such bloody effects, which the vanquished of all sorts are sure to feele. *Tully* against *Verres* saith thus: *I omit to speake of the deflowring of free Virgins, and the rauishing of the matrons, &c. which were committed in that sacke of the City, not through hostile hate, nor military loosenesse, nor custome of warre, nor right of conquest.* Thus farre *Tully*. (k) *Catiline*] The history is at large in *Saluste*: and else where I will take occasion to say some-what of it.

That

*That the Romanes themselues neuer spared the Temples  
of those Cities which they conquered.*

CHAP. 5.

**B**Vt why should we spend time in discourfing of many nations, that haue waged warres together, and yet neuer spared the conquered habitations of one anothers gods: let vs goe to the *Romanes* themselues: yes; I say, let vs obserue the *Romanes* themselues, whose chiefe glory it was,

*Parcere subiectis & debellare superbos.*

To spare the lowly, and pull downe the proud.

And (a) being offered iniurie, rather to pardon then persecute: in all their spacious conquests of Townes and Cities, in all their progresse and augmentation of their domination, shew vs vnto what one Temple they granted this priuiledge, that it should secure him that could flie into it from the enemies sword? Did they euer do so, and yet their Histories not recorde it? Is it like that they that hunted thus for monuments of praise, would endure the suppression of this so goodly a commendation? Indeed that great *Romane* (b) *Marcus Marcellus* that tooke that goodly City of (c) *Syracusa*, is said to haue wept before the ruine, and shed his owne (d) teares ere he shed their blood: (e) hauing a care to preserue the chastitie euen of his foes from violation. For before hee gaue leaue to the inuasion, he made an absolute Edict, that no violence should be offered vnto any free person: yet was the Citie in hostile manner, subuerted vtterly, nor finde we any where recorded, that this so chaste and gentle a generall euer commanded to spare such as fled for refuge to this Temple or that: which (had it beene otherwise) would not haue beene omitted, since neither his compassion, nor his command for the captiues chastitie, is left vnrecorded. So is (f) *Fabius* the conqueror of *Tarentum* commended for abstayning from making bootie of their Images. For his (g) Secretary asking him what they should do with the Images of the gods, whereof they had as then taken a great many: he seasoned his continencie with a conceit, for asking what they were, and being answered that there were many of them great ones, and some of them armed: O (said he) let vs leaue the *Tarentines* their angrie gods. Seeing therefore that the *Romane* Historiographers neither concealed *Marcellus* his weeping, nor *Fabius* his iesting, neither the chaste pittie of the one, nor the merry abstinence of the other, with what reason should they omit that, if any of them had giuen such priuiledge to some men in honor of their gods, that they might saue their liues by taking sanctuarie in such or such a Temple, where neither rape nor slaughter should haue any power or place?

L. VIVES.

Increase by  
remission.

The Clau-  
dian family.

**B**Eing (a) offered iniurie,] *Saluste* in his conspiracie of *Catiline*, speaking of the ancient manners of the *Romanes*, giues them this commendation: *That they increased by pardoning.* (b) *Marcus Marcellus*,] There was two sorts of the *Claudii* in *Rome*: the one noble, arising from that *Appius Claudius* that vpon the expulsion of the *Kings* came from *Regillum* vnto *Rome*, and there was chosen Senatour, and his family made a *Patriot*: the other was *Plebeyan*, or vulgar, but yet as powerfull as the first, and as worthy, as *Suetonius* in the life of *Tyberius*

*Tyberius* doth testifie. And of this later, this man, of whom *Augustine* here writeth, was the first that was called *Marcellus*, as *Plutarch* writeth out of *Possidonius*. Now I wonder at this great error of so great a Historiographer, and one that was most exact in the *Romane* affaires: for there were *Claudius Marcellus* a hundred yeares before. But he of whom we speake was foure times Confull: for the second time he was created Confull, because the election was corrupt, hee discharged it not. Now if one reckon right, hee was fieve times Confull, first with *Cornelius Scipio*, in the warre of *France*, wherein hee tooke rich spoiles from *Viridomarus* the *French King*: and those were the third and last warres which the *Romanes* had waged with so many nations and vnder so many Generalls. After his second Consulship he tooke *Syracusa*. In his fourth Consulship (he and *Quintus Crispinus* being intrapped by the enemies) this great, valorous and iudicious Captaine lost his life; in the eleuenth yeare of the second *Carthaginian* warre, after he had fought nine and thirty set battailes, as *Plinie* in his feuenth booke witnesseth. (c) *Syracusa*, ] It is a citie in *Sicily*, now ancient, and whilom wealthy: three yeares did this *Marcellus* besiege it, and at length tooke it; bearing as much spoile from that conquest (very neare) as from the conquest of *Carthage*, which at that time was in the greatest height, and stood as *Romes* parallell in power and authority. (d) *Tears* ] So saith *Livy* lib. 25. *Marcellus* entring upon the walles, and looking ouer all the citie standing at that time faire and goodly, is said to haue shed teares, partly for ioy of this so great a conquest, and partly for pittie of the Citie's ancient glory: The ouer-throwe of the Athenian nauie, the wracke of two great armies with their Captaines; so many warres and rich Kings, and all that before him to be in a moment on fire, came all into his minde at once. This is also in *Valerius Maximus* de humanitate. (e) *Nay he had a care*, ] *Livy*, as before. *Marcellus* by a generall consent of the Captaines, forbad the soldiers to violate any free body, leauing them all the rest for spoile: which edict contained the assurance of the sayd free women from death and all other violence, as well as that of their chastities. (f) *Fabius the conqueror of Tarentum*, ] In the second *Carthaginian* warre, *Tarentum*, a famous citie in *Calabria* fell from the *Romanes* vnto *Hannibal*, but *Liuius Salinator* the Captaine of the *Romane* garrison, retired into the tower. This Citie *Fabius Maximus* recouered, and gaue his soldiours the spoile of it. This is that *Fabius* that in the said second *Panicke* warre, by his sole wisdome put life into all the *Romanes* dying hopes, and by his cunning protraction blunted the furie of *Hannibal*. And of him *Enius* said truly.

*Vnus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem,*  
One mans wise, set delay, restor'd vs all.

Neither can nor list now to stand vpon all the errors of the first Commentator of this booke: it were too tedious, and too troublesome. But because in this place he goeth astray with many others, who indeed in other mens iudgements are learned in such matters, but in their owne iudgements, most learned, (nor, to say trueth, are they vnlearned,) I could not choose but giue the reader this admonition, that this *Fabius* is not hee that was called *Maximus*, but his Grandfather was called so: because hee being *Censor* with *P. Decius*, diuided the whole commonty of *Rome* into foure Tribes, which he named *Urbana*: though I deny not that this *Fabius* of whom *Augustine* speaketh, deserued this name, but the world as then did not giue it him. (g) *Secretary* ] Hereof read *Livy* in his 27. Booke.

*That the cruell effects following the losses of warre, did but follow the custome of warre: and wherein they were moderated, it was through the power of the name of Iesus Christ.*

#### CHAP. 6.

Therefore all the spoile, murder, burning, violence and affliction, that in this fresh calamitie fell vpon *Rome*, were nothing but the ordinary effects following the (a) custome of warre. But that which was so vnaccustomed, that the sauage nature of the *Barbarians* should put on a new shape, and appeare so mercifull, that it would make choise of great and spacious Churches, to fill with such as it meant to shew pittie on, from which none should bee haled to slaughter

slaughter or flauerie, in which none should bee hurt, to which many by their courteous foes should be conducted, and out of which none should bee lead into bondage; This is due to the name of Christ, this is due to the Christian profession; he that seeth not this is blinde, hee that seeth it and praiseth it not is thanklesse, hee that hinders him that praiseth it, is madde. God forbid that any man of sence should attribute this vnto the *Barbarians* brutishnesse: It was God that struck a terror into their truculent and bloody spirits, it was he that bridled them, it was he that so wonderously restrained them, that had so long before fore-told this by his Prophet. (b) *I will visit their offences with the rod, and their sinne with scourges: yet will I not utterly take my mercy from them.*

Pfal. 89. 32.  
33.

## L. VIVES.

A description of the sack of a citie.

**C***Some (a) of warre,*] *Quintilian* recordes the accidents that follow the sacking of Cities in his eight booke, thus: *The flames were spread through the temples, a terrible cracking of falling houses was heard: and one confused sound of a thousand severall clamours. Some fled they knew not whether: some stuck fast in their last embraces of their friends, the children and the women howled, and the old men (unluckily spared untill that fatall day): then followed the tearing away of all the goods out of house and temple, and the talke of those that had carried away one burden and ranne for another, and the poore prisoners were driuen in chaines before their takers: and the mother endeuouring to carry her silly infant with her, and where the most gaine was, there went the victors together by the eares.* Now these things came thus to passe, because the soldiers (as they are a most proud and insolent kinde of men, without all meane and modestie) haue no power to temper their auarice, lust or furie in their victory: and againe (because taking the towne by force) if they should not do thus for terror to the enemy, they might iustly feare to suffer the like of the enemy. (b) *I will visit*] It is spoken of the sonnes of *Dauid*, Psal. 89. *If they be not good, &c.*

*Of the commodities, and descomodities commonly communicated both to good and ill.*

## CHAP. 7.

Rom. 9.  
45.

Rom. 2. 5.

**Y**Ea but (will (a) some say) Why doth God suffer his mercy to be extended vnto the gracelesse and thankelesse? Oh! why should we iudge, but because it is his worke that maketh the sunne to shine daily both on good and bad, & the raine to fall both on the iust and vniust? For what though some by meditating vpon this, take occasion to reforme their enormities with repentance? & other some (as the Apostle saith) despising the riches of Gods goodnes, and long suffering, in their hardnesse of heart and impenitency (b) *do lay up vnto them-selues wrath against the day of wrath, and the reuelation of Gods iust iudgement, who will (c) reward each man according to his workes?* Neuerthelesse Gods patience still inuiteth the wicked vnto repentance as this scourge doth instruct the good vnto patience. The mercy of God imbraceth the good with loue, as his seuerity doth correct the bad with paines. For it seemed good to the almighty prouidence to prepare such goods, in the world to come, as the iust onely should inioy, and not the vniust: and such euils, as the wicked only should feele, and not the godly. But as for these temporall goods, of this world, hee hath left them to the common vse both of good and badde: that the goods of this world should not be too much desired, because euen the wicked doe also partake

partake them : and that the euils of this world should not bee too cowardly auoyded, where-with the good are sometimes affected. But there is great difference in the (d) vse both of that estate in this world, which is called prosperous, and that which is (e) called aduerse. For neither do these temporall goodes extoll a good man, nor doe the euill deiect him. But the euill man must needs bee subiect to the punishment of this earthly unhappinesse, because hee is first corrupted by this earthly happinesse : Yet in the distributing of these temporall blessings God sheweth his prouident operation. For if all sinne were presently punished: there should bee nothing to do at the last iudgement: and againe if no sinne were here openly punished, the diuine prouidence would not bee beleued : And so in prosperity, if God should not giue competency of worldly and apparant blessings to some that aske them, we would say he hath nothing to do with them: and should he giue them to all that aske them, we should thinke he were not to bee serued but for them : and so his seruice should not make vs godly, but rather greedy. This being thus, what euer affliction good men and badde doe suffer together in this life, it doth not proue the persons vndistinct, because so they both do ioyntly indure like pains: for as in one fire, gold shineth and chaffe smoaketh, and as vnder one (f) flayle the straw is bruised, and the eare cleansed; nor is the lees and the oyle confused because they are both pressed in one presse, so likewise one and the same violence of affliction, prooueth, purifieth, and (g) melteth the good, and condemneth, wasteth and casteth out the badde. And thus in one and the same distresse do the wicked offend God by detestation and blasphemy, and the good do glorifie him by praise and praier. So great is the difference wherein we ponder not what, but how a man suffers his affects. For one and the same motion maketh the mud smell filthily, and the vnguent swell most fragrantly.

### L. VIVES.

Some (a) say ] because the aforesaid wordes were spoken of the sonnes of David (that is, *The saurus* the godly) How should the mercy of God be extended vnto the wicked? (b) Do lay vp ] or heap what it is, together. For *The saurus*, is a laying together of euill things as well as good: and it is ordinary with the Greekes to say θησαυρις υγιαων, the treasure of Ills, and *Plantus* hath *The saurus stupri*, the treasure of whoredome. (c) Will reward ]\* commonly it is read, *Doth reward*: *Augustin* hath it in better forme: for the Apostle speakes of the world to come: and the greeke is ἀποδομι, *Reddet* will reward. (d) Vse both of that ] *Terence* in his *Heautontimoroumenos* saith: such things as are called humane goods, namely our parents, country, lineage, friends and wealth: all these are but as his mind is that possesseth them: to him that can vse them well, they are good; to him that vseth them otherwise then well, they are euil. This *Terence* hath out of *Plato* in diuers places. (e) Is called aduerse ] Namely of the vulgar and such as are ignorant of the true natures of things. (f) Flaile ] *Virgill* in the first of his *Georgikes*, reckons the Flaile amongst the instruments of husbandry. *Pliny* in his eighteenth booke saith: *The haruest corne is thrashed forth vpon the floore sometime with flayles, sometime with the feete of horses, and sometime with staues.* So that this same *Tribulum*, is an instrument where-with the corne being ripe is thrashed forth on the floore: (*our fittest english is a flaille.*) How this is done, *Varro* teacheth in his first book *De re rustica*. (g) *Melteth the good* ] Maketh them liquid: it is a simily taken from gold: to exclude further disputation hereof; the scripture saith the good are melted with charity: *My soule melted as my beloved spoke*, saith the Canticles: but if a man will follow this theame he shall neuer finde an end. The fittest teacher in this kind is the holy scripture.

Humaine goods what they are.

What Tribula is.

of

*Of the causes of such corrections as fall both vpon  
the good and bad together.*

## CHAP. 8.

**B**Vt tell me now in all this desolation what one thing did the Christians endure, which due and faithfull consideration, might not turne vnto their edification? For first they might with feare obserue to what a masse iniquity was increased, at which the iust God being displeas'd had sent these afflictions vpo the world & that though they them-selues were far frō the society of the wicked, yet should they not hold them-selues so purely seperate from all faults, that they should thinke them-selues too good to suffer a temporall correction for diuers faults that might be found in their conuersations: for to omitte this, that ther is no man how euer laudable in his conuersation, that in some things (*a*) yeelds not vnto the concupiscence of the flesh; and that though hee decline not vnto the gulfe of reprobate offence and habitation of all brutish filthinesse, yet slips now and then into some enormities, and those either seldome, or so much more ordinary as then they are lesse momentary: To omitte all this, how hard a thing is it to find one, that makes a true vse of their fellowship, for whose horrible pride, luxury, auarice, bestiall iniquity and irreligiousnesse, the Lord (as his (*b*) Prophets haue threatned) doth lay his heauy hand vpon the whole world? How few do wee finde that liue with them, as good men ought to liue with them. For either we keepe aloofe, and forbear to giue them due instructions, admonitions or reprehensions, or else wee holde their reformation too great a labour: either we are affraid to offend them, or else wee eschew their hate for our owne greater temporall preferment, and feare their opposition either in those things which our greedinesse longeth to inioy, or in those which our weakenesse is affraid to forgoe: so that though the liues of the wicked be still disliked of the good, and that thereby the one do auoid that damnation which in the world to come is the assured inheritance of the other, yet because they winke at their damnable exorbitances, by reason they feare by them to loose their owne vaine temporalities, iustly do they partake with them in the punishments temporall though they shall not do so in the eternall; Iustly do they in these diuine corrections, tast the bitternesse of these transitory afflictions with them, to whome when they deserued those afflictions, they through the loue of this life, forbare to shew them-selues better: indeed he that forbear to reprehend ill courses in some that follow them, because he will take a more fit time, or because he doubts his reprehention may rather tend to their ruine then their reformation, or because he thinkes that others that are weake, may by this correction be offended in their Godly endeauours or diuerted from the true faith: In this case forbearance arises not from occasion of greedinesse, but from the counsell of charity, (*c*) But their's is the fault indeed who liue a life quite contrary, wholly abhorring the courses of the wicked, yet will ouerpasse to taxe the others sins wherof they ought to be most seuerer reproachers and correctors, because they feare to offend them, and so be hurt in their possession of those things whose vse is lawfull both vnto good and bad, affecting temporalities in this kinde farre more greedily then is fit for such as are but pilgrimes in this world, and such as expect (*d*) the hope of a celestially inheritance? for it is not onely those of the weaker sort that liue in

marriage

marriage, hauing (or seeking to haue) children, and keeping houses and families: whome the Apostle in the Church doth instruct how to liue, the wiues with their husbands and the husbands with their wiues: children with their parents and the parents with their children: the seruants with their maisters and the maisters with their seruants: it is not these alone that get together these worldly goods with industry, and loose them with sorrow, and because of which they dare not offend such men as in their filthy and contaminate liues do extremely displeaseth them: but it is also those of the higher sort, such as are no way chayned in marriage, such as are content with poore fare and meane attire. Many of these through too much loue of their good name and safety through their feare of the deceits and violence of the wicked; through frailtie and weaknesse, forbear to reprove the wicked when they haue offended. And although they doe not feare them so farre, as to be drawne to actuall imitation of these their vicious demeanours; yet this which they will not act with them, they will not reprehend in them (though herein they might reforme some of them by this reprehension:) by reason that (in case they did not reforme them) their owne fame and their safetie might come in danger of destruction. Now herein they doe at no hand consider how they are bound to see that their fame and safety bee necessarily employed in the instruction of others, but they do nothing but poise it in their owne infirmitie, which loues to be stroaked with a smooth tongue, and delighteth in the (e) day of man: fearing the censure of the vulgar, and the torture and destruction of body: that is, they forbear this dutie, not through any effect of charitie, but meere through the power of avarice and greedy affection. Wherefore I hold this a great cause, why the good liuers do partake with the bad in their afflictions, when it is Gods pleasure to correct the corruption of manners with the punishment of temporall calamities. For they both endure one scourge, not because they are both guiltie of one disordered life, but because they both doe too much affect this transitorie life; not in like measure, but yet both together: which the good man should contemne, that the other by them being corrected and amended, might attaine the life eternall: who if they would not ioyne with them in this endeauour of attaining beatitude, they should be (f) borne with all and loued as our enemies are to be loued in Christianitie: we being vncertaine whilest they liue here, whether euer their heart shall be turned vnto better or no, which to doe, the good men haue (not the like, but) farre greater reason, because vnto them (g) the Prophet saith: *Hee is taken away for his iniquity, but his bloud will I require at the watch-mans hand,* (h) for vnto this end were *watch-men*, that is rulers over the people placed in the churches, that they should (i) not spare to reprehend enormities. Nor yet is any other man altogether free from this guilt, whatsoeuer he bee, ruler or not ruler, who in that dayly commerce and conuersation, wherein humane necessity confines him, obserueth any thing blame worthy, and to reprehend it, seeking to auoyde the others displeasure, being drawne here-vnto by these vanities which he doth not vse as he should, but affecteth much more then hee should. Again, there's another reason why the righteous should endure these temporall afflictions, and was cause of holy (k) *Jobs* sufferance, namely that hereby the soule may bee prooued and fully knowne, whether it hath so much godlie vertue as to loue God freely, and for himselfe alone. These reasons being

Ezech. 33.



well considered, tell me whether any thing be casuall vnto the good, that tendeth not to their good: vnlesse we shall hold that the Apostle talked idely when he said: *(l) Wee know all things worke together for the best vnto them that loue God?*

## L. VIVES.

**I**N something *(a)* yeelds ] The lust of the flesh is so inwardly inherent in our bodies, and that affect is so inborne in vs by nature (that great workman of all things liuing) who hath so subtilly infused it into our breasts, that euen when our minde is quiet vpon another obiekt we do propagate our offspring in the like affection: so that we can by no meanes haue a thought of the performing of this desire, without beeing stung within with a certaine secret delight: which many do make a sinne, but too too veniall. *(b)* by his Prophets ] and that very often, as is plaine in *Esay*, and *Ieremy*. *(c)* But this is the fault ] Cicero in his offices saith: *There be some that although that which they thinke bee very good, yet for feare of enuy dare not speak it.* *(d)* The hope ] As the guide of their pilgrimage: *(e)* the day of man ] 1. Cor. 4. *I passe little to bee iudged of you or of the day of man:* that is, the iudgement of man, wherein each man is condemned or approued of men: whose contrary is *the daie of the Lord*, which searcheth and censureth the secrets of all heartes: *(f)* borne with and loued ] The wicked are not onely to bee indured, but euen to bee loued also, God commaunding vs to loue euen our enemies. *Mat. 5. (g)* The Prophet ] Ezechiel, Chap. 33. *But if the watchman see the sword come and blow not the trumpet, and the people bee not warned: and the sword come & take away any person from among them, he is taken away for his iniquitie, but his blood will I require at the watch-mans hands.* *(h)* For vnto this end were watch-men ] *ἰνιτρονος* in Greeke is *Speculator* in latin, a watchman, a discryer, an obseruer, and a Governour, Cicero in his seauenth booke of his Epistles to *Atticus* saith thus: *Pompey would haue me to be the ἰνιτρονος the Sentinell of Campania and all the sea-coastes, and one to whome the whole summe of the busines should haue speciall relation.* *Andromache* in *Homēr* calls *Hector* *Troia ἰνιτρονος*, the watchman or guardian of Troy. The Athenians called their *Intelligencers*, and such as they sent out to obserue the practises of their tributary citties *Episcopos*, Ouerseers, and *ἐπιχαρτες*, watchmen; the Lacedemonians called them *ἀξιμισαι*, Moderatores, Governours. *Archadius* the Lawyer calls them *Episcopos* that had charge of the prouision for vittailles. Some thinke the preposition *ἰνι* to bee heere a *Pleonasmus* (whereof *Eustathius* one of *Homers* interpreters is one) and that *ἰνιτρονος* and *ἰνιτρονος* is all one. 1. *Not spare to reprobend* ] So saith saint *Paul* vnto *Titus*: And so doe our Bishops euen in these times, whome with teares we behold haled vnto martyrdomme because they tell the truth in too bitter tearmes, and persecute vice through all, not respecting a whit their reuenues nor dignities. *Christ Iesus* glorifie them. *(k)* *Iobs* ] The history all men know; and *Hierome* vpon the same saith: *These thinges fell vpon Iob, that he might shew outwardly vnto men the loue that he held inwardly vnto God.* *(l)* *Uce know* ] Rom. 8. 28. *Aduerse and prosperous fortune ar both assistants in the good mans saluation: and there is nothing befalleth them but he can conuert it vnto the augmentation of his vertues.*

Iliad, 6.

*That the Saints in their losse of things temporall loose  
not any thing at all.*

## CHAP. 9.

**T**hey lost all that they had: what? their faith? their zeale? their goods of the *(a)* inward man; which inritcheth the soule before God? These are a Christians riches, whereof the Apostle being possessed said: *Godlinesse is a great*

great gaine if man bee content with what he hath: for we brought nothing into this world, nor can we cary any thing out: therefore when we haue foode and rayment, let vs content our-selues there-with, for they that wil be rich fall into temptation and snares, and into many foolish and hurtfull desires, which drowne men in perdition and destruction; for (b) coueteousnesse of mony is the roote of all euill, which while some tusting after, haue erred from the faith and cast them-selues in many (c) sorrowes. Such therefore as lost their goods in that destruction, if they held them as the afore-said Apostle (d) (poore without, but rich within) taught them: that is, if they vsed the world so as if they vsed it not at all, then might they truly say with him that was so sore assaltd and yet neuer ouerthrowne (e) *Naked came I out of my mothers wombe, and naked shall I returne thether againe: The Lord hath giuen it, & the Lord hath taken it away, as it hath pleased the Lord so commeth it to passe: blessed be the name of the Lord.* He held his Lords will, (as a good seruant) for great possessions, and by attending that, enriched his spirit: nor greued he at all at the losse of that in his life time, which death perforce would make him leaue shortly after. But those farre weaker soules, though they preferre not these worldly things before Christ, yet stick vnto them with a certaine exorbitant affection, they must needs feele such paine in the loosing of them, as their offence deserued in louing of them: and endure the sorrowes in the same measure that they cast themselues into sorrowes: As I said before out of the Apostle. For it was meete for them to taste a little of the discipline of experience, seeing thy had so long neglected instruction by words: for the Apostle hauing said: *They that will be rich fall into temptations; &c.* Herein doth hee reprehend the desire after ritches onely, not the vse of them: teaching likewise (f) else-where: *Charge them that are ritch in this world, that they be not high minded, and that they trust not in their vncertaine wealth, but in the liuing God, who giueth vs plentifully all things to enioy: That they doe good and bee (g) ritch in good workes, ready to distribute and communicate: laying up in store for them-selues a good foundation against the time to come, that they may obtaine the true life.* They that did thus with their ritches, by easing small burchens, reaped great gaines; taking more ioy in that part which by their free distributiō vnto others they had (h) kept more safely, then they felt sorrow for that which by their care to preferue to them-selues they lost so easily. For it was likely that that perissh heare on earth which they had no minde to remooue into a more secure custodie. For they that followe their Lords Counsell, when hee saith vnto them, *Lay not up treasures for your selues upon the earth where the moth and rust corrupt, or where theeuēs dig through and steale, but lay up treasures for your selues in Heauen, where neither rust nor moth corrupt: nor theeuēs digge through and steale, for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also:* these (I say) in the time of tribulation were sure to find how well they were aduised in following that Maister of al truth, and that diligent and dreadles keeper of all good treasure: For seeing there were many that reioiced because they had hidden their treasure in a place which the foe by chance ouer-passed & found not: how much more certaine and secure might their comfort bee, that by their Gods instruction had retired thither with their substance, whether they were sure the foe could not come? And therefore one (i) *Paulinus* being Bishop of *Nola*, and hauing refused infinite ritches for voluntarie pouertie (and yet was he ritch in holynesse) when the Barbarians sacked *Nola*, and held him prisoner, thus

1. Tim. 6.  
6.7.8.

Iob. 1. 21.

1. Tim. 6.9

16. ver. 17  
18. & 19.Mat. 6. 19  
20. 21.*Paulinus*  
bishop of  
*Nola*.

prayed hee in his heart ( as hee told vs afterward ) *Lord let mee not bee troubled for gold nor siluer : for where all my treasures are , thou knowest :* Euen there had hee laid vppe all his , where hee hadde aduised him to lay it who fore-told these miseries to fall vppon the world. And so others , in that they obeyed GODS instructions for the choyce and preferuation of the true treasure indeed , hadde euen their worldly treasures preferued from the fury of the *Barbarians* : But others paid for their disobedience , and because their precedent wisdome could not do it , their sub-sequent experience.taught them how to dispose of such temporall trash. Some Christians by their enemies were putte vnto torture, to make them discover where their goods lay: but that good whereby (k) them-selues were good, they could neither loose, nor discover. But if they had rather haue indured torture then discover their (l) *Mammon* of iniquitie, then were they far from good. But those that suffered so much for gold, were to be instructed what should bee indured for Christ : that they might rather learne to loue him that enricheth his Martyrs with eternall felicity , then gold and siluer for which it is miserable to indure any torment , whether it bee concealed by lying , or discovered by telling the truth. For no man that euer confessed Christ could lose him amongst all the torments : whereas no man could euer saue his gold but by denying it. VVherefore euen those very torments are more profitable, in that they teach a man to loue an incorruptible good , then those goods in that they procure their owners torture through the blind loue they beare vnto them. But some that had no such goods, and yet were thought to haue them, were tortured also. VVhy? perhaps they had a desire to them though they had them not , and were poore against their wils, not of their owne election : And then though their possessions did not iustly deserue those afflictions, yet their affections did. But if their mindes flew a lofty pitch, beholding both the possession and the affection of riches with an eye of scorne , I make a doubt whether any such were euer tormented in this kinde , or beeing so innocent , incurred any such imputation. But if they did , truly , they in these their tortures, confessing their sanctified pouertie , confessed CHRIST him-selfe. And therefore though the extorted confession of such holy pouerty could not deserue to bee beleued of the enemy , yet should hee not bee put to this paine without an heauenly reward for his paines.

### L. VIVES.

**I***nward (a) man* ] The minde : being often so vsed in *Pauls* Epistles. (b) *Conueteousnesse of money* ] The vulgar translation hath *Cupiditas*, but *Augustine* hath *auaritia*, a better word: for the *Greeke* is *φιλαργεια*, loue of money. (c) *Many sorrowes* ] Thus farre *Paul*. (d) *Poore without* ] He meaneth the Apottle *Paul*. (e) *Naked* ] The words of *Iob*, comforting himselfe in the losse of his goodes and children. (f) *elsewhere* ] namely in the same chapter, *Verse*. 17. (g) *Rich in good workes* ] In these things they shall bee rich indeed. (h) *Kept more safely* ] Laying vp the treasure of eternity for them-selues in heauen , in that they haue giuen freely vnto the poore and needie. Which is declared by that which followeth in the same chapter of *Matthew*, beeing *Christes* owne workes. (i) *And therefore one Paulinus* ]

The

The *Goths* having sackt *Rome*, and ouer-running all *Latium*, the *Volsci*; *Campania*; *Calabria*, *Salentinum*, *Apulia*, or *Aprutium*, spoyling and wasting al as they went, like a generall deluge, their fury extended as far as *Consentia* (a Citty in *Calabria* called now *Cosenza*) and forty yeares after that *Genferike* with the *Moors* and *Vandals* brake out again, tooke *Rome*, filling all *Campania* with ruine, raized the city of *Nolz*. Of which Citty at that time, *Paulinus* was Bishop (as *Paulus Diaconus* writeth) a most holy and (as *Saint Gregory* saith) an eloquent man, exceedingly read in humane learning, and not altogether void of the spirit of propheticke, who having spent all hee had in redeeming Christian captiues, and seeing a widow bewayling her captiue sonne, and powring forth her pious lamentations mixt with teares, his pietie so vrged him that hee could not rest vntill hee had crossed ouer into *Affricke* with the widow; where her sonne was prisoner: And there by exchange of him- selfe for hir sonne, redeemed him, and gaue him free vnto his mother. Now his sanctity, growing admirable in the eies of the *Barbarians*, hee had the freedome of all his cittizens giuen him, and so was sent backe to his country. Thereof read at large in *Gregories* third booke of *Dialogues*. But I thinke *Augustine* speakes not of this later invasion: (for then was *Paulinus* departed this life) but of the first irruption of the *Goths* (k) *whereby themselves were good*] Namely, their vertue which no man can depriue them off: and that onely is the good which makes the possessors good. For if riches bee good (as *Tully* saith in his *Paradoxes*) why do they not make them good that inioy them? (l) *Mammon*] *Mammon* (after *Hierome*) is a *Syriake* word: signifying that vnto them that  $\mu\lambda\lambda\iota\sigma$  doth vnto the Greekes, namely *Riches*: *Augustine* elswhere saith that *Mammon* in the *Punike* language is gaine, and that the *Affrican* and *Hebrew* tongues do accord in the signification of many wordes. *Serm. de verb. Dom. & quest. Euang.*

Mammon

*Of the end of this transitory life whether  
it be long or short.*

CHAP. IO.

THE extremity of famine they say destroyed many Christians in these inuasions. Well euen of this also the faithfull by induring it patiently, haue made good vse. For such as the famine made an end off, it deliueered from the euils of this life, as well as any other bodily disease could doe: such as it ended not, it taught them a sparing diet, and ablenesse to faste. Yea, but many Christians were destroyed by the foulest variety that might bee, falling by so many sortes of death: why this is not to bee disliked off, since it is common to all that euer haue beene borne. This I know that no man is dead that should not at length haue died. For the liues ending, makes the long life and the short all one: neither is their one better and another worse, nor one longer, then another shorter, which is not in this end, made equall. And what skills it what kind of death do dispatch our life, when he that dieth cannot bee forced to die againe? And seeing that euery mortall man, in the daily casualties of this life is threatned continually with innumerable sortes of death, as long as he is vncertaine which of them he shall taste; tell me whether it were better to (a) suffer but one in dying once for euer, or still to liue in continual feare, then al those extreames of death? I know how vnworthy a choice it were to chooise rather to liue vnder the awe of so many deathes, then by once dying to bee freed from all their feare for euer. But it is one thing when the weake sensitiue flesh doth feare it, and another when the purified reason of the soule ouer-comes it. A bad death neuer followes a good life: for there

The benefit  
of famine

is nothing that maketh death bad but that estate which followeth death. Therefore let not their care that needes must dye bee employed vpon the manner of their death, but vpon the estate that they are eternally to inherit after death. Wherefore seeing that all Christians know that the death of the religious (b) begger amongst the dogs licking his sores, was better thē the death of the wicked rich man in all his (c) silks and purples, what power hath the horroure of any kind of death to affright their soules that haue ledde a vertuous life?

## L. VIVES.

*Suffer but one*] So said *Caesar*; that hee had rather suffer one death at once then feare it continually. (b) *Religious begger*] the story is at large in *Saint Luke*, the 16. Chapter beginning at the 19. verse of *Lazarus* and the rich glutton, &c. (c) *Silks*.] *Byssus*, is a kinde of most delicate line, as *Plinie* saith in his *naturall history*. lib. 19.

*Of buryall of the dead: that it is not preiudiciall to the state of a Christian soule to be forbidden it.*

## CHAP. II.

OH, but in this great slaughter the dead could not bee butyed: Tush our holy faith regards not that, holding fast the promise: It is not so fraile as to think that the rauinous beasts can depriue the body of any part to be wanting in the resurrection, where not a hayre of the head shall be missing. Nor would the scripture haue said: *Feare not them that kill the bodie but are not able to kill the soule*: if that which the foe could doe vnto our dead bodies in this world should any way preiudice our perfection in the world to come: Vnlesse any man will be so absurd as to contend that they that can kil the body are not to be feared before death least they should kill it, but after death least hauing killed it they should not permit it buriall. Is it false then which *Christ* saith, *Those that kill the body, after they can do no more*, and that they haue power to do so much hurt vnto the dead carkasse? God forbid that should be false which is spoken by the truth it selfe: Therefore it is said they do something in killing, because then they afflict the bodyly sence for a while: but afterwards they can afflict it no more, because there is no sence in a dead body. So then suppose that many of the Christians bodies neuer came in the earth: what of that, no man hath taken any of them both from earth and heauen, haue they? No: And both these doth his glorious presence replenish that knowes how to restore euery *stone* of his worke in the created. The *Psalmist* indeed complayneth thus: *The dead (a) bodies of thy seruants haue they giuen to be meat vnto the foules of the ayre: and the flesh of thy Saintes vnto the beastes of the earth: Their blond haue they shedde like waters round about Ierusalem, and there was none to bury them*. But this is spoken to intimate their villany that did it, rather then their misery that suffered it. For though that vnto the eyes of man these actes seeme blondie and tyranous, yet, *pretious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his Saintes*. And therefore all these ceremonies concerning the dead, the care of

Mat, 10.  
28.

Psal, 79. 2.

of the buriall, the fashions of the Sepulchers; and the pompes of the funeralls, are rather solaces to the liuing; then furtherances to the dead. (b) For if a goodly and rich tombe bee any helpe to the wicked man being dead, then is the poore and meane one a hindrance vnto the godly man in like case. The familie of that rich (c) gorgeous glutton, prepared him a sumptuous funerall vnto the eyes of men: but one farre more sumptuous did the ministring Angels prepare for the poore vlcered begger, in the sight of God: They bore him not into any Sepulcher of Marble, but placed him in the bosome of *Abraham*. This do they (d) scoffe at, against whom wee are to defend the city of God. And yet euen (e) their owne Philosophers haue contemned the respect of buriall: and often-times (f) whole armies, fighting and falling for their earthlie countrie, went stoutly to these slaughters, without euer taking thought where to be laide, in what Marble tombe, or in what beasts belly. And the (g) Poets were allowed to speake their pleasures of this theame, with applause of the vulgar, as one doth thus:

*Cato tegitur qui non habet urnam.*

Who wants a graue, Heauen serueth for his tombe.

What little reason then haue these miscreants, to insult ouer the *Christians*, that lie vnburied, vnto whom, a new restitution of their whole bodies is promised, to be restored them (h) in a moment, not onely out of the earth alone, but euen out of all the most secret Angles of all the other elements, wherein any body is or can possibly be included.

## L. VIVES.

**D**Ead (a) *carcasses*, *θνησιμῶνα*, *morticina*, the dead flesh. (b) For if a goodly.]

*Et eternos animam collegit in orbis,  
Non illuc auro positi, nec thure sepulti  
Perueniunt.* ——— *Lucan. lib. 9.*

The eternall spheres his glorious spirit do holde,  
To which come few that lye embalmd in golde, &c.

Sepulchers.

(c) *Gorgions*] of whom in the Chapter before. (d) *Scoffe at*] The *Romanes* had great care ouer their burials: whence arose many obseruances concerning the religious performance thereof: and it was indeed a penalty of the law: hee that doth this or that, let him bee cast forth vnburied: and so in the declamations: hee that forsakes his parents in their necessities, let him bee cast forth vnburied: hee that doth not declare the causes of their death before the Senate, let him bee cast forth vnburied; An homicide, cast him out vnburied. And so speakes *Cicero* to the peoples humour for *Milo*, when he affirms *Clodius* his carcasse to be therein the more wretched, because it wanted the solemne rites and honours of buriall. (e) *Philosophers*] those of the Heathen: as *Diogenes the Cynike* for one, that had his dead body should be cast vnto the dogs and foules of the ayre: & being answered by his friends, that they would rent and teare it: set a staffe by me then, said he, and I will beate them away with it: tush you your selfe shall be sencelesse quoth they: nay then quoth he what need I feare their tearing of me? This also did *Menippus*, & almost all the *Cyniks*. *Cicero* in his *Questiones Tusculanae* recordeth this answer of *Theodorus* of *Cyrene* vnto *Lysmachus* that threatened him the crosse: let thy courtiers feare that (quoth he) but as for me I care not whether I rot on the ayre or in the earth: and so also saith *Socrates* in *Plato's* dialogue called *Phaedo*. (f) *Whole armies*] meaning perhaps those legions which *Cato* the elder speake of in his *Origines*, that would go thether with cheerfulness, from whence they knew they should neuer returne. Nay, it was no custome before *Hercules* his time to burie the dead that fell in war:

for

for *Ælian* in his *Historia varia* doth affirme *Hercules* the first inuenter of that custome. (g) *Poets* to speake ] with the peoples approbation. *Lucan* in his 7. booke of the *Pharſalian warre*, speaking of the dead that *Cæſar* forbad ſhould bee burned, or buried, after hee had brought forth (as his custome is ) many worthy and graue ſentences concerning this matter, at length he ſpeaketh thus vnto *Cæſar* :

*Nil agis hac ira, tabefne Cadauera ſoluat,  
An roguſ, haud refert : placido natura receptat  
Cuneta ſinu :*  
In this thy wrath is worthleſſe : all is one,  
Whether by fire or putrefaction  
Their carcaſſes diſſolue : kinde nature ſtill  
Takes all into her boſome.

And a little after :

*Capit omnia tellus*  
*Qua genuit ; celo regitur qui non habet urnam.*  
Earths off-ſpring ſtill returnes vnto earths wombe,  
Who wants a graue, heauen ſerueth for his tombe.

And ſo ſaith the Declamer in *Seneca* : *Nature giues every man a graue* ; to the ſhipwrackt the water wherein he is loſt : the bodies of the crucified droppe from their croſſes vnto their graues : thoſe that are burned quick their very puniſhment entombes them. And *Virgill*, who appoints a place of puniſhment in hell for the vnburied , yet in *Anchiſes* his words, ſhewes how ſmall the loſſe of a graue is. That verſe of *Mæcenæſ*

*(Nec tumulum curo, ſepelit natura relictos :*  
I waigh no tombe : nature entombes the meanest : )

Is highly commended of antiquitie. The *Urna*, was a veſſell wherein the reliques and aſhes of the burned body was kept. (h) *In a moment,* ] 1. *Corinth.* 15. 52.

*The reaſons why wee ſhould bury the bodies of the Saints.*

CHAP. 12.

**N**Otwithſtanding the bodies of the dead are not to be contemned and caſt away, chieftie of the righteous and faithfull, which the holy ghoſt vſed as organs and instruments vnto all good workes. For if the garment or ring of ones father bee ſo much the more eſteemed of his poſteritie, by how much they held him dearer in their affection, then is not our bodies to be deſpiſed, being we wear them more neere vnto our ſelues then any attire whatſoeuer. For this is no part of externall (a) ornament or aſſiſtance vnto man, but of his expreſſe nature. And therefore the funeralls of the righteous in the times of old were performed with a zealous care, their burials celebrated, and their monuments provided, and they themſelues in their life time would lay charges vpon their children concerning the burying or tranſlating of their bodies. (b) *Tobye* in burying of the dead was acceptable vnto God, as the Angell teſtiſieth. And the Lord himſelfe being to ariſe againe on the third day, commended the good worke of that (c) religious woman, who powred the precious ointment vpon his head and body, and did it to bury him. And the (d) Goſpell hath crowned them with eternall praiſe that tooke downe his body from the croſſe, and gaue it honeſt and honorâble buriall. But yet theſe authorities prooue not any ſence to be in the dead carcaſes themſelues, but ſignifie that the

Tob. 2.

Math. 26.  
Ioh. 19. 42

the prouidence of God extendeth euen vnto the very bodies of the dead (for he is pleased with such good deedes) and do build vp the beliefe of the resurrection. Where by the way wee may learne this profitable lesson, how great the reward of almes-deeds done vnto the liuing, may be (e) since this dutie & fauour shewen but vnto the dead is not forgotten of God. There are other propheticall places of the holy (f) *Patriarkes* concerning the intombing or the translation of their owne bodies. But this is no place to handle them in, and of this wee haue already spoken sufficiently: but if the necessities of mans life, as meate and clothing, though they bee wanting in great extremitie, yet cannot subuert the good mans patience, nor drawe him from goodnesse: how much lesse power shall those things haue which are omitted in the burying of the dead, to afflict the soules that are already at quiet in the secret receptacles of the righteous? And therefore, when as in that great overthrow of *Rome*, and of other Cities, the bodies of the *Christians* wanted these rights: it was neither fault in the liuing, that could not performe them, nor hurt to the dead, that could not feele them.

Gen. 47.  
&c.

### L. VIVES.

(a) *Ornament*] The *Platonists* held onely the soule to bee man, and the body to be but a case or couer vnto it, or rather a prison. But *Augustine* holdeth the surer opinion, that the body is a part of the man. (b) *Toby*] *Toby* the 2. and 12. (c) *The good worke of that religious*] meaning *Mary Magdalen*. *Math.* 26. 10. & 12. (d) *Gospell*] *Iohn* the 19. 38. &c. meant of *Ioseph* of *Arimathea* and *Nicodemus*. (e) *Since this*] a draught of colde water giuen in the name of the Lord shall not want reward. *Math.* 10. 42. (f) *Patriarkes*] *Iacob* at his death charged his sonne *Ioseph* to carry his body vnto the Sepulcher of his elders, and not to leaue it in *Egypt*, *Genes.* 47. 29. 30. And *Ioseph* himselfe commanded his brethren that they should remember, and tell their posteritie that when they went away into the land of promise, they should carry his bones thether with them. *Genes.* the last Chapter and 25. verse.

*Of the captiuitie of the Saints, and that therein they neuer wanted spirituall comfort.*

### CHAP. 13.

**I**, But many Christians (say they) were lead into captiuitie: This indeed had been a lamentable case, if they had been lead vnto some place where they could not possibly haue found their God. But for comforts in captiuitie, the scriptures haue store: The (a) three children were in bondage: so was *Daniel*, so were (b) others of the Prophets: but they neuer wanted God, their comforter. No more did he here abandon his faithfull; being vnder the command of barbarous men, who for sooke not his (c) Prophet being euen in the bellie of a beast. This now they with whom wee are to deale, had rather scorne, then beleue, yet of that fable in their owne bookes they are fully perswaded, namely that that same excellent harper (d) *Ariou* of *Methymna*, being cast ouer board,

Dan. 1.



Jonas 2.

boord, was taken vp on a Dolphins back, and so borne safe to land. Is our history of *Jonas* more incredible then this? yes, because it is more (e) admirable; and it is more admirable, because more powerfull.

## L. VIVES.

Arion.

**T**He (a) *Three children*] *Dan. 1. 6. Ananias, Azarias and Misael* together with *Daniell* himselfe were prisoners in *Babylon* vnder *Nabuchadnczzar*. (b) *Others of the Prophets*] As *Jeremy, Ezechiel*, and others (c) *Prophet*] Meaning *Jonas* who was three daies in the *Whales belly*: a figure of *Christ* our *Sauours* resurrection from death to life. (d) *Arion*] The tale of *Arion* and the *Dolphin* is common amongst authors. *Herodotus* was the first that wrote it. *Musar. lib. 1.* After him *Ouid* in his *Fastorum*, and *Pliny, lib. 9. Gellius, lib. 16. Aelian* in his booke *de animalibus* and others: *Arion* was a harper in *Methymnia* a towne of *Lesbos*, in the time of the seauen *Sages of Greece*: for *Periander* loued him dearely. (Some say he first inuented the *Tragicke* verse and the *Chorus*, and sung in *Diubryambiques*;) This *Arion* returning out of *Italy* with great wealth, and perceiuing the saylers conspiring his destruction for his money, intreated them to take all he had and saue his life, which when he could not obtaine, hee begged leaue but to play a little vpon his harpe to comfort himselfe therewith against death, and vnto the sound of his instrument they say their gathered diuers *Dolphins* together, and *Arion* being skild in the nature of this fish, with his harpe and all as he was, leaped out of the shippe vpon one of their backes, who carried him safe and sound vnto *Tenarus*: where yet is seene the Image of a *Dolphin* swimming with a man vpon his backe. *Pliny* prooues by many examples that the *Dolphin* is a louer of man. (e) *Admirable.*] To be kept so long in the *Whales* guts.

*Of Marcus Regulus, who was a famous example to animate all men to the enduring of voluntary captiuitie for their religion: which notwithstanding, was unprofitable vnto him by reason of his Paganisme.*

## CHAP. 14.

**Y**ET for all this our enemies haue one worthy exmaple proposed by one of their most famous men, for ſ willing toleration of bondage in the cause of religion: (a) *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, general of the *Romanes* forces was prisoner at *Carthage*: Now the *Carthaginians* being more desirous to exchange their prisoners then to keepe them, sent *Regulus* with their *Embassadors* to *Rome* to treat vpon this exchange, hauing first sworne him, that in case he effected not what they desired he should returne as captiue vnto *Carthage*, so he went vnto *Rome*, and hauing a day of audience granted him, hee perswaded the direct contrary vnto his ambassage: because he held it was not profitable for the *Romans* to exchange their prisoners. Nor after this perswasive speach did the *Romans* compell him to returne vnto his enemies, but willingly did he go backe againe for sauing of his oth. But his cruell foes put him to death with horrible and exquisite torments: for shutting him (b) in a narrow barrell, stricken all full of sharpe nayles, and so forcing him to stand vpright, being not able to leane to any side without extreame paines, they killed him euen with ouerwatching him. This vertue in him is worthy of euerlasting praise, being made greater by so great infelicity. Now his oth of returne, was taken (c) by those gods

gods for the neglect of whose forbidden worship those infidells hold these plagues laid vpon mankind. But if these gods (being worshipped onely for the attainement of temporall prosperity) either desired, or permitted these paines to be layd vpon one that kept his oth so truly, what greater plague could they in their most deserued wrath haue inflicted vpon a most periur'd villain then they laid vpon this religious worthy? but why do not I confirme mine (d) argument with a double prooffe? If he worshipped his gods so sincerely, that for keeping the oth which he had taken by their deities, he would leaue his naturall country to returne (not vnto what place he liked, but) vnto his greatest enemies, if he held that religiousnesse of his any way beneficiall vnto his temporall estate, (which he ended in such horrible paines) hee was farre deceiued. For his example hath taught all the world that those Gods of his neuer further their worshippers in any prosperity of this life; since he that was so deuout and dutifull a seruant of theirs, for all that they could doe, was conquered and led away captiue: Now if the worship of these Gods returne mens happinesse in the life to come, why then do they callumniate the profession of the Christians, saying, that that misery fell vpon the citty, because it gaue over the worship of the old gods, when as were it neuer so vowed vnto their worship, yet might it tast of as much temporall misfortune as euer did *Regulus*: vnlesse any man will stand in such brainelesse blindnesse against the pure truth, as to say that a whole citty duellie worshipping these Gods cannot bee miserable, when one onely man may, as though the gods power were of more hability and promptnesse to preferue generalls, then perticulars: (e) what? doth not euery multitude consist of singularities? If they say that *Regulus* euen in all that bondage and torment might neuerthelessse bee happie in the (f) vertue of his constant minde, then let vs rather follow the quest of that vertue by which an whole cittie may be made truly happy, for a citties happinesse and a particular mans doe not arise from any feuerall heads: the cittie being nothing but a multitude of men vnited in one formality of religion and estate: wherefore as yet I call not *Regulus* his vertue into any question. It is now sufficient that his very example is of power to enforce them to confesse that the worship exhibited vnto the gods, ayms not any way at bodily prosperity, nor at things externally accident vnto man; because that *Regulus* chose rather to forge all these, then to offend his gods before whom hee had passed his oth. But what shall wee say to these men, that dare glorie that they had had one citty of that quality whereof they feare to haue all the rest? If they haue no such feare, let them then acknowledge, that what befell *Regulus*, the same may befall an whole citty, though their deuotion may paralell his in this worship of their gods; and therefore let them cease to slander the times of Christianity. But seeing that our question arose about the captiued Christians, let such as hereby take especiall occasion to deride and scorne that sauing religion, marke but this, & be silent: that if it were no disgrace vnto their gods, that one of their most zealous worshippers, by keeping his othe made vnto them, should bee neuerthelessse deprived of his country, and haue no place left him to retire to, but must perforce bee returned to his enemies, amongst whom he had already endured an hard and wretched captiuitie, & was now lastly to taste of a tedious death, in most execrable, strange, and cruel torments: then far lesse cause is there to accuse the name of Christ for the captiuitie of his Saints, for that they, expect

A Cittie.

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ting the heauenly habitation in true faith, knew full well, that they were but pilgrims in their natiue soiles and (g) habitations here vpon earth, and subiect to all the miseries of mortalitie.

## L. VIVES.

Attilius  
Regulus.

**M**<sup>Arcus (a)</sup> *Attilius Regulus*] This is a famous history, and recorded by many. This *Regulus* in the first *Carthaginian* warre, was made Consull with *Lucius Manlius Volsco*: vnto which two the *Affrican* warre was committed: being the sole warre that the *Romanes* at that time waged: *Regulus* was the first *Romane* that euer lead armie ouer the Seas into *Affricke*, where hauing foiled the *Carthaginians* in many battailes hee droue them to seeke for helpe of *Zanthippus* of *Lacedemon*, a singular and well practised captaine, by whose meanes the warre was renewed, and in a set fight the *Romane* army ouer-come, & *Attilius Regulus* taken by his enemies. Who hauing bene kept diuers yeeres prisoner in *Carthage* together with his fellow captiues, in the foureteenth yeare of the warre, and the 503. after the building of *Rome*, was sent Embassador to the *Romanes* about the exchanging of their prisoners: swearing vnto his enemies to returne vlesse he attained the effect of his Embassage. Comming to *Rome*, and hauing a day of hearing appointed, the Consull desired him to ascend the Consuls seate, and thence to vtter his opinion of the Embassage; which he at first refused to vtter: but being commanded by the Senate to do it, he did so, and therevpon vtterly diswaded that which the *Carthaginians* desired; because the *Carthaginian* prisoners at *Rome* were young, and able for the warres, but the *Romanes* at *Carthage*, old, past militarie vse, and not very needfull in counsell. To his opinion the whole Senate assented: Now hee himselfe, though hee were hindered by his children, kinsmen, seruants, councitrimen, familiars, clients, and the most part of the people, yet would not stay, but needes would goe to discharge his othe which he had sworne to his enemies, although hee knew that the *Affricans* would hate him deadty, and so put him to death with some cruell torture or other. So returning vnto *Carthage*, and declaring the effect of his embassage, he was put to death indeed with strange and intollerable torments. (b) *In a narrow barrell*] Some relate it in another manner, but all agree that hee was ouer-watched vnto death. (c) *By the gods*] It had bene more significantly spoken, to haue said by those gods, &c. with an emphasis. (d) *Argument with a double prooffe,*] It is a *Dilemma*: If man receiue the rewarde following the due worship of those gods in this life, why perished *Regulus*, being so deuout in that kinde? if he haue it not vntill after this life, why do they as whippers expect the prosperous estate of this life from them? (e) *What doth not each multitude*] How then can the multitude bee happy, when euery particular man is miserable? (f) *Vertue of his minde*] So holds *Tully* in many places, *Seneca* also, and all learned and wise men, speaking of *Regulus*. (g) *Habitations,*] meaning these earthly ones.

*Whether the Taxes that the holy Virgins suffered against  
their wills in their captiuities, could pollute  
the vertues of their minde.*

## CHAP. 15.

**O** But they thinke they giue the Christians a foule blow, when they aggrauate the disgrace of their captiuitie, by vrging the rapes which were wrought not onely vpon married and marriageable persons, but euen vpon some *Votaresse*s also: Here are wee not to speake of faith, or godlinesse, or of the vertue of chastitie, but our discourse must runne a narrow course, (a) betwixt shame

shame and reason. (b) Nor care wee so much to giue an answer vnto strangers in this, as to minister comfort vnto our fellow Christians. Bee this therefore granted as our first position, that that power by which man liueth well, resting enthroned, and established in the minde, commands euery member of the body, and the body is sanctified by the sanctification of the will: which sctimonie of the will, if it remaine firme and inuiolate, what way soeuer the body bee disposed of or abused, (if the partie enduring this abuse cannot auoide it (d) without an expresse offence) this sufferance layeth no crime vpon the soule. But because euery body is subiect to suffer the effects both of the furie, and the lusts of him that subdueth it, that which it suffereth in this latter kinde, though it bee not a destroyer of ones chastitie, yet is it a procurer of ones shame: Because otherwise, it might bee thought, that that was suffered with the consent of the minde, which it may bee could not bee suffered without some delight of the flesh: And therefore as for those, who to auoide this did voluntarily destroy themselues, what humane heart can choose but pittie them? yet as touching such as would not doe so, fearing by auoyding others villanie, to incurre their owne damnation, hee that imputes this as a fault vnto them, is not vnguiltie of the faulke of folly.

The will  
sanctifies  
the body.

### L. VIVES.

**B**etweene (a) *shame and reason*] for shame saith that the very violation of the body is to bee called euill; but Reason denyes it. (b) *Nor care we*] This we will speake as a comforting vnto our Christian women that endured these violences. (c) *In the minde*] The *Platonists* place the soule and hir powers in the head, as in a Tower, sitting there, as the commander of our actions, and the ouer-seer of our labours, as *Claudian* saith. (d) *Without sinne,*] for if wee can auoide it without sinne, we ought to endeouour this auoydance with all our powers.

*Of such as chose a voluntary death, to auoide the feare of paine and dishonour.*

### CHAP. 16.

**F**OR if it bee not lawfull for a priuate man to kill any man, how euer guiltie, vnlesse the lawe haue granted a speciall allowance for it, then surely whoeuer killes himselfe is guiltie of homicide: And so much the more guiltie doth that killing of himselfe make himselfe, by how much the more guiltlesse hee was in that cause for which hee killd himselfe. For if *Iudas* (a) his fact be worthily detested, and yet the *Truth* (b) saith, that by hanging of himselfe, hee did rather augment then expiate the guilt of his wicked treacherie, because his despaire of Gods mercy in his (c) damnable repentance, left no place in his soule for sauing repentance; how much more ought he to forbear from being cause of his owne death, that hath no guilt in him worthy of such a punishment as death: for *Iudas* in hanging himselfe, hanged but a wicked man and dyed guiltie, not onely of Christs death, but

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of

of his owne also: adding the wickednesse of being his owne death, to that other wickednesse of his, for which he dyed.

### L. VIVES.

[*Udas (a) his fact*] which no man but hath heard out of the Gospell. (*b) Truth saith*] *Peter* in the first of the *Actes* affirms, that hee did wickedly and vngodly both in betraying of his Lord, and in hanging of himselfe. (*c) Damnable repentance*] For he repented indeed, but so, as hee despaired of being euer able to repent sufficiently for so great a villanie.

*Of the violent lust of the Souldiers, executed vpon the bodies of the captines; against their consents.*

### CHAP. 17.

**B**Vt why should he that hath done no man euill, do himselfe euill, and by destroying himselfe, destroy an innocent man, for feare to suffer iniurie by the guilte of another, and procure a sinne vnto himselfe, by auoiding the sinne of another? O but his feare is, to be defiled by another's lust! tush, another's lust cannot pollute thee; if it doe, it is not another's but thine owne. But chastitie being a vertue of the minde, and (*a*) accompanied with fortitude, by which it learnes rather to endure all euills, then consent to any, and (*b*) no man of this fortitude and chastitie, being able to dispose of his body as he list, but onely of the consent and dissent of his minde; what man of witte will thinke hee looseth his chastity, though his captiued body be forcedly prostitute vnto another's bestialitie? If chastitie were lost thus easilie, it were no vertue of the minde; nor one of (*c*) those goods, whereby a man liues in goodnesse; but were to be reckoned amongst the goods of the body, with strength, beautie, health, and such like: (*d*) which if a man do decrease in, yet it doth not follow that he decreaseth in his vprightnesse of life: but if chastitie be of (*e*) another kinde, why should we endanger our bodies to no end, which feare to loose it? for if it be (*f*) a good, belonging to the mind, it is not lost though the body be violated. Moreouer it is the vertue of holy continencie; that when it withstands the pollution of carnall concupiscence, thereby it sanctifies euen the body also: and therefore when the intention stands firme, and giues no way to vicious affects, the chastitie of the body (*g*) is not lost, because the will remains still in the holy vse, and in the power too, as farre as it can. For the body is not holy in that it is whole, or vntouched in euery member, for it may be hurt and wounded by many other casualties: And the Physitian oftentimes for the preferuation of the health, doth that vnto the body which the eye abhorres to beholde. (*h*) A Midwife trying a certaine maides integritie of the Virginall part, (whether for malice, or by chance, it is vncertaine) spoiled it. Now I thinke none so foolish as to thinke that this virgin lost any part of her bodily sanctitie, though that part endured this breach of integritie. And therefore the intent of the minde standing firme, (which firmnesse it is that sanctifies the body) the violence of another's lust cannot depriue so much as the (*i*) body of this sanctity, because the perseuerance of the minde

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in continency euer preferueth it. But shall we say that any woman whose corrupt minde hath broken her promise vnto God, and yeilded her self willingly to the lust of her deceiuer, (though but in purpose,) is as yet holy in her bodie, when she hath lost that holinesse of minde which sanctified her body? God forbid. And heere let vs learne, that the sanctity of bodie is no more lost, if the sanctity of minde remaine, (though the bodie bee rauished) then it is kept, if the mindes holinesse bee polluted, though the bodie it selfe bee vntouched. Wherefore if there bee no reason, that a woman that hath already suffred an others villanie against her owne will, should destroy her selfe by voluntary death, how much lesse ought this course to bee followed before there bee any cause? and why should murder bee committed, when the guilt which is feared (beeing feared from another) is as yet in doubt of euent? Dare they (against whom wee defend the sanctity not onely of the Christian womens mindes, but euen of their bodies in this last captiuitie) contradict this cleere reason, wherein we affirme, that whilest the chaste resolution is vntouched by any euill consent, the guilt is wholly the rauishers, and no part of it imputable vnto the rauished?

## L. VIVES.

**A** *Companied (a) With fortitude*] For the vertues are all combined together as the Philosophers teach. But there are some more peculiarly coherent then other some. *(b) No man of this fortitude*] Herevpon *Plutarch* (as I remember) affirms out of *Menander* that it is not the part of a valiant and complete man to say *I will not suffer this*, but, *I will not doe this*. *(c) Those goods*] The vertues: for the *Platonists*, and the *Peripatetike* Philosophers diuide al goods into three sorts: *mentall, bodily, and fortunes, or externall*. *(d) Which if a man*] This is the *Platonists* and *Peripatetikes* opinion as well as the *Stoikes*: who held, that bodily and externall goods might haue reference vnto beatitude, but none at all vnto a good and sanctified life. *(e) Another kinde*] If it bee but a bodily good, it is not of such worth as we should loose the whole body for it: for the body is of more worth then it, if it be but such. *(f) The body bee violated*] So did *Brutus* and *Collatinus* comfort sorrowfull *Lucretia*, (of whom the next Chapter treateth) by turning the guilt of the fault from her that was offended, vpon the author of the fact: neither the minde sinneth (sayth *Livy*) nor the body: and where consent wanted, guilt wanteth also. And the Nurse in *Seneca's Hippolitus* saith: *the minde inferreth loosnesse, tis not chance*. *(g) Is not lost*] The bodies chastitie flowes from that of the minde. *(h) A midwife*] Hee seemes to relate a thing done, because hee sayth *A certaine maidens &c*. *(i) So much as the body*] How simply was that spoken either of *Brutus*, or *Livy* (both being wise and iudicious men) speaking of the blood of *Lucretia* being then newly slaine. *I sweare by this blood, most chaste before this Kings villany*: as though after his villany it were not as chaste still, if her minde were not touched with lust, as they hold it was not.

Three sorts  
of good.

*Of Lucretia, that stabb'd her selfe because Tarquins sonne had  
rauisht her.*

## CHAP. 18.

**T**hey extoll *(a) Lucretia*, that Noble and ancient Matron of *Rome*, with al the laudes of chastity. This woman, hauing her body forcibly abused by *Sextus Tarquinus*

*Tarquinius* son to *Tarquin* the proud, shee revealed this villany of the dissolute youth vnto her husband *Collatinus*, and to *Brutus* her kinsman, (both Noble and valorous men) binding them by oth, to (b) reuenge this wicked outrage. And then, loathing the foulness of the fact that had bene committed vpon her, she slew her selfe. What? shall we say she was an adulteresse, or was shee chaste? who will stand long in desciding this question: (c) One, declaming singularly well and truely hereof, saith thus: *O wonder! there were two, and yet but one committed the adultery*: worthily and rarely spoken: Intimating in this commixtion, the spotted lust of the one, and the chaste will of the other; and gathering his position, not from their bodily coniunction, but from the diuersity of their mindes, *There were two* (sayth hee) *yet but one committed the adultery*. But what was that then which shee punished so cruelly, hauing not committed any fault? (d) He was but chased out of his country, but shee was slaine: if it were no vnchastenesse in her to suffer the rape vnwillingly, it was no iustice in her being chaste, to make away her selfe willingly. I appeale to you, you lawes, & Iudges of *Rome*. After any offence be committed, you wil not haue (e) the offender put to death without his sentence of condemnation: Suppose then this case brought before you, and that your iudgement was, that the slaine woman was not onely vncondemned, but chaste, vnguilt, and innocent; would you not punish the doer of this deed with full seuerity? This deed did *Lucretia*, that so famous *Lucretia*: this *Lucretia* being innocent, chaste, and forcibly wronged, euen by (f) *Lucretia's* selfe, was murdered: Now giue your sentence. But if you cannot, because the offender is absent, why then doe you so extoll the murder of so chaste and guiltlesse a woman? you cannot defend her before the infernall iudges, at any hand, if they be such as your Poets in their verses decipher them: for according to their iudgement, she is (g) to be placed amongst those.

Aeneid. 6.

——— *Qui sibi lethum;*

*Insontes peperere manna, lucemq; perosi*

*Proicere animas* ———

That (guiltlesse) spoiled themselues through black despight:

And threw their soules to hell, through hate of light:

Whence if she now would gladly returne ———

*Fata obstant, tristiq; palus innabilis vnda*

*Alligat.* ———

Fate, and deepe fennes forbids their passage thence,

And *Stix* ——— &c.

But how if shee be not amongst them, as not dying guiltlesse, but as beeing priuy to her owne sinne? what if it were so (h) which none could know but her selfe, that though *Tarquinius* son offered her force, yet she her self gaue a lustfull consent, & after did so grieue at that, that she held it worthy to be punished with death? (though she ought not to haue done so, howsoeuer if she thought her repentance could be any way accepted of a sort of false gods.) If it be so, & that it be false that there were two & but one did the sin, but rather that both were guilty of it, the one by a violent enforcement; the other by a secret consent, then shee died not innocent: And therefore (i) her learned defenders may well say, that shee is not in hell amongst those that destroyed

stroyed them-selues beeing guiltlesse. But this case is in such a strait, that if the murder be extenuated, the adultery is confirmed, and if this bee cleared the other is agruated: Nor (*k*) is there any way out of this argument: If she be an adulteresse, why is shee commended? If shee bee chaste why did shee kill her selfe? But in this example of this noble woman, this is sufficient for vs to confute those that beeing them-selues farre from all thought of sanctitic insult ouer the Christian women that were forced in this last captiuitie: that in *Lucretia's* praise, it is said that *There were two*, and *but one committed adultery*. For they then held *Lucretia* for one that could not staine her selfe with any lasciuious consent. Well then in killing her selfe for suffering vncleanesse, being hir selfe vnpolluted, she shewed no loue vnto chastitie, but onely discovered the infirmity of her owne shame: he shamed at the filthinesse that was committed vpon hir, though it were (*l*) without her consent: and (*m*) being a *Romain*, and couetous of glory, she feared, that (*n*) if she liued stil, that which shee had indured by violence, should be thought to haue been suffered with willingnesse. And therefore she thought good to shew this punishment to the eies of men, as a testimony of hir mind, vnto whome shee could not shew her minde indeed: Blushing to be held a partaker in the fact, which beeing by another committed so filthily, she had indured so vnwillingly. Now this course the Christian women did not take; they liue still, howsoeuer violated: neither for all this reuenge they the ruines of others vpon them-selues, least they should make an addition of their owne guilt vnto the others, if they should go and murder them-selues barbarously, because their enemies had forst them so bestially. For howsoeuer, they haue the glory of their chastity stil within them (*o*) being the testimony of their conscience, this they haue before the eies of their God, and this is all they care for (hauing no more to looke to but to do wel that they decline not from the authority of the law diuine, in any sinister indeauour to auoid the offence of mortall mans suspicion.

## L. VIVES.

(*a*) [*Lucretia*] This history of *Lucretia* is common, though *Dionisius* relate it some-what differing from *Liuius*; they agree in the summe of the matter (*b*) *Reuenge*] so sayth *Liuius* in his person. *But giue me your right hands and faiths, to inflict iust reuenge vpon the adulterer: and they all in order gave her their faiths.* (*c*) *One declaming*] Who this was I haue not yet read: One *Glosse* saith it was *Virgil*, as hee found recorded by a great scholler and one that had read much. But *Virgil* neuer was declamer: nor euer pleaded in cause but one, and that but once: perhaps that great reader imagined that one to bee this, which indeed was neuer extant. [Which he might the better doe, because he had read such store of histories: and better yet, if he were *Licentiat*, or *Doctor*] (*d*) *He was chased*] *Tarquin* the King, and all his offspring were chased out of the Cittie: of this in the third book: (*e*) *The offender*] *Cicero* saith that touching a *Romains* life there was a decree y no Iudgement should passe vpon it, without the assent of the whole people, in the great *Comitia*, or *Parliaments*, called *Centuriata*. The forme and manner of which iudgement he sets down in his oration for his house; and so doth *Plutarch* in the *Gracchi*. (*f*) *Lucretia her selfe*] which agrauates the fact: done by *Lucretia*, a noble and worthy matron of the Cittie. (*g*) *Placed amongst these*] *Virgil* in the 6. of his *Aeneads* diuides Hell into nine circles, and of the third hee speaketh thus;

*Virgil* once  
pleaded.

[ ] Al this  
is left out  
of *Paris*  
edition.

The man-  
ner of  
iudgement  
in matter  
of a *Ro-*  
*mains* life  
and death.

Hells nine  
circles;



*Proxima deinde tenent masti loca, qui sibi lethum  
 Infontes peperere manu, lucemq; perosi  
 Proicere animas; quam vellent aethere in alta  
 Nunc & pauperiem, & duras perferre labores?  
 Fata obstant, tristiq; palus innabilis unda  
 Allgat & nonies Styx interfusa coerces.*

In english thus:

In the succeeding round of woe they dwell  
 That (guiltlesse) spoild them-selues through blacke despight,  
 And cast their foules away through hate of light:  
 O now they wish they might returne, & abide  
 Extreamest need, and sharpest toile beside:  
 But fate and deepes forbid their passage thence  
 And *Styx*, that nine times cuttes those groundlesse fennes.

**It is a Lite-  
 rati,** in the  
 text of al  
 editions  
 that I find.  
**Antistrophe.**  
**The Ro-  
 mains** gree-  
 dy of praise

(h) *Which none could know* ] For who can tell whether shee gaue consent by the touch of some incited pleasure? (i) *Hir learned defenders* ] \* It is better to read *her learned defenders*, or *her not vnlearned defenders*, then *her vnlearned defenders*, as some copies haue it. (k) *Is there any way* ] It is a *Dilemma*, If shee were an adulteresse, why is she commended? if chaste, why murdered? The old Rethoricians vsed to dissolue this kinde of Argument eicher by ouerthrowing one of the parts, or by retorting it, called in greeke ἀντιστροφή, a conuersion, or retortion: Examples there are diuers in *Cicero de Rethorica*. Now *Augustine* saith, that this conclusion is inextricable & vnavoidable by either way. (l) *Without her consent* ] For shee abhorred to consent vnto this act of lust. (m) *A Romaine* ] The *Romaine* Nation were alwaies most greedy of glory, of whom it is said:

*Vincet amor patria, laudumq; immensa cupido.*  
 Their countries loue & boundles this of glory .Will conquer, &c.

And *Onid* saith of *Lucrece*, in his *Fasti*:

*Succubuit fama victa puella metu.*  
 Conquer d with feare to loofe her fame, she fell.

(n) *If she liued* ] after this vncleanesse committed vpon hir. (o) *Being the testimony* ] for our glory is this (saith *Saint Paul* 2. *Cor. I. 12.*) the testimony of our consciences: And this the *Stoikes* and all the heathenish wise men haue euer taught.

*That there is no authority which allows Christians to  
 be their owne deaths in what cause soeuer*

### CHAP. 19.

Exod. 10.

**F**OR it is not for nothing that wee neuer finde it commended in the holy canonicall Scriptures (or but allowed) that either for attaining of immortallitic, or auoyding of calamitie, wee should bee our owne destructions: we are forbidden it in the law: *Thou shalt not kill*: especially because it addes not, *Thy neighbour*; as it doth in the prohibition of false witnessse. *Thou shalt not beare false witnessse against thy neighbour*: Yet let no man thinke that he is free of this later crime, if he beare false witnessse against him-selue: because hee that loues his neighbour, begins his loue from him-selue: Seeing it is written: *Thou shalt loue*

*love thy neighbour as thy selfe.* Now if hee bee no lesse guiltlesse of false witness that testifieth falsely against him-selfe, then hee that doth so against his neighbour ( since that in that commandement, wherein false witness is forbidden, it is forbidden to be practised against ones neighbor, whence misunderstanding conceits may suppose that it is not forbidden to beare false witness against ones selfe ) how much plainer is it to bee vnderstood, that a man may not kill him-selfe, seeing that vnto the commandement (*Thou shalt not kill*) nothing being added, excludes al exception both of others, & of him to whom the command is giuen? And therefore some would extend the intent of this precept, euen vnto beasts and cattell, and would haue it vnlawfull to kill any of them. But why not vnto hearbes also, and all things that grow and are nourished by the earth? for though these kindes cannot bee said to haue (*a*) sence or feeling, yet they are said to be liuing: and therefore they may die; and consequently by violent vsage be killed. VVherfore the Apostle speaking of these kinde of seedes, saith thus. *Foole, that which thou soweest, is not quickened, except (first) it die.* And the Psalmist saith: *He destroyed their vines with haile:* but what? Shall wee therefore thinke it sinne to cutte vp a twigge, because the commandement sayes, *thou shalt not kill*, and so inuolue our selues in the foule error of the *Mantchees*? VVherfore setting aside these dotages, when we read this precept: *Thou shalt not kill*; If wee hold it not to bee meant of fruites or trees, because they are not sensitiue; nor of vnreasonable creatures, either going, flying, swimming or creeping, because they haue no society with vs in reason, which God the Creator hath not made common both to them and vs; and therefore by his iust ordinance, their deaths and liues are both most seruiceable and vse-full vnto vs; then it followes necessarily, that *thou shalt not kill*, is meant only of men: *Thou shalt not kill*, namely, *Neither thy self, or another.* For he that kills him-selfe, kills no other but a man.

Math. 22.

I. Cor. 15.

36.

Psal. 78.

47.

## L. VIVES.

**T***O haue (a) sence*] *Aristotle* saith that plants are animate, and liuing creatures, but yet not sensitiue. But *Plato* being of *Empedocles* his opinion, holds them both liuing and sensitiue: Either may be: they may die because they do liue. howsoeuer.

That plants  
are animate  
or liuing  
creatures.

*Of some sort of killing men, which notwithstanding are no murderers.*

## CHAP. 20.

**I**ndeed the authority of the law diuine hath sette downe some exceptions wherein it is lawfull to kill a man. But excepting those whome God commaundes to bee slayne, either by his expresse law, or by some particular command vnto any person by any temporall occasion ( and hee committeth not homicide that owes his seruice vnto him that commaundeth him, being but as the sword is a helpe to him that vseth it. And therefore those men do not breake the commandement which forbiddeth killing, who doe make warre by the

the authority of (a) Gods commaund, or beeing in some place of publike magistracie, do putte to death malefactors according to their lawes, that is, according to the rule of iustice and reason. *Abraham* was not onely freed from beeing blamed as a murtherer, but he was also commended as a godly man in that hee would haue killed his sonne *Isaack*, not in wickednesse, but in obedience. And it is a doub:full question, whether it bee to bee held as a command from God that (b) *Iepthe* killed his daughter that met him in his returne, seeing that he had vowed to sacrifice the first liuing thing that came out of his house to meete him, when hee returned conqueror from the warres. (c) Nor could *Sampson* be excused pulling downe the house vpon him-selfe and his enemies, but that the spirit within him, which wrought miracles by him, did prompt him vnto this act. Those therefore beeing excepted, which either the iustice of the law, or the fountaine of all iustice, Gods particular commaund, would haue killed; he that killeth either himselfe, or any other, incurreth the guilt of a homicide.

## L. VIVES.

[. ] This is lefte out in the edition of Paris. *Agamemnon.*

**A**uthority (a) of Gods command ] As the Iewes did: they waged warres, but it was by Gods expresse command. [ But if they were counted godly y to please God (though against natural humanitie afflicted) his enemies with war and slaughter: truly then cannot we but be held the most vngodly of y world that butcher vp so many thousand Christians against the expresse will of God ] (b) *Iepthe* ] *Iudges* the 11. Chapt. Verse 31. Whose fact was like that, which the *Tragedians* write of *Agamemnon*, who sacrificed his daughter *Iphigenia* vnto *Diana* at *Aulis*. Many reprove this sacrifice of *Iepthe*: for his vowe was to bee interpreted, as ment of those things, which were accustomed to be offred with Gods good pleasure: and so was that of *Agamemnon*s to haue bene construed also. (c) *Nor could Sampson* ] *Iudges* the 16. chapter and the 30. verse.

*That voluntary death can neuer be any signe of magnanimity, or greatnes of spirit.*

## CHAP 21.

**W**ho soeuer haue committed this homicide vpon them-selues, may (perhaps) bee commended of some for their greatnesse of spirit, but neuer for their soundnesse of iudgement. But indeed if you looke a little deeper into the matter, it cannot bee rightly termed magnanimitie, when a man beeing vnable to indure either casuall miseries, or others oppressions (to auoid them) destroyeth him-selfe. For that minde discouereth it selfe to bee of the greatest infirmitie, that can neither indure hard bondage in his bodie, or the fond opinion of the vulgar: and worthily is that spirit entituled great, that can rather indure calamities then auoyde them: And in respect of their owne purity and inlightned conscience, can sette at naught the triuiall censures of mortall men (a) which are most commonly enclowded in a mist of ignorance and error. If wee shall thinke it a part of magnanimity to putte a mans selfe to death, then is (b) *Cleombrotus* most worthie of this magnanimous title, who hauing read *Platoes* book

booke of *the immortality of the soule*, cast himself headlong from the toppe of a wall, and so leauing this life, went vnto another which hee beleeued was better. For neither calamity, nor guiltinesse, either true or false, vrged him to a-voide it by destroying himselfe, but his great spirit alone was sufficient to make him catch at his death, and breake all the pleasing fetters of this life. Which deed notwithstanding, that it was rather great, then good, *Plato* himselfe, whom he read, might haue assured him: who (be sure) would haue done it, or taught it himselfe, if he had not discerned by the same instinct whereby he discerned the soules eternity, that this was at no hand to bee practised, but rather vtterly (c) prohibited.

## L. VIVES.

**V** *Hich (a) Are indeed*] The ancient wise men were euer wont to call the people *the great Maister of Error.* (b) *Cleombrotus*] This was the *Anabractor*, who hauing read *Plato's* dialogue called *Phedo* of the immortality of the soule, that hee might leaue this life, (which is but as a death,) and passe vnto immortality, threw himselfe ouer a wall into the sea, without any other cause in the world. Of him did *Callimachus* make an epigrame in Greeke, and in Latine, I haue seene it thus.

The people  
how ruled.

*Vita vale, mero praeceptis delapsus ab alto,  
Dixisti moriens Ambraciota puer:  
Nullum in morte malum credens; sed scripta Platonis  
Non ita erant animo percipienda tuo.*  
When *Cleombrotus* from the turret threw  
Himselfe to death, he cried, new life, adue:  
Holding death, hurtlesse: But graue *Plato's* sense,  
He should haue read with no such reference.

There was also another (*Cleombrotus*, King of *Lacedaemon*, whom *Epaminondas* the *Theban* ouercame. (c) *Rather vtterly prohibited*] For in the beginning of his *Phedo*, hee saith it is wickednesse for a man to kill himselfe: and that God is angered at such a fact, like the maister of a family, when any of his slaues haue killed themselues: and in many other places, he saith that without Gods command, no man ought to leaue this life. For here we are all as in a set front of battell, euery one placed, as God our Emperour and Generall pleaseth to appoint vs: and greater is his punishment that forsaketh his life, then his that forsaketh his colours.

*Of Cato, who killed himselfe, being not able to endure  
Caesars victory.*

## CHAP. 22.

**B** *Ut* many haue killed themselues for feare to fall into the hands of *their foes.* We dispute not here *de facto*, whether it hath been done or no, but *de iure*, whether it were to be done or no. For sound reason is before example, al authorities to the contrary, as wherevnto all examples do consent, being such as by their excellence in goodnesse are worthily imitable: neither Patriarch, Prophet nor Apostle euer did this: yet our Lord Iesus Christ, when hee admonished his disciples, in persecution to flie from city to city, might haue willed them in such cases to make a present dispatch of themselues, and so to auido their persecutors

Reason &  
boue exam-  
ples.

Math. 10.  
23.

Cap. 19.

persecutors ( hadd hee held it fitte. ) But if hee neuer gaue any such admonition, or command, that any to whome hee promised a mansion of eternity at their deaths, should passe vnto their deaths on this fashion; (lette then the heathen that know not God produce al they can) it is plainly vnlawful for any one that serueth the onely true God to follow this course: But indeed besides *Lucretia* ( of whome I think we haue sufficiently argued before ) it is hard for them to find one other example, worth prescribing as a fitte authority for others to follow, besides that (a) *Cato* only that killed him-selfe at *Vtica*; (b) not that hee alone was his owne deaths-man but because he was accounted as a (c) learned, and (d) honest man, which may beget a beleefe, that to do as hee didde, were to doe well. VVhat should I say of his fact more then his friendes ( and (e) some of them learned men ) haue said? who shewed far more iudgement in disswading the deed, and censuring it as the effect of a spirit rather deiected, then magnanimous. And of this (f) did *Cato* him-selfe leaue a testimony in his owne famous Sonne. For if it were base to liue vnder *Casars* victory: why did he aduise his son to this, willing him to entertaine a full hope of *Casars* clemency? Yea why did he not vrge him to go willingly to his end with him? If it were laudable in *Torquatus* (g) to kill his sonne that hadde fought and foyled his enemy: (though herein he had broken the Dictators commaund ) why didde conquered *Cato* spare his ouerthrowne sonne, that spared not him-selfe? VVas it more vile to bee a conquerour agaynst lawe, then to indure a conquerour agaynst honour? What shall wee saie then, but that euen in the same measure that hee loued his sonne, whome hee both hoped and wished that *Cesar* would spare, in the same didde hee enuy *Casars* glory, which hee (h) should haue gotten in sparing of him also, or else (to mollifie this matter som-what) he was ashamed to receiue such courtesie at *Casars* hands.

## L. VIVES.

The Catoes,

**T**hat (a) *Cato* ] The *Catoes* were of the *Portian* family, arising from *Tusculum* a towne of the *Latines*. The first of this stocke that was called *Cato* ( that is wise and wary ) was *Marcus Portius*, a man of meane discent, but attaining to all the honours of *Consull*, *Censor*, and of *Triumph*. His nephewes sonne was *Marcus Portius Cato*, both of them were great and (yet) innocent men. The first was called *Maior*, or *the Elder*, the later *Minor*, or *the younger*. The younger beeing a Leader in the ciuill wars of *Pompey* tooke his (that was, the common weales and the liberties) part, against the vsurpation of *Caius Caesar*: Now *Pompey* beeing ouercome by *Cesar* at *Pharsalia*, and *Scipio Metellus* ( *Pompey* his facher in law ) in *Affrica*, this *Cato* seeing his faction subuerted, and *Cesar* beare al down before him, being retyred vnto *Vtica* ( a City in *Affrike* ) and reading *Platoes Phaedo* twise ouer together, the same night thrust him-selfe through with his sword. (b) *Not because he alone* ] No, for many in other warres had slaine them-selues, least they should fall into the hand of the enemie: and in this same warre, so did *Scipio Metellus*, *Africanus* & King *Iuba* (c) *Learned* ] A stoyke and excellently skill'd in the wisdom of the *Greeks*; (d) *Honest* ] the wisdom and innocencie that was in both these *Catoes* grew into a prouerb: and hereof saith *Immenall*.

The integrity of the Catoes,

*Tertius è Cato cecidit Cato.*Now Heauen hath giuen vs a third *Cato*.*Velleius*

*Velleius Paterculus* writing vnto *Vinicius*, thus describeth this *Cato*. Hee was descended from *Marcus Cato* that head of the *Porcian* family (who was his great grandfather) hee was a man like vertues selfe, and rather of diuine then humane capacity: hee neuer did good that he cared should be noted: but because hee could not doe any thing but good, as holding that onely reasonable which was iust: free was hee from all the corruptions of man, and euermore swayed his owne fortune to his owne liking, Thus farre *Velleius*: to omit the great testimonies of *Seneca*, *Lucane*, *Tully*, *Saluste* and others, of this worthy man. (e) some of them learned ] It is recorded that *Apollonides* the Stoike, *Demetrius* the Peripatetike, and *Cleanthes* the Phisicion were then at *Utica* with *Cato*. For he loued much the company of the Greeke Philosophers, and his great grand-father neuer hated them so much as he respected them. And vpon the night that he slew himselfe on (saith *Plutarch*) at supper there arose a disputation about such things as really concerne the liberty of a man: wherein, *Demetrius* spoke many things against *Cato's* constant assertions of the praise of such as killed themselves; which indeed was so vehement, that it begot a suspision in them all, that hee would follow the same course himselfe, (f) *This did Cato himselfe* ] *Plutarch* writeth that when *Cato* Cato his sonne. came to *Utica*, he sent away his followers by shipping, and earnestly perswaded his sonne to goe with them, but could not force him to forsake his father. This sonne of his *Cesar* afterwards pardoned, as *Liuy* saith lib. 114. and *Cesar* himselfe in his *Commentaries* of the *African* warre. Hee was (as *Plutarch* saith in his fathers life) much giuen to venerie, but in the battaile of *Phillipi*, fighting valiantly on his cozen *Brutus* his side for his countries freedom hee was slaine, scorning to leaue the fight, when the chiefest captaines fled. (g) *to kill his sonne* ] *Titus Manlius Torquatus* made his sonnes head bee cut off for fighting contrary Manlius. Torquatus. to the edict, though he returned with victory, But of this else-where. (h) *should haue gotten by sparing of him* ] Commonly knowne is that saying of *Cesar* to him that brought newes of *Cato's* death: *Cato, I envy thy glory, for thou enniedst mine, and would not haue it reckoned amongst mine other famous actes, that I saved Cato.* *Cesar* wrote two bookes called *Anticatoines*, against *Cato*, as *Cicero* and *Suetonius* testifie. The *Cardinall of Liege* told mee that he law them both in a certaine old librarie at *Liege*, and that hee would see they should bee sent me, which if he do, I will not defraud the learned of their vse and publication.

*That the Christians excell Regulus in that vertue, wherein he excelled most.*

CHAP. 23.

**B**ut those whom we oppose will not haue their *Cato* excelled by our *Iob*, that holy man, who choose rather to endure all them horrible torments (a) in his flesh, then by aduenturing vpon death to auoide all those vexations: and other Saints of high credit and vndoubted faith in our scriptures, all which made choyce rather to endure the tirany of their enemies, then bee their owne butchers. But now we will prooue out of their owne records that *Regulus* was *Cato's* better in this glory. For *Cato* neuer ouer-came *Cesar*, vnto whom he scorned to be subiect, and chose to murder himselfe rather then bee seruant vnto him: But *Regulus* ouer-came the *Africans*, and in his generallship, returned with diuers noble victories vnto the *Romanes*, neuer with any notable losse of his Citizens, but alwaies of his foes: and yet being afterwards conquered by them, hee resolued rather to endure flauery vnder them, then by death to free himselfe from them. And therein hee both preserued his paciencie vnder the *Carthaginians*, and his constancy vnto the *Romanes*, neither depriuing the enemy of his conquered body, nor his countrymen of his vnconquered minde: Neither was it the loue of this life, that kept him from death.

E

This

This hee gaue good prooffe of, when without dread, hee returned back vnto his foes, to whō he had giuen worfe cause of offence in the Senate-house with his tongue then euer he had done before in the battaile with his force: & therefore this so great a conqueror and contemner of this life, who had rather that his foes should take it from him by any torments, then that hee should giue death to himselfe, how soeuer, must needs hold, that it was a foule guilt for man to bee his owne murderer. *Rome* amongst all her worthies, and eternized spirits, cannot shew one better then hee was, for hee, for all his great victories, continued (b) most poore: nor could mishap amate him: for with a fixt resolute and an vndanted courage returned he vnto his deadliest enemies. Now, if those magnanimous and heroicall defenders of their earthly habitacles, and those true and sound seruants of their (indeede false gods) (who had power to cut downe their conquered foes by lawe of armes) seeing themselves afterwarde to bee conquered of their foes, neuertheless would not be their owne butchers, but although they feared not death at all, yet would rather endure to bee slaues to their foes superiority, then to bee their owne executioners: How much more then should the Christians, that adore the true God, and ayme wholie at the eternall dwellings, restraîne themselves from this foule wickednesse, whensoever it pleaseth God to expose them for a time to taste of temporall extremities, either for their triall, or for correction sake, seeing that hee neuer forsaketh them in their humiliation, for whom hee being most high, humbled himselfe so low: (a) especially beeing that they are persons whom no lawes of armes or military power can allowe to destroy the conquered enemies?

## L. VIVES.

*Attilius his pouerty.* **I**N (a) *his flesh*] For hee was afflicted with a sore kinde of vlcere. (b) *Most poore*] *Liuy* in his eighteene booke, and *Valerius* in his examples of pouerty write this: *When Attilius knew that his generallship was prolonged another yeare more, hee wrote to the Senate to haue them send one to supply his place: His chiefe reason why hee would resigne his charge was, because his seauen acres of ground (beeing all the land hee had) was spoyled by the hired souldiers: which if it continued so, his wife and children could not haue whereon to liue. So the Senate (giuing the charge of this vnto the Ediles) looked better euer after vnto Attilius his patrimony. (c) Especially being that they* He makes fighting as far from Christian piety, as religious humanity is from barbarous inhumanity.

*That sinne is not to be auoided  
by sinne.*

## CHAP. 24.

**W**HAT a pernicious error then is heere crept into the world, that a man should kill himselfe, because either his enemy had iniured him, or means to iniure him? whereas hee may not kill his enemy, whether hee haue offended him, or bee about to offend him? This is rather to bee feared indeede, that the bodie, beeing subiect vnto the enemies lust, with touch of some enticing

enticing delight do not allure the will to consent to this impurity : And therefore (say they) it is not because of anothers guilt, but for feare of ones owne, that such men ought to kill themselues before sinne be committed vpon them. Nay, the minde that is more truly subiect vnto God and his wisdom, then vnto carnall concupiscence will neuer be brought to yeeld vnto the lust of the owne flesh be it neuer so prouoked by the lust of anothers : But if it be a damnable fact, and a detestable wickednesse to kill ones selfe at all, (as the truth in plaine tearmes saith it is) what man will bee so fond as to say, let vs sinne now, least we sinne hereafter? let vs commit murder now, least wee fall into adultery hereafter? If wickednesse be so predominant in such an one, as hee or shee will not chuse rather to suffer in innocence than to escape by guilt: is it not better to aduenture on the vncertainety of the future adultery, then the certainty of the present murder? is it not better to commit such a sinne as repentance may purge, then such an one as leaues no place at all for repentance? This I speake for such as for auoyding of guilt (not in others but in themselues) and fearing to consent to the lust in themselues which anothers lust inciteth, doe imagine that they ought rather to endure the violence of death : But farre bee it from a Christian soule that trusteth in his God, that hopeth in him and resteth on him; farre bee it (I say) from such to yeeld vnto the delights of the flesh in any consent vnto vncleanesse. But if that (a) concupiscentiall disobedience which dwelleth as yet in our (b) dying flesh, doe stirre it selfe by the owne licence against the law of our will; how can it bee but faultlesse in the body of him or her that neuer consenteth, when it stirres without guilt in the body that sleepeth.

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### L. VIVES.

**C**oncupiscentiall (a) Disobedience] The lust of the bodie is moued of it selfe euen against all resistance and contradiction of the will : and then the will being overcome by the flesh, from hence ariseth shame, as we will shew more at large hereafter. (b) Dying flesh] Our members being subiect vnto death doe die euery day, and yet seeme to haue in them a life distinct from the life of the soule : if then the lustfull motions that betide vs in sleepe, bee faultlesse, because the will doth not consent, but nature effects them without it; how much more faultlesse shall those bee, wherein the will is so farre from resting onely, that it resists and striues against them?

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*Of some unlawfull acts, done by the Saints, and by what occasion they were done.*

### CHAP. 25.

**B**ut there were (a) some holy women (say they) in these times of perfection, who flying from the spoylers of their chastities, threw themselues head-long into a swift riuer which drowned them and so they died, and yet their martirdomes are continually honored with religious memorialls in the Catholike Church. Well, of these I dare not iudge rashly in any thing. Whether the Church haue any sufficient testimonies that the diuine will



Particular  
vocation.

will aduised it to honor these persons memories, I cannot tell, it may be that it hath. For what if they did not this through mortall feare, but through heavenly instinct? not in error, but in obedience? as wee must not beleue but that *Sampson* did. And if God command, and this command be cleerely and doubtlesly discerned to bee his, who dares call this obedience into question? Who dare callumniate the dutie of holy loue? But euery one that shall resolute to sacrifice his sonne vnto God shall not bee cleared of guilt in such a resolution, because *Abraham* was praised for it. For the souldier, that in his order and obeysance to his gouernour (vnder whom hee fighteth lawfully) killeth a man, the city neuer makes him guilty of homicid: nay it makes him guilty of falshood and contempt, if hee doe not labour in all that hee can to doe it. But if hee had killed the man of his owne voluntary pleasure, then had hee beene guilty of shedding humane bloud, And so hee is punished for doing of that vnbidden, for the not doing of which beeing bidde hee should also haue beene punished. If this be thus at the generalls command, then why not at the creators? He therefore that heareth it sayd, *Thou shalt not kil thy selfe*, must kil himself if he commaunde him, whom wee may no way gaine say: Onely hee is to marke whether this diuine commaund bee not inuolued in any vncertainty. By (b) the eare wee doe make coniecture of the conscience, but our iudgement cannot penetrate into the secrets of hearts: *No man knowes the things of a man, but the spirit of a man which is in him*. This we say, this we affirme, this wee vniuersally approoue, that no man ought to procure his owne death for feare of temporall miseries; because in doing this hee falleth into eternall: Neither may hee doe it to auoide the sinnés of others, for in this hee maketh himselfe guilty of a deadly guilt, whome others wickednesse could not make guilty: not for his owne sinnés past, for which hee had more neede to wish for life, that hee might repent himselfe of them: nor for any desire of a better life to bee hoped for after death: Because such as are guilty of the losse of their owne life, neuer enioye any better life after their death.

1. Cor. 2.  
11.

## L. VIVES.

Pelagia.

**B***ut there were (a) some holy women* *Ambrose lib. 3. de virginibus*, writeth that *Pelagia* with his mother & sisters cast themselues headlong into a riuer, for feare to be rauished of the soldiers that pursued them: and yet the Church (saith he) hath placed her amongst the number of the martires: And *Sophronia* likewise who killed her selfe to auoide the lust of *Maxentius Caesar* as *Eusebins* recordeth in his *Ecclesiasticall history*. (b) *by the eare* Wee iudge by appearances of what is within: for our eye cannot perce into the secrets of man.

Sophronia.

*whether we ought to flie sinne with voluntary death.*

## CHAP. 26.

**T**Here is one reason of this proposition as yet to handle, which seemes to proue it commodious for a man to suffer a voluntary death: namely least either

either alluring pleasures or tormenting paines should enforce him to sinne afterwards. Which reason if we will giue scope vnto, it will run out so farre, that one would thinke that men should bee exhorted to this voluntary butchery, euen then, when by the fount of regeneration they are purified from all their finnes. For then is the time to beware of all finnes to come, when all that is past is pardoned. And involuntary death doe this, why is it not fittest then? Why doth hee that is newly baptized forbear his owne throat? Why doth he thrust his head freed againe into all these imminent dangers of this life, seeing he may so easilie avoide them all by his death: and it is written, *Hee that loueth daunger shall fall therein?* Why then doth he loue those innumerable dangers? or if hee doe not loue them, why vndertakes hee them? Is any man so fondly peruerse and so great a contemner of truth, that if hee thinke one should kill him selfe to eschue the violence of one oppressor least it draw him vnto sinne, will neuertheless auouch that one should liue still, and endure this whole world at all times, full of all temptations, both such as may bee expected from one oppressor, and thousands besides without which no man doth nor can liue? What is the reason then, why wee doe spend so much time in our exhortations, endeouering to animate (a) those whom wee haue baptized, (b) either vnto virginity, or chaste widowhood, or honest and honorable marriages; seeing wee haue both farre shorter and farre better waies to abandon all contagion and daunger of sinne; namely in perswading euery one presently after that remission of his finnes which hee hath newly obtained in baptisme, to betake him presently to a speedy death, and so send him presently away vnto GOD, both fresh and faire? If any man thinke that this is fitte to bee perswaded, I say not hee dotes, but I say hee is plaine madde: with what face can he say vnto a man, kill thy selfe, least vnto thy small finnes thou adde a greater by liuing in slavery vnto a barbarous vnchaste maister? how can hee (but with guilty shame) say vnto a man: kill thy selfe now that thy finnes are forgiven thee, least thou fall into the like againe or worse, by liuing in this world, so fraught with manifold temptation, so aluring with vncleane delights, so furious with bloudy sacrileges, so hate-full (c) with errors and terrors? it is a shame and a sinne to say the one, and therefore is it so likewise to doe the other. For (d) if there were any reason of iust force to authorize this fact, it must needs bee that which is fore-alleged. But it is not that, therefore there is none. Loath not your liues then (you faithfull of Christ) though the foe hath made hauock of your chastities. You haue a great and true consolation, if your conscience beare you faithfull witnesse that you neuer consented vnto their finnes who were suffered to commit such outrages vpon you.

Eccl. 3. 27

## L. VIVES.

**T**hose (a) whom we haue baptized] [Least any man should mistake this place, vnderstand that in times of old, no man was brought vnto baptisme, but he was of sufficient yeares to know what that mysticall water meant, and to require his baptisme, yea and that sundry times. Which we see resembled in our baptising of infants vnto this day. For the infant is asked (be it borne on that day, or a day before) whether it wilbe baptized? Thise is this question propounded vnto it: vnto which the God-fathers answere, it will: I heare that in some Cities of Italy they doe for the most part obserue the ancient custome as yet. This I haue

The old manner of baptizing.

[ ] al this is left out of the Paris edition,

I haue related onely to explaine the meaning of *Augustine* more fullie, ] (*b*) *Either to virginity*] He toucheth the three estates of such as liue well in the Church. (*c*) *With so many errors and terrors*] Of the seauenth chance, (*d*) *For if there were any reason*] A fit kinde of argument, by repugnance: which taking away the adiunct, takes the subiect away also. *Tully* mentions it in his *Topikes*.

*How it was a iudgement of God that the enimie was permitted to exercise his lust vpon the Christian bodies.*

CHAP. 27.

Rom. II.  
33.

Rom. I. 2.  
16.  
Psal. 2. 11

**I**F you aske me now why these outrages were thus permitted, I answere the prouidence of the creator & gouernor of the world, is high, and his iudgements are vnsearchable (*a*) and his waies past finding out: But aske your owne hearts sincerely whether you haue boasted in this good of continency and chastity, or no? whether you haue not affected humane commendations for it, and so thereby haue enuied it in others? I doe not accuse you of that whereof I am ignorant, nor doe I know what answere your hearts will returne you vnto this question. But if they answere affirmatiuely, and say you haue done so, then wonder not at all (*b*) that you haue now lost that, whereby you did but seeke and (*c*) reioyce to please the eyes of mortall men: and that you lost not that which could not bee shewed vnto men. If you consented not vnto the others luxury, your soules had the helpe of Gods grace to keepe them from losse, and likewise felt the disgrace of humane glory, to deterre them from the loue of it. But your faint hearts are comforted on both sides: on this side being approoued, and on that side chastised: iustified on this, and reformed on the other. But their hearts that giue them answere that they neuer gloried in the giuft of virginity, viduall chastity, or continence in marriage: but (*d*) fortong themselues with the meanest, did (*e*) with a reuerend feare reioyce in this giuft of God; nor euer repined at the like excellence of sanctity and purity in others; but neglecting the ayre of humane fame, (which alwaies is wont to accrew according to the rarity of the vertue that deserues it) did wish rather to haue their number multiplied, then by reason of their fewnesse to become more eminent. Let not those that are such, (if the Barbarians lust haue seized vpon some of them) (*f*) alledge that this is (meerely) permitted: nor let them thinke that God neglecteth these things because he some-times permitteth that which no man euer committeth vnpunished: for some, as weights of sinne and euill desires, are let downe by a present and secret iudgement, and some are reserued to that publique and vniuerfall last iudgement. And perhaps those, who knew themselues vnguiltie, and that neuer had their hearts puffed vppe with the good of this chastity, (and yet had their bodies thus abused by the enimie) had (notwithstanding) some infirmity lurking within them which (*g*) if they had escaped; this humiliation by the warres fury might haue increased vnto a fastidious pride. Wherefore (*h*) as some were taken away by death, *least wickednesse should alter their understandings*, so these here were

were forced to forgoe ( *i* ) some-thing, least excesse of prosperitie should haue depraued their vertuous modestie. And therefore, from neither sort, either of those that were proud, in that their bodies were pure from all vnchaste touch of others, or that might haue growne proud, if they had escaped the rape done by their foes, from neither of these is their chastitie taken away, but vnto them both is humilitie perswaded. The vaine-glory which is ( *k* ) immanent in the one, and imminent ouer the other, was excluded in them both. Though this is not to bee ouer-passed with silence, that some that endured these violences, might perhaps thinke, that continencie is but a bodily good, remaining as long as the body remains vntouched, but that it is not soly placed in the strength of the grace-assisted will, which sanctifies both body and soule: nor that it is a good that cannot be lost against ones will: which error, this affliction brought them to vnderstand: for it they consider with what conscience they honor God, and do with an vnmooued faith beleue this of him, that hee will not, nay cannot any way forsake such as thus and thus do serue him, and inuocate his name, and do not doubt of the great acceptation which he vouchsafeth vnto chastitie, Then must they neede perceiue that it followes necessarily, that he would neuer suffer this to fall vpon his Saints, if that by this meanes they should be despoiled of that sanctimonie which hee so much affecteth in them, and infuseth into them.

## L. VIVES.

**A**nd ( *a* ) his wayes ] the vulgar ( Rom. 12.35. ) reade*s* *inuestigabiles* for the direct contrarie, *minime inuestigabiles*. *Inuestigabilis*, is that which is found, *inuestigando*, with searching out. But the wayes of the Lord cannot be found out by humane vnderstanding. The Greeke is ἀνεύρετοι, *imperuestigabiles*, *unsearchable*. ( *b* ) That you lost that ] that you lost your fame, and faire report, and yet lost not your chastitie. ( *c* ) Reioyced to please, ] that is louingly desired. ( *d* ) But sorting themselues with the meane*st* ] Rom. 12.16. *Be not high minded, but make your selues equall with them of the lower sort*: τοῖς ταπεινοῖς ὁμοπαροῦναι, saith the originall, verbally translated: *humilibus aduerti*. ( *e* ) With reuerend feare ] Psalm. 2.11. *Serue the Lord with feare, or reioyce with trembling*. ( *f* ) Alledge ] we interpret not *causari* as the Philosophers doe in the Schooles, in *causa esse*, to be the cause, but *causam proferre*, to alledge as cause, as Virgill doth, saying:

*Causando nostros in longum ducis amores.*

With allegations thou prolongs our loues.

( *g* ) If they had escaped this humiliation ] *Augustine* here vseth *humilitas* for *humiliatio*, ( I thinke ) which is, a deic*ting* of a man by some calamitie: Vnlesse that some will reade it thus: Which if they had escaped, the humility of this warres furie, might haue blowne them vp into fastidious pride. ( *b* ) As some were taken away ] The wordes are in the fourth of the booke of *Wisdom*e, the eleuenth verse, and are spoken of *Henoch*: but they are not here to bee vnderstood as spoken of him: ( for hee was taken vp in his life vnto the Lord: ) but of others who after their death were taken vp to God for the same cause that *Henoch* was, before his death. ( *i* ) Some thing ] what that something was, modest shame prohibiteth to speake. ( *k* ) Immanent in the one ] not as the Grammarians take it, namely for *uncontinuing* or *transitorie*, but *immanens*, *quasi intus manens*, inherent, ingrafted, or staying within. *Augustine* vseth it for to expresse the figure of *eAgnomination*, or *Paranomasia*, which is in the two words *immanent* & *imminent*; which figure he vseth in many other places.

Paranomasia,

*What the seruants of Christ may answer the Infidels, when they  
vprayde them with Christs not deliuering them  
(in their afflictions) from the furie of  
their enemies furie.*

## CHAP. 28.

**V**Herefore all the seruants of the great and true God haue a comfort thats firme and fixed, not placed vpon fraile foundations of momentary and transitorie things: and so they passe this temporall life in such manner, as they neuer neede repent them of enioying it: because that herein they are prepared for that which is eternall, vsing the goods of this world but as in a pilgrimage, being no way entrapped in them, and so making vse of the euills of this world, as they make them serue alwayes either to their approbation, or their reformation. Those that insult vpon this their vprightnesse, and (when they see them fallen into some of these temporall inconueniences) say vnto them (a) where is thy God? Let them tell vs, where their Gods are when they are afflicted with the like oppressions? their gods, which either they worship, or desire to worship onely for the auoyding of such inconueniences. The family of Christ can answer, my God is euery where present, in all places, whole and powerfull, no space includes him: he can be present, vn-perceiued, and depart away againe, vnmooued. And he, when he afflicts vs with these aduersities, doth it either for triall of our perfections or reforming of our imperfections, still reseruing an eternall rewarde for our patient sufferance of temporall distresses. But who are you, that I should vouchsafe to speake vnto you, especially of your gods, but most especially of mine owne God (b) who is terrible and to bee feared  
Psal. 42. 3. *about all Gods? for all the gods of the Heathen are Diuills, but the Lord made the heauens.*  
Psal. 96. 4. 5.

## L. VIVES.

**W**Here. (a) is thy God? ] Psal. 42. *My teares haue bene my bread day and night, whilest they dayly said vnto me: where is now thy God? (b) Who is terrible and to bee feared, ]*  
Psal. 95. 4. 5.

*That such as complaine of the Christian times desire nothing  
but to liue in filthy pleasures.*

## CHAP. 29.

**I**F that (a) your *Scipio Nasica* were now aliue, hee that was once your high Priest, who (when in the fearefull terror of the *Carthaginian* warres, the most perfect man of all the citie was sought for, to vndertake the entertainment of the *Phrigian* goddesse) was chosen by the whole Senate, he whose face perhaps you now durst not looke on, hee would shame you from this grosse impudance of yours. For what cause is there for you to exclaime at the prosperitie of the Christian faith in these times, but onely because you would follow  
your

your luxury vncontrolled, and hauing remoued the impediments of al troublesome oppositions, swim on in your dishonest and vnhalloved dissolution? Your affections do not stand vp for peace, nor for vniuersal plenty and prosperity, to the end that you might vse them when you hauethē, as honest men should do: that is, modestly, soberly, temperately, and religioussly: No: but that hence you might keepe vp your vnreasonable expence, in seeking out such infinite variety of pleasures, and so giue birth vnto those exorbitances in your prosperities, which would heape more mischiefs vpon you then euer befel you by your enemies.

(b) But *Scipio* your high Priest, he whom the whole Senate iudged the best man amongst you, fearing that this calamitie would fall vppon you (that I speak of) would not haue *Carthage* in those dayes the sole paralell of the *Romaine* Empire vtterly subuerted, but contradicted *Cato*, that spoke for the destruction of it, because hee feared the foe of all weake spirits, *Security*: and held that *Carthage* would bee vnto his fellow Cittizens (c) as if they were young punies) both a conuenient tutor, and a necessary terror. Nor did his iudgement delude him: the euent it selfe gaue sufficient prooffe whether he spoke true or no: for afterwards when *Carthage* was raized downe, and the greatest curber and terror of the *Romaine* weale publike vtterly extinguished and brought to nothing; Presently such an innumerable swarm of inconueniences arose out of this prosperous estate, that the bondes of concord beeing all rent asunder and broken, first with barbarous and (e) bloody seditions, and next (f) by continuall giuing of worse and worse causes by ciuill warres, such slaughters were effected, so much blood was shedde by ciuill warres, and so much inhumanitie was practised in proscribings, riots and rapines, that those *Romaines* that in the good time of their liues feared no hurt but from their enemies, now in the corrupt time of their liues indured far worse of their owne fellowes: and that lust after soueraignty, which among all other finnes of the world, was most appropriate vnto the *Romaines*, and most immoderate in them all, at length getting head and happie successe in a fewe of the more powerfull, it ouerpressed all the rest, wearing them out and crushing their neckes with the yoake of vilde and slauiish bondage.

## L. VIVES.

**I**f that your *Scipio* (a) *Nasica*] This man was the sonne of *Cneius Cornelius Scipio*, who was slayne together with his brother *Publius*, by the *Carthaginians* in *Spaine*, in the second *Scipio Nasica* war of *Affrica*. In the 14. year of which war the *Decemviri* found a verse amongst the rest of *ica*, the Prophecies in the books of the *Sybil*, which fore-told that the enemy should be chased out of *Italy* if that the mother of the gods were transported from *Pessinus*, a city of *Phrygia*, vnto *Rome*. Here-vpon an ambassage was sent to *Attalus*, who as then was King of that country, to demand the mother of the gods of him, in the name of the Senate and people of *Rome*. The Ambassadors as they went, tooke the Oracle of *Delphos* in their way, to know what hope there was of attaining this mother of the goddess of the stranger King *Attalus*. The Oracle badde them bee of good courage, *Attalus* would not bee agaynst the fulfilling of their request for the Image: but withal willed them to haue an especiall care that when shee came into *Italy*, the best man of the whole Citie of *Rome* should giue hir intertainment, and receiue hir into his custodie.

So

The originall of the Carthaginian wars.

Labor better vn o Rome then quiet.

The ciuill Warres.

So the shippe returning vnto *Ostia* with the Image of the goddesse, *Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica* was by the Senators ( which were sworne to giue their opinions of the best man of the Cittie ) adiudged as the best man, he being then but a youth and not out of his questorship, which was his first steppe vnto dignity; and so hee by the decree of the Senate, receiued the *Phrigian* goddesse : *Linie* in his 29. booke and many others. (b) But *Scipio* ] In the 600. yeare after the building of *Rome*, when the *Romaine* Ambassadors that had bin at *Carthage*, reported that there they had found a huge deale of furniture for shipping, and all thinges fitt for a Nauall warre, the Senate held a consultation about the beginning of a warre with the *Carthaginians*. Now *Marcus Portius Cato* beeing *Censor*, to assure the *Romains* their estate at length, gaue counsell not onely to beginne this warre, but vtterly to extirpate and demolish (this terror of theirs) *Carthage*. But *Nasica Scipio* (of whom we spoke but now) would not see the people of *Rome* exposed to the inconueniences of too much Idlenesse, nor that they should swimme in too much security : and therefore would haue something to remaine as a bridle to curb the head-strong appetite of a powerful multitude: Where-vppon he gaue them the counsell not onely not to destroy *Carthage*, but euen not to beginne a warre with the *Carthaginians* without a lawfull and sufficient cause. *Linie* and others. (c) As if they were young punies ] *Valerius* writeth that *Appius Claudius* vsed often to say that *employment* did far more extol the people of *Rome* then quiet: that excesse of leisure and rest melted them into slothfulnesse, but the rough name of businesse, kept the manners of the cittie in their pristine state, undeformed: when the sweet sound of quiet euer ledde in great store of corruption. (d) When *Carthage* was raized ] *Salust* in his war of *Ingurth* saith thus: for before *Carthage* was raized, the Senate and People of *Rome* gouerned the weale-publike wcl. quietly and modestly betwixt them-selues: nor was there any contention for glory or domination amongst them: the feare of the foes kept all the Cittie in good arts & orders: but that feare being once remoued and abolisbed, then the attendants of prosperous estates, pride and luxury, thrust in unrestrained. (e) And bloody seditions ] As first y of *Tiberius Gracchus*, then that of *Caius* his brother, in which two was the first ciuill effusion of Cittizens blood beheld: the first of these happened tenne yeares after *Carthage* was destroyed. (f) By continual giuing of worse and worse causes ] For through the sedition of *Caius Gracchus* was the office of the Tribuneship invented, and bestowed on *Linus Drusus*, whom the Senators opposed against the Gentlemen, who stood for the law that *Gracchus* had made. Hence arose the war called *Sociale Bellum*, because *Drusus* reformed not the city as hee promised: and hence arose the warre of *Mithridates*, who taking aduantage of this discord of *Italie*, made many thousands of the *Italians* that traffick'd in his dominions to bee slaine : and hence arose the ciuill warre of *Marius* who sought to gette the vnder-taking of this Prouince and warre of *Mithridates* from *Sylla*. And from the seedes of this warre, sprung the warres of *Sertorius*, *Lepidus*, the conspiracy of *Catiline*, and lastly the warre of *Pompey*. And from that sprung the Empire of *Cesar*, and after his death the ciuill warres of *Anthony*, of *Brutus* and *Cassius* at the *Philippi*: of *Sextus Pompeius* in *Sicilia*, and that of *Actium*. And lastly the common-weales freedome turned into a tiriannical monarchy.

By what degrees of corruption the Romaines ambition grew so such a height.

### CHAP 30.

Ambition.  
Auarice.  
Luxury.  
Prosperity.

FOR when didde euer this lust of soueraignty cease in proud mindes, vntill it hadde by continuance of honours attained vnto the dignitie of regall domination? And if their ambition didde not preuaile, they then hadde no meane to continue their honours: Now ambition would not preuaile but amongst a people wholly corrupted with coueteousnes and luxury. And the people is alwaies infected with these two contagions, by the meanes of affluent prosperity, which

which *Nasica* did wisely hold fit to be fore-seene and preuented, by not condiscending to the abolishing of so strong, so powerfull, and so rich a city of their enemies: thereby to keepe luxurie in awfull feare: that so it might not become exorbitant, and by that meanes also couetousnesse might be repressed. Which two vices once chained vp, vertue (the citties supporter) might flourish, and a liberty befitting this vertue might stand strong. And hence it was, out of this most circumspect zeale vnto his country, that your said high Priest, who was chosen by the Senate of those times for the best man, without any difference of voices, (a thing worthy of often repetition) when the Senate would haue built (a) a Theater, dissuaded them from this vaine resolution: and in a most graue oration, perswaded them not to suffer the (b) luxurie of the *Greekes* to crepe into their olde conditions, nor to consent vnto the entrie of forraigne corruption, to the subuersion and extirpation of their natiue *Romaine* perfection, working so much by his owne onely authoritie, that the whole bench of the iudicious Senate being moued by his reasons, expressly prohibited the vse of (c) those moueable seates which the *Romaines* began as then to vse in the beholding of *Playes*. How earnest would hee haue bene to haue cleansed the citie of *Rome* of the (d) *Playes* themselues, if hee durst haue opposed their authoritie whom he held for Gods, being ignorant that they were malicious *Diuels*: or if hee knew it, then it seemes hee held that they were rather to bee pleased, then despised. For as yet, that heauenly doctrine was not deliuered vnto the world, which purifying the heart by faith, changes the affect, with a zealous piety to desire and aime at the blessings of heauen, or those which are about the heauens, and freech men absolutely from the slauery of those proud and vngracious *Deuils*.

*Nasica* abolished the sitting at *Playes*.

### L. VIVES.

**B**vilta (a) *Theater*.] *Linie* in his 48. booke, and *Valerius Maximus de Instit. antiq.* write that *Valerius Messala*, and *Cassius* being Censors, had giuen order for a Theater to be built, wherein the people of *Rome* might sitte and see playes. But *Nasica* laboured so with the Senate, that it was held a thing vnfit, as preiudiciall to the manners of the people. So by a decree of the Senate, all that preparation for the Theater was laide aside, and it was decreed that no man should place any seates, or sitte to behold any playes within the citie, or within a mile of the walles. And so from a little while after the third *Affrican* warre, vntill the sacke of *Corinthe*, the people beheld all their playes standing, but as then *Lucius Memmius* set vp a Theater for the *Playes* at his Triumph, but it stood but for the time that this triumph lasted. The first standing Theater *Pompey the Great* built at *Rome* of square stone (as *Cornelius Tacitus* writeth, lib. 14.) the modell whereof hee had at *Mytilene*, in the *Mithridatique* warre. *Cauca* here in the text, signifieth the middle front of the Theater, which afterward was diuided into seates for the Gentlemen, seuered into rankes and galleries. Some-times it is taken for the whole audience, as *Seruius* noteth vpon the eight of the *Aeneads*. (b) *The luxurie of the Greekes*.] the *Grecians* had Theaters before the *Romaines* many ages, and the very *Greeke* name prooues that they came first from *Greece*. For *Theater* is deriued of *θεαδαι* which is, *spectare*, to behold. (c) *Those moueable seates*] standing but for a time. For such Theaters were first in vse at *Rome* before the standing, the continuing Theaters came in and were made with moueable seates, as *Tacitus* saith, and the stage built for the present time. (d) *The Playes themselues*] Such as were presented vpon the Stage: whereof, in the next booke we shall discourse more at large.

The *Romaine* Theater, when first erected.

*Cauca* what it is in the Theater.

of



## Of the first inducing of Stage-plays.

## CHAP. 31.

**B**Vt know, ( you that know not this ) and marke ( you that make shew as if you knew it not, and murmur at him that hath set you free from such Lords ) that your Stage-plays, those ( *a* ) Spectacles of vncleanness, those licentious vanities, were not first brought vp at *Rome* by the corruptions of the men, but by the direct commands of your Gods: ( *b* ) It were farre more tolerable for you to giue diuine honors vnto the fore-named *Scipio*, then vnto such kinde of deities, for they were not so good as their Priest was: And now doe but obserue, whether your mindes being drunke with this continuall ingurgitation of error, will suffer you to taste a sip of any true consideration: Your Gods, for the assuaging of the infection of the Pestilence that seized on their bodies, commanded an institution of Stage Playes presently to be effected in their honors: but your Priest, for auoyding the pestilence of your mindes, forbade that any stage should be built for any such action. If you haue so much witte as to preferre the mind before the body, then choose which of the two said parties to make your God of: for ( *c* ) the bodily pestilence did not yet cease, because that the delicate vanitie of Stage-plays entred into the eares of this people ( being then wholly giuen vnto warres, and accustomed onely to the ( *d* ) *Circensian* playes ) but the wilie Diuels foreseeing ( by naturall reason ) that this plague of the bodies should cease by this meanes tooke occasion to thrust one farre worse, not into their bodies, but into their manners, in corrupting of which, lieth all their ioy; and such a plague, as blinded the mindes of that wretched people with such impenetrable cloudes of darkenesse, and bespotted them with such soule stains of deformitie, that euen now ( though this may seeme incredible to succeeding ages ) when this great *Rome* was destroyed, such as were possessed with this pestilence, flying from that sacke, could come euen vnto *Carthage*, and here contend who should runne maddest ( *e* ) after stage playing.

The Priest  
better then  
his Gods.

The deuils  
craftinesse.

Plague of  
minde fol-  
lowing the  
plague of  
body.

## L. VIVES.

**T**Hose ( *a* ) Spectacles of vncleanness, ] for there was both most beastly shewes presented, and most filthy words spoken. ( *b* ) It were farre more tollerable. ] *Tertullian* in his *Apologeticus* saith: It were better to make *Socrates* the God of *Wisdom*, *Aristides* of *Iustice*, *Themistocles* of *warre*, *Tully* of *eloquence*, *Sylla* of *prosperitie*, *Crassus* of *riches*, *Pompey* of *Magnificence*, and *Cato* of *granitie*, for these men excell the gods in these specialities. And many of the ancient writers neuer denied, that their good men were better then their gods: as *Seneca* for one, *De vita tranquillitate*, lib. 2. affirmeth, that *Cato of Utica* was a better example of a wise man then either *Hercules* or *Vlisses*. *Lucane* calles him the true Father of his country, worthy the *Romaine Altars*. ( *c* ) The bodily pestilence ] *Linie* in his 7. booke, saith, Neither did the first institution of Playes for augmentation of Religion, either augment religion in their minds, or diminish the pestilence of their bodies. ( *d* ) ( *Circensian Playes* ] Those did *Romulus* institute at *Rome*, in the fourth moneth after he had built the Cittie ( as *Fabius Pistor* recordeth ) the same day that he forced away the *Sabine Virgins*. Some say it was not vntill after the afore-said time a great while, whom I had rather beleue in this. *Circenses* they were called ( saith *Seruius* ) because they were encompassed with swords: of *Circa* and *Enses*, for the ( not as yet nice ) antiquitie, hauing not as yet built any places fit for such exercises, practised them betweene a riuer side, and a ranke of swords, that the idle might see danger on both sides. Afterwards *Tarquinius Priscus* appointed a ring for them, which was afterward called *Circus Maximus*: and euery yeare once, as *Linie* saith, were these games celebrated, being diuersly named, as *Magni*, & *Romani*, & *Circenses*. They were consecrated vnto the God *Consus*, whom the Greekes call *Ἰπποπόνηρος*, that is, *Neptune the Horse-rider*,

Famous  
men.

The *Cir-  
censian*  
Playes.

Consus  
what hee  
was, and  
Ἰπποπόνη-  
ρος.

to whome *Evander* (as *Dionysius* saith) erected a temple in Latium, and ordaind a feast day for him which the *Greekes* called *ιπποεξια*, and the Latines *Consualia*, on which day all the horses and mules were exempted from labour and were decked with garlands. Now that the *Romans* at that time, and vntill the foresaid command, vsed onely the *Circensian* plaies, *Linie*, lib. 7. & *valerius de institut* are witnesses. (e) after stage playing] not that they played themselues, *Augustine* doth not meane so, but that they ran a madding with the desire to see these strange plaies.

*Of some vices in the Romaines, which their Citties  
ruine did neuer reforme.*

CHAP. 32.

**O** You sencelesse men, how are you bewitched, not with error but furor, that when al the nations of the East (as we heare) bewaile your citties ruine, and al the most remote regions bemone your misery with publique sorrow, you your selues run head-long vnto the Theaters, seeking them, entring them, filling them, & playing farre madder parts now then euer you did before? This your plague of mind, this your wracke of honesty, was that, which your *Scipio* so feared when hee would not haue any Theaters built for you: when hee saw how quickly your vertues would be abolished by prosperity, whē he would not haue you vtterly quitted from all feare of forraigne inuasions. Hee was not of opinion that that cōmon-weale or citty was in a happy estate, where the walls stood firme, and the good manners lay ruined. But the seducements of the damned spirites preuayled more with you, then the prouidence of circumspect men. And hence comes it, that the mischiefes that your selues commit, you are so loth should be imputed to your selues, but the mischiefes that your selues suffer, you are euer ready to cast vpon the Christian profession, for you in your security do not seeke the peace of the common-weale, but freedome for your practises of luxury: you are depraued by prosperity, and you cannot be reformed by aduersity. Your *Scipio* would haue had you to feare your foes, and so to suppress your lusts: but (a) you, though you feele your foes, & are crushed down by them, yet will not restraints your inordinate affects: (b) you haue lost the benefit of affliction, & though you be made most miserable, yet remaine you most irreformable. And yet it is Gods mercy that you haue your liues still: his very sparing of your liues, summons you vnto repentance: he it was, that (though you be vngratefull) shewed you that fauour as to escape your enemies swords by calling of your selues his seruants, or flying into the Churches of his Martyrs.

L. VIVES.

**T**hough (a) you feele your foes] Because you beheld the Playes at *Carthage*, with such a dissolute, intemperate affection. (b) You haue lost the benefite of affliction,] whereby men are reformed, and by correction grow instructed: it being imputed vnto them for merite, to tolerate aduerser fortune with patience: *Plato* in his *Gorgias* saith, that calamities and afflictions are vse-full both to the sufferers, and the beholders, bettering them both, one by their paine, the other by example.

The benefit  
of affliction

*Of the clemencie of God in moderating this calamitie of Rome.*

CHAP. 33.

**I**T is said that *Romulus* and *Remus* built (a) a Sanctuarie, where-vnto who so could escape, should be free from all assault or hurt: their endeouour in this

Of sanctu-  
aries or A-  
syla.

being to increase the number of their cittizens. An example making way for a wonderfull honor vnto Christ : The same thing, that the founders of the citty did decree, the same doe the destroyers of it : And what if the one did it to increase the multitude of their cittizens, when the other did it to preserue the multitude of their foes ? Let this then, (and what soeuer besides fitly may bee vsed) be vsed as an answer of our Lord Iesus Christ his flock, and that pilgrim-citty of God, vnto all their wicked enemies.

### L. VIVES.

**A** (*a*) *Sanctuarie*. ] It is a sacred place, from whence it is not lawfull to draw any man : for thence is the name deriued, comming of *συνάω*, *rapio*, to draw or pull, and *ἱερα* the primitiue letter. And so by a figure called *Lambdacismus*, is made *asylum* for *asylum*. *Seruius* in 8. *Aenead*. Though indeed *συνάω* is *tollere*, to take away, as *Homer* vseth it : *ἔσθλα*, &c. He tooke away the goodly armes. After that *Hercules* was dead, his nephews and posteritie, fearing the oppression of such as their grand-father had iniured, built the first sanctuary at *Athens*, naming it the temple of *Mercy*, out of which no man could bee taken, And this *Statius* testifieth also. Now *Romulus* and *Remus* built one betweene the tower and the Capitoll, calling the place where it stood *Inter-montium*; intending hereby that the multitude of offenders flocking hether for hope of pardon, wou'd bee a meane to augment the number of inhabitants in this new Citie. To what God or Goddesse it was erected, it is vnknowne : *Dionysius* saith hee cannot tell. Some say, vnto *Veionis* : But the groue of the *Sanctuarie* is honoured vpon the fourth of the *Nones* of *February*, as *Ouid* writeth, *Fastorum* 2. In *Greece* and *Asia* haue bene many sanctuaries. *Tiberius Caesar* being out of liking with their too much licence, tooke from them almost all their liberties and priuiledges, as *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* do report.

*Of such of Gods elect as liue secretly as yet amongst the Infidels,  
and of such as are false Christians.*

### CHAP. 34.

**A**ND let this Cittie of Gods remember, that euen amongst her enemies, there are some concealed, that shall one day be her Cittizens : nor let her thinke it a fruitlesse labour to beare their hate (*a*) vntill shee heare their confession, as she hath also (as long as shee is in this pilgrimage of this world) some that are partaker of the same sacraments with her, (*b*) that shall not bee partakers of the Saints glories with her, who are partly knowne, and partly vnknowne. Yea such there are, that spare not amongst Gods enemies to murmur against his glory, whose character they beare vpon them : going now vnto Playes with them, and by and by, vnto the Church with vs. But let vs not despaire of the reformation of some of these, we haue little reason, seeing that we haue many secret and predestinated friends, euen amongst our most knowne aduersaries, and such, as yet know not themselues to be ordained for our friendship. For the two citties (of the predestinate and the reprobate) are in this world, confused together, and commixt, vntill the generall iudgement make a separation : of the originall progresse and due limits of both which citties, what I thinke fitte to speake, by Gods helpe and furtherance, I will now begin, to the glory of the Cittie of God, which being (*d*) compared with her contrary, will spread her glories to a more full aspect.

Two citties  
intermixt.

L. VIVES.

## L. VIVES.

**V**ntill (a) *shee heare their confession.* ] At the last discouery, where euery man shall confesse himselfe, which shall bee then, when the bookes of mens consciences are opened, that is in the world to come. (b) *That shall not be partakers,* ] According to the words of Christ, *Many are called but few are chosen.* (c) *Untill the generall iudgement* ] So it is in the Gospell. *The Angels shall separate the euill from the midst of the iust in the end of the world.* (d) *Compared with her contrary,* ] So *Aristotle* saith, *Contraries placed together, shew both the fuller.*

*what subjects are to be handled in the following discourse.*

## CHAP. 35.

**B**Vt we haue a little more to say vnto those that lay the afflictions of the *Romaine* estate vpon the profession of Christianitie, which forbiddeth men to sacrifice vnto those Idols. For we must cast vp a summe of all the miseries (or of as many as shal suffice) which that Citie, or the prouinces vnder her subiection, endured before those sacrifices were forbidden. All which they would haue imputed vnto our religion, had it beene then preached and taught against these sacrifices, when these miseries befell. Secondly, wee must shew what customes and conditions the true God vouchsafed to teach them for the increasing of their Empire, (a) that God, in whose hand are al the kingdomes of the earth: and how their false Gods neuer helped them a iotte, but rather did them infinite hurt by deceit and inducement. And lastly, we will disprooue those who though they be confuted with most manifest proofes, yet will needs affirme still that their gods are to be worshipped, and that not for the benefites of this life, but for those which are belonging to the life to come. Which question (vnlesse I be deceiued) will be (b) farre more laborious, and worthier of deeper consideration, in the which we must dispute against the Philosophers, (c) not against each one, but euen the most excellent and glorious of them all, and such as in many points hold as we hold, and namely of the immortality of the soule, and of the worlds creation by the true God, and of his prouidence, whereby he swayeth the whole creation. But because euen these also are to be confuted, in what they hold opposite vnto vs, wee thought it our dutie not to bee slacke in this worke, but conuincing all the contradictions of the wicked, as God shall giue vs power and strength to aduance the veritie of the Citie of God, the true zeale and worship of God, which is the onely way to attaine true and eternall felicitie. This therefore shall bee the method of our worke: and now from this second *exordium* we will take each thing in due order.

## L. VIVES.

**T**hat God (a) *in whose hand* ] for Christ saith, *Math. 28. 18. All power is giuen vnto me in heauen and earth.* (b) *More laborious* ] *Operosior*, harder, of more toyle. (c) *Not against each one* ] not against euery common Philosopher or smatterer, for so is *quilibet*, taken sometimes, as *ἕκαστος*, is often in the *Greece*. In this Chapter, *Augustine* shewes bricfly both what he hath done already, and how he meanes to proceede.

*Finis Libri primi.*

# THE CONTENTS OF THE SECND BOOKE OF THE Citic of God.

1. *Of the method that must of necessity be vsed in this disputation.*
2. *A repetition of the contents of the first booke.*
3. *Of the choise of an history that will shew the miseries that the Romaines endured when they worshipped their Idols, before the increase of Christian religion.*
4. *That the worshippers of Pagan gods neuer receiued honest instruction from them, but vsed all filthinesse in their sacrifices.*
5. *Of the obscenities vsed in the sacrifices offered vnto the mother of the gods.*
6. *That the Pagan gods did neuer establish the doctrine of liuing well.*
7. *That the Philosophers instructions are weake and bootlesse, in that they beare no diuine authoritie, because that the examples of the Gods are greater confirmation of vices in men, then the wise mens disputations are on the contrary.*
8. *Of the Romaine Stage-plays, wherein the publishing of their foulest impurities did not any way offend, but rather delight them.*
9. *What the Romaines opinion was touching the restraints of the liberty of Poetrie, which the Greekes (by the councell of their Gods) would not haue restrained at all.*
10. *That the Devils, through their settled desire to doe men mischiese, were willing to haue any villanie reported of them, whether true or false.*
11. *That the Greekes admitted the Plaiers to beare office in their commonweales, least they should seeme vniust, in despising such men as were the pacifiers of their Gods.*
12. *That the Romaines in abridging that liberty which their Poets would haue vpon men, and allowing them to vsue it vpon their Gods, did herein shew, that they prized themselues aboue the Gods.*
13. *That the Romaines might haue obserued their Gods unworthinesse, by the desires of such obscene solemnities.*
14. *That Plato, who would not allow Poets to dwell in a well governed Citie,* shewed herein that his sole worth was better then all the Gods, who desire to be honored with Stage playes.
15. *That flattery (and not Reason) created some of the Romaine Gods.*
16. *That if the Romaine Gods had had any care of iustice, the Citie should haue had her forme of gouernment from them, rather then to borrow it of other nations.*
17. *Of the rape of the Sabine women, and diuerse other wicked facts, done in Romes most ancient & honorable times.*
18. *What the history of Salust reports of the Romaines conditions, both in their times of danger and those of securitie.*
19. *Of the corruptions ruling in the Romaine state before that Christ abolished the worship of their Idols.*
20. *Of what kind of happinesse, and of what conditions the accusers of Christianitie desire to pertake.*
21. *Tullies opinion of the Romaine common-weale.*
22. *That the Romaine Gods neuer respected whether the Citie were corrupted, and so brought to destruction, or no.*
23. *That the variety of temporalle states dependeth not vpon the pleasure or displeasure of those Devils, but vpon the iudgments of God Almighty.*
24. *Of the acts of Sylla, wherein the Devils shewed themselues his maine helpers and furtherers.*
25. *How powerfully the Devils incite men to villanies, by laying before them examples of diuine authority (as it were) for them to follow in their villanous acts.*
26. *Of certaine obscure instructions concerning good manners, which the Devils are said to haue giuen in secret, whereas all wickednesse was taught in their publique solemnities.*
27. *What a great meanes of the subuersion of the Romaine estate the induction of those Playes was, which they surmized to be propitiatory vnto the Gods.*
28. *Of the saluation attained by the Christian religion.*
29. *An exhortation to the Romaines to renounce their Paganisme.*



THE  
SECOND BOOKE  
OF THE CITY OF GOD:

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishop  
of *Hippo*, vnto *Marcellinus*.

*Of the method which must of necessity be used in this disputation.*

CHAP. I.



**I**f the weake custome of humaine sence durst not bee so bold, as to oppose it selfe against the reasons of apparant truth, but would yeeld this languid infirmitie vnto wholesome instruction, as vnto a medicine which were fittest to apply, vntill by Gods good assistance, and faiths operation it were thoroughly cured; then those that can both iudge well, and instruct sufficiently, should not need many words to confute any erroneous opinion, or to make it fully apparant vnto such, as their desires would truly informe. But now, because there is so great and inueterate a disease rooted in the mindes of the ignorant, that they will (out of their extreame blindness, whereby they see not what is most plaine, or out of their obstinate peruerfnesse whereby they will not brooke what they see) defend their irrational and brutish opinions, after that the truth hath been taught them as plaine as one man can teach another: hence it is, that (as) there ariseth a necessitie, that bindeth vs to dilate more fully of what is already most plaine, and to giue the truth, not vnto their eyes to see, but euen into their heads, as it were to touch and feele. Yet notwithstanding this by the way: What end shall wee make of alteration, if we hold that the answerers are continually to be answered? For, as for those that either cannot comprehend what is said vnto them, or else are so obstinate in their vaine opinions, that though they do vnderstand the truth, yet will not giue it place in their minds, but reply against it, as it is written of them: *like spectators of iniquitie*, those are eternally friuolous: And if wee should binde our selues to giue an answer to every contradiction that their impudencie will thrust forth, (how falsly they care not, so they do but make a shew of opposition vnto our assertions) you see what a trouble it would be, how endlesse, and how fruitlesse. And therefore (sonne *Marcelline*) I would neither haue you, nor any other (to whom this our worke may yeeld any benefit in Iesus Christ) to read this volume with any surmise, that I am bound to answer whatsoeuer you or they shall hear obiected against it: least you become like vnto the women of whom the Apostle saith, that they were *alwayes learning, and neuer able to come vnto the knowledge of the truth.* <sup>2. Tim. 3</sup>

## L. VIVES.

**H**ence is it, that (a) there ariseth a necessity] The latine text is, *fit necessitas*, spoken by a Greeke figure, *κτὶ τῶ το τι οὐκ αὐτεῖν*, saith *Demosthenes*: *ἀνάγκη*, *necessitas*, for *neceffe*: and it is an ordinary phrase with them, though the *Latynes* say, *est necessitas*, as *Quintilian* hath it.

## A repetition of the Contentes of the first booke. CHAP. 2.

**T**herefore in the former booke, wherein I began to speake of the City of God, to which purpose all the whole worke (by Gods assistance) shall haue reference, I did first of all take in hand to giue them their answer, that are so shamelesse as to impute the calamities inflicted vpon the world, (and in particular vpon *Rome* in her last detolation wrought by the *Vandales*) vnto the religion of Christ, which forbids men to offerre seruice or sacrifice vnto deuills: whereas they are rather bound to ascribe this as a glory to Christ, that for his names sake alone, the barbarous nations (beyond all practise and custome of warres) allowed many and spacious places of religion for those (ingratefull men) to escape into; and gaue such honor vnto the seruants of Christ, (not only to the true ones but euen to the counterfeit), that what the law of armes made lawfull to doe vnto all men, they held it vtterly vnlawfull to offer vnto them. And hence arose these questions: *How and wherefore these gracious mercies of God were extended vnto such vngodly and ungratefull wretches as well as to his true seruants, and why the afflictions of this siege fell vpon the godly (in part) as well as on the reprobate?* For the better dissolving (a) of which doubt, I stayd somewhat long in a discourse of the daily giftes of God, and the miseries of man, falling out in the whole tract of this transitory life (both which, by reason that they often light confusedly together, alike, and vndistinguished both vpon good liuers and impious, are very powerfull in moouing the hearts of many): and mine especiall intent herein was to giue some comfort vnto the sanctified and chaste women, who had their chastities offended by some incontinent acts of the soldiours: and to shew them, that if those accidents had not wrackt their chaste resolutions, they ought not to bee ashamed of life, hauing no guilt in them whereof to be ashamed, and then I tooke occasion to speake somewhat against those that in such villanous and impudent maner doe insult ouer the poore Christians in their aduersities; and chiefly ouer the deflowred women; these fellowes themselues beeing most vnmanly and depraued wretches, altogether degenerate from the true *Romains*, vnto whose honors (being many, and much recorded) these base creatures are so directly opposite. For it was these, that made *Rome* (which was first founded, and after increased by the care and industry of her old worthies) to shew more filthy and corrupted in her prosperitie, then shee was now in her ruine: for in this, there fell but stones, walles & houses; but in the liues of such villaines as these, all the monuments, all the ornaments, (not of their walls, but) of their maners were vtterly demolished: as then did a worse fire burne in their affections, then this was now that did but burne their houses: with the close of this, I gaue an end vnto the first booke, and now (as I resolued) wil proceed, to cast vp a reckoning of the sundry mitchieues that this City of *Rome* hath suffered since shee was first founded, either in herselfe or in some of the Prouinces vnder her command: all which those vile persons would haue pinned vpon the backe of Christianity, if the doctrine of the gospel against their false & deceitfull gods had in those times beene reuealed and preached.

## L. VIVES.

**D**issolving (a) of which doubt;] The first of these, was & chiefe questiō of those Philosophers that

denied the world to be gouerned by the prouidence of God. *Plut. de placit. Philosoph. lib. 1*

*Of the choise of an history which wil shew the miseries that the Rom-  
ans indured, when they worshipped their Idols, before  
the increase of Christian Religion*

CHAP. 3

**B**Ut remember this, that when I handled those points, I had to do with the ignorant, out of whose blockish heads this prouerb was first borne: (a) *It wil not raine because of the Christian.* For there are some others amongst them that are learned, & loue that very history that makes these things plain to their vnderstanding: but because they loue to see & blind & erroneous vulgar at enmity and dissention with vs Christians, they dissemble & conceale this vnderstanding of theirs, labouring to perswade the people this, that the whole processe of calamities, which at diuers times and in seuerall places (b) fell and were still to fall vpon all the world, hadde the original, and haue had, onely and meerey from the profession of Christ, greewing that it spreadeth so farre and shineth so gloriously against all other their gods and religions. But lette these malicious men read but with vs, with what excesse of affliction the *Romain* estate was wrung & plagued, & that on euery side, before that euer this name (which they so much do enuy) did spread the glory to such note: and then if they can, let them defend their goddes goodnesse shewed vnto them in these extremities, and if that as their seruants they honour them for protection from these extremities, which if they do but suffer now in any part, they are ready to lay al the blame vpon our necks, for why did their gods permit their seruants to bee plagued with these great afflictions (which I am now to recount) before that the publishing of the name of Christ gaue them cause of offence, by prohibiting their sacrifices.

L. VIVES.

**I**T (a) *will not raine* ] He rehearseth this, as a common speach of the wicked infidels, who would impute all the euils that hapned them vnto the Christian cause. *Terrullian, Pretending for the defence of their hatefulnesse, this vanity besides, that they held the Christians the onely causers of all the mischiefs and harmes that fall vpon the state and cittie. If Tiber ouer-flow his bankes, if Nilus do not water the fildes, if the heauens stand, or the earth shake; if there arise either famine or plague, straight to the Lions with a Christian cries the whole crew. Cyprian against Demetrianus. If wheras you say that many complaine that it is imputed vnto vs that there is so often warres, pestilences, famines, inondations, and droughts, then wee must bee no longer silent, &c. (b) Fell, and were still to fall* ] Through the euer-changing estate of humanity, and that Fate which is indeed the will of almighty God.

How hatefull the name of Christians was once at Rome.

*That the worshippers of Pagan gods neuer received honest instruction from them; but used all filthinesse in their sacrifices.*

CHAP. 4.

**F**irst, why would not their gods haue a care to see their seruants wel mannered: the true God doth worthily neglect those & neglect his iust worship: but as for those gods whom this wicked & vngrateful crew complaine that they are forbidden to worship, why do they not helpe to better the liues of their worshippers by giuing them some good lawes? It was very requisit that as they carefully attended their goddes sacrifices, so their gods should haue gratioously amended their imperfections. I (but wil some say) euery man may be vicious at his owne will and pleasure. True, who denies that? yet notwithstanding, it was the part of these great gods guardiāns, not to conceale the formes and rudiments of good & honest life from their suppliant; but to teach them plaine, and fully, and by

The gods neuer taught their worshippers good manners.



theis Prophets to correct & restrain the offenders: to restrain euil doers with publik punishments, & to encourage good liuers with ful rewards: what Temple of al this multitude of gods, was euer accessary to any such sound? we our selues (once in our youth) went to view these spectacles, their (a) sacriligious mockeries: there we saw the (b) *Enthusiastikes*, persons rapt with fury; there we heard the (c) pipers, and tooke (d) great delight in the filthy sports that they acted before their gods and goddes: euen before *Berecynthia* (surnamed the *Celestiall virgin, and mother to al the gods*) euen before hir litter, (e) vpon the feast day of her very purification, their (f) beastly stage-players acted such ribauldry, as was a shame (not onely for the mother of the gods, but) for the mother of any senatour or any honest man, nay euen for the mothers of the players them-selues to giue care too: Naturall shame hath bound vs with some respect vnto our parents, which vice it selfe cannot abolish. But that beastlynesse of obscæne speaches and actions, which the Players acted in publike, before the mother of all the gods, and in sight and hearing of an huge multitude of both sexes, they would be ashamed to act at home in priuate before their mothers (g) were it but for repetition sake. And as for that company that were their spectators, though they might easily bee drawn thether by curiosity, yet beholding chastity so foully iniured, me thinkes they should haue bene driuen from thence by the meere shame that immodesty can offend honesty withall. What can sacriledges be, if those were sacrifices? or what can bee pollution, if this were a purification? and these were called (h) *Iuncates*, as if they made a feast where all the vnleane diuels of hell might fill their bellies. For who knowes not what kinde of spirits these are that take pleasure in these obscurities? vnlesse hee knowe not that there bee any such vnleane spirits that thus illude men vnder the names of gods: or else, vnlesse hee be such an one as wisheth the pleasure, and feares the displeasure of those damned powers more then hee doth the loue and wrath of the true and euerliuing God.

Berecynthia  
Mother of  
the Gods.

The iuncates  
offered to the  
Gods.

The Gods  
mother.

Cibeles  
invention.

Atis.

## L. VIVES.

**S**acriligious (a) mockeries ] Inuerring this, *the holy plaies*, a phrase vsed much by the Pagans. (b) *The Enthusiastikes persons rapt* ] This place requireth some speech of the mother of the gods: *Diodorus Siculus* (*Biblioth* lib. 4.) tells the story of this *Mother of the gods* diuers waies. For first hee writeth thus. *Cælus had by his wife Titæa five & forty children, two of which were women, called Regina, and Ops: Regina being the elder, and wifer of the two, brought up all her other bretheren (to doe her mother a pleasure) and therefore she was called the mother of the gods, and was married to hir brother Hiperion, to whome shee bare Sol and Luna; who being both murdered by their vncles wicked practises, she fel mad, ranging up and downe the Kingdome with a noise of drummes and cimbals, and that this grew to a custome after she was dead.* Then hee addes another fable: *that one Menoes an ancient King of Phrygia had by his wife Dindimene, a daughter whome he caused to be cast forth vpon mount Cybelius, and that the infant being nourished up by wilde beasts, grew to be of admirable beauty, and being found by a sheapheardesse, was by her brought up as her own childe, and named Cibeles of the mount whereon shee was found: that shee inuented many arts of her owne head, and taught them vnto man: namely playing on pipes, dauncing drummes and cimbals, also farying of horses & cures for diseases in children, wherein shee was so fortunate that they named her The great mother. Growing up vnto yeares she fell in loue with a youth of that country called Atis, & being with childe by him was sent for backe by her father Menoes for a Virgin: but the guilt beeing knowne, Atis and the Nurses were put to death: and Cibeles being extremely in loue with Atis fell madde, and flying from her fathers house alone with a Timbrell and a cymball, she came to Nisa to Dionisius (King there) where some few yeares after she dyed: And soone after a great famine together with a pestilence, wasting all Phrygia, the inhabitants were commanded by Oracle to giue*

diuine

divine worship to Atis and Cibeles : and hence arose the first canonization of the Mother of the gods . Thus farre *Diodorus* , who no doubt hath declared the true originall of it as it was . But some do guesse that she was the mother of *Jupiter* , *Juno* , *Neptune* and *Pluto* , and therefore was called *Rhea* , and in latine *Ops* : and *Cibeles* , and *Vesta* , as all one . Nor make I any question but that this history is confounded , as is vsuall in euery fable of the gods : that she was a virgin , and therefore named *Vesta* , and that therefore *Arys* was faigned to bee a goodly young man , whom she louing , and commanding that she should neuer meddle with any other woman , he neglecting her command , fell in loue with a Nimph called *Sangritis* , which *Cybele* depriued him of those partes whereby hee was man , and for that reason euer since will haue her Priests defectiue in that fashion . And because that she was most ordinarily worshipped of the *Phrygians* vpon Mount *Ida* , therevpon she got the name of the *Idean mother* , and of *Berecynthia* , as also of the *Phrygian* goddessie : Hie Priests were called **The Priests** *Galli* , of the riuer *Gallus* in *Phrygia* , the water whereof beeing drunke , maketh men madde . called *Galli* . And these *Galli* themselues , doe whirle their heads about in their madnesse , slashing their faces and bodies with kniues , and tearing themselues with their teeth when they are either madde in shew , or madde indeed . Their goddessie , ( which was nothing but a great stone vpon Mount *Ida* ) the *Romanes* transported into *Italy* , the day before the Ides of *Aprill* , which day they dedicated vnto her honours , and the plaies called *Megalesia* as on that day were acted . *Livy* lib. 19. speaking of the Mother of the gods hath these words . They brought the goddessie into the Temple of *Victorie* which is on the Mount *Palatine* , the daie before the Ides of *Aprill* . So that was made her feast daie . And all the people brought giftes vnto the goddessie , vnto the Mount *Palatine* , and the Temples were spred for banquets , and the Plaies were named *Megalesia* , this is also in his sixteenth booke . About the same time a Temple was dedicated vnto the great *Idean mother* , which *P. Cornelius* received , being brought out of *Asia* by sea , *P. Cornelius Scipio* ( afterward surnamed *Africane* ) and *P. Licinius* being consulls . *M. Liuius* , and *C. Claudius* being censors , gave order for the building of the Temple . And thirteene yeares after , it was dedicated , or consecrated by *M. Iunius Brutus* ; *M. Cornelius* , and *T. Sempronius* being Consulls , and the Plaies that were made for the dedication thereof , ( being the first plaies that euer came on stage , ) *Antias Valerius* affirmeth were named *Megalesia* : Thus farre *Livy* : To whom *Varro* agreeth also lib. 13. de lingua Latina . *Enthusiastiques* , or persons rapt ] Were men distraught , taken with madnesse , as *Berecynthia's Galli* were . Saint *Augustine* vpon *Genesis* calls them , men taken with spirits possessed . ( c ) *Pipers* ] Or the fingers , *Symphoniacos* , it commeth ἀπό τῆς συμφωνίας , which is *Harmony* , or consort . In the feastes of *Cybele* , was much of this numerall musicke , with Pipes and Tymbrells . Hereof *Ouid* singeth thus ( in his *fastorum* , lib. 4 . )

*Protinus inflexo Berecynthia tybia cornu* ,  
*Flabii & Idææ festâ parentis erant*  
*ibunt Seminares , & inania tympana rudent* ;  
*Ac : aq̄ iunius ere repulsa dabunt .*

Then *Berecynthias* crooked pipes shall blow ,  
 The *Idean* mothers feast approacheth now ,  
 Whose gelded Priests along the streetes doe passe ,  
 With Tymbrells , and the tunkling founds of brass .

And a little after :

*Tibia dat Phrygios vt dedit ante , modos :*  
 The *Phrygian* Pipe sounds now , as late before .

*Diodorus* saith the pipe was *Cybele's* inuention , and that shee taught *Marsias* , him , that contended with *Apollo* . ( d ) *Wee were delighted* : ] Some reade they were delighted but erroneously : wee reade it , with more reason , in the first person , *Wee were delighted with the filthy plaies &c* . Now though this *Berecynthia* was mother to so many gods yet they held that shee was a Virgin , as being *Vesta* as well as *Berecynthia* , as also because he would haue her father *Menoës* to take her for such an one , and so to beleuee , ( e ) *The feast day of her purification* ] The day before the Ides of *Aprill* , the *Galli* , her Priests vsed to carry the Image of this great Mother in as great pompe , vnto the riuer *Almon* ( which falleth into *Tyber* not farre from *Rome* ) and there ( according to the order of an old custome ) to wash it in the meeting of both the riuers : I say by an old custome . For the first day that it was brought from *Asia* , the Priest washed it there , wherevpon , that order was kept euery yeare . Hereof sings *Lucane* .

Et

*Et lotam paruo reuocant Almonē Cibelen, &c. l. b. 1.*

But *Quid* more plainly:

*Est locus in Tiberin quo lubricus influit Almon  
Et nomen magno perdit in amne minor.  
Illic purpurea Canus cum veste Sacerdos,  
Almonis dominam sacraꝝ leuit aquis. Fastorum. 4.*

*Cibels* washt in *Almon* they fetch backe &c.

There is a place were *Almons* current flowes  
To *Tibers* streames, and so his name doth loset  
There washt the aged priest (in purple clad)  
The Goddesse, and the reliques which he had,

And *Prudentius* writing of Saint *Romanus* his martyrdome, saith thus:

*Nudare plantas ante carpentum scio  
Proceres togatos matris Idææ sacris  
Epis nigellus euehendus effedo,  
Muli cbris ois clausus argento sedet,  
Quem ad lauacrum præcunão ducitis,  
Pedes remotis atterentis calcis.  
Almonis usq; præcunãtis visu lum.*

I know when *Cibels* feasts are honoured,  
Your Lords all bare-foot march before the throne,  
Whereon, in a rich chariot, the blacke stone  
Sits in a womans shape ore siluered,  
Which when to purifying you do lead,  
You walke before it, in strange vncouth shooes,  
Vntil you reach the place where *Almon* flowes.

The *Mega-*  
*lesian* plaies

(f) *Beastly Stage-players*] The first Stage-playes euery year were the *Megalesian*, wherein the Players comming forth to this new taske, spake most filthy and abhominable lasciuious wordes vpon *Cibel* and *Atis*: and at that time diuers of the most ciuill *Romaines*, disguising them-selues from being knowne, went wandring about the streetes in all licentiousnesse. No speach, no act of vncléane luxury was left vnpractised, as *Herodian* affirmeth in the life of *Commodus*. (g) *Euen for repetition sake*] though they spoke it but for exercising their memories, for learning of it by heart. (h) *Iuncates*] The text is *fercula* a *ferendo*, of carrying, because in solemnities either of religion or tryumph they carry pictures and statues with reuerence, as the Images of the goddes and worthies were in the sacrifices: and in their triumps they carryed the pictures of such citties as they had conquered, and such armes as they had despoyled their foes off, the money that they had taken, and the rest of the pillage whatsoever. So saith *Tully*, *Suetonius* and others. And such meates also as were set on the table at sacrifices, were called *Fercula*, because they were brought in vpon chargers very statefully, and with a kind of religious reuerence.

*Fercula*  
what they  
were,

*Of the obscenities used in these sacrifices offered vnto the mother of the goddes.*

CHAP. 5.

NOR will I stand to the iudgement of those whome I knowe doe rather delight in the vicious custome of enormities then decline from it: I will haue *Scipio Nasica* him-selue to be iudge, and he whom the whole Senate proclaimed for their best man, one whose onely handes were thought fitte to receiue and bring in this *Diuels* picture: let him but tell vs first whether that hee desire that his mothers deserts were such that the Senate should appoint him diuine honours: (as wee read that both the *Greekes* and other *Romaine* nations, also haue ordained for some particular men whose worth they held in high esteeme, and whose persons they thought were made immortall, and admitted amongst the gods.) Truly he would gladly wish his mother this felicity, if that such a thing could be. But if we aske him then further, whether he would haue such filthy presentations as *Csbelus* enacted as partes of his mothers honours; would he not auow (think you) that he had rather haue his mother lye dead and fencelesse, then to liue a goddesse, to heare and allow such ribauldry? Yes: Farre bee it from such a worthy Senator of *Rome*, as would forbidde the building of a Theater in a state maintaind by valour, to wish his mother that worshippe to please her goddesse-shippe, which could not but offend all woman-hood. Nor is it possible that hee could bee perswaded, that diuinity could so farre alter

Diuine hon-  
our giuen  
to benefac-  
tors.

alter the lawdable modesty of a woman, as to make her allow her seruants to call vpon her in such immodest tearmes, as being spoken in the hearing of any liuing woman, if shee stoppe not her eares and get her gone, the whole kinred of her father, husband, children and all would blush, and bee ashamed at her shamefulnesse. And therefore such a mother of the gods as this, (whom euen the worst man would shame to haue his mother a like vnto) did neuer seeke the best man of *Rome* (in her entrance into the peoples affections) to make him better by her counsells and admonitions, but rather worse, by her deceites and illusions: (like her of whom (a) it is written. *A woman hunteth for the precious life of a man*;) that his great spirit being eleuated by this (as it were diuine) testimony of the Senate he holding himself soly the best, might bee thus with-drawne from the truth of religion, and godlinesse: without which, the worthiest wit is euer ouer-throwne and extinguished in pride and vaine glorie, what intent then (saue deceit) had she in selecting the best and most honest man, seeing she vseth and desireth such things in her sacrifices as honest men abhor to vse, were it but euen in their sports, and recreations?

Pro. 6.26

## L. VIVES.

Of whom (a) it is witten] *Proverbs 6.26. Hierome readeth it, Capit. taketh: Saint Augustine readeth Caprat, as the Septuagints doe ἀπειρὺς Venatur, hunteth: more aptly.*

*That the Pagans gods did neuer establish the doctrine of liuing well. CHAP. 6.*

Hence it proceedeth that those gods neuer had care of the liues and manners of such Cities and nations as gaue them diuine honors: but contrariwise gaue free permission to such horrible & abominable euils, to enter, not vpon their lands, vines, houses, or treasures, no nor vpon the body (which serues the minde) but vpon the minde it selfe, the ruler of all the flesh, and of all the rest: this they euer allowed without any prohibition at all. If they did prohibite it, least it be proued that they did. I know their followers will talke of certaine secret tradixions and I know not what, some closely mutted instructions, tending to the bettring of mans-life, but let the shew where euer they had any publike places ordained for to heare such lectures: (wherein the Plaiers did not present their filthy gesture and speeches: nor where the (a) *Fugalia* were kept with all licentiousnesse of lust, fitly called *Fugalia*, as the *Chasers* away of all chastity and honesty: ) but where the people might come and heare their gods doctrine concerning the restraint of couetousnesse, the suppression of ambition, and the brideling of luxury and riot: where wretches might learne that which (b) *Persius* thunders vnto them, saying.

*Discite que d' miseri, & causas cognoscite rerum,  
Quid sumus, aut quidnam victuri gignimur: ordo  
Quis datus, aut meta quam mollis flexus, & Unde  
Quis modus argenti, quid fas optare, quid asper  
Vtil' e nummus habet: patrie charisque propinquis  
Quantum elargiri decet, quem te Deus esse  
Iussit, & humana qua parte locatus es in re.*

Learn wretches, and conceiue the course of things  
b What man is, and why nature for:h him brings: *Satyr 3*  
His settled bounds, fro whence how soone he strays:  
d What welth mean, & what for which the good man  
f How to vse mony: how to giue to friends, (praises  
What we in earth, & and God in vs, intends. &c.

Let them shew where these lessons of their instructing Gods were euer read or rehearsed: whether euer their worshippers were vsed to heare of any

such matters, as wee vse to doe continually in our Churches, erected for this purpose in all places wheresoeuer the religion of Christ is diffused.

L. VIVES.

**N**Or (a) where the *fugalia*] Of these feasts I doe not remember that I euer read any thing saue here. I would not let to set downe some-what out of my coniecture that the reader might admit another word for it, but that *Augustine* himselfe addeth, *truely called fugalia, viz of chastity and honesty*. And though I know many coniectures which indeede whilest the truth is vnknowne are but truth, being once discovered are ridiculous, yet I will see what good may be done vnto others vnderstandings in this respect: that if I reueale not the truth I may stirre vp others to seeke it. First *Varro* (*de lingua latina lib. 5.*) writeth that *one day of the month of Iune was named Fugia, because the people on that day fled into Rome in a tumult: for it was not long after the Galles, who had chased the out, were departed: and then the Countries that lay about Rome, as the Ficulneates, and the Fidenates, conspired all against them: some significations of the flight of this day doe us yet remaine in the monuments: whereof in our bookes of Antiquities you may read at large; thus farre varro*. This was the feast of the goddesse *fugia*, so called because they chased away their enemies: For the next day after, the *Romanes* conquered all their foes about them, and therevpon these feastes were kept with great mirth & sollemnity; for they were in a great feare lest the remainder of the *Romane* nation least by the *Galles* should haue bene vtterly destroyed by the rest. (*Hilus* in his booke of the gods calles this goddesse *Vitula*, (now *Philo* saith that *Victoria* was called *Vitula*, as *Macrobius* testifieth in his *Saturnalia*.) wherefore these *fugalia*, or *fugalia* were feasts kept with all mirth and reuells vnto the goddesse *Latitia*, the second of the *Nones* of *Iune*. In which feast, it is likely that the people let themselues loose to all riot and licentioufnesse. This I speake not intending to preiudice any other mans assertion, but onely to excite others to looke farther into the matter if they hold it a matter worth looking into \* *b*) *Persius*.] In his third satire, vpon an old sentence *Nosce teipsum*, that had wont to bee written vpon the dore of *Apollo* his Temple, dilateth as aforesaid. (*c*) *Bounds from which how soone*] In the *Hippodromi*, or horse-races there were seauen bounders: *Domitian* in certaine games ordained that they should runne but vnto the fift: because he would haue the sports sooner performed. Seauen times they touched all these bounds, saith *Suetonius* in his life. And there was great care and cunning in turning of their horses and chariots from bound to bound, least hee that was behind by his quicker turne should get before him that led ——— *Propertius*.

The Fugalia.

Fugia, a goddesse.

Vitula.

\*The Fugalia were feasts in Rome instituted for the expelling of Tarquin and the Kings; a Fugando, saith Censorinus.

*Aut prius infecto deposcit premia cursu, Septima quam metam triverit ante rota.*

And hereto belongs that of *Horace*: *Od. 1.*

*Sunt quos curriculo puluerem Olympicum, Collegisse iuuat, met. q. ieruidis ——— Ehitata rotis &c.*

Or claims his guerdon ere the course be done, Before his wheeles past the seauenth marke haue run.

Some loue to see th' Olympeick dust to lie, About their chariot, and to thunder by ——— The marke, with heated wheeles &c.

In the courses amongst the *Grecians*, there were some where it was not sufficient to run vnto the marke, but they must runne backe againe to the start: their turne at the halfe-course, they called the *Dianlodromus*, for *στανδα* is the going about of a certaine space (as *Vitruuius* saith *lib. 5.*) which those that compassed sixe times were called *Dolichodromi*, and this is properly the signification of *Meta*, and *Flexus* in the text. *Persius* either thinketh that it is easie to turne out of a vertuous course into a vicious, or contrariwise that it is hard to turne frō the later to the first, when custome once hath rooted it in our affections & giuen it powre to tiranize: wherefore he wills vs to restraine that vse be-times, because it is not in our powre to thrust the yoake of it from our necks, when & where we would. Or he may meane of the variation of our age, as when wee passe from child-hood vnto mans estate, wherein it is fit wee alter our conditions, (as hee in *Terence* saith) or when wee leaue our lusty and actiue part of life, our mans state, for a more settled and retired age. Whereof *Cicero* (in his first booke *de Oratore*) saith thus. *If the infinite toyle of law businesses and the employments of ambition should haue concurred with the ebb of honours and the decay of our bodilie vigor through age &c.* But more plainly in his Oration for *Marcus Calius*: and in the same *Metaphore*. *In this declining age, (for I will hide nothing from you; my trust of your*

στανδα ποσος.

humanity and wisdom is so great) indeed the young mans fame strucke a little at the bound, by reason of his unhappy neighbourhood and knowledge of that woman, &c. Wee must not looke to these turnes in the horse-races onely, but in our liues also, and within our selues, saith Seneca (de tranquillit. Vita lib. 1.) There were bounds also in their water-games, or sea-fights, when and where to turne.

Hic viridem Aeneas frondenti ex illice metam,  
Constituit signum nautis pater vnderewerti  
Scirent, & longos ubi circumflectere cursus. Saith Virgil.

Here did Aeneas sette vpon an oke  
A signall, which inform'd the saylers plaine,  
How far to row, and where to turne againe. Aenead. 9.

I haue seene this place of the text read thus in an old copy, *Qua mollis flexus et vnde*, which indeed is not much amisse: Anthony of Lebrixa, our industrious gramarian, readeth it so. (d) *Wealthes meane* ] Out of Plato, whence Persius hath all his morallitie. In the dialogue called Phaedo, Socrates prayeth thus: O my deare Pan, and all you other goddess, giue me that eternal beautie: grant that all my externall aduents may bee confined to my affects within: let me thinke him onely wealthy that is wise. Let me haue but so much of riches, as no man but he that is temperate can sway, or dispose off. Thus prayed Socrates: and indeed moderat wealth is better worth wishing, then excesse. (e) *And that for which* ] This he hath from Alcibiades in Plato (lib. 2. de voto) Wherein Plato teacheth him what to pray for. The said sentence of Socrates, Valerius rehearseth also. (Lib. 7.) Of prayes Iuuenall saith thus:

Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.

Pray for a sound soule, in as sound a breaft.

Perhaps this limitation of Persius hath reference to that which followeth. *How to vse money.* (f) *How to vse money* ] Asper in the text ioyned with Nummus, signifieth the roughnesse of the coyne being newly stamp, and which is worne smooth by passing from hand to hand. So Plinie calles carued vessells, which are graced with any bosses or branches standing out, *Aspera*, rough. Suetonius saith that Nero sought for tried gold, and rough or new coyned money, with exceeding greedinesse. Whether it be taken heere for newly coyned, or because rough peeces were better then the smooth, or what they were I know not. But that the same vneuen'd peeces were called rough, the definition of roughnesse in Plato his Timaeus doth shew. *Roughnes* (saith he) is hardnesse commixt with vneuenesse. (g) *God in vs intends* ] This is out of Plato also, who maketh God the commander of al mankind, assigning euery one his particular station, as in a pitched field, from whence hee may not depart without his command. And it is a good help vnto the instruction of our life, that each of vs know, in what ranke of mankind he is placed, so to adapt his life to his estate, and discharge his function duly: be he a husbandman or a citizen, a free man or a seruant; a craftsman, a scholler, a minister, a soldiour, an officer, a Prince, or a priuate man.

Rough  
Siluer.

Roughnes  
defined.

*That the Philosophers instructions are weake and bootlesse, in that they beare no diuine authority: because that the examples of the gods are greater confirmations of vices in men, then the wise-mens disputations are on the contrary part.* CHAP. 7.

DO you think they will mention their Philosophy schooles vnto vs? as for them first of al they are deriued from Greece, and not from Rome: or if you say they are now Romaine because Greece is become a Prouince of the Romaines, I answer againe that the instructions giuen there are not of the documents of your gods; but the inuentions of man, whose quicke wits especiall indeauour was to find by disputation (a) what secrets were hid in the treasury of nature: (b) what was to bee desired, and what to be auoided in our Morallity (c) And what was coherent by the Lawes of disputation, or not following the induction, or quite repugnant vnto it. And some of these gaue light to great inuentions, as the grace of God assisted them, but yet they euermore erred, as the frailty of man possessed them; the diuine prouidence iustly opposing (d) their vain glory to shew the tract of piety to rise from humblenesse vnto height, by their comparisson: Which wee shall hereafter take an occasion to search into further by the will of the true and euerlasting God. But if it were true that these Philosophers inuented any meanes suffi-

Philoso-  
phies pre-  
cepts.

The Phi-  
losophers  
more wea-  
thy of di-  
uine ho-  
nour then  
the Gods.

cient to direct one to the attaining of a happy course of life, is there not far greater reason to giue them (d) diuine honours, then the other? How much more honest were it for to heare *Platoes* bookes read in a Temple of his, then the *Galls* gelled in the diuels? To view the (e) effeminate consecrated; the lunatike gashed with cuttes, and each thing else either cruell or beaftiall, or bestially cruell, or cruelly beftiall, so commonly celebrated in the sollempnities of such goddes? Were it not far more worthy to haue some good lawes of the gods rehearsed vnto the youth for their instruction in integrity, then to passe the time in vaine commendations of the labours of illuded antiquitie; but indeed (f) all the worshippers of such gods, as soone as they are initiate vnto those luxurious and venemous adorations, (g) As *Perfius* saith, do looke more after *Iupiters* deeds, then either *Platoes* doctrine, or *Catoes* opinions. (h) And here-vpon it is that *Terence* bringes in the lustfull youth gazing vpon a rable picture wherein was drawne how *Ioue* sent downe a showre of gold into the lap of *Danae*: and this was a fit president for this youth to follow in his lust, with a boast that he didde but imitate a god. But what god (saith he): Euen he that shakes the Temples with his thunder: since he did thus, shal I (a meane wretch to him) make bones of it? No; I did it with all mine heart.

## L. VIVES.

What (a) secrets were hid ] Hee touches the three Kindes of Phylosophy: in this place the Naturall. (b) what was to be desired ] Here the Morall. (c) What was coherent ] Here the Rationall or Logically. Of these hereafter. (d) Their vaine glory ] Because all that they inuented they ascribed vnto their owne wittes sharpnesse, and not a whit vnto gods influence. Of this *Lactantius* disputeth at large. (e) Effeminate consecrated. ] Al these *Galls* were al of them beaftly villaines. *Sodomites* giuen to al filthinesse in the world. Of whome *Apuleyus* relates most abhominable things, in the eighth and ninth book of his *Asse*: So doth *Lucian* also, whence *Apuleyus* had his argument. (f) All the worshippes ] The examples of those whom we reuerence do moue vs much: for we indeauor to imitate them in al things, be they gods or men: the people affects the fashion of the Prince, the schollers of the maister they honour, and all mortall men their conditions whom they hold immortall. And here-vpon is our Sauour *Christ* and his Saints set before al of our religion, to be obserued and imitated. *Plato lib. de Repub. 2.* amongst diuers reasons why he wil not tollerate Poets in his common-wealth, brings this for one. because their fictions of the gods, giue examples, very preiudiciall vnto the honesty of the readers, as their warres, thefts, seditions, adulteries and such like. Out of which *Lucian* hath the words he giues to *Menippus* in his *Necromantia*. I sauh he being a boy and hearing *Hesiod* and *Homer* singing of seditions and wars, not onely those of Heroes and demi-gods, but euen of the gods them-selues, their adulteries, rapines, tyrannies, chasings out of parents, and marriages of bretheren and sisters, truly I thought all these things both lawfull and laudable, and affected them very zealously. For I thought the gods would neuer haue bin teachers, nor haue gone together by th' eares amongst them-selues, vnles they had allowed at these for good and decent. Thus saith *Lucian*. We haue rehearsed it in the words of *Thomas Moore*: whome to praise negligently, or as if wee were otherwise employed, were grossenes. His due commendations are sufficient to exceed great volumes. For what is hee that can worthily limme forth his sharpnes of wit, his depth of Iudgement, his excellence and variety of learning, his eloquence of Phrase, his plausibility and integrity of manners, his iudicious fore-sight, his exact execution, his gentle modesty and vprightnes, and his vn moued loyaltie? vnles in one word he wil say they are al perfect, intirely absolute, & exact in al their ful proportions vnles he wil cal them (as they are indeed) by patterns and lusters, each of his kinde? I speake much, and many that haue not known *Moore*, will wonder at me: but such as haue, wil know I speak but truth: so wil such as shal either read his works, or but heare or looke vpon his actions: but another time shal be more fit to spred our sailes in this mans praises, as in a spacious Ocean, wherein we wil take this ful and prosperous wind & write both much in substance, and much in value of his worthy honours: and that vnto fauourable readers. (g) As *Perfius* saith ] *Saryra. 3.*

Sir Thomas  
Moore.

— Cum diua libido  
Mouerit ingenium feruenti tinta veneno.

— When the blacke lust of sinne.  
Dipt in hot poison burnes the munde within.

It

It is meant indeed of any gaules; which is hotte poyson: But *Augustine* vseth it here for the generatiue sperme, which some call *Virus*. (b) Here-uppon it is that *Terence* brings ] In his *Eunuchus*: *Charea* who was carried disguised for an *Eunuch* by *Parmeno* vnto *Thais*, beeing enamoured on a wench, that *Thraso* the soldior had giuen to her, and telling his fellow *Antipho* how he had inioyed her, relates it thus: *While they prepare to wash, the wench satte in the Parlour, looking vpon a picture wherein was painted how loue sent downe the showre of gold into Danaes lappe: I fell a looking at it with her: and because hee hadde plaid the same play before me, my mind gaue me greater cause of ioy, seeing a God hadde turned him-selfe into a man, and stalne vnto a woman through another mans chimney, and what God? Euen hee that shaketh Temples with his thunder: should I ( beeing but a wretch to him ) make bones of it? No I didde it euen with all my heart.* Thus saith *Terence*. *Danae* beeing a faire Virgin, her father *Acrisius* Danae kept her in a Tower that no man should haue access vnto her. Now *Iupiter* being in loue with her, in a showre of gold dropt through the chimney into the Tower, and so inioyed her: that is, with golden guifts ( against which no locke, no guard is strong ynough) hee corrupted both the keepers and the maie her-selfe.

*Of the Romanes Stage plaies, wherein the publishing of their gods foulest impieties, did not any way offend, but rather delight them.*

CHAP. 8.

**I** But ( wil some say) these things are not taught in the institutions of the gods, but in the inuentions of the Poets. I will not say that the gods misteries are more oblcæne then the Theaters presentations: but this I say (& wil bring history sufficient to conuince all those that shal denie it) that those playes which are formed according to these poetical fictions, were not exhibited by the *Romaines* vnto their goddes in their sollemnities through any ignorant deuotion of their owne, but onely by reason that the goddes them selues didde so strictly command, yea and euen in some sort extort from them the publike presenting and dedication of those plaies vnto their honours. This I handled briefly in the first booke. For (a) when the city was first of all infected with the pestilence, then were stages first ordained at *Rome* by the authorization of the chiefe Priest. And what is he, y in ordering of his courses, will not rather choose to follow the rudiments which are to be fetched out of plaies, or whatsoeuer being instituted by his gods, rather then the weaker ordinances of mortall men? If the Poets didde falsely record *Iupiter* for an adulterer then these gods being so chaste, should be the more offended, and punish the world, for thrusting such a deale of villany into their ceremonies, and not for omitting them. (b) Of these stage-plaies the best and most tollerable are Tragedy and Comedy: being Poetical fables made to be acted at these shewes: wherein notwithstanding was much dishonest matter, in actions, but none at all of wordes: and these the old men do cause to be taught to their children, amongst their most honest and liberal studies.

L. VIVES.

**F**Or (a) when the city was ] Because in this booke and in the other following, *Saint Augustine* doth often make mention of *Stage-plaies*, it seemeth a fit place here to speake somewhat thereof: and what should haue beene scattered abroad vpon many chapters, I will here lay all into one, for the better vnderstanding of the rest. And first of their Originall, amongst the *Greekes* first, and the *Romaines* afterwards: for imitation brought them from *Greece* to *Rome*. The old husbandmen of *Greece* vsing euery yeare to sacrifice to *Liber Pater* for their fruites, first vsed to sing something at the putting of the fire on the altars, in stead of prayers: and then to please him the better, they sung ouer all his victories, warres, conquests, triumphs, and his captiuation of Kings. For reward of which paines of theirs, a *Goat* was first appointed, or the *Skin of an offered Goat, full of wine*, So these rewards partly, and partly ostentation, set many



ny good wits work amongst these plaine countrimen, to make verses of this theme; meane and few at first, but as al thinges else, in proesse of time they grew more elegant and conceited: and because the Kings y<sup>e</sup> *Liber* had conquered, afforded not matter ynough for their yearely songs they fell in hand with the calamities of other Kings, like to the former, and sung much of them

Tragedy.

And this song was called a *tragedy* either of *τράγος*, a *Goate*, the reward of the conqueror in this contention, or of the *wine-leepe* wherwith they anoynted their faces; called by the *Greeks* *τραγῶδες*

Comedy.

Now some wil haue the *Comedy* to haue had the Originall from these sacrifices also: others frō the solemnities of *Apollo Nomius*, that is the guardian of sheapheards and villages, some say y<sup>e</sup> both these sacrifices were celebrated at once. I wil set down the most common opinion. When the *Arbenians* liued as yet in disperfed cotages ( *Thefens* hauing not yet reduced them to a City) The husbandmen vsed after their sacrifices to breake iests, both vpon such as were at the sacrifices and such as trauaild by chance that way: and by these mirthfull scoffes, delighted all the company. Now after that the citty was builded, the husbandmen at the times appointed for the solemnities, came into the towne in carts, and iested one while at their fellowes, and another while at the citizens, cheefly such as had offended them. And this was called a *Comedy*, either of *κῶμη* a *Village*, because they liued in such, or of *ωμῶς* away, and *κωμῶν* to be sauey, or to reuell; because they were profuse and spared no man in the way with their petulent quips. (And this is rather the true deriuation, because the *Athenians* as then did not call the villages *κῶμας*, but *δῆμος*.) This custome pleased the citzizens, and made them animate those of the prōttest wits, to write more exactly in this kinde of verse. And so by little and little, the countrie fellowes were thrust out, whose quips were simple, and how euer enuious, yet not bloody: now the citty Poets taxing at first the vices of the citzizens with bitternes, did some good in reclaiming particulars from folly, through feare of being personated: but afterwards when they began to follow their own affects and their friends, exercising their grudges with sharpnesse, and vsing their pens for their weapons, they would sometimes traduce Princes that neuer had deserued any such matter, and euen name them.

Eupolis.

Which tricke when *Eupolis* had plaid with *Alcibiades* in his *Comedy* called *Baptis*, hee caused him to bee taken and throwne into the sea: being then Generall of the *Athenian* forces, and hauing a *Nauie* in the *Hauen Pireus*: when hee was throwne in, it was said *Alcibiades* rehearsed these wordes often times ouer: *thou hast often drowned me vpon the Stage Eupolis, I will once drowne thee in the sea.* By this example

Alcibiades

the rest of the Poets were so terrified, that *Alcibiades* got a law past, that no man should dare to name any man vpon the Stage. So that kinde of *Comedy* called *ἀρχαία* that is *the olde*

Three  
kinds of  
Comedies.

*Comedy*, was abolished. Then came in the second, wherein many were girded at priuily suppressing of names vnder coullors, and this the Nobility fell in dislike withall, least their factes should bee glanced at vnder hand. So that was taken quite away: and a *new* kinde inuented, which treated of meane persons vnder change of names, the argument whereof was euer so different from the facts of the Nobility, as each man might perceiue that they were farthest frō the drift of these taxations. And besides there was such moderation vsed in all the effects, that no man could iustly complaine of them, though they hadde spoken of him by name. Of this kinde *Menander* was the chiefe Poet, who liued with *Alexander the great*, beeing some-what younger then hee was. The *olde* kinde flourished in the warres of *Peloponnesus*, and in that kinde *Aristophanes* was most excellent, by report some say that he was very good at the second sort also. But doubtlesse *Antiphanes* of *Larissa* was the best in this kinde that euer wroite. And these kindes were all in *Greece*. But in the foure hundredth yeare after *Rome* was builded, *T. Sulpitius Potitus*, and *C. Licinius Stolon* beeing Consuls, when the Cittie was ( both the yeare before, and that yeare also ) grievously infected with the plague, by an Oracle out of the books of the *Sibils* were *Stage-playes* called thether ( a new accustomed thing to such a warlike nation. ) Their players they hadde out of *Hetruria*, and they named them *Histriones*: in the language of that countrey: And these didde daunce vnto the flute, without speaking any thing, but not without such conceited gestures as then were in vse else-where. And then the Countrey people of *Italy* after the fashion of the *Greekes*, hauing sacrificed after their haruest, and given their goddes thanks for their yeares good increase, after all, in their mirth, vsed to iest one vpon another for sportes sake, sparing not now and then to cast forth a sluttish phrase, and some-time a bitter quippe. And this they didde interchangeably, in verses called *Fescenini*, of such a Cittie in *Hetruria*. These the *Romaine* Players began to imitate, but neuer named for that was exprefly forbidden before by a law in the *twelue Tables*. But these *Fescenine* vses

Fescenini.

wore

wore out of the playes by a little and little, and were left onely vnto marryages and triumphes: And such plaies began to bee inuented as were delightfull and yet not offensiue, which *Horace* touches at in his Epistle to *Augustus*. So it being not allowable to traduce any man by his name vpon the stage, there sprung vpper diuers sorts of these playing fables in *Italy*, after the manner of the *Greekes*, as the *New Comedie*, and the *Satyre*: Not that which taxeth vices and is bound vnto that one kinde of verse, which *Horace*, *Persius*, and *Iuuenall* wrote in: for that was first inuented by *Lucilius* (who serued vnder *Scipio Emilianus* in the warres of *Numance*.) But that wherein the *Satyres* were brought in, in a sluttish and approbrious manner, as in *hayry coates*, *heavy paced*, and altogether *unhansome and slouely*. Their Stage was strowed with flowers, leaues and grasse, to resemble the Mountaines, Woodes and Caues; euen like as the tragike Stage resembleth the state of kingly Pallaces, and the comicall, the fashion of meaner mens houfes, as *Vitruuius* writeth, (*Lib. 5.*) After these *Satires* went out of vse; The first *True Comedie* in latine verse was written by *Linus Andronicus*, *Salinators* freed seruant, after *Rome* was builded, iust fiue hundred and forty yeares, in the Consulshippes of *Appius Claudius Sonne to Cacus*, and *Sempronius Tuditanus*, the first *Carthaginian* warre being ended some few yeares before, as *Atticus* doth account the time. And this man seconded By *Nanius*, *Plautus*, *Ennius*, *Terence* and many other *Comedians* after them: what remaineth of this subiect, shall be spoken in the fittest place.

(b) Of these Stage-plaies the best ] In these reuels, sometimes there were plaies presented worth the hearing: and sometimes againe, the players would act most filthy gestures in silence, and sometimes speake some-what for the feast they kept. Of these Comedies some were called *Palliata*, their argument being *Greece* and their actors in *Greekish* cloakes: such are all *Terences* and *Plantus* his: Others *Togata*, their argument concerning the *Romaine* affaires, and their actors presenting it in *Romaine* gownes: such are those of *Afranins*. And these *Togata* are of two sorts, either *Pretextata*, the plotte beeing of the deedes of some Kings or Emperours of *Rome*, wherein the *Pretextata*, the Noblemans habite must needs be vsed; (from which kinde I cannot see that the *Trabeata* do differ much, those which *C. Melius* of *Spoletto*, *Mecenas* his free-man inuented: I know not whether they were all one or not, hauing hereof no certaine notice:.) or *Tabernaria*, wherein the actions of the vulgar were desciphered. There are *Tragedies*, *Comedies*, *Satyres*, and there are *Mimikes*, which are called otherwise, *Plaine-foete*, *plani-pedes*, wearing neither *shooes* nor *buskins*, but coming bare-foete vpon the Stage: The *Satyres* notwithstanding and the *Mimikes* are both included vnder the *Comedie*. And some say so is the *Tragedie* too. But the *Tragedie* discourseth of lamentable fortunes, extreame affects, and horrible villanies, but farre from turpitude. The *Comedie* treates of the *Knaueries* and *trickes of loue*, being brought into it by *Menander* to please the *Macedonians* that stood affected to such passages. The *Satyre* containeth the looser *Fannes*, and *Siluanes* whose rusticall iestes delighted much, and somerimes they would lament. But as they were vncleanly and slouely goddes, so were their speeches often times foule, and dishonest to heare. But the *Mimikes* forbore no beastlinesse, but vsed extreame licentiousnesse. And yet these were more tollerable then other things which were acted in the solemnities of *Bacchus*: (which for their incredible filthinesse were expelled out of *Italie* by a decree of the Senate.) Also in the *Saturnalia*, and *Floralia*, which twoo feastes were celebrated by common strumpets, and the most raskally sort of all men. The actors of the *Floralia*, though they reuerenced not their owne goddesse, yet when *Cato* came, they reuerenced him, and would not act them in his presence.

what the Romaines opinion was touching the restraint of the liberty of Poetrie, which the Greekes, by the counsaile of their Goddes, would not haue restrained at all.

#### CHAP. 9.

WHAT the Romaines held concerning this point, (a) *Cicero* recordeth in his bookes which he wrote of the *Common wealth*, where *Scipio* is brought in saying thus: *If that the priuiledge of an old custome had not allowed them, Comedies could neuer haue giuen such proofes of their vilenesse vpon Theaters.* And some of the ancient *Greekes* pretended a conuenience in their vicious opinion, and made it a

law that (c) the Comedian might speake what he would, of any man, by his name. Wherefore (as *Africanus* saith well in the same booke) whom did not the Poet touch, nay whom did he not vexe, whom spared he? perhaps so, saith one, he quipt a sort of wicked, seditious, vulgar fellows, as (d) Cleo (e) Clytophon, and (f) Hyperbolus: so that we assent (quoth hee againe) though it were fitter for such faults to bee taxed by the (g) Censor then by a Poet, but it was no more decent that (h) Pericles should bee snuffed at, having so many yeares governed the Citty so well both in warre and peace, then it were for (i) our Plautus, or Næuius to deride (k) Publius or Cneius Scipio, or for (l) Cæcilius to mocke (m) Marcus Cato. And againe, a little after, Our twelve Tables (quoth hee) having decreed the obseruation but of a very few things (n) vpon paine of death, yet thought it good to establish this for one of that few, that none should (o) write or acte any verse, derogatory from the good name of any man, or preiudiciall vnto manners. Excellently well! for our liues ought not to bee the objects for Poets to play vpon, but for lawfull magistracy, and thoroughly informed iustice to iudge vpon, nor is it fit that men should here them-selues reproached, but in such places as they may answer and defend their owne cause in. Thus much out of *Cicero* in his fourth booke of *The Common-wealth*: (which I thought good to rehearse word for word, onely I was forced to leaue out some-what, and some-what to transpose it, for the easier vnderstanding. For it giues great light vnto the proposition which I (if so be I can) must prooue and make apparant.) Hee proceedeth further in this discourse, and in the end concludeth thus, that the ancient *Romanes* vtterly disliked, that any man should be either praised or dispraised vpon the stage. But as I said before, the Greekes in this, though they vsed lesse modesty, yet they followed more conuenience, seeing they saw their gods so well to approue of the represented disgraces, not onely of men, but euen of them-selues, when they came vpon the stage: whether the plaies were fictions of Poetry, or true histories of their deeds. (and I wish their worshippers had held them onely worth the laughing at; and not worth imitation!) for it were too much pride in a Prince to seeke to haue his owne fame preferued, when hee sees his gods before him set theirs at six and seauen. For where as it is said in their defence, that these tales of their gods were not true, but merely poeticall inuentions, and false fictions, why this doth make it more abhominable, if you respect the purity of your religion: and if you obserue the malice of the diuill, what cūinger or more deceitful fetch can there be? For when an honest & worthy ruler of a contry is slandered, is not the slāder so much more wicked & imparadonable, as this parties life that is slandered is clearer and sounder from touch of any such matter? what punishment then can be sufficient for those that offer their gods such foule and impious iniury?

## L. VIVES.

Tullyes  
bookes  
de republ-  
ca.

**C**icero (a) recordeth in his] If of all the ancient monuments of learning which are either wholly perished, or yet vnpublished, if I should desire any one extant, it should bee *Cicero* his fixe bookes de *Republica*. For I doubt not but the worke is admirable, and gesse but by the fragments which are extant. I doe heare that there are some that haue these bookes but they keepe them as charily as golde apples; but vntill they come forth to light let vs. make vse of the coniectures, recorded in other places of *Cicero* his workes. (b) where *Scipio*] The *Cornelian* family amongst other sur-names, got vp that of *Scipio*, from one of their bloud that was as a staffe (*Scipionis Vici*) to his kinde and sickly Father. Of this family were

The Sci-  
pio's.

were many famous men, of whom wee meane to speake some-what in their due places. This whom *Tully* brings in, speaking in his worke *De Republica*, was sonne vnto *L. Amilius Paulus*, that conquered *Perseus* King of *Macedon*. *Scipio* the sonne of the greater *Scipio African* adopted him for his sonne, and so he was called *Amilianus*, of the stock of whence he was descended. He razed *Carthage* and *Numance*. (c) *The Comedian*, ] this was the olde Comedy, *αἰχμα*; and of this we said before, that the citizens for feare of being brought vpon the stage, would either begin to liue well (if so they intended) or at least forbear to bee scene do euill. *Socrates* said it was meete to expose ones selfe freely to the Comick Pen; for if they write true of our vices, they are a meane to reforme vs: if they write false, it concernes not vs. Yet euen *Socrates* himselfe that innocent hurtlesse man was mocked by *Aristophanes* in his *Nebula*, a knauish comedie, set forth onely to that end. And this was one of the greatest proofes, that the Poets of this *Old kinde of Comedy*, at that time had mercenarie Pens, and followed peruerse and maleuolent affects.

Old comedies.

Aristophanes his Nebula.

Cleon.

Aristophanes his Equites.

(c) *Cleon*, ] hee was a Lether-seller, a seditious fellow, enemy to *Nicias*, *Demosthenes*, and almost vnto all honest men: yet no euill souldior; if wee may trust *Thucydides* and *Plutarch*: against him, did *Aristophanes* make a comedy, and hee called it *Equites*, the *Knights*: and when the Poet would haue presented this view of *Cleons* extortion and tyrannous rapine to the people, the workeman durst not make a visar like *Cleons* face, for feare of his power: So the Poet was faine to dawbe the actors faces with wine lees: and yet they being afraid to enter vpon the Stage, *Aristophanes* himselfe came forth alone and acted *Cleon*, so great was his rancour against him. For which afterwards hee was accused of *Cleon*, and fined at five talents, as himselfe complaineth in his comedy called *Acharnenses*, that is, *hee cast vp as much as hee had taken in*, for perhaps *Demosthenes* and *Nicias* had hired him to write it, as *Melitus* & *Anitus*, *Socrates* his enemies gotte him with money to pen that comedie called *Nephelis*. He was a man that wrote much when he was drunke. This *Cleon*, *Plutarch* mentioneth in his *Politickes* also.

(e) *Cleophon* ] This fellow (saith *Plutarch*) was such another as *Cleon*. (f) *Hyperbolus*, ] *Thucydides* and *Plutarch*, and *Lucian* also in his *Misanthropus*, do mention this fellow with the additions of a wicked Cittizen, and affirme that he was banished the City by the law, of *Ostracisme*, (a kinde of suffrage-giuing) not for any feare of his power & dignitie, as others were, but as the common shame and scandall of the whole towne. *Cicero* in his *Brutus* speaking of *Glaucias* saith: *He was a man most like Hyperbolus of Athens, whose vile conditions the olde Athenian Comedies gaue such bitter notes of*. That he was taxed by *Eupolis*, *Quintilian* intimates in his first booke of his *Institutions*, speaking of Musick. And *Calius Rhodoginus* hath a whole Chapter of him, *Lectio. Antiquar. lib. 9.* (g) *Of the Censor*, ] Every fift yeare the *Romaines* elected two, to ouer-see the *Census*, that is, to estimate and iudge of the wealth, manners, and esteeme of euery particular citizen. And herevpon they were called *Censors*, (for as *Festus* saith, euery one held himselfe worth so much as they rated him at,) and the *Maisters of the manners*. So saith *Cicero* vnto *Appius Pulcher*. (h) *Pericles* ] This man, by his eloquence and other ciuill institutions, did so winne the hearts of the *Athenians* to him, that he was made the gouernor of that common-weale for many yeares together, being euer both wise and fortunate, in warres abroad, and in peace at home. *Eupolis* an old Comedian saith, that *On his lips sat αἰσῶς*, that is, the *Goddesse of perswasion*, whom *Tully* (*de oratore lib. 3.*) calleth *Lepor*, *Ennius* *Suada*, and *Horace* (by the diminutiue) *Suadela*: of the matter of those verses, *Cicero* and *Quintilian* make very often vse in Greeke fragments: for the whole Comedies of *Eupolis*, and many more, are now lost. These verses are extant in the first Booke of *Plinius Cecilius* his Epistles, and part of them also in *Suidas*. I much maruell that *Politian* mentions neither of them in his Chapter of his *Centaures*, where hee speaketh of this. The verses hee hath out of one of *Aristides* his interpretours, whom he nameth not. Indeed I deny not but that there are more of his verses, then are either in *Suidas* or *Plinie*.

Cleophon. Hyperbolus

The Censor.

Pericles.

αἰσῶς.

*Aristophanes* also, the ancient Comedian said that *Pericles* cast lightning and thunder from his lippes, and confounded all *Greece*. And this both *Eupolis* and hee spake in the powring out of their callumnies against him, as *Tully* (*de orat. lib. 3. & de perfecto oratore.*) and *Quintilian* (*liber. 12.*) doe both affirme. The Comedian scoffed also at his long shaped head, and therefore hee was alwayes pictured in his Helmitte. (i) *For our Plantus*, ] *Liuis* was the first Latine Poet, as I haue sayd before, and next after him, *Nahius*, who

serued

*Plautus.* serued as a souldiar in the first warre of *Affricke*: Then, *Plautus* almost of the same time with *Nenius*: hee left many comedies, the most part whereof wee haue, and there was no part of all that, or the following age that pleased better then hee. *Scipio* calleth him *Our Plautus*, not that he euer knew him, but because he was a latine Poet, and he had spoken of the *Greekes* before (k) *P. or C. Scipio*] These were brethren and as *Sernius* saith twinnes. *Publius* was father to the *Greater Scipio African*, *Cneius* vnto *Nasica* that good man, of whom wee spake before. They were both slaine in *Spaine* by the *Africanes* in the second *Carthaginian* warre, which began in the *Consulship* of *Publius. Tully* in his *Oration* for *Cornelius Gallus*, calles these two brethren the two *Thunderbolts* of the *Empire*: and some say that that verse of *Virgill* is meant of them,

— *Geminus duo fulmina belli,*  
*Scipiadus — Aenad 6.*  
*Scipi. des belli fulmen, Carthaginis horror — &c.*

— two thunderbolts of warre,  
The *Scipios* — taking it out of *Lucretius*.  
Warres thunder *Scipio, Carthages* dread feare &c.

*Cacilius.* So that these Poets liued in their times. (l) Or *Cacilius*] *Cacilius Statius* liued in the *Macedonian*, and *Asian* warre, and was chamber-fellow with *Ennius*. *Volcarius Seditius* giues him the pricke and praise for *Commedy*, and *Horace* approoues his grauity. We haue nothing of his now extant. *Tully* seemes not to like of his phrase. (m) *Marcus Cato*] The *Elder*, hee that first made the *Portian* family honorable: hee was borne at *Tusculum*, and attained the honor of *Consul*, *Triumph*, and *Censor*. Being but of meane discent, the nobility enuid him wholly: but his authority with the *Commonalty* was very great: he liued in the times of *Ennius* and *Cacilius*. (n) *Few things vpon paine of death*] There were very few crimes with the old *Romanes* punished with death, and farre fewer in the times that followed: for the *Portian Lawe* forbad the death of any condemned Citizen, allowing onely his banishment. So that it being held death-worthy to depraue any man by writing, proues that the *Romanes* were extremely afraid of infamy. But here let the Reader obserue the meaning of this law, out of *Festus*: who speaking of this *Capitis Diminutio*, this *Capital Punishment* writeth thus, He is said to be *capite diminutus*, capitally punished, that is banished, that of a free man is made a bond-slave to another, that is forbidden fire and water, and this the *Lawiers* call, *Maxima capitis diminutio*, the most capital punishment of all. For there are three kindes of it: the greatest, the meane, and the smallest. This I thought good to set downe, not out of mine owne iudgement: *Horace* writeth thus vnto *Augustus*.

— *Quin etiam lex*  
*Penaq; dicta, malo qua nollet carmine quenquam*  
*Describi: vertere modum formidine sustis, &c.*

— besides a penall law  
Frobbing all such verse as shame prouokes:  
So changed they their notes for feare of stroakes &c.

*Porphyry* vpon this place saith he that wrote infamous verses vpon any man, was iudged to be beaten with clubs: But *Acron* maketh *Horace* to speake metaphorically, (o) *Alte*] The old booke hath *occeñasset*, should sing out, and I thinke better then otherwise: the ancient *Latinists* (saith *Festus*) vsed *occeñare*, for the same for which we vse *conuictium facere*, to mocke, or reproach: which was done aloud, and as it were sung out vnto others hearing a farre off, and this was held dishonest.

*That the diuills through their settled desire to doe men mischiefe were willing to haue any villanies reported of them, whither true or false.*

CHAP. IO.

**B**Vt those wicked spirits, whō these mē take to be gods, were desirous to haue such beastly stories spred abroad of thē, (though they themselues had neuer acted any such thing) only to keep mens mindes inueigled in such bestiall opinions, as it were in snares, or nets, and by that meanes to draw them to predestinate damnation

damation for company: whether it bee true that such men as those that loue to liue in errors, doe select for gods, did themselues commit any such things (for which the diuills set themselues out to be adored, by a thousand severall trickes of hurtfull deceites) or that there were no such things done at all, but onely, those malicious and suttile diuills doe cause them to bee fained of the gods, to the end that there might bee sufficient authoritie, deriued as it were from heauen to earth, for men to commit all filthinesse by. Therefore the *Grecians*, seeing that they had such gods as these to serue, thought it not fit to take away any liberty from the Poets in vsing these stage-mockes and shames: And it is they did either for feare least their gods should bee prouoked to anger against them, in case they went about to make themselues into more honest moulds then they were, and so seeme to preferre themselues before them; or els for desire to bee made like their gods, euen in these greatest enormities. And from this imagined conuenience came it, that they hold the very (a) actors of such plaies, to bee worthy of honours in their Cities. For in the same booke *Of the Common-wealth*; (b) *Aeschines*, of *Athens*, an (c) eloquent man, hauing beene an Actor of Tragedies in his youth, is sayd to haue borne office in the Common-wealth. And *Aristodemus* (d) another actor of Tragedies was sent by the *Athenians* vpon an Embassage to *Phillip*, about especiall and weighty affaires of warre and peace. For they held it an vnmete thing (seeing they saw their gods approue of those actions, and artes of playing,) to repute those worthy of any note of infamy, that were but the actors of them.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He very (a) actors] *Aemilius Probus* speaking of the *Greekish* fashions saith. In those countries it was no disgrace for any man to come vpon the stage, and set himselfe as a spectacle to the people: which wee hold for partly infamous, and partly base and unworthy of an honest man. (b) *Aeschines*] An orator of *Athens*, enemie to *Demosthenes* hee acted Tragedies vpon the stage. And therefore *Demosthenes* in his *Oration de Corona* calles him *ῥητορὸς τῶν τραγῳδιῶν*, An *apish tragedian*, or a tragicall ape. *Quintilian* saith hee was *Hypocrita*, that is *Histrion*, a stage-plaier. *Plutarche* (in 10. *Rhetoribus*) saith hee was an Actor of Tragedies: So saith *Philostratus* also in his booke *De sophistis*, and that he did not leaue his country through constraint, or banishment, but beeing iudged to bee ouercome in a contention by *Ctesiphon*, hee went away vnto *Alexander*, who as then was Emperor of *Asia*: but hearing that hee was dead before he came at him, hee bent his course for *Rhodes*, and liking the sweet aptnesse vnto study that that soile afforded, hee settled himselfe there. *Aeschines* himselfe in an Epistle hee wrote to the *Athenians*, seemes to affirme, that hee had giuen ouer his stage-playing before hee bore any place in the Common-wealth. (c) an eloquent man] That hee was most eloquent, is most plaine: as also that his voice was sweete, and full: and some there are that asigne him next dignity vnto *Demosthenes*: nature gaue him more worth then industry: Some say hee was scholler vnto no man: but of a sudden from a scribe hee became an oratour, and that his first oration was against *Phillip* of *Macedon*; and hereby hee got such fauor and credite amongst the people, that they sent him Embassadour to the same King. Others asigne him *Plato*, and *Isocrates* for his Maisters, and some *Leodamas*: This *Rhodian Rhetorike*; was a certaine meane, betweene the *Asian* and the *Athenian*. *Aeschines* inuented and taught it in his schoole at *Rhodes* after his retirement thether. (d) *Aristodemus* another actor] This man as *Demosthenes* writeth, went Embassadour to King *Philippe* with *Demosthenes* himselfe, and *Aeschines*. This is hee, who, when *Demosthenes* asked him what fee hee had for pleading, answered, a talent: I but (quoth *Demosthenes*) I had more for holding of my tongue. *Crisolaus* reporteth this.

That

*That the Grecians admitted their Plaiers to beare office in their Commonwealths, least they should seeme vnjust in despising such men as were the pacifiers of their Gods.* CHAP. II.

**T**His was the *Grecians* practise: absurd inough howsoeuer, but yet most fitly applied vnto the nature of their gods: (a) they durst not exempt the liues of their cittizens from the lashs of poeticall penes and plaiers tongues, because they saw their gods delighted at the traducing of themselues: and they thought surely, that those men that acted such things vpon the stage, as pleased the gods, ought not to be disliked at any hand by them that were but seruants to those gods: Nay not onely, that, but that they ought to bee absolutely and highly honored by their fellow Cittizens: for what reason could they finde, for the honoring of the Priests that offered the sacrifices which the gods accepted well of, and yet allowe the actors to bee disgracefully thought of, who had learnt their profession by the speciall appointment of the selfe same gods, that exact these celebrations of them, and are displeased if they bee not solemnized? Especially seeing that (b) *Labeo*, (who they say was most exact in these matters) distinguisheth the good spirits from the badde by this diuersity of their worshippes, that (c) the badde ones are delighted with *Slaughters*, and *tragicall innocations*, and the good with *mirthfull reuels*, and *sportfull honors*, such as *Playes* (quoth he) *banquets*, and (d) *reuellling on beddes* are; of which hereafter (so God bee pleased) wee will discourse more at large. But to our present purpose: whether it bee so that all kindes of honours bee giuen vnto all the gods mixt and confused, as vnto onely good ones: (for it is not fit to say there are any euill gods, although indeede they are all euill, beeing all vncleane spirits) or that according as *Labeo* saith, there must bee a discretion vsed, and that these must haue such and such particular rites of obseruances assigned, and those other, others; howsoeuer, the *Greekes* did most conveniently to hold both Priests and Plaiers worthy of honorable dignities, the *Priests* for offering of their sacrifices, and the *Plaiers* for acting of their enterludes: least otherwise, they should bee guilty of offering injury either to all their gods, if they all loue plaies, or (which is worfe) to those whom they account as the good ones, if they onely affect them.

All vncleane  
spirits are  
wicked di-  
uils.

### L. VIVES.

**T**hey (a) durst not exempt] *Sisithens* presenting a Commedy wherein he scoffed at *Cleanthes* the Stoicke, whereas others were offended at it, they say the Philosopher himselfe replied that it were a shame for a man to fret at such things, seeing that *Hercules*, and *Dionysus* being gods, are dayly mocked thus, and yet are not displeased. (b) *Labeo*] There were three *Labeos*; all of great skill in the ciuill law: But the most learned of them all was *Antistius Labeo* who liued in *Augustus* his time: he was scholler to *Trebatius Testa*, and was cunning not onely in the law, but in all antiquity and knowledge, being (as *Gellius* reports) an exact historian. But *Augustus* did not much affect him by reason of his great freedome of speech, and largenesse of wit: This opinion of his hee seemes to deriue from *Platonisme*, and *Stoicisme*, though with some alteration. For the *Platonists* held that all the gods were good: but that amongst the *Damones* and *Heroës*, some were good and some were badde. *Porphyry*, in his booke of *sacrifices* saith, that a true worshipper must neuer sacrifice any liuing creature vnto the gods, but onely vnto those *Damones*. And the same author in his booke *De via intelligibilium*, explains more fully which are good *Damones*, and which are euill. But of this, in another place. (c) *the bad ones*] The worfe that these gods are, and the more infernall, the sadder kind of innocations doe they desire to be vsed to them: so doe the *Hell-gods*; *Pluto*, *Proserpine*, and others: *Lucane* brings in *Erichtho* inuocating the infernall Deities thus:

Sad sacri-  
fices.

*Sives*

— Si vos satis ore nefando,  
 Polluſque uoco: ſi nunquam hec carmina fibris,  
 humanis ieiuna cano: ſi pectora plena  
 Sepe det̄i, & laui calido proſecta cerebro:  
 ſiquis, qui ueſtris caput extatque lancibus infant  
 Im̄, oſuit, uicturus erat. —

— If euer I inuok'd  
 In well black't phraſe: if ere my charmes lackt guilt  
 of mangling humane breſts: if I haue ſpilt  
 Bloud in ſuch plenty: brought your quarters waſht,  
 in their owne braynes: it ere the members gaſht,  
 I ſeru'd you in, were to reuiu e. —

d. renelling upon beds ] Hereof in the third booke.

*That the Romaines in abridging that liberty (with the Poets would haue uſed upon men,) and in allowing them to uſe it upon their gods, did herein ſhew, that they prized themſelues above their gods.*

CHAP. 12.

**B**UT the Romaines (as *Scipio* glorieth in that booke of *the common wealsh*) would by no meanes haue the good names and manners of their cittizens liable to the quippes and cenſures of the Poets, but inflicted a capitall puniſhment vpon all ſuch as durſt offend in that kind: which indeed (in reſpect of themſelues) was honeſtly and well inſtituted, but in reſpect of their gods moſt proudly and irreligiouſly, for though they knew that their gods were not onely patient, but euen well pleaſed at the repreſenting of their reproaches and exorbitances, yet would they hold themſelues more vnworthy to ſuffer ſuch iniuries then their gods, thruſting ſuch things into their ſolemnnities, as they auoyded from themſelues by all rigor of lawes. Yea *Scipio* doſt thou commend the reſtraint of this poetick liberty in taxing your perſons, when thou ſeeſt it hath beene euer free to callumniate your gods? Doſt thou value the (a) *Court* alone ſo much more then the *Capitoll*, then all *Rome*, nay then all heauen, that the Poets muſt be curbed by an expreſſe law, from flowing at the Cittizens, and yet without all controll of Senator, Cenſor, Prince, or Prieſt, haue free leaue to throw what ſlander they pleaſe vpon the gods? what? was it ſo vnſeemely for *Plantus*, or *Nauius* to traduce *P.* or *Cneius Scipio*, or for *Cecilius* to eaſt vpon *M. Caton* and was it ſeemely for (b) your *Terence* to animate a youth to vncleannesse, by the example of the deed of high and mighty *Iupiter*.

L. VIVE S.

**Y**our (a) *Court*] The Court, was the place where the ſenate ſat: here it is uſed for the *Senators*: the *Capitoll*, for the gods themſelues, (b) your *Terence*] for indeed he was very familiar with *Scipio* and *Laelius*, and many thinke that they helped him in writing of his comedies, which he himſelfe glaunceth at in his prologue to his *Adelphy*. *Memmius* thinkes he meanes of *Scipio*, (in that *Oration* which he made for himſelfe.) *Quintilian lib. 10. Inſtitut.* Of *Laelius*, *Cornelius Nepos* maketh mention, and *Tully* alſo in one of his epiſtles vnto *Atticus*: but from other mens reports.

*That the Romaines might haue obſerued their gods vnworthyneſſe, by their deſires of ſuch obſcane ſolemnnities.*

CHAP. 13.

**I**T might be, *Scipio* (were he aliue againe) would anſwer mee thus; How can we poſſibly ſet any penalty vpon ſuch things as our gods themſelues do make ſacred;



sacred, by their owne expresse induction of those playes into our customes, and by annexing them to the celebration of their sacrifices and honors, wherein such things are euer to be acted and celebrated? But why then ( say I againe ) doe not you discern them by this impurity to be no true gods, nor worthy of any diuine honors at all: for if it bee altogether vnmeet for you to honor such men as loue to see and set forth Playes that are stuffed with the reproche of the *Romaines*, how then can you iudge them to bee gods, how then can you but hold them for vncleane spirits, that through desire to deceiue others, require it as part of their greatest honors to be cast in the teeth with their owne filthinesses? Indeed the *Romaines*, though they were lockt in those chaines of hurtfull superstition, and serued such gods as they saw required such dishonest spectacles at their hands, yet had they such a care of their owne honestie and dignitie, that they would neuer vouchsafe the actors of such vile things, any honor in their common-wealth, as the *Greekes* did: but according to *Scipio* his words in *Cicero*: Seeing that (a) they held the art of stage-playing as base and unmanly, therefore they did not onely detain all the honours of the Cittie from such kinde of man, but appointed the (b) *Censors* in their views, to remooue them from being part of any tribe, and would not vouchsafe them to be counted as members of the Cittie. A worthy decree, and well befeeming the *Romaine* wisdome; yet this wisdome would I haue to imitate and follow it selfe: Rightly hath the councill of the cittie in this well desiring and deseruing commendations, (shewing it selfe to be in this, (c) truly *Romaine*), appointed that whosoever will choose of a Citizen of *Rome* to become a Player, he should not onely liue secluded from all honors, but by the *Censors* censure should bee made vtterly vncapable of living as a member of his proper tribe. But now tell mee but this, why the *Players* should be branded with inhabilitie to beare honors, and yet the *Playes* they acte, inserted into the celebration of the gods honors? The *Romaine* (d) valour flourished a long time, vnacquainted with these theater-tricks: suppose then that mens vaine affections gaue them their first induction, and that they crept in by the errorrs of mans decayed members, doth it hence follow that the gods must take delight in them, or desire them? if so, why then is the Player debased, by whom the god is pleased? and with what face can you scandalize the actors and instruments of such stage-guilt, and yet adore the exacters and commanders of these actions? This now is the controuersie betweene the *Greekes* and the *Romaines*. The *Greekes* thinke that they haue good reason to honor these *Players*, seeing that they must honour them that require these playes: the *Romaines* on the other side, are so farre from gracing them, that they will not allow them place in a (e) Plebeyan tribe, much lesse in the court or Senate, but holds them disgracefull to all callings: Now in this disputation, this onely argument giues the vpshot of all the controuersie. (f) The *Greekes* propound; If such gods be to be worshipped, then such actors are also to be held as honorable: The *Romaines* assume: But such actors are no way to bee held as honorable: The *Christians* conclude, Therefore such gods are no way to be worshipped.

## L. VIVES.

The infamy  
of Stage  
players.

Decimus  
Laberius.

Seeing that (a) they held the arte, ] It must of force be granted that the *Players* were the smolt pernicious men of conditions that could be, and the vilest in their villanies: because they could not be allowed for Cittizens of that Cittie, which harboured so many thousands of wicked and vngratious fellowes, all as Cittizens. That *Players* were excluded from being of any tribe, and exempt from paying any tax, *Linie* and *Valerius* doe both testifie: vnlesse authoritie made them such; for that seemes as a constraint: as befell to *Decimus Laberius*, whom

whom *Nero* requested to acte a *Mimike* of his vpon the stage : and yet hee neuerthelesse was after that, a gentleman of *Rome*. For hee that is forced to offend the law, is held not to offend it. But from this decree of plaiers exclusion, the Actors of the Comedies called *Attelane* were exempted, for their comedies were more graue, and their iests came nearer to the old Italian forme of discipline: *Liu*: and *Valer*. And therefore they vsed no *Visars* on the stage, as the rest did. *Festus* (b) *The Censors in their view* Which went ouer the estate and conditions of euery man, euery fifth yeare. (c) *truely Romane*] The text is *Germanè Romanum*. The *Latines* vse *Germanè*, for *truely, natiuely, expressly, and naturally*: So doth *Citero* (to shut vp all examples in one) in his fifth oration against *Verres*: *As then* (quoth he) *I said much, and this amongst the rest to shew plainly the great difference betweene him, and that same Numidicum Verum & Germanum, that true and expressly Numidian, Metellus*: So say we *Germanè Romanum*, *truely Romane, Romane* is here vsed by *Augustine* for *Generous, and honestly bent*. (d) *the Romane valor flourished a long time*] Very neere foure hundred yeares. (e) *Plebeyan*] There were three orders of *Roman* Citizens: the *Senatorians*, the *Patricians*, and the *Plebeyans*, which were the lowest: of these hereafter. He doth not say, a *Plebeyan tribe*; as though there were any such distinct one, but because there were *Plebeyans*, men of the base and common sort, in euery tribe. (f) *the Greekes propound thus*: ] The *Logicians*, and the *Rhetoricians* following them, diuide a perfect argument (called by the Greekes *Syllogismus*, by the Latines, *Ratiocinatio*) into three parts: the first that includes and declares the summe of the argument: this is called the *proposition*, or *exposition*; the second which assuming from the proposition, selects an especiall thing which wee are to know more fully: and this is called the *Assumption*: The third, shuts vp the argument, and is called the *Conclusion*. How these are placed in discourse, it maketh no matter: the conclusion is sometimes before, and the assumption often-times the second, or the last [And here our false *Logicians* spoile all; out of their ignorance of all good artes: and thinke that change of place doth alter the nature of things: lying as fast as they can inuent: and seeming in the schooles more then men, in ciuill conuersation abroade are lesse then children.]

The Attel-  
lan come-  
dies.The Cen-  
sors view of  
the city.The orders  
of the Ro-  
mans.The parts  
of a Syllo-  
gisme.Paris copy  
defectue.

That *Plato*, who would not allow Poets to dwell in a well governed City, shewed that his sole worth was better then those gods, that desire to be honoured with stage-plaies. CHAP. 14.

**A** Gaine, we aske another question: why the Poets that make those Comedies, (and being prohibited by a law of the twelue tables to defame the Citizens, yet doe dishonor the gods with such foule imputations,) are not reputed as dishonest and disgracefull as the plaiers? what reason can bee produced, why the (a) actors of such poeticall figments, being so ignominious to the gods, should be deputed infamous, and yet the authors be vouchsafed honours? Is not (b) *Plato* more praise-worthy then you all, who disputing of the true perfection of a city would haue Poets banished from that society, as enemies to the cities full perfection? hee had both a greefe to see his gods so iniured, and a care to keepe out these fictions whereby the cittizens mindes might bee abused: Now make but a comparison of his (c) humanity in expelling of Poets from his city, least they should delude it with the gods diuinity that desired such Plaies and Reuells in their honours; by which the city might be deluded: He, though he did not (d) induce or perswade them to it, yet aduised and counselled the light and luxurious Greekes in his disputation, to restrain the writing of such things: But these gods, by command, and constraint, euen forced the modest and staied *Romanes* to present them with such things: nay not only to present them, but euen to dedicate and consecrate them in all sollemnity vnto their honors. Now to which of these may the city with most honesty ascribe diuine worship? whether to *Plato* that would forbid these filthy obscænitie, or to these diuils that exult in deluding of those men whom *Plato* could not perswade to truth? This man did (e) *Labeo* think meet to be reckned amongst the *Demi-gods*, as he did *Hercules* also, & *Romulus*: & he prefers the *Demi-gods* before the *Heroës*, but notwithstanding (f) makes deities

Plato held  
a Demigod.

H

of

of them both : But howsoever, I hold this man whom he calls a *Demi-god*, worthy to be preferred not only before the *Heroës*, but euen before all their other gods themselves: And in this the Romaine lawes doe come some-what nere his disputations: for where as he condemnes all allowance of Poets, they depriue them of their liberty to raile at any man. He (*g*) excludeth Poets from dwelling in his citie: they depriue the actors of poeticall fables from the priuiledges of citizens: and it may be (if they durst do ought against gods that require such stage-games) they would thrust them forth for altogether. Wherefore the Romanes can neither receiue nor expect any morall instructions, either for correcting of faults, or increasing verues, from those gods, whom their owne lawes already doe subuert and conuince. The gods require plaies for increase of their honors: the Romans exclude plaiers from pertaking of theirs: the gods require their owne faults to be celebrated by poets inuentions: the Romaines restrain the Poets loosenesse from touching any of the Romaines imperfections. But *Plato*, that *Demi-god*, he both resists this impure affection of the gods, and shewes what ought to be perfected by the (*h*) towardlinesse of the Romaines: denying Poets all place in a well ordered Common-welth, howsoever, whether they presented the figments of their owne lusts and fancies, or related ought els as the guilt of the gods, & therefore of imitable exâples: But we Christians make *Plato* neither whole God nor *Demigods* nor do we vouchsafe to compare him with any of Gods Angels, or his Prophets, not with any of Christs Apostles or his Martirs, no not with any Christian man, and why we will not, by Gods help, in the due place we will declare. But notwithstanding, seeing they wil needs haue him a *Demi-god*, we thinke him worthy to be preferred, (if not before *Romulus* or *Hercules* though there was neuer (*i*) historian, nor (*k*) Poet (*l*) affirmed, or (*m*) fained, (*n*) that he euer killed his brother, (*o*) or committed any other mischiuous act, yet at least) before (*p*) *Priapus* or any (*q*) *Cynocephalus*, or lastly any (*r*) *Febris*, all which the Romaines either had as (*s*) Gods from strangers, or set them vp as their (*t*) owne in peculiar. How then could such gods as these by any counsel they could giue, preuent or cure such great corruption of mindes and maner (whether imminent, or already infused) (seeing they regarded nothing els but to diffuse and augment this contagion of wickednes, & to haue it instilled into the peoples notices from the stage, as their own acts, or acts which they approue, to the end, y mans lust might run the course of wickednesse freely, after the gods exâples? *Tully* exclaimeth all in vaine vpon it (*u*) who being to speake of Poets, when he came to them, saith: *The clamor and approbation of the people, when it is ioyned with these poeticall fictions, as the testimony of some great and learned Maister, oh what darknesse doth it inuolue a man in? what fears it inspects, what lusts it enflames?*

## L. VIVES.

**A**ctor, Author, Plaier. What Poets Plato expells.  
**Humanity.** φιλαρτω- νια ταιδία.  
 He (*a*) actors] There are actors, *ab agendo*, of acting: plaiers vpon the stage, & *Authores*, the Authors, the Poets that write these fables: though the name of *Author* is taken many waies; but this is a Grammer question. (*b*) *Is not Plato*] *Plato* (*de rep. lib. 2.*) expells al Poets out of a well ordered citty, for the wickednes which they sing of the gods: & (in the tenth booke of the same worke) *Socrates* hauing spoken much against them, concludeth al in this, y he holds that poetry only fit to be excluded, which giues life to vnmanly affections: & that to be allowed, which is manly, & honest: So y he condemnes not all poetry, for sometimes he calls *Poets*, a diuine kinde of men, namely when they sing himmes to the Deities: more-ouer hee saith that if the *Poets* doe sing of any good man, though he be pore, he is happy: & againe that an euil man though he be ritch their songs wil make him miserable: if they exceed not in loosenesse, nor yeeld to rancour nor consent vnto flattery, nor in their songs sowe seeds of corruption, such poets are profitable members in *Plato's* commonwealth. (*c*) *His humanity*] *Humanity* is not taken here for any natural gentlenesse or courtesie of y minde, or mans good wil, called in Greeke *φιλανθρωπία*, not for any knowledge

knowledge of ſy liberal arts which the Greekes call *μαθητια*, but for *that nature, by which wee are men*: as goodneſſe is that by w<sup>ch</sup> we are good: the ſence following proues it, for it is compared vnto diuinity & in this ſignification it is alſo vſed elſewere as in *Tully (de orat lib. 1.) (d) I though hee did not induce* ] I maruaile much that our *Philoſophers & Diuines* could not out of this place learn the difference of *Suadeo, & Perſuadeo*. But they (which is very nere a miracle) vnderſtand latine without knowing the latine tongue, and are very perfect *Grecians*, and can read neuer a word of Greeke: indeed in Greeke, *πειθω* is both *ſuadere*, to aduie or counſel, and *perſuadere* to perſwade or induce. (e) *This man did Labeo* ] Here wil I deliuer the orders of the gods; firſt out of *Varro*, and next out of other bookes of the *Platonists*. The *Romains* call ſome of their goddes *Simmis*, the higheſt: others *Medioximi* middle-moſt: others *Heroes infimi*, or earthly ones: *αγρ*, which the ancients (as *Apella* affirmeth) called *Earth*. The *Medioximi* were ſuch as were taken vppe to heauen by their deſerts: as *Tulli* ſaith: (in his booke *De legibus*:) that is *Semi-gods*, or as it were a kind of *Mungrels* begot of mortality and immortality; ſuch were *Romulus, Hercules, Aſculapius, Caſtor* and *Pollux*, with others. The *Heroes* were born of mortal parents on both ſides, but by their merits got a more aduanced ſtate in deſteny then the reſidue of the vulgar. Some to adde vnto theſe anoſher kinde, called *Semones*: but of them elie-where. (f) *Makes Deities of them both* ] Such as here in this world liued wel and hoily, the old *Romains* did ſtil put into the number of the gods when they were dead, and aſſigned them feaſtes called *Necya*. *Cicero de legibus lib. 2.* (g) *He excludeth Poets* ] In the old copy of *Bruges*, and *Coleigne*, the verbe *repellit*, is left out, and for *Poeticarum here*, is *talium* in them. (h) *Forwardneſſe of* ] By their begun vertue, their prooſe and demonſtration of goodneſſe, though ſometimes towardlyneſſe ſtands for full vertue it ſelfe: but here it is as I ſaid, and is declared by that which goes before; *What was to be performed.* (i) *Historian.* ] As there are that do of *Romulus*. (k) *Poet.* ] As do of *Hercules*. (l) *Affirmed.* ] The *Historian* did not. (m) *Fained.* ] The *Poet* did not. (n) *That he euer killed his brother* ] Which *Romulus* did, in killing of *Remus*. (o) Or committed any other miſchieuous act, as is true of *Hercules*, who defiled the whole world with whoredomes, rapines, robberies and ſlaughters: yet they thought y<sup>e</sup> the world was purged of ſuch guiltes by him. (p) *Before Priapus* ] *Diodorus* ſaith that *Priapus* was made a god vppon this occaſion: *Oſiris* King of *Egypt* beeing murdered by the wicked villeny of his brother *Tiphon*, the conſpirators cutte all his body in peeces, and euery one tooke a ſhare, and becauſe no man would take the priuie members, they threw them into the Riuer *Nilus*. Afterwards *Iſis* the wife of *Oſiris* hauing ouercome *Tiphon*, ſhe found all the parts of hir husbands body, but the fore-named, which being loſt, ſhee conſecrated them, and inſtituted their diuine worſhip with many ceremonies, and ſuch as were admitted to be *Prieſts* in *Egypt*, offered their firſt ſacrifices vnto this: calling it *Priapus* by an vnknowne name, which to couer the diſhoneſty of the thing ment, the honeſt ancients vſed. The *Greeks* call this God *Phallus*, and *Ithyphallus*. Of this theſe verſes are extant in *Collumella. lib. 11.*

Suadere.  
Perſuadere.

Medioximi.  
Heroes.

Necia.

Towardlyneſſe.

Priapus.

Phallus, ſeu  
Ithyphallus.

— Sed truncum forte dolatum  
Arboris antiquae nun en Venerare Ithyphally,  
Terribilis membrum, medio qui ſemper in hortis,  
Inquinibus puero, praedoni ſalce minetur.

— That peece of ancient tree,  
Adore, as Ithyphallus Deitie,  
That ougly thing: which in the garden ſtands  
Gainſt boies & theeues, with armed groine and hands.

For he was the Keeper of gardens: *Diodorus* ſaith he was alſo called *Tiphon*, and makes him the ſon of *Venus* and *Dionyſius*: borne (as *Seruius* and *Valerius Flaccus* ſay) at *Lampſacium*, a citty in *Helleſpont* and that therefore was named *Lampſaſenus*, and *Helleſpontiacus*. *Virgill Georgic.*

Et caſto: ſorum atq; anium, cum ſulce ſaligna  
Helleſpontiaci forſis in ſela Priapi.

— And *Priapus* of *Helleſpont*, with his hooke,  
Of Willow, wel to birds and theeues will looke,

And in the *Luſus in Priapum*, *Priapus* ſpeaketh thus,

— Patria multabor, et olim  
Ille tuus cinis Lampſace, Galus ero,

— Ile looſe my country; *Lampſacus* euen hee  
That was borne thine, now *Cibels* *Prieſt* will bee,

Some ſay hee was borne in the citty *Priapus*, not farre from *Lampſacus*, neare vnto the vineyards. *Strabo* thinks his deification was firſt from *Helleſpont*. But a new God he is, for *Heſiod* knew no ſuch in his time: *Fulgentius* makes him one of ſy *Semones*, & ſaith he is not yet taken vp into heauen, his deſerts ar ſo ſlender. (q) *Cynocephalus* ] y<sup>e</sup> is indeed, *Dogs-head*. *Diodorus (lib. 4.)*

H 2

ſaith

Anubis.

Febris a  
goddess.

faith that the *Cynocephali* were a people of humane shape and voyce, but headed like Dogges: a Barbarous and cruell kind of creatures, and many of them liued in the Islands of *Nilus*, *Ofris* had a Sonne called *Anubis*, who following his father in his trauels, bore the Dogge for his armes: and hence it came that he was worshipped in *Egypt* in the shape of this creature, and called (by *Virgil Anead.* 8) *Latrator, the barker*, as also because he was held the keeper of the bodies of *Ofris* and *Isis*. Some thinke that this was *Mercurius*, and called thus for his quicke capacity and apprehention. (r) *Febris*] The *Romaines* erected many altars vnto *Febris*: *Cicero* maketh mention of one ancient one that stood in the mount *Palatine* (do *legib. lib. 2.*) and of the same *Valerius* also (in *Antiqu. institut.*) and *Pliny* *lib. 2.* do speake: as also of another that was placed in the Court of *Marius* his monuments, and a third at the vpper end of the long street (s) *Gods from strangers*] *Lucan* speaketh to *Egypt*.

*Nos in templa tuam Romana accepimus Isin,*  
*semicaesque Deos & sistræ mouentia lactum,*

We in Romes temples now thine Isis place.  
thy Halfe-dog Gods, and hornes that woets do raise.

(r) *There owne in peculiar as Febris* (u) *who being to speake of Poets*] in some bookes, the words of *Tully* begins at *Accessisset*, and not at *(clamor)*. The whole sentence I take it is out of the booke of his common-wealth, in the third of his *Tusculane* questions, speaking of the causes which corrupt the seeds of vertue, which are naturally sowne within vs; he saith: *Hereunto also may Poets be added, who pretending a great deale of doctrine and wisdom, are learnd read, heard, and borne away in the mind of euery man. But when that great maister, the multitude is added also, and the whole company swarming on euery side vnto vices, then chiefly are we infected with depraued opinion, and drawne from our very expresse nature.* Like vnto this also he hath in his second and fourth booke, and that at large: which we but touch at, to avoyd the ouer-charging of the reader, or the booke, with tediousnes.

*That flattery and not reason created some of the Romaine Gods.*

C H A P. 15.

The Fla-  
mines.

**B**Vt what other reason in the world (besides flattery) haue they to make choice of these so false and fained gods? Not voutsafinge *Plato* any little temple, whome notwithstanding they will haue to be a *demi-god*, (and one who tooke such paines in disswading the corruption of manners through the (a) deprauation of opinions:) and yet preferring *Romulus* before diuers of the gods, whom their most secret and exact doctrine doth but make (b) a semi-god, and not an entire deities; yet for him they appointed a (c) *Flamine*, (d) a kind of Priesthood so farre about the rest as (e) their crests did testifie that they had onely (f) three of those *Flamines* for three of their chiefeft deities, the *Diall* or *Iouiall* for *Iupiter*, the *Martiall* for *Mars*; and the *Quirinall*, for *Romulus*: for (g) the loue of his citizens hauing (as it were) hoysed him vp into heauen, he was then called (h) *Quirinus*, &c. kept that name euer after: and so by this you see *Romulus* here is preferred before *Neptune* & *Pluto* *Iupiter* brother nay euen before *Saturne*, father of them all: so that to make him great, they giue him the same Priesthood that *Iupiter* was honored by, &c. likewise they giue one to *Mars*, his pretended father, it may be rather for his sake then any other deuotion.

L. VIVES.

**T**Hrough (a) *the deprauation of opinions*] some read *animi*, some *animis*, some leaues it out, but the best, is *anima* (b) *A semigod*] *Let them worship* (saith *Cicero* in his *de leg*) *such as haue bin and are held gods, and such as their meritts haue made celestial and instawled in heauen, as Hercules, Liber Pater, Esculapius, Castor, Pollux, Quirinus.* (c) *A Flamine*] what I meane to speake of the *Flamine*, shall bee out of *Varro, Dionysius, Festus, Plutarch, Gellius, and Seruius.*  
Amongst

Amongst the orders of Priests were Some of *Numa Pompilius* his institution, and called by the name of *Flamines*: their habit of their head was a hat, as the high Priest had also: but vpon the top of it, they wore a tuft of white wollen thred: therefore were called *Flamines quibus Pilamines* hairy, or tufted crownes: some deriue it of *Pileus*, a hat, but that cannot be, for so had the high Priests. Some againe say their name came of *Filum*, a thred, because in the heate of Summer when it was too hot to wear their hats, they wrapped their heads about with thred of linnen cloth: for to go bare headed-abroade, their religion forbade them: but vpon feast daies they were bound to wear their hats in the ceremonies, *Appian* of *Alexandria* saith that the *Iouiall* *Flamine* wore his hat and vaile both vpon feast and no feast daies. Others say that they were called *Flamines a Flamineo*, which was a kind of yellow head-tire, but more proper to women then them. These kind of Priests *Numa* first ordained, and that three of them: one for *Iupiter*, called the *Diall* of *Dios, Ioue* or *Iouiall*: one to *Mars*, the *Martiall*; and one to *Quirinus*, the *Quirinall*. Other gods might haue no *Flamines*, nor might one of those Gods haue more then one, but in proceffe of time the number increased, and became fiftene: besides those which flattery consecrated to the dead *Cesars*, as one to *C. Cesar*, by *Antonys* law, (which *Cicero* reprobeth (*Phillippic* 2.) one to *Augustus*, and so to diuers others. But those that *Numa* made were the principall alwaies, and the principall of them was *Ioues Flamin* the *Diall*: he onely of all the rest went in a white Hat, and was held the most reuerend: His ceremonies and lawes are recounted both by *Plutarch* in his *Problemes* and also by *Gellius* (*lib. 10.*) out of *Fabius Pictor*, *Massurius Sabinus*, *Varro*, and others. The lowst in degree of all the *Flamines*, was the *Pomonall* *Flamine*, because *Pomona*, the goddesse of Apples, was of the least esteeme. Others there were of meane dignity, as *Vulcanes*, *Furidus*, *Father Falacens*, *The Goddesse that protected mount Palatine*, and mother *Floras*. (d) which kind of Priesthood ] Though the *Flamines* were of great authority yet were all obedient vnto the chiefe Priest: for so the people commanded it should be, when in the second warre of *Affrike*: *L. Metellus*, being chiefe Priest with-held the consul *Posthumus*, being *Mars* his *Flamine*, and would not let him leaue his order, nor his sacrifices: and likewise in the first warre of *Asia*, *P. Licinius*, high Priest, staid *Q. Fabius Pictor* then *Prætor* and *Quirinall* *Flamine* from going into *Sardinia* (e) as their crests they wore ] *Apex*, is any thing that is added to the toppe, or highest part of a thing: here it is that which the *Flamine* bore vpon his head, his cap, or his tuft of woll. *Lucan.*

The Iouiall

Pomona  
Goddesse.The Fla-  
mines Apex  
or crest.

Et tollens apicem generoso vertice Flament

! The Flamine with his cap, and lofty crest:

*Salpitius* lost his Priesthood because his crest fell of whilst he was a sacrificing, saith *Valerius*, (*lib. 1.*) The *Romaines* gaue not this crest but vnto their greatest men in religion: as now we giue Miters, they called it *Apex* (saith *Seruius* vpon the eight *Aenead*) *ab apendo*, which is, to ouercome: and hence comes *Apus*, & *Apiculum filum*, that was the small tufted thred which the *Flamines* folded their (crests in: *Fabius* speaketh of these Crests and *Virgill*:

Hinc exultantes Saliis, nudoque Lapercos,  
lanigerosque apices, --Here Saliis dan'd naked Luperci there,  
and there the tufted crownes, *Aenead* 8.

(f) Onely three of those ] their chiefe and true *Flamines*, inheritours of the auncient *Flaminshippe* (g) the loue of his citizens ] *Romulus* being dead, the people began to suspect that the Senate had butchered him secretly amongst them-selues. So *Iulius Proculus*, appeased the rage of the multitude by affirming that hee saw *Romulus* ascending vp into heauen. *Livy* in his first booke. *Emilius* brings in the people of *Rome* lamenting for *Romulus* in these words.

Romulus is  
a God.O Romule, Romule, dic,  
qualem te patrie custodem Dii genuerunt,  
Tu produxisti nos intra Iunius oras,  
O Pater, O genitor patrie, O sanguine dis oriunde.O Romulus, O Romulus, thou vs,  
how they, thy countries gard, the gods begat,  
Thou brought vs first to light, O thou our father,  
thy countries father borne of heavenly seed.

(b) called *Quirinus* ] many of such mens names haue bene changed after their deysying, to make them more venerable, hauing cast of their stiles of mortality, for so was *Leda* (so called when she was aliue) after her death and deification stiled *Nemesis*: and *Circe*, *Marica*: and *Ino*, *Matuta*; And *Aeneas*, *Iupiter Indiges*, *Romulus* was called *Quirinus* to gratifie the *Sabines*; In which respect also the *Romaines* were called *Quirites* of *Cures* a towne of the *Sabines*, or else as *Ouid* saith:

Quirinus.

*Sive quod Hasta, Quiris prisca est dicta Sabinis,  
Bellicus a telo venit in Astra deus  
Sive suo Regi nomen posuere Quirites  
Sed quia Romanis iunxerat ille Cures.*

Or, for the Sabines, speares Quirites call  
His weapons name made him celestiall,  
Or els they so entil'd him hereupon  
because he made them, and the Cures, one.

*That if the Romaine gods had had any care of Iustice, the Citie should haue had  
their formes of good government from them, rather then to goe and bor-  
row it of other nations. C H A P: 16.*

The A-  
thens law  
followed  
by Rome.

**I**F the Romaines could haue receiued any good instructions of morality from their gods, they would neuer haue beene (a) beholding to the Athenians for Solons lawes, as they were, some yeares after Rome was built: which lawes notwithstanding, they did not obserue as they receiued them, but endeauoured to better them and make them more exact; and though (b) *Licurgus* fained that hee gaue the Lacedemonians their lawes by § authorization of *Apollo*, yet the Romanes very wisely would not giue credence to him, (c) & therefore gaue no admission to these lawes. Indeed (d) *Numa Pompilius*, *Romulus* his successor is said to haue giuen them some lawes: but (e) al too insufficient for the government of a Citie. He taught them many points of their religion (f) but it is not reported that hee had these institutions from the gods: Those corruptions therefore of minde, conuersation, and conditions, which were so great, that the (g) most learned men durst affirme that these were the cankers by which all Common-weales perished, though their walls stood neuer so firme; those did these gods neuer endeavour to with-hold from them that worshipped them, but as wee haue proued before, did rather strue to enlarge and augment them, with all their care and fullest diligence.

## L. VIVES.

The lawes  
of the 12.  
tables.

**B**Eholding (a) to the Athenians] In the 300. yeare after Romes building: when there had beene many contentions betweene the *Patricians* & the *Plebeians*, they sent three Ambassadors to Athens, to cobby out *Solons* lawes, and to learne the policy and ciuility of the rest of the Greekes: that the *Romane* estate might bee conformed and settled after the manner of the Grecians. (*Cherephanes* was then gouernor of Athens, it beeing the 82. *Olympiade*. The Ambassadors dispatched their affaires with all diligence, and returned the next yeare after, and then were the *Decemviri* elected to decree lawes, and those wrote the first ten tables of the Romanes ciuill lawe, and afterwards they added two more, all which were approoued in the great Parliament called *Comitia Centuriata*. And these were their noblest lawes, which were written in the twelue Tables. (*Livy lib. 3. Dionys. lib. 10. & others also*) (b) *Licurgus*] The lawes which *Licurgus* gaue (as he fained, by *Apollo's* oracle) to the Lacedemonians, are very famous. The Greeke and Latine authors are full of this mans honours, and of the hard lawes which he gaue the Spartans There is a worke of *Xenophons* extant, onely of these lawes, and many of them are recorded in *Plutarche*, I neede not trouble the Reader in so plaine a matter. (c) therefore gaue no admission] And also, because *Solons* lawes were more accomodate and applicable to ciuill education, and manuetude, then the rough seuerer ones of *Licurgus*, as *Plato* and *Aristotle* doe very well obserue. For his lawes aimed at no other end but to make the Spartanes warriors. (d) *Numa Pompilius*] He was borne at *Cures* in the country of the Sabines, and was the best man of his time in the world. Of this man reade *Livy lib. 1. Dionysius*, and *Plutarch*, of his whole life, besides diuers others. (e) all too insufficient] This is plaine, for they fetched lawes fró others. (f) it is not reported] Yes, he fained that he conferred with *Ageria*; but she was rather a Nimph then a goddesse, & besides, this is known to be a fable (g) the most learned] Here I cannot choose but ad a very conceited saying out of *Plantus* his comedy called *Perfa. Sagaristio* the seruant asks a Virgin, how strong dost thou think this towne is? If the townsmen (quoth shee againe) bee well mannered, I thinke it is very strong: if treachery, couctous-

*Licurgus*  
his lawes.

couetousnesse, and extortion, bee chased out, and then enuie, then ambition, then detraction, then perjury, then flattery, then iniury, then and lastly, (which is hardest of all to get out) villanie: if these be not all thrust forth, an hundred walls are all too weake to keepe out ruine.

*Of the rape of the Sabine women, and diuers other wicked facts, done in Romes most ancient and honorable times.*

CHAP. 17.

PERHAPS the gods would not giue the *Romaines* any lawes, because as *Salust* (a) saith: *Iustice and honestie preuailed as much with them by nature as by lawe*: very good: (b) out of this iustice and honestie came it (I thinke) that the (c) *Sabine* virgins were rauished. What iustter or honestier part can be plaide, then to force away other mens daughters with all violence possible, rather then to receiue them at the hand of their parents? But if it were vniustly done of the *Sabines* to deny the *Romaines* their daughters, was it not farre more vniustly done of them to force them away after that deniall? There were more equitie showne in making warres vpon those that would not giue their daughters to beget alliance with their neighbours and countrimen, then with those that did but require back their owne, which were iniuriously forced from them. Therefore *Mars* should rather haue helped his warlike sonne, in reuenging the iniury of this reiected proferre of marriage, that so he might haue wonne the Virgin that he desired, by force of armes. For there might haue bene some pretence of warlike lawe, for the conqueror iustly to beare away those whom the conquered had vniustly denied him before. But he, against all law of peace, violently forced them from such as denied him them, and then began an vniust warre with their parents, to whom hee had giuen so iust a cause of anger. (d) Herein indeed he had good and happy successesse. And albeit the (e) *Circensian* playes were continued to preferue the memory of this fraudulent acte, yet neither the Cittie nor the Empire did approoue such a president: and the *Romaines* were more willing to erre in making *Romulus* a deity after this deed of iniquitie, then to allow by any law or practise, this fact of his in forcing of women thus, to stand as an example for others to follow. Out of this iustice and honesty likewise proceeded this, that (g) after *Tarquin* and his children were expulsed *Rome*, (because his sonne *Sextus* had rauished *Lucreesse*.) *Iunius Brutus* being contull, compeiled (h) *L. Tarquinius Collatine*, husband to that *Lucreesse*, his fellow officer, a good man, and wholly guiltlesse, to giue ouer his place, and abandon the Cittie, which vile deed of his, was done by the approbation (or at least omission) of the people, who made *Collatine* Consul, as well as *Brutus* himself. Out of this iustice and honesty came this also, that (h) *Marcus Camillus* that most illustrious worthy of his time, that with such ease subdued the warlike *Veientes*, the greatest foes of the *Romaines*, and tooke their cheefe citty from them: after that they had held the *Romans* in ten yeares war, and foiled their armies so often, that *Rome* hir selfe began to tremble, and suspected hir owne safety: that this man by the mallice of his backe-biting enemies, and the insupportable pride of the Tribunes, being accused of guilt, & perceiuing the citty (which he had preserued) so vngrateful, that he needs must be condemned, was glad to betake him-selfe to willing banishment: and yet (i) in his absence was fined at ten thousand *Asses* (k) Being soone after to be called home again to free his thankelesse country the second time from the *Gaules*. It yrkes me to recapitulate the multitude of foule enormities which that citty hath giuen act vnto: (l) The great ones seeking to bring the people vnder their subiection: the people againe on the other side scorning to be subiect to them, and the ring-leaders on both sides aiming wholly rather at superiority and conquest, then euer giuing roome to a thought of iustice or honesty.

*Tarquine Collatine* deprived of office, and put out of *Rome*.

*Camillus* exiled by his countries monstrous ingratitude.

Seditious betwixt the great men and the people.



## L. VIVES.

Lawe.

Good.

Right and  
reason:  
*equum &  
bonum.*Budæus  
his praises.The Sabine  
virgins ta-  
ken away  
forceably.

*Salust* (a) saith ] In his warre of *Catiline*, speaking of the ancient *Romaines*, he saith thus: The law is a civill equity either established in literall lawes, or instilled into the manners by verball instructions. Good, is the fount, moderatour and reformer of all lawe: all which is done by the Iudges prudence, adapting it selfe to the nature of the cause, and laying the lawe to the cause, not the cause to the lawe. As *Aristotle* to this purpose speaketh of the *Lesbian* rule, (*Ethic. 4.*) This is also termed right & reason; as *Salust* againe saith in his *Iugurth* *Bomilchar* is guilty rather by right and reason, then any nationall lawe. *Crassus* (saith *Tully* in his *Brutus*) spake much at that time against that writing, and yet but in right and reason, It is also called *equitie*. That place (saith *Cicero* for *Cacinna*) you feare, and flie, and seeke (as I may say) to draw mee out of this plaine field of *equitie*, into the straites of words, and into all the literall corners: in this notwithstanding (saith *Quintilian*) the iudges nature is to bee obserued, whether it be rather opposed to the lawe, then vnto *equitie*, or no. Hereof wee haue spoken some-thing in our *Temple of the lawes*: But the most copious and exact reading hereof is in *Budæus* his notes vpon the *Pandects*: explaining that place which the Lawyers did not so well vnderstand: *Ius est ars equi & boni*. This mans sharpenesse of witte, quicknesse of iudgement, fulnesse of diligence, and greatnesse of learning, no *Frenchman* euer paralleld, nor in these times any *Italian*. There is nothing extant in *Greeke* or *Latine*, but he hath read it, and read it ouer, and discussed it throughly: In both these tounge he is a like, and that excellently perfect. Hee speakes them both as familiarly as he doth *French*, his naturall tongue: nay I make doubt whether hee speake them no better: hee will read out a *Greeke* booke in *Latine* words extempore, and out of a *Latine* booke, in *Greeke*. And yet this which wee see so exactly and excellently written by him, is nothing but his extemporall birthe. Hee writes with lesse paines both *Greeke* and *Latine*, then very good schollers in both these tongues can vnderstand them. There is no cranke, no secret, in all these tongues, but he hath searcht it out, lookt into it, and brought it forth like *Cerberus* from darknesse into light. Infinite are the significations of words, and the proprieties of phrase which onely *Budæus* hath fetched out of deepest obliuion and exposed them to mens vnderstandings. And yet all these singular and admirable gifts hath hee attained to by his owne industry alone, without helpe of any maister. O happy fertile witte! that in it selfe alone found both maister and scholler, and method of instruction! That whose tenth part others can hardly learne of great and cunning maisters, he alone without helpe of others drew wholly from himselfe. I haue not yet sayd any thing of his knowledge in the lawe, which he alone hath begun to restore from ruine: nor of his Philosophie, whereof in his bookes *De Affe*, he hath giuen such prooffe, as no man possibly could but such an one as had dayly conuersation with such reading of all the Philosophers, and deepe instruction in those studies. To all this may bee added that which indeed excells all things else; an honestie congruent to all this learning, so rare, and so admirable, that being but considered without the other graces of witte and learning, it might seeme the worlds miracle: his honestie no more then his learning acknowledgeth none his superior. A man that in all the diuerse actions of his life, giues his religion alwayes the first place: A man that hauing wife and many children, was neuer drawne from his true square with any profit or study to augment his estate: but euer more swaid both himselfe and his fortunes, and directed both: Fortune could neuer lead him away, though she promised neuer so faire: he had her alwayes in his power. A man continually in court, in Embassages, yet neuer followed Princes fauours, nor nousted them with flatteries. Hee neuer augmented his patrimony, because he would neuer depart an haire-breadth from honestie: he was alwayes a seuerer censor of his owne conditions then of any others: and hauing vndergone offices which were obiects of the greatest enuie, he neuer found callumnie from any tongue, nor incurd suspition of any error, though he had to doe with a free nation, and a people as ready to accuse as froward to suspect. I see I haue forgot breuities bounds, being whirled beyond them with the loue I haue to relate the vertues of mine honored friend: now to our purpose. *Salusts* meaning therefore is, that as well this civill equitie which they call lawe, as that naturall equitie which nature produceth in the mindes of the iudicious, (and then which nothing is better, it being therefore called good); were no more powerfull with the *Romaines* in their decretall lawes, then in the naturall discretions of vnderstanding men. (b) Out of this Iustice] A most bitter Ironie: a found quippe. (c) That the Sabine Virgins] When as *Romulus* could not obtaine women of the neighbouring nations, for his cittizens to marry with, by the aduise of his grand-father

Numitor

*Namitor* and the Senate, hee gaue it out that hee would celebrate some games in honour of *Neptune the horse-rider*, or *Hippoposeidon*; so the women, their neighbours, comming to see the sports, the *Romanes* tooke them all away by force, (especially the *Sabines*) out of the midst of the exercises. For so had *Romulus* and his companions resolved: the fourth month after the building of Rome as *Dionysius* relateth out of *Fabius Pictor*. *Plutarch* saith it was the 14. of the Calends of September, and both agreed: for the city was begun to be built the 12. of the Calends of May on the feast day called *Palilia*. Though *Gellius* (not *Anulus* with the Attican nights, but) another ancient writer affirms it was in the 4. yeare that this was done: which is the likelier to be true. They tooke away (as *Dionysius* saith) six hundred and eighty: which I do hold for the more likely then that which other talke, of three hundred: from whence the names of the *Curia*, or the wards: *Iuba* addeth three more to the number before. *Antias Valerius* names but five hundred twenty and seauen. Some say that *Thalassus* was not a man, but onely the signe giuen to shew them when to begin their rape. *Festus*, out of *Varro* saith it was so taken about spinning of woll: as a man would say, a panier or a basket. (d) herein indeed] Both those nations, of whence the women were, whom they forced away, as also others whom they rest by their lamentable intreaties, and the feare of their owne dangers moued, tooke vp armes against the *Romanes*: the *Sabines*, the *Ceninenses* the *Crustumarians*, and the *Atennates*, all combined against them: *Romulus* seeing so dangerous a warre likely to ensue vpon him, confederateth with the *Hetrurians*, whose powre at that time was very great: & *Calus Vibennus* prince of *Hetruria* gaue *Romulus* aide, of whom this Mount *Calius* in Rome tooke the name: His grand-father also sent him succors. So that with small adoe he ouerthrew the forces of the *Cerintenses*, the *Crustumarians*, and the *Atennates*: and contending with the *Sabines* in a doubtful and dangerous war, vpon a sudden by the entreaty of the women themselves the war ceased, and both the parties ioyned in league and amity together. (e) the *Circensian plaies*] Euery yeare was there plaies, or games celebrated vnto *Neptune Equesler*, and they were diuersly called: the *Circensian plaies*, the *Great plaies*, the *Romane plaies*: and amongst the ancients, *Consuetudina*, of *Consus* a God to whom they offered sacrifice, and belecued him to gouerne al *Counsell*: and of him *Romulus* asked instruction in all his perills, & in the doubts of those marriages. His alter was hidden in the earth: because as *Plato* saith, counsell ought not only to bee held holy, but secret also. (f) after *Tarquin*] Another Ironickall taunte. (g) *L. Tarquin Collatine*] The Kings being cashtered out of Rome by the great *Centuriall Parliament* (which *Seruius Tullius* had before instituted) *L. Iunius Brutus*, and *L. Tarquin Collatine*, *Lucretius* husband were elected *Consulls*: the later of which, was son to *Egerius*, *Tarquinius Priscus* his brother, as *Livy* saith. But Nephew to him saith *Dionysius*: *Brutus* being desirous not onely to expell the King himselfe, but all his name with him, disanulled the magistracy of his fellow, because his name was *Tarquin*, and so he willingly tooke his goods, and departed the citie, going to *Collatinum* to dwell. Now *Tully* (*Offic. lib. 3.*) confesseth that this was no very honest part of *Brutus*: but because it was most profitable to the assurance of the comon-wealth, therefore it past for an act of honesty *It hath bin obserued* (saith *Iulius Obsequens*) *that no man that euer abrogated his fellowes magistracy liued his yeare to an end; the first that did so was this Brutus, the next Tiberius Gracchus, the third P. Tarquinius.* (h) *Marcus Camillus*] This was he that tooke the City *Veii*, after ten yeares continuall siege: At that time began the *Romanes* first to lodge in tents, & vnder beaft skins in winter, because they hated this people so deadly that they would not depart thence vntill the warres were ended: for euer since the raigne of *Romulus* for three hundred years together held they almost continuall warre with the *Veientes*: *Livius lib. 5. Plutarche* in *Camillus* his life. This *Camillus* being said to haue dealt vniustly in sharing the *Veientane* spoils amongst the people, *L. Apuleius* cited him to a day of hearing: But hee to auoide their enuie (though innocent of that he was charged with,) got him away to liue at *Ardea*, in exile. This fell out two years before the *Galles* tooke Rome. (i) *ten thousand*] *Livy* saith he was fined in his absence at 15000. *Affis grauis*. *Plutarch*, at 15000. *Affium*. *Æs* And *Affis graue* was al one as my *Budeus* proues (k) *being soone after*] The *Galles* hauing taken Rome, *Camillus* hauing gathered an army together of the remainder of the *Allian* ouerthrow was released of his exile, & in a counsell *Curiate*, made Dictator by them that were besieged in the Capitoll. At first hee expelled the *Galles* out of the Citie, and afterwards in the roade way to *Gabii*, eight miles from the Citie, hee gaue them a fore ouer-throw. (*Liv. lib. 5*) Thus this worthy man choofo rather to remember his countries affliction then his owne private wronge: beeing there-

Thalassus.

The confederation against Romulus.

Mount Calius.

Consus a god.

The first Consulls.

Camillus.

Æs &amp; Æs graue, all one.

fore

fore stiled another *Romulus*. (*l*) *the great ones* ] These mischieues were still on foote, for very neere five hundred yeares after the expelling of their kings, the *Patritians*, and the *Plebeyans* were in continuall seditions and hatreds one against another, and both contending for soueraignty : which ambition was kindeled in the people by a few turbulent *Tribunes*, and in the nobles by a sort of ambitious *Senatours*, and hereof doth *Lucan* sing that which followeth.

*Et cum consulibus turbantes iura Tribuni.*

; Tribunes and Consuls troubling right at once.

*What the history of Saluste reports of the Romains conditions, both in their times of daunger and those of security.*

CHAP. 18.

**T**herefore I will keepe a meane, and stand rather vnto the testimony of *Salust* himselfe, who spoke this in the *Romaines* Praise (whereof we but now discoursed) that iustice and honesty preuailed as much with them by nature, as by lawe: extolling those times wherein the city (after the casting out of her kings) grew, vp to such a height in so sma'l a space. Notwithstanding al this, this same author confesseth in (*a*) the very beginning of the first booke of his history, that when the sway of the state was taken from the Kings and giuen to the Consuls, (*b*) within a very little while after, the city grew to be greatly troubled with the oppressing power of the great ones; and (*c*) the deuision of the people from the fathers vpon that cause, and diuers other daungerous dissentions; for hauing recorded how honestly, and in what good concord the *Romaines* liued together (*d*) betwixt the second warre of *Africa*, and the last; and hauing showed that it was not the loue of goodnesse, but the feare and distrust of the *Carthaginians* might, and perfideousnesse, that was cause of this good order, and therefore that vpon this *Nasica* would haue *Carthage* stand stil vndemolished, as a fit meane to debarre the entrance of iniquity into *Rome*, and to keepe in integrity by feare; he addeth presently vpon this, these words (*e*) *But discord, auarice, ambition, and all such mischieues as prosperity is midwife vnto, grew vnto their full light after the destruction of Charthage*, intimating herein, that they were sowne, & continued amongst the *Romaines* before: which he proues in his following reason. *For as for the violent offensiueneesse of the greater persons* (saith he) *and the diuision betwixt the Patricians and the Plebeyans thence arising, those were mischieues amongst vs from the beginning: nor was there any longer respect of equity or moderation amongst vs, then whilst the kings were in expelling and the city and state quit of Tarquin, and the* (*f*) *great war of Hetruria*. Thus you see, how that euen in that little space wherein after the expulsion of their Kings they embraced integrity, it was onely feare that forced them to do so, because they stood in dread of the warres, which *Tarquin*, vpon his expulsion being combined with the *Hetrurians* waged against them. Now obserue what *Salust* addeth, *for after that* (quoth he) *the Senators began to make slaves of the people, to iudge of heades &* (*g*) *shoulders, as bloudily & imperiously* (*h*) *as the kings did to chase men from their possessions: & only they, of the whole crue of factions, bare the imperial sway of al, with which outrages* (& chiefly with their extream: taxes and extortions) *the people being sore oppressed, maintaining both solaiours in continuall armes, and paying tribute also besides, at length they stept out, tooke vp armes, and drew to an head vpon Mount Auentine and Mount Sacer. And then they elected them Tribunes, and set downe other lawes; but the second warre of Africa gave end to these contentions on both sides*. Thus you see in how little a while, so soone after the expelling

expelling of their Kings, the *Romaines* were become such as hee hath described them: of whom (notwithstanding) he had affirmed, that *Iustice and honestie prevailed as much with them by nature as by lawe*. Now if those times were found to haue beene so depraved, wherein the *Romaine* estate is reported to haue beene most vncorrupt and absolute, what shall wee imagine may then bee spoken or thought of the succeeding ages, which by a graduall alteration (to vse the authors owne words) of an honest and honorable citie, became most dishonest and dishonorable, namely after the dissolution of *Carthage*, as hee himselfe relateth. How he discourseth and describeth these times, you may at full behold in his historie, and what progresse this corruption of manners made through the middest of the Cities prosperitie, euen (k) vntill the time of the ciuill warres. But from that time forward, as hee reporteth, the manners of the better sort did no more fall to decay by little and little, but ranne head-long to ruine, like a swift torrent, such excesse of luxurie and auarice entring vpon the manners of the youth, that it was fitly said of *Rome*, that she brought forth such (l) as would neither keepe goods them-selues nor suffer others to keepe theirs. Then *Salust* proceedes, in a discourse of *Sylla's* villanies, and of other barbarous blemishes in the commonwealth: and to his relation in this do all other writers agree in substance, though (m) they bee all farre behinde him in phrase. But here you see (and so I hope doe all men) that whosoever will obserue but this, shall easilie discover the large gulfe of damnable viciousnesse into which this Citty was fallen, long before the comming of our heauenly King. For these things came to passe, not onely before that euer Christ our Sauour taught in the flesh, but euen before he was borne of the Virgin, or tooke flesh at all: Seeing therefore that they dare not impute vnto their owne gods those so many and so great mischiefes, eyther the tolerable ones which they suffered before, or the fouler ones which they incurred after the destruction of *Carthage*, (howsoever their gods are the engraffers of such maligne opinions in mens mindes, (n) as must needs bud forth such vices,) why then do they blame Christ for the euills present, who forbids them to adore such false and deuillish gods, by his sweete and sauing doctrine, which doe condemne all these harmefull and vngodly affections of man by his diuine authoritie, and from all those miseries, with-drawes his flock and familie by little and little out of all places of the declining world, to make of their companie an eternall and celestiall citie, not by the app lause of vanitie, but by the election of veritie.

The common corruption before Christs comming.

Christ the founder of a new citie.

## L. VIVES.

**T**His same author (a) confesseth, ] This historie of *Saluste* concerning the ciuill warres of *Rome*, wee haue lost. Onely some few Orations there are remaining. (b) Within a verie little while, ] But fifteene yeares, (*Lin. lib. 2.*) *Appian Claudius*, and *P. Seruilius* were made Consuls for that yeare: And this yeare was made famous by the death of *Tarquin the proud*. Hee died at *Cume*, whether after his wrackt estate hee retired vnto *Aristodemus* the Tyrant. The newes of his death sturred both *Patricians* and *Populars* to ioy and mirth: but the *Patricians* reuells were too faucie: for then they began to offer iniury to the people, whome till that day they had obeyed. (c) *The diuision*, ] the people diuided themselues from the *Patricians*, because of the sesse laide vpon them the seuenteenth yeare after the obtaining of their liberty: and againe because of the tyrannie of the *Decemviri* in making cruell lawes; Anno. 300 after the building of *Rome*. Thirdly by reason of their debts, and the long dissentions betwene the tribunes and the Senators, some few yeares before *Pirrhus* his warres. (d) *Betweene the* ] There

The death of Tarquin the proud.

The diuision of the people from the Patricians

There were three severall warres begun and ended betweene the *Romaines* and the *Carthaginians*: The first in *Sicilie* 22. yeares together, and afterwards in *Affricke*: it began the 390. yeare after the building of *Rome*. *Appius Claudius Caudax*, and *Qu. Fulvius Flaccus* being Consuls. So many are the yeares in *Plinies* 33. booke, wherein I thinke for 585. must bee read 485. *Livy* and *Eutropius* count not so much by thirteene yeares. The second of these warres began some 23. yeares after, *P. Scipio*, and *T. Sempronius* being Consuls: it went through *Spaine, Sicily, Italy* and *Affricke*, and there it was ended by *Scipio African* the elder, seuentene yeeres after the first beginning of it. The third arose 49. yeares after that, *Manlius*, and *Marius Censorinus* being Consuls, it was finished thre yeares after in *Affrick* (where it wholly continued) by *Scipio African* the yonger: and the end of this was the subuersion of *Carthage*. Of these warres more at large else-where. (e) *But discorde*] *Saluste* in his *Bellum Iugurthinum*. (f) *The great warre of Hetruria*] With *Porfenna* the mighty King of *Hetruria*, who would haue *Tarquin* restored to his kingdome: and begirt the Cittie of *Rome* with a hard and dangerous siege: and had taken it, but that the valour of *Scamola* terrified him from persisting. *Lin. lib. 1.* (g) *Of the heads and shoulders*] Of death, and other punishments. Those that the *Romaines* adiudged to death, they first scourged with roddes, and then killed them. Sometimes, if the fact were not very wicked, they did but onely scourge them with rodds. Besides, those that were sued by their creditors and brought before the Iudge, were most villanously and miserably abused, their creditours being allowed to chaine them, and beate them like their slaues: against which foule enormitie the *Portian* and the *Sempronian* lawes were promulgated, which forbid that the body of any free *Romaine* should bee beaten either with roddes or any scourges. (h) *To chase men from their possessions*] For, such fields as were wonne by the valour of the people of *Rome*, the rich men would first vndertake by the appointment of the Senate, to till and make fruitfull, as if they were hired by the Senate: marry afterwards, (their fellows winking at it) they would thrust the people from their right, and make themselues absolute lords of all: And herevpon were the *Agrarian* lawes so often put to be past, concerning the diuiding of the lands amongst the people: but were neuer mentioned without great anger in the *Patriots*, and huge hurly-burlies in all the Citie. (i) *Mount Sacer*] The people first encamped on *Mount Sacer*, or the *Holy Hill*, a little beyond the riuier *Anien*, (now called *Teuerone*) or as *Piso* saith on *Auentine* a part of the Citie. There were the *Tribunes Plebeian* first elected, as Tutors of the *Populars*: who should stand as watches ouer the peoples good, and step between all iniuries that the *Patriots* should offer them, and be accompted as sacred men: whom if any man wronged, his head should be giuen to *Iupiter* for sacrifice, and his goods solde all at the temple of *Ceres*. The second encamping was vpon *Auentine*, and from thence to fill the Citie with greater desolation, they departed vnto *Mount Sacer*. And then hauing agreed with the Senate, they returned to *Auentine* againe, and there recouered their *Tribunes*: and from *Auentine* they went vp to the capitoll, where in a great Parliament held by the chiefe Priest, the tribunes election was assigned and confirmed. *Cic. pro Cornel. de Maiestate.* (k) *Vnto the ciuill warres*] First betwixt the Senators and the *Gracchi*, *Tiberius* first, and then *Caius*: and so vnto the ciuill warres betwixt *Sylla* and *Marius*. (l) *As would neither keepe goods themselues*] For such excessiue prodigalls, and spending whatloeuere they could leaze on, they must needs force meanes from other mens estates to maintaine this their luxurious riotte: and so they laboured to fill a barrell full of holes. (m) *They are all farre behinde him,*] The pithy and succinct stile of *Saluste* was delightfome to all ages: our Critikes haue paraleld him with the Greeke *Thucydides*; as *Quintilian* doth, *lib. 10.* (n) *Must needs bud*] as branches and woods vse to do: it is a word much vsed in the writers of husbandry, *Cato* and *Columella*: The *Grecians* call it *μαυρις*, *Syluescere*, to grow into woods and bushes, which in herbes is *ἰσχυρις*, *Luxuriare*, to growe ranke.

Of the corruptions ruling in the Romaine state, before that  
Christ abolished the worship of their idols.

CHAP. 19.

**B**Ehold now this commonwealth of *Rome*, which I am not the first that affirme, but their owne writers, out of whom I speake, doe auerre, to haue declined from good by degrees, and of an honest and honorable state, to haue fallen into the

the greatest dishonesty and dishonour possible. Behold, before euer Christ was come, how that *Carthage* beeing once out of the waie, then the *Patricians* manners decayed no more by degrees, but ranne head-long into corruption like a swift torrent, the youth of the cittie was still so defiled with luxurie and auarice.

Now let them read vs the good counsell that their gods gaue them against this luxury and auarice: I wish they had onelie beene silent in the instructions of modesty and chastity, and had not exacted such abominations of their worshippers, vnto which by their false diuinity they gaue such pernicious authority. But let them read our lawes, and they shall heare them, thundering out of diuine oracles and Gods cloudes (as it were) against auarice and luxurie, by the mouthes of the Prophets, by the Gospell, the Apostles, their actes and their Epistles, so diuinely, and so excellently, all the people flocking together to heare them; not as to a vaine and iangling Philosophicall disputation but as to an admonition from Heauen. And yet these wretches will not blame their gods, for letting their weale-publike bee so fowlely bespotted with enormous impieties, before the comming of Christ: but what-foeuer miserie or affliction their effeminate and vnmanlie pride hath tasted of since this comming, that the Christian Religion is sure to haue in their teeth with all. The good rules and precepts whereof, concerning honesty and integritie of manners, if all the Kings of the earth, and all people, Princes and all the iudges of the earth, young men and Virgins, olde men, Children, all ages and sexes capable of reason, and euen the very souldiars, and (a) taxe-takers themselues (to whome *Iohn Baptist* speaketh) would heare and regard well; their common-wealths would not onelie adorne this earth belowe with present honestie, but would ascend vppe to Heauen, there to sit on the highest point of eternall glorie. But because this man doth but heare, and that man doth not regard, and the third doth despise it, and farre more doe loue the (b) stroaking hand of viciousnesse, then the rougher touch of vertue; Christs children are commaunded to endure with patience the calamities that fall vpon them by the ministers of a wicked common-wealth: bee they Kings, Princes, Iudges, Souldiours and Gouvernours, ritch or poore, bound or free, of what sexe or sort foeuer, they must beare all with patience: beeing by their suffrance heere, to attaine a most glorious place in that Royall and (c) Imperiall City of Angells aboue, and in that Heauenlie common-wealth, where the will of Almighty GOD is their onelie lawe, and his lawe their will.

In the City  
of God his  
will is all  
the lawe.

## L. VIVES.

[Souldiours and (a) taxe-takers] *Luke 3.12. 13.* Then came there Publicanes to bee baptized, and sayd vnto him, *Mayster, what shall wee doe?* And hee sayd vnto them, *Require no more then that which is appointed vnto you.* Require in this place, in the vulgar Latine is *Facite*: in the Greeke *πράσσει*: which as *Erasmus* first of all noted, is to bee translated *Exigite*, exacte, or require, and hence it is that *Saint Augustine* doth rightly name the *Exactores*, taxe-takers, which were the *τελῶναι*, the *Publicanes*. (b) *The stroaking hand of viciousnesse*] Hee alludeth vnto *He sodes* two waies to vice and vertue: which *Virgill* or as (some say) *Ansonius* immitated in that same poeme of *Pythagoras* his letter. (c) *Imperiall*] *Augustissima* The verses of the letter it must needes bee, and not *Augustissima*, most strait or narrow: But withall take a certaine Y.

Friars

[ ] No word of this in the edition of Paris.

Friars note with you, I had almost tould his name, who affirmed that heuens court is called *Augusta* heere, because the way is straight (as Christ our Sauour saith) that leadeth vnto life: and few ther are that enter in thereat. And that his auditors might beare it the better away, he shut it vp in this fine verse:

*Arcta est via verè, que ducit ad gaudia vite.*

The way is straight and quickly mist, that leads vs vp to glories blift.

He shewed plainly that he cared not greatly for true position, or quantity of syllables, so that he made it goe roundly off, and sound well.]

*Of what kinde of happinesse, and of what conditions  
the accusers of Christiansty desire to pertake.*

CHAP. 20.

**B**Vt such worshippers, and such louers of those vicious gods, whome they reioyce to followe and immitate in all villanies and mischieues, those doe neuer respect the goodnesse, or the integrity of the common-wealth. No, say they, let it but stand, let it but bee rich and victorious; or (which is best of all) let it but enioy security and peace, and what care wee? Yes marrie, it doth beelong to our care, that euerie one might haue meanes to increase his wealth, to nourish the expense of his continuall riot, and wherewithall the greater might still keepe vnder the meaner. Let the poore obey the ritcn, for their bellies sakes; and that they may liue at ease vnder their protections: Let the rich abuse the poore in their huge attendances, and mynistring to their sumptuousnesse. Let the people applaude such as afford them delightes, not such as proferre them good counsells. Let nought that is hard bee enioyned, nought that is impure bee prohibited. Let not the Kings care bee howe good, but howe subiect his people bee. Let not subdued Prouinces serue their Kings as reformers of their manners, but: as the Lords of their Estates, and the procurers of their pleasures: Not honouring them sincerely, but fearing them seruilely. Let the lawes looke to him that lookes after another mans possessions, rather then him that lookes not after his owne life. Let no man bee brought before the Iudges, but such as haue offered violence vnto others Estates, houses, or persons. But for a mans owne, let it bee free for him to vse it as hee list, and so of other mens, if they consent. Let their bee good store of Common Harlottes, either for all that please to vse them, or for those that cannot keepe priuate ones. Let stately and sumptuous houses bee erected, banquets and feasts sollemnized, let a man drinke, eate, game and reuell day and night, where hee may or will: (a) let dauncing bee ordinarie in all places: let luxurious and bloudy delightes fill the Theater, with dishonest wordes, and shewes, freelie, and vncontrouled. And let him bee held an enemy to the publike good, that is an opposite vnto this felicitie. Let the people turne away their eares from all such as shall assaie to dissuade or alter them, let them banish them, let them kill them. Let them bee eternized for gods, that shall procure the people this happinesse, and preserue what they haue procured. Let them haue what glorie or worshippe they

A description of the publike corruption.

they will, what plaies they will, or can exact of their worshippers: onely let them worke so that this felicity stand secure from enemy, pestilence, and all other inconueniences. Now tell mee, what reasonable creature would wish such a state, (not vnto *Rome*, but euen) to the house of (*b*) *Sardanapalus*? which whilom King, was so farre giuen ouer to his pleasures, that he caused it to bee written vpon his graue, that hee onely as then possessed that, which his luxury, in his life time had wasted: Now if those fellowes had but a King like this, that would nouse them in these impurities, and neuer controull nor correct them in any such courses, they would bee readier to erect a Temple to him, and giue him a *Flamine*, then euer were the old *Romaines* to do so vnto *Romulus*.

## L. VIVES.

[*Et (a) Dancings*] *Salutationes*, in the *Bruges* copy it is *Salutationes*, in *Coleynes* it was *Salutiones*, but the letter *v.* is razed out. Surely the loue of *Saluting* one another was great in *Rome*. Highly was hee honored that was saluted, and well was hee mannerd, that did salute, but great plausibility attended on both: both were very popular, and great steps to powrefulnesse. *Salust*, in *Ingurth*. *Truely some are verie industrious in saluting the people.* All the Latines writings are full of salutations. (*b*) *Sardanapalus*] The *Crecians* called *Sardanapalus*, *Thonos Concoloros*. Hee was the last King of the *Assyrians*: a man throwne head-long into all kinde of pleasures. Who knowing that *Arbaces* the *Median* prepared to make warres against him, resolved to trie the fortune of warre in this affaire. But being conquered (as he was an effeminate fellow, and vnfit for all martiall exercises) hee fled vnto his house, and set it on fire with himselfe and all his riches in it. Long before this, when hee was in his fullest madnesse, after pleasures, hee causes this epitaph to bee engrauen vpon his tombe.

The salutations at Rome.

*Sardanapalus*.

*Sardanapalus* his epitaph.

*Kαὶ τὸ ἔχοντες ἐπαγοῦ ἔτε.*

*Tully* translates it thus.

*Hac habeo, qua edi, quaeq; exaturata voluptas*  
*Hauit: at illa iacent multa et preclara relictā*  
 What I consum'd, and what my guts engross't,  
 I haue: but all the wealth I left, I lost.

What else could any man haue written (saith *Aristotle* in *Cicero*) vpon the graue of an *Oxe* rather then of a King? hee saith he hath that being dead, which he neuer had whilest hee liued but onely while he was a wasting of it. *Chrysippus* applies the verses vnto his Stoicisme: hereof reade *Athenaus lib. 5.*

*Tully his opinion of the Romaine Common-wealth.*

## CHAP. 21.

**B**Vt if hee be scorned that said their common-wealth was most dishonest and dishonorable, and that these fellowes regard not what contagion and corruption of manners doe rage amongst them, so that their state may stand and continue, now shall they heare that it is not true that *Salust* saith, that their common-wealth is but become vile and so wicked, but as *Cicero* saith, it is absolutely gone, it is lost, and nothing of it remains. For hee brings in *Scipio* (him that destroyed *Carthage*) disputing of the weale-publike, at such time as it was (*a*) presaged that it would perish by that corruption which *Saluste* describeth. For this disputation was (*b*) at that time when one of the *Gracchi* was slaine, from which point *Salust* affirmeth all the great seditions to haue had their



originall, (for in those bookes there is mention made of his death.) Now *Scipio* hauing said (in the end of the second booke) that as in instruments that go with strings, or wind, or as in voices conforred, there is one certaine proportion of discrepant notes, vnto one harmony, the least alteration whereof is harsh in the eare of the skilfull hearer: and that this concord, doth consist of a number of contrary sounds, and yet all combined into one perfect musicall melody: so in a citty that is gouerned by reason, of all the heighest, meane and lowest estates, as of foundes, there is one true concord made out of discordant natures: and that which is harmony in musike, is vnity in a citty: that this is the firmest, and surest bond of safety vnto the commonweale, and that a commonweale can neuer stand without equity: when hee had dilated at large of the benefit that equity brings to any gouernment, and of the inconuenience following the absence therof: then *(c) Pilus*, one of the company, begins to speake, and intreated him to handle this question more fully, and make a larger discourse of iustice, because it was then become a common report *(d)* that a commonwealth could not be gouerned without iniustice and iniury: herevpon *Scipio* agreed, that this theame was to be handled more exactly, and replied: that what was as yet spoken of the commonwealth was nothing; and that they could not proceed any farther, vntill it were proued not onely that it is faulse, that a weale publike cannot stand without iniury, but also that it is true that it cannot stand without exact iustice. So the disputation, concerning this point being deferred vntill the next day following, in the third booke, it is handled with great controuersie. For *Pilus*, he vndertakes the defence of their opinion, that hold that a state cannot be gouerned without iniustice, but with this prouision, that they should not thinke him to bee of that opinion himselfe. And he argued very diligently for this iniustice against iustice, endeavoring by likely reasons and examples, to shew that the part hee defended was vse-full in the weale publike, and that the contrary was altogether needlesse. Then *(e) Lelius* being intreated on all sides, stept vp, and tooke the defence of iustice in hand, and withal his knowledge, laboured to proue that nothing wrackt a citty sooner then vniustice, and that no state could stand without perfect iustice which when hee had concluded, and the question seemed to be throughly discussed, *Scipio* betooke himselfe againe to his intermitted discourse, and first he rehearseth and approueth his definition of a commonwealth, wherein he said it was *the estate of the commonty*, then he determineth this, that this *commonty* is not meant of euery rablement of the multitude, but that it is a *society, gathered together in one consent of law, and in one participation of profite*. Then he teacheth, *(f)* the profite of definitions in aldisputations: and out of his definitions he gathereth, that onely there is a commonwealth, that is, onely there is a good estate of the commonty, where iustice and honesty hath free execution, whether it be by *(g)* a King, by nobles, or by the whole people. But when the King becomes vniust, (whom he calleth *(h) Tyranne* as the Greekes do) or the nobles be vniust, (whose combination hee termeth *(i) faction*) or the people them-selues be vniust, for which hee cannot finde a fit name, vnlesse he should call the whole company as he called the King, a *Tyran*) then that this is not a vicious common-wealth, (aswas affirmed the day before) but, as the reasons depending vpon those definitions proued most directly, it is iust no common-wealth at all, for it is no Estate of the people, when the *Tyran* vsurpeth on it by *Faction*, nor is the commonty, a commonty, when it is not a society gathered

The harmony of the common wealth,

A common wealth,

An estate gouerned without iustice is no common weale.

to-

together in one consent of law and one participation of commodities, as hee had defined a commonwealth before. Wherefore, seeing the *Romane* Estate was such as *Saluste* doth descipher it to bee, it was now no dishonest or dishonorable Common-wealth (as hee affirmed) but it was directly no common-wealth at all: according vnto the reasons proposed in that discourse of a common-wealth (*k*) before so many great Princes and heads thereof: and as *Tully* himselfe, not speaking by *Scipio* or any other, but in his owne person doth demonstrate in the beginning of his fift booke: where hauing first rehearsed that verse of (*l*) *Ennius* where he saith.

*Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisq̃.*  
Old manners, and old men vpholden *Rome*.

Which verse (quoth *Tully*) whether you respect the breuity, or the verity) mee seemeth he (*m*) spoake out as an oracle: for neither the men (vnlesse the city had had such manners, nor the manners, vnlesse the city, had had such men) could either haue founded, or preserued a common-wealth of that magnitude of iustice, and Empire. And therefore before these our daies, the predecessors conditions, did still make the successors excell, and the worthy men still kept vp the ordinances of honorable antiquity: But now, our age receiuing the common-wealth as an excellent picture, but almost worne out with age, hath not onely no care to renew it with such collours as it presented at first, but neuer regarded it so much, as to preserue but the bare draught (*n*) and lineament of it: For what remainder is there now of those olde manners which this Poet saith supported *Rome*! doe wee not see them so cleerely worne out of vse, and now so farre from being followed, that they are quite forgotten? what neede I speake of them men? The manners perished (*o*) for want of men, the cause whereof in iustice, wee should not onely bee bound to giue an account of, but euen to answer it, as a capitall offence: It is not any mis-fortune, it is not any chance, but it is our own vicioufnesse that hath taken away the whole essence of our common-wealth from vs, and left vs onely the bare name.

This was *Cicero's* owne confession, (*p*) long after *Africanus* his death, whom he induceth as a disputant in this worke of his of the Common-wealth, but yet (*q*) some-what before the comming of Christ. Which mischieues had they not beene (*r*) divulged vntill the encrease of Christian Religion, which of all those wretches would not haue beene ready to calluminate Christ for them? But why did their gods looke to this no better, nor helpe to saue the state of this weale-publike, whose losse and ruine *Cicero* bewaileth with such pittifull phrase, long afore Christ came in the flesh? Nay, let the commenders thereof obserue but in what case it was euen then when it consisted of the ancient men and their manners, whether then it nourished true Iustice or no; and whether at that time it were honest indeed, or but glossed ouer in shew! which *Cicero* not conceiuing what hee sayd, confesseth, in his relation thereof. But, by Gods grace, wee will consider that more fully else-where: for in the due place, I will doe what I can to make a plaine demonstration out of *Cicero's* owne definitions of the common-wealth and the people (spoken by *Scipio* and iustified by many reasons, either of *Scipio's* owne, or such as *Tully* giues him in this discourse) that the estate of *Rome* was neuer any true common-wealth, because it neuer was guided by true iustice: Indeed according to some other probable definitions, and after a sort, it was a kind of common-wealth: but far better gouerned by the antiquity of the *Romains*, then by their posterity. But there is not any true iustice

in any common-wealth whatsoever, but in that wherof Christ is the founder, and the ruler, if you please to call that a common-weale which we cannot deny is the weale of the commontie. (f) But if this name being elf-where so common, seeme too discrepant for our subiect and phrase, truly then there is true iustice, but in that Citie wherof that holy scripture saith: *Glorious things are spoken of thee, thou Cittie of God.*

## L. VIVES.

Tiberius  
Gracchus.

[*I was (a) presaged*] I doe reade *praesentiebat*, hee foresawe, for *praesciebat* it was presaged. (*b*) at that time when one of the Gracchi] When as *Tiberius Gracchus* had promullgated the lawe *Agraria*, to the great grieffe and amazement of the Patriotts, and would haue his tribuneshippe continued still, thereby to haue bene more secure against their iniuries, and had effected that no one man should possesse aboute five hundred acres of grounde, *Scipio Nasica*, beeing followed by the Senate killd him: (*Scipio Africane* beeing at the same-time in warres at *Numance*) His body was throwne into *Tyber*. This *Affricanus*, is hee, whome *Tully* bringeth in disputing in his garden with *Laelius* and *Furius* of the common-wealth, a little before his death. Hee was murdered (as it is thought) by the meanes of *Cayus Gracchus*, *Tiberius* his brother, and *Sempronia* sister to the Gracchi, and wife to *Scipio*. (*c*) Then *Pylus*] When as betweene the second and last *African* warre, the *Athenians* sent

The death  
of *Aemilian*  
*Scipio*.

The three  
learned A-  
thenian  
Ambassa-  
dors.

L. *Furius*  
*Pylus*.

A commo-  
wealth not  
gouerned  
without in-  
iustice.

The vse of  
a definition.

Rod. *Agricola*.

Ambassadors to *Rome*, *Carneades* the *Academicke*, *Crisolaus* the *Peripatetike*, and *Diogenes* the *Stoik* the most excellent Philosophers of that age, *Carneades*, either to exercise his faculty or to shew his wit, made an elegant and excellent oration for iustice, in the presence of *Cato* the elder, *Galba*, and diuers other great men: and the next day after, hee made another for iniustice vnto the same audience, wherein hee confuted all the arguments for iustice which hee brought the day before, and allcaded more strong ones for iniustice: this hee did, to shew his sect which teacheth neuer to affirme anything, but onely to confute what others affirme. Out of the later of these orations hath *L. Furius Pylus* his proofes: who was held for a cunning latinist, and went about his subiect of iniustice with farre more dexterity of learning then the rest, to stirre vp *Laelius* his inuention in commendations of his contrarie. As *Glauco* did in *Plato's* 2. booke *de Republ.* praying iniustice to make *Socrates* shew his cunning in praise of iustice. (*d*) That a common-wealth could not] It is an old saying, without iustice *Iupiter* himselfe cannot play the King: *Plut. de doc. Princ.* And seeing that the weale-publike for the generall good of it selfe and liberty, is often compelled to vie extremity against the Citizens priuate, and also often-times in augmenting the owne powre, breaketh the lawes of equity in encroaching vpon others: both which notwithstanding fell still very well out; the *Romaines* altered the old saying, and made it: A weale-publike cannot bee gouerned without iniustice. This *Carneades* touched, as *Lactantius* affirmeth, and told the *Romaines* themselues, who possessed all the world, that if they would bee iust, that is, restore euery man his owne, they must euer returne to their cotages, and lead their liues in all pouerty and necessity. (*e*) Then *Laelius*] This controuersie doth *Cicero* speake of in his *Laelius* also. (*f*) The benefite of a definition] *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and all the old Philosophers both held and taught that the course of all disputation ought to bee deriued first from the definition. For you cannot make a plaine discourse of any thing, vnlesse you first lay downe what it is. *Rodolphus Agricola* in his first booke *de Dialecta inuentione*, saith; That this manner of defining is very vse-full, both for the vnderstanding of the matter, which beeing opened in the definition, it is maruellous to see how it doth as it were point out the limmite of knowledge to which all our notions must bende; and also for the authority of the disputer, for no man can bee held to vnderstand a thing more perfectly, then hee that can expresse it in a pithy and succinct definition.

Thus far *Agricola*, whom *Erasmus* in his *Proverbes* doth iustly praise: and hee it is alone that may be an example to vs that fortune ruleth in all things, (as *Salust* saith) and lighteneth or obscureth all, rather according to her pleasure then the merit and worth of the men themselues, I know not two authors in all our time nor our fathers, worthier of reading, & obseruing the *Rodolphus Agricola* the *Phrysiar*: There is such abundance of wit, art, grauity, iudg-

ment

ment, sweetnes, eloquence & learning in al his works: and yet so few there are y<sup>e</sup> do know him. He is as worthy of publike note, as either *Politian* or *Hermolaus Barbarus*, both which truly in my conceit hee doth not onely equallize, but exceedeth in Maiesty, and elegance of stile.

(g) *Whether it be by a King* ] Hee touches at the formes of Rule. For a Common-wealth is eyther swayed by the people alone: and that the *Greekes* call a *Democraticall* rule: or by a certaine few: and that they cal *Oligarchical* vnder w<sup>ch</sup> is also contained the rule of the choycest of the common-wealth which is called *Aristocracy*: or the rule of the best: (They call the Nobility the best: but indeed such as were most powerfull in the State in countenance or wealth, such were the right *Ooptimates*.) And therefore there is not much difference betwixt *Oligarchy* and *Aristocracy* as *Tully* shewed, when he said the second part of the few Nobles: now the third kind of Rule is that of one called *Monarchy*: (h) *A Tyrant* ] In ancient times they called all Kings *Tyrans*, as well the best as the worst: as *Virgill* and *Horace* do in their *Poemes*, for the name in *Greeke*, signifieth onely *Dominion*. *Plato* who was the onely man that laid downe the right forme of gouernement for a *Citty*, is called *τυραννικὸς ἀριστοκράτης*: *A Tyrant and a King*. *Festus* thinketh ( *Lib. 15.* ) That the word was deriued from the notorious cruelty of the *Tyrrenes*: But I think rather y<sup>e</sup> when the *Athenians* had brought in the *Democratical* gouernment, and other *Citties* through emulation followed their example, that was the cause that first brought the word *Tyrannus* into hatred and contempt: and so they called their Kings *Tyrans*, because they gouerned their owne wealth, but not the Common-wealth: besides that the *Romains* vsed it in that manner also, because they hated the name of a King deadly: and in *Greece* also, whosoever bore rule in a *Citty* that had before bin free, was called a *Tyrant*, but not a King.

(i) *Faction* ] *Memmius* ( in *Salust* ) speaking of the Seniors, saith: *They haue transferred the feare that their owne guilt surprized them with, vnto your slothfulness: it is that which hath combined them in one hate, one affect and one feare: this in good men were friendship, but in euill men it is rightly termed faction.* ( k ) *Before so many great Princes* ] For it is imagined that at that discourse there were present, *Scipio African*, *Caius Lalius*, surnamed the wise, *Lucius Furius*: three, who (at that time, as *Porcius* saith) led the Nobility as they would: and of the yonger sort *C. Fanius*, *Q. Scauola* the Soothsayer, *Lalius* his son in law; & *Quintus Tubero*, al of worthy families. *Ennius* ] There is nothing of this mans extant but a few fragments, which I intend to gather out of the Writers through which they are disperfed and set them forth together in one volumnie. Hee was borne at *Rudiae* (as *Mela* and *Silius* affirme) a *Cittie* of the *Salentines*, and liued first at *Tarentum*, and afterwards at *Rome*, being very familiar with *Cato*, *Galba*, *Flaminius*, and other great men: and was made free Dennizen of the *Citty* by *Flaminius*. ( m ) *Came out* ] *Effatus*, the proper word of the religion. ( n ) *And Lineaments* ] A family taken from painters; who first doe onely delineate, and line forth the figure they will draw: which is called a *Monogramme*: and then with their coullors they do as it were giue spirit and life vnto the dead picture. ( o ) *Want of men* ] So *Salust* saith in *Cataline* y<sup>e</sup> the times are now barren, and bring not forth a good man. ( p ) *Long after.* ] About scauenty yeares. ( q ) *Before the comming of Christ* ] Threescore yeares: For it is iust so long from *Tullies* Consulship, at which time he wrote his bookes *De reipub.* vnto the 24. yeare of *Augustus* his Empire, at which time *Christ* was borne. ( r ) *Diuulged* ] So *Diffamata* is heere reported abroad or diuulged: and so likewise other authors vse it. *And warning the Citty to looke to their safety*, ( *Diffamatus* ) he reported or cryed out: ( saith *Apuleius* ( *Asini* lib. 4. ) *That his house was a fire vpon a sodain.* [ But it is pretty truly, y<sup>e</sup> *Remigius* an interpreter of *Saint Pauls* Epistles saith vpon that place w<sup>ch</sup> the translatour had turned *A vobis n. diffamatus est sermo domini*. *Thess. 1. 1. 8.* *For from you sounded out the Word of the Lord*: This Commentator saith, that *saint Paul* being not curious in choosing of his words put *Diffamatus*, for *Diuulgatus*, or *Manifestus*. What shall we doe with these School-doctors, that as yet cannot tell whether *Paul* wrote in *Greeke* or in *Latine*? Nay, to marke but the arrogant foolery of these simple fellowes: in such manner as this they will talke and prate so often about the signification of wordes, as continually they do in their *Logike* and *Philosophy* lectures: and yet they would not be held for profest *Gramarians*: but are very easily put out of patience if any man begin but to discusse their wordes of art a little more learnedly. ] ( s ) *But if this name* ] It may bee hee speaketh this because a Common-wealth is a popular gouernment, but *Christes* Kingdome is but his alone.

The three formes of Rule.

Optimates.

Tyrannus, what and whence.

Friendship & faction.

Ennius.

Diffamatus how vsed.

Not a word of this in our Paris print.

*That the Romaine Gods neuer respected whether the Citie were corrupted, and so brought to destruction, or no.*

## CHAP. 22.

**B**Vt to our present purpose: this common-wealth which they say was so good and so lawdable, before euer that Christ came, was by the iudgment of their owne most learned writers, acknowledged to bee changed into a most dishonest and dishonorable one: nay it was become no common-wealth at all, but was fallen into absolute destruction by their owne polluted conditions. Wherefore to haue preuented this ruine, the gods that were the patrons thereof, should (mee thinkes) haue taken the paines to haue giuen the people that honored them some precepts for reformatiō of life & maners, seeing that they had bestowed so many temples, so many priests, such varitie of ceremonious sacrifices, so many festiuall solemnities; so many & so great celebrations of plaies & enterludes vpon them. But these deuils minded nothing but their own affaires: they respected not how their worshippers liued; nay their care was to see them liue like diuels, only they bound them through feare to affoord them these honors. If they did giue them any good counsell, why then let it be produced to light and read, what lawes, of what gods giuing were they, that the (a) *Gracchi* condemned, to follow their turmoiles and seditions in the Citie: shew which precept of the gods, (b) *Marius* or (c) *Cinna*, or (d) *Carbo* violated, in their giuing action vnto the ciuill warres: which they began (e) vpon such vniust causes, followed with such crueltie and iniuries, and ended in more iniurious cruelties: or what diuine authorities (f) *Sylla* himselve broke, whose life, deeds, and conditions, to heare *Salust* describe (and other true Historians) whose haire would not stand vpright? What is he now that will not confesse that (g) then the weale publike fell absolutely? What is he now that will dare to produce that sentence of *Virgill* for this corruption of manners, in the defence of their gods?

(h) *Dicēssere omnes adytis arisque relictis,  
Dy, quibus imperium hoc steterat.*—

Aen 2:

The gods by whom this Empire stood, left all  
The temples and the Altars bare.—

But admit that this were true: then haue they no reason to raile vpon Christianitie, or to say that the gods being offended at that, did forsake them: because it was their predecessors manners, that long agoe chased all their great multitude of little gods from the cittie altars, like so many flies. But where was all this nest of Deities, when the (i) *Galles* sacked the cittie, long before the ancient manners were contaminate? were they present and yet fast a sleepe? the whole cittie was all subdued at that time, onely the Capitoll remained: and that had beene surprized too, if (k) the Geese had not shewen themselues better then the gods, and waked when they were all a sleepe. And here vpon did *Rome* fall almost into the (l) superstition of the *Egyptians* that worship birds and beasts, for they henceforth kept a holy day, which they called the (m) gooses feast. But this is but by the way: I come not yet to dispute of those accidental euils, which are rather corporall then mentall and inflicted by foes, or misfortunes. I am now in discourse of the staines of the minde, and manners, and how they first decayed by degrees, and afterward fell head-long into perdition: so that thence ensued so great a destruction to the weale-publike (though their cittie walles stood still vn battered) that their chiefest authors doubted not to proclaime it lost and gone. Good reason was it that the gods should abandon their Temples and Altars, and leaue the towne to iust destruction, if it had condemned their aduices of reformation. But

Euill man-  
ners schafe  
away the  
gods.

what

what might one thinke ( I pray yee) of those gods, that would abide with the people that worshipped them, and yet would they neuer teach them any meanes to leaue their vices, and follow what was good?

## L. VIVES.

**T**HE (a) *Gracchi*:] These were sonnes vnto *Titus Gracchus* ( who was twise Consul, triumphed twise, and held the offices of *Censor*, and *Augur* ) and *Cornelia*, yonger daughter to *African* the elder: they were yong men of great and admirable towardnesse: both which defending the *Agrarian* lawe, concerning the diuision of lands, were murdered by the offended Senate, in their Tribuneships: *Tiberius* by *Nasica* a priuate man, *Caius* by *L. Opimius* the Consul, nine yeares after: the first with clubs, and stooles teete: the latter with swords: and this was the first ciuill dissension that euer came to weapons: Anno P. R. C. DCXXVII. The Gracchi.

(b) *Marius*] *Arpinas* was his place of birth; a man ignoble by descent: but came to be seauen times Consull, Hee first conquered *Ingurth*, then the *Cymbrians*, and *Teutishmen*, and triumphed of all these: at last enuying and hating *Sylla*, who was his legate in the warre of *Ingurthe*, he fell to ciuill warres with him, wherein *Marius* was put to the worst, and forced to flie into *Africa*. (c) *Cinna*] *Marius* being ouercome, *Sylla* going to warre vpon *Mithridates*, left *C. Cornelius Cinna*, and *Octavius* Consuls in the cittie. (*Cinna*, desirous of innouation, seuered himselfe from his fellow, and was chased out of the Citry by him and the good faction, which iniurie *Cinna* endeuouring by all meanes possible to reuenge, calleth back *Marius* out of *Africa*, and so made warre vpon his countrie, and entring it with mightie powers, he butchered vp numbers, and made himselfe the second time, and *Marius* the seuenth time Consull, without the voyces of the people, in which Magistracie *Marius* dyed, after many bloody massacres, and foule actes committed. Marius.

(d) *Carbo*,] There were many of the *Carbo's*, as *Tully* writes to *Papyrius Patus*, of the *Papyrian* family, but not of that of the *Patriotts*: This of whom *Saint Augustino* speaketh, was *Cneus Papyrius Carbo*, one of *Marius* his faction, who being ouer-come by *Sylla*, fled into *Sicily*, & there at *Lylibannum* was slaine by *Pompey* the great. Cinna.

(e) *Unjust cause*] *L. Sylla*, and *Q. Pompeyus* being Consuls, the Prouince of *Asia*, and the warre of *Mithridates* fell vnto *Sylla*. This *Marius* stomocked because of his olde grudge at *P. Sulpicius*, Tribune, a most seditious and wicked fellow, to gette the people to make election of him for the warre against *Mithridates*. The people, though in a huge tumult, yet tooke notice of what the Tribune propounded, and commanded it should be so. *Sylla* not brooking this disgrace, demanded helpe of his armie, and offered force to *Marius* his Ambassadors, who went to take vp legions at *Capua*: and so brought his angry powers to the Citry, with intent to wreake this iniurie by fraude, or force. Hence arose the seedes of all the ciuill warres: for *Marius* with his faction mette him in the Cittie at *Port Esquiline*, and there fought a deadly sette battaile with him. Carbo.

(f) *Sylla*,] This man was a *Patriot*, of the *Cornelian* familie: and hauing done worthy seruice in armes, hee was made Consull; In which Magistracie, hauing conquered *Mithridates*, chased out the ciuill warres, ouer-throwne *Marius* the yonger, *Carbo*, *Norbanus*, *Sertorius*, *Domitius*, *Scipio*, and the rest of the *Marian* faction, hee tooke vpon him perpetuall Dictatorship by the lawe *Valerian*, wherein hee proscribed many thousands of the *Romaine* Citizens with outragious crueltie. He was a most bloody fellow, and giuen ouer vnto all kinde of lust and intemperance. The original of the ciuill warre betweene Sylla and Marius.

(g) *Then the weale publike*] *Lucane* by the mouth of *Cato*:  
*Olim vera fidei, Sylla Marioq; receptis,*  
*Libertatis obijt.* ——— | *Whilom, when Marius and ferce Sylla strove,*  
 True liberty fell dead. ——— Sylla.

(h) *Discessere omnes adytis*,] The verse is in the second booke of *Virgils Aeneads*, which *Seruius* and *Macrobius* doe thinke belongeth vnto the calling out of the gods: for when as a city was besieged, & the enemy had an intent to raze it to the ground, least they should seme to fight against the gods, and force them from their habitations against their wils (which they held as a wicked deed) they vsed to call them out of the besieged city, by the generall that did besiege it, that they would please to come and dwell amongst the conquerors. So did *Camillus* at the *Veis*, *Scipio* at *Carthage* and *Numance*, & *Mummius* at *Corinth*. (i) *The Galls sacked*] The *Transalpine Galls* burst often into *Italy* in huge multitudes. The last of them were the *Senones*, who first sacked *Clusium*, & afterwards *Rome*: Anno P. R. C. CCCLX. whether there were only these, or some *Cisalpine Galls* amongst them, is vncertaine. The calling out of the gods.

(k) *The Geese*] It is a very common story, that when the *Galles* had found a way vp to the *Capitol*, and were climbing vp in the night when all the keepers were a sleepe, they were descried by the noise that the geese did make which they kept in the capitoll as consecrated vnto *Iuno*. And there-vpon *Manlius* snatching The Galls take Rome.

The Capitolls Geese.

Egipt  
beast gods.

The gods  
honors at  
Rome.

snatching vp his weapons, mette a *Gall* vpon the very top of the battlement, and tumbled him downe with his bucklar: whose fall struck downe the rest that were a comming vp, and in the meane time, the *Romaines* gotte them into armes, and so repulsed the *Galles* with much adoe. (1) *Superstition of the Egiptians*] They had certaine beasts, which because of their vse-fulnesse they consecrated as gods: *Tullie de nat. deor. lib. 1.* of them at large in *Diodorus, Biblioth. lib. 2.* Such were the *Dog*, the *Cat*, the *bird Ibis*, the *Oxe*, the *Crocodile*, the *Hawke*, &c. (m) *The gooses feast,*] Because of that good turne which the Geese did them, the *Romaines* did euery yeare vse this ceremonie: (*Plut. de Fortuna Romanor.*) I will relate it in *Budeus* his words, for I cannot vse a more excellent phrase. A Dogge was hangd vpon a gallowes, and a Goose was placed very decently in a gallant bed or panier, for all men to visit as that day. For the same cause (saith *Plinie lib. 29.*) there were Dogges hangd vp euery yeare vpon a gallowes betweene the Temples of *Iuuentus*, and *Summanus*, the gallowes was of an elderne tree: and the first thing that the *Censor* doth after his institution, is to serue the holy geese with meate.

*That the varietie of temporall estates dependeth not vpon the pleasure or displeasure of these deuills, but vpon the iudgements of God almighty.*

## C H A P. 23.

The happy  
successe of  
wicked  
*Marius.*

NAY what say you to this, that these their gods doe seeme to assist them in fulfilling their desires, and yet are not able to restraine them from brooding vp such desires: for they that helped (a) *Marius*, an vnworthy base borne fellow, to runne through the inducement and managing of such barbarous ciuill warrés, to be made seuen times Consull, to die an old man in his seuenth Consulship, and to escape the hands of *Sylla*, that immediatly after bare downe all before him, why did not these gods keepe *Marius* from affecting any such bloody deeds, or excessive crueltie? If his gods did not further him in these actes at all, then haue wee good aduantage giuen vs by their confession, that this temporall felicitie which they so greatly thirst after, may befall a man without the gods furtherance: and that other men may be as *Marius* was, enquirt with health, power, ritches, honours, friends, and long life, and enioy all these, mauger the gods beards: and againe, that other men may be as *Regulus* was, tortured in chaines, slauerie, miserie, ouer-watchings, and torments, and perish in these extremities, do all the gods what they can to the contrary: which if our aduersaries doe acknowledge, then must they needs confesse that they do nothing benefit their worshippers (b) commodity, and consequently that all the honor giuen them as out of superfluitie: for if they did rather teach the people the direct contraries to vertue and piety, the rewards whereof are to be expected after mens deaths, then any thing that way furthering them: and if in these transitorie and temporall benefits, they can neither hinder those they hate, nor further those they loue: why then are they followed with such zeale and seruencie? why do you mutter that they are departed, as from a course of turbulent and lamentable times, and hence take occasion to throw callumnious reproches vpon the religious christians? If that your gods haue any power to hurt or profit men in these worldly affaires, why did they stick to that accursed *Marius*, and shrinke from that honest *Regulus*? doth not this conuince them of iniustice and villanie? Doe you thinke that there was any want of their worship on the wretches party? thinke not so: for you neuer read that *Regulus* was slacker in the worship of the gods then *Marius* was. Nor may you perswade your selues, that a corrupted course of life is the rather to be followed, because the gods were held more friendly to *Marius* then to *Regulus*: for (c) *Mestellus*, the honestest man of all the *Romaines*, (d) had fise Consuls to his sonnes, and

and liued happy in all temporall estate: and (e) *Cateline*, that villenous wretch, was oppressed with misery and brought to naught in the warré which his owne guilt had hatched: good men that worship that God who alone can giue felicity, do shine, and are mighty in the true and surest happinesse: wherefore, when as the contaminate conditions of that weale-publike, did subuert it, the gods neuer put to their helping hands to stop this inuasion of corruption into their manners, but rather made it more way, and gaue the Common-wealth a larger passe vnto destruction. Nor let them shadow them-selues vnder goodnesse, or pretend that the Citties wickednesse draue them away. No, no, they were all there, they are produced, they are conuicted, they could neither helpe the Citity by their instructions, nor conceale themselues by their silence. I omit to relate how (f) *Marius* was commended vnto the goddesse *Marica* by the pittiful *Minturniūs* in hir Wood, & how they made their praier to hir that she would prosper all his enterprizes, and how he hauing shaken of his heauy disperation, returned with a bloody army euē vnto *Rome it selfe*: Where what a barbarous, cruell, and more then most inhumain victory he obtained, let them that list to read it, looke in those that haue recorded it: This as I said I omit: nor do I impute his murderous felicity vnto any *Marica's*, or I cannot tell whome, but vnto the most secret iudgement of the most mighty God to shut the mouthes of our aduersaries, and to free those from error that doe obserue this with a discreet iudgement and not with a preiudicate affect. For if the diuels haue any power or can do any thing at all in these affaires, it is no more then what they are permitted to do by the secret prouidence of the almighty: and in this case, they may be allowed to effect somewhat to the end that we should neither take too much pleasure in this earthly felicity, in that wee see that wicked men like *Marius* may inioy it, neither hold it as an euil, & therfore to be vtterly refused, seeing that many good honest men, and seruants of the true & liuing God haue possessed it in spite of all the diuels in hell: and that we should not be so fond as to thinke that these vnclane spirits are either to be feared for any hurt, nor honoured for any profit they can bring vpon mans fortunes. For they are in power, but euen as wicked men vpon earth are, so that they cannot do what they please, but are meere ministers to his ordinance, whose iudgements no man can either comprehend fully, or reprehend iustly.

## L. VIVES.

**T**hey that helped *Marius*] Ater he returned out of *Affrica*, hee called all the slaues to his standard, and gaue them their freedome: and with all cruelty spoyled the Collonies of *Ostia*, *Antium*, *Lavinium*, and *Aritia*. Enting the Citity, he gaue his soldiars charge that to whom-soeuer he returned not the salute, they should immediatly dispatch him. It is vnspokeable to consider the innumerable multitude of all sortes, Noble and ignoble, that were slaughtered by this meanes. His cruelty *Lucan* in few wordes doth excellently describe.

*Fit seruis & satis cupienti perdere Romam.*  
Sufficiens, \_\_\_\_\_

| Cruel & fittest instrument for fate,  
To wrack *Rome* by, \_\_\_\_\_

And yet this bloody man (as I said before) in his seauenth Consulship, died quietly in his bed, as *Lucan* saith:

*Felix cuncta Consul moriturus in urbe.*

| Happy dead Consul in his ruin'd towne.

Soone after his death, came *Sylla* out of *Asia*, and rooted out *Marius* his sonne and all the whole faction of them vtterly. (b) *Commodity*] Saint *Augustine* plaies with these *Antiheses*, *Compendia* & *Superfluo*: *Compendio* Briefely, or *Compendio* to their commodity, whose



whose contrary is *Dispensium, Excesse* or *Superfluity*. (c) *Metellus* ] *Valerius*, lib. 7<sup>e</sup> and *Pli-ny* lib. 7. Q. *Metellus Macedonicus* was iudged of all men the most happy, as a man endowed with all good qualities of body and minde. Hee was Consul, hee was Cenfor, hee managed great warres with happy successe, hee attained the glory of a triumph: hee left foure sonnes, three of the were Consuls, two of which triumphed: one of which was Cenfor; his fourth was Prætor, & prickt for the Consulship, and (as *Velleius* saith) hee attained it: Besides hee had three daughters all married to Noble and mighty houses, whose children he him-felse liued to see; and by this illustrious company, all sprung from his owne loines (becing of exceeding age) he was borne forth to his funerall. (d) *Five Consuls to his sonnes* ] [ This history is depraued by some smattering fellow: For I do not thinke that *Saint Augustine* left it so. Vnlesse you will take *Quinq, filios Consulares*, for *Five sonnes worthy to be Consuls*: as my fine Commentator obserued most acutely: which hee had not done vnlesse his skill in Logike had beene so excellent as it was: so hee findes it to be *Consulares quasi Consulabiles*, or *Consulificabiles*, that is (in the magisteriall phras) *in potentia* to become Consuls. ] (e) *And Cateline* ] The life and conditions of *L. Sergius Cateline*, are well knowne because *Salust* him-felse the author that reporteth them, is so well knowne. It is said that amongst other reasons, pouerty was one of the cheefe, that set him into the conspiracy against his countrey, for he was one whose excessiue spending exceeded all sufficient meanes for a man of his ranke. In *Syllas* time he got much by rapine, and gaue *Sylla* many guifts, who vsed his help in the murder of *M. Marius*, & many others. (f) *I omit to relate that Marius* ] C. *Marius* hauing escaped alone out of the first battell of the ciuill wars, fled to *Minturna* a town of *Campania*. The *Minturnians* to do *Sylla* a pleasure sent a fellow to cut his throat: but the fellow being terrified by the words, and maiesty of the man, and running away as one wholly affrighted, the *Minturnians* turned their mallice to reuerence, and began to thinke now that *Marius* was one whome the gods had a meferiall care of: so that they brought him into the holy Wood which was consecrated to *Marica*, a little without the towne, and then they sette him free to go whether hee would: *Plutarch* in the life of *Marius*. *Velleius* saith they brought him to the marish of *Marica*: She that was first calied *Circe* (saith *Laſantius*) after her deifying, was entiled *Marica*. *Seruius* (in *Anaid*, lib. 8.) saith, *Marica* was the wife of *Faunus*, and that she was goddesse of the *Minturnians* shores, neare the riuer *Lyris*: *Horace*:

*Innamem Maricæ listorribus tenuisse Lyrim,*

He'd *Lyris* swimming neare *Maricas* shores.

But if we make her the wife of *Faunus*, it cannot be so: for the *Topicall Gods*, that is, the local gods of such and such places, do neuer change their habitations, nor go they into other countries: But Poeticall licence might call her *Marica* of *Laurentum*, when indeed she was *Marica* of *Minturnum*. Some saie that by *Marica* should be vnderstood *Venus*: who had a Chappel neere vnto *Marica* wherin was written *vnus in depositus*, the Temple of *Venus*. *Hesiod* saith that *Latinus* was the sonne of *Uliſſes* and *Cyrce*: which *Virgill* toucheth, when hee calles him *His grandsires forme, the sonnes*: *Solis aui specimen*. But because the times do not agree, therefore we must take the opinion of *Iginius* touching this point, who affirmes that there were many that were called by the names of *Latinus*: and that therefore the Poet wresteth the concordance of the name, to his owne purpose. Thus much saith *Seruius*.

*Of the Actes of Sylla, wherein the Devils shewed them-selues his maine helpers and furtherers.*

CHAP. 24.

Now as for (a) *Sylla* him-felse, who brought all to such a passe, as that the times before (whereof he professed him-felse a reformer) in respect of those that hee brought forth, were wished for againe and againe; when he first of all set forward against *Marius* towards Rome, *Liui* writes that the entrails in the sacrifices were so fortunate, that (b) *Posthuruius* the Sooth-sayer would needes haue him-felse to bee kept vnder guard, with an vrgent and willing proffer to loose his head, if all *Syllas* intents forted not (by the assistance of the goddes) vnto a most

his head, if all *Syllas* intents sorted not (by the assistants of the gods) vnto most wished and happy effect. Behold now, the gods were not yet gone: they had not as yet forsaken their altars, when they did so plainly fore-shew the euent of *Syllas* purposes: and yet they neuer endeouored to mend *Sylla's* manners. They stucke not to promise him wished happinesse; but neuer proffered to suppress his wicked affections. Againe, when he had vnder-taken the *Asian* warre against *Mithridates*, *L. Titius* was sent to him on a message, euen from *Iupiter* himselfe, who sent him word that he should not faile to (c) ouer-come *Mithridates*: no more he did indeed. And after wards, when hee endeouored to re-enter the citie, and to reuenge himselfe, and his iniured friends, vpon the liues of the Citizens, hee was certified that a certaine souldiour of the sixt legion, brought him another message from *Ioue*, how that he had fore-told him of his victorie against *Mithridates* before, and how he promised him now the second time, that hee would giue him power to recouer the rule of the weale-publike from all his enemies, but not with out much bloud-shed. Then *Sylla* asking of what fauour the souldior was: when they had shewed him, he remembered that it was hee that brought him the other message in the warre of *Mithridates*, and that hee was the same man that now brought him this: What can be said to this now, that the gods should haue such care to acquaint *Sylla* with the good euents of these his wishes: and yet none of them haue power to reforme his fowle conditions, being then about to set a-broach such mischiefes by these domestique armes, as should not pollute, but euen vtterly abolish the state of the weale-publike? By this very acte doe they prooue them-selues (as I said here-to-fore) directly to bee deuils. And wee doe know, our scripture shewes it vs, and their owne actions confirme it, that their whole care is to make themselues be reputed for gods, to be worshipped as diuine powers, and to haue such honours giuen them, as shall put the giuers and the receiuers both into one desperate case, at that great day of the Lord. Besides, when *Sylla* came to *Tarentum*, and had sacrificed there, hee descryed in the chiefe lappe of the *Calues* liuer, a figure iust like a crowne of golde: and then *Posthumius* the Sooth-sayer answered him againe, that it portended him a glorious victorie, and commanded that hee alone should eate of these intrayles. And within a little while after, (d) a seruant of one *Lucius Pontius* came running in, crying out in Prophetike manner, *I bring newes from Bellona, the victory is thine Sylla*: and then added, *That the Capitoll should bee fired*. Which when hee had sayd, presently going forth of the tents, hee returned the next day in greater haste then before, and sayd that the Capitoll was now burned: and burned it was indeed. This now might quickly bee done by the deuill, both for ease in the knowledge of it, and speede in the relation. But now to speake to the purpose, marke but well what kinde of gods these men would haue, that blasphem'd *Christ*, for deliuering the hearts of the beleeuers from the tyrranie of the deuill. The fellow cryed out in his propheticke rapture: *The victorie is thine, O Sylla*, and to assure them that hee spake by a diuine instinct, hee told them of a sudden euent that should fall out soone after, in a place from whence hee in whom this spirit spake, was a great way distant. But hee neuer cryed, *Forbear thy Villanies O Sylla*: those were left free to bee executed by him with such horror, and committed with such outrage, as is vspeakeable, after that victorie which the bright signe of the Crowne in the *Calues* liuer did prognosticate vnto him. Now if they were good and iust gods, and not wicked fiends, that had giuen such signes, then truly these entrailes should haue expressed the great mischiefes that

The forme of a crowne of gold in the liuer of a Calfe.

K

should

should fall vpon *Sylla* himselfe, rather then any thing else: for that victory did not benefit his dignitie so much, but it hurt his affections twise as much: for by it was his spirit eleuated in vaine glory, and he induced to abuse his prosperitie without all moderation, so that these things made a greater massacre of his manners, then he made of the cittizens bodies. But as for these horred and lamentable euent, the gods would neuer fore-tell him of them, either by entrailes, Prophecies, Dreames, or Sooth-sayings: for their feare was least his enormities should bee reformed, not least his fortunes should bee subuerted. No, they (*e*) endeuour was, that this glorious conquerour of his Cittizens, might bee captiuated and conquered by the rankest shapes of vicioufnesse, and by these, bee more strictly bound and enchained vnto the subiection of the deuils themselues.

## L. VIVES.

*Sylla his  
crueltie,*

*Sylla* (*a*) himselfe] The *Marian* faction (during their superioritie) gouerned the commonwealth with such crueltie and insolence, that all the desires and hearts of the people longed for *Sylla*, and called him home, to come and reuenge those tyrannies. But his good beginnings lifted him vp vnto such intollerable pride, and blood-thirst, that afterwards they all acknowledged *Marinus* as a meeke lambe in respect of him. *Lucane.*

*Sylla quoq; immensis accessit cladibus vltor,  
Ille, quod exiguum restabat sanguinis urbis  
Hansit.*

Then *Sylla* came to wreake the woes sustained,  
And that small quantitie that yet remained;  
Of *Romaine* blood he drew.

And a little after:

*Tuo data libertas odijs, resolutaq; legum  
Frenis iraruit: non vni cuncta dabantur,  
Sed fecit sibi quisque nefas, semel omnia victor  
Iusserat.*

Then hate brake freely forth, and (lawes raines gone)  
Wrath mounted: nor lay all the guilt on one,  
But each wrought his owne staine: the victors tongue  
Licenc'd all acts at once.

*Posthu-  
mius.*

(*b*) *Posthumius*] *Cicero* (*De diuinatione lib. i.*) saith that hee was also a Sooth-sayer with *Sylla* in the warre called *Sociale*, of the *Associates* or confederates. In which warre, *Cicero* himselfe was a souldiour. *Valerius* also affirms this to bee true (*de prodigijs.*) (*c*) *Mithridates*] This was a most valiant King of *Pontus*, against whome the people of *Rome* denounced warres, first of all because hee chased *Nicomedes* out of *Bythinia*. But afterwards, brake the warre out beyond all bounds, because that vpon one sette day, all the *Romaine* Cittizens that were found trafficking in his dominions, were murdered euery man, by the command of *Mithridates* him-selfe. This Kings fortunes did *Sylla* first of all shake, then did *Lucullus* breake them, and last of all *Pompey* did vtterly extinguishe them, subiecting his whole kingdome vnto the *Romaine* Empire, the King hauing killed him-selfe. *Plutarch* in the liues of *Pompey*, *Lucullus*, &c. *Appian Alex. in Mithridatico. Florus*, and others.

*Mithrida-  
tes.*

(*d*) *A seruant of one*] So saith *Plutarch* in his life of *Sylla*. The Capitoll was built on mount *Tarpeius* by *Tarquin the Proud*: and a Temple, the sayrest of all them on the Capitoll, was dedicated vnto *Iupiter* by *Horatius Pulvillus* then Consull, the first yeare of the Citties libertie. It was burned in the *Marian* warre: *Cn. Carbo*, and *L. Scipio* being Consulls. Anno P. R. C. DCLXXI. Repaired by *Sylla*, finished and consecrated by *Q. Catulus*: onely in this (as *Sylla* sayd) did fate detracte from his felicitie. Some thinke it was burnt by *Sylla's* meanes, others by *Carbo's* the Consulls: *Appian* saith, that it was fired by meere chance, no man knew how. (*e*) *Endeuoured*] *Satis agebant*, had a diligent and anxious care to effect it.

*How*

*How powerfully the Devils incite men to villanies, by laying before them examples of diuine authoritie (as it were) for them to follow in their villanous acts.*

## CHAP. 25.

**W**HO is he then (vnlesse he be one of those that loueth to imitate such gods) that by this which is already laide open, doth not see, how great a grace of God it is to be seperated from the societie of those deuils? and how strong they are in working mischief, by presenting their owne examples, as a diuine priuiledge and authoritie, whereby men are licensed to worke wickednesse. Nay, they were seene in a (*a*) certaine large plaine of *Campania*, to fight a set battell amongst themselues, a little before that the citizens fought that bloody conflict in the same place. For at first there were strange & terrible noyses heard; & afterwards it was affirmed by many, that for certaine dayes together, one might see two armies in continuall fight one against the other. And after that the fight was ceased, they found the ground all trampled with the steppes of men, and horses, as if they had beene made in that battaile. If the deities were truly and really at warres amongst themselues, why then indeed their example may giue a sufficient priuiledge vnto humane conflicts: (but by the way, let this bee considered, that these deities in the meane space must either bee very malicious, or very miserable: ) but if they did no: fight, but onely illuded the eyes of men with such a shew, what intended they in this, but onely that the *Romaines* should thinke that they might lawfully wage ciuill warres, as hauing the practises of the gods themselues for their priuiledges? for presently vpon this apparition, the ciuill dissentions began to bee kindled, and some bloody massacres had beene effected before. (*b*) And already were the hearts of many greued at that lamentable acte of a certaine souldiour, who (*c*) in taking of the spoiles of his slaine foe, and discovering him by his face, to be his owne brother, with a thunder of curses vpon those domestique quarrels, he stabd himselfe to the heart, and fell downe dead by his brothers side. To enuelop and ouer-shadow the irkesomnesse of such euent, and to aggrauate the ardent thirst after more bloud and destruction, did those deuils (those false reputed gods) appeare vnto the *Romaines* eyes in such fighting figures, to animate the cittie not to be any whit in doubt to imitate such actions, as hauing the example of the gods for a lawfull priuiledge for the villanies of men. And out of this subtilty did these maleuolent powers giue command for the induction of those Stage-playes, whereof we haue spoken at large already, and wherein such dishonest courses of the gods were portraited forth vnto the worlds eye, vpon their stages, and in the theaters; that all men (both those that beleeu that their gods did such acts, and those that doe not beleeu it, but see how pleasing it is to them to behold such impurities) may hence be bolde to take a free licence to imitate them, and practise to become like them in their liues. Least that any man therefore should imagine, that the Poets haue rather done it as a reproche to the gods, then as a thing by them deserued, (*d*) when they haue written of their fightings and brablings one with another, to cleare this misconstruction, they themselues haue confirmed these Poesies, to deceiue others: and haue presented their combats, and contentions, not onely vpon the Stage by players, but euen in the plaine fields by themselues. This was I enforced to lay downe; because their owne authors haue made no doubt to affirme and record, that the corrupt and rotten manners of the Citizens, had consumed the state of the weale-publike of *Rome* vnto nothing, long before that Christ Iesus came into the world: for which subuersi-  
on of their state they will not call their gods into any question at all, but all the

The deuils together by the eares amongst themselues.

The Gods examples furthered the warres.

transitorie miseries of mortalitie ( which notwithstanding cannot make a good-man perish whether he liue or dye ) they are ready to heape on the shoulders of our Sauour Christ . Our Christ , that hath so often powred his all-curing precepts vpon the incurable vlcers of their damned conditions , when their false gods neuer put to an helping hand, neuer vp-held this their religious common-weale from ruining, but cankering the vertues that vpheld it with their vile acts and examples, rather did all that they could to thrust it on vnto destruction. No man ( I thinke ) will affirme that it perished because that

*Discessere omnes adytis arisq̄, relictis, — Dij ———*

The gods were gone, and left their Altars bare. —

As though their loue to vertue , and their offence taken at the wicked vices of the eittie had made them depart : no, no, there are too many prelagés from intrailes, sooth-sayings, and prophecies, ( whereby they confirmed and animated their seruants, and extolled them-selues as rulers of the fates, and furtherers of the warres ) that prooue and conuince them to haue beene present : for had they beene absent, the *Romaines* in these warres would neuer haue beene so farre transported with their owne affectiōs, as they were with their Gods instigations.

### L. VIVES.

**I**N ( a ) *a certaine plaine of Campania* ] *L. Scipio* and *C. Norbanns* being Consuls, betweene *Capua* and *Vulturnum* was heard a huge clashing of armes, and sounding of martiall instruments, with an horrible noyse and crying, as if two battels had beene there fighting in their greatest furie. This was heard for many dayes together. *Iulius Obsequens*. Now this *Scipio* and this *Norbanns* were the two first Consuls with whom the great *Sylva* had the first conflict, after his returne into *Italy*, for they were both of *Marius* his faction. ( b ) *And already* ] for when friends and acquaintance meete, and know one another in contrary fronts of battell : then know they well what kinde of warre they are fallen into; and haue a full view of the fruites of ciuill hate: So saith *Lucane* in his *Tharsalia*, lib. 4.

Prodigious  
sounds of  
battles  
heard.

*Postquam spacio languentia nullo  
Mutua conspicuos habuerunt lumina vultus.  
Et si atris, natosque suos videre patresque,  
Deprecher sum cū ciuile nefas, ———*

— when they from their confronting places,  
Gazed a good while in each others faces,  
And fathers mette their sonnes, and brethren there,  
Then shew'd the warre true ciuill —

( c ) *Taking of the spoyles* ] *Linie* lib. 79. This fell out when *Cynna* and *Marius* fought that desperate battle with *Cn. Pompey*, father to *Pompey* the great. *Valerius* ( lib. 5. ) saith that one of *Pompeys* souldiours killed his owne brother that serued *Sertorius* in his warres. *Linie* putteth *Cynna* for *Sertorius*; but both might come to passe: for all the armies were of *Cynna's* raising, which notwithstanding were diuided into foure. *Cynna* led one, *Marius* another, *Q. Sertorius* the third, *Cn. Carbo* the fourth. *Orosius* writeth that *Pompey* fought a battle with *Sertorius*, wherein this tragedy of the two brethren fell out. ( d ) *When they haue written of their fightings, and their* ] *Homer* in the warres of *Troy*, makes the gods to bee at great variance, euen vnto stroakes amongst them-selues: *Mars*, *Venus*, and *Apollo*, against *Pallas*, *Iuno*, and *Neptune*.

Brethren  
killing one  
another.

*Of certaine obscure instructions concerning good manners which the  
Demills are sayd to haue giuen in secret, whereas all wicked-  
nesse was taught in their publike solemnities.*

CHAP. 26.

**W**Herefore seeing that this is so, seeing that all filthines confounded with cruelties, all the gods fowlest facts and shames, whether true or imaginary, by their owne commandements; and vpon paine of their displeasures, if it were other-

otherwise, were set forth to open view, and dedicated vnto themselues, in the most holy and set solemnties, and produced as imitable spectacles to all mens eyes: to what end is it then, (a) that seeing these deuils, who acknowledge their owne vncleannesse, by taking pleasure in such obscænitie, by being delighted with their owne villanies and wickednesse, as well performed as inuented; & by their exacting these celebrations of modest men in such impudent manner, doe confesse themselues the authors of all pernicious and abhorred courses; yet would seeme (forsooth) and are reported to haue giuen certaine secret instructions against euill manners, in their most priuate habitacles, and vnto some of their most selected seruants? If it be so, take here then an excellent obseruation of the craft and malicioufnesse of these vncleane spirits. The force of honesty, and chastitie, is so great and powerfull vpon mans nature, that all men, or almost all men, are moued with the excellencie of it, nor is there any man so wholly abandoned to turpitude, but he hath some feeling of honesty left him. Now for the deuills depraued nature, we must note, that vnlesse hee sometime change him-selfe into an angell of light, (as we read in our scriptures that hee will do) hee cannot fully effect his intention of deceit. Wherefore he spreads the blasting breath of all impuritie abroad, and in the meane time, whispers a little ayre of dissembled chastitie within. He giues light vnto the vilest things, and keeps the best in the darke, honestie lyeth hid, and shame flies about the streetes: Filthinesse must not be acted, but before a great multitude of spectators: but when goodnesse is to be taught, the auditorie, is little or none at all: as though puritie were to be blushed at, and vncleannesse to be boasted of: But where are these rules giuen, but in the deuills temples? where, but in the very Innes, or exchanges of deceit? And the reason is, because that such as are honest (being but few) should hereby be enueighed, and such as are dishonest, (which are multitudes) remaine vnreformed. But as for vs, we cannot yet tell when these good precepts of celestiaall chastitie were giuen: but this we are sure of, that before (b) the very temple gates, where the Idoll stood, we beheld an innumerable multitude of people drawne together, and there saw a large traine of Strumpets on one side, and a (c) virgin goddesse on the other; here humble adorations vnto her; and there, foule and immodest things acted before her. We could not see one modest mimike, nor one shamefast actor amongst them all: but all was full of actions of abhominable obscænitie. They knew well what that virgin deity liked, and pronounced it for the nations to learne by looking on, and to carry home in their mindes. Some there were of the chaster sort, that turned away their eies from beholding the filthy gestures of the players, and yet though they blushed to looke vpon this artificiall beastlinesse, they gaue scope vnto their affections to learne it. For they durst not behold the impudent gestures of the actors boldly, for being shamed by the men: and lesse durst they condemne the ceremonies of that deity whom they so zealously adored. But this was that presented in the temples, and in publike which none will commit in their owne priuate houses, but in secret. It were too great a wonder if there were any shame left in those men of power, to restraine them from acting that, which their very gods doe teach them, euen in their principles of religion; and tell them that they shall incurre their displeasures if they do not present them such shewes. What spirit can that be, which doth enflame bad minds with a worse instinct, which doth vrge on the committing of adulterie, and fatteres it selfe vpon the sinne committed, but such an one as is delighted with such representations, filling the temples with diabollicall Images, exacting the presenting of loathsome

2. Cor. 11.

The deuils incite men to mischief by wicked intligations

iniquity in Plaies, muttering in secret, I know not what good counsels, to deceiue and delude the poore remainders of honesty, and professing in publike all incitements to perdition, to gather vp whole haruests of men giuen ouer vnto ruine?

## L. VIVES.

**T**O what end is it (a) that] A diuersity of reading. We follow the best copy. (b) before the temple] Hee speaketh of the sollempnities of the Goddesse *Flora*; which were kept by all the strumpets and ribalds in the City, as *Plutarch*, *Ouid*, and others doe report. For *Flora* her self was an whore: *Lactantius* lib. 1. The playes of *Flora* are celebrated with all lasciuiousnesse befitting well the memory of such a whore. For besides the bawdery of speeches, (which they stuck not to spew forth in all vncleanesse) the whores (at the peoples earnest intreaty) put off all their apparell (those I meane that were the actors did this) and there they acted their immodest gestures before the people, vntill their lustfull eyes were fully satisfied with gazing on them. (c) The virgin goddesse] That was *Vesta*. Vpon the day before the Calends of May, they kept the feasts of *Flora*, *Vesta*, *Apollo*, and *Augustus*, vpon *Mount Palatine*. *Ouid. Fastorum*. 4.

The God-  
desse *Flora*,

*Exit & in Maias festum Florale Calendas,  
Tunc repetam, nunc me grandius urget opus:  
Ausert Vesta diem, chznati. Vesta recepta est  
Limine: sic iusti constituere Patres.  
Phæbus habet partem: Veste pars altera cedit  
Quod sperceest illis tertius ipse tenet.  
Sicte Palatina Laurus, pretextaq; quercus  
Stet: domus æternos tres habet vna deos.*

Let *Flora*'s feasts, that in *Mayes Calendes* are,  
Rest till they come; now, to a greater sairet  
This day is *Vesta*'s: she is entertained,  
In her sonnes houie: our fathers so ordained.  
*Phæbus* hath part, *Vesta* hath part assign'd  
The third's *Augustus* share that's left behind.  
Liew greene thou noble oke, and *Palatine* (shrine,  
Keepe greene thy daies, three gods possesse one

What a great meanes of the subuersion of the Romaine estate, the induction of those scurrilous plaies, was, which they surmized to be propitiatory vnto their gods. CHAP. 27.

**T**ertullius (a) a graue man, and a good Philosopher, being to be made *Edile*, cried out in the eares of the whole City, that amongst the other duties of his magistracy, he must needs goe pacifie mother *Flora*, with the celebration of some sollempne plaies: (b) which plaies, the more fowly they were presented, the more deuotion was held to be shewen. And (c) in another place (being then *Consul*), he saith that when the City was in great extremity of ruine, they were faine to present plaies continually for ten daies together; and nothing was omitted which might helpe to pacifie the gods, as though it were not fitter to anger them with temperance, then to please them with luxurie: and to procure their hate by honesty, rather then to flatter them with such deformity. For the barbarous inhumanity of those (d) men, for whose villanous acts the gods were to bee appeased were it neuer so great, could not possibly doe more hurt, then that filthinesse which was acted as tending to their appeasing, because that in this, the gods will not bee reconciled vnto them, but by such meanes as must needs produce a destruction of the goodnesse of mens mindes, in lieu of their preventing the daungers imminent onely ouer their bodies: nor will these Deities defend the citties walls, vntill they haue first destroyed all goodnesse within the walles. This pacification of the gods, so obscæne, so impure, so wicked, so impudent, so vnclean, whose actors the Romaines disabled from all magistracie, (e) and freedome of City, making them as infamous as they knew them dishonest: this pacification (I say) so beastlie, and so directlie opposite vnto all truth of Religion, and modestie, these fabulous inuentions of their gods filthinesse, these ignominious facts of the gods themselues

either

(either foully fained, or fowlier effected) the whole city learned both by seeing and hearing: obseruing plainly, that their gods were well pleased with such presentations, and therefore they did both exhibite them vnto their Idols, and did imitate them themselves: But as for that (I know not indeed well what) honest instruction, and good counsell, which was taught in such secret, and vnto so few, that I am sure was not followed, if it be true, that it were taught belike it was rather feared, that too many would know it, then suspected that any few would follow it.

## L. VIVES.

**T**ertullius (a) a graue man ] It should surely be Tullius: for this that Saint Augustine quoth is out of his orations: Wherefore it must either be: Tullius that graue man, and that smatterer in Philosophie: (Saint Augustine so deriding his speculation, that could not free him from such grosse errors,) or Tullius that graue man and thrise worthy Philosopher: to shew, that the greatest Princes were infected with this superstition, and not the vulgar onely, nor the Princes onely but the grauest princes, and those that were Philosophers, not meane ones, but of chiefe note: adding this, to amplifie the equitie of his Philosophie, as Ter maximus, the thrise mighty. Now (saith Tully in verrem, Actio. 6. that I am made Aedile, let mee reckon up the charge that the citie hath imposed upon mee. I must first present the most sacred Playes and ceremoniall solemnities vnto Ceres, Liber and Proserpina: then, I must reconcile mother Flora vnto the Citie and people of Rome, with the celebration of her enterludes, &c. (b) Which playes ] They were such that the actors would not play them as long as Cato the elder was present. Seneca, Valerius, Plutarch and Martiall doe all report this. (c) In another place ] In Catilinam. Actio. 3. (d) Men for whose. ] he meaneth Caeline and his conspiratours, (e) Freedome of Citie ] some copies read Tributa amouit, but the ancient ones do read it Tribu mouit, with more reason.

The office  
of the  
Aedile.

*Of the saluation attained by the Christian religion.*

## CHAP. 28.

**W**HY then doe these men complaine thinke you? because that by the name of Christ, they see so many discharged of these hellish bands that such vncleane spirits held them in, and of the participation of the same punishment with them. Their ingratefull iniquitie hath bound them so strongly in these deuilish enormities, that they murmur and eate their galls, when they see the people flock vnto the Church, to these pure solemnities of Christ, where both sexes are so honestly distinguished by their seuerall places; where they may learne how well to lead their temporall liues here, to become worthy of the eternall here-after: where the holy doctrine of Gods word is read from an eminent place, that all may heare it assure a reward to those that follow it, and a iudgment to those that neglect it. Into which place if there chance to come any such as scoffe at such precepts, they are presently either conuerted by a sudden power, or cured by a sacred feare: for there is no filthy sights set forth there, nor any obscenities to be scene, or to be followed; but there, either the commandements of the true God are propounded, his miracles related, his gifts commended, or his graces implored.

*An exhortation to the Romaines to renounce their Paganisme.*

## CHAP. 29.

**L**et these rather bee the objects of thy desires, thou couragious nation of the Romaines, thou prognie of the Reguli, Scauole, Scipioes, and (a) Fabricii



long after these, discern but the difference between these, and that luxurious, filthy shamelesse maleuolence of the diuills. (b) If nature haue giuen thee any lawdable eminence, it must be true piety that must purge and perfect it: impiety contaminates and consumes it. Now then, choose which of these to follow, that thy praises may arise, not from thy selfe that may bee misled, but from the true God, who is without all error. Long agoe, wast thou great in popular glory: but as then (as it pleased the prouidence of the high God), was the true Religion wanting, for thee to choose and embrace. But now, awake, and rowse thy selfe (c) it is now day, thou art already awake in some of thy children, of whose full vertue, and constant sufferings for the truth we doe iustly glory: they euen these who fighting at all hands against the powers of iniquity, and conquering them all by dying vndaunted, haue purchased this \* possession for vs with the price of their blood. To pertake of which possession wee do now inuite and exhorte thee, that thou wouldest become a Citizen, with the rest, in that citty wherein true remission of sinnes standeth as a glorious sanctuary. Giue no care vnto that degenerate brood of thine, which barketh at the goodnesse of Christ and Christianity, accusing these times of badnesse, and yet desiring such as should bee worse, by denying tranquillity to vertue, & giuing security vnto al iniquity: these times didst thou neuer approue, nor euer desiredst to secure they temporall estate by them. Now then reach vp at the heauenly ones, for which, take but a little paines, and thou shalt reape the possession of them, vnto all eternity. There shalt thou finde no vestall fire, nor (e) stone of the capitoll, but one true God, (f) who will neither limmit thee blessednesse in quality, nor time, but giue thee an Empire, both vniuersal, perfect, & eternall. Be no longer led in blindness by these thy illuding and erroneous gods; reiect them from thee, and taking vp thy true liberty, shake of their damnable subiection. They are no gods, but wicked fiends; and all the Empire they can giue them is but possession of euerlasting paine. (g) *Iuno* did neuer greue so much that the *Troyans* (of whom thou descendest) should arise againe to the state of Rome, as these damned deuills (whom as yet thou holdest for gods) doe enuie and repine, that mortall men should euer enjoy the glories of eternity. And thou thy selfe hast censured them with no obscure note, in affording them such plaies, whose actors thou hast branded with expresse infamy. Suffer vs then to plead thy freedome against all those Impure deuills that imposed the dedication and celebration of their owne shame & filthinesse vpon thy neck and honor. Thou couldst remoue and dis-inable the plaiers of those vn-cleanneses, from all honors: pray likewise vnto the true God, to quit thee from those vile spirits that delight in beholding their owne spots, whither they bee true, (which is most ignominious) or fained, (which is most malicious). Thou didst well in clearing the state of thy Citty from all such scurrilous off-scummies as stage-plaiers: looke a little further into it: Gods Maiesty can neuer delight in that which polluteth mans dignity. How then canst thou hold these powers, that loued such vn-cleane plaies, as members of the heauenly society, when thou holdest the men that onely acted them, as vnworthy to bee counted in the worst ranke of the members of thy Citty? The heauenly Citty is farre aboute thine, where truth is the victory; holinesse the dignity; happinesse the peace, and eternity the continuance. Farre is it from giuing place to such gods, if thy citty doe cast out such men. Wherefore if thou wilt come to this citty, shunne all fellowship with the deuill. Vnworthy are they of honest mens seruice, that must bee pleased with dishonesty. Let christian reformation seuer thee from  
hauing

\*He meaneth they haue bin a great enlargement of the true Church of God, vpon earth, by suffering so constantly.

The hap-pines that the deuills can bestow on men.

having any commerce with those gods, euen as the Censors view seperated such men from pertaking of thy dignities. But as concerning temporal felicity, which is all that the wicked desire to enioye; and temporall affliction, which is all they seeke to auoide, hereafter wee meane to shew, that the deuills neither haue nor can haue any such power of either, as they are held to haue, (though if they had, wee are bound rather to contemne them all, then to worshipping them; for these benefites, which seeing that thereby we should vtterly debarre our selues of that, which they repine that wee should euer attaine:) hereafter (I say) shall it bee prooued, that they haue no such powre of those things, as these thinke they haue, that affirme that they are to bee worshipped for such endes. And here shall this booke end.

## L. VIVES.

**A**nd (a) *Fabricii*.] *Fabricius* was Consul in *Pyrrhus* his warre at which time the Romaines vertue was at the height: he was, valourous, poore, continent, and a stranger to all pleasure, and ambition. (b) *If nature haue giuen thee*] The *Stoikes* held that nature gaue euery man some gifts: some greater some lesser: and that they were graced, increased, and perfitted by discipline, education, and exercise. (c) *it is now day*] Alluding vnto *Paul. Rom. 13. 12. The night is past, and the day is at hand*. The day, is the cleere vnderstanding of goodnesse, in whose powre the *Sunne* is, as the Psalmist saith. The night is darke and obscure. (d) *in some of thy children*] Meaning, that some of the *Romaines* were already conuerted vnto *Christ*. (e) *no stone of the Capitol*] *Ioues* Idoll, vpon the capitoll was of stone: and the Romaines vsed to swear by *Ioue*, that most holy stone: which oth became afterwards a prouerbe. (f) *who will neither liu- mit*] They are the words of *Ioue* in *Virgil. Aeneid. 1.* promising the rayling vp of the *Romaine* Empire. But with farre more wisdom did *Saluste (orat. ad Caium Caesarem senem)* affirme, that the *Romaine* estate should haue a fall: And *African* the yonger seeing *Carthage* burne, with the teares in his eyes, recited a certaine verse out of *Homer*, which intimated that *Rome* one day should come to the like ruine. (g) *Iuno did nos*] *Aeneides* the first.

Fabricius.

Vertues  
seedes,Day, how  
vsed.Per Iouem  
lapidem.

Finis Lib. 2.

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FINIS.

THE  
T H I R D B O O K E  
O F T H E C I T Y O F G O D

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishop  
of *Hippo*, vnto *Marcellinus*.

*Of the aduerse casualties which onely the wicked do feare : and which the world hath al-  
waies beene subiect vnto, whilest it remained in paganism.*

CHAP. I.



That we haue already spoken I thinke is sufficient, concerning the depraued state of mens mindes and manners, which is principally to be auoyded: that in these cases these faulſe imaginari gods did neuer endeouour to lighten their seruants of any of these inconueniences, but rather added vnto their loades and furthered their deprivations. Now, I see it is time to take those euills in hand, which are the onely things that these men are so loth to endure, aboue and beyond all others, as famine, sicknesse, warre, inuasion, thraldome, slaughter, and such other like, as wee haue recited in our first booke: for these things alone are they, which euill men account for euills, that do not, nor are not of power to make men any way euill: nor are these wretches ashamed to giue goods things their due praise, and yet keepe euill still them-selues that are the prayſers of good: being far more offended at the (a) badnesse of their lands, then of their liues; as if man were made to enioy all things except himsele: But notwithstanding all this, their gods (for all their dutyfull obseruance) neuer did go about to restraine the effects of those euills, which their seruants are so sore afraid of, nor euer withheld them from lighting vpon them, for the world was oppressed with diuers extreame & sore calamities at seuerall times, long before the redemption; & yet (as touching those times) what other gods but those Idols were there worshipped in any part of the world except only amongst the Iewes (b) and by some other peculiar persons whom it pleased the vnsearchable wisdom of the great God to illuminate. But because I study to be brieſe, I will not stand vpon the worlds miseries in generall: onely what is *Romes* peculiars, or the *Romaine* Empires, I meane to relate: that is, such inflictions as before the coming of *Christ*, fell either vpon the citty it selfe, or vpon such prouinces as belonged vnto it, either by conquest or society, as members of the body of that commonweale, of those I meane to speake somewhat in particular.

L. VIVES.

**A**t the (a) badnesse of their lands] Some read it, *si illa mala*, others, (and the more auncient) *si villam malam*, better, and more acutely by a figure called *Denomination* (b) *some other peculiar*] As *Iob*, and some other gentiles, that proportioned their liues by the lawes of nature, of whom hereafter:

*whether the gods, to whome the Romaines and the Greekes exhibited like worship, had sufficient cause giuen them to let Troy be destroyed.* CHAP. 2.

**F**irst therefore of *Troy*, or *Ilium*, whence the *Romaines* claime the discent (for we may not omit nor neglect what we touched at in the 1. booke:) why was *Troy* beseged, & destroyed by the *Greekes* that adored the same gods that it did; The periury

Apollo and Neptune worke the building of Troy.

Iliad 2.

Aencid. 5.

priuity of (a) *Laomedon*: the father (say some) was wreaked in this sack, vpon *Priam* the son. Wel then it is true that (b) *Apollo* & *Neptune* serued as workmen vnder the same *Laomedon*, for otherwise the tale is not true that faith that he promised them pay and brake his oth vnto them afterwards. Now cannot I but matuell that such a great fore-knower, as *Apollo* was, would worke for *Laomedon*, and could not foretell that he would deceiue him: nor is it decent to affirme that *Neptune* his vnle *Iupiters* brother, & king of al the sea, should haue no foresight at al in things to come. For (c) *Homer* brings him in foretelling great matters of the progeny of *Aeneas*, whose successors built *Rome* (yet is *Homer* (d) reported to haue liued before the building of *Rome*) nay more, he saueth *Aeneas* from *Achilles* by a cloud, desiring to raze this periurd city of *Troy* though it were his own handy-worke, as (e) *Virgill* declareth of him. Thus then these two gods, *Neptune* and *Apollo*, were vtterly ignorant of *Laomedons* intention to delude them, and builded the walles of *Troy* (f) for thankes and for thankelesse persons. Looke now, whether it be aworfe matter to put confidence in such gods, or to consumethem. But *Homer* him-selfe (it seemes) did hardly belecue this tale, for he maketh (g) *Neptune* to fight against *Troy*, and *Apollo* for it; whereas the fable giueth them both one cause of being offended, namely *Laomedons* periury. Let those therefore that belecue such reports be ashamed to acknowledge such deities: and those that beleue them not, let them neuer draw cauills from the *Troians* periuries, nor maruell that the gods should hate periuries at *Troy*, and loue them at *Rome*. For otherwise, how could it come to passe, that besides the aboundance of all other corruption in the city of *Rome*, there should bee such a great company in *Catlines* conspiracy that liued onely by their tongues practise in periury and their hands in murder? what other thing did the senators by taking bribes so plentifully and by so many false iudgments? what other thing did the (i) people by selling of their voices, & playing double in all things wherein they dealt, but (k) heape vp the sinne of periury? for euen in this vniuersall corruption, the ould custome of giuing & taking othes was still obserued, but that was not for the restraint of wickednesse by awe of religion, but to ad periury also vnto the rest of their monstrous exorbitances.

## L. VIVES.

The periurie (a) of *Laomedon* ] *Virgill* in the first of his *Georgikes*:

--- Sat is iam pridem sanguine nostro, | --- Our blood hath long agone,  
*Laomedontae luimus periuria Troie.* | Paid for the faith-breach of *Laomedon*.

(a) Then it is true ] *Apollo* and *Neptune* seeing *Laomedon* the King of *Phrygia*, laying the foundations of the walles of *Troy*, and marking the hugeness of the worke hee went about, agreed for a great summe of gould, to make an end of this worke for him, which hauing done, he denied that he promised them any thing (c) *Homer* brings ] *Aeneas* vpon a certaine time being in fight with *Achilles*, and being put to the worst, in so much that he was almost slaine, *Neptune* speaketh thus: *Homer Iliad. 5.*

Neptunes  
 Prophecy.

ἀλλ' ἀγὼν' ἡμῖν πρὶς μὲν ἔσ' ἐκ θαλάτῃς ἀγέμεναι. &c. as followeth in English thus.

But let vs saue him yet ere he be slaine,  
 Least great *Achilles* fury if againe  
 It burst into effect, we helpe too late:  
 Whilest it is time, let vs deceiue his fate:  
 Least all the stocke be quite abolished  
 Of *Dardanus* whom I so valued;  
 Whome Ioue his father prised aboue all  
 His sonnes, whose mothers were terrestriall.  
 But seeing Ioue doth now detest his line,

This

*This man, in birth and valour neare diuine,  
Shall rule the Phrygians: and through him, their King,  
There to an endlesse nation shall they spring,*

Because of these verses in *Homer*, *Dionysius Halicarnassens* writeth that many haue affirmed, that *Aeneas* leauing his fellowes in *Italy*, returned into *Phrigia*, and there hauing repaired *Troy*, reigned as King, and left the crowne to his posterity after him. But *Homer* speaketh of the *Italian Troy*, and the kingdome which arose from that *Phrygian Troy*, namely of the *Albians* & the *Latinians*; both which nations descended from the *Troians* that accompanied *Aeneas* (d) *Homer* reported ] at what time *Rome* was built, or at what time *Homer* liued the auncient writers do not iustly and vniformely define: though the first be lesse dubitable then the latter. *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus* saith that hee and *Remus* first founded the walles in the third yeare of the sixt *Olimpiad* on which day was an eclips of the moone: *Dionysius* and *Eusebius* say the 1. yeare of the 7. *Olympiade*: after the destruction of *Troy* *CCCCXXXII*. yeares. *Solin.* in *Polishist. Cincius* will haue it built in the twelth *Olympiad*: *Pictor* in the eighth: *Nepos*, and *Lactantius*, (to whom *Eratosthenes* and *Apollodorus* agree) the seauenth *Olympiade*, the second yeare. *Pomponius Atticus* and *Tully*, the seauenth and the third yeare, therefore by all correspondency of the *Greeke* computations to ours, it was built in the beginning of the seauenth *Olympiad* *CCCCXXXIII*. yeares after the ruine of *Troy*. About *Homers* time of liuing, his country, and his parentage, the *Greeke* writers keepe a great adoe: Some say he was present at the warres of *Troy*: Indeed he himselfe brings in his *Phemius* singing in the banquet of the wooers (*Odissi*.) But whether he do it through an ambitious desire to grace his *Mr.* in beyond the reach of the time or no, it is doubtful. Others say he liued not vntil an hundred yeares after this warre of *Phrigia*: and some there bee that ad fifty more vnto the number. *Aristarchus* gives him to those times about which there was a *Colonye* planted in *Ionia*, sixty yeares after the subuersion of the *Heraclide*: *CXXX*. yeares after the *Troians* warre. *Crates* thinketh that there was not foure-score yeares betweene the demolishing of *Troy* and the birth of *Homer*: Some affirme him to haue bene sonne to *Telemachus*, *Vlisses* his sonne, and *Tolycastra*, daughter to *Nestor*. In the cronicle of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Casarea* we find this recorded: *We find* (saith he) *in the latine history*, that *Agrippa* reigning amongst the *Latines*, *Homer* florished amongst the *Greekes*, as *Appollodorus* the *Grammariar*, and *Euphorbeus* the *Historiographer* do both testifie, *CXXIIII* yeares before the building of *Rome*, and as *Cornelius Nepos* saith before the first *Olympiade* an *C*. yeares. Howsoeuer then it fall out *Homer* was before the building of *Rome*: which *Tully* also doth beare witness of in his *Quaestiones Tusculana*. (e) *Virgill* declareth. ] *Aeneid. 5.*

--- *Pelide tunc ego furti,  
Congressum Aeneam, nec aëis nec viribus equis,  
Nube cæua eripui: cuperem cum uerere ab imo,  
Spectata meis maribus peritura mania Troie &c.*

--- Then in an hollow cloud,  
I sau'd him, when he combatt'd that Greeke,  
Though hauing neither fate, nor force alike.  
] Then when mine own: worke *Troy*, I sought to rize &c.

(f) for thanks and thankelesse] *Gratis, & ingratis*: that, an aduerbe, this an adiectiue, (g) *Nep-* worth the  
tione ] *Neptune* after that *Laomedon* had thus cheated him, was alwayes a heauy enemy of the *Troians*.  
*Trojans*: But *Apollo*, being more gentle, and remisse, was as good friends with them as before.  
*Virgill, Aeneid. 6.*

*Hæc grænes Troie semper miserate labores,  
Dardana quæ Paridis direxisti tels manusque,  
Corpus in Acacida &c.*

] *I hæbus*, that alwaies pitied *Troies* distresse,  
And gaue the hand of *Paris* good successe.  
Against *Achilles* life. &c.

(b) the senators ] by the *Sempronian* law which *Caius Gracchus* preferred, the Gentlemen of *Rome* had the iudging all causes twenty yeares together without any note of infamy and then by the *Law Plantian* were selected fiftene out of euery tribe, by the suffrages of the people to be iudges for that yeare, this was done in the second yeare of the *Italian* warre. *Cn. Pompeius*, sonne to *Sextus*, and *L. Cato* being consuls. Afterwards by the *Law Cornelian* which *Silla* instituted, the authority was reduced to the senat: who iudged ten yeares together most partially, and most corruptedly, when the greater sort iudged (saith *Tully* against *Verres*) there was great complaining of vniust iudgements. Last of all by the *Law Aurelian*, preferred by *M. Aurelius Cotta* being prætor, both senat and people combined, had the hearing and censuring of causes (i) the people ] *Lucans* in his first booke.

The law  
Sempronian  
of iudgements.  
The Plan-  
tian.  
The corne-  
lian,  
The Aure-  
lian.

L

Hinc

*Hinc rapti fasces precio, sectoque fauoris,  
Ipse sui populus, lethaliq; amictus urbis:  
Annua venalis referens certamina campo.*

Hence, coyne bought consulships, through this deiection  
The people sold their voices this infection,  
Fild *Mars* his field with strife at each election.

(*U*) But heare vp ] for the iudges were sworne to iudge truly, and the people before they gaue their voices were sworne at a sacrifice, not to hold any reward, or fauour of the worth of the commonwealths estate and safety.

*That the gods could not iustly be offended at the adultery of Paris, vsing it so freely and frequently themselves.*

### CHAP. 3.

**W** Herefore there is no reason to say that these gods who supported the empire of *Troy* were offended with the *Troians* periury, when the *Greekes* did preuaile against all their protections. Nor is it, as some say, in their defence, that the anger at *Paris* his (*a*) adultery made them giue ouer *Troyes* defence, for it is their custome to practise sinne them selues, and not to punish it in others. (*b*) The *Troians* (*saieth* *Salust*) as I haue heard, were the first founders & inhabitants of *Rome*: those were they that came away with *Aeneas*, and wandered without any certaine abode. If *Paris* his fact were then to be punished by the gods iudgements, it was either to fall vpon the *Troians*, or else vpon the *Romaines*, because (*c*) *Aeneas* his mother was chiefe agent therein. But how should they hate it in *Paris*, when as they hated it not in *Venus*, one of their company, who (to omit her other pranks) committed adultery with *Anchises* and by him was begotten (*d*) *Aeneas*. Or why should his fault anger *Menelaus*, and hers (*e*) please *Vulcane*? I do not thinke the gods such abasers of their wiues, or of themselves, as to vouchsafe mortall men to partake with them in their loues. Some perhaps will say I scoffe at these fables: and handle not so graue a cause with sufficient grauity: why then if you please let vs not beleue that *Aeneas* is sonne to *Venus* I am content, so (*f*) that *Romulus* likewise be not held to be *Mars* his sonne: (*g*) If the one be so, why is not the other so also, Is it lawfull for the gods to medle carnally with women, and yet vnlawfull for the men to meddle carnallie with Goddeses: a hard, or rather an incredible condition, that what was lawfull for *Mars* (*h*) by *Venus* her law should not be lawfull for *Venus* by her owne law. But they are both confirmed by the *Romain* authority, for (*i*) *Cesar* of late, beleued no lesse that (*k*) *Venus* was his grand-mother then (*l*) *Romulus* of old beleued that *Mars* was his father.

### L. VIVES.

**P** *Paris* his (*a*) adultery ] This I thinke is knowne to all, both blind men and barbers (as they say) that the warres of *Troy* arose about *Alexander Paris* his rape of *Hellen*, wife vnto *Menelaus*: (*b*) the *Troians* ] at what time, and by whom *Rome* was built, *Dionisius*, *Solinus*, *Plutarch*, and diuers others, discourse with great diuersity: he that will know further, let him looke in them. (*c*) *Aeneas* his mother ] for *Paris* vsed *Venus* as his baud, in the rape of *Hellen*, and *Venus* in the contention of the goddeses for beauty, corrupted the iudgement of *Paris* with promise of *Hellen*. (*d*) *Aeneas* ] he was sonne to *Anchises* and *Venus*. *Virgil*.

*Tuac ille Aeneas quem Dardanio Anchisa  
Alma Venus Phrygas genuit Symoentis ad undas?*

Art thou that man whom beauteous Venus bore,  
got by Anchises on Ismooth Symois shore?

And Lucretius.

*Aeneadum genitrix hominum, diuinum voluptas,  
Alma Venus.*

Mother t' Aeneas liue, the gods delight  
Faire Venus.

(e) *Vulcan*] Husband vnto *Venus*, (f) *Romulus* not be] *Dionysius*. *Ilia*, a *Vestal Virgin*, going to *Mars* his wood to fetch some water, was rauished in the Church (some say) by some of her sutors, some, by her vncke *Amulius* being armed, others by the *Genius* of the place. But I thinke rather that *Romulus* was the son of some soldiari, and *Aeneas* of some whore: and because the soldiars are vnder *Mars*, and the whores vnder *Venus*, therefore were they fathered vpon them. Who was *Aeneas* his true mother, is one of the sound questions that the grammarians stand vpon in the foure thousand bookes of *Dydimus*, as *Seneca* writeth. (g) *If the one bee so*] *Illud*, and *illud*, for *hoc* and *illud*, a figure rather Poeticall then Rhetoricall. (h) *By Venus her law*] A close, but a conceited quippe. *Mars* committed adultery with *Venus*. This was lawfull for *Mars* by *Venus* lawe, that is by the law of lust, which *Venus* gouerneth: then why should not the same priuiledge in lust bee allowed to *Venus* her selfe, beeing goddesse thereof: that which is lawfull to others by the benefit of *Venus*, why should it not bee permitted to *Venus* to vse her selfe freely in her owne dominion of lust, seeing she her selfe alloweth it such free vse in others. (i) *Cesar*] This man was of the *Julian* family, who was deriued from *Iulus*, *Aeneas* his sonne, and so by him to *Venus*. This family was brought by King *Tullus* from *Alba longa* to *Rome*, and made a *Patrician* family. Wherefore *Cesar* beeing dictator built a temple to *Venus*, which hee called the temple of mother *Venus*: my Aunt *Iulia* (saith *Cesar* in *Suetonius*) on the mothers side is descended from Kings, and on the fathers, from gods. For from *Ancus Martius*, a King, the *Martii* descended, of which name her mother was: and from *Venus* came the *Iulii*, of which stocke our family is sprung. (k) *His grand-mother*] Set for any progenitrix, as it is often vsed. (l) *Romulus of old*] And *Cesar* of late, because of the times wherein they liued, being at least fixe hundred yeares distant.

Of *Varro's* opinion, that it is meete in policy that some men should faigne themselves to be begotten of the gods. CHAP. 4.

**B**Vt doe you beleue this will some say? not I truly. For *Varro*, one of their most learned men, doth (though faintly, yet almost plainly) confesse that they all are false. But that it is (a) profitable for the citties (saith he) to haue their greatest men their generalls and gouernours, beleue that they are begotten of gods, though it be neuer so false: that their mindes being as illustrate, with part of their parents deitie, may bee the more daring to vndertake, more feruent to act, and so more fortunate to performe affaires of value. Which opinion of *Varro*, (by me here laid downe) you see how it opens a broad way to the falshood of this beleefe: and teacheth vs to know, that many such fictions may be inserted into religion, whensoever it shall seeme vse-full vnto the state of the city, to inuent such fables of the gods. But whether *Venus* could beare *Aeneas* by *Anchises*, or *Mars* beget *Romulus* of *Sylua*, (b) *Numitors* daughter. that we leaue as we find it, vndiscussed. For there is almost such a question ariseth in our Scriptures. Whether the wicked angells did commit fornication with the daughters of men, and whether that therevpon came Giants, that is, huge and powrefull men, who increased and filled all the earth? Gen. 6.

### L. VIVES.

**I**T is (a) profitable] It is generally more profitable vnto the great men themselves, who hereby haue the peoples loue more happily obliged to them. This made *Scipio* that he would neuer seeke to change that opinion of the people, who held, that hee was begot by some god: and *Alexander* in *Lucian* saith it furthered him in many great designes, to bee counted the sonne

The benefit of being held diuine.



of *Jupiter Hamon*. For hereby he was feared, and none durst oppose him that they held a god. *ὁ βαρβαροι (saith he) καταπλασσαν με, καὶ ἰδεις ἰν αὐθιγαπο υἱδρωσι θεῶν μαχῶν ὡς πῶν ἐπαυον δοτῶν.* The Barbarians obserued mee with reverence and amazement, and none durst with-stand mee, thinking they should warre against the gods, whose confirmed sonne they held mee. (b) *Numitors daughter*, ] *Numitor* was sonne to *Procas*, the *Albian King*, and elder brother to *Amulius*. But being thrust by his brother from his crowne, he liued priuately, *Amulius* enioying the crowne by force and fraude. *Numitor* had *Lausus* to his sonne, and *Rhea* or *Ilia Sylvia* to his daughter: the boy was killed, the daughter made Abbesse of the *Vestals* by *Amulius*, meaning by colour of religion to keepe her from children-bearing: who not-with-standing had two sonnes, *Romulus* and *Remus*, by an vnknowne father as is afore-said.

*That it is altogether unlikely that the gods reuenged Paris his fornication, since they permitted Rhea's to passe unpunished.* CHAP. 5.

Wherefore now let vs argue both the causes in one. If it be certaine that wee read of *Aeneas* and *Romulus* their mothers, how can it bee that the gods should disallow of the adulteries of mortall men, tollerating it so fully and freely in these particulars? If it be not certaine, how soeuer, yet cannot they distaste the dishonesties of men, that are truly acted, seeing they take pleasure in their owne, though they be but faigned: Besides, if that of *Mars* with *Rhea* be of no credit, why then no more is this of *Venus* with *Anchises*. Then let not *Rhea's* cause be couered with any pretence of the like in the gods. She was a virgin Priest of *Vesta*, and therefore with farre more iustice should the gods haue scourged the *Romaines* for her offence, then the *Troians* for that of *Paris*: for the (a) ancient *Romaines* them-selues did punish such vestalls as they tooke in this offence, by burying them quick: (b) neuer censuring others y were faultie in this kind with death, (but euer with some smaller penalty,) so great was their study to correct the offences of persons appertaining to religion, with all seuerity about others.

### L. VIVES.

The punishment of the offending vestall.

THE (a) ancient ] If a virgin vestall offended but lightly, the high Priest did beate here but being conuicted of neglect of chastitie, or whoredome, shee was caried in a coffin to the gate *Collina*, as if shee went to buriall, all her friends and kinfolk bewailing her, the Priests and other religious following the hearse with a sadde silence. Neere to the gate was a caue, to which they went downe by a ladder, there they let downe the guilty person, alone, tooke away the ladder, and shutte the caue close vp: and least she should starue to death, they set by her, bread, milke, and oyle, of each a quantitie, together with a lighted lampe: all this finished, the Priests departed: and on that day was no cause heard in law; but it was as a vacation, mixt with great sorrow and feare: all men thinking that some great mischief was prefiged to befall the weale publick by this punishment of the Vestall. The vowes and duties of those Vestalls, *Gellius* (amongst others) relateth at large. (Noct. *Asticarum* lib. I.) (b) *Neuer censuring others* ] Before *Augustus*, there was no law made against adulterers, nor was euer cause heard (that I know of) concerning this offence. *Clodius* indeed was accused for polluting the sacrifices of *Bona Dea*, but not for adulterie, which his foes would not haue omitted, had it laine within the compasse of lawe. *Augustus* first of all instituted the law *Julian* against men adulterers, it contained some-what against vnchaste women also, but with no capital punishment: though afterwards they were censured more sharply, as we read in the *Cesars* answers in *Iustinians Code*, and the 47. of the *Pandects*. *Dionysius* writeth, that at *Romes* first originall *Romulus* made a lawe against adulterie, but I thinke hee speakes it *Gracanic*, as hee doth prettily well in many other matters.

No lawe against adultery before *Augustus*.

The lawe *Juliana*.

*Of Romulus his murther of his brother, which the gods neuer reuenged.*

### CHAP. 6.

Now I will say more: If those Deities tooke such grieuous and heinous displeasure at the enormities of men, that for *Paris* his misdemeanour they would

would needes vtterly subuert the citty of *Troy* by fire and sword : much more then ought the murder of *Romulus* his brother to incense their furies against the *Romaines*, then the rape of *Menelaus* his wife against the *Troians* : Parricide (a) in the first originall of a Citty, is far more odious then adultery in the wealth and height of it. Nor is it at all pertinent vnto our purpose (b) whether this murder were commanded or committed by *Romulus*, which many impudently deny, many doe doubt, and many do dissemble. Wee will not intangle our selues in the Laborinth of History, vpon so laborious a quest: Once, sure it is, *Romulus* his brother was murdered: and that neither by open enemies, nor by strangers. If *Romulus* either willed it, or wrought it, so it is: *Romulus* was rather the cheefe of *Rome* then *Paris* of *Troy*. Why should the one then set all his goddes against his cuntry for but rauishing another mans wife, and the other obtaine the protection of (c) the same goddes for murdering of his owne brother? If *Romulus* bee cleare of this imputation, then is the whole citty guilty of the same crime how-focuer, in giuing so totall an assent vnto such a supposition: and in steed of killing a brother, hath done worse in killing a father. For both the bretheren were fathers and founders to it alike, though villany bard the one from dominion. There is small reason to be showne (in mine opinion) why the *Troians* deserued so ill, that their gods should leaue them to destruction, and the *Romaines* so well, that they would stay with them to their augmentation; vnlesse it bee this, that being so ouerthrowne and ruined in one place, they were glad to flie away to practise their illusions in another; nay they were cunninger then so; they both stayed still at *Troy* to deceiue (after their old custome) such as afterwards were to inhabit there; and likewise departed vnto *Rome*, that hauing a greater scope to vse their impostures there they might haue more glorious honours assigned them to feede their vaine-glorious desires.

## L. VIVES.

**P**arricide (a) in] Parricide is not onely the murder of the parent, but of any other equall: Parricide. Some say *Parricidium, quasi patratio cadis, committing of slaughter*. It is an old law of *Numa's*: He that willingly doth to death a free-man, shall be counted a Parricide. (b) Whether this murder] There be that affirme, that *Remus* being in contention for the Kingdome, when both the factions had saluted the leaders with the name of King, was slaine in the byckering between them: but whether by *Romulus* or some other, none can certainly affirme. Others and more in number, saie that he was slaine by *Fabius*, Tribune of the light horsemen of *Romulus*, because he leaped in scorne ouer the newly founded walles of *Rome*; and that *Fabius* did this by *Romulus* his charge: Which fact *Cicero* tearmes wicked and inhumaine. For thus in his fourth booke of Offices he discourseth of it. But in that King that built the citty it was not so. The glosse of commodity dazeled his spirits: and since it seemed fitter for his profit to rule without a partner then with one, he murdered his owne brother. Here did he leape ouer piety, nay and humanity also: to reach the end bee aimed at, profit: though his pretence and coullour, about the wall, was neither probable, nor sufficient, wherefore be it spoken with reuerence to *Quirinus* or to *Romulus*, *Romulus* in this did well. (c) The same godds] Which were first brought to *Aeneas* to *Lavinium*, & from thence to *Alba* by *Ascanius*, and from *Alba* the *Romaines* had them by *Romulus*, with the Assent of *Numitor*: and so lastly were by *Tullus* transported all vnto *Rome*. *Numa's Law. Remus his death.*

Of the subuersion of *Ilium*, by *Fimbria*, a Captaine of *Marius* his faction.

## CHAP. 7.

**I**N the first (a) heate of the (b) ciuill wars, what hadde poore *Ilium* done that (c) *Fimbria*, they veriest villaine of all (d) *Marius* his fette, should raize it downe

downe with more fury and (e) cruelly then euer the Grecians had shewed vpon it before? For in their conquest, many escaped captiuity by flight, and many avoided death by captiuity: But *Fimbria* charged in an expresse edicte, that no life should bee spared: and made one fire of the Citty and all the creatures within it. Thus was *Ilium* requited, not by the Greekes whom her wronges had prouoked, but by the Romaines whom her ruines had propagated: their gods in this case (a like adored of both sides) doing iust nothing; or rather beeing able to do iust nothing: what, were the gods gone from their shrines, that protected this towne since the repaying of it after the Grecian victory? If they were, shew me why? but still the better citizens I finde, the worse gods. They shut out *Fimbria*, to keepe all for *Sylla*; hee set the rowne and them on fire, and burned them both into dust and ashes. And yet in meane-time (f) *Sylla's* side was stronger, and euen now was hee working out his powre by force of armes: his good beginnings as yet felt no crosses. How then could the *Ilians* haue dealt more honestly or iustly? or more worthy of the protection of Rome? then to saue a citty of Romes, for better endes, and to keepe out a Parricide of his countries common good? But how they sped, let the defenders of these gods obserue. They for-sooke the *Ilians* beeing adulterers, and left their cittie to the fires of the Greekes: that from her ashes, Chaster Rome might arise: But why did they leaue her the second time, beeing Romes allied, not rebelling against her Noble daughter, but keeping her faith sincerely vnto Romes best parts and powers? why did they let her be demolished so vtterly, not by the valorous Grecians, but by a barbarous Romaine? Or, if the gods fauoured not *Sylla's* endeauours, for whom this cittie kept her selfe, why did they attend his fortunes with such happy successe else-where? doth not this proue them rather flatterers of the fortunat, then fauorers of the wretched? And therefore they had not forsaken *Ilium* vtterly whē it was vtterly destroyed: no, no, the diuells will still keepe a watchfull eye for aduantage to deceiue. For (g) when all the Images were burned together with the towne, onely *Minerua's* was found vnder all the ruines of her Temple, as *Livy* writeth, vntouched: not that it should bee sayd, *Tou Patron gods that alwaies Troy protect*: but that it should not be sayd. *The gods were gone and left their altars bare*: in their defence they were permitted to saue that Image, not that they might thereby proue themselues powrefull, but that we might thereby proue them to haue beene present.

Sylla's side  
stronger  
then Marius  
his.

The deuills  
care to de-  
ceiue.

### L. VIVES.

[IN the (a) first] *Marius* dying in his seauenth Consulship, *Cinna* ioyned *Valerius Flaccus* with him in office, committing *Asia* to his rule, (which *Sylla* then governed) and strengthening him with two legions: This *Flaccus* by his couetise (the souldiour-hated vice) and other crimes growing very odious, was killed by *C. Fimbria*, Embassador at *Nicomedia*: which *Fimbria* by the souldiours assent, entred vpon his place, and warred against *Mithridates* with good fortune: hauing almost taken him prisoner in the siege of *Pergamus*: leading his army into *Phrygia*, and hearing that the *Ilians* were of *Sylla's* faction, he entred the city cunningly (saith *Appian*) forcibly (saith *Livy*) and killed all the Cittizens, man, woman, and child, without all mercy, sparing nothing neither hallowed nor prophane: after the Greekes had destroyed it before M. L. yeares. (b) *ciuill warres*] After the first *Marian* warre, before *Sylla* came into Italy to the vtter subuersion of that faction, this fell out. (c) *Fimbria*] This was a most audacious and impudent fellow, most prompt vnto all villany. He killed *Cassius*, and in the funeral of *Marius*, made *Q. Scauola* a noble and honest man to bee sore hurt. But seeing that the wound was not mortall, he cited him to answer an accusation. The whole city wondring that the chiefe priest should accuse the most honest man of the whole state, and flocking to heare the crime: he sayd

C. Fimbria.

hee

he accused him for not taking the thrust of the weapon deepe inough into his body. This *Truly* relateth in his *Oration for Roscius Amerinus*. (d) *Marius* his] Rather *Cynna's* but all the facti-  
on against *Sylla* was called *Marian*. (e) *cruelty*.] *Appianus in Mubridato*, saith that the daie  
after the burning of *Ilium*, *Fimbria* himself went all ouer the ruines, prying and searching whe-  
ther ought was left standing, intending to raze that downe also, so that hee left no house, no  
temple, no nor no statue standing in all *Ilium*. (f) *Sylla's side*] *Saluste*. *Sylla* of late, being victor,  
when he commanded *Damasippus* and others that had patched up their estate by the miseries of the  
weale-publike to be slaine who did not applaud him? euery man sayd that such wicked creatures as  
had kept the fires of sedition still burning in the common-wealsh, were now well rewarded. But in-  
deed this was the roote whence sprung a wood of miseries. Thus farre *Saluste* in his *Caillines* con-  
spiracy: and a little before, *Lucius Sylla* hauing reconered the sway of the state by armes, beganne  
wel, but ended badly inough: Which saying, *S. Augustine* here toucheth. (g) when all the Images]  
*Appian*, and *Iulius Obsequens* also say that the *Palladium* remained still vnburnt. *Seruius* (in 2. The Pallad  
*Eneid*.) saith that *Fimbria* showed it, and brought it vnto Rome. Truly I wonder if that were  
the old *Palladium* that *Aeneas* (they say) brought from *Troy* into *Italy*, with the other *Great*  
*Gods*, which was placed by *Hoftilius* in the *Temple of Vesta* after *Alba* was destroyed: which  
*Temple* being fired, *Merellus* the Priest fetched the *Palladium* from forth the greatest flames,  
for which dede the *Romaines* assigned him ample honours: which fell out soone after the  
peace concluded betwixt *Rome* and *Carthage*, after the end of the first *African* warre, be-  
fore *Fimbrias* time, C. L. yeares. Some thinke that *Aeneas* leauing the *Latine* Kingdome to  
his fellowes, returned vnto *Phrigia* with the *Palladium*: but this wee haue else-where disal-  
lowed of. The *Lacedemonians* indeed beleueed that they had the *Troyan Palladium*, neere the  
temple of the *Leucippida*: which one *Temon* stole from *Ergiaus* a kinsman of *Diomedes* at  
*Argos*, and brought it to *Lacedemon*. Whose Cittizens beeing warned by oracle to keepe it,  
they erected it vnto *Uliyses*, one of the *Heroes*. But that is the *Palladium* which *Uliyses* and *Di-*  
*omedes* bore away as wee said before in the *Troyan* warre. *Seruius* saith that *Mamurrius* the  
Smith made many figures of this *Palladium*; leaſt the true one indeed should bee knowne,  
Wherein no doubt but *Seruius* forgot himselfe and tooke the *Palladium* for the *Ancylia*.

Whether it was convenient to commit Rome to the custody of the  
Troyan gods. CHAP. 8.

VVherefore seeing *Troy* had left so plaine a lesson for all posterity to obserue,  
what discretion was there shewne in the commending of *Rome* to the  
protection of the *Troyan* gods? O but, will some say, they were settled at *Rome*  
when *Fimbria* spoiled *Ilium*: were they so? whence comes the Image of *Minerua*  
then? But well: it may be they were at *Rome* when *Fimbria* razed *Ilium*, and at *I-*  
*lium* when the *Galles* sacked *Rome*. And being quick of hearing, and swift in mo-  
tion, as soone as euer the geese called them, they came all on a cluster, to defend  
what was left, the *Capitol*. But they were not called soone inough to looke to the  
rest, or else it should not haue bene as it was.

Whether it be credible, that the gods procured the peace that lasted all  
Numa's raigne. CHAP. 9.

IT is thought also that these are they that helped *Numa Pompilius*, *Romulus* his  
successor, to preserue that continuall peace that lasted all the time of his raign,  
and to shut the gates of *Ianus* his (a) temple; and that because hee deserued it  
at their handes, in instituting so many sacrifices for the *Romaines* to offer  
vnto their honour. In earnest, the peace that this Prince procured was thank-  
worthy, could hee haue applied it accordinglie, and (by avoiding so  
pernicious a curiositie,) haue taken more paines in enquire after the  
true diuinitie. But beeing as it was, the gods neuer gaue him that quiet  
leisure

leasure: but it may bee they had not deluded him so fowlely, had they not found him so idle. For the lesse that his businesse was, the more time had they to entrappe him: for *Varro* recordeth all his courses, and endeavours to associate himselfe and his Citty with those imaginary gods: all which (if it please God) shall be reherfed in their due place. But now, since wee are to speake of the benefits which are pretended to come from those fained deities: peace is a good benefit: but it is a benefit giuen by the (b) true God onely, as the raine, the sunne and all other helpes of mans transitory life are; which are common euen to the vngratious, and vngratefull persons as well as the most thankfull. But if these Romaine gods had any powre to bestow such a benefit as peace is vpon *Numa*, or vpon *Rome*, why did they neuer do it after, when the *Romaine* Empire was in greater maiesty and magnificence? was their sacrifices more powrefull at their first institution, then at any time after? Nay, many of them then were not as yet instituted, but remained vnspoken of vntill afterwardes, and then they were instituted indeed, and kept for commodity sake. How commeth it then to passe that *Numa's* 43. Or as some say 39. yeares were passed in such full peace? and yet those sacrifices beeing neither instituted nor celebrated vntill afterwardes, and the gods whom these sollemnities inuited, beeing but now become the gardians and patrons of the state, after so many hundred yeares from *Romes* foundation vntill the reigne of *Augustus*, there is but (c) one yeare reckned, and that is held as wholly miraculous, which falling after the first *African* warre, gaue the *Romaines* iust leaue to shut vp the gates of warres Temple?

Peace bestowed on the vngratefull.

*Numa's* peace of 43. or 39. yeares.

### L. VIVES.

*Ianus* (a) his temple] *Ianus* was a god, whose temple-dore beeing opened, was a signe of wars, and being shut, of peace vnto *Rome* on all partes. This was erected by *Numa*, nere *Argiletus* his Sepulchre, as a monument of the fight against the *Sabines*, wherin a great deale of water bursting in at that gate, gaue the *Romaines* much furtherance to the victorie. And therevpon, it was decreed that that gate should be opened as it were to giue assistance in all designs of warre. He (that is *Numa*) was the first that shut the gate that he builded, as saith *Macrobius*, *Saturnal.* 1. ) and *Manlius* the second time, after the first *Punike* warre. *Augustus* thirdlie. *Liv. lib.* 1. (b) true God] Therefore Christ our Saviour gaue his disciples that peace which the world cannot giue (c) One yeare reckned] *T. Manlius Torquatus* &c. *C. Attilius* were Consulls this yeare, if wee shall beleue *Entropius*, who is no bad historian. These Consulls hauing triumphed ouer the *Sardes*, and hauing procured a settled peace both by sea and land, shut the gates of *Ianus Quirinus*, which not many monthes after was opened againe: *A. L. Posthumus Albinus*, and *Cn. Fuluius Centimalus* beeing Consulls: or as others saie, *Sp. Carbilus* was in *Fuluius* his place: In the *Illirian* warre:

Whether the *Romaines* might iustly desire that their Citties estate should arise to preheminnence by such furious warres, when it might haue rested firme, and quiet, in such a peace as *Numa* procured. CHAP. IO.

Will they reply (thinke you) that the Imperiall state of *Rome* had no other meanes of augmentation but by continuance of warres, nor any fitter course to diffuse the honour thereof then this? A fit course surely! why shou'd any Empire make disquiet the scale vnto greatnesse? In this little world of mans body, is it not better to haue a meane stature with an vnmooued health, then a huge bignesse with intollerable sicknesse? to take no rest at the point where thou shouldst rest, the end? but still to confound the greater growth with the greater griefe? what euill had there beene, nay what good had there not beene if those

times

times had lasted that *Salust* so applawded, saying: *Kings in the beginning* (for this (a) was first *Imperiall name on earth*) were diuers in their goodnesse: some exercised their corporall powers, some their spirituall, and mens lives in those times were without all exorbitance of habit or affect, each one keeping in his owne compasse: why should the Empire be aduanced by those practises that *Virgil* so detesteth? saying.

*Deterior donec paulatim & decolor etas  
Et belli rabies, & amor successit habendi.*

(b) Vnill peruerse declining times succede  
World-fighting warres, and ill pretended need.

But indeed the Romaines as yet had a iust defence for their so continued contentions and warres: because, their foes engirting them with such vniuersall inuasions, it was very necessity to saue them-selues, and not their endeatour to become powrefull ouer others that put weapons into their hands. Well bee it so. For, (as *Saluste* writeth) when they had well settled their estate by lawes, customes and possessions, and seemed sufficiently potent, then, as it is in most affaires of mortality, out of their eminence arose enuy in others, which armed many of their neighbour Kings against them, and with-held most of their reputed friends from assisting them; they rest standing affraid, and a farre off. But the Romaines them-selues, sticking to warres tackling, cheered vp one another, to encounter the foe with courage, standing in their armes as the bulwarkes of their freedome, their countrey, and their kinred. And hauing made their vertue breake through all mistes of opposed daungers, they aided those that affected them, returning more gaine of friend-shippe to their estate by beeing the agents of bounty then the objects, rather by doing good turnes to others, then by receiuing such of others. In these formes of augmenting her selfe, Rome kept a good *Decorum*. But now, in *Numa's* raigne, was there any iniuries of enemy or inuasions, concurring to disturbe this peace of his time, or was there not? If Rome were as then molested with wars, & yet did not oppose hostility with hostility; then those meanes that kept the foe from beeing ouerthrowne in fight, and yet without stroakes compelled them to composition; those very meanes alone should bee still of powre to shut *Ianus* his gates, and keepe this peace continually in Rome. Which if it were not in their powre to doe, then verily the Romaines had not their peace as long as it pleased the gods to allow it them, but as long as the neighbour Princes listed not to inuade and trouble them; (c) vnlesse those gods had farmed that which lieth not in theirs but others powre, vnto each one at their pleasure, as it it were by she letter patent. There is much difference truly in these deuills working vpon mens proper infirmities, whether they worke with terrors, or with incitations. But howsoeuer, were they of this powre alwaies, and were not controuled by a superior soueraignty, they would still be practising their authorities in warres and slaughters: which (as they fall out in truth) ordinarily, are rather the effects of mortall mens peculiar passions and affections, then direct practises of the damned spirits.

### L. VIVES.

For this (a) was] So saith *Iustine lib. 1. Herodotus*, and *Pliny*. This institution deriued from *Egypt*, where they say that *Menes* was the first King: though *Diodorus* affirme that *Ophris*, *Horus*, and diuers others of the gods raigned before him. Our scriptures say that *Namroth* was the first King, and raigned at *Babilon*. (b) Vntill peruerse] *Hesiod* in his *Opera & Dies*, saigneth five ages of mortality, which place he beginneth thus.

The gods did first of all  
Make men in golden moldes: celestiall

Their habitations were: In Saturnes raigne  
The world afforded such.

This, *Virgil*, *Ouid*, and others did immitate. The first age the *Golden* one, they say was vnder

The first  
Kings praic-  
tises.

The first  
Kings.

Five ages  
of men.

vnder *Saturne* : without warres, or will to warres, humanity was lockt in vnity; neither were men contentious nor clamorous. These were called *Saturnian daies*. The next age *Siluer*, vnder *Ioue*, then warre began to buffle: so did her daughter, *care*, *hate*, and *deceit*. The third, *Brazen* warre hurles all vpon heapes, and quaffeth liues and bloud. The fourth of the *Halfe-Gods*, *Heroës*, who thougth they loued iustice, yet their bosomes harboured an eager thirst of warres. The first, *Iron*, wherein mischiefe goeth beyond bound and limit, and all miseries, breaking their prisons, assault mans fortunes; open deceit, open hate, open warres, slaughters, vastations, burnings, rapes, and rapines, all open violent and common (*e*) *vnlesse*] vnlesse the gods be so impudent, that they will sell that vnto men, as a benefit from them, which hath the original from another mans wil, and so require thankes of them as though it were there giuft when it is rather the gift of another. [ One interpreter vnderstanding nor the figure, rappeth out what came first on his tongues end, and vpon that, as vpon a marble foundation, Lord what a goodly building he railleth, concerning felling, and the powers of deuils, mans affects, and many good morrowes: euen such like as this in foundation is much of our Philosophers and Schoole-diuines trattle for all the world, what wouderfull maters do they wring out of such or such places of *Aristotle* or the scriptures, as (indeed) they neuer could truly vnderstand. O happy builders, that vpon no foundation but onely a meere smoke, can rayse such goodly buildings, as are held absolutely sky-towring, so elegant, and so durable! ]

[ Paris copy leaves out this intirely.

*Of the statue of Apollo at Cumæ, that shed teares (as men thought) for the Grecians miseries though he could not helpe them.*

CHAP. II.

**N**Orwithstanding, that there are many of these warres and conquests that fall out quite against those gods likings, the *Romaine* history it selfe (to omit those fables that do not tel one truth for a thousand lies) shall giue cleare profe, for therein we read that the statue of *Apollo* (*a*) *Cumæne*, in the time of the *Romans* warres againe the *Achaians* and (*b*) King *Aristonicus*, did persist foure daies together in contiunall weeping: which prodigy amazing the South-fayers, they held it fit to cast the statue into the sea, but the auncients of *Cume* dissuaded it, and shewed them that it had done so likewise in the warres both against (*c*) *Antiochus*, and (*d*) *Persus*, testifying also, that both these wars succeeding fortunatly vnto *Rome*, the senat sent ther giufts and oblations vnto the statue of *Apollo*. And then, the South-fayers hauing learned wit, answered, that the weeping of *Apollo* was lucky to the *Romaines*, because that (*e*) *Cuma* was a *Greeke* collony, and that the statues teares did but portend mishap vnto the country from whence it came, namely vnto *Greece*. And soone after, they heard how *Aristonicus* was taken prisoner, and this was the cause of *Apollo*s woes, shewen in his teares. And as touching this point, not vnfitly, though fabulously, are the diuells trickes plainly discovered in the fictions of the Poets: *Diana* was sory for *Camilla* in *Virgill*: And *Hercules* wept for the death of *Pallas*. And it may be that vpon this ground *Numa* in his great peace giuen him, hee neither knew nor sought to know by whome, bethinking him-selfe in his idlenesse vnto what gods he should commit the preservation of the *Romaines* fortunes, ( neuer dreaming that it is onely the great and almighty God that hath regard of these interior things ) and remembring himselfe, that the gods that *Aeneas* brought from *Troy*, could neither preserue the estate of the *Troians*, nor that of the *Lausnians* erected by *Aeneas*, into any good continuance, he thought fit to seeke out some others, to ioyne with the former were gone with *Remulus* to *Rome* and that were afterwards to go, at the distruction of *Alba* either to keepe them from running away, or to helpe them when they saw them too weake.

## L. VIVES.

**A**pollo (a) *Cumane*] King *Attalus* at his death, made the people of *Rome* heyres to his Kingdome: of which, *Aristonicus* his brothers bastard sonne, got possession before them: hence grew there warres, in which, *Licinius* Consull and Priest, was sent as Generall, whom *Aristonicus* ouer-came. *M. Perpenna* the next yeares Consull hearing of *Crassus* his fortune, came with speed into *Asia*, and hauing ouer-throwne *Aristonicus*, and forced him into *Stratonica*, through famine he forced him to yeeld, and so sent him to *Rome*. In this warre *Nicomedes*, *Mistridates*, *Ariarathes* and *Pylemanes*, Kings of *Bythinia*, *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, and *Paphlagonia* faoured the *Romaines*: *Achaia* onely, assisted *Aristonicus*. (b) King *Aristonicus*] This weeping of *Apollo* happened in the Consullshippe of *Appius* *Claudius*, and *M. Perpenna*, as *Iulius Obsequens* (*Fragm. lib. de prodigijs*) in these wordes affirmeth: *App. Claudius* and *M. Perpenna* being Consulls, *P. Crassus* was slaine in battaile against *Aristonicus*. *Apollo's statue wept foure daies*. The prophets presaged the destruction of *Greece*, from whence it came. The *Romaines* offered it sacrifice and brought gifts vnto the temple. Thus saith *Obsequens*. The weeping of a statue portended misfortune to those that it faoured, as vpon the weeping of *Iuno Sospita* at *Lauinium* (Consulls, *L. Aemilius Paulus*, & *Cn. Bibius Pamphilus*;) followed a great pestilence. So saith *Lucane* of the prodigies in the ciuill warres.

*Indigetis fuisse deos, urbisq; laborem  
Testatos iudore Lares:*

The Patron gods did weepe: the cities paines,  
The sweaung *Lars* recorded.

(c) *Antiochus*] King of *Syria*, conquered by *L. Cornelius Scipio*, brother to *Africanus*: *Linie* at large *Decad. 4.* (d) *Persens*] Some write *Xerxes*, but it is better, *Persens*, sonne to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whom *L. Aemilius Paulus* conquered in a few houres, in the second *Macedonian* warre. *Plutarch* in *Aemilius his life*: and others. (e) *Cuma*] The *Chalcidians*, and the *Cumeans* (*Strabo. lib. 5.*) being people of *Greece*, sailed into *Italy* with a great nauy, and landing in *Campania* there built a city: The *Cumeans* captaine was *Hippocles*, the *Chalcidians* *Megasthenes*: these agreed amongst themselues that the one people should inhabite the towne, and the others should name it: and so they did: It was called *Cuma*, and the inhabitants were *Chalcidians*. Of this *Cuma*, *Virgil* hath this verse. *Aenead. 6.*

*Chalcidicaq; leuis tandem superastitit arce:  
And light at last on the Chalcidian towre.*

This City (saith *Strabo*) is the most ancient City both of all *Italy* and *Sicily*.

*How frustlesse their multitude of gods was vnto the Romaines, who induced them beyond the institution of Numa.* CHAP. 12.

**N**OR could *Rome* bee content with those sacrifices which *Numa* had in such plentifull measure prescribed, for it had not as yet the great temple of *Iupiter*. For it was *Tarquinius* that (a) built the *Capitoll* a good while after. And (b) *Aesculapius* came afterwards from *Epidaurus* vnto *Rome*: because he being a (c) most expert Phisitian, might practise in so famous a Cittie with the greater credite. The Mother of the gods also (of (d) whence, who can tell) came thither from (e) *Pesinuns*, It being a thing vnmeet for the sonne to bee the chiefe God of the *Capitol*, and the mother to ly obscured I know not where: But if shee bee the mother of all the gods, she did not follow all her children vnto *Rome*, but left some to follow her thither. I wonder whether shee were dam vnto *Cynocephalus*, that (f) came out of *Egypt* long after or no. Whether the goddesse. (g) *Febris* bee one of her Children or no, (h) let *Aesculapius*, (i) her Nephew looke to that. But wheresoeuer shee was borne, I hope the stranger goddes dare not call a goddesse base, that is (k) a *Romaine* Cittizen. Well, *Rome* being placed vnder the protection of so many gods (as who can reckon vpper?) both of *Italians*, and *Forreyners*, both of *Heauen*, *Earth*, *Hel*, *Seas*, *Fountaines*, and *Riuers*, & as *Varro* saith, both (l) certain & vncertaine,

and



and as it is in creatures, both male & female of all these severall kinds: me thinkes that *Rome* hauing all these to be her Tutors, should neuer haue tasted of such intolerable troubles as I meane to relate briefly out of their huger multitude. The great (m) smoake she sent vp was like (n) a beacon, and called to many gods to her defence: vnto all which the Priests erecting severall monuments, and severall mysteries, enflamed the furie of the true God in farre greater measure, to whom onely all these institutions & rights were belonging. Truly, *Rome* thriued a great deale better, when shee had farre fewer protectors: But growing greater, like as a ship calleth in more saylers, so call'd she in more gods: doubting (I thinke) that those few, (vnder whom she had passed a peaceable reuolution before, in comparison of that that followed) were not now of sufficiencie to defend her greatnesse, it was so much augmented. For at first, vnder the Kings themselues, (excepting *Numa*, of whom wee spake before) what a mischieuous beginning of dissention was that, wherein *Romulus* killed his owne and onely brother?

## L. VIVES.

*Aesculapium.* **T** *Arquin* (a) built ] *The proud.* (*Lin. lib. 1.*) (b) *Aesculapius* ] In the warre of the *Sam- nites* he was brought from *Epidaurus* to *Rome*, by *Ogolnius* the Legate, in the shape of a tame Snake, and he swamme ouer into the Ile of *Tyber*, where his temple was built, and a feast instituted to him in the *Calends of Ianuary*. *Epidaurus* (once called *Epitaurus*: *Strab.*) is a towne in *Achaia*, aboue *Corinthe*, on the Easterne shore, which *Pliny* called *Saronium*, and is named at this day *Golfo di Engia*: it was famous for the Temple of *Aesculapius* which stood in that territorie, some fiue miles from the Cittie. (c) *A most expert Phisitian* ] *Cicero* holds there were three *Aesculapis*. First *Apollo's* sonne, worshipped in *Arcadia*. Second brother to the second *Mercury*, who was sonne to *Valens* and *Phoronis*: hee was struck with thunder, and it is said hee is buried at *Cynosura*. The third, sonne to *Arfippus* and *Arfinoe*, first inuentor of purging, and tooth-drawing: his sepulcher and his graue is to bee seene in *Arcadia*, not farre from the riuier *Lusus*. *Tarquinius* speaking of the famous men (this we haue from *Lactantius*) saith that *Aesculapius* was borne of vnknowne parents, and being cast out, and found by hunters, was fed with bitches milke, and afterwards committed to *Chyron*, of whom hee learned Phisicke: that by birthe he was a *Messenian*, but dwelt at *Epidaurus*. *Hippocrates* saith, that he wrote the booke called *Nauicula* (as we haue said in our principles of Philosophie) *Corn. Celsus* saith, he was numbred amongst the gods, for giuing excellence and lustre vnto Phisicke, which before was but rude and vnpolished. (d) *Of whence,* ] She was of ignoble and obscure descent, as *Saturne* her brother also was. For shee they say was *Ops*: and therefore they held them as the children of *Calus*, knowing not indeed of whence they were, who not-with- standing prooued so famous and admired. Such as these were, the people thought to come downe from heauen. (e) *Pessinus,* ] Some write *Mount Prenestine*: this place is faultie in all the copies that euer I could finde. Others write *Mount Pessinum*, but it were better to say, *Mount Palatine*, for there was the mother of the gods placed, at her first comming to *Rome*. (*Lin. lib. 36.*) and *Victor de Regionibus vrbis.* (f) *Came out of Egypt* ] *Apuleius* in his *Asse* saith, that the Deities of *Egypt* were brought thence vnto *Rome* about *Sylla's* time, that is, aboue an hundred yeares after the mother of the gods came to *Rome*. But *L. Piso*, and *A. Gabinus* being Consuls decreed by edict, that they should not come in the Capitoll, though afterwards they did. *Tertull. Apologetic.* (g) *Febris,* ] Some read, the god *Februns*, which cannot be good: for *Februns* is *Pluto*, vnto whom they sacrificed in *February*, called so because of Purgation: this is not doubted of. But that it must bee *Febris* here, that which followeth of *Aesculapius*, doth approoue, and other subsequences. (h) *Let Aesculapius,* ] Wittily applyed, because hee is a Phisitian. (i) *Nephew* ] Or grand-child: hee was sonne to *Apollo*, hee to *Iupiter*, and hee vnto *Ops*. (k) *A Romaine Cittizen* ] This is conceited also: for the *Romaines* made *Febris* a goddesse. (l) *Certaine and vncertaine,* ] For some of their Deities were doubtfull: as *Pans*, the *Syluans*, and the *Nimphi*. *Onid* brings in *Iupiter* speaking thus:

*Sunt mihi semidei, sunt rustica Numina, Fauni,*

But best of  
all by Li-  
uie his leaue  
to say with  
the text,  
*Pessinus*, for  
*Pessinus* was  
a towne  
in *Pbrygia*,  
where *Cybel*  
had a tem-  
ple, before  
she had any  
at *Rome*.

*Et Nympha, Satyrique & monticola Syluani,  
Quos quoniam cali nondum dignamur honore,  
Quas dedimus certè terras habitare sinamus.* Metamorph.  
We haue of Semy-gods, and Syluanes, store:  
Nymphs, Fawnes, and Satyres, and many more:  
Whom since as yet we haue debar'd the skies,  
We needs must guard on earth from iniuries.

Such also are *Corybantes, Hyppolitus, Atys and Sabbazins*, whom *Lucian* calleth *εὐαγγελιστῶν* *ωρτίων θεῶν, & αἰσιόκοις*, *aliens and doubtfull gods*, (*m*) *Smoake* ] Of the sacrifices: or meaning their vanitie, is an allusion vnto smoake, for smoake is often taken for a vaine and friuolous thing, as to sell smoake. (*n*) *As a Beacon* ] In time of warre, or suspition, the watchmen placed bundels of drye small sticks, vpon their high watch-stands, that when the enemy approached on a sudden, they might fire the sticks, and so giue notice vnto their owne souldiers and the neighbouring townes: The *Greekes* called those bundels *σποντῆς*, and by these fires within lesse then halfe an houre, notice might bee giuen vnto the contrey an hundred mile about, to come betimes to the preuenting of their danger. It may also bee vnderstood of the signe giuen in battels.

Sellers of  
smoake.

*By what right the Romaines attained their first wines.*

CHAP. 13.

**I**N like manner, neither *Iuno* (for all that shee was now, as her husband was, good friends with the *Romaines*) nor *Venus*, could helpe her sonnes progenie to honest and honorable mariages, but suffered this want to growe to hurtfull vnto them, that they were driuen to get them wiues by force, and soone after were compelled to goe into the field against their wiues owne fathers, and the wretched women beeing yet scarcely reconciled to their husbands for this wrong offered them, were now endowed with their fathers murders and kindreds blood: but in this conflict the *Romaines* had the lucke to be conquerors. But O what worlds of wounds, what numbers of funerals, what Oceans of bloodshed did those victories cost! for one onely father (*a*) in law *Cesar*, and for one onely sonne in law *Pompey*; (the wife of *Pompey*, and daughter to *Cesar* being dead) with what true feeling, and iust cause of sorrow doth *Lucane* crie out.

*Bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia campos,  
Iusq; datum scelere canimus: ———*

Warres worle then ciuill in th' (*b*) *Emathian* plaines,

And right left spoile to rage we sing: ———

Thus then the *Romaines* conquered, that they might now returne and embrace the daughters with armes embrued in the blood of the fathers: nor durst the poore creatures weepe for their slaughtered parents, for feare to offend their conquering husbands: but all the time of the battle, stood with their vowes in their mouthes (*c*) and knew not for which side to offer them. Such mariages *Bellona*, (and not *Venus*) bestowed vpon the *Romaines*: or perhaps (*d*) *Alecto* that filthy hellish furie, now that *Iuno* was agreed with them, had more power vpon their bosomes now, then shee had then, when *Iuno* entreated her helpe against *Aeneas*. Truly (*e*) *Andromacha's* captiuitie was farre more tollerable then these *Romaine* mariages; for though she liued fertile, yet *Pyrrhus* after hee had once embraced her, would neuer kill *Troian* more. But the *Romaines* slaughtered their owne step-fathers in the field, whose daughters they had already enioyed in their beds. *Andromacha's* estate secured her from further feares, though it freed her not from precedent sorrowes: But these poore soules being matched to these sterne warriors, could not but feare at their husbands going

to battell, and wept at their returne, hauing no way to freedome either by their feares or teares. For they must either (in piety) bewaile the death of their friendes and kinsfolkes, or (in cruelty) reioice at the victories of their husbands. Besides, (as warres chance is variable) some lost their husbands by their fathers swords; and some lost both, by the hand of each other. For it was no small war that Rome at that time waged. It came to the besieging of the city it selfe, and the *Romaines* were forced to rely vpon the strength of their walls and gates which (f) being gotten open by a wile, and the foe being entred within the waile (g) euen in the very market-place was there a most wofull and wicked battell, struck betwixt the fathers in law and the sons. And here were the rauishers conquered maugre their beards, and driuen to flye into their owne houses, to the great staine of all their precedent (though badly and bloudily gotten) (h) conquests: for here *Romulus* him-selfe despairing of his soldiors valors, (i) praid vnto *Iupiter* to make them stand, and (k) here-vpon got *Iupiter* his sur-name of *Stator* (l) Nor would these butcheries haue euer beene brought vnto any end, but that the silly rauished women came running forth, with torne and disheueled haire, and falling at their parents feete, with passionate intreaties, instead of hostile armes, appeased their iustly intraged valors. And then was *Romulus* that could not indure to share with his brother, compelled to diuide his Kingdom with *Tatius*, the King of the *Sabines*: but (m) how long would he away with him, that misliked the fellowship of his owne twin-borne brother? So *Tatius* being slaine, he to become the greater Deity, tooke possession of the whole kingdom. O what rights of marriage were these, what firebrands of war; what leagues of brother-hood, affinity, vnion, or Deity! And ah what (n) liues the cittizens lastly led, vnder so huge a bed-roll of gods Guardians! You see what copious matter this place affordeth, but that our intention bids vs remember what is to follow, and faile on discourse to other particulars.

## L. VIVES.

*Father in law* (a) *Cæsar* *Julia* the only daughter of *C. Cæsar* was married vnto *Cn. Pompeius* the great. Shee died in child-bed, whilst her father warred in *France*. And after that he and his sonne in law waged ciuils wars one against another: (b) *Emathian* ] That which is called *Macedonia* now, was called once *Emathia*. (*Plin. lib. 4.*) There did *Pompey* and *Cæsar* fight a set field. (c) *And knew not.* ] *Ouid* (*Fastor. 3.*) hath these wordes of the *Sabine* women when the *Romaines* battell and theirs were to ioine: *Mars* speaketh.

*Conueniunt nupta distam Iunonis in adam,*

*Quas inter mea sic est nurus ansa loqui:*

*O pariter raptæ, quoniam hoc commune tenemus,*

*Non ultra lenta possumus esse pie.*

*Stant acies: sed vtraq; sunt pro parte rogandæ*

*Elitæ, hinc coniunx, hinc pater arma tenet.*

*Querendum est, vidua fieri malitis, an orbatæ &c.*

The wiues in *Iunoos* church a meeting make,  
Where met, my daughter thus them all bespake:  
Poore rauisht soules, since all our plights are one,  
Our zeale ha's now no meane to thinke vpon.  
The batails ioine: whom shall we pray for rather?  
Choose: here a husband fights, and there a father:  
Would you be spouselesse (wiues) or fatherlesse, &c.

(e) Or perhaps *Alecto* ] The 3. furies, *Alecto*, *Megera*, & *Tisiphone*, are called the daughters of *nigh* & *Acheron*. *Alecto* affects y hart with ire, hate, tumult, sedition, clamors, war, slaughters.

*Te potes unanimes armare in pralia fratres,*  
*de quo odiis versare domos*

|| Tis thou can make sroune bretheren mortall foes,  
Confounding hate wth hate

saith

Saith *Iuno* to *Alecto*, stirring her vp against the *Troians*. *Aeneid*. 7. (e) *Andromache* ] *Hectors* *Andromache*. wife, daughter to *Tetion* King of *Thebes* in *Cilicia*: *Pyrrhus* married her after the destruction of *Troye*. (f) *Being gotte open* ] *Sp. Tarpeius* was Lieutenant of the Tower, whose daughter *Tarpeia*, *Tatius* the *Sabine* King with great promises allured to let in his souldiors when shee went out to fetch water. Shee assented, vpon condition that shee might haue that which each of his souldiors wore vpon his left arme. *Tatius* agreed, and being let in, the Souldiors smothered the maide to death with their bucklers: for them they wore on their left armes also, whereas shee dreamed onely of their golden bracelets which they bore on that arme. *Plutarch* (out of *Aristides Milesius*) saith, that this happened to the *Albanes*, not to the *Sabines*. In *Parallelis*. But I do rather agree with *Liuse*, *Fabius*, *Piso*, and *Cincius*, of the *Latine* writers, and *Dionysius* of the *Greekes*. (g) *In the very market place* ] Betweene the *Capitoll* and *Mount Palatine*. (h) *Conquests* ] Not of the *Sabines*, but of the *Ceninensians*, the *Crustumerians*, and the *Attemates*. (i) *Praide vnto Iupiter* ] In these words: *But O thou father of Gods and men, keepe but the foes from hence, take away the Romanes terror, and stay their flight, Vnto thee O Iupiter Stator, doe I vowe to build a temple in this place, at a monument vnto all posteritie, that by thine onely helpe the citty was saued. Liuius lib. 1.* (k) *Here vpon* ] *Stator à sistendo*, of staying, or à stando, of stablishing, that is, erecting the *Romaine* spirits that were dejected. *Cicero* calleth this *Iupiter*, the preseruer of the *Empire*, in many places. I thinke it is because his house was neere this temple. *Saint Hierome* saith, that this *Iupiter* was formed standing: not that he thinketh he was called *Stator*, because he standeth so vpright, but because *Iupiter Tonans* (as *Hermolaus Barbarus* hath noted) was alwayes stamped and engrauen vpon ancient coynes fitting: and *Stator*, standing, as being in readinesse to helpe and assist men: *Soneca* giues a deeper reason of his name. *Hee is not called stator* (saith he) *because (as history reporteth) hee stayed the Romaine armie after the vowe of Romulus, but because by his benefits all things consist, and are establsbed. De benefic. lib. 4.* And *Tully* likewise: *When we call Iupiter, Almighty, Salutaris, Hospitalis, & Stator, wee meane, that all mens health, and stabilitie is consisting of him and from him, being under his protection.* But both these authors doe here speake *Stoically*. For *Tully* maketh *Cato* the *Stoike* speake these fore-alleged words. *De finib. lib. 3.* For all these assertions of the gods the *Stoikes* reduced to a more *Metaphysicall* or *Theologicall* sence. (l) *Nor would these Butcheries* ] In the midst of the fight the women gaue in betwixt the battels all bare-headed and loose haired: and calling on their parents on this side, and their husbands on that, with teares besought them both to fall to agreement: So the battell ceased, a league was made, the *Sabines* became citizens, and *Tatius* was ioyned King with *Romulus*. (m) *But how long* ] The *Laurentians* of *Launium* slew *Tatius* the fift yeare of his raigne with *Romulus*, because his friends had iniured their Embassadors. Hereof was *Romulus* very glad. (n) *Liues* ] some read *Iura*, lawes. But in the old manuscripts, some haue *vira*, and some *vira*, liues, both better then *Iura*.

*How impious that warre was, which the Romaines began with the  
Albanes, and of the nature of those victories which  
ambition seekes to obtaine.*

CHAP. 14.

**B**V T when *Numa* was gone, what did the succeeding Kings? O how tragicall (as well on the *Romaines* side as on the *Albanes*) was that warre betweene *Rome* and *Alba*? Because (forsooth) the peace of *Numa* was growne loathsome, therefore must the *Romaines* and the *Albanes* begin alternate massacres, to so great an endamaging of both their estates: And *Alba* (a) the daughter of *Ascanius*, *Aeneas* his sonne, (a more appropriate mother vnto *Rome* then *Troye*) must by *Tullus Hostilius* his prouocation, bee compelled to fight with *Rome* it selfe, her owne daughter. And fighting with her, was afflicted, and did afflict, vntill the continuall conflicts had vtterly tyred both the parties. And then they were faine to put the finall ending of the whole warre (b) to sixe bretheren, three *Horatij* on *Romes* sides, and three *Curatij* on *Albas*. So two of the *Horatij*

fell by the three other: and the three other fell by the third onely of the *Horatij*. Thus gotte Rome the vpper hand, yet so hardly, as of sixe combattants, onely one suruiued. Now who were they that lost on both sides? who were they that lamented but *Aeneas* his progenie, *Ascanius* his posteritie, *Venus* of spring, and *Jupiters* children? for this warre was worse then ciuill, where the daughter citty bore armes against the mother. (c) Besides, this brethrens fight was closed with an horrid and an abominable mischiefe. For in the time of the league betweene both citties, a sister of the *Horatij*, was espoused to one of the *Curiatij*, who seeing her brother returne with the spoiles of her dead spouse, and bursting into teares at this heauy sight, was runne thorow the body by hir owne brother in his heate and furie. There was more true affection in this one poore woman (in my iudgement) then in all the whole Romaine nation besides. Shee did not deserue to be blamed for bewailing that hee was slaine to whom shee ought her faith (or that her brother had slaine him to whom he him-selfe perhaps had promised her his sister.) For *Pious Aeneas* is commended in *Virgill* for bewailing (d) him whom hee had slaine as an enemy. And *Marcellus*, viewing the faire cittie *Syracusa*, being then to bee made a prey to ruine by the armes of his conduct, reuoluing the inconstancie of mortall affaires, pittied it, and bewailed it: I pray you then giue thus much leaue to a poore woman, in tender affection, faultlesly to bewaile her spouse, slaine by her brother, since that warlike men haue beene praised for deploring their enemies estate in their owne conquests. But when this one wretched soule lamented thus, that her loue had lost his life by her brothers hand, contrarywise did all Rome reioyce, that shee had giuen their mother so mighty a foyle, and exulted in the plenty of the allyed bloud that she had drawne. What face then haue you to talke of your victories and your glories hereby gotten? Cast but aside the maske of mad opinion, and all these villanies will appeare naked, to view, peruse, and censure: weigh but *Alba's* cause and *Troyes* together, and you shall finde a full difference. *Tullus* began these warres, onely to renew the discontinued valours and triumphs of his country-men. From this ground, arose these horrid warres, betweene kindred & kindred, which notwithstanding *Saluste* doth but ouer-run, *siccoped*: for hauing briefly recollected the precedent times, when men liued, without aspiring or other affects, each man contenting himselfe with his owne. But after that (e) *Cyrus* (quoth he) in *Asia*, and the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* in *Greece*, began to subdue the countries & cities within their reaches, then desire of soueraignty grew a common cause of warre, and opinion placed the greatest glory in the largest Empire, &c. Thus farre he. This desire of soueraignty is a deadly corrasiu to humane spirits. This made the Romaines triumph ouer *Alba*, and gaue the happy successe of their mischiefes, the stile of glories. Because, as our Scripture saith; *The wicked maketh boast of his hearts desire, and the vnjust dealer blesseth himselfe*. Take off then these deluding vayles from things, and let them appeare as they are indeed. Let none tell me, Hee, or Hee is great, because he hath coped with and conquered such and such an one. Fencers can fight & conquer, & those bloody acts of theirs in their combate (f) doe neuer passe vngraced. But I hold it rather fit to expose a mans name to all taint of idlenesse, then to purchase renoune from such bad employment. But if two Fencers or sword-plaiers should come vpon the stage, one being the father, & another the sonne, who could endure such a spectacle? how then can glory attend the armes of the daughter city against the mother? do yee make a difference in that their field was larger thē the fencers stage, & y they fought not in view of the theater but the whole world, presenting a spectacle

Rome had  
no iust  
cause of  
war against  
Alba.

Psal. 10. 3.

As they  
did in Rome  
to fight for  
their liues.

a spectacle of eternall impiety both to the present times, and to all posteritie: But your great guardian-gods bore all this vnmooued, sitting as spectators of this tragedy, whilest for the three *Curiaj* that were flaine, the sister of the *Horatij* must be stabbed by the hand of her owne brother, to make euen the number with hir two other brethren, that *Romes* conquest might cost no lesse blood then *Alb's* losse did: which, as the fruite of the victory (*b*) was vtterly subuerted: euen this place, which the gods (after *Ilium*, which the *Greekes* destroyed, and *Launium*, where *Latinus* placed fugitiue *Aeneas* as King) had chosen to bee their third place of habitation. But it may be they were gone hence also, and so it came to be razed: yes sure, all they that kept the state of it vp, were departed from their shrines: Then they left *Alba* where *Amulius* had raigned, hauing thrust out his brother, and went to dwell at *Rome*, where *Romulus* had raigned, hauing killed his brother. Nay, but before this demolition (say they) the people of *Alba* were all transported vnto *Rome*, to make one Cittie of both. Well be it so, yet the Cittie, that was the seate Royall of *Ascanus*, and the third habitacle of the *Troian* gods, was vtterly demolished. And much blood was spilt, before they came to make this miserable confusion of both these peoples together. Why should I particularize the often renouation of these warres vnder so many seuerall kings; which when they seemed to be ended in victory, began so often againe in slaughters, and after combination and league, brake out so fresh betweene kindred and kindred, both in the predecessors and their posteritie? No vaine Embleme of their misery was that continuall standing open, of *Ianus* his gate: so that for all the helpe of these gods-guardians, there was not one King of them that continued his raigne in peace.

## L. VIVES.

(a) **A** *Alba*, ] There were many *Alba's*: one in *Spain*, called also *Virgao*. Another in that part of *France* called *Pronence*, a towne of the *Heluii*. A third in *Italy*, by the Lake *Fucinus*, now called *Lago de Marso*, or *Lago di Celano*, &c. A fourth in *Lombardy* called *Pompeia*. The fift vpon *Mount Albanus*, called *Alba Longa*. And *Rome* (not onely that which *Romulus* built) was a collony of the *Albanes* brought out by *Romulus* and *Remus*: but many thinke that the old *Rome* also, that was long before, was built by *Romulus*, *Aeneas* his sonne: which being at length through pestilence and often inuasion left desolate, was by the *Albanes* (pitying the inhabitants cases) restored, and diuerse of them sent to repaire and people it. (*b*) *Three bretheren*, ] (*Lin lib. 1.*) It is commonly knowne that *Metius Sufferius* the Dictator of *Alba*, counselled and agreed with *Tullus* the King of *Rome*, to take a course to saue the liues of so many innocent people on both sides, and to haue the controuersie decided by a few onely: so making a league, sixe men were appointed to fight for both the states soueraignities. Now there were three bretheren in either armie, these were turned together into the lists, and whose side conquered, that people should bee soueraigne. (*c*) *Besides*, ] *Sainte Augustine* may be his owne comment herein, hee tells it so plaine. (*d*) *Bewayling him* ] *Lansus, Mithridatus* his sonne, *Aeneid 10.* (*e*) *Cyrus* ] There were two *Cyri* the greater, meant here, Conqueror of *Asia*, *Scythia*, and all the East, reigning in the time of *Tarquin the proud*. Hee tooke *Cresus* the rich King of *Lydia*: but by *Tomiris* Queene of *Scythia*, himselfe was taken, beheaded, and his head souced in a tubbe of blood, to satisfie his cruell thirst. *Plutarch*, *Strabo*, *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, &c. *Herodotus* calleth him *μᾶζος βασιλεῦς*, the great King. And there-vpon the other *Persian* Kings are vsually so stiled. The other was *Cyrus the lesser*, sonne to *Darius*, brother to *Artaxerxes*, whose iourney into *Persia*, *Xenophon* wrote. (*f*) *Doe neuer passe* ] With crownes hung all with labells and pendants. (*g*) *Amphitheater* ] The Theater was like halfe a circle, the Amphitheater like a full circle: it was strowed with Sand, and there the Fencers fought. (*h*) *Was vtterly* ] *Lin*. In the first *Veian* warre, when *Metius* of *Alba* stood as neuter with his armie, and would not helpe *Tullus* according to the conditions of the league, *Tullus* made him be drawne in peccets with horses, destroyed *Alba*, & remoued all the *Albanes* to *Rome*.

Alba.

The two Cyri.

Magnus Rex.

The Theater &amp; Amphitheater.

## Of the lives and deaths of the Romaine Kings.

## CHAP. 15.

**B**Vt how ended their Kings still? for *Romulus*, let that flattering fable looke to him, which hath sent him vp into heauen. Let some of their owne (a) writers iudge, that affirme him torne in peeces by the Senate for his pride, and that (b) I know not whom, one *Iulius Proculus*, was suborned to say, that he appeared vnto him, commanding him to bid Rome giue him diuine honor, and so was the furie of the people surprised. Besides, an Ecclipse of the sunne falling out at the same time, wrought so vpon the (c) ignorance of the rude vulgar, that they ascribed all this vnto *Romulus* his worthe and glories. As though that if the sunne had mourned, as they thought it did, (d) they should not rather imagine that it was because *Romulus* was murdered, and therefore that the sunne turned his light from such a villanie; as it did indeed when our Lord and Sauour was crucified by the bloody & reprobate *Jewes*. (e) That the Ecclipse which befell at our Sauours death, was quite against the regular course of the stars, is hence most plaine, because it was the *Jewes* Easter: which is continually kept at the ful of the Moone. But (f) the regular eclipse of the Sunne neuer hapneth but in the changing of the Moone. Now *Cicero* intimates plainly that this admission of *Romulus* into heauen, was rather imagined then performed; there where in *Scipio's* words (*De repub.*) speaking of his prayse, *Hee attained so much* (saith hee) *that being not to be found after the sunnes Ecclipse, he was accounted as admitted into the number of the gods: which opinion, there is no man without admirable merit of vertue can purchase.* Now whereas hee saith, that hee was not to bee found, hee glanceth doublelesse eyther at the secrecie of the murther, or intimateth the violence of the tempest. For other writers (g) adde vnto this Ecclipse a sudden storme, which either was the agent or the occasion of *Romulus* his murther. Now *Tully* in the same bookes, speaking of (h) *Hoftilius* (third King after *Romulus*) who was stricken to death with thunder, saith, that hee was not reckoned amongst the gods, because that which was prooued true (that is, that which they beleued was so) in *Romulus*: the Romaines would not (i) embase, by making it too common, in giuing it to the one as well as the other. And in his *Inuectiues* hee saith plainly. *It is our good-will and fame, that hath made Romulus (this Citties founder) a God.* To shew that it was not so indeed, but onely spred into a reporte by their good-will to him for his worthe and vertues. But in his Dialogue called (k) *Hortensius*, disputing of regular Eclipses, hee saith more plainly: *To produce such a darkenesse as was made by the Ecclipse of the Sunne at Romulus his death.* Here he feared not to say directly *his death*, by reason hee sustained the person of a disputant; rather then a *Panegyricke*. But now for the other Kings of Rome, excepting *Numa*, and *Ancus Martius*, that dyed of infirmities, what horrible ends did they all come to? *Hoftilius*, the subuerter of *Alba*, as I sayd, was consumed, together with his whole house by lightning. (l) *Tarquinius Pristus* was murdered by his predecessors sonnes: And *Seruius Tullius*, by the villanie of his sonne in lawe *Tarquin* the proude, who succeeded him in his kingdome. Nor yet were any of the gods gone from their shrines, for all this so haynous a parricide, committed vpon this so good a King, though it bee affirmed that they serued wretched *Troye* in worse manner, in leauing it to the licentious furie of the *Greekes*, onely for *Paris* his adulterie. Nay, *Tarquin* hauing shedde his father in lawes blood, seized on his estate himselfe. This parricide gotte his

The sunnes  
naturall  
Ecclipse at  
*Romulus*  
his death.

Luc. 13.

his crowne by his stepfathers murder, and after-wards glorying in monstrous warres and massacres, and euen building the *Capitoll* vpon, with hence-got spoiles: This wicked man, the gods were so far from forsaking, that they sat and looked on him, nay and would haue *Iupiter* their principall to sit, and sway all things in that stately temple, namely in that blacke monument of parricide, for *Tarquinius* was not innocent, when he built (*m*) the *Capitoll*, and for his after-guilt, incurred expulsion: No, foule and inhumaine murder was his very ladder to that state whereby he had his meanes to build the *Capitol*. And (*n*) whereas the *Romaines* expelled him the state and *Citty* afterwards, the cause of that (namely *Lucretia's* rape) grew from his sonne and not from him, who was both ignorant and absent when that was done: for then was he at the siege of *Ardea*, and a fighting for the *Romaines* good: nor know we what he would haue done had he knowne of this fact of his sonne, yet without all triall or iudgement, the people expelled him from his Empire: and hauing charged his army to abandon him, tooke them in at the gates, & shut him out. But he himselfe after he had plagued the *Romaines* (by their borderers meanes) with extreme warres, and yet at length being not able to recouer his estate, by reason his friends fayled him: retired himselfe (as it is reported) vnto (*v*) *Tusculum*, a towne fourteene miles from *Rome*, and there enioying a quiet and priuat estate, liued peaceably with his wife, and died farre more happily then his Father in law did, who fell so bloudily by his meanes, and (*p*) his owne daughters consent, as it is credibly affirmed, and yet this *Tarquinius* was neuer surnamed *cruell* nor *wicked* by the *Romaines*, but the *Proud*; it may be (*q*) because their owne pride would not let them beare with his: As for the crime of killing that good King his Step-father, they shewed how light they made of that, in making him murder the King, wherein I make a question whether the gods were not guilty in a deeper manner then he, by rewarding so highly a guilt so horrid, and not leauing their shrines all at that instant when it was done, vnlesse some will say for them, that they staid still at *Rome*, to take a deeper reuenge vpon the *Romaines*, rather then to assist them, seducing them with vaine victories, and tossing them in vnceasing turmoiles. Thus liued the *Romaines* in those so happy times, vnder their Kings, euen vntil the expelling of *Tarquinius the proud*, which was about two hundred forty and three yeares together, paying so much bloud, and so many liues for euery victory they got, and yet hardly enlarging their Empire the distance of (*r*) twenty miles compasse without the walles: How farre then haue they to conquer, and what store of stroks to share, vntill they come to conquer a City of the (*s*) *Getulians*?

## L. VIVES.

**T**Heir owne (*a*) writers] *Dionysius* (*lib. 2.*) saith that the senators tore him in peeces and euery one bore away a peece wrapped in his gowne: keping it by this meanes from the notice of the vulgar (*b*) *I know not whome*] this hee addeth either because the author is obscure, or because the lye that *Proculus* told was vile & periured. (*c*) *Ignorance*] Before that their Philosophers shewed men the causes of eclipses, men when they saw them, feared indeed either some great mischiefe, or the death of the planets themselues, nor was this feare only vulgar, euen the learned shared in it, as *Stesichorus*, and *Pindarus*, two lyrick Poets (*d*) *They should not rather*] not is put into the reformed copies otherwise the sence is inuerted, (*e*) *that that eclipse*] the partly meeting of the Sun and Moone depriues vs of the Suns light, and this is the *Eclipse of the Sun* but the shade of the earth falling from s<sup>y</sup> suns place lineally vpon the moone, makes the moones eclipse. So that neither can the Sunne bee eclipsed but in the Moones change, and partite coniunction with him; neither can the Moone be eclipsed but at her ful, and in her farthest

*Romulus*  
his death.

Eclipses.



posture from the sunne: then is the prostitute to obnubilation. (f) *The regular*] *Regular* and *Canon* is all one: of *Canon* the Greeke word: well was this waighed of the *Augustine* Monkes, who holding the one insufficient, would be called by them both. (g) *Adde unto this*] *Linie*, *A tempest suddainely arose, with great thunder and lightning*: (h) *Of Hostilius*] Some write that he and his whole house was burnt with lightning. Some, that it was fired by *Martius Ancus* his successor. (i) *Embase*] *Vilefacere* saith *Saint Augustine*, but this is not well, nor learnedly: no, if any of our fine *Ciceronians* correct it, it must be *Vilificare*: for this is their vsuall phrase: *Hominiſicare*, *animaliſicare*, *accidentiſicare*, *afiniſicare*. (k) *Hortensius*] Wee haue lost it: that which some take to bee it, is the fourth of the *Tusculanes*. *Marcellus*. (l) *Tarquinius Priscus*] The fift Romaine King, *Demaratus* his sonne of *Corinth*, hee was slaine by shephards suborned by the sonnes of *Martius Ancus*. After him came *Sernius Tullus* his step-sonne, powrefull in peace, and warre: who adorned his City with many good institutions. Hee was slaine by the meanes of *Tarquin the proude*. This *Tarquin* was brutish and cruell to his people: but exceeding valourous in warre and peace. (m) *The Capitol*] On the hill *Saturnius*, afterwardes called *Tarpeius*, did hee dedicate the *Capitol* to almighty *Ioue*. (n) *And whereas*] The seauenth and last King of the Romaines, hee was expelled by *Brutus*, *Collatinus*, *Lucretius*, *Valerius*, *Horatius* &c. Partly because of many old iniuries, but chiefly for his sonne *Sextus* his Rape of *Lucreſſe*. Hee was besieging *Ardea* when the people beganne this depriuation, and when he came to the City, *Brutus*, that came into the campe another waie, with-drew all his army from him. (o) *Tusculum*] It is more commonly beleueed that hee died at *Cama* with King *Aristodemus*, liuing neere at the age of 90. yeares: I doe not denie his stay some yeares at *Tusculum* with *Oetanus Mamilius* his sonne in law, vntill at that memorable filed at *Lake Regillus* (now called *Lago. di. S. Prassede*) *Mamilius* was slaine by *T. Herminius*, Legate of Rome. Which perhaps is cause of *Saint Augustines* forgetfulnesse in a matter of so small a moment, caring not whether it bee reported thus or thus, (p) *His owne daughters consent*] Nay, furtherance it is sayd, and continuall vrging her husband to the fact. (q) *There owne pride*] A pithy and elegant saying. (r) *twenty miles*] Eighteene, saith *Ruffus*, won by *Ancus* from Rome to *Ostia* by the sea. *Eutropius* hath but sixteene. (s) *Getulians*] *Getulia* is a part of *Affrike*, neere the inhabitable Zone, as *Mela* saith. *Saluſt* writeth thus of them. *The rude and barbarous Getulians dwell at first in Africa: the flesh of wild beastes & grasse was their meate, as beastes, haue also their apparell. Law had they none, nor government, nor place of aboade.* This and more hath *Saluſt* of the *Getulians*. *Mela* saith they are a great and populous country.

*Of the first Romaine Consulls; how the one expelled the other out of his country, and hee himselfe, after many bloody murders, fell by a wound, giuen him by his wounded foe.* CHAP. 16.

Vnto these times, addethe other, wherein (as *Saluſt* saith) things were modestly and iustly caried, vntill the feare of *Tarquin* and the *Hetrurian* warre were both ended. For whilest the *Hetrurians* assisted *Tarquins* endeauours of re-instalment, Rome quaked vnder so burthenous a warre. And therefore (saith *Saluſt*) were things caried modestly and iustly, feare beeing the cause hereof by restraint, not iustice, by perswasion. In which short space, O how cruell a course had the yeare of the two first Consulls! The time beeing yet vnexpired, *Brutus* debased *Collatine*, and banished him the City: And soone after, perished he himselfe, hauing (a) enterchanged a many wounds with his foe, (b) hauing first slaine his owne sonnes, and his wiues brothers, because he found them actors in a plot to recall *Tarquin*. Which deed, *Virgill* hauing laudably recited, presently doth in gentle manner deplore it: for hauing sayd.

— Natofq; Pater mala bella mouentes  
Ad panam pulcra pro libertate vocabit.

} His sonnes, conuict of turbulent transgression  
He kills, to quit his country from oppression.

Presently in lamenting manner he addeth.

*Infelix,*

*Infelix, ut cunq̄ ferent ea facta minores.*

Haplesse, how ere succeeding times shall ringe.

Howsoeuer his posterity shall ring of the praise of such an act, yet haplesse is he, that giues deathes summons to his owne sonnes: But to giue some solace to his sorrowes, he addeth after all.

*Vicit amor patrie laudumq̄ immensa cupido,*

Conquer'd by countries loue, and lawds high thirst.

Now in *Brutus* his killing of his owne sonnes, and (c) in beeing killed by *Tarquins* sonne, whome hee had hurt, and *Tarquin* himselfe suruiuing him, is not (d) *Collatines* wrong well reuenged, who beeing so good a cittizen was banished (onely because his name was but *Tarquin*) as well as *Tarquin* the tyrant: (e) It was the name (you say) that was the cause of this: well, hee should haue bene made to change his name: then and not to abandon his country. Againe (f) this word would haue bene but little missed in his name, if hee had bene called *L. Collatine* onely: This therefore was no sufficient cause, why hee, being one of the first Confulls, should bee forced to abiure both his honours and his Citie. But is this vniustice, being so detestable, and so vse-lesse to the state. fit to bee the foundation of *Brutus* his glory? Did he these things, being Conquer'd by our countries lones, and landes high thirst? *Tarquin* beeing expelled, *L. Tarquin Collatine*, *Lucretia's*-husband was ioyned Confull with *Iunius Brutus*: how iustly did the people respect the conditions of the man and not the name? But how vniustly did *Brutus* (hauing powre to depriue him onely of the cause of the offence, his name) in depriuing him both of his country, and place of honour? Thus these euills, thus these thwart effects fell out euen then when things were said to be carried so modestly and so iustly. And (g) *Lucretius*, that had *Brutus* his place, died ere this yeare ended: So that *P. Valerius* that succeeded *Collatine*, and *M. Horatius* that had *Lucretius* his place, ended that Hellish and murderous yeare, which saw it selfe passe by five Confulls. This was the yeare, wherein Rome deuised her platforme of new government, their feares now beginning to surcease, not because they had no warres, but because those they had were but light ones: But the time beeing expired wherein things were modestly and iustly carried, then followed those which *Salust* doth thus breeflie delineate. *Then beganne the Patriots to oppresse the people with seruile conditions, to iudge of life and death as Imperiously as the Kings had done before, to thrust men from their possessions, to put by all others, and to swaye all themselues; with which outrages, and chiefly with their extorted taxes, the people beeing to much vexed, (beeing bound both to maintaine an armie and also to pay contributions besides) they rusht vppe to armes, and entrenched themselues vpon Mount Sacer, and Auentine: and there they made them Tribunes, and diuers lawes; but these discords and tumultuous contentions ended not till the second African warre.*

### L. VIVES.

**H**aving (a) enterchanged] With *Arnus*, King *Tarquinius* sonne: beeing slaine, the matrons mourned a whole yeare for him, and his Colleague, *Valerius* made an oration in his praise, the first of that kinde in Rome. (b) Having first slaine] The *Vitellii*, *Brutus* his wiues brethren, conspired with certaine secret messengers of *Tarquin*, to bring him secretly in againe, and made *Titus* and *Tiberius*, *Brutus* the Confull sons, priuy and pertakers in this affaire. *Brutus* discovering the plot, put them all to death. (c) In beeing killed] The manuscripts haue this diuerfly: wec haue it the best. (d) *Collatines wrong*] I noted before, *That those that* deprined

deprived their fellowes in Consull-ship lined not a yeare after. (e) For it is sayd] Hee was sonne to *M. Iunius*, and *Tarquins* sister. (f) This name would] Some hereof transpose the word *if*, but erroneously. (g) *Lucretius*] This first yeare had five Consulls: first *Brutus* and *Collatine*: then *P. Valerius Poplicola* in *Collatines* place, Then *Sp. Lucretius* (after the death of *Brutus* in warre,) had *Brutus* his place: and hee dying ere the end of the yeare, *M. Horatius Pulvillus* succeeded him.

*Of the Vexations of the Romaine estate, after the first beginning of the the Consulls rule: And of the little good that their gods all this while did them*

CHAP. 17.

**B**Vt why should I spend so much time in writing of these things, or make others spend it in reading them? How miserable the state of Rome stood all that long time vntill the second *Punike* warre, how sorely shaken by forraine warres, and intestine discord, *Salust* hath already made a succinct demonstration. So that their victories neuer brought any true felicity to the good, but onely vaine solaces to the wretched, and inductions & inticements to the turbulent, to continue disquiets progresse. Let no wise Romaine then bee angry with vs for saying this: but we need not intreate, wee are already assured, they will not. For wee vie but the words of their owne writers, and that with farre lesse gall, then themselues meant it, and in lesse glosse then they spoake it. Yet those doe they learne, and those they make their children learne: Then why stomach they mee for saying as *Salust* sayes: *Many troubles, seditions, and lastly ciuill warres burst out, whilst a few (a) of the greatest, vnder the honest stile of fathers, used the licence of tyrants, nor did the Cittizens attaine the titles of good and bad, according to their (b) deserts in the state (all being fowle a lke) but he that had most wealth and powre to iniure, because hee defended the present government (as fittest for his turme) hee was the onely good man.* If these writers now held it as pertinent to an honest mans liberty, to be so free tongued against their owne citties corruptions, which other-wise they haue beene often enforced to commend, in that they had no knowledge of any better state, wherein they might become denizens eternall; what then shall wee doe, whose trust in God by how much it is firmer, so much ought our tongues to bee the freer, in repelling the scandall they cast vpon our Saviour Christ, with intent to seduce vnsettled and vnfound mindes from that citty, where happinesse is mans possession vnto all eternity? Neither do we loade their gods with any more horrid guilt, then their owne writers doe, whom they reade and reuerence: what wee say, we say it from them, beeing vnable to recite all, or all that they haue of this kind. (c) where then were these gods, (which men hold so venerable for the attayning of worldly vanities) when the Romaines, whose seruices they angled for so cunningly, were afflicted so extremely? where were they when Consull *Valerius* was slaine in defence of the Capitol, when it (d) was scalled by slaues and exiles? It was rather in his powre to protect the temple of *Iupiter*, then in the powres of all that kennell of gods, and their great King, to yeeld him any helpe at all. Where were they when the citty being so ouer-borne with seditions, was faine to send to Athens to borrow lawes, and in that little expectation of quietnesse, was vnpeopled by such a fore famine and pestilence? Where were they besides, when the people in this great famine, elected their first Praefect of the prouision, and when that in the increase of this dearth, (e) *Sp. Amilius*, for distributing of corne ouer bountifully amongst the starued people, was brought in suspicion of affecting Monarchy, and at the instance of the sayd Praefect,

præfect, by the meanes of *L. Quintus*, Dictator, an aged weake man, hee was slaine by the hand of *Q. Seruilus* the Generall of the horse-men, not without a most dreadfull and dangerous tumult in the whole Cittie. where were they when at the beginning of a wastefull pestilence, the people beeing wholly tyred with frustrat inuocations, thought it fitte to appease them with new (*f*) *Bed-spreadings*, a thing neuer done before? Then were there beddes brought into the Temples and spread in honour of the goddes, and hence this sacrifice (nay sacriledge) tooke the name. Where were they when for ten full yeares together the *Romaines* neuer fought against the *Veians* but they had the worse, until *Furius Camillus* was faine to help them, whome they kindly banished afterwards for his good seruice? Where were they when the *Galles* tooke *Rome*, sacked it, spoyled it, burned it, and made a very shambles of it? Where were they when that great plague destroyed almost all the Cittie, and *Camillus* amongst the rest, who hadde saued his thanklesse country from the *Veians* and after from the *Galles*? In this pestilence they first brought vppe their Stage-playes, a greater plague then the other, to their conditions though not to their carcaffes. Where were they, when (*g*) another sadde contagion arose (as it is said) from the poysoning trickes of the Matrons, yea of the most and Noblest, whose conditions herein proued worse then all those pestilent ayres? Or when the two Consuls with their armie beeing shutte in the *Caudine* Straites by the *Sammites*, were gladd to make a base composition with them? And deliuering sixe hundred Gentlemen for hostages, went away with all the rest, without armes, without baggage, without any thing but their very vpper garments? Or when the army perished almost wholly, part by the plague, and part by thunders? Or when in another great mortallity the Cittie was forced to fetch *Æsculapius* (as a Phisition for her) from *Epidaurus*, because *Iupiter*, the King of the Capitoll, hadde euer bene so imployed in his youth in rapes and adulteries, that these exercises gaue him no time to learne Physicke. Or when the *Brutians*, *Lucans*, *Sammites*, *Hetrurians* and *Senonian Galles*, conspiring altogether, first slew their Ambassadors, and then a whole army with the *Prator*, ten tribunes, and thirteene thousand soldiours? Or then when the long and fatall sedition in the Cittie, wherein the people at last incamped them-selues on *Ianiculus*, hauing booty-haled all the whole Cittie? Which mischiefe grew to such a lamentable passe, that they were gladd (for the last refuge in all desperate cases) to create a Dictator: *Hortensius*, who hauing re-vnited the people, and recalled them, died in his office, as no Dictator had done before, which was a great shame to the gods, now that *Æsculapius* was come to make one. And (*h*) then grew wars so fast vpon the, that their *Proletarii* their *Brood-men*, those that they alwaies forbare for getting of childre, being so needy they could not follow the wars themselves, were now for want of soldiars, compelled to serue them-selues? For now did (*i*) *Pyrrhus* that famous and warlike *Epirot* (beeing called in by the *Tarentines*) become *Romes* heauiue foe: (*k*) And asking the Oracle of his successe, truly *Apollo* answered him very neatly, in such ambiguous manner, that which way so ere it happened, his deity might stand vnblemished: *Nis te Æacida Romanos vincere posse*: saith hee: So that whether *Pyrrhus* or the *Romaines* hadde the vpper hand, the Oracle neede not care, for *Apollo* speakes true how euer. After this, followed a fore and bloody fight, wherein notwithstanding (*l*) *Pyrrhus* was conquerour, so that now hee might iustly esteeme *Phabus* a true fore-teller, as he vnderstood him; but that in the next conflict the

*Romaines*

*Romaines* hadde the better (*m*) and in this great hostility, arose as great a plague amongst the women: For, ere they could bee deliuered, being bigge with childe, still they dyed. Now heere *Aesculapus* hadde an excuse, hee professed him-selfe (*n*) the Prince of Physicke and not of Mid-wifery. Cattell dyed also so sore, that one would haue thought the worldes vtter vastation was entered. And then there was a winter how strangely vnseasonable! The snow lying in the Market-place forty daies together in a monstrous depth; all *Tiber* beeing frozen quite ouer: If this hadde hapened in our times, Lord how it would haue bene scanned vpon. And then for that (*o*) great pestilence, how many thousand tooke it hence: (which maugre all *Aesculapius* his druggs) lasting till the next yeare, they were faine to betake them-selues to the booke of the *Sybils*: (*p*) In which kind of Oracles (as *Tully* saith well in his booke *De diuinat.*) the expounders of them are oftener trusted, then otherwise; gesse they neuer so vnlikely: and then it was said that the pestilence raged so because that (*q*) many of the Temples were put vnto priuat mens vses: Hereby freeing *Aesculapius* either from great ignorance, or negligence. But why were these Temples turned vnto priuate habitations without prohibition, but onely because they saw they hadde lost too much labour in praying to such a crue of goddes so long: and so becomming wiser by degrees, had left haunting of those places by little and little, and at length abandoned them wholly, for the priuate vses of such as would inhabit them. For those houses that as then, for auoiding of this pestilence, were so dilligently repaired if they were not afterwards vtterly neglected, and so incroched vpon by priuat men as before; *Varro* should bee too blame to say (speaking of Temples) that many of them were vnknowne. But in the meane time this fetch was a pretty excuse for the goddes, but no cure at all for the Pestilence.

## L. VIVES.

A Few (*a*) of the greatest] The *Plobeians*, either through hate to the Nobles, or ambition in them-selues, disturbed the common state exceedingly, to assure and augment their owne pretending the defence of the peoples freedome, notwithstanding in all their courses the *Patriots* opposed them, abstracting from the peoples meanes to share amongst them-selues, pretending the defence of the Senates dignity, which the state would haue most eminent: but indeed they did nothing but contend & bandy factions, each with other, according to his power. (*b*) *deserts*] Some booke put in *incesserant*, but it hurterth the sence. (*c*) *Where then were*] All this relation of *Augustines* is out of *Linie*: read it in him least our repetition become both tedious and troublesome. (*d*) *It was scaled*] *Incensum* scaled, and not *incensum* fired: (*e*) *SP. Amilius*] This must be *Melius* assuredly, by the history. (*f*) *Bed-spreadings*] It was an old fashion to banquet vpon beds. But in their appeasiue, and sacrificial banquets, in the Temples, and in the night orgies, they made beds in the place, for the gods to lye and reuel vpon, and this was called *Lectisterium*, *Bed-spreading*. the Citty being sore infected with the plague (saith *Linie* lib. 5.) a few yeares ere it was taken by the *Galles*, the *Sybils* booke directed the first *Bed-spreading*, to last eight dayes: three beds were fitted: one for *Apollo* and *Latoia*, one for *Diana* and *Hercules*, one for *Mercury* and *Neptune*. But how this can bee the first *Bed-spreading* I cannot see, seeing that in the secular games y<sup>e</sup> *Poplicola*, *Brunus* his Colleague ordayned, there were three nights *Bed-spreadings*: *Valer* lib. 2. *Censurin de die Natall.* (*g*) *Another*] In y<sup>e</sup> Consulship of *C. L. Marcellus* & *T. Valerius*, was a great question in the Court about poisons because many great men had bene killed by their wiues vsing such meanes. (*h*) *Then grew wars*] Against the *Samnites*, *Galles*, *Tarentines*, *Lucans*, *Brutians*, and *Hetrurians*: after al which, followed *Pyrrhus* the King of *Epirus* his warre. But now a word or two of the *Proletary*, the *Brood-men* here named: *Seruius Tullus* the sixt King of *Rome*, diuided the people into six companies or formes, in the first was those that were censured worth *C. M. Asses*; or more, but vnder that King the greatest Censure was but *C X M.* (*Plin*: lib. 33.) the second contained all of an estate between *C.* and

Bed-sprea-  
ding.

Poisons  
vsed at  
Rome.

C. and *LXXV* Asses. the third, them vnder *L*. the fourth, them vnder *XXXV*. the fifth, them vnder *XI*. the last was a Century of men freed from warre-fare, *Proletarii* or *Brood-men*, and *Capiti-censi*. A *Brood-man* was hee that was rated *ML*. Asses in the Censors booke more or A *Brood-lesse*, and such were euer forborne from all offices and vses in the Cittie, beeing referred onely man. to begette children, and therefore were stiled *Proletarii*, of *Proles*, brood or offspring. The *Capite Censi* were poorer and valued but at *CCCLXXV*. asses. Who because they were not censured by their states, were counted by the poll, as augmenting the number of the Cittizens. These two last sorts did *Sern. Tullius* exempt from all seruice in warre, not that they were vnfit them-selues, or hadde not pledges to leaue for their fealty, but because they could not beare the charges of warre; for the soldiers in those daies maintained them-selues. It may be this old custome remained after the institution of tribute, and the people of *Rome* thought it not fitte that such men should go to warre, because that they accounted all by the purse. This reason is giuen by *Valerius* and *Gellius*. But these *Brood-men* were diuers times ledde forth to the wars *Capiti censi* afterward, many the *Capite Censi* neuer, vntill *Marius* his time, and the warre of *Ingrithe*: *Salust. Valer. Quantillian* also toucheth this *In milite mariano*. And here-vppon *Marius* their Generall was called *Capite Censu*. (i) *Pyrrhus* ] Descended by his mother from *Achilles*, by his father from *Hercules*, by both from *Ione*: This man dreaming on the worlds Monarchy, went with speed at the *Tarentines* intreary against the *Romaines*: hence hoping to subdue *Italie*, and then the whole world, as *Alexander* had done a while before him. (k) *Who asking* ] *Cicero de diuinat.* (lib. 2) saith that it is a verse in *Ennius*: *Aio* and as in the text, Which the Poet affirmeth that the Oracle returned as answer to *Pyrrhus* in his inquiry hereof. Whence *Tully* writeth thus. *But now to thee Apollo, thou that sittest upon the earths nauell*, from whence this cruel and superstitious voice first brake. *Chrysippus* fill'd a booke with thine Oracles, but partly fained (I thinke) and partly casuall, as is often seene in ordinary discourses: and partly equiuocall, cc that the interpreter shall need an interpreter, and the lotte must abide the tryall by lotte: and cc partly doubtful, & requiring the skil of Logike. Thus farre he: seeming to taxe Poets verse with falshood: *Pyrrhus* is called *Aeacides*, for *Achilles* was son to *Peleus*, and *Peleus* vnto *Aacus*. cc *Virgill. ipsūmq; Aeacidem &c.* meaning *Pyrrhus*. (l) *Pyrrhus was conqueror* ] *Pyrrhus* at *Hera- Heracleas* clea ouerthrew *Valerius*, Consull, but got a bloody victory: whence the *Heracleas victory* grew to a prouerb; but after *Sulpius* and *Decius* foyled him, and *Curius Dentatus* at length ouerthrew him and chased him out of *Italy*. (m) *And in this* ] This is out of *Orosius* (lib. 4.) hapning in the Consulship of *Gerges* and *Genatius*, in *Pyrrhus* his warre. (n) *Princes of physicke* *Archiatros* *latras* is a Physitian, *Obstetrix*, a mid-wife: and *Archiatri* were also the Princes Physitians: *Ins- Archiatri* *tiv. Codic.* Of the *Comites*, and *Archiatri* which the Spaniards call *Proto medici*, &c. (o) *Great pestilence* ] (*Oros. lib. 4.*) In the entrance of the first *Affrican warre*. (p) *In which* ] *Cic. de diuini*: (lib. 2) at large, of the *Sybils* and their books. (q) *Many of the temples* ] The Sooth-saiers answer in *Tullies* time concerning the prodigies, was y very same. *Cic. Orat. de Arusp. respons.*

*The miseries of the Romaines in the Affrican warres and  
the small stead their gods stood them therein.*

CHAP. 18.

**B**Vt now in the wars of *Affrica*, victory still houering doubtfully betwixt both sides, and two mighty and powerful nations vsing all their might & power to reciprocrall ruine, how many petty Kingdomes perished herein? How many faire citties were demolished, or afflicted, or vtterly lost? How far did this disastrous contention spread, to the ruine of so many Realmes and great Estates? How often were the conquerors on either side conquered? What store of men (armed and naked) was there that perished? How many ships were sunke at seas by fight and tempest? Should we particularize, wee should become a direct Historiographer. Then *Rome* beeing in these deep plunges, ran head-long vnder those vaine and ridiculous remedies: for then (a) were the *Secular plaies* renewed by the admonition of the *Sibils* books: which institution had bin ordained an hundred yeares before,

N

but

but was now worn out of al memory, in those so happy times. The high priests also (*b*) renewed the *sacred plaies* to the *hel-gods* w<sup>ch</sup> the better times had in like manner abolished before: nor was it any wonder to see the now reuenged, for the *hel-gods* desired now to become reuellers, being enriched by this continual vnclesing world of men: who (like wretches) in following those bloody & vnrelenting wars, did nothing but act the diuels reuels, and prepare banquets for the infernal spirits. Nor was there a more laudable accident in al this whole war, then that *Regulus* should be taken prisoner: a worthy man, and before that mishap a scourge to the *Carthaginians*: who had ended the *Affrican* war long before, but that he would haue bound the *Carthaginians* to stricter conditions then they could beare. The most sodaine captiuity, & the most faithful oth of this man, and his most cruel death, if the gods do not blush at (*c*) surely they are brazen-fac'd, and haue no blood in them. Nay for all this, *Romes* wals stood not safe, but tasted of some mischiefe, and all those within them, for the riuier *Tiber* (*d*) ouer-flowing, drown'd almost al the leuel parts of the citty: turning some places as it were into torrents, and other some into fens or lakes: this plague vshered in a worse of fire, (*e*) which beginning in the marketplace, burned al the higher buildings therabouts, sparing not the owne (*f*) harbor and temple of *Vesta*, where it was so duly kept in, by those (*g*) not so honorable as damnable *Votaries*. Now it did not only continue here burning but raging: with the fury wherof the virgins being amazed (*h*) *Metellus* the high Priest ran into the fire, and was half burned in fetching out of those fatal reliques which had bin the ruin of (*i*) three citties, where they had bin resident. (*k*) The fire neuer spared him for all he was the Priest. Or else the true Deity was not there, but was fled before though the fire were there still: but here you see how a mortal man could do *Vesta* more good then she could do him: for if these gods could not guard them-selues from the fire, how could they guard their citty w<sup>ch</sup> they were thought to guard frō burnings and inundations? Truly not a whit, as the thing shewed it selfe. Herein we would not obiect these calamities against the *Romains*, if they would affirme that al these their sacred obseruations only aime at eternity, and not at the goods of this transitory world; and that therefore when those corporall things perished, there was yet no losse by that, vnto the endes for which they were ordained, because that they might soone be made fit for the same vses againe. But now such is their miserable blindness, that they think y<sup>e</sup> those idols that might haue perished in this fiery extremity, had power to preferue the temporall happines of the citty: but now seeing that they remained vnconsumed, and yet were able to shew how such ruins of their safeties and such great mischiefs hath befallne the citty, this makes them ashamed to change that opinion which they see they cannot possibly defend.

## L. VIVES.

**T**hen were (*a*) the *secular plaies*] I think it will not be amisse if I say somewhat of those plaies, from their first originall. *Valesius Sabinus*, a rustick, as the best were then, praying for his three sick children, heard a voice y<sup>e</sup> said they should recouer, if he would carry them ouer *Tiber* to *Terentium*; & there recreate them with the warm water of *Dis* and *Proserpina*. *Valesius* dreaming of the citty *Terentium*, though it were far off, and no such riuier as *Tiber* neer it, yet hiring a ship, sailed with his sons to *Ostia*, & letting them on shore to refresh them-selues in *Mars* his field, he asked y<sup>e</sup> ship-master where he might haue som fire: he replied at the adioining *Terentium*, for ther he saw som that y<sup>e</sup> sheapheards had made: (it was called *Terentium* of *Tero* to weare, because the riuier ware away the shore: or because *Dis* his alter was there inhumed) *Valesius* hearing the name commanded the shippe to put ouer thether, thinking this was the place meant by the Oracle: and departing to the citty, to buy an altar, hee had his seruants meane while

Tiber in-  
undation.Fire in the  
Citty.The secu-  
lar plaies.

to digge a place for it. They digged 20. foot deep, and there they found an old altar inscrib'd, *To Dis and Proserpina.* ( This the Romaines had inhumed after their infernall sacrifices, beeing to fight with the *Albanses*, for so the deuill had them doe ere they ioyned battaile. ) *Valesius* returns, and finding the altar, offers blacke offerings to *Dis* and *Proserp.* and spreading beddes for the gods, staid there three nights ( for so long after were they sicke ) with reuells and dances, that these children had escaped this sicknesse. This custome. *P. V. Poplicola*, one of *Valesius* his progeny brought into the City, in the first yeare of the freedome. Three daies and nights the people watched at the altars of *Ioue* and *Apollo*, offering a white bull, and certaine children whose parents were liuing sung a song to *Apollo*. Then watched they at *Inno's*: offering a white Heifer; this was in the day time: on the night at *Dianas*, *Proserpina's*, *Terra's* and the *Destenies*, offering black creatures, and burning of tapers: and then were Stage-plaies presented to *Apollo*, and *Diana*, and the *Circian Games*: and those stately and famous spectacles were called by *Secular plaies* because they were acted once euery age, taking an age here for the longest space of mans life: Some giue it more yeares, some lesse, as it is in *Censorinus*. The Romaines called an C yeares, an age: as *Valerius*, *Antias*, *Varro*, & *Liuie lib. 136.* doe report. But by the *Quindecimvirs commentaries*, and *Augustus* his Editt, together with *Horace* his verse, it includes a space of ten yeares more, and euery C. X. yeare, those plaies were kept. Though this verse of *Horace*, *Certus undenos decies per annos*, which *Censorinus* and others trust to, I cannot see but may be read *Certus ut denos decies per annos*, and so diuers doe reade it. But there is another Greeke verse cited by *Zosimus*, out of the *Sybill's* bookes, hee saith, wherein is *εὐεσπῶν ἐκταρδὲξ ὑπελευθεύω* without point or accent. Besides, the crier called the people in these words *Come to those plaies that none of you euer saw, nor hereafter euer shall see.* Hence came *Vitellius* flattery to *Claudius*, presenting those plaies: *May you doe it often.* *Poplicola*, as wee said, first presented them: *Ab vrbe cond. CCXLIII.* yeares: they were renewed *Ab. vr. Con. D. I. Consull's*, *P. CL. Pulcher* and *L. Iuni. Brutus*, the XI. yeare of the first *African warre*: acted againe, the third yeare of the second *Punick warre*: *Consull's*, *M. Manlius M. Censorinus*. Fourthly, before their time, *L. Em. Lepidus*, and *L. Aurel. Orestes*, *Consull.*, the fift: *Augustus* and *Arippa* presented, hauing brought them to the iust times *Consull's*, *Furnius* and *Sillanus*: the sixt, *CL. Casar*, too soone for the time: Himselfe and *L. Vuellius*, the third *Consull's*. The seauenth, *Domitian*, after a true computation, Himselfe and *L. Minutius Rufus* being *Consull's*: the eight *Septimius Severus*, at their iust time: *Consul. Chilo*; and *Vibo*. the ninth *Phillip Vostrensis ab vrbe Cond. a M. years*: *Aemilianus* and *Aquilinus* being *Consul. Cassiodore*. Thus much of the *Secular plaies* from *Varro*, *Valer. Horat. L. Florus, Festus, Zosimus, Herodian, Suetonius, Censorinus, Cassiodorus, Porphiry, Acron*, and *Politian*, now to the rest. (b) *Renewed*] Here seemes a difference betweene the plaies of *Dis* and *Proserpina*, and the *Secular plaies*, but indeede there is none, vnlesse *Augustine* diuide the infernall *Orgies*, from the sacrifices offered at the same time to other gods: and truely the *Infernall Orgies* and the *Secular plaies* seeme to differ in their originall: for *Festus* saith thus: The *Tauri* were games made in honour of the infernall gods, vpon this occasion. In the raigne of *Tarquin* the proude, there falling a great death amongst the child-bearing women, arising out of the too great plenty of bulls-fleth, that was sold to the people, herevpon they ordained games in honour of the *Infernalls*, calling them *Tauri*. Thus saire *Festus*. Besides, the *Secular plaies* were kept vnto *Apollo* on the day, and *Diana* on the night, but the *Tauri* were kept to the *Infernall powres*. (c) *Surely brasse*] Some put *Aeres*, ayry, for *erei*, brazen, and more fitting to *Augustines* opinion: for the *Platonists* say the diuells are ayrie creatures, whose doctrine *Augustine* doth often approue in some things, as wee will shew hereafter. In blushing the blood adorne the face with red-nesse. (d) *Ouer-flowing*] *Oros. l. 4.* (e) *Fire*] *Ib. Liu. lib. 19. Onid. Fast. 6. Seneca's* declamers dispute whether *Metellus* should bee deprived of his Priesthood or no beeing blind; the law commanding them to haue a perfect man to their Priest. (f) *Harbour and temple*] Because there was the fire worshipped as is immediately declared. (g) *Honoured*] Their honour was vniuersall great, their very Magistrates gaue the way vnto *Vestas* Priests. (h) *Metellus*] *L. Caecilius Metellus* was High Priest, twice *Consull*, Dictator, Maister of the Horse, *Quindecimvir* in the sharing of the landes, and hee was the first that led Elephants in Triumph in the first *African warre*, of whom *Q. Metellus* his sonne left recorded in his funerall oration, that he attained the ten things so powrefull and so admirable that the wisest haue spent all their time in their quest. That is, *to bee a singular warrior, an excellent orator, a threadlesse commander, a fortunate undertaker, a speciall advancer of honor.*

An Age.

The Tauri  
an games.

Metellus.



an absolute man of wisdom, a worthy common-wealths man, a man of a great estate well gotten, a father to a faire progenie, and the most illustrious of the whole citty. Plin. lib. 7. cap. 4. (i) Three citties] Ilium, Laninium, Alba. (k) The fire neuer] This place is extremely depraved, we haue giuen it the best sense befitting it.

*Of the sad accidents that befell in the second African warre, wherein the powers on both sides were wholly consumed.* CHAP. 19.

**B**Vt all too tedious were it to relate the slaughters of both nations in the second African warre, they had so many fightes both farre and neere, that by (a) their owne confessions who were rather Romes commenders then true Chroniciers, the conquerours were euer more like to the conquered then otherwise. For when *Hannibal* arose out of Spaine, and brake ouer the Pirenean hilles, all France, and the very Alpes, gathering huge powres, and doing horrible mischieues in all this long tract, rushing like an inondation into the face of Italy, O what bloody fields were there pitcht, what battailes struck! how often did the Romaines abandon the field, how mans citties fell to the foe, how many were taken, how many were razed? what victories did that *Hannibal* winne, and what glories did he build himselfe vpon the ruined Romaines. In vaine should I speake of (b) Cannas horrible ouer-throwe, where *Hanniballs* owne excessiue thirst of bloud was so fully glutted vpon his foes, that hee (c) himselfe bad hold: (a) whence hee sent three bushells of rings vnto Carthage, to shew how huge a company had fallen at that fight, that, they were easier to be measured the number: and hence might they coniecture, what a massacre there was of the meaner fort, that had no rings to weare, and that the poorer they were the more of them perished. Finally, such a defect of souldiars followed this ouer-throw, that the Romaines were faine to get (e) malefactors to goe to warre for quittance of their guiltes; (f) to set all their slaues free, and out of this gracelesse crue, not to supply their defectiue regiments; but euen to (g) make vp a whole army. Nay these slaues, (O (h) let vs not wrong them, they are free men now) wanted euen weapons to fight for Rome withall: that they were faine to fetch them out of the temples, as if they should say to their gods, come, pray let these weapons goe, you haue kept them long inough to no end: wee will see whether our bond-slaues can doe more good for vs with them, then your gods could yet doe: And then the treasury fayling, the priuate estate of each man became publike, so that each one giuing what he was able, their rings, nay their very *Bosses*, (the wretched marks of their dignities) being all bestowed, the senat themselues (much more the other companies & (i) Tribes) left not themselues any mony in the world: who could haue endured the rages of those men, if they had bin driuen to this pouerty in these our times? seeing we can very hardly endure them as  $\frac{1}{2}$  world goeth now, although they haue store now to bestow vpon stage-plaiers, which as then, they were ful faine of, for their vttermost means of safety, to spend vpon the souldiars?

#### L. VIVES.

**B**Vt (a) their owne] *Liv. Proem. 3. Decad.* The victors were the nearer vnto ruine, continually. *Sil. Ital. 1.* This Poet, and *Livy*, the first in verse, and later in prose, haue recorded these warres at large. Besides others, reade them. (b) Cannas] There *Hannibal* gaue the Romaines a sore ouer-throw in the third yeare of the warre. *L. Aem. Paulus*, and *L. Terent. Varro*, *Consulls. Liv. lib. 12.* Cannas is not the towne *Cannusum*, but a towne in *Apulia*, nere the riuer *Aufidus* now (*annella. Sabbellie. Annot.*) (c) Himselfe badde hold] Perhaps *Augustine* meaneth of the wordes that *Hannibal* said to *Maharball*, that willed him to march straight vnto Rome: no faith hee, *Let our foes leade the waie, all is well, wee will follow them at leasure.* For I reade not that *Hannibal* euer spared the Romaines, either in the fight or after it. Vnlesse it bee their that *Linie* saith, that after the fight at Cannas, *Hannibal* called the Romaines to him (which hee neuer did before) and gently told them, that it was

The mas-  
sacre of  
Cannas.

not for blood, but for Empire and dignity that he warred with them, allowing them leaue to redeeme the prisoners, rating an horse-mans ransome at fīue hundred peeces, a footmans at three hundred, a seruants at a hundred. (d) *Three bushels* ] some adde halfe a bushell, some diminish two bushels, which *Linie* saith is most likely. The *Ring* was the Gentlemans marke or cognifance, distinguishing them from the common sort: the Senate also and the Nobility wore them. But they were generally vsed about this time. (*Plin. lib. 33.*) *Else* (saith he) *they could not haue sent three bushels of them to Carthage.* A *bushell* what it is *Budens* declares, in his booke *De Asse*, amongst other measures the discourse is long, look it there. (e) *Malefactors* ] *Iunius Bubulcus* his deuice, in imitation of *Romulus*, that made his citty populus by allowing sanctuary to malefactors. *Oros. lib. 4.* *Iunius* (saith *Linie*) alighted from his horse and proclaimed, that all such as were capitall offenders, or desperate debtors, should go with him to warre, vpon condition to bee freed of all their afflictions. (f) *To set all the slaues* ] eight thousand of slaues were freed, imbande, and called *Volones*: because beeing asked if they would fight, each one said *Volo*, I will. *Linie.* (g) *Make a whole* ] For there were eight thousand of these and six thousand of them Malefactors, whom they armed with *French* spoiles of *C. Flaminius* his triumph. (h) *Nay let vs not* ] Though they were not free vntill they had ouerthrown *Hanno* at *Beneuentum*, and were therefore freed by the Generall *Gracchus*, vnder whome they fought most stoutly. (i) *And tribes* ] Whether this word bee added by some other or no, I know not. Truly the Senate them-selues were of the tribes, which were three in the whole, as *Romulus* appointed them at first, but in time increased to thirty fīue. The Senators, Gentlemen and Plebeyans were parts of each of these: nor was there any *Romaine* cittizen but he was of some tribe. *Is there any of you* (saith *Cicero Antonian. 6. ad Pop. Rom.*) *that hath no tribe? none. They haue made him Patron of thirty fīue tribes.* Wherefore what should this meane? The Senate was as well diuided from the tribes, as it was from the Gentlemen and Plebeyans; or it may be spoken as this is: The Senate and people of *Rome*, or, the Senate People and commony of *Rome*: both, or all three, being all included one in another: This hold I the most likely.

*Of the ruine of the Saguntines, who perished for their confederacy with Rome; the Romaine gods neuer helping them.*

CHAP. 20.

But in all the disasters of the second *African* warre, there was none more lamentable then the dissolution of the (a) *Saguntines*: these inhabiting in a citty in *Spain* being sworne friendes to the *Romaines*, were destroyed for keeping their faith to them. For *Haniball* breaking the league with *Rome*, gaue here the first occasion of warre, inguirting the citty of *Saguntum* with a cruell and straight siege: Whereof the *Romaines* hauing intelligence, sent an Ambassage to wish *Haniball* to raize his siege: but the Legats being dispised by him, went to *Carthage*, whence (hauing done nothing) they returned without any redresse for the breach of the league, and in the meane time, this citty (whilom so stately) was now brought to that misery, that about eight or nine months after the beginning of the siege, the *Africans* tooke it and razed it to the very ground. To reade how it perished were a horror; much more to write it: yet I wil run ouer it briefly, seeing it is very pertinent to the argument we prosecute, first it was eaten downe with famine: for some say it was driuen to feed vpon the carcaffes which it harboured. And then being in this laborinth of languors, yet rather then it would take in *Haniball* as a conqueror, the cittizens made a huge fire in the Market-place, and therein intombed all their parents, wiues, children and friends (after they had slaine them first) and lastly them-selues (b) Here now these gluttonous, trecherous, wastefull, coufening, dauncing gods should haue done somewhat: heere they should haue done somewhat to helpe these distressed faithfull friendes of the *Romaines*,

and to saue them from perishing, for their loyalties sake. They were called as witnessers betweene both, when the league was made betweene *Rome* and these poore men; who keeping that faith which they hadde willingly passed, sollemnely sworne, and sacredly obserued, vnder their protections, were besieged, afflicted, and subuerted by one that had broken all faith, all religion. (c) If the goddes with thunder and lightning could fright *Hanniball* from *Romes* walles, and make him keepe aloofe from them, they should first haue practised this here: For I dare auerre, that with farre more honesty might they haue helped the *Romaines* friends, beeing in extreames, for keeping their faith to them, and hauing then no meanes nor power, then they did the *Romaines* them-selues, that fought for them-selues, and had very good forces, and purses able to repell *Hannibals* powers. If they hadde beene carefull guardians of *Romes* glory, they would neuer haue left it stained with the sufferance of this sadde calamity of the *Saguntines*. But now how sottish is their beleefe that thinke these goddes kept *Rome* from perishing by the hand of victorious *Hanniball* and the *Carthaginians*, that could not saue *Saguntum* from perishing for keeping hir faith sworne so sollemnly to the *Romaines*? If *Saguntum* hadde beene Christian and had suffered such an extremity for the Gospell, (though it ought not as then to haue wrackt it selfe by fire nor sword) yet had it indured such for the Gospell, it would haue borne it stoutly, by reason of that hope which it would haue held in Christ to haue beene after all crowned by him with an eternall guerdon. But as for these false goddes, that desire to bee and are worshipped onely for the assurance of this transitory tearme of our mortallitie, what can their Atturneies, their Orators, say for them in this ruine of the *Saguntines*, more then they said in that of *Regulus*? only he was one man, this a whole citty, but perseuerance in faith was cause of both calamities. For this faith would he returne to his foes, and for this would not they turne to their foes. Doth loyalty then greeue the goddes? Or may vngratefull citties (as well as men) be destroyed, and yet stand in their gods liking still? Let them choose whether they like: If the goddes bee angry at mens keeping of their faith, lette them seeke faithlesse wretches to serue them. But if they that serue them and haue their fauours, bee neuer-the-lesse afflicted and spoiled; then to what end are they adored? VVherfore let them hold their tongues that thinke they lost their Citty because they lost their gods: for though they had them all, they might neuer-the-les not only complaine of misery, but feele it at full, as *Regulus* and the *Saguntines* did.

### L. VIVES,

*Saguntus.*

**T**He dissolution (a) of the *Saguntines*] (*Liu.* lib 21.) *Saguntum* is a citty of that part of *Spaine* which is called *Arragon*: a mile from our sea, built and inhabited by the *Zacynthi* and the *Ardeates* (saith *Silius*) people that came into *Spaine* before the destruction of *Troy*. It was made famous by the fall, and true faith kept to the *Romaines*. The ruiues at this day doe shew the inodels of diuers ancient, and most magnificent houses: and diuers inscriptions & monuments are to be seene there as yet. It is called now in Spanish *Mornedre*; the old wall, belonging to the County & iurisdiction of *Valencia*. There is a peece of the Towre yet standing vpon the mountaine that diuides almost all *Spaine*. *Polib.* (lib. 3.) saith that it excelled al the citties in *Spaine*, both for plenty, populousnes, & arts military. *Hanibal* hated it, for sticking so to *Romains*: for it had done much hurt to the *Carthaginian* confederats in *Spaine*: so he made war vpon it, both to reuenge the wrongs it had done others, and also to turne the whole aime of the war vpon the *Romaines*, which he had desired most feruently euer since he was 9. yeares old. (b) Here now ] some copies want *Dii*, goddes, but they are imperfect. *Glutton* is vsed by *Tully* in an honest fence, calling *Cato* a *Glutton of Bookes*. (*De fin.* lib 3.) (c) If the goddes ] *Liuie.* lib. 26. *Hanniball*

*Hanniball* standing before the walles of Rome, being now to throw warres dice at the citty it selfe, a great tempest arose, and parted the armies, who were no sooner retired, the one to their tents, and the other into the Citie, but immediatly it grew admirably faire and cleare: And this happened the second day also, both armies being in the field, and staying but for the signall to ioyne battles. Which *Hanniball* obseruing, grew superstitious, doubting the gods displeasure with him for staying there, and so commanded the campe to remoue from thence.

Of Romes ingratiuae to Scipio, that freed it from imminent danger, and of the conditions of the Cittizens in those times that *Saluste* commendeth to haue bene so vertuous.

CHAP. 2 I.

**F**urthermore, in the space betweene the first and second *Carthaginian* warre when as *Saluste* saith the *Romaines* liued in all concord and content (the remembrance of my theme makes me omitte much): In those times of concord and content, *Scipio*, (a) that protector and raiser of his countrie, the rare, admirable ender of that so extreame, so dangerous and so fatall a warre as that of *Carthage* was, the conqueror of *Hanniball*, the tamer of *Carthage*, whose very youth is graced with all praises of (b) religiousnesse, and diuine conuersation: this man so great and so gracious, was forced to giue place to the (c) accusatiōns of his enemies, to leaue his country, which but for him had bene left to destruction, and after his high heroicall triumph, to bequeath the remainder of his dayes to the poore towne of (d) *Linternum*: banishing all affect of his countrie so farre from him, that it is said that he (e) gaue expresse charge at his death, that his body should not in any case bee buried in that so vngratefull soyle of *Rome*. (f) Afterwards, in the triumph of *Cn. Manlius* (vice-Consull) over the *Gallo-greccians*, the (g) luxurie of *Asia* entred, the worst foe *Rome* euer felt. Guilded beds, and pretious couerings gotte then their first ingresse. Then began they to haue wenches to sing at their banquets, and many other licentious disorders. But I am to speake of the calamities that they suffered so vnwillingly, not of the offences that they committed so lauishly. And therefore what I spoake of *Scipio*, that left his country for his enemies (hauing first preferued it from vter ruine) and died a willing exile, that was to our purpose, to shew that the *Romaine* gods, from whose temples he draue *Hanniball*, did neuer requite him with any the least touch of temporall felicitie, for which onely they are adored. But because *Saluste* saith that *Rome* was so well mannered in those dayes, I thought good to touch at this *Asian* luxurie, that you might vnderstand that *Saluste* spoake in comparison of the after-times, wherein discorde was at the highest floud, and good manners at their lowest ebbe. For then, (that is betweene the second and last *African* warre, the (h) *Volconian* law was promulgate, that none should make a woman his heyre, no were shiee his (i) onely daughter; then which decree, I can see nothing more barbarous and vniust. But indeed the mischieues that the cittie suffered were not so many nor so violent in the space betwixt the two *Punicke* warres, as they were at other times: for though they felt the smarte of warre abroade, yet they enioyed the sweet of victorie; and at home they agreed better then they did in the times of securitie.

But in the last *African* warre, by the onely valour of that *Scipio*, that therefore was surnamed *African*, that Cittie, that compared and contended with *Rome*, was vterlye razed to duste and ruined; And then brake

in such an oundation of depraved conditions, drawne into the state by securitie and prosperitie, that *Carthage* might iustly be said to have beene a more dangerous enemy to Rome in her dissolution, then shee was in her opposition. And this continued vntill *Augustus* his time, who (me thinkes) did not abridge the Romaines of their liberty, as of a thing which they loued and prized, but as though they had vtterly despised it, and left it for the taking: Then reduced he all things vnto an imperiall command, renewing and repairing the common-weale, that was become all moth-eaten and rusty with age, vice and negligence. I omitte the diuerse and diuersly arising contentions and battels of all this whole time: that league of (k) *Numance*, stained with so foule an ignominie, where the (l) chickens flew out of their cages, as presaging some great ill luck (they say) vnto *Mancinus* then Consull: so that it seemed (m) that little cittie that had plagued the Romaine armie that besieged it so many yeares, did now begin to be a (n) terror to the Romaines whole estate, and boded misfortune vnto those her powers that came against it.

## L. VIVES.

Scipio  
African.

**S** *Cipio* (a) that protector ] *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus*, who passing ouer into *Africke*, fetched *Hanniball* out of *Italy*, sixteene yeares after his first entrie, ouer-threw him in *Africke*, chased him thence, and gaue end to this most dangerous warre. (b) *Religiousnesse* ] *Lin. lib. 26*. Besides from the time that he tooke on his gowne of man-state, hee would neuer meddle in any matter publike or priuate, before he had beene in the temple, in the *Capitoll*, and had meditated there awhile alone. This he vsed all his life time. (c) *Accusations* ] *Lin. lib. 38. Plut.* in his life. (d) *Linternum* ] It is in *Campania*, called now *Torre della Patria*. (e) *Game charge* ] *Liui* reciteth diuerse opinions of the place of his death. For it is vncertaine whether he died at *Rome*, or no. (f) *Afterwards* ] *Lin. lib. 39*. The *Gallo-grecians* were a people of the lesser *Asia*, called in Greeke *Galata*, of the *Galles* that went thether vnder *Brenne*, and inhabited there. (g) *Luxurie of Asia* ] the lesser: whereof hereafter. (h) *Voconian* ] preferred by *Q. Voconius Saxa*, tribune. Approoued by *Cato the elder*, a little before *Persus* warre. *Lin. lib. 41*. where *Volumnius* is read for *Voconius*. (i) *Onely daughter* ] Though he had no other children but her. (k) *League of Numance* ] *Hostilius Mancinus* Consull with an armie of 30000. was ouer-throwne by the *Numantines*, being but 4000. and forced to make a shamefull peace with them. (l) *Chickins flew* ] The *Romaines* in their warres vsed to carry chickens about with them in cages, and he that kept them was called *Pullarius*, the *chickin-keeper*. If they feed greedily it was a good signe, if so greedily that part of their vituales fell to the earth, it was the best of all. For that was called *Tripudium Solistimum*, and once it was called *Terripudium*, à *pauiendo*, of striking the earth in the fall of it. And *Solistimum* of *Solium*, the ground. For thus it was written in the *Augurs bookes*, that if any of the Chickens meate fell from them, it was *Tripudium*. But an vnluckly signe it was, if they fedde noc, as happened to *P. Claudius*, *Cacus* his sonne. But a worse if they flew out of their cages. The *Sooth-sayers* (as *Festus* saith) obserued the signes of fise seuerall things: the *heauens*, *birds*, these *Tripudia*, *beasts*, and *curses*. (m) *Little citty*, ] Without walles or Fortes, keeping but an armie of 4000. men. The warre began, because they receiued the *Sedigenes* (people that the *Romaines* hated, and had ouer-throwne) into their cittie and houses. (n) *Terror* ] *Cicero* calles *Carthage* and *Numance*, the two terrors of the Romaine Empire. *Pro Murana*.

The Gallo-  
grecians.

The lawe  
Voconian.

Tripudium  
Solistimum.

Of the Edict of Mithridates, commanding every Romaine that was to be found in Asia, to be put to death.

## CHAP. 22.

**B** Vt as I said, these shall passe: marry not that of *Mithridates*, (a) King of *Asia* who gaue direct command, that what euer Romaine was to be found traffi-

traffiquing or traueiling any where in al *Asia*, vpon one certaine day he should be immediately slaine:and it was effected. How dolorous a sight was this, to see men slaine in such numbers, wherefoeuer they were taken, in field, way, towne, house, streete, court, temple, bed or table, or wherefoeuer; so suddenly and so wickedly? what sorrowes would possesse the standers by, and perhaps the very doers of the deeds themselves, to heare the sad grones of the dying men? vnto what extremity were the hosts of lodgings brought now, when they must not onely behold those murders committed in their houses, but euen helpe to performe them themselves. To turne so suddenly from gentle humanity vnto barbarous cruelty? to do the act of an enemy in peace, and that on his friend, enterchanging indeed wounds with the murdered, the murdered being striken in the body, & the murderer in the mind? & did al these that were thus slaine, neglect *Auguries*? Had they no gods publike nor priuat to aske counsell of ere they betooke them vnto this trauell from whence they were neuer to returne? If this bee true, then haue they of our times no cause to complaine of vs, for the neglect of those things, the *Romaines* of culd contemned them as vanities. But if they did not, but vsed to aske counsell of them, then tell me (I pray) to what end was it when other mens powers fell so heauy vpon these wretches without all prohibition, or meanes to avoyd them?

### L. VIVES,

**M***ithridates* (*a*) King.] The first *Mithridates* was of the blood of the seauen *Persians* that tooke the kingdome from the *Magi*. *Antigonus* King of *Syria* was his foe and chased him into *Cappadocia*, where he was afterwards King: and so left his crowne to his sonne, he to his, and so downe to the sixt of his descent, the sixt was the *Mithridates* that warred with the *Romaines*, a man of a strong body, and of as stout a spirit, he guded sixe horses in his chariot, he spake two and twenty scuerall languages, and was surnamed *the great*. First hee was friend to *Rome*, for hee sent *Crassus* ayde against *Aristonicus*, but by reason of the warre hee had with *Nicomedes* King of *Bybhyria*, he fell from affecting the *Romaines*; inuaded the *Romaine* Prouinces in *Thracia*, expelled the legate *Aquilius*, and soone after imprisoned both him and *Q. Oppius*, viceconsuls together: and sent his letters forth through out all *Asia*, that vpon one set day, what euer *Romaine* were resident, in all his dominions, should be forthwith slaine without all respect of dignity, age, sexe or place that hee should fly into. And it was done as he commaunded.

*Of the more priuat and interior mischiewes, that Rome endured, which were presaged by that prodigious madnesse of all the creatures that serued the vse of man. CHAP. 23.*

**B**Vt now let vs do what we can to recite those euills which the more domesticke they were to *Rome*, the more miserable they made it: I meane the ciuill or rathervnciuill discordes, being now no more seditions but plaine warres, and those in the very bowells of the *Citty*, wherein so much blood was spilt: where the *Senators* powers were now no more bent to altercations (*a*) and wranglings, but directly to armes and weapons. O what riuers of *Romaines* blood flowed from the *Sociall*, *Scerule*, and *Ciuill* warres? how sore a waist fell vpon the brest of all *Italy* from hence? For before that (*b*) *Latium*, (being associate and confederate with the rest) arose against *Rome* (*c*) all the creatures that were vse-full vnto Man, dogges, horses, asses, oxen, and all others besides, that serued humane occasions, growing

Prodigies  
in the cattle.

growing suddenly starke mad, and losing all their meeknesse, runne wild out of the townes into the deserts, fieldes and forrests, flying the company not onely of all others, but euen of their owne maisters, and endangering any man that offered to come neare them. What (d) a prodigious signe was heare? but if this, being so great a mischiefe of it selfe, were but the preface of another, what a mischiefe must that be then, that was vshered in by such a mischieuous preface. If this had befallen in our times, wee should bee sure to haue had these faithlesse miscreants a great deale madder then the others dogs were.

## L. VIVES.

**A**ltercations (a) and [For before, they did but wrangle, reuile, and raile, their fights were only in words, no weapons. (b) *Latium being associate*] when as the Senate had set vp *M. Linius drusus* tribune against the power of the Gentlemen, who had as then the iudging of all causes, through *Gracchus* his law, *Drusus* to strengthen the senates part the more, drew all the feuerall nations of *Italy* to take part with him, vpon hope of the possessing the citty, which hope the *Italians* catching hold vpon, and being frustrate of it by *Drusus* his sudden death, first the *Picenians* tooke armes, and after them the *Vestines*, *Marsians*, *Latines*, *Pelignians*, *Marnicians*, *Lucanes*, and *Samnits* *Sext. Iul. Cesar*, & *L. Marcins Philippus* being consulls: in the yeare of the citty, DCLXII. They fought often with diuers fortunes. At last, by feuerall generalls, the people of *Italy* were all subdued. The history is written by *Livy*, *Florus*, *Plutarch*, *Orosius*, *Velleius*, *Appian* (b) *associats*] the *Latins* begun the stirre resolving to kill the consulls, *Cesar* and *Philip* vpon the *Latine* feast daies, (c) *all the creatures*] *Orosi. Lib. 5*. The heards about this time fell into such a madnesse that the hostility following was here-vpon coniectured, and many with teares fore-told the ensuing calamities. (d) *a prodigious signe* Here the text is diuersly written in copies, but all to one purpose.

The confederate warre.

## Of the ciuill discord that arose from the seditions of the Gracchi.

## CHAP. 24.

**T**He sedition (a) of the *Gracchi* about the law *Agrarian*, gaue the first vent vnto all the ciuill warres; for the lands that the nobility wrongfully possessed, they would needes haue shared amongst the people, but it was a dangerous thing for them to vndertake the righting of a wrong of such continuance, and in the end, it proued indeed their destruction: what a slaughter was there, when *Tiberius Gracchus* was slaine? and when his brother followed him within a while after? the noble and the base were butchered together in tumults and vproars of the people, not in formal iustice nor by order of law but all in huggermugger. After the latter *Gracchus* his slaughter, followed that of *L. Opimus* consull, who taking armes in the Citty against this *Gracchus* and killing him and all his fellowes, had made a huge slaughter of Cirtizens, by this meanes hauing caused three thousand to bee executed, that he had condemned by law. By which one may guesse, what a massacre there was of all in that tumultuous conflict, such that 3. thousand were marked out by the law, as orderly condemned, and iustly slaine. Hee that (b) killed *Gracchus*, had the waight of his head in gould, for that was his bargain before. And in this fray was (c) *M. Fuluius* slaine, and all his children.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) *Gracchi* we haue spoken of them before, *Tiberius* was the elder and *Cains* the younger, *Tiberius* was slaine nine yeare before *Cains*; read of them in *Plutarch*, *Appian*, *Valerius*, *Cicero*, *Orosius*, *Saluste*, *Pliny* and others (b) *killed Gracchus*] *C. Gracchus* seeing his band expelled

expelled by the Consull and the Senate, hee fled into the wood of *Furnia*, *Opimius* proclaiming the weight of his head in gold, for a rewarde for him that brought it. So *Septimuleius Anagninus* a familiar friend of *Gracchus* his, came into the wood quietly, and having talked a while friendly with him, on a sudden stabbeth him to the heart, cuts off his head, and to make it weigh heauier, takes out the braines and filles the place with lead. *Opimius* was Consull with *Q. Fabius Maximus*, nephew to *Paulus*, and kinsman to *Gracchus*. (c) *M. Fulvius* ] one that had beene Consull with *Marcus Flautius* but five yeares before.

Of the temple of Concord, built by the Senate in the place where these seditions and slaughters were effected.

CHAP. 25.

A Fine decree surely was it of the Senate, to giue charge for the building of *Concord* (a) temple, iust (b) in the place where these out-rages were acted: that the monument of *Gracchus* his punishment might bee still in the eye of the (c) pleaders, and stand fresh in their memory. But what was this but a direct scoffing of their gods? They built a goddesse a temple, who had shee beene amongst them, would neuer haue suffered such grosse breaches of her lawes as these were; vnlesse *Concord* being guilty of this crime, by leauing the hearts of the citzens, deserued therefore to be imprisoned in this temple. Otherwise, to keepe formality with their deedes, they should haue built *Discord* a Temple in that place. Is there any reason that *Concord* should be a goddesse and not *Discord*? or that (according to *Labeo* his diuision) shee should not bee a good goddesse and *Discord* an euill one? Hee spoake vpon grounds, because he sawe that *Fewer* had a Temple built her, as well as *Health*. By the same reason should *Discord* haue had one as well as *Concord*. Wherefore the Romaines were not wise, to liue in the displeasure of so shrewd a goddesse: they haue forgotten that (d) shee was the destruction of *Troy*, by setting the three goddeses together by the eares for the golden Apple because shee was not bidden to their feast: Where-vpon the goddeses fell a scolding; *Venus* shee gotte the Apple, *Paris*, *Hellen* and *Troye* viter destruction. Wherefore if it were through her anger because shee had no Temple there with the rest, that shee sette the Romaines at such variance, how much more angrye would shee bee to see her chiefeft enimie haue a Temple built in that place, where shee had showne such absolute power? Now their greatest Schollers doe stomacke vs, for deriding these vanities, and yet worshipping those promiscuall gods, they cannot for their liues cleare them-selues of this question of *Concord* and *Discord*, whether they let them alone vnworshipped, and preferre *Febris* and *Belona* before them (to whome their most ancient Temples were dedicated) or that they doe worship them both as well as the rest. How-so-euer, they are in the bryers, seeing that *Concord* gotte her gone, and left *Discord* to play hauck amongst them by her selfe.

Discord a  
goddesse.

L. VIVES.

*Concord* (a) Temple ] There were many Temples of *Concord* in *Rome*: the most ancient, built by *Camillus*, for the acquittance of the *Galles* from *Rome*. I know not whether it was that which *Flautius* dedicated in *Vulcans* court, which the Nobles did so enuie him for, *P. Sulpitius* and *P. Sempronius* being Consulls: I thinke it is not that. Another was vowed by *L. Manlius* Prator, for the ending of the Souldiers sedition in *France*.

It



It was letten forth to bee built by the *Duum-viri Gn. Pappus Cato*, and *Quintius Flaminius* were for this end made *Duum-virs*. It was dedicated in the towre by *M. and Gn. Atilii. Lim.* lib. 22. and 23. A third was in the *Romaine* court neere to the 'Greeke monuments, built by *Opimius* Consull, hauing dissolued *Gracchi* his faction; and there also is the *Opimian* Palace. *Varro. de Ling. Lat. lib. 3.* The building of this temple vexed the *Romaines* extreamly: and at the building, there was written in it, *Opus vecordia: the worke of floath.* A fourth was built by *Linia Augusta*, vnlesse it were but *Camillus* his olde one which she repaired. *Ouid. fast. 1. Concoords* feasts were in *Februaris* Calends the xviii. (b) In the place } *Appian* saith in the pleading place, and so doth *Varro* and *Victor de region. urb.* puts it in the eight Region, that is, in the *Romaine* court, the fight ending in *Auentinus* though it began in the *Capitoll.* (c) *Pleaders* Tribunes, and such as spake to the people in Couenticles: that they should speake nothing but well of the Senate, taking example by *Gracchus*, whose memory that monument still remembered. (d) She was } *Discord* alone being not bidden to the mariage of *Peleus* and *Thetis* being angry hereat, sent a golden ball into the feasters, with this inscription, *ἡ καὶ λάβειν, let the fairest haue it.* Herevpon grew a strife betweene *Pallas, Juno,* and *Venus.* So they came to *Paris* to haue iudgment, whence arose all that deluge of destruction that ouerwhelmed *Troy.*

The cause  
of Troy's  
destruction

*Of the diuerse warres that followed after the building of Concoords temple.*

CHAP. 26.

**N**OW they all thought that this new temple of *Concord*, and testimony of *Gracchus*, would be an excellent restraint vnto all seditious spirits. But how farre they shotte wide, let the subsequent times giue ayme. For from that time forth, the *Pleaders* neuer went about to auoide the examples of the *Gracchi*, but laboured to exceed them in their pretences. L. (a) *Saturninus* Tribune, (b) *C. Cesar*, *Seruilius* Prætor, and (c) not long after that, (d) *Drusus*, all these began more bloody seditions, whence there arose not onely ciuill slaughters, but at last they brake openly out into the *Confederates* warre, which brought all Italy vnto most miserable and desperate extremities. Then followed the (e) *Slanes* warre, and other ciuill warres, wherein it is strange to recorde what fields were pitched, what bloud-shed and what murther stucke vpon the face of all *Italy*, as farre as the *Romaines* had any power or signorie. And how small a company, lesse then seuentie Fencers, began this *Slanes* warre, which mounted to that terrour and danger. What multitudes of Generalls did this raskall crew ouer-throw? what numbers of *Romaine* citties and Prouinces they destroyed, it is more then worke enough for a professed Historian to declare? For the warre held out not onely in *Italy*, but these slaues ouer-ranne all *Macedonia*, *Sicily*, and the sea coastes. And then what out-ragious robberies at first, and what terrible warres afterwards were managed by the (f) *Pyrates*, what penne is them sufficient to recapitulate?

L. VIVES.

**L** (a) *Saturninus*,] This man being Tribune, and troubling the state with the *Agriarian* law, was killed by *C. Marius*, and *L. Valer. Flaccus*, Consuls, to whom the Senate had committed the protection of the state: yet did *Saturninus* preferre this law to doe *Marius* a pleasure. (b) *C. Cesar*.] This name is not in the old copyes, but onely *C. Sernilius Glauca*, Prætor, of *Saturninus* his faction: Of the Seditious, *Lucius Apuleius Saturninus* came nearest the *Gracchi* in eloquence, for he attracted all mens affections by his gesture and apparell, more than by his tongue or discourse. But *C. Sextilius Glauca* was the most wicked villaine that euer was, and yet most suttle and quick witted, but yet hee was very ridiculous. He had bene Consull for all his filthinesse of meanes and manners, if it had bene held fit hee should haue stood for it: For hee had the people sure for him, and had wonne the Gentlemen by pleasuring them.

them. But being Prætor he was publicly slaine on the same day with *Saturnine*, *Marius* and *Flaccus* being Consuls. All this is out of *Tullies Orator*

But if some will haue it *Cæsar*, they are not much amisse; excepting for the times: may hee that was *L. Cæsar*'s brother, moued the *Romaines* against *Sulpitius* the Tribune, which contention gaue beginning to the warre of *Marius*, as *Pediannus* hath recorded. This *Cæsar* saith *Tully*, being Aedile, made euery day an Oration. In *Bruto*. (c) *Not long after* ] Seauen yeares passed iust betweene the Tribuneships of *Saturnine* and *Drusus*: and from the Consulships of *Marius* and *Flaccus*, to *Flaccus* and *Herennius*. (d) *M. Drusus* ] he was of good birth, but the proudest man in *Rome*: quicke to speake: and being called to the Senate, hee sent the Senate worde to come to him: and so they didde. The Senate called his father their Patron. (e) *Slaves warre*. ] It began in *Cicilie* before the Confederates warre, by one *Eunus* a *Syrrian* that fained him-selfe to bee inspired with the *Cibels* spirit. Hee gotte together sixtie thousand men: ouerthrew foure Prætors and tooke their tents. At length *Perpenna* besieged and conquered them. A little after *Cleon* a *Cicilian*, began such another warre in the same Iland, getting huge powers, ouerthrowing the Prætors as before, and spoyling the Tents. This warre *M. Aquilius* ended. In *Italy* *Spartacus* and *Chrysus* began it, who broke out of the schoole of *Lentulus*, when hee was at *Capua*, and gotte forth to the number of seauenty-foure, to whome a great many slaves adioined them-selues soone after. *P. Varenus* Prætor, and *Claudius Pulcher* Legate, that met them first in armes, they ouercame. Afterward *Chrysus* and his bands were defeated by *Q. Varius* Prætor. *Spartacus* continued the warre with great good fortune, against *Lentulus* the Consull first, and then against *L. Gellius* and *Q. Arius* Prætor, and afterward with *Cassius*, Vice-Consull, and *Gn. Manlius* Prætor. Lastly *M. Crassus* being Prætor ouercame him, and put his armie to the sword. (f) *Pyrats*. ] The *Cilician* Pirats troubling the sea *P. Seruilius* Vice-Consul was sent against them, who took *Isaurum* and diuers of their Citties: but hee retyring home, they rose with greater powers, and boote-hal'd all the Coast vnto *Caieta*, *Missenum* and *Ostia*, to the great terror and reproch of the *Romaine* name. At length *Cn. Pompey* beeing made Admirall by the *Gabinian* Lawe, quitte the sea of them in forty daies. (*Lin. lib. 99.*) *Cicero pro leg. Manil. L. Florus*, and others.

The slaves warre.

The pirats war.

### Of the ciuill warres betweene Sylla and Marius

#### CHAP. 27.

WHEN *Marius* being now imbrued with his countrymens blood, and hauing slaine many of his aduersaries, was at length foyled and forced to flie the city, that now gotte time to take a little breath; presently (to vse (a) *Tullies* wordes) vpon the sodaine *Cinna* and *Marius* began to bee conquerours againe. And then out went the heart blouds of the most worthy men, and the lights of all the cittie. But soone after came (b) *Sylla*, and reuenged this barbarous massacre; but with what damage to the state and cittie, it is not my purpose to vtter; For that this reuenge was worse, then if all the offences that were punished, had bene left vnpunished. Let *Lucan* testifie: (c) in these wordes.

*Excessit medicina modum, nimiumq; secuta est  
Qua morbi duxere manus: periere nocentes  
Sed cum iam soli possent superesse nocentes  
Tunc data libertas odys resolutaq; legum  
Frenis ira ruit*

The medicine wrought too sore, making the cure

Too cruell for the patient to indure:

The guilty fell: but none yet such remaining,

Hate riseth at full height, and wrath disdainig

Lawes reines brake out

For in that war of *Sylla* and *Marius*, (beside those that fell in the field,) the whole cittie, streetes, Markst-places, Theaters, and Temples were filled with dead bodies

bodies: that it was a question whether the conquerors slaughtered so many to attain the conquest, or because they had already attained it. In *Marius* his first victory, at his returne from exile, besides infinite other slaughters, *Octavius* his head (the Consuls) was polled vp in the pleading-place: *Cæsar* and (d) *Fimbria* were slaine in their houses, the two (e) *Crassi*, father and son, killed in one anothers fight, (f) *Bebius* and *Numitorius* trailed about vpon hookes till death: (g) *Catulus* poisoned him-selfe to escape his enemies, and (h) *Merula* the *Iouial Flamine* cutte his owne veines and so bled him-selfe out of their danger, *Marius* hauing giuen order for the killing of all them whome he didde not (i) re-salute, or profer his hand vnto.

## L. VIVES.

**T**O use (a) *Tullies words*] For the following words are *Tullies* in his 3. *Inuective* against *Cætiline*: Where men were slaine by *Cinna* and *Marius* (saith he) wee haue already rehearsed in our third *Oration* for *Sylla*: namely the two bretheren C. and L. *Iulij*, *Cæsars*, *Atillius Soranus*, *P. Lentulus*, *L. Crassus*, *M. Anthony* the *Orator*, *Gn. Octavius*, *L. Cornelius*, *Merula* the *Diall Flamine*: *Consuls*, *L. Catulus*, *Q. Arcarius*, *M. Bebius*, *Numitorius*, *Sext. Licinius*. (b) *Sylla*, and reneged] *Tullies* wordes also *ibid.* (c) *In these wordes*] *Lib. 2.*

Nobles  
slaine.by *Cinna*& *Marius*.

*Sylla quoq; immensis accessit cladibus vltor,*  
*Ille quod exiguum restabat sanguinis vbi*  
*Haust: dumq; minis tam putrida membra recidit,*  
*Excessit medicina modum-----*

Then *Sylla* came to auenge the worthis slaine  
And that small *Romaine* bloud that did remaine  
He drew; but clean sing still the parts impure  
The medicine vtought to lure-----

C. *Fimbria*  
*Licinius*.

(d) *Fimbria*] There was one C. *Fimbria*, whome *Velleius* calles *Flauius*, he was a *Marian*, and the razer of *Ilium*. There was an other C. *Fimbria*, sur-named *Licinius*, who liued with the *Gracchi*, and entring into the ciuil wars, was slaine in his own house, as *Cæsar* was: of this *Fimbria* speaks *Tully de clar. orator*. And he it was (i thinke) that would not giue his iudgement in the contention about a good man. (*Cic. offic. lib. 3. Valer. lib. 7.*) (e) *Crassi*.] The son sel by the hands of the soldiors of *Fimbria*, *Cinna*'s *Lieutenant*: the father stabbed him-selfe. (f) *Bebius*] He was torne in peeces by the executioners like a beast, without any vse of yron vpon him. (*Lucan. lib. 2.*)

*Bebius*.

----- *Vix te sparsum per viscera Bebi*  
*Innumeras inter carpentis membra corona,*  
*Discerpisse manus-----*

----- Nor thee poore *Bebius*, torne,  
And scattered through a thousand bloody hands,  
Renting them in a ring-----

*Catulus*.

(g) *Catulus*] *L. Lucretius Catulus* was ioynt *Consull* with *Marius* in his 4. *Consulship* in the *Cimbrian* warre, and triumphed with him ouer them: The whole *Senare* intreating *Marius* for him, he answered he must die, which *Catulus* hearing of, stifeled him-selfe with coales: whether swallowing them as *Portia* did, or inclosing the smoake close in his chamber, hauing newly limed it so he died, it is not certaine: (for this later is a present way to death, vnlesse remedies be forth-with gotten) Some think he died of poison, as *Augustine* saith here. (h) *Merula*] He cut his veines in *Iones* shrine. (i) *Re-salute*] That was the signe that *Marius* gaue for life and death.

How *Sylla* reneged *Marius* his murthers.

## CHAP. 28.

**N**OW as for *Sylla*'s victory, & reuenger of al this cruelty, it was not got without much store of cittizens bloud, and yet the wars only hauing ended and not the grudges: this victory brake out into a far more cruell wast, in y midst of al this peace. For after the butcheries that the elder *Marius* had made (beeing yet but fresh

fresh and bleeding, there followed worse by the hands of the yonger *Marius* & *Carbo*, both of the old faction of *Marius*. These two perceiuing *Sylla* to come vpon them, being desperate both of safety and victory, filled all with slaughters, both of them-selues and others: For besides the massacre they made else-where in the citty, they besieged the Senate in the very Court, and from thence as from a prison, dragged them out by the heades to execution. (b) *Mutius Scauola*, the Priest was slain iust as he had hold of the altar of *Vesta*, the most reuerend relique of all the cittie (c) almost quenching that fire with his blood, which the Virgins care kept alwaies burning. Then entered victorious *Sylla* into the citty (d) and in the common streete, (wars cruelty now done, and peaces beginning) put seauen thousand vnarmed men to the sword, not in fight, but by an expresse commaund. And after that he put euen whom he list to death, throughout the whole citty, in so much that the slaughters grew so innumerable (e) that one was gladd to put *Sylla* in mind that he must either let some liue, or else he should haue none to bee Lord ouer. And then indeed this rauinous murderer began to be restrained by degrees; and a (f) table was set vp (with great applause) & proscribed but 2000. of the Patriots and Gentlemen, appointing them all to bee presently killed. The number made all men sad, but the manner cheered them againe: nor were they so sad, that so many should perish, as they reioyced, that the rest should escape. Neuerthelesse, this cruell carelesnesse of theirs groned at the exquisite torments, that some of the condemned persons suffered in their deaths. For (g) one of them was torn in peeces by mens hands without touch of iron, wher the executiōers shewed far more cruelly in rending this liuing man thus, then they vse ordinarily vpon a dead beast. (h) Another hauing first his eies pluckt out, and then all the parts of his body cut away ioint by ioint, was forced to liue, or rather to die, thus long in such intollerable torment. Many also of the noblest citties and townes were put vnto the sacke: and as one guilty man is vsed to be led out to death, so was one whole Citty as then laid out and appointed for execution. These were the fruits of their peace after their warres, wherin they hastened not to gette the conquest, but were swift to abuse it being got. Thus this peace banded in blood with that war, and quite exceeded it. for then war killed but the armed, but this peace neuer spared the naked. In the war he that was striken, if hee could might strike againe: but in this peace, he that escaped the war, must not liue, but tooke his death with patience perforce.

## L. V I V E S.

**T**He yonger (a) *Marius*] Son to the elder iointed Consul with *Carbo* ere he were 25. yeares old by forced meanes. He commanded his man *Damasippus* to kill all the Patriots in the citty, who (being military *Prætor*) like a good seruant did al that his maister bad him, & vnder shew of calling a Senate, killed them euery one. (b) *Mutius Scauola*] (*Lin.* lib. 87.) But *Lucan* (lib 2.) seemes to hold that *Scauola* was slaine by the elder *Marius*: mary so do not the Historiographers; but by the yonger. (c) *Almost quenshing*] In imitation of *Lucan*.

Parum sed fessa senectus  
Sanguinis effudit iugulo; flammisq; pepercit.

Nor did the aged fire  
Bleed much: but spared the prophaned fire.

(d) In the common streete] *Lisie* saith, eight thousand; and the author of the booke *De viris illustribus*, saith nine thousand. (e) *One was*] This *Entropius* and *Oros.* thinke was *Q. Catulus*. Others say that *C. Metellus* trusting to his kindred with *Sylla* spake this in a youthfull forwardnesse: *Plutarch* and *Florus* say it was *Fusidius* (though *Plutarch* call him *Offidius* that is but a falt as a great many more are in him either through him-selfe, his translators, or the

*Marius* his  
Sonne.

*Scauola*,

copiers, ) *Orosius* saith *Eursidus*. This *Eursidus*, *Salust* remembers in his oration of *Lepidus* the  
 Tables of  
 proscripti-  
 on. Confull, (f) *A table*] The table of proscrition, shewing the certaine number of such as should  
 bee slaine, that each might know what should become of him. Such as were proscribed it  
 was lawfull to kill, their goods were shared, part to *Sylla*, part to the executioner. Their chil-  
 dren were deprived of honors and forbidden by *Sylla's* law to sue for any. This was the first  
 proscrition table, that Rome euer saw. (g) *One*] This was *Bebius*, a *Marian*, the other was for  
*Sylla*: and they died both one death. For the *Syllans* returning like cruelty for like vpon the  
 The *Bebii*. *Marians*, vsed their *Bebius* after the same sort as the other was vsed by them. *Florus* names  
 them both. (b) *Another*] *M. Marius Gratidianus*, *Caius* his kinsman. This deed was *Cat-*  
*ilines*, at the Graue of *L. Caelus*, vpon this *Marius*, a most gracious and honest man, hauing  
 bene twice tribune, and twice Prætor. *Q. Cicero in Parenes. ad. M. Frat.* He first cut off his  
 Marius  
 Gratidia-  
 nus his  
 death. armes and legges, then his eares, tongue, and nose: then puld out his eyes, and lastly cut off  
 his head. (i) *Put to the sacke*] *Subhastata*, doth *Laurinus* reade it, most congruently to the  
 history. *The fairest holds of Italy* (saith *Florus*) *Subhastata sunt, came to the souldiors spoyling:*  
*Spoleum, Interamna, Præneste, Fluentia. But Sulmo, an ancient friend of Romes, (Ob unworthy*  
*deede) being unbeseiged, even as warres pledges beeing condemned to die, are ledde forth to executi-*  
*on, so was this City by Sylla, singled out and appointed for a direct spoile and slaughter. Flor. lib. 3.*  
*Liuse lib. 88.* Saith that *Sylla* commanded all the *Preneestines*, beeing disarmed to bee slaine.  
*Subhastate* was a word of vse in *Augustines* time, for *Theodosius*, and *Archadius* Emperors  
 doe both vse it. *C. de rescind. vend.*

*A comparison of the Gothes corruptions, with the calamities that the Romaines en-*  
*dured either by the Galles, or by the authors of their ciuill warres,*

CHAP. 29.

**W**Hat barbaroufnesse of other forraigne nations, what cruelty of strangers  
 is comparable to this conquest of one of their Cittizens? What foe did  
 Rome euer feele, more fatall, inhumane and outragious? Whether in the irrup-  
 tions first of the Galles, and since of the Gothes, or the inuadations that *Sylla*,  
*Marius*, and other great Romaines made with the bloud of their owne cittizens,  
 more horrible, or more detestable? The Galles indeed killed the Senate, and spoi-  
 led all but the Capitol, that was defended against them. But they notwithstand-  
 ing sold the besieged their freedome for golde, where as they might haue ex-  
 torted it from them by famine, though not by force. But as for the Gothes, they  
 spared so many of the Senate, that it was a maruell that they killed any. But (a)  
*Sylla*, when as *Marius* was yet aliue, sat on the very Capitol, (which the Galles  
 entred not) to behold from thence, the slaughters which hee commanded to bee  
 performed. And *Marius*, beeing but fled, to returne with more powre and fury,  
 hee, keeping still in the Capitol, deprived numbers of their liues and states, co-  
 louring all this villany by the decrees of the Senate. And when he was gone,  
 what did the *Marian* faction respect or spare, when they would not for-bear  
 to kill old *Scenola*, a cittizen, a Senator, the chiefe Priest, embracing that very al-  
 tar, where on they say the fate of Rome it selfe was adored? And for that (b) last ta-  
 ble of *Sylla's*, (to omit the innumerable deaths besides) it cut the throates of more  
 Senators, then the Gothes whole army could finde in their hearts but to offer,  
 ransacke, or spoile.

L. VIVES.

**B**ut (a) *Sylla*] In his first victory against *Marius*, proclaiming *Sulpitius*, the *Marii*, and di-  
 uers others his foes, enemies to the state by a decree of the Senate. (b) *Last table*] *Plutarch*  
 saith, that as then in a little space, were diuers proscrition tables hung vp.

of

*Of the great and pernicious multitude of the Romaines  
warres a little before the comming of Christ,*

CHAP. 30.

With what face then, with what heart, with what impudency, folly, nay madnes, do they impute these later calamities vnto our Sauour, and yet wil not impose the former vpon their Idols? Their ciuil discords by their own writers confessions haue beene euer more extremely bloody then their forraine warres. The meanes which did not afflict, but vtterly subuert: their state arose long before Christ, by the combination of these wicked causes arising from the warre of *Sylla* and *Marius*, vnto that of (a) *Sertorius* and (b) *Catline*, the one of whome, *Sylla* proscribed, and the other he nourished: and then downe-wards to the wars of (c) *Lepidus* and *Catulus*, wherof the one would confirme *Syllas* ordinances, and the other would disanull them: Then to the warre of (d) *Pompey* and *Cesar*: wherof *Pompey* was a follower of *Sylla*, and either equalled, or at least exceeded him in state and power: And (e) *Cesar* was one that could not beare the greatnesse of *Pompey* because hee lackt it him-lesse: which notwithstanding, after hee hadde ouerthrowne him and made him away, hee went far beyond. From hence they come downe to the other *Cesar*, called (f) *Augustus*, in whose raigne our Sauour Christ was born. This *Augustus* had much ciuil wars, wherin were lost (g) many excellent men, & (h) *Tully* that excellent common-wealths-man was one amongst the rest. For C. (i) *Cesar*, the conqueror of *Pompey* though hee vsed his victory with mercy, restoring the states and dignities to al his aduersaries: notwithstanding all this, by a conspiracy of the noblest Senators he was stabbed to death in the court, for the defence of their liberty, who held him to affect a Monarchy. After this (k) *Antonie* (a man neither like him in meanes, nor manners, but giuen ouer to all sensuality) seemed to affect his power: Whome *Tully* didde stoutly withstand in defence of the said liberty. And then (l) stepped vp that yonger *Cesar*, the other *Cesars* adopted sonne, afterwards stiled (as I said) *Augustus*: Him did *Tully* fauour and confirme against *Anthony*, hoping that hee would be the man, who hauing demolished *Antonies* pretences and powers, would re-erect the liberty of his country. But (m) farre mistaken was hee and mole-cid in this matter, for this young man whose power he hadde augmented, first of all suffered *Anthony* to cut of *Ciceroes* head, as if it hadde beene a bargaine betweene them, and then brought that liberty which the other wrought so for, vnto his owne sole commaund, and vnder his owne particular subiection.

L. VIVES.

OF (a) *Sertorius* ] *Q. Sertorius Mirsinus*, seeing the faction of *Marius* (which he fauoured) Sertorius.  
to go downe the winde, by the leaders follies, gotte away with the forces hee led, through  
all the ragged and difficult passages into *Spaine*, and there warred valiantly against the *Syllans*.  
At last being put to the worst by *Pompey*, hee was stabbed at supper by the treason of *Perpenna*,  
*Antonius*, and others his fellowes: A worthy Captaine hee was, hadde he hadde a worthier  
meane to haue shewed him-lesse in. (b) *Catline* ] Hee was for *Sylla*, and cutte many throates Catline.  
at his command. Afterward rebelling and taking armes against his country, hee was ouer-  
throwne and flaine by *Cicero* and C. *Antony* Consuls. (c) *Lepidus* ] In his, and *Q. Lucretius* Lepidus.  
*Catulus* his Consulship *Sylla* dyed and was buried in *Mars* his field. At his buriall the Cacinius.  
two Consuls were at great wordes about the reformation of the state, *Lepidus* desiring  
to recall *Sylla's* proscripts, and to restore them their goddes, and *Catulus* contradicting him  
together with the Senate: not that it was not iust, but because it would bee the originall  
of

of a new tumult, the most dangerous of all in that little breathing time of the state. from wordes they fell to weapons. *G. Pompey* and *Q. Catulus* ioined battell with *Lepidus*, ouerthrew him with ease, and despoyling him of his whole strength returned to *Rome* without any more stirre or other subsequence of war. The victory was moderately vsed, and armes presently laid aside. (d) *Pompey*. ] *Cn. Pompey the great*, *C. Pompey Strabo's* sonne mette *Sylla* comming out of *Asia*, with three legions which hee hadde taken vppe amongst the *Pisanes*: hereby furthering *Sylla* greatly in his victory, who vsed him as one of his chiefe friends, and surest Captaines in ending the ciuill warre in *Cicilie*, *Afrike*, *Italy* and *Spaine*. Hee tryumphed twise beeing but agent of *Rome*, no *Senator*. Hee hadde great good fortune in subduing the *Pyrats*. He conquered *Mithridates* and all the East, getting greate and glorious triumph therby, and wondrous wealth. He was of mighty power and authority in the State, allwhich I haue more at large recorded in my *Pompeius fugiens*. Lastly, warring against *Cæsar* for the Common-wealth hee was foiled, fledde away to *Ptolomey* the young King of *Egypt*, where to doe *Cæsar* a pleasure, hee was murdered. (e) *Cæsar*. ] This man was sonne to *L. Cæsar*, whose Aunt *Julia* was wife vnto *Marius*; beeing *Consull*, by *Pompeys* meanes, hee gotte the *Pronince* of *France* for fiue yeares: and those expired, for fiue more, of the *Consuls*, *Pompey* and *Crassus*. In which tenne yeares hee conquered all *France*: and fretting that *Pompey* could doe more in the state then hee, pretending other causes, hee brought his forces against his country. *Lucan*.

*Nec quenquam iam ferre potest Cæsarue priorem  
Pompeiusue parem.* —————

*Cæsar* indureth no superiour,  
*Pompey* no equall —————

*Suetonius* in *Cæsars* life writes a Chapter of the causes of these warres. But *Pompey* beeing dead, *Cæsar* gotte to bee perpetuall *Dictator* and then gouerned all the state like a King.

Of this ciuill warre wrote hee him-selfe, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, *Florus*, *Enropius*, and *Cicero* who was present, and pertaker in the whole businesse. (h) *Augustus* ] *C. Octavianus*, *Cneius* his sonne (a *Prætorian*) and *Alcia's*, the daughter of *Alcius Balbus* and *Julia*, *Cæsars* sister. *Cæsar* made him heire of the nineth part of his estate, and called him by his name. *Sueton*. Many of the old soldiers after *Cæsars* death came vnto him for his *Vncles* sake, by whose meanes (as *Tully* saith) hee defended the causes of the Senate against *Anthony* when hee was but a youth: ouer-threw him, chased him into *France* vnto *Lepidus*: at whose returne, hee made a league *trium-virate* with them, which was the direct ruine of the Common-wealth. The *Trium-viri* were *Anthony*, *Lepidus* and hee him-selfe. The conditions were, that *Anthony* should suffer his *Vncle* *Sext. Iul. Cæsar* to be proscribed: *Lepidus* his brother *Lucius*, and *Octavianus*, *Cicero*; whom hee held as a father. This was *Anthones* request, because *Cicero* in his Orations hadde proclaimed him an enemy to the Common-weale: Of these three, *Tully* was killed by *Anthones* men, the other two escaped. The *Octavianus* warred with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and at *Phillippi* by *Anthones* helpe ouerthrew them. Then hee warred with *L. Anthony*, the *Tryumvirs* brother, and at *Perusia* made him yeelde the Towne him-selfe: Afterward with *Pompey* the greates sonne, and tooke the *Nauy* from him: and then with *Lepidus* depriuing him of the *Tryumvirship*: Lastly with *Marke Anthony* the *Tryumvir* whom hee conquered, and so remayned sole Emperour of *Rome*, hauing ended all the ciuill wars, and beeing saluted *Augustus* by *Valerius Messala* in the name of the whole Senate and people of *Rome*.

In the foure and fortith yeare of his reigne ab *V. C. DCCLI*. an happy peace breathing on the bosome of all the earth both by Sea and Land, mankind beeing in absolute quiet from contention, THE PRINCE OF NATURE, THE CREATOR, THE KING OF KINGS, AND THE LORD OF LORDS, IESVS CHRIST was borne in Bethelern a cittie in Iuda. (g) *Many excellent* ] The *Triumviri* proscribed farre more of euery sort then *Sylla* didde. Those three *Imuenal* calls (bitterly) *Sylla's* Shollers, and saith they excelled their men in the art of proscription.

(h) *Cicero* ] Hee was slaine being 63. yeares of age: After the reckoning of *Linus* and *Anfidius Bassus*

*Christ*  
borne,  
*Luc. 2.*

*Ciceros*  
death.

*Bassus* The diuers opinions of his death are to be read in *Seneca*. (*Seneca*. lib. 1.) *Augustina* calles him an excellent Common-wealths-man, because his tongue (like a sterne) did turne the Shippe of the State which way hee would: which he knowing, vsed this verse to the great vexation of his enemies.

*Cedant arma toga, concedat laurea lingua.*

That armes should yeeld to arts tis fine  
Stoope then the wreath, vnto the witte.

*Pliny* the elder meeting him, Haile thou (quoth hee) that first deserued a tryumph by the gowne, and a garland by thy tongue. (i) *C. Caesar* *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and sixty Senators more conspired against *Caesar*, and in *Pompeies* court killed him with daggers the Ides of *March*.

*Cesar's*  
death.

(k) *Anthony* He and *Dolabella* were then Consuls. *Anthony* hauing the command of the armies, affected the Soueraignty of the state exceedingly, which at first *Tully* by his Orations suppressed: but then (as I said) he became *Triumvir*. The story of his warre is as well recorded in *Tullyes Philippiques* as can bee. (l) *Kept up*.] *Tully* by his eloquence armed him and *Hircius* and *Pansa* the Consuls against *Anthony*. (m) *Far mistaken*] *Brutus* hadde giuen *Tully* sufficient warning of *Octavius*, not to make him too powerfull, nor trust him too much: that his witte was childish, though good, and better fortunes might make him insolent. And here are yet two most graue Epistles of *Brutus* vpon his theame, one to *Tully* and another to *Atticus*: wherein *Brutus* his manlynesse and iudgement is clearly apparent. I think not *Tully* so foolish, though that he could not fore-see this as well as he didde many other euent not so apparant: which he stewed in his frequent vse of these wordes, *Octavius Caesar is to be commended, adorned, extolled*, *Velleius* and *Brutus* in an Epistle to *Cicero* do both make mention of this.

*M. Anthony.*

*BRUTUS.*

*That those men that are not suffered as now to worship Idols,  
do shew them-selues fooles, in imputing their presens  
wiseries vnto Christ, seeing that they indured  
the like when they didde wor-  
shippe the Diuels.*

CHAP. 31.

**B**ut lette them blame their owne goddes for such mischiefes, that will not thanke our Sauour Christ for any of his benefits. For when-soeuer they befell them before their goddes altar steamed with *Sabaean* perfumes, and fresh flowers, their Priestes were gallant, their Temples shined, playes, sacrifices and furies were all on foote amongst them. Yea euen when there was such an effusion of ciuill blood, that the altars of the very goddes were besprinkled with it. (b) *Tully* choose no Temple for refuge, because he sawe it auailed not *Scawola*. But those that are now so ready with their saucy insultations against Christianity, of late either fledde them-selues into such places as were dedicated to Christ, or else were brought thether by the *Barbarians*.

This I knowe, and euey vnpartiall iudge may know as well as I, that if man-kinde hadde receiued Christianity before the *Affrican* warres (to omitte the other that I haue rehearsed, and that is too long to rehearse) and withall that such a desolation should haue happened, as fell vpon *Europe* and *Africke* in the said warres; there is none of those Infidels that oppose vs now, but would haue laid onely the cause of it all vpon the backe of Christendome. But much more intollerable would their railings bee, if that either the irruption of the *Galles*, or the inundation of *Tiber*, and that great spoyle by



fire had immediately followed, vpon the first preaching and receiuing of Christian religion: but worst of all, if the ciuill warres, that exceeded all, had followed therevpon. And those evils which fell out so incredibly, so farre beyond all beliefe, that the world reputed them as prodigies, had they come to passe in Christian times, who should haue borne the blame thereof, but the Christians? for those things which were rather strange, then pernicious, as the (c) speaking of the oxe, the exclamations of children in their mothers wombes, the (d) flying of serpents, and the (e) alteration of female creatures, both hens, and women into masculine formes, and such as these I willingly omit, those things are recorded in their histories, not in their fables, but be they true or false, they do not bring so much affliction vnto man as admiration. But when (f) it rained earth, and (g) chalke, and (h) stones, (not concreescences, that might be called haile, but (i) direct stones) this verily might greatly endamage the earths inhabitants. In the said authors wee read, that the fires of (k) *Actus* brake out so far, that the sea boyled therewith, the rockes were burned, & the pitch dropt of the ships. This was noe light hurt, but a large wounder. Againe, (l) *Sicily* was so ouerwhelmed another time with the ashes therof, that the houses of (m) *Catina* were all turned ouer into the dust: wherevpon the *Romaines* pitying their calamity, released them of (n) that yeares tribute. It is recorded also, that the number of the (o) *Locusts* in *Africa* was most wonderfull, and prodigious, it being as then a prouince of the *Romaines*: and that hauing consumed al the fruites & leaues of the trees, they fell al into the sea like a most huge & vnmesurable cloud. And being dead, and cast vpon the shore againe, arose such a pestilence of their stinke that thereof died (p) 800000 men (q) only in *Masaniussa* his kingdome, and (r) many more in other countries thereabouts, and of the (s) 30000 *Romaine* souldiars that remained at *Vtica*, there were but only ten that suruiued. So that this foolery of theirs, which we must both endure and answer, what wronge would it not offer to the profession of the ghospell, had it beene preached before the birth of these prodigious accidents? yet it will not call the meanest of their gods to account, for any of these misfortunes whatsoever, and yet (t) these fooles will worship them still in hope to be protected by them from these inconueniences, when they see neuerthelesse, how those that worshipped the same gods before haue beene oppressed, and ouerborne with the same burdens of calamity, nay with loades of miseries, farre more ponderous and intollerable then euer these latter times produced.

## L. VIVES.

Saba.

*Sabaan* (a) perfumes] *Saba* is the mother of *Frankencense*, lying betweene *Syria*, and *Arabia*. *India* mitit ebur, molles sua thura *Sabai*, saith *Virgil*: Ebon from *Inde*, from *Iana*, *Frankencense*, *Seruius* saies they are so called of *εξιοδαι*, so worship: because *frankincense* is an expiation, (b) *Tully chose*. [He died in his farme *Formianum*, being kept by tempest from crossing the sea to *Brutus*. (c) speaking of] often falling out, once in the second *Punicke* warre, in the consulships of *Fabius Maximus* and *Marcellus*, the fourth of the firsts consulshippe and the third of the later, and in the same yeare, a woman became a man at *Spoleum* and an infant in the mothers wombe at *Marusia*, cried out *Io triumphé*. *Lin. lib. 24.*) another time, in the warre of *Antiochus* an Oxe cried *Rome looke to thy selfe*: and in *Antonius* ciuill warre, the Maister whipping his Oxe to worke, the beast told him. *There would want no corne, but there would want men to eate it*. And often besides. (d) flying. ] The Southwezt wind brings many of those flying Serpents out of *Lybia* into *Egypt*, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants: And therefore *Tully* saith, they adore the *Ibis*, for driuing away these pestilent creatures from them. So saith *Heredotus* in his *Enterpe*. (e) Of females.] Changing of sexes, women into men and hennés into cockes

Prodigies.

Flying Serpents.

cookes. There is no fault in the text : [ Our interpreter knew not the force of the coniuncti-  
 on: and thought that *Female*, *Famina*, had belonged onely vnto man, and that *homo* was onely  
 of the masculine gender. See what sort of men the age before vs respected and reuerenced:  
 they would take vpon them the interpretation of worthy authors, and yet knew not that  
*homo* might belong to a woman; nor *femina* to a beast. Wee doe wonder how wee haue our  
 liberall artes so corrupted, but considering that these men haue had the meddling with them,  
 wee haue more reason to wonder how wee haue any sparke of them left vs at all. ] This  
 alteration, *Pliny* saith, is possible: bringing confirmation of diuers examples, and his owne  
 credite, saying hee had seene it verified himselfe: But considering the feuerall natures of the  
 sexes, it is hard for a male, to become a female: but not so hard for the other change. For  
 the masculine member to be drawne in, and dilated into the feminine receptacles, is exceeding  
 hard, mary for the female partes to bee excrecent, and coagulate into the masculine forme,  
 may be iome-what, but not neare so difficulte as is thought, though it bee seldon seene. (f) *It*  
*rained*] Often, say authors. *Linus* *Inl. Obsequ.* &c. (g) *chalke*] *Consullus* *Q. Metellus*, and *Tul.*  
*Didius. Obsequ.* (h) *Stones*] This is not rare. First it did so in *Tullus Hostilius* his time, and then  
 it was strange. But after it grew ordinary, to perticularize in this were idle. (i) *Direct stones*] *Some*  
*reade, directly earth, &c.* (k) *Aetna*] *Aetna* is a hill in *Sicily*, facted to *Vulcan*, casting  
 out fire in the night by a vent, ten furlongs about; the vent is called the cauldron. *Solinus*  
 saith it hath two of them. *Aetna*, *Briareus Ciclops* his son, or *Aetna*, sonne to *Calus* and *Terra*  
 otherwise called *Thalia*, gaue it the name. *Seruius. Virgill* describes it in a large *Poeme*,  
 which some say is *Ouids*: but *Seneca* saith, *Ouid* durst not deale with it, because *Virgil* had  
 done it before him. Others say *Cornelius Senerus* did it. The fire doth much harme to  
 the bordering partes of the Island. This that *Augustine* declareth, happened in the Consul-  
 ships of *Cn. Seruil. Scipio*, and *C. Lelius*: and in *M. Emilus* and *L. Aurelius* their Consul-  
 ships, the flames burst forth with an earth-quake; and the sea was heated therewith, as farre  
 as the Island *Lipara*, so that diuers shippes were burnd, and diuers of the saylours stifled with  
 the sulphurous vapor. It killed an innumerable company of fish which the *Liparians* feeding  
 ypon, got a pestilent disease in their bellies, which vpeopled almost all the whole Is-  
 land. *Obseq.* This was a little before *Gracchus* his sedition, and it was such, that many were  
 driuen to flie from their dwellings into other places, *Oros.* (l) *Sicily*] *Oros.* lib. 5. and 12. (m)  
*Catina*] Or *Catana*, it is called by both names, though their be one *Catina* in *Spaine*, and ano-  
 ther in *Arcadia*. This that *Augustine* relateth of is recorded by *Pliny* lib. 3. (n) *That yeares*] *And*  
*nine yeares more*, saith *Orosius*. (o) *Locusts*] This was in the Consulships of *P. Plautius*  
*Hippens* *M. Fulv. Flaccus*, before *C. Gracchus* his sedition, *Lin.* lib. 9. *Oros. Eutrop. Inl. Obseq.*  
 (p) 80000.] So saith *Orosius*, but of *Micipsa* his Kingdome. Of this sicknesse in al, died 80000.  
 men, saith *Obsequens*. 900000. saith *Eutropius* (who is indeede no good computator) in *Nu-*  
*midia*, about *Carthage*, 200000. of the *Romaine* souldiars that kept the legion there, 30000.  
 so saith *Orosius*, putting onely 80. for 90. (q) *Onely in Masinysa's*] Or rather *Micipsa's* his  
 sonne. For *Masinissa* himselfe was dead. But it might bee called his, because *Rome* gaue it  
 him, for his worthy deserts. (r) *Many more*] Our historians write not so; perhaps *Augustine*  
 followed others, or els like an Orator, applied the history to his owne vse and purpose, which  
*Cicero* doth allow in his *Brutus*, and hath practised some-times himselfe, as wee haue obserued  
 in his *Orations*, and as *Pedians* hath noted therein also. (s) 30000.] Beeing left at *Vtica* as  
 the *Guarison* of *Afrike*. (t) a difference of reading: we haue giuen it the truest sence.

ibis why  
worshiped  
in Egypt.

[ Paris co-  
pie doth  
leau out  
this be-  
tweene  
these  
marks. ]

Aetna.

Catina.

Finis lib. 3.

# THE CONTENTS OF THE fourth booke of the City of God.

1. *Of the contents of the first booke.*
2. *Of the contents of the second & third booke.*
3. *Whether happy and wise men should account it as part of their felicities, to possesse an Empire that is enlarged by noe meanes but war.*
4. *Kingdomes without iustice, how like they are unto theenish purchases.*
5. *Of those fugitive sword-plaiers whose power grew paralel'd with a royall dignity.*
6. *Of the couetise of Ninus, who made the first war upon his neighbours, through the greedy desire he had to increase his kingdome.*
7. *Whether the Pagan gods haue any power either to further or hinder the progresse, increase or defects of earthly kingdomes.*
8. *What pretious gods those were by whose power the Romaines held their empire to bee enlarged and preserued, seeing that they durst not trust them with the defence of meane and particular matters.*
9. *Whether it was Ioue, whome the Romaines held the chiefeſt GOD, that was their protector and enlarger of their empire.*
10. *What opinions they followed that set diuers gods to rule in diuerse parts of the world.*
11. *Of the multitude of gods which the Pagan Doctōrs avouch to bee but one and the same Iupiter.*
12. *Of their opinion that held God to bee soule and the world the body.*
13. *Of such as hold that the resonable creatures, onely are parts of the diuine.*
14. *That the augmentations of kingdomes are vnsistly ascribed to Ioue, victory (whome they call a goddesse) being sufficient of herselfe to giue a full dispatch to all such buisnesses.*
15. *Whether an honest man ought to entertaine any desire to enlarge his empire.*
16. *The reason why the Romaines in their appointments of seueral gods for every thing, and every action, would needs place the Temple of Rest or Quiet without the gates.*
17. *Whether if Ioue bee the chiefe God of all victory, & to be accounted as one of the number.*
18. *Why Fortune and Felicity were made Goddesses.*
19. *Of a Goddesse, called Fortuna muliebris.*
20. *Of the Deification of Vertue and Faith by the Pagans: and of their omission of the worship that was due to diuers other Gods, if it bee true that these were gods.*
21. *That such as knew not the true and onely God had better haue bin contented with Vertue and Felicity.*
22. *Of the knowledge of these Pagan Gods which Varro boasteth he taught the Romaines.*
23. *Of the absolute sufficiency of Felicity alone; whome the Romaines (who worshipped so many Gods) did for a great while neglect, and gave no diuine honors vnto.*
24. *What reason the Pagans bring for their worshipping of Gods gifts for Gods themselves.*
25. *Of the worship of one God onely, whose name although they knew not, yet they tooke him for the giuer of Felicity.*
26. *Of the stage playes which the gods exacted of their seruants.*
27. *Of the three kinds of gods whereof Scruola disputed.*
28. *Whether the Romaines diligence in this worshippe of those gods did their empire any good at all.*
29. *Of the falseness of that angury that presaged courage and stability to the state of Rome.*
30. *The confessions of such as doe worshippe those Pagan Gods from their owne mouthes.*
31. *Of Varrōs reiecting the popular opinion, and of his beleefe of one God, though hee knew not the true God.*
32. *What reasons the kings of the world had for the permitting of those false religions in such places as they conquered.*
33. *That God hath appointed a time for the continuance of every state on earth.*
34. *Of the Iewes Kingdome, which one god alone kept vnmoued as long as they kept the truth of religion.*

FINIS.

# THE FOUVRTH BOOKE OF THE CITTIE OF GOD:

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishop of *Hippo*,  
vnto *Marcellinus*.

*Of the Contents of the first Booke.* CHAP. I.



**A**T my first entrance vpon this *Discourse of the City of God*, I held it conuenient, first of all to stop their mouthes, who in their extreame desire of onely temporall blisse and greedinesse after wordly vanities, doe make their exclaime vpon Christianity (the true and onely meane of saluation) whensoever it pleaseth God in his mercy to correct and admonish them, (rather then in his iustice, to punish or afflict them) with any temporall inconuenience. And because the vnlearned, and vulgar sort of those persons, are incited against vs the more, by the endeouours and examples of those whom they holde learned, thinking (vpon their assertions) that such calamities as haue befallen them of late, neuer befell in times past: and being confirmed in this error, by such as know it for an error, and yet dissemble their knowledge; wee thought it fitte to shew, how farre this their opinion swarued from the truth, out of such bookes as their owne authors haue left vnto posterity, for the better vnderstanding of the estates of precedent ages: and to make it plaine & apparant, that those imaginary gods, which they either did worship as then in publick, or as now in secret, are nothing but most foule, vncleane spirits, and most deceitfull and malignant deuils: so that their onely delight was to haue most bestiall & abhominable practises, either published as their true exploits, or faigned of them by poetickall inuentions; these they comanded to be publicly presented in playes & at solemne feastes: to the end, that mans infirmitie presuming vpon these patternes, as vpon diuine authorities, might neuer be with-drawne from acting the like wickednesse. This we confirmed, not by meere coniectures, but partly by what of late times our selfe hath beheld in the celebration exhibited vnto such gods: and partly by their owne writings, that left those reports recorded, not as in disgrace, but as in the honour of the gods: So that *Varro*, (a man of the greatest learning and authoritie amongst them of any writing of diuinity and humanitie, and giuing each obiect his proper attribute according to the worth & due respect thereof) sticketh not to affirme, that those stage-playes are not matters of humaine inuention, but meere diuine things, whereas if the cittie were quit of all but honest men, stage-plaiers should haue no roome in meere humanity. Nor did *Varro* affirme this of himselfe, but set it downe as he had seene the vse of these playes in *Rome*, being there borne and brought vp.

## L. VIVES.

**N**OW must we passe from the historicall acts of the *Romaines*, vnto their religion, sacrifices & ceremonies: In the first bookes we asked no pardon, because for the *Romaine* acts, though they could not be fully gathered out of one author (a great part of them being lost with the writings of eloquent *Liuie*) yet out of many they might. But in the foure bookes following we must needs intreate pardon, if the reader finde vs weake, either in diligence or abilitie. For there is no author now extant, that wrote of this theame. *Varro's Antiquities* are lost, with a many more: if wee had but them, we might haue satisfied *Saint Augustine*, that had his assertions thence. But now we must pick y<sup>v</sup> frō seuerall places, which we here produce, least comming without any thing we should seeme both to want ornaments, & bare necessities. If it haue

have not that grace that is expected, we are content, in that our want is not wholly to be shamed at, and our endeouours are to be pardoned in this respect, that many learned and great Schollers (to omitt the vulgar sort) haue beene willingly ignorant in a matter of such intricate study, and so little benefite; which makes our diligence the lesse faultie. This *Varro* testifies. *Inuenall* seemes to be ignorant whether *Money* were worshipped in *Rome* for a goddesse or no. *Satyra. 1.*

Lady Pe-  
cunia.

Et si funesta pecunia templo  
Nondum habitas, nullas nummorum creximus aras.

Though fatall money doth not sit  
Ador'd in shrine, nor hath an altar yet.

Notwithstanding *Varro* reckoneth vp her with God *Gold*, and God *Siluer*, amongst the deities. Who wonders then if we be not so exact (in a thing that the goodnesse of *Christ* hath already abolished out of humane busineses) as some of those idolators were, or as *Varro* himselfe was, who notwithstanding did truly obiekt vnto the Priests, that there was much in their deities which they vnderstood not, hee being the best read of all that age? Besides, humane learning should sustaine no losse, if the memory, as well as the vse of those fooleries were vtterly exterminate. For what is one the better scholler, for knowing *Ioues* tricks of lust, or *Venus* hers? what their sacrifices are? what prodigies they send? which God owes this ceremonie, and which that? I my selfe know as much of these dotages as another: yet will I maintaine that the ignorance of these things is more profitable, then in any other kinde: and therefore I haue had the lesse care to particularize of the deities, kinds, temples, altars, feasts, and ceremonies of euery God and Goddesse, though I would not send the reader empty away that desireth to haue some instruction herein.

The contents of the second and third booke.

CHAP. 2.

AND hauing propounded a methode of our discourse in the end of the first booke, whereof we haue prosecuted some parcels in the bookes following, now we know that we are to proceed in these things, which our order obligeth vs to relate. We promised therefore to say some-what against those that impute the *Romaines* calamities vnto Christianitie: and to make a peculiar relation of the euills that wee should finde their cittie, or the prouinces thereof, to haue endured ere their sacrifices were prohibited: all which questionlesse they would haue blamed vs for, had they befallen them in the times of our religious lustre and authoritie: This we performed sufficiently (I thinke) in the two last bookes, in the former of them, reciting the euills which were either the onely ones, or the sorest and most extreame; I meane those corruptions of manners: In this last of those which these fooles haue so maine a feare to suffer, as afflictions (a) of body and goods, which the best men often-times pertake of, as well as the worst. But for the things that make them euill, and deprauae their soules, those they detaine, with more then patience, with extremitie of desire. Then I toucht a little at the citty, and so came downe speedily to *Augustus*. But if I would haue dilated (not vpon these reciprocall hurts, that one man doth to another, as was desolations, &c. but) vpon the things that befall them by the very elements, and from nature, which (b) *Apuleius* briefly speakes of in one place of his booke *De Mundo*, saying: that all earthly things haue their changes, (c) reuolutions, and dissolutions: for (he saith) that by an exceeding earth-quake, the ground opened at a certaine time, and swallowed vp whole citties, and all that were in them: showers and inundations ouerwhelmed whole countries: continents were cut into the maine by strange rides, and made Ilands; and the sea else-where cast vp large grounds and left them bare: Stormes and tempests ouer-turned whole cities: lightning consumed many of the Easterne countries, and deluges as many of the West. Fire sprang from the cauldrons of *Aetna*, as from a torrent, and ranne downe

Ill man-  
nera.

the hills: if I should haue collected all of this kinde that I could, which happened long before: that the name of Christ beate downe those ruines of saluation, what end should I euer make? I promised also to make demonstration of the Romaines conditions, and why the true God did vouchsafe them that increase of their Empire, euen hee, in whose hand are all kingdomes, when their owne puppetries neuer did them a peny-worth of good, but consened them in all that euet they could. Now then am I to discourse of their cousenage, but chiefly of the Empires increase. For, as for their deuills deceites, the second booke opened them reasonable fully. And in all the three bookes past, as occasion serued, wee noted how much aide and comfort the great God did vouchsafe both the good and bad, in these afflictions of warre, onely by the name of CHRIST, which the Barbarians so highly reuerenced, beyond all vse and custome of hostilitie. Euen he did this, that *maketh the sunne to shine both vpon good and bad, raineth both vpon* Mat. 5. *on the iust and the iniust.*

## L. VIVES.

**A**fflictions (a) of body] Bodily goods are three-fold, and so are their contraries. (b) *Apuleius* Apuleius & Platonist. Hee was of *Maclaura*, a *Platonist*, a great louer and follower of antiquitie, both in learning and language. His *Asse* hee had from *Lucian*, but added much to the translation: His booke de *Mundo*, from *Aristotle*, cunningly dissembling his author (which I much admire off) though he professe to follow *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus* in this worke in a new and ciuill phraise; for stealing an imitation is all one herein with him, which is more ciuill, then to call *flying*, *giving place*: these are new significations, giuen the wordes to grace the stile, *Iustine Martyr* and *Themistius* (to omitte the later writers) say directly that the worke de *mundo* is *Aristotles Euphrade* though the phraise seeme to excell his in elegance. But this is no fitte argument for this place. Surely it is either *Aristotles*, or *Theophrastus*-his, or some of the *Aristotelians* of those times: being (as *Iustine* saith) a *compendium* of the *Peripatetiques*, physiology. *Augustines* quotation of him heere, is not in the *Florentine* copy, which *Pietro Egidio*, a great icholler and my most kinde and honest friend lent me: nor in the elder *Venice* copie, which I sawe at *Saint Pietro Apostolo's*, nor in the new one which *Asulanus*, *Aldus* his father in law Printed: for in all them it is thus. *All earthly things haue their changes, reuolutions, and dissolutions.* Lastly, that which the *gouernour* is in the *ship*, &c. Yet that *Apuleius* wrote the rest, which *Augustine* relateth, appeareth by the very stile and phraise, both trulie *Apuleyan*: as also becaue it is in *Aristotles* worke it selfe, beginning at these wordes, *Μόρα τῆ τα ἡέρα. &c.* as followeth, which *Apuleius* hath translated, there where hee saith, *τὰς ἐν μέν κρήνησαν.* The *Easterne regions were consumed and burned.* The burning of *Phaeton*, *Aristotle* describeth plainly, that hee was *Apollo's sonne*, and through want of skill *Phaeton*. set heauen and hell on fire. But the burting of *Aetna*, (both mentioned in the sayd words of *Aristotle*) was the first eruption of fire from that mountaine, happening in the second *Aetnas burning*. year of the 88. *Olympiade*, three yeares before *Plato's* birth, if *Eusebius* his account bee true: which is neuer otherwise, vnlesse the copiers of him bee in fault. In this fire certaine godly men were saued from burning by a miracle, which *Aristotle* toucheth at in this his Booke de *Mundo*, and more at large in his *Physickes*, but I make a question whether these be his or no. (c) *Reuolutions*,] [mine interpreter had bene vndone, had hee not put in *Intensiones & remissiones*, that hee might make *Augustine* talke of his formes and formalities: about which these fellows keepe a grea tet adoe, then euer did the *Greekes* and the *Troyans* about *Hellens* sayte forme, for they thinke their formes are as worthy to bee wrangled for, as hers was. But in the olde manuscripts are not guiltie of any two such words as *intensiones et remissiones*, nor *Aristotle* neither, in this place *ἰντενσιονες & ραθι*, hee hath *reuelutiones & interisus*, so that the first must be *changes*, and not *subuersiones*.]

*Whether happy and wise men should account it as part of their felicitie, to possesse an Empire that is enlarged by no meanes but warre.*

## CHAP. 3.

**N**OW then let vs examine the nature of this spacioufnesse, and continuance of Empire, which these men giue their gods such great thanks for: to whom also they say they exhibited those playes ( that were so filthy both in actors and the action ) without any offence of honestie. But first, I would make a little inquirie, seeing you cannot shew such estates to bee any way happy, as are in continuall warres, being still in terror, trouble, and guilt of shedding humane blood, though it be their foes: what reason then, or what wisdom shall any man shew, in glorying in the largeness of Empire, all their ioy being but as a glasse, bright and brittle, and euer-more in feare and danger of breaking: To diue the deeper into this matter, let vs not giue the sailes of our soules to euery ayre of humane breath, nor suffer our vnderstandings eye to bee smoaked vp with the fumes of vaine words, concerning kingdomes, prouinces, nations, or so: No, let vs take two men, ( for euery particular man is a part of the greatest cittie and kingdome of the world, as a letter is a part of a word ) and of these two men, let vs imagine the one to be poore, or but of a meane estate, the other potent and wealthy: but with-all, let my wealthy man take with him, feares, sorrowes, couetise, suspect, disquiet, contentions, let these bee the hookes for him to hale in the augmentation of his estate, and with-all the increate of those cares, together with his estate: and let my poore man take with him, sufficiencie with little, loue of kindred, neighbours, friends, ioyous peace, peacefull religion, soundnesse of body, sincerenesse of heart, abstinence of dyet, chastitie of cariage, and securitie of conscience: where should a man finde any one so sottish, as would make a doubt which of these to preferre in his choyse? Well then, euen as wee haue done with these two men, so let vs doe with two families, two nations, or two kingdomes: Laye them both to the line of equitie: which done, and duly considered, when it is done, here doth vanitie lye bare to the view, and there shines felicitie. Wherefore it is more conuenient, that such as feare and follow the lawe of the true God, should haue the (waying of such Empires: not so much for them-selues, as for those ouer whome they are Emperors. For them-selues, their pietie, and their honestie ( gods admired gifts ) will suffice them, both to the enjoying of true felicitie in this life, and the attaining of that eternall and true felicitie in the next. So that here vpon earth, the rule, and regalitie that is giuen to the good man, doth not returne him so much good, as it doth to those that are vnder this his rule and regalitie. But contrariwise, the gouernment of the wicked, harmes them-selues farre more then their subiects: for it giueth them-selues the greater libertie to exercise their lusts: but for their subiects, they haue none but their owne iniquities to answer for: for what iniurie so-euer the vnrighteous maister doth to the righteous seruant, it is no scourge for his guilt, but a triall of his vertue. And therefore hee that is (a) good, is free, though hee bee a slaue: and he that is euill, a slaue though hee bee a King: Nor is hee slaue to one man; but that which is worst of all, vnto as many maisters as hee affecteth vices: according to the Scripture, speaking thus hereof: *Of what-so-euer a man is ouer-come, so that hee is in bondage.*

The comparison of poore quiet and rich trouble.

1. Pet. 2. 19

L. VIVES.

## L. VIVES.

**H**E that is (a) good ] A Stoicall paradoxe mentioned by *Tully*. In *Paradox*, & *pro Muren*. Stoicisme like to  
Wherefore *Hierome* thinks that Stoicisme commeth neerer to Christianitie, then any of  
the Sectes besides it. Christianitie.

*Kingdomes with-out iustice, how like they are unto theeuish purchases.*

## CHAP. 4.

**S**ET iustice aside then, and what are kingdomes but faire theeuish purchases? because what (a) are theeuish purchases but little kingdomes? for in thefts, the hands of the vnderlings are directed by the commander, the confederacie of them is sworne together, and the pillage is shared by the law amongst them. And if those ragga-muffins grow but vp to be able enough to keepe forts, build habitations, possesse cities, and conquer adioyning nations, then their gouernment is no more called theeuish, but graced with the eminent name of a kingdome, giuen and gotten; not because they haue left their practises, but because that now they may vse them with-out danger of lawe: for elegant and excellent was (b) that Pirates answer to the *Great Macedonian Alexander*, who had taken him: the king asking him how he durst molest the seas so, hee replyed with a free spirit, *How darest thou molest the whole world? But because I doe it with a little ship onely, I am called a theefe: thou doing it with a great Nanie, art called an Emperour.*

## L. VIVES.

**W**HAT are (a) theeuish ] The world (saith *Cyprian* very elegantly to *Donatus*) is bathed in floods of mutuall blood: when one alone kills a man, it is called a crime, but when a many together doe it, it is called a vertue. Thus, not respect of innocencie, but the greatnesse of the fact sets it free from penaltie. And truly, fighting belongs neither to good men, nor theeuish, nor to any that are men at all, but is a right bestiall furie, and therefore was it named *Bellum*, of *Bellua*; a beast. *Cic. offic. Fest.* (b) *The Pirates* } out of *Tully de Rep. lib. 3.* as *Nonnius Marcellus* saith. The King asking him what wickednesse moued him to trouble the whole sea with one onely gally-foyst? the same (saith he) that makes thee trouble the whole earth. *Lucane* calles *Alexander* a happy theefe of earth, and

*Bellum*,  
warre; of  
whence.

A pirates  
words to  
*Alexander.*

*Terrarum fatale malum, fulmenque quod omnes  
Percuteret populos. pariterque & sydus iniquum  
Gentibus,*

Earths fatall mischiefe, and a cloud of thunder  
Rending the world: a starre that struck in sunder  
The Nations

*Of those fugitiue sword-players, whose power grew  
parallell with a regall dignitie.*

## CHAP. 5.

**I** Will therefore omitte to reuiue the crew that *Romulus* called together, by proclaiming freedome from feare of punishment to all such as would inhabite *Rome*; hereby both augmenting his citty, and getting a sort of fellows about him that were fitte for any villanous or desperate acte what-so-euer. But this I say, that the very Empire of *Rome*, albe it was now growne so great and so powerfull by subduing of so many nations, and so become sole terror of all the rest, was neuerthelesse extreamply danted, and driuen into a terrible feare of an inuasion very hardly to bee auoyded, by a small crew of raskally sword-players, that had fled from the fence schoole into *Campania*, and were now growne to such a mightie



mightie armie, that vnder the conduct of three (a) Captaines they had made a most lamentable and cruell waste and spoile of the most part of the countrie. Let them tell mee now, what God it was that raised vp these men from a fewe poore contemptible theeues, to a gouernment so terrible to the state and strength of *Rome* it selfe: will it be answered that they had no helpe at all from the Gods, because they continued (b) but a while? As though that euery mans life must of necessitie bee of long continuance: why then the Gods helpe no King to his kingdome, because that most kings dye very soone: nor is that to bee accounted as a benefite which euery man loofeth in so little a time, and which vanisheth (like a vapor) so soone after it is giuen: for what is it vnto them that worshipped these gods vnder *Romulus*, and are now dead, though the *Romaine* Empire be neuer so much encrease. I since, seeing they are now pleading their owne particular causes in hell: of what kinde, and in what fashion they are there, belongs not to this place to dispute. And this may bee vnderstood likewise of all that haue ended their liues in few yeares, and beare the burthens of their deeds with them, how-so-euer their Empire be afterwards augmented, and continued through the liues and deaths of many successors. But if this be not so, but that those benefits (though of so short space) be to be ascribed to the gods goodnesse, then assuredly the Sword-players had much to thanke them for, who by their helpe did cast of their bonds of slauerie, and fled and escaped, and gotte an army of that strength and good discipline together, that *Rome* it selfe began to be terribly afraide of them, and lost diuerse fields against them. They gotte the vpper hand of diuerse generalls, they vsed what pleasures they would; they did euen what they lusted; and vntill their last ouer-throw, which was giuen them with extreame difficultie, they liued in all pompe and regalitie. But now vnto matter of more consequence.

## L. VIVES.

The leaders  
of the fugi-  
tiues.

Three (a) Captaines ] *Spartacus*, *Chrysus*, and *Oenomaus*: worthy of memory is that of *Plinie*. lib. 3. & 30. that *Spartacus* forbad the vse of golde and siluer in his Tents; so that I wonder not that he became so powerfull. That lawe in the tents of those fugitiues, was better then all the other *Midas* lawes in the Cities of mighty Kings. (b) *But a while* ] In the third yeare of their rebellion, *M. Licinius Crassus* vtterly disperfed and killed them.

*Of the couetousnesse of Ninus, who made the first warred vpon his neighbors,  
through the greedy desire he had to increase his kingdome.*

## CHAP. 6.

Just forme  
of kingdom

*Vsine*, that wrote the (a) *Greeke* (or rather vniuersall) historie after *Torgus Pompeyus*, not onely in *Latine* (for so did hee) but in a more succinct manner, beginneth his booke thus. (b) *The sway and rule of nations at the first was in the hands of Kings, who gotte their heights of Maiestie, not by popular ambition, but by their owne moderate carriage, approoued by good men. The people had no lawe but (c) the Kings will. Their care and custome was the keeping, not the augmenting of their dominions limittes. Euery mans kingdome was bounded within his owne countrie. (d) Ninus of Assyria was the first that followed the lust of Soueraignie in breaking the olde hereditary lawe of Nations. (e) Hee first warred on the adioyning countries, subduing the people (as yet vnacquainted with*

with Arts military) as farre as Lybia. And a little after : Ninus confirmed his conquest by continuing possession of it. And hauing subdaed the neighbouring nations, from them hee leued stronger powers, and set farther footing into the world, vntill by making one victorie the continuall meanes of another, hee had made an entire conquest of all the East. (f) How truly so-euer hee or Trognus wrote this (for I haue found them both else-where erronious by true proofes) : yet it is certaine by the recorde of other writers, that *Ninus* enlarged the *Assyrians* Monarchie exceedingly : And that it continued longer then the (g) *Romaines* hath done as yet. For as the Chroniclers doe deliuer vp account, it was M C C X L. yeares from *Ninus* his reigne, to the translation of this Monarchie to the *Medians*. Now to warre vpon ones neighbours, and to procede to the hurt of such as hurts not you, for greedy desire of rule and soueraigntie, what is this but flatte theeuery in a greater excessse and quantitie then ordinary ?

## L. VIVES.

THE (a) *Greeke* } *Trogus Pompeyus* wrote an vniuersall historie from the beginning of the nations vnto his owne times. This great worke did *Iustine* contract into an *Epitome*, calling it so : as *Florus* did *Linies* workes : though more at large. I would *Florus* had not beene so brieue. *Iustine* is now read for *Trogus*. I haue heard some say they haue seene *Trogus* whole in *Italy* : it may bee so, in a dreame. (b) *The way* } Euery family at first had a King, eyther the eldest, wisest, or most iust of the household : Afterwards, one king began to rule many families, and some-times many Kings ouer one, whom the people were compelled to receiue as guides and gouernours, or watch-men ouer the weale-publike : nor did this election follow chance, nobilitie, nor ambition ; euery mans owne priuate good, and the common good withall, which each man duly respected, made him choose the best and fittest man. (c) *The Kings will* } for if hee bee good, his will is better then a law, *Arist. de Rep.* (d) *Ninus* } Sonne to *Ninus*, *Belus*, of him else-where. (e) *Hee first* } There were warres before him : the *Egyptians* and the *Africans* warred with staues hardned with fire, which they called *Phalanges*, *Plinie* saith, that the *Phanicians* were the first fighters. *lib. 5. Vexores* the *Egyptian* King, and *Tenais* the *Scythian*, saith *Iustine*, did first inuade the adioyning nations, for desire of glory. And *Ninus* first, for desire of Soueraigntie. (f) *How truly*, } The *Greekes* either through desire to flourish in their stiles, or for their countries admiration, or for delighting their readers, or by some naturall guift, haue not failed to lye wonderfully in all their Histories. And the *Latines* that medled with their affaires, being forced to follow them, fell into the same defect, as *Trogus* and *Curius Rufus* did. (g) *Romaines hath* } Of the continuance of the *Assyrian* Monarchy, there is no certaintie. It lasted M C C X L. yeares saith *Eusebius*. M C C L X. saith *Diodorus Siculus*. Thirtie lesse saith *Ctesias*, whose computation *Iustine* followes in the *Asian* affaires : nor is the number of the Kings knowne. They were thirtie saith *Diodorus*, thirtie sixe saith *Eusebius*, thirtie three *Velleius*, successiuelly the sonne to the father, from *Ninus* to *Sardanapalus*. *Augustine* wrote this worke in the bginning of the raigne of *Honorius* and *Theodosius the younger*, about M C L X X. yeare after *Rome* was built,

whether the Pagan Gods haue any power either to further or hinder the progresse, increase, or defects of earthly kingdomes.

## CHAP. 7.

IF this kingdome continued so long, and so spacious, with-out the assistance of any of those gods, why are they reputed as the enlargers and preferuers of *Romes* Monarchie? There is the like reason for both. But if *Assyria* were bound to thanke the gods, I demand which gods? for the nations that *Ninus* conquered had none. And if the *Assyrians* had any peculiar ones, that

were better state-wrights, what, were they dead then when the Monarchy was translated to the Medes? Or were they vnpaid, or had the (a) Medians promised them better wages, that they would needs thither & (b) from them againe into Persia at the inuitation of *Cyrus*, as promising them some-what that better liked them? The (c) Persians euer since, a little after the short (though spacious) Monarchy of *Alexander the great*, confirmed their estate in that large country of the East, and are a Kingdome at this day. If this bee so, then either the gods haue no faith, in that they keepe this flitting from the friend to the foe (which *Camillus* would not doe, though Rome were most vnthankfull to him for his most auayleable conquest of the *Veii*, but burying the wrong, freed it the second time from the Galles) Or else they are not so valiant as gods should bee: but may bee conquered and chased away by humaine strength and cunning. Or when they doe fight, it is the gods on the one side that beate the gods on the tother, and not the men. Oh then, belike they are foes amongst themselues aswell as humaine creatures. Good: the city should neuer giue them any more worship then it held to be due to any other people or nation what-soeuer that helpeth thē. But howsoeuer this flight, or this remoouall, or this killing of these gods fell out, the name of Christ was not yet knowne in those times and places, when and wherein these changes of states did thus follow the effects of warre. For if that (d) after those MCC. yeares, and the ouer-plus, when the Assyrian Monarchy was remooued, christian religion had come in, and preached of another, an eternall Monarchy, and condemned all their gods for false and faigned, and their sacrifices for sacriligious fooleries. What would the vaine mē of that nation haue replied, but that the Kingdome was ouer-throwne because they had left their old religion, and receiued this of ours? In which foolish answer, let these our later *Antagonists* behold themselues, as in a glasse: and blush (if they be not past grace) to follow so fond a president. (e) Though indeed the Romaine Empire bee rather afflicted then altered or translated, as it was often before Christs comming: and as it recovered from those afflictions before, so may it from these; there is no cause of despaire. Who knowes the will of God herein.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) Medians] By *Arbaces* praefect of *Media* who killed *Sardanapalus*, as scorning that so many thousand men should obey a beast. *Iustin. Oros. Plutar. Euseb. &c.* (b) From them] The Monarchy of Asia remained with the Medians from *Arbaces* to *Cyrus*, *Cambyses* sonne, CCC. yeares. *Astyages* was the last King, whose daughter *Mandane*, *Cambyses* wife, was mother to *Cyrus*. *Cyrus* being borne, his grand-fire (through a dreame he had) caused him to be cast out to the wild beasts in the woods. But by chance he was saued. And beeing become a lusty youth, entring into *Persepolis*, hee commanded the people to make ready their axes, and cut downe a great wood: next day he made them a delicate banquet, and in the midst thereof asked them whether they liked this day better then the other. They all replied, this day: well saith hee, as long as you serue the Medians, the world shalbe as yester day to you, but bee your owne Lords your selues, and it wilbe this day. Herevpon, leauing an army, he ouer-threw his vnclē, and transferred the Monarchy vnto Persia. (c) Persians] Their Kingdome continued from *Cyrus* to *Alexander*, *Philips* sonne, CCXXX. yeares. *Alexander* ruled Asia. VI. yeares. his successors after him vnto *Seleucus* and *Antiochus* the two brethren, that is from the 104. *Olympiade* vnto the 124. at which time *Arfacēs*, a meane but a valorous fellow, set his country free, by meanes of the two brethrens discord and raigned King himselve. Thence arose the *Parthian* Kingdome, lasting vnto *Alex. Semernus* *Cæsars* time, at which time *Xerxes* the Persian subdued them and annexed them to the Persian crowne, and this Kingdome was during in *Augustines* time. Whereof read *Herodian* in *Antoninus*. (d) After those] The text of some copies

Astyages.

The Persian Monarchy.

copies, follows *Ensebius*, but the old bookes doe leaue out *et quadraginta*. So that *Augustine* did not set downe his opinion amongst this diuersity of accounts; but onely the ouerplus, to shew onely, that it was more then MCC. yeares, but how much more he knoweth not; surely it was not an C. (e) Though] The name of it remaineth as yet in the ancient dignity, but with no powre.

*What precious gods those were by whose power the Romannes held their Empire to bee enlarged and preserved, seeing that they durst not trust them with the defence of meane and perticular matters.* CHAP. 8.

LET vs now make inquiry, if you will, which God (or gods) of all this swarmie that Rome worshipped, was it that did enlarge and protect this their Empire. In a world of such worth, and dignity, they durst not secretly commit any dealing to the goddesse *Cloacina* (a), nor to the goddesse (b) *Voluptas*, the lady of pleasure, nor to (c) *Libentina*, the goddesse of lust, nor to (d) *Vaticanus* the god of childrens crying, nor to (e) *Cunina* the goddesse of their cradles. But how can this one little booke possibly haue room to containe the names of all their gods and goddeses, when as their great volumes will not doe it, seeing they haue a severall god to see to euery perticular act they take in hand? Durst they trust one god with their lands thinke you? No, *Rusina* must looke to the country, *Iugatinus* to the hill-toppes: *Collatina* to the whole hills besides, and *Vallonia* to the vallies. Nor could (f) *Segetia* alone bee sufficient to protect the corne: but while it was in the ground, *Seia* must looke to it: when it was vp, and ready to mow, *Segetia*: when it was mowne and laid vp, then (g) *Tutilina* tooke charge of it, who did not like that *Segetia* alone should haue charge of it all the while before it came dried vnto her hand: nor was it sufficient for those wretches, that their poore seduced foules, that scorned to embrace one true god, should become prostitute vnto this meaner multitude of deuills, they must haue more: so they made (h) *Proserpina* goddesse of the cornes first leaues, and buddes: the (i) knots *Nodotus* looked vnto *Voluptas* to the blades, and when the eare began to looke out, it was *Patelena*'s charge: when the eare began to be euen bearded (because (k) *Hosfire* was taken of old for to make euen) *Hosfilinas* worke came in; when the flowres bloomed, (l) *Flora* was called forth: when they grew (m) white, *Lacturtia*; beeing ripe (n) *Matuca*, beeing cut downe (o) *Runcina*. O let them passe, that which they shame not at, I loath at. These few I haue reckoned, to shew that they durst at no hand affirme, that these gods were the ordainers, adorners, augmenters or preseruers of the Empire of Rome, hauing each one such peculiar charges assigned them, as they had no leasure in the world to deale in any other matter. How should *Segetia* guard the Empire, that must not meddle but with the corne? or *Cunina* looke to the warres, that must deale with nought but childrens cradles? or *Nodotus* giue his aide in the battaile, that cannot helpe so much as the blade of the corne, but is bound to looke to the knot onely? Euery (p) house hath a porter to the dore: and though he be but a single man, yet hee is sufficient for that office: but they must haue their three gods, *Forculus* for the dore, (q) *Cardea* for the hinge, and *Limentius* for the threa-shold. Be-like *Forculus* could not possibly keepe both dore, hinges, and threa-shold.

## L. VIVES.

**C***Loacina* (a)] Some reade *Cluacina*, and some *Lauacina*, but *Cloacina* is the best: her statue was found by *Tatius* (who raigned with *Romulus*), in a great Priuy or lakes of Rome and knowing not whose it was, named it after the place, *Cloacina*, of *Cloaca*. *Lactant. Ciprianus*

calles it *Cluacina*, but it is faulty, I thinke. There was *Venus* surnamed *Cluacina*, or the fighter: for *Cluo* is to fight. Her statue stood where the Romaines and Sabines agreed, and ended the fight for the women. *Plin.* lib. 15. (b) *Volupia*] She had a chappell at the Theater *Nanall* neare the gate *Romanula*. *Varro de Ling. Lat.* lib. 3. *Macrob. Saturn.* The 12. Cal. of *Iannary* is *Angeronia's* feast kept by the Priests in *Volupia's* chappell: *Verrinus Flaccus* saith shee was so called, for easing the angers and troubles of the minde. *Masurius* saith her statue stood on *Volupia's* alter, with the mouth sealed vp, to shew that by the patient suppressing of griefe, is pleasure attained. (c) *Libentina*] *Varro*. lib. 3. of *Liber*, it lusteth, there was *Venus Libentina*, and *Vaucanus*, *Venus Libitina*, but *Libitina* is another. (d) *Vaticanus*] Not *Vagitarinus* as some reade. *Gell.* lib. 16. out of *Varro*. As vnder whome (saith hee) the childes first cry is, which is *va*, the first syllable of *Vaticanus*, whence *Vagire* also is deriued; and in old bookes it is *Vatigannus* not *Vagitanus*. (e) *Cunina*] The cradle-keeper and wich-chafer. (f) *Segetia*] Or *Segesta*. *Plin.* lib. 18. for those gods were then best knowne. *Seia* to bee the goddesse of *Sowing* and *Segetia* of the corne; their statues were in the Theater. (g) *Tutilina*] And *Tutannus*, hee and she, guarders of all things. *Non. Marcell.* They were called vpon, in suddaine charmes; as *Hercules* was, surnamed *Alexicacus*, the euill-driuer. *Varro*. It was a sinne to inuocate *Tutilina* in an vnfortunate thing. (h) *Proserpina*] Daughter to *Ceres* and *Ioue*, rauished by *Pluto* her vncler. *Cicero de nat. deor.* lib. 2. Shee is *Proserpina*, which the Greekes call *Persephone*, and will haue her to be nothing but the seede of haruest, which beeing hid in the earth, was sought by her mother. *Varro* will haue her the moone, with *Ennius* and *Epicharmus*. (i) *The knots*] *Plin.* lib. 18. Some graine begins to put forth the eare at the third ioynt, and some at the fourth, wheate hath 4. ioyns, rie six, barley eight: but they that haue those, neuer bud the eare, vntill all the ioyns bee growne out. *Varr. de re rust.* lib. 1. The huske of the eare, ere it open is called *vagina*, in the eare, is the graine, and the eare is in the huske: the awne, or beard, is as a rough needle, sticking forth from the eare, which ere it bee died is called *Mutica*. (k) *Because Hostire*] *Hostire*, is to suppress, and so giue back, and hereof comes *Hostis*. *Non.* or to strike: *Festus*, also to doe iustice, to recompence, whereof comes *redostire*, and *hostimentum*; both vsed by *Plantus*. (l) *Flora*] Some take her for *Acca Laurentia*, the Courtizan, some for *Melibaa*, *Niobes* daughter, called *Chloris*, for changing her colour through feare of *Apollo* and *Diana*. Hence shee was called *Flora*, whom with her siter *Amicla*, *Niobe* hauing preferred, and pleased *Latona*, she bore *Nestor* vnto *Neleus*, *Nepennes* sonne. *Homer. Odys.* 11. who saith that the other perished with her brethren. *Ouid* makes her wife to *Zephirus*, because she is goddesse of flowers. (m) *White*] Some reade *Lacticina*. There was also *Lactans*, the god that whitned the corne with milke. *Seru. Geor.* 1. (n) *Matuta*] Daughter to *Cadmus*, wife to *Athamas*; casting her selfe downe head-long from a rocke into the sea, shee changed her name from *Ino*, into *Leucothea*, the white goddesse, called by the Latines, *Mother Matuta*, who say she is *Aurora*, wherof comes *tempus matutinam*, the morning time. *Meleceria* her sonne was also made a sea-god, and called *Palamon*. *Ouid. Lact. &c.* her temple was in the eighth region of Rome. (o) *Runcina*] *Varro de ling. Lat.* *Runcare* is to pull vp. *Auerrancus*, the god that pulls away euills from men. (p) *Euery one*] One man sufficeth, when three gods cannot. (q) *Cardea*] *Carna* rather: first called *Carno*, *Ianus* lay with her, and then made her the goddesse of hinges. Shee rules in mans vitall partes, her feast is in *Iunes* Calends. *Ouid. Fast.* 5. *Brutus* hauing expelled *Tarquin*, kept her feast at the fore-said time, with beane-flowre, and bacon. *Macrob. Satur.*

whether it was *Ioue*, whom the Romaines held the chiefest god, that was this protector and enlarger of their Empire. CHAP. 9.

Wherefore setting aside this nest of inferior gods (for a while) let vs looke into the offices of the greater; and which of them brought Rome to such a præminence ouer the other nations. This same surely was *Ioues* worke. For, him they made the King ouer all their gods besides, as his scepter, and his seate on the highest (a) part of all the Capitoll doe sufficiently testifie. And of him, they haue a very conuenient saying (though it bee from a Poet) (b) *All is full of Ioue.*  
And

And *Varro* (c) is of opinion, that those that worship but one God, and that without any statue, do meane this *Ioue*, though they call him by another name. Which being so, why is he so euill vsed at Rome, and by others also in other places, as to haue a statue made him? This euill vse so disliked *Varro*, that although he were o-uer-borne with the custome of so great a city, yet hee doubted not both to as- firme, and record, that in making those statues, they both banished all feare, and brought in much error?

## L. VIVES.

**H**ighest (a) part] On *Tarpeius*. (b) *Alis full of Ioue*] *Virgil* out of *Aratus* *iusus de diis wasus &c.* and *Lucane* in his eight booke.

*Est deus scias ubi terra, ubi Pontus, & aer,  
Et Caelum & virtus: Superos quid querimus vltimè?*

Ioue sits where earth, where aire, where sea and shore  
Where heauen, and vertue is, why aske we more.

(c) *Is of opinion*] The Greekes call *Ioue*, *Zus*, and *Aios*, both of *Limning* because he was held to giue all things life. *Orpheus* in *Cratere*. *Plato* deriues them both of *ἄδρον ζῶν*, to *liue by him- selfe*. In *Cratylō*. The Romaines called him *Ioue*, a *Iuuando* of *helping*. The old Philolophers called that same *Mens* that *Intellect* that created all things, *Ioue*. And therefore the wise men worshipped this, who otherwise held no mortall creature for any God, but onely that immor- tall, almighty Prince of nature, hauing diuers names, one amongst the Greekes, another with the Persians, a third with the Phœnicians, a fourth in Egypt &c. *Plutarch*. *Saturnes* son of *Creta* was called *Zus*, because he was the first of *Saturnes* male children that liued. *Lactantius*.

Jupiter  
why so cal-  
led.

*what opinion they followed, that set diuers gods to rule in diuers parts of  
the world. CHAP. 10.*

**B**ut why had he *Iuno* added to him, both as his sister and wife? because (a) wee place *Jupiter* in the skie (say they) and *Iuno* in the aire, and these two are con- riguall, one immediately next about the other. Very well, then all is not full of *Ioue* as you said but now, if *Iuno* doe fill a part. Doth the one fill the other, (be- ing man and wife) and are they distinct in their seuerall elements, and yet con- ioynded in them both? why then hath *Ioue* the skie assigned him and *Iuno* the ayre? Again, if onely these two sufficed for all, what should (b) *Neptune* doe with the sea, and *Pluto* with the earth? Nay, and for feare of want of broods *Neptune* must haue a (c) *Salacia*, and *Pluto* (d) a *Proserpina* for wiues to breede vpon. For as *Iu- no* possesseth the heauens inmost part the aire (say they:) so doth *Salacia* the inner parts of the sea, and *Proserpina* the bowells of the earth. Alas good men, they would faine stich vp their lies hand-somely, and cannot finde which way. For if this were true, the world should haue but three elements, (and not (e) 4. as their ancient writers haue recorded) if euery couple of gods should haue their element. But they themselues haue there affirmed, that the (f) skie is one thing & the aire another. But the water, within and without is all but water, (there may bee some diuersity to the dyet, but neuer any alteration of the essentiall forme:) and earth is earth, how euer it bee seuerally qualified: Now the world beeing complete in these foure, where's (g) *Minerua's* share? shee hath a share (h) in the Capitol though shee bee not daughter to *Ioue* and *Iuno* both. If she dwell in the highest part of the skie, & that therefore the Poets faigned her to be the birth of *Ioues* owne braine, why is not she then made the absolut Empreffe of heauen, see- ing y she sitteth about *Ioue*? Because it is not meet to make the child Lord ouer the parent: why then was not that equity kept between *Saturne* & *Jupiter*? because *Saturne* was conquered? why then belike they fought! no y gods forbid, say they?

is but a poetical fiction, a fable: well, thus you see they will trust no fables, they do thinke better of their gods then so, but how chanceth it then that *Saturne* (seeing hee might not sit about his sonne *Ioue*) had not a seate equall with him? Because (i) *Saturne* (say they) is nothing but the length of time, well then, they that worship *Saturne*, worshipp *Time* and *Ioue*, the King of all the gods is said to be borne of *Time*, and what wrong doe we to *Ioue* and *Iuno* in saying they are borne of *Time*, seeing that by the Paganes owne confessions they signifie Heauen and Earth, both which were created in time, for this the greatest schollers and (k) wisest of them all commend to our memory, nor did *Virgill* speake out of fiction, but out of Philosophy, when he said.

*Tum pater omnipotens secundis imbribus Aether* | Almighty Aether in a fatning shower.  
*Coniugis in gremium lætæ descendit.* --- | Dropt in the lappe of his glad spouse---

*Iuno and  
Terra the  
earth al one  
Var, de ling  
lat.*

That was, the Earth. In which they make a difference also, for herein (l) *Terra*, and *Tellus* and *Tellamon* are al feueral things, they say. And all these they haue as gods, distinct in name, office, and ceremoniall rites. *Terra* (m) is also called the mother of the Gods besides, that the poets may now faigne with farre more toleration, seeing that their very bookes of religion affirme, that *Iuno* is not only wife and sister bur (n) mother also vnto *Ioue*. The same Earth they stile both (o) *Ceres*, & *Vesta*, yet (p) *Vesta* they say most commonly is the fire, and guardeth that which the city cannot want? And therefore the Virgins kept it, because fire, and Virginitie do neuer bring forth any thing. All which vanity, it was fit hee onely should abolish that was borne of a Virgin. But who can endure to heare them ascribe so much honor and chastity to the fire, and yet not shame to call (q) *Vesta*, *Venus*, that her Virgins might haue the lesse care of the honor of virginitie for if *Venus* were *Vesta* (r) how should the Virgins do her good seruice in abstayning from venery? or (s) are there two *Venus*es, the one a Virgin, the other a wanton? or three rather, one of the virgins (*Vesta*) one of the wiues, & one of the whores, to such an one as this last is, the (t) *Phanicians* cōsecrated the prostitution of their daughters, before that they married them: now which of these, is *Vulcans* wife; not the Virgin, she neuer had husband, not the whore, oh no, not (v) *Iunos* sonne, & (x) *Mineruas* forger, be wronged. Well then, it was *Venus* the wife: yet we would haue her to stand as a patterne to bee imitated for her trickes that shee playd with *Mars*, oh now (say they) you runne to the fables againe, why what reason is there that you should greue to here those things at our tonges and yet explaud them on your owne stages? why doth it vex you that we should say (a thing vtterly incredible but that it is so fully proued) that those foule and open crimes of their gods instituted and celebrated in their publike honors, and by their own commaunds.

### L. VIVES.

Because (a) we place. [Cir. 2. de nat, deor. The Skie as *Ennius*, *Euripides*, the South-sayers and the whole world affirme, is *Ioue*: the Ayre, betweene that and the Sea, (as the Stoicks hold) is *Iuno* sister and wife to *Ioue*, by reason of the ayres likenesse, and nearenesse to Heauen, now they made the ayre a woman, because it is the softest thing that (b) is. *Neptune* *Saturnes* three sonnes shared the world: *Ioue* had Heauen, *Neptune* the Sea: *Pluto* the Earth. *Iuno* married *Ioue*, and was made Lady of the Ayre, this fable arose from thence, because that in the deuiding of the fathers kingdome, *Ioue* got the East, resembling Heauen, (wherein also mount *Olimpus* stood, whose likelihood of name added to the fiction.) *Neptune* had the nauy: *Dis* or *Pluto* the west part of the realme fained to bee hell: *Saturne* was said to bee banished into Hel because he fled from the East, into *Italy*, lying in the West: (c) *Salacia* of Sa-

*Saturnes  
Sonne.*

*Salacia.*

*lum*

lame the salt some, varro: the water old of (faith fest.) was called *Salacia*, a *salum ciendo*, of mouing the froth, so the Poet *Pacuvius* vseth it. *Neptune* was a cunning seaman, and made Admirall by *Ioue*, for which posterity deified him. (d) *Proserpina*.] Of hir, before. Hir mother finding her in Hell, begged and obtayned of *Ioue* that she might be halfe the yeare with her on earth and halfe a yeare with *Pluto*. Shee had her name *Aproserpendo*, because she crept some while this way and some while that, being all one with the *Moone* and the earth. *Varro*: you may read of her rape almost euery where. (e) *four*.] First *fire*, then *ayre*, then *water* and lastly *earth*. (f) *skie*] Heauen it selfe and the vpper region of the aire, they called *Ether* or the *skie*. the lower parts, ayre onely, though the Poets confound them. (g) *Minerua*] daughter of *Ioue* and *Themis*, faith *Euhemerus*, *Hist. sacr.* There were fiue *Mineruas*, but the Poets confound them all. *Tull. de nat. deor.* One was borne (they say) of *Ioues* braine and is the Goddesse of all wisdome, and therefore was held so borne, and a Virgine: and her throne was counted the highest in heauen. *Martian, Nupt. lib. 6.*

*Virgo armata decens rerum sapientia Pallis,  
Aetherius somes, mens & solertia fsti,  
Ingenium mundi, prouentia sacra tonantis,  
Ardor doctificus, nostriq; industria sortis.  
Que facis arbitrium sapientis prouentia curae,  
de rationis apex, diuumq; hominum nūque sacer rūs.  
Vltra terga means rapidi ac splendentis Olympi,  
Celsior una ioue flammantis circulus aethere.*

Pallas, thou armed Virgin, wisdomes wonder,  
Fate iudging faire, fount of Aethereall light:  
Worlds vnderstanding, and arbitresse of thunder,  
Arts ardor, spring, wherein man clears his sight,  
Discretions arch, which reason raigneth vnder,  
Ettence, in gods, and men, sui mounting bright:  
Thou'ng beyond the Spheares, and all in fire,  
Thron'd aboute Ioue, far brighter, and far higher.

(h) in the capitol] Now *Ioue* almighty (faith *Tully*) that ruleth all, and then *Iuno* his fellow, and thou *Pallas Minerua*, and all you gods that inhabite the capitol, &c. *Pro equit in exil.* *Tarquinius Priscus* in the *Sabine* warre vow'd a temple to *Ioue*, *Iuno*, and *Minerua*, and playned the top of *Mount Tarpeius* to make a place for it to stand in, but was slaine ere hee had laid the foundation, so it was renewed and finished by *Tarquin the proud*, and called the capitol because of a mans head that was found in digging the foundation. Before this, there was a temple to *Ioue*, *Iuno*, and *Minerua*, on *Floras* cliffe. *Diodor. Sicul. (i) Because.*] *Saturne* was sonne to *Celus* Saturne. and *Terra*, a most vngracious fellow, but quitted by his Sonne *Ioue*, who expelled him, as he had expelled his father, and so made the prouerbe true. *Do as as you would be done vnto.* Hereafter he was called the god of time. *Hesiod, Euhem, Diod, Cicero.* *Saturne*, is he (they say) that diuides and distinguishes the times: and therefore the *Greekes* call him *κείρος*, which is, κείρος. space of time. Hee was called *Saturnus*, quasi *Satur annis*, full of yeares, and was faygned by the Poets to deuour his children, because time deuoures all things. He was imprisoned by *Ioue*, that is limited by the starres from running too wild a course. (k) their wisest] *Varro de ling. lat. lib. 3.* calles *Iuno* both *Terra* and *Tellus*. *Plutarch* interpreteth *Iuno* the earth, and the nuptial coniunction of man and wife. *Euseb, de prep. Euang, Seruius* faith that *Ioue* is put for the Terra  
Tellus, sky, and the ayre; *Iuno* for earth and water

(l) Herein Terra] *Terra*, is the earth it selfe *Tellus*, a diminutiue, the goddesse of the earth, though the Poets confound them, yet they alwaies said *Tellus* her temple and not *Terra's*. *Pluto* also and *Proserp*, were called *Tellumo*, and *Tellus*, also *Altor*, and *Runfor* were both his names, and hee had charge of all earths businesse: so that some say hee was *Ceres* Sonne *Diodor. lib. 6.* *Porpheryus* calles one part of the earth, *Vizy* the fat and fertile, *Ceres*, and the craggy, hilly and stony, *Ops*, or *Rhea*. *Euseb. de prep. Euang*, where he faith much of these things. *lib. 3.* (m) is also] namely *Rhea*. (n) Mother] for as she was *Iuno* she was his wife and sister; and as she was *Ops* his mother. (o) *Ceres*] the earth is called *Ceres*, a *Gerendo*, of bearing corne, or of Ceres. *Cereo* to create *Varro Tully*, out of *Chrisppus*, for the earth is mother to all. *Pluto in Cratyl.* She was daughter vnto *Saturne* and *Ops*, Sister to *Vesta* and *Iuno*, all these sisters and mothers they say is but onely earth. *Onid. Fast. 6.*

*Vesta eadem est, & terra subest, subit ignis utriusque,  
Significat sedem terra focusq; suam,*

Vesta is earth, and fire: earth vndergoeth,  
The name, and so doth fire: Vesta's both.

And a little after.

*Stat vs terra sua, vs stando Vesta vocatur:*

Earth stands alone, and therefore Vesta hight.

Vesta.

To this doth *Orpheus* and *Plato* both assent (p) yet *Vesta*] *Cic. de nat. deor.* for *Vesta* is deriued from



from the *Greekes* being called with them *Hestia*; her power is ouer fires and altars. *de legib. 2. Vesta is as the citties fire, in Greeke, which word we vse almost vncchanged. Ouid Fast. 6.*

*Nec in aliud Vestam quam viam intellege flammam,  
Nataque de flamma corpora nulla vides,*

| Thinke Vesta is the fire that burneth still,  
That nere brought creature forth, nec euer will.

And being a fire, and called a Virgin, therefore did virgins attend it, and all virginity was sacred vnto it, first for the congruence of society and then of nature which was alike in both: this custome arose in *Egipt*, and spred farre, through the *Greekes*, and the *Barbarian* countries. *Diodor*. It was kept so at *Athens*, and at *Delphos*, *Plutar*. *Strabo*, *Vestas* sacrifices and rites came from *Ilium* to *Latium*, and so to *Rome* by *Romulus* his meanes, and therefore *Virgill* calles her often times, *the Phrigian vesta*.

*Sic ait et manibus vittas, vestamque potentem,  
Aeternumque adytis effert penetrabilis ignem.*

| This said, he bringeth forth eternall Fire,  
Almighty Vesta, and her pure attire:

Speaking of *Panthus* the *Troy* in Priest. There was then for euery *Curia*, a *Vesta*, *Dionis*. but *Numa* built the temple of the first publike *Vesta*, In the yeare of the city, X L. as *Ouid* accompteth. (q) *Vesta Venus* naturally, for the naturalists call the vpper hemisphere of the earth *Venus*, and *Vesta* also: the nether, *Proserpina*, *Plotinus* calleth the earths vertue, arising from the influence of *Venus*, *Vesta*. Besides, *Vesta* being the worlds fire, and the fatnesse comming from *Venus*, there is little difference, in respect of the benefit of the vniuerse, so that *Vesta* was euery where worshipped, not as barren, but as fruitfull and augmentatiue, making the citties and nations happy in eternall and continuall increase. (r) *How [ould.]* The punishment of an vnchast *Vestall* was great: but after thirty yeares, they might leaue the profession and marry.

Two  
Venuſes.

(s) *is there two*] so saith *Plato* In *Conuuiuo*. *Heavenly*, procuring excellence of conditions, *earthly*, prouoking vnto lust; the first, daughter to *Calus*, the later to *Ioue* and *Dione*, much younger then the first. There was also a *Venus* that stirred vp thast thoughts. And therefore when the *Romaine* women ranne almost mad with lust, they consecrated a statue of *Venus verticordia*, out of the *Sibills* bookes, which might turne the hearts from that soule heate vnto honesty. *Valer. lib. 8. Ouid. Fast. 4.* (t) *Phenicians*] This *Iustin* reporteth of the *Ciprians*, *lib. 18. It was their custom (saith he) at certain set daies to bring their daughters to the sea shore ere they were married; and there to prostitute them for getting of their dowries, offering to Venus for the willing losse of their chastities.* I thinke this was *Venus* her law left vnto the *Ciprians* whome shee taught first to play the mercenary whores. *Lactant*. The *Armenians* had such anther custome *Strabo*, and the *Babilonians* being poore, did so, with their daughters for gaine. The *Phenicians* honored *Venus* much for *Adonis* his sake who was their countryman, they kept her feasts with teares, and presented her mourning for him, *Macrob*. She had a Statue on *Mount Libanus*; which leaned the head vpon the hand and was of a very sad aspect: so that one would haue thought that true teares had fallen from hir eyes. That the deuills brought man-kind to this, wilbe more apparant (saith *Eusebius*) if you consider but the adulteries of the *Phenicians*, at this day in *Heliopolis* and elsewhere they offer those filthy actes as first fruits vnto their gods. *Euseb. de. preparat. Euang.*: which I haue set downe that men might see what his opinion was hereof, though my copy of this worke of his be exceeding falsly transcribed. This custome of prostitution, the *Augilares of Africke* did also vse, that married in the night. *Herodot. Solim. Mela*.

The Cipri-  
an virgines  
custom,

Mars.

The *Sica* also (of the same country) practised the same in the Temple of *Venus the matron*, *Valer*. The *Lotrians* being to fight, vowed if they conquered, to prostitute all their daughters at *Venus* feast. (v) *Iunos Sonne*.] It may bee *Mars* that lay with *Venus*, and begot *Harmonias*, (for hee was *Iunos* sonne, borne (they faigned) without a father, because they knew not who was his father) It may be *Mars*, by that which followes, *cooperarius Minervae*, for both are gods of warre: but, It is rather ment of *Vulcan*, sonne to *Ioue* and *Iuno*, (though vsually called *Iunos* sonne and *Apator*) who was a Smith in *Lemnos*, and husband vnto *Venus* that lay with *Mars*. So it were *Vulcans* wrong, to call her whore, for to be a cuckold is a disgracefull thing. (x) *Minerva's forger*] Or fellow workers, for they both haue charge of *Iones* thunder

Vulcan.

thunder, and somtimes through his bolts, *Virgil*

*Ipsa Iouis rapidum iaculata et nubibus ignem.*

Quite through the cloud shee threw *Ioues* thundring fire.

Which there are but three may do (saith *Seruius*) *Iupiter*, *Minerua* and *Vulcan*, though *Pliny* bee of another mind. *De disciplin. Etrusc. & Rom* (lib. 2.) *Minerua* looketh vnto *Ioues* *Aegis*, which was indeed his apparrell; made by *Minerua's* wisdome and *Vulcans* labour: And though *Ioues* bonnet be fire, yet *Pallas* made it. *Mart. Nupt.* Or is *Vulcan* her fellow forger, because he begat *Apollo* on hir, that hath the tuition of *Athens*? *Cic. de nat.* (lib. 3.) But *Augustines* minde I thinke rather is this, that *Vulcan* is *Minerua's* fellow forger. Because she is called the goddesse of all artes, euen the mechanicall: and he is godde of the Instruments vsed in all these mechanicall artes. Fire is the instrument of all artes (saith *Plutarch*) if one knew how to vse it. *De utilit. immic.* Besides *Vulcan* is said to gouerne artes him-selfe. The warlike artes (saith *Ensebius*) were *Minerua's* charge, the pyrotechnical, or such as worke in fire, *Vulcans*: *Theodoret* saith that the *Greekes* vsed the word *Vulcan* for artes, because few artes can be practised without fire. *Phurnutus* saith that all artes are vnder *Minerua* and *Vulcan*, because shee is the Theory, and he the Instrument of practise. And therefore *Homer* saith of a worke-man thus: *ὁ γὰρ αὖτος δίδαξαν ἑλὲν ἑκαστὰς ἀθλοῖν, Whome Vulcan taught and Minerua.*

*Of the multitude of Goddess which the Pagan Doctors  
enough to bee but one and the same Iupiter*

CHAP. II.

Wherefore let them flourish with their physicks as long as they like. Lette *Iupiter* be one while the (a) soule of this terrene world, filling the whole fabrike of the foure Elements, more, or lesse, as they please; and another while but a quarter-ruler with his bretheren and sisters: lette him be the skie now, imbracing *Iuno* which is the aire vnder him, and let him by and by be skye and aire both, filling the lappe of the earth, his wife and mother with fertile showers and seedes; (b) This is no absurdity in their Diuinity; And (to omit the long and tedious catalogue of his remoues and strange transmutations) lette him forth-with bee but one, and that onely God, of whom the famous Poet was thought to say:

————— *Deumq; namq; ire per omnes,  
Terrasq; tractusq; maris calumq; profundum.*

————— (c) For God his spirit imparts,  
To th' earths, the seas, and heauens profoundest parts.

(d) Let him be *Iupiter* in the sky, *Iuno* in the Aire, *Neptune* in the Sea, *Salacia* in the seas depth, *Pluto* in the earth, *Proserpina* in the earths lowest part, *Vesta* in her households fire, *Vulcan* in the Smiths shop, *Sol*, *Lun.* and the stars in the spheres, (e) *Apollo* in diuination (f) *Mercury* in trafficke, in (g) *Ianus* (h) the Porter, in the Bounds *Terminus*, in time *Saturne*, in war, *Mars* and (i) *Bellona*, in the vineyards, *Bacchus*, in the Corne, *Ceres*, in the Woods, (k) *Diana*, in mens wits, *Minerua*, let him rule the (l) seed of man as *Liber*, and of women, as *Libera*, as hee is father of the day, let him be (m) *Diespiter*, as ruler of the monthly disease of women, lette him be the goddesse *Mena*: and (n) *Lucina* that helps in their child-birth. And helping the fruits which increase, let him take the name of *Ops*. Let him bee (o) *Vaticanus*, that opens the childe's mouth first, to cry, and *Leuana*, that takes vp from the mother: and *Cunina*, that guards the Cradle. Let none but him sing the destinies of the new-borne childe, and be called (p) *Carmentes*, lette him sway chance, and bee stiled *Fortunc*, or womens dugges, and bee called (q) *Rumina*, because

Q

(because the ancients called a dugg *Ruma*) lette him bee (*r*) *Potina* and suckle the hog-babes: or *Educa* and feed them : Or *Paupertia* , for frightening them, or (*t*) *Venilia* for sodaine hope : *Volupia* for pleasure, *Agenoria* for action, *Stimula* for prouocation, *Strenua* for confirming mans courage, *Numeria* for teaching children to tell twenty (*u*) and *Camana* for singing. Nay lette vs make him (*x*) *Consus*, for his counsaile, (*y*) *Sentia* for his sententious inspirations, (*z*) *Inuentas* for the guiding of our (*a*) egressse from youth, to fuller age. For our chins sake ( which if he loue vs, he clothes in haire ) let him be (*b*) *Fortuna Barbata* : Nay free, because he is a male-Godde , lette him either bee *Barbatus*, as *Nodotus* is, or because hee hath a beard, lette him not bee *Fortuna*, but *Fortunius*. Well, on, lette him bee *Ingatine*, to looke to the Hills , and at the loosing of a virgins nuptiall guirdle lette him bee inuoked by the name of *Virginensis* : lette him bee (*c*) *Mutinus*: which amongst the *Greekes* was *Priapus*, but that (it may bee ) hee will bee ashamed off. Lette *Iupiter* alone bee all these that I haue reckoned, and that I haue not reckoned (for I haue thought fit to omit a great many,) or as those hold, which make him the soule of the world (many of whome are learned men) let all these bee but as parts and vertues of him: If it be so, as I doe not yet inquire how it is, what should they loose if they tooke a shorter course, and adore but one God? what one thing belonging vnto his power were dispised, if him-selfe intirely were duly worshipped? If they feare that some of his parts would be angry for being neglected, why then it is not as they say, that al this is but as the life of one soule, containing all those gods as the parts, powers, vertues and faculties therof: but euery part hath a life, really and distinctly seperate from the other: This must needs be true, if one of them may be offended, and another bee pleased, and both with one act. And to say that whole *Ioue* would be offended, if al his parts were not feuerally worshipped, this were foolish: for ther were not one of them left out, if the persõ were adored in whom they at al iointly included. For to permit the rest, (being innumerable) wheras they say that the stars are al & euery one real parts of *Ioue*, and liue, haue reasonable soules, and therefore are absolute gods; they say they know not what, and see not how many of them they leaue without Altars & without worship, both which notwithstanding they haue exhibited them-selues and commanded others to exhibit vnto a certaine smal number of them: VVherfore if they doubt the anger of the rest, why are not they affraid to liue in the displeasure of the most part of heauen, hauing giue content but vnto so few? Now if they worshipped al  $\dot{\text{y}}$  stars inclusuely in *Iupiters* particular person, they might satisfie them all by this meanes in the adoration of him alone: for so, none of them would think much, seeing they all were worshipped in him: nor should any haue cause to think they were contemned : VVheras otherwise the greater part may conceiue iust anger for beeing thus omitted by those that giue all the honor vnto a very few: And their anger may wel bee the greater in that they shine aboue as vn-regarded, and behold filthy *Prisipus* stand naked below, in great respect and credit.

### L. VIVES.

**T**He soule (*a*) of this ] The opinion of *Thales*, and *Democritus*. The *Stoicks* held with *Plato*, that God was a spirit, but that hee vsed not the World as a body. That the World was a GOD, and hadde a soule, and an intellect, but that it was not the fore-said GOD. The olde wrisers, (as *Tully* and *Pliny*, following *Homer*) thought that the Sun was the soule of the

the world. *Phurnutus* saith the world hath a soule called *Iupiter*, that rules it euen as our *Iupiter*, soule doth vs. (b) *This is no Earth* (saith *Hesiod*) bore *Calus* and then lay with him, and bore him eleuen children wherof *Saturne* was one. (c) *For God* } Most of the old writers held God to be a power diffused through the vniuerse. (d) *Let him* } The wisest Gentiles held that there was but one God, diuersly stiled, by his diuers qualities. *Arist. de mundo. Plut. de placit. Philosoph. Macrobius* puttes the son for al the goddesses. *Saturnal.* (e) *Apollo* } Holding him to bee the *Apollo*, worldes eye, they might easily thinke he could see al thinges, past, present and future. So was he fought vnto, far and neare, but gaue answers especially at *Delphos*. *Diodor.* Which Oracle had this originall: There was a deep and obscure caue, there where the shrine in *Delphos* was first: where-vnto a Goate comming by chance to feed, was inspired with an extraordinary spirit, and began to leape and dance beyond measure. Which the sheapheard wondring at, and comming to the mouth of the Caue, hee grew rapt him-selfe, and began to prophecy. And others vpon tryal, did so also: where-upon it grew to that passe that such as would know things to come, would but bring one to leane his head into the Caue and he should answer them the truth to all that they would aske. Which afterwards they finding to bee dangerous (for it had bene the death of diuers) they built a Temple there vnto *Apollo*, and ordained a Virgin to receiue the inspiration, vpon a frame a good height from the Caue, and so to giue answers to the inquirers, which frame they named a *Tripod*, of three feet, hauing the same shape that the brazen *Tripodes* had afterwards. This Virgin Priest was called the *Pythia*, at first a Virgin, like *Dianes* Priest. Afterward *Echechtratus* lying with *Pythia*, they ordained that the Priest should be vnder 50. yeares of age: medling no more with Virgins at any hand: only she went virgin-like, to keepe some memory of the ancient custome. *Diodor.* (f) *Mercury* } Accounted the God of eloquence, of bargaines and contracts, because words doe al these. The Marchants feast was in the Ides of *Maie*, that day that *Mercuries* Temple was dedicated: The *Greekes* called him *ἀγοραστής* that is a *Market-man*, and he had a statue in the market-place: *Plantus* describeth his office in his *Amphitruo*: whereof here-after. (g) *In Ianus* } being the eldest god of all, hee ruled the beginning of things. He was indeed King of *Latium* in *Saturnes* time. Some (as *Ouid* and *Festus*) took him for the the old *Chaos*, and that his name *Ianus* was thence deriued. Others ab eundo, of going. *Cic. de Nat. de.* wherof comes *Ianna* gates. *Cornificinus* saith that *Tully* called him *Eanus*, and not *Ianus*. The hill *Ianiculus* bare his name, some say because hee was buried there, others because they went ouer it into *Heiruria*. Hee had two faces, as the lord of beginnings and endes, of him read *Ouids Fastorum*, and *Macrobius.* (h) *Porter* } To look to the gate, for which *Ianus* is put in the text. (i) *Bellona* } Of *Bellum* warre, and *Duellona* also. Shee was thought to bee *Pallas*, because *Pallas* ruled warre also. The *Greekes* called him *Enno*, *Hesich*: hir face was full of terror and contention. *Homer* calls hir *ἠολίπνοδος*; as he doth *Mars*, and the Poets fained hir to bee *Mars* his mother, and therefore calls him *ἠολίπνοδος*. Shee was called *Enno*, quasi *ἐνώσα θυμὸν*, &c. Of putting spirit and fury into those that were to fight, or of being furious hir selfe. Hir Temple stood in the ninth region, and before it a pillar, from which the signe of war was euer giuen, by putting forth a speare. *Ouid.* (k) *Diana* } The Moone had many names: *Lucina*, *Proserpina*, *Hecate* and *Diana*. She was fained to be a virgin, giuen all to hunt much in the Woodes, and shooting. Wher-vpon *Aeneas* meeting his mother in the Woodes thought it hadde been *Diana*, *Aeneid.* 1. I haue read these two verses of the Moone, but I know not where.

*Terrae, Lustrat, agit, Proserpina, Luna, Diana,  
Ima, superua, ferax, sceptro, fulgore, sagitta.*

| *Diana, Luna, Proserpine*, doth strike, doth spread, doth fight,  
The beasts, the Deities and diuels, with scepter, shafts & light.

They are none of the grossest: *Prudentius* in his third booke against *Symmachus*, hath these verses.

— *Terq, suas eadem variare figuras.  
Denique dum Luna est, subluistri splendet Amictu,  
Cum succincta iacet calamos, Latonia virgo est.  
Cum Subnixa sedet folio Plutonia coninx  
Imperiat furis & dilatat iura Megææ.*

— Threentimes she turnes hir shape,  
She is the Moon, when bright her spheare doth shewe:  
Latoe as daughter when she hunts below  
But throne in hell, shee s' *Plutoes* wife, and awes  
The furies, gining sterne *Megara* lawes.

(l) *Seed of* } *Liber* and *Libera* were *Ceres* children, saith *Tully de nat. deor.* (lib. 2.) Many think they are *Sol* and *Luna*, who haue power ouer generation. *Liber* of the men and therefore

**Diespiter.** fore the Satyres were said to accompany him, and *Pyrapus* was worshipped in his Temple: *Libera* for the women. (m) *Diespiter* ] *Quasi Dios Pater*, or the father of the day. *Varro*. (n) *Lucina*. ] This was *Luna*, *Diana* or *Iuno*, *Cicero*. *Iuno Lucina helpe me*, cries *Glycerium* in *Terences Andria*. Shee was also called *Opigena*, of hir helpe in the womens trauels, and worshipped at *Rome* of the *Matrons*. *Festus*. *Tymans* saith that the night that *Alexander* the great was borne, *Diana's* Temple at *Ephesus* was burned, because she would not be absent from *Olympias* his mother in her labour, and so was far from hir Temple when it was fired. The *Romaines* worshipped *Ilythia* also for this end, who was a fate or fayry (saith *Pausanias*) and came from the North to *Delos* to helpe *Latona* in hir trauell, and was placed at *Atheus* amongst her *Geniullides*, the gods that looked vnto natiuities: They vsed to place kneeling Images before them, because *Nauplius* his daughter was born in that manner. Such also were the three *Nexida* in the *Capitol* before *Minerua's* shrine, where vnto the *Matrons* offered, as the protectors of Childe-birth. *M. Atill. Glabrio* brought them from the conquest of *Antiochus*. They were kneeling statues. (o) *Vaticanus* ] Of him before. (p) *Carmenes* ] Called first *Nicostrata*, daughter to *Ionis* the King of *Arcadia*, who had *Euander* by *Mercury*, and had the spirit of prophecy: she was called in Greeke *Thespiodon*, in Latine, *Carmente*. *Dionys*. Of hir *Onid* saith

*Ipsa Mont, que nomen habes de carmine dictum,  
Que simul aethereos animo concupit ignes.  
Ore dabet pleno carmina vera Dei.*

And thou that from the verse deriues thy name. And againe  
And being filled with æth'riall fyre,  
She spake, as *Phabus* did her breast inspire.

**Port Scelerata.** There was the gate *Carmentall* in *Rome*, called afterwards *Scelerata*, and neare to it an Altar in the *Capitol*, where shee was placed. There were also the *Carmena* which told the destiniues of new borne children, whence *Nicostrata* had hir name. *Varro*. They were also called *Casmene*, and *Camena* without S, and they that honoured them were called Prophets, of their prophecies. There was also *Faunus* and *Fauna*, brother and sister, he mens fortune-teller, and she womens. (q) *Rumina* ] goddesse of duges. *Plin. Fest*. There was the fig-tree *Ruminall*, where the she-wolfe gaue *Romulus* and *Remus* sucke. They offered milke and sprinckled the sacrifices with milke that were offered to this goddesse. (r) *Potina* ] Or *Potica*. *Donat. in Terentii Phormio*. The children were consecrated to *Educa*, *Potica*, and *Cuba*, goddesse of meate, drinke, and sleep. *Virg*.

*Nec Deus hunc Mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est.  
Nor would the god giue meat, nor goddesse sleepe.*

**Venilia.** (s) *Educa* ] Not *Edulica*. (t) *Venilia* ] *Turnus* his mother, sister to *Latinus* his wife *Amata*. *Venilia* of *Ventus*, winde, or of *Venio* to come. *Varro*. (u) *Cumana* ] *Cumana* were the *Muses*, of *Cano*, to sing. *Seru*, or *Cumana*, of *Castamens*, a chaste minde saith *Festus*. Their Temple was at *Port Capena* in the first ward or region of the city. *Camana* in Latine, is *Musa* in Greeke. They ruled humanity, and learning as wel as song: (*Cic. Tus. quest. 1.*) They were called *Muses*, of inquiring *απο τῶν ὁδῶν*, and of Phylosophy. (x) *Consus* ] This was *Hippoposidon*. *Liu. Dion. Plut*. The *Arcadians* built him a Temple before *Romulus* and *Remus*, calling him y god of *Counsels*. Wherefore his Altar neuer came out of the earth where it lay hidde, but only at his feast. He directed *Romulus* in the rape of the *Sabines*: the *Greekes* say he stricke the earth with his mafe, and it brought forth the first horse, and thence hath he his name. True it is that he first tamed horses in those parts, add made them fit for mans vse. (y) *Sentia* ] Or *Senta*, or *Fauna*, or *Fasua* sister and wife to *Faunus*, daughter to *Picus*. So called a *Fando*, because shee helped children to speake: *Senta*, because we speake our thoughts: But this is but coniecturall: we leaue it with the rest. (z) *Iuuanias* ] Of hir hereafter. (a) *Degrees from youth* ] The text is, *Post pretextam*. *Pretexta* was a velture of dignity and magistracy brought from *Hetruria* to *Rome*: not worne by boies vntill *Tarquinius Priscus* his son had the wearing of that, and the golden *Bosse*, for being valorous in the wars: from that time all free children wore it: mary the *Bosse* was only theirs, whose fathers had bin Head-Officers, *Curules*. *Macrob*. At fourteene yeares they laid it by and took y mans gowne, *Toga virilis*, & the Senators sons, the *Latus clauus*, which some say *Augustus* first put on at y age: the *Latus clauus* was a purple coat, but not a gown. (b) *Fortuna barbata* ] The men of old offered y first shauings of their chins vnto *Apollo*: as *Theseus* did for one, going to *Delos*. *Plutarch*. (c) *Mutinus* ] Some ad *Tutinus*, but it hath bin the falt of som copier of old; & so he hath passed vn-observed. I do not think it was *Augustins*: for in his 6. book, he vseth but *Priapus* for both these: *Laetantius* readeth it well, *Mutinus*, though some of his cotypes haue

haue *Estinns*. (a) *One soule*.] *Plato*, *Cicero* and the *Stoicks* held the world to be but one creature: and to liue one life, as a man liueth.

*Of their opinion that held God to bee the soule.  
and the world to bee the bodie.*

## CHAP. 12.

WHAT of this? Ought not this to moue the sharpest wittes, nay all in generall? For indeed there is no great sharpnesse of wit required to the laying aside of all wrangling, and to attend but whether God be the worlds soule or no, and whether the world his body or no, both making one creature, whether he be nature (a) store-house containing all things in him-selfe? whether that out of his (b) soule, that animateth al this whole masse, the liues and beings of all liuing creatures be taken or no, each one according to their natures? and whether that there bee nothing on earth which is not part of God? If this were true, marke but the irreligious consequence hereof: A man, if it were so, should not tread, but still hee treads part of God vnder his feete; and in euery creature that he killed, he should kill a part of the Deitie. I will not relate what others may thinke vpon. I cannot speake it without exceeding shame.

## L. VIVES.

*Natures Store-house*] *Lucan*, *Placido natura receptat. (Cuncta finit.) (b) Soule*] A *Pythagoricall* sentence which *Virgill* expresseth.

*Principio celum & terras camposq; liquentes,  
Lucentemq; globum lune, Titaniaque astra,  
Spiritus intus alit, totamq; insusa per artus,  
Mens agit at molem, & magno se corpore miscet.*

Heauen, Earth and Sea, each in his proper bound,  
The moones bright globe, and all the spangled round,  
A spirit within doth feed, doth moue, and passe,  
Through euery parcell of this spacious, masse

Aeneid. 6.

And likewise in his *Georgikes*, lib. 4.

*His quidam signis, atq; haec exempla secuti,  
Esse apibus partem diuinae mentis & haustum  
Ethereos dixere: Deum namq; ire per omnes  
Terrasq; in altusq; maris, caelumq; profundum.  
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarū,  
Quemque sibi tenuis nascentem ardescere vitas,  
Scilicet huc reddi deinde & resoluta referri,  
Omnia nec morti esse locum, sed viuam volare  
Sideris in numerum, atq; alto succedere caelo, &c.*

These signes made some affirme that in a Bee,  
Was part of that celestiaall Deity  
For Gods difused essence doth appeare,  
Regent, in earth, air, sea, and euery sphere,  
To which for life, beasts, birds, and men do runne,  
And when their slender vitall threedes are spunne,  
To this they all returne, death hath no right,  
To ought of this, but to the starry height  
They towre, and there fit ranckt in heauens high frame, &c.

(c) *According to* Some more, some lesse, and some lesser: The nearer him, the more, the farther the lesse. This is the opinion of many, and amongst others of *Aristotle de mundo*.

*Of such as hold that the reasonable creatures onely  
are parts of the diuine essence.*

## CHAP. 13.

IF they say indeed, that all things in the whole world do not participate essence with God, but yet all reasonable creatures doe truly, I cannot see how that can stand. Then all the world is not God; for otherwise how can they keepe brute beastes from being part of him? But what needes all this? Lette vs go but vnto this reasonable creature, man; can there be a more damnable absurdity, then to beleue that part of Gods essence is beaten, when an offending child is beaten? To make the subsistence of almighty God, be so lasciuious, vniuist, wicked and damnable, as diuers men are: What man can indure to heare it but hee that is absolutely madde?

made: lastly how can God bee iustly angry with those that doe not worshippe him, when as they are partes of his owne selfe that are guilty? So then, they are forced to say that euery particular godde hath his life and subsistence by him-selfe, and that they are not peeces of one another, but each one that is particularly knowne, must haue his peculiar worshippe: that is knowne I say, because they cannot all bee knowne.ouer all whome, *Iupiter* beeing King, thence it comes (as I imagine) that they beleeuie him to bee the sole erecter and protector of *Romes* Monarchy. For if it were not hee that didde it, whome should they thinke able to performe so great a worke? each one hauing his peculiar taske already so distinctly assigned, that one must by no meanes meddle with that which was vnder the charge of another. So then the conclusion is, it must needs bee onely the King of goddes, that erected and preserued this Kingdome of men.

*That the augmentations of Kingdomes are vnfitly ascribed to Ioue. Victory (whome they call a goddesse) being sufficient of her selfe to giue a full dispatch to all such busineses.*

## CHAP. I4.

**N**OW heree is a question; why may not *Soueraignty* it selfe bee a God? What should hinder it more then (a) hinders *Victory*? Or what need men trouble *Ioue*, if *Victory* be but fauourable ynough, and will stay with such as she meaneth to make conquerors? If she be but propitious, let *Ioue* mind his own businesse, the nations shall come vnder. (b) Yea but it may bee they are good men and loth to wrong their neighbours that wrong not them, or to prouoke them to warre, without a iuster cause then meere desire to enlarge their Kingdome. Nay bee they of that minde, I commend them with all mine heart.

## L. VIVES.

**T**Hen (a) *Victory*] *Cato the elder* built hir a little Temple by the Market place. She had also a greater Temple by that little one: which *P. Posth. Megellus* beeing Aedile built with the mulct-money hee hadde gathered; and dedicated it in his Consulship, with *M. Attil. Regulus*, in the *Saminites* warre. *Sylla* ordained playes for her in the ciuill warres. *Ascon. Ped. Cicer. in Verr. Actio. 1.* She was daughter to *Styx* and *Pallas*. (*Hesiod.*) and had *Zeale*, *Power* and *Force* to her bretheren, which alwaies fitte by *Ioue*, nor raigneth he nor any King without them. (b) *It may be*] There are some copies that differ from vs heere, but they are corrupted.

*whether an honest man ought to intertaine any desire to enlarge his Empire.*

## CHAP. I5.

**W**herefore lette them obserue, whether it befitteth a good and vpright man to reioyce in the enlarging of his dominions. For it was the badnesse of those against whome iust warres were whilome vnder-taken, that hath aduanced earthly soueraignties to that port they now hold: which would haue beene little still, if no enemy had giuen cause nor prouocation to war by offering his

his neighbour wrong. If men had alwaies beene thus conditioned, the Kingdomes of the earth would haue continued litle in quantity, and peacefull in neighbourly agreement. And then a many Kingdomes would haue beene in the world, as a many families are now in a citty. So that the waging warre, and the augmentation of dominions by conquest may seeme to the badde as a great felicity, but the good must needs hold it a meere necessity. But because it would bee worse if the badde should gette all the Soueraignty, and so ouer-rule the good, therefore in that respect, the honest men may esteem their owne soueraignty a felicity. But doubtlesse, hee is farre more happy that hath a good neighbour by him in quiet, then hee that must bee forced to subdue an euil neighbour by contention. It is an euill wish, to wish for one that thou hatest, or fearest, or for one to trouble thee that thou mightst haue one to conquer. VVherfore if the *Romaines* attained to so great an Empire by honest, vpright & iust wars, why should they not reuerence their enemies *iniquity*, & take it for their goddesse good? For we see that *Iniquity* hath giuen good assistance to the increase of this Empire by setting on others vpon vniust prouocation to iust warre, that so the *Romaines* might haue iust cause to subdue them, and so consequently to enlarge their owne dominions. And why should not *Iniquity* be a goddesse (at least among forreyne Nations) as well as *Feare* and *Palenesse* and *Feuer* was at *Rome*? So that by these two Deities, *Iniquity* and *Victory*, the first beginning the warres, and the latter ending them with the conquest, *Romes* Empire was enlarged infinitely, whilest *Ioue* kept holyday in the Capitoll. For what hath *Iupiter* to doe heere where those (which they may say are but meere his benefits) are worshipped, inuocated and accounted for direct deities and partes of his essence? Indeed hee should haue hadde a faire good hand in this businesse, if that hee were called *Soueraignty* as well as shee is called *Victory*. But if that (a) *Soueraignty* bee but a meere giuft of *Ioues*, then why may not *Victory* bee so too? Both would bee held to bee so if the *Romaines* didde not worshippe a dead stone in the Capitoll, but the true King of Kinges and Lord of all domination both in earth and Heauen.

## L. VIVES.

[ *If the (a) Kingdome* ] So saith *Homer* in diuers places.

*The reason why the Romaines, in their appointments of severall Goddes for every thing and every action, would needes place the Temple of Rest or Quiet with-out the Gates.*

## CHAP. 16.

BUt I wonder much that the *Romaines* appointing particular goddes ouer every thing, and almost every motion, *Agenoria*, that stirred men to action, *Stimula* (a) that forced them forward, (b) *Murcia* that neuer went out of her pace: Andas (c) *Pomponius* saith, made men slouthfull, and disabled them from action, *Strenua* that made men resolute: Vnto all which goddes and goddesse they offered publike sacrifices, and kept sollemne feasts; Being to dispose (d) of *Quiet*, the goddesse of *Rest*, her they onely vouchsafed a Temple without *Port Collina*, but allowed hir no publike honors at all in the citty. VVhether was this a signe of their vnquiet and turbulent spirits, or that



those who hadde such a rable of diuell-gods. No worship and reuerence, should neuer come to inioy that *Rest*, where-vnto the true Phsition inuited vs, Saying: *Learn of me that I am meeke*, Math. 11. 29. *and lowly in heart, and you shall find rest vnto your soules.*

Math. 11.  
29.

### L. VIVES.

**Stimula.** *Stimula* (a) This may bee *Horta*, that in her life-time was called *Hersilia*, *Romulus* his wife; scalled *Horta* of exhorting men to action. *Labeo*. Her Temple was neuer shut: to signifie that shee would neuer haue men idle: Shee was after called *Hora*, goddesse of Providence, of the Greeke word *πρόνοια*, to inforce. *Plut.* Of this goddesse, *Ouid*, *Gellius* and diuers others do speake. *Murcia*. ] Hereof read *Hermolaus Barbarus* his note vpon *Plinies* 15. booke. *Pliny*. There was an old altar vnto *Venus Myrta*, now called *Myrtia*. (c) *Hermolaus* ] I read it *Murcia*, out of *Festus*, *Liuy*, *Plutarch*, *Varro* and *Cornelius Nepos*. For *Murcia* is the goddesse of stoth as *Agenorea*, *Strenua* and *Stimula* are of indulytry: *Pomponius*, *Augustinus* & *Apuleius* speaking of the *Murcian* bounds, mean those that were dedicated vnto *Venus*. Some say that *Auentine* was called *Murtius*, because it was like a wal, *Murus*, not of *Murcia* the goddesse, nor the potters. *Ammianus* saith, there was som in *Italy*, that because they would not go to the war, cut of their thumbes, and were called *Merci*. *Murcide*, saith *Plautus* to a sluggish fellow. Thus far *Hermolaus*, the most dilligent Author of our times. So that whereas *Festus* saith there was a Chappell at *Auentines* foote sacred vnto *Murcia*, it is better to read *Murcia*. (Liu. lib. 1.) Then many thousand of the *Latins* were receiued into the cittie and for the ioining of the two hilles *Palatine* and *Auentine*, were appointed to build the houses by *Murcias* Chappell, *Venus Murcia*: ther was also one called *Myrtca*. *Plut. Problem.* (c) *Pompeius* ] *Hermolaus*, *Beroaldus*, and others cite *Pomponius* herein, but shew not plainely which *Pomponius* it is, for there were many of that name, that were writers; as namely *Atticus*, and the Author of *Atelana*, and the Orator (all of *Tullies* time) *Mela*, and *Iulius* the *Tragedian*, whome *Quintilian* names, and the *Lawyer*, all *Pomponii*. (d) *Quiet* ] I thinke this *Quiet* belonged to the dead, for *Hell* of old was called *Quietalis*, and therefore was this godde dis-worshipped without the city. Her Temple was in the way to *Labicana*. (*Liuius* in his 4. book.)

Murcia.

whether if Ioue being the chiefe godde of all, Victory  
be to be accounted as one of the number.

### CHAP. 17.

**V**Vill they say (thinke you) that *Iupiter* sendeth this goddesse *Victory*, whether shee pleaseth, and shee obeying him, setteth vp her rest on that side that he commandeth? It is true indeed: but not of that *Ioue* which their fondnes dreameth is King of the goddes; but of him that is the true King of all times and all things, that can send (not victory, which is no substance, but) his Angels, and make them conquer whome hee pleaseth; whose counsels may bee vnknowne, but neuer vniust. For if *Victory* be a goddesse, why is not *Tryumph* a God and husband vnto hir, or hir brother, or sonne, or som-what? For they beleue such absurdities of the goddes, as if the Poets should but faine, or we but cast (a) them in the teeth with, they would presently answer, it were a ridiculous figment, not to be attributed to the true goddes: and yet they laugh not at them-selues, who didde more then read those dotages in the Poets, when they adored them in their Temples. Wherefore they should worshippe and adore onely *Iupiter* indeed and lette all this multitude passe. For if (b) *Victory* be a goddesse and subiect vnto that King, shee dares not resist him, but must bee ready to fulfill his pleasure whither-soeuer hee send her.

L. VIVES.

## L. VIVES.

**C**AST (a) them in the ] Some read *Epaggerarentur*, but not so well. (b) *Victory be* ] *Porphyry* saith that *Ioue* was pictured holding a scepter in his left hand, and in his right, sometimes an Eagle, sometimes *Victory*. The Eagle to shew that he was King of all, as she was of the birds: *Victory* to shew all things to bee subiect vnto him. Or as *Pburntus* saith, because none could conquer him. *Porph. Rat. natur. deor.*

*Why Fortune and Fælicity were made Goddeses.*

## CHAP. 18.

**N**AY *Felicity* (a) is a goddesse also now: Shee hath gotte her an Altar, a Temple, sacrifices, and euery thing fitte: VVhy should not shee haue all the worshippe to her selfe? VVhere-soeuer shee is, there should all good be. But why is *Fortune* preferred to the honour of a Deity? Is *Felicity* one thing and *Fortune* another? Yes, *Fortune* may bee both good and badde, but if *Felicity* once grow badde, shee looseth her name. Truly I thinke wee should haue all the goddes, of both sexes (if they haue sexes) to bee still good ones: and so thought *Plato* and diuers other excellent *Phylosophers* and *States-men*. How then can the goddesse *Fortune* be now good and now euil? Is she no goddesse when shee is not good, but is turned imediately into a Diuell? Why then how many goddeses are there? Euen as many as there bee fortunate men, that is good fortunes. For many badde fortunes and many good, that is, at one time falling together; *Fortune* should bee both good and euill at once, if shee bee all these: good to these and badde to the other. But shee that is the goddesse is alwaies good: Well, suppose, is shee *Felicity* her-selfe: Why changeth shee her name then? Yes, that may bee tollerated. For many things haue two or three names. But why then hath shee (d) diuers Temples, Altars, and ceremonies? Because (say they) that is *Felicity* that doth follow a mans deserts: That good *Fortune* which lights casually vpon good and euill, (c) without any respect of deserts: and is therefore called *Fortune*. How can shee then bee good, comming with no discretion as well to euill men as good? And why is shee adored, being so (e) blinde that shee commonly ouer-runnes those that honour hir, and staies with those that scorne hir? If her seruants obtaine grace at her hands, and gette her to stay with them, then shee followes merits, and is *Fortune* no more. VVhere is her definition then? How then doth all go by chance? If shee bee *Fortune*, in vaine is all hir worshippe: but if shee discerns, and help hir seruants, then she is *Fortune* no more. But doth not *Supiter* (e) send hir also whether his pleasure is? Well if hee doe, then lette him haue all the worshippe to him-selfe: for she cannot gaine-say him, if he bid her depart to such or such a man. Or it may bee that the euill doe honour her, to gette them-selues some merite whereby they may purchase *Felicity*, and so inioy her company in steed of *Fortunes*.

## L. VIVES.

**F**ELICITY (a) is a ] *Pliny* nameth her Temple often. *Archelaws* the Statuary sold hir Image to *Lucullus* for LX. HS. *Plin. lib. 53.* (b) *Diuers Temples* ] *Euill Fortune* had a Temple at *Port Esquiline*. *V'aliarst Fortune* had one vpon *Tibers* banke: *Riding Fortune* by the Theater. There was also the Temple of *Little Fortune*, and *Fortune the Virgin*: another of *Fortuna Primogenia*, another

another of *Osequens*, at *Port Capena*, and there was also *Fortuna priuata*, *Uiscata*, *Pública*, *Uirilis*, and *Conuertens*, all on *Mount Palatine*: there was also *Hopefull fortune*, *Sauing fortune*, *Smooth* and *doubtfull fortune* in *Auentine*, and *Fortuna Mammosa* in the 12. region of the *Citty*: as also *Barbata*, and *Muliebris*, vnto all which *Seruius Tullus* gaue Originall, partly because that from a slave he was preferred to the Kingdom, & partly because he saw that Fortune had an especial hand in the occasions of humain affaires. *Plut. Prob. (c) Without any respect* ] As far as we know: and therefore she is said to come without cause, because we cannot perceiue them, as *Aristotle* and *Plato* saith. *Spensippus* saith that fortune is a motion from one secret cause vnto another: Hereof read *Aristotles Physickes* (lib. 6. & *de bono Fortuna*. lib. 1.) being a part of his moralty. *(d) Blind* ] This *Aristophanes* reciteth very conceitedly of *Plutus*, who is godde of gaine. *Lucian* hath vsed the argument in his *Misanthropus*. *(e) Send her* ] So saith *Aristophanes*, and that *Plutus* being sent by *Ioue* vnto good men, goeth lamely: but vnto the bad, with speed.

Plutus lame and found.

Of a Goddesse called Fortuna Muliebris

CHAP. 19

NAY they are in such dotage vpon this same *Fortune*, that they doe stedfastly affirme that the Image *(a)* which the Matrons dedicated and named *Fortuna Muliebris*, the womans fortune, didde speake particular wordes; and that not once but often, saying that they hadde *(b)* dedicated her in a very good order and respect: which if it were true, we ought not to wonder at. For the Diuells can vse this couenage with ease; which was the more discoverable, in that it was she that spoke, who followeth chance, and not desert. *Fortune* spoke, but *Felicissime* was silent: vnto what other end was this, but onely to make men neglect liuing well, seeing that without any desert this Lady *Fortune* might make them fortunate? But yet if *Fortune* did speake, the *(c) mans fortune* (me thinks) should haue spoken, and not the womans, because otherwise, *(d)* the women that consecrated the statue might bee thought to faine that the Image spoke, because they loue so well to be heard speake them-selues.

Fortunes Image did speake by the diuels meanes.

L. VIVES.

THE Image *(a)* which ] After *Romes* freedom from the Kings, 18. yeares, *Coriolanus* warring inexorably against his countrey, neither departing for threatens nor teares, the womens lamentations turned him away: and here-vpon they erected a Temple to *Fortuna Muliebris*, in the *Latine* Road, foure miles from *Rome*: In which dedication the Image spoke twice. First thus, *Matrons well haue you seene mee and dedicated me*. *Liu. Valer. Plut. Lactantius* saith that shee fore-told a danger to insue: Which were questionlesse the wordes that shee spake the second time, It was sacriledge for any but such as had once bin martyred to touch this Image. *Festus. (b) Dedicated.* ] *Propter* in the *Latine* is superfluous. *(c) Mans fortune* ] Whose Temple was on *Tybers* banke: and hir feast in *Aprils* Calends. *Ouid fast. 4. (d) Women* ] For men would bee sooner trusted then women.

Fortuna Muliebris

Of the Desiaction of Vertue and Faith by the Pagans, and of their omission of the worship that was due to diuers other gods, if it bee true that these were goddes.

CHAP. 20.

THEY made a goddesse also of *(a) Vertue*: which if shee were such should take place of a great many of the rest. But beeing no goddesse, but a gift of God, let it bee obtained of him, that alone hath power of the gift of it, and farewell all the

the buried roll of these counterfeit gods. But why is *Faith* made a goddess, and graced with a Temple and an Altar? VVho-soeuer knowes *faith* well, maketh his owne bosome hir Temple. But how know they what *Faith* is, when her cheefe office is to beleue in the true God? And why may not *Vertue* suffice? is not *Faith* there where *Vertue* is? They diuide (b) *Vertue* but into foure partes, *Prudence*, *Justice*, *Fortitude*, and *Temperance*; and because euery one of these hath severall sub-diuisions, therefore falleth (c) *Faith* to bee a part of *Justice*, and is of cheefe power with vs, that know that the *Iust shall liue by faith*: But I wonder of these men that doe so thirst after store of goddesses, that hauing made *Faith* a goddess, they will so neglect a great many goddesses more of her nature, to whome they should afford Temples and Altars as well as to her? VVhy is not *Temperance* made a goddess, hauing giuen such lustre to diuers (d) *Romaine Princes*? Nor *Fortitude* that held (e) *Scæuolas* hand in the fire; and went with (f) *Curtius* into the spacious gulfe for the loue of his country: And stood by the two *Decij* (g) the father and (h) the sonne, when they vowed their liues to their nation? (i) If by the way, this were true valour in them, as it is a question, (but not disputable heere?) VVhy are not *Prudence* and *Wisdom*e made Deities as well as the rest? Because they are all worshipped vnder the generall name of *Vertue*? So might all the supposed partes of one GOD bee intyrelly worshipped in his sole and particular worshippe. But in *Vertue*, there is *Faith*, and (k) *Chastity*, as partes indeed, and yet those must haue peculiar Altars and Sacrifices. But it is vanity and not verity that turnes such qualities into Deities.

## L. VIVES.

OF (a) *Vertue*] *Mancellus* in his first Consulshipp vowed a Temple to her in *Gallia*: And his son built it at *Port Capena*. (*Liu. lib. 29.*) The next *Marius* built to *Vertue* and *Honour*, lower then the other, least the *Augurs* should pull it downe for hindering of them in beholding the *Birdes flight*. (*Cic. de leg. lib. 2.*) Lette them worshippe those things that helpe men to *Heauen*: *Faith*, *Wisdom*e, *Piety* and *Vertue*. *Faithes* Temple was in the *Capitoll*, (*Plin. lib. XXXV. Cic. offic. 3.*) neare vnto *Ioues*, and was his oth as *Tully* saith out of *Ennius*, and *Cicero de nat. deo. 2.* It is said that *Attilius Calatine* consecrated her: Some saie *Aneas* didde long before *Romulus*. *Festus. Liu.* Then were two *Diumuirs* elected, for dedicating the Temples. *Q. Fab. Maxim.* and *Attilius Crassus*. The Temples were dedicated to *Mens*, and *Venus Erycina*: both in the *Capitoll*, and but a *Mensa* gutter betweene them. *Dionisius. Plut.* say that *Numa* dedicated the Image of *Faith*, and made hir name the greatest oth of all. (b) *Vertue but*] *Plato*, *Aristotle &c.* (c) *Faith to bee*] *Faith is the foundation of iustice*: (*Cic. offic. 1. Piety is iustice towards the goddes, whereof Faith is a part.* (*De nat. deo. lib. 1.*) So saith *Spensippus*. (d) *Romaine Princes*] Here were a place for *Valerius* his examples of moderation, profit by foes, abstinence, continence, necessity, and shamefastnesse: for all these (saith *Tully*) depend on *Temperance*. (e) *Scæuola's*] *Porfenna* besieging *Rome*, *Scæuola* went disguised into his Tents, and got so neare, that he killed the Kings Secretary in stead of the King: and when *Porfenna* bad torture him, he put his hand boldly into the fire of sacrifice, being at hand, and held it there, till the King and all about him were amazed with feare and admiration. (f) *Curtius*] They say there was a lake in the Market-place of *Rome*, which afterwards dried vp: it was called *Curtius* his lake: some say of *Metius Curtius* the *Sabine*, that swamme ouer it with his horse: Others of *M. Curtius* the Gentleman of *Rome*, that vpon the Oracles bidding the *Romaines* cast the thing of best worth they had into it, cast him-self in therat. (*Liu. lib. 1.*) But *Cornelius & Lucretius* write that it came by thunder, and that *Curtius* the *Consull* payled it about; hee with whom *M. Gentius* was *Consull*: Hence

*Decius.* it was named *Curfins* his lake, saith *Varro.* (g) *Father* ] He was a *Plebeian*, but a tall soldior, and a deare louer of his country: Being Consul with *T. Manl. Torquatus* in the *Latine* warre, and seeing in a vision that the life of one of the Generals must be lost for the wars conclusion, and the whole army of the other (they being two Generals for *Rome*) agreed that on that part of *Romain* army w<sup>h</sup> first gaue back the General should giue vp himself to death for the safegard of his country. The battels ioine, the *Romaines* left-wing gaue back, and *Decius* seeing that, solemnly vowed him-self to death for the soldiers, and putting spurres to his horse brake forth into the thickest of the aduerse troops, & there was slain. (h) *Son* ] He was the 4. time Consul with *Fabius* his 5. time, he that in the *Galles* wars was first called *Maximus*, of any *Romaine*. In one of the battels, *Decius* his troopes shrinking, hee follows his fathers example, and into the midft of his foes he spurreth, dying, a sacrifice to honour & his country. *Lin.* (lib. 10.) (i) *If by the way* ] *Valla* in a declamation of his vpon the pleasures of an *Epicure*, extols this brauery of the *Romaine* valour highly, and with arguments both witty and worthy. The booke is common: read it. (k) (*Chastity*) Her shrine was in the *Beast-market*, neare to *Hercules* his round Temple. (*Lin.* lib. 10.) Some tooke hir statue for *Fortunes. Fest.* There was also a little Temple in *Long-street*, dedicated to (*Chastity* *Plebeian* by *Virgins*, but it wore out of vse and memory afterwards. *Linie.*

Chastities  
Chappels,

That such as knew not the true and onely God had better haue  
beene contented with Vertue and Felicity.

C H A P. 21.

FOR these are the gifts of God, not goddes them-selues. But where *Vertue* and *Felicity* is, what needeth any more? What will satisfie him whome these two cannot satisfie? *Vertue* confineth all good actes, and *Felicity* all good (a) desires. If it were for these that *Iupiter* was worshipped, (and what is the extente & continuance of dominion, but an appurtenance of felicity.) why perceiued they not that these were but his gifts, and not deities them-selues? But if they were deities, what needes any beside them? For let them cast ouer all the summe of their goddes and goddeses functions, as their inuentions haue distributed them, and finde if they can, that hee that hath *Vertue* and *Felicity*, needeth any of their helps, or hath any vse of them? What need he trouble (b) *Mercury* or *Minerua* for learning vertue, including it al in her selfe? For vertue is but (c) *an art of liuing wel and iustly*, as all the old writers doe define it. And therefore some say that the word *art* (d) comes of *ἀρτε* in greeke which is *Vertue*. But (e) if none but witty men could bee vertuous, what vse then is there of father (f) *Catius*, a god that maketh men accute, when as *Felicity* can do all this? For to be born witty, is a felicity. VVherefore, though the childe being yet vnborn could not merit this felicity; yet she bestowes wit vpon the childe as a benefit vnto the parents that honoured her. But what need the women in Trauell call on *Lucina*, *Felicity* being able with her presence both to make their labour easie, and their offspring happy? What need *Ops* be troubled with the children when they are new borne, *Vaticanus* when they cry? *Cunina* when they sleepe, *Rumina* when they sucke, *Statilius* when they learne to stand, *Adeona* and *Abeona* when they go, (g) *Mens* for a good minde for them, *Volumnus* and *Volumna* for a good will for them? The (h) nuptiall gods for their marriage, the field gods for their haruest, and chiefly (i) *Fruetesia*; *Mars* and *Belona* for their fights, *Victoria* for their victories, *Honor* for their honours, (k) *Pecunia* for their ritches, *Aesculanus* and his son *Argentus* for coyne ynough both of brasse and siluer: the (first is the (l) father, because (m) brasse money was in vse before siluer) I wondet that *Argentinus* begot not *Aurinus*, for gold followed soon after. If they had had *Aurinus*, sure as death he should haue had place of father & grandfather, as well as *Ioue* had about *Saturne*: what need men run vnto so many for

Virtue what  
it is.

for this good or that; (to such a crew as neither I can reckon nor themselves discern, hauing a god for euery little act and accident of men) when as felicity would haue bestowed ail, in farre lesse time and with farre lesse toyle; nor neede any other be troubled, either for bestowing of good, or diuerting of bad. Why should *Fessonia* bee called vnto the weary, *Pellonio* to chase away the foe, *Apollo* or *Aesculapius* to the sicke, or both, and few inough in a disease of daunger? Nor needed *Spinensis* meddle with the thornes, nor any intreaty to keepe away (*n*) *Rubigo*: Onely *Felicities* present aide would keepe all mischieues away, and repulse them at their first approach. But now to shut vpp this discourse of these two *Vertue* and *Felicity*; if *Felicity* be the reward of *Vertue*, then is it no goddesse, but a giuft of GOD, but if it bee a goddesse, it must needes bee the producer of *Vertue*, seeing that to attaine to *Vertue*, is the greatest *Felicity*.

## L. VIVES.

**G**ood (*a*) desires] *Optanda*, not *Obtinenda*. (*b*) *Mercury*] Hee is Lord of eloquence, shee, *Vertue*.  
of artes and wittes. (*c*) *Vertue is but*] The old writers called all the vertues, *artes and sciences of lining well*: and (which is all one) *prudences*; *Plato* in *Memnon*. The habite of lining well and iustly is an arte, as well as that whereby wee play on Instruments, wrastle. or make fwordes, apparell, or any thing. [But our fellowes conceiue nothing but in schoole-learnings, them they are beaten to, come with others (though better) and then you grauell them, then they are to seeke, and thinke all that is spoken is absurdity] (*d*) *Comes off*] *Donat.* in *Andr. Terentii*. art comes of *apud* by contraction. (*e*) *If none*] I deny not but a grosse-brained fellow may be an honest man: more such are so, then otherwise, but the excellent perfection of vertue, is proper to the witty alone. *Vertue is seldome well laid up in dull braines* (saith *Tully*) *Tusc. quest.* (*f*) *Catus*] Not *Cautius*. The ancients vsed *Catus* for wise, politike and industrious: and therefore that wise *Portius* was sur-named *Cato*. (*g*) *Mens*] Her temple was vowed at the fight by *Thrasimennus* lake. *Liu.* lib. 22. dedicated three yeares after by *Attilius*, beeing made *Duumuir* for that end. It stood in the Capitol next to *Venus Ericina's*, as I said before: and was consecrated by *Aemilius Scaurus* also, in the *Cymbrian* warre. Her feast was on the seauenth of *Iuues Ides*. *Onid.* (*h*) *Nuptiall gods*] They that were to marry, offered to five gods: to *Iupiter adultus*, *Iuno Adulta*, *Venus*, *Lepor*, and to *Diana* chiefly: Herevpon they lighted but five torches at weddings, neither more nor lesse: *Leporius* not an Epithite of *Venus*, as *Acron* thought it was of *Suadela*, but a goddesse by her selfe, called *Peitho*, the goddesse of perswasion. *Quintil. Hy-menaeus* also was a chiefe god inuoked at marriages, as in *Catullus* is plaine. *Sernius* (in 1. *Aeneid.*) saith hee was an *Athenian*, that deliuered the Virgins in a most extreame warre: and therefore was inuoked at marriages, as the discharger of Virginity. *Martian* calles him the sonne of *Bacchus* and *Calliopeia*. (*i*) *Fructesia*] Not *Fruiges*. (*k*) *Pecunia*] *Inuenall. Sat.*

— *Et si sancta pecunia templo  
 Nondum habitas, nullas nummorum creximus aras.*

| ——— Though fatall money doth not fit,  
 Ador'd in shrine, nor hath an Altar yet.

Seeing to say shee had neither Temple nor Altar. It may bee hee knew not that shee was a goddesse, for *Varro* saith that many pointes of the Romaines religion was vnknowne euen vnto the learned. (*l*) *Father*] This is diuersly read, but all to one sence. (*m*) *Brasse money*] *Plin.* lib. 33. The first stampe was set vpon siluer in the yeare after Rome was built, D. LXXXV. *Q. Fabius* beeing *Consull*, five yeares before the first *African* warre: where for D. You must reade but CCC. For that warre beganne in the *Consulship* of *Ap. (laudius)*, brother to *Cecus*; and *Q. Fuluius*, CCCXC. yeares after Rome was founded. *Eutropius* saith it was stamped in that war: but he mistaketh the time herein, as he doth in many things besides. But of this wee haue spoken sufficiently already. The stampe was two horses in a yoake, and foure in a yoake, and thereafter were they named. For the stampe of *Victory* came not vntill a litle before the *Confederates* warre, beeing set vpon siluer, mixt with *Copper*. The golden peeces

Siluer  
 when first  
 coined.

Gold coine  
 first.

R

peeces

Rubigo.

peeces were coined in the second African warre: LXII. yeares after the siluer came vp. (n) *Rubigo*] *Rubigo*, is the putrified dewe, eating and cankring the young plants: in the morning (saith *Pliny*) and in quiet weather doth this fall vpon corne, and on cleare nights in vallies and places where the aire is not moued: nor is it perceiued vntill it be done. High hilles and windy places are neuer troubled with this inconuenience. This feast *Numa* ordained to be kept on the seauenth of Maies Calends, for then doth this canker the most mischief. This time *Varro* doth appoint to be when the sunne is in the tenth degree of *Taurus*, as the course went then: but indeed the true cause is, that 29. daies after the equinoctiall of the spring, for the space of foure daies, on the 4. of Maies Callends, the vehement starre called *the dog-starre* setteth: to which it is necessary to offer a dogge. This from *Varro*. A dog indeed was sacrificed vnto this *Rubigo*. *Onid. Fast. 4.* *Varro* talketh of a god called *Robigus* also, that is ioyned with *Flora*. (*Rer. rustic. lib. 1.*) making them one of the fixe paire of gods that hee calles vpon, *Robigus, quasi. Rodigus*, of *Rodo*, to gnaw or eat away. *Rubigo* is properly a sore or vicer gotten by filthy lust. Rust vpon Iron also is called *rubigo*, growing vpon it (as vpon corne) for want of motion.

*Of the knowledge of these Pagan gods, which Varro boasteth hee taught the Romaines.* CHAP. 22.

**W**Hat great good turne then doth *Varro* boast that hee hath done vnto his Cittizens, in the particularizing of the gods, and their worshippes that the Romaines must obserue? For what booteth it (saith hee) to know a Phisitian by name and by face, and yet to be ignorant what a Phisitian is? so likewise it booteth not (saith hee) to know *Aesculapius* vnlesse you know that he cures diseases: otherwise you know not what to pray to him for. And this hee confirms in another simly saying: A man cannot liue well, nay hee cannot liue at all, if hee know not the Smith, the Painter, the Carpenter &c. distinctly, where to haue this necessary, where that, where to be taught this or that. So it is plaine, that to know what powre euery god hath, and vpon what obiect, is wonderfull vse-full. For thence may wee gather whome to sue vnto for euery neede wee haue, and not follow the (a) *Mimikes*, in begging water of *Bacchus*, and wine of the (b) *Nymphes*. Who would not giue this man thanks now, if his doctrine were true, and did shew the worshippe of the true GOD, of whom alone we are to aske all things?

### L. VIVES.

The sorts  
of the  
Nymphes.

**T**He (a) *Mimikes*] To make sport. (b) *The Nymphes*] Or *Lymphes*. *Lympha* is all moisture, and ouer all moysture doe the *Nymphes* rule: The *Nereides* in the sea, The *Nayades* in fountaines, the *Napee* in the moisture of flowres and herbes: The *Druides* and *Hamadryades* ouer the sappe of trees: The *Oreades* ouer the humid hilles. The *Nymphes* are in number 3000. all daughters of *Oceanus* and *Tethis*. *Hesiod. Theog.*

*Of the absolute sufficiency of Felicity alone, whome the Romaines (who worshipped so many gods) did for a great while neglect, and gaue no diuine honours vnto.* CHAP. 23.

**B**Ut if their bookes be true, and that *Felicity* be a goddesse, how comes it to passe that shee hath not all the worshippe vnto her selfe, beeing of her selfe sufficient for all needes? Who wisheth any thing but happinesse? And why was it so (a) late, before (b) *Lucullus*, the first of all the Romaines, thought it fitte to erect her a Temple? Why did not

*Romulus,*

*Romulus*, that wished the city so well, provide a place for her, seeing that her presence might have saved him all his labour in praying to the other gods? hee had neuer bene King, nor euer come to have bene a god, had not shee sticke to him. Why then did hee clogge the Romaines with such a noyse of gods, *Ianus*, *Ioue*, *Mars* (c) *Picus* (d) *Fannus* (e) *Tiberinus*, *Hercules*; and all the rest. And what did *Tatius* bringing in *Saturne*, *Ops*, *Sol*, *Luna*, *Vulcan*, (f) *Lux*, and to close vpp e all, sweete *Cloacina*, leauing *Felicity* in the duste? And what was *Numa's* minde to gather such an hoste of hee gods, and shee gods, and leaue her out? Could hee not finde her for the multitude? Verily (g) *Hosilius* would neuer have brought *Feare*, and *Pallor* to bee templified, if hee had had any knowledge of this *Felicity*. For had shee come there, *Feare* and *Pallor* must needs have bene a packing. Againe, in all the increase of the Empire, shee was not thought of, no man serued her, what was the reason of this? Was the Empire more great then happie? Perhappes so: For how can true *Felicity* bee their where true *Piety* is not? And (h) *Piety* is the true worshipp of the true GOD, not the adoration of those multitude of false godes, or deuills, whether you will. But afterwarde, when *Felicity* was entertained, and had gotte a place with the rest, the great infelicite of the ciuill warres followed presentlie vpon it. Was not *Felicity* angrie (thinke you) that shee was letten passe so long, and then taken in at last, not to her honour but to her disgrace, being ranked with *Priapus*, and *Cloacina*, and *Feare*, and *Pallor*, and *Fener*, and a sorte that were no godes to bee worshipped, but defects in the worshippers? Lastly, seeing shee must bee faine to share honours with so vnworthie a rable, at least why had shee not a better part of honours then the others? Who could endure that the goddesse *Felicity* should stand by, and neither bee reckned amongst the godes (i) *Consentes*, that were of *Ioues* Councell, nor the *Selec*t gods neither? Nor had not a Temple that should haue excelled all the rest in hight of posture? and magnificence of fabricke? why should shee not haue a better then *Iupiter*? For shee herselfe gaue him his Kingdome, if euer hee were a happie King, that happinesse is of better worth then Soueraignty, is most plaine. For many men doubtlesse may bee found, that would not bee Kings, but none that would not bee happie. So that if the gods were asked their mindes, by augury, or otherwise, whether they would giue place to *Felicity* or no, I will vndertake, that if all the roome besides were filled with other gods Altares, that *Felicity* could not haue a fitte place built, *Iupiter* himselfe would giue place, and let *Felicity* haue his owne seate vpon the toppe of the *Tarpetan* hill. Nor is there one of them that would not doe as much, vnlesse (which is impossible) some of them would bee so madde as to loose her fauour and growe miserable. *Iupiter* would neuer vse her, as (k) hee was vsed by *Mars*, (l) *Terminus* and (m) *Iuuentas*, who by no meanes could bee perswaded to giue their King place. For (as they write) *Tarquin* being desirous to build the *Capitoll*, and seeing the place hee thought fittest, already taken vpp e by other strange gods, durst not controule them, but thought that good manners would teach them to giue place vnto their King: and being that there was a great fort there, where hee meant to build, hee asked them by augurie whether they were willing to resigne the place to their King or no? All were content, except *Mars*, *Terminus* and *Iuuentas*: And so the *Capitoll* was built, and they for their sawcinesse had such small monuments.



ments left, that the Romaines greatest diuines did scarcely know where they stood. But *Ioue* would neuer deale so vnciuilly with *Felicity*, as *Mars*, *Terminus* and *Iuventas* dealt with him. And then those that would not yeelde to him, assuredly would yeelde to her, that made him their King. Or if they would not; why then it were because they had rather abide in obscurity in *Felicities* house, then to sit in eminence without her company, so that had shee but the highest place, the Citizens would soone learne where to pray for good giiftes, and in time, by the very perswasion of nature: Put away that swarme of gods, and pray onely to *Felicity*, offer onely to her, and frequent her Temple onely, if they desired to bee happie, as all would doe; and so all men would come and begge herselfe of her selfe, for who would begge any thing but *Felicity*, of any god? so that *Felicity* hauing powre to bee abiding with whome shee list (as shee may if shee bee a goddesse) what man were so foolish to goe and intreate her company of another god, when hee may obtaine it of her selfe? So that the dignitie of place also should of right bee hers from all the other godes. For they write that the ancient Romaines did worshippe one *Summanus*, one that ruled the thunder of the night, about *Iupiter* that ruled the daie thunder. But after that *Iupiter* had gotten him such a sumptuous house, the company came in so fast vnto him, that one could (e) scarce finde one within a while, that had heard, nay more, that had reade so much as the name of *Summanus*. But now if *Felicity* bee no goddesse, beeing (in truth) but a giuft of GOD. Then is it fit to finde out that GOD that can beestowe it, and to throwe aside this dangerous rowle of counterfette deities, which a skull of fooles doe runne thus head-long after, taking GODS giuftes, for GOD himselfe, and by their obstinacy giuing him continuall cause of offence, whose giuftes they are; for so shall hee neuer want infelicity that honours *Felicity* as a goddesse, and neglects him that is the giuer of all felicitie: euen as hee shall neuer want hunger that licketh the picture of a crust, and neuer asketh bread of him that hath it to giue him.

## L. VIVES.

*Lucullus*. SO (a) [Late] *Lucullus* was Confull with *Cotta* in the Citties D C L X V I. yeare. (b) [*Lucullus*] Hee warred against *Mithridates*, and *Pompey* entred vpon his place; contrary to the mindes of the Nobles. Hauing sped well in the warre with this King and *Tigranes*, hee built this goddesse a Temple. (c) [*Picus*] *Saturnes* sonne. *Encl. 7*. Hee raigned in *Latium* in the time of the *Aborigines*, and was turned by his wife *Circe* into a pie, for louing of *Pomona*: and therefore the Romaines held the pie for an holy birde. (d) [*Faunus*] Sonne to *Picus*, father to the *Fawnes* and the *Satyres* and *Field-gods*. *Virg. ibid. Plutarch* calleth him *Mercuries* sonne. *Paralell*. Hee raigned in *Latium* in the *Aborigines* time, and brought his people from barbarisme to a ciuill manner of life: and was the first that gaue names to places, and dedicated certaine Temples and Groues to the gods, from whome they were called *Fana*; his Oracle was in *Alburnea*, a wood of the *Lawrentes*: some offered to him yearely, some monethly, *Val. Probus* in 1. *Georg.* his feast was kept at Rome in the Nones of December. *Fiorat. Car. 2.* (e) [*Tiberius*] Sonne to *Capetus*, King of the *Albanes*, a notable theefe, and beeing drowned in *Tyber*, gaue it that name by his death, beeing before called *Albula*. (f) [*Lux*] The Romaines worshipped *Iupiter Luccius*, as the *Sals* sung, because hee was held Lord of the light, and the cause thereof *Fest. Tatius* brought into Rome these godes: *Ops* or *Flora*, *Dioué*, *Saturne*, *Soll*, *Luna*, *Vulcan*; *Summanus*, *Larunda*, *Terminus*, *Curinus*, *Vorrundus*, the *Lars*; *Diana*, and *Lucina*. *Varro de ling. lat. 4.* (g) [*Hofilius*] In the warre betwene the Romaines and the *Veis*, *Hofilius* being

being told that the Albanes were fallen from him, and seeing the *Romaines* pale and amazed hereat, in this turbulent state vowed a Temple to *Feare* and *Pallor*. (h) *Piety is* *Piety is iustice* Feares and Pallors temple.  
*towards the gods. Cic. de nat. deor. (i) Piety is also reuerence vnto our elders, and kindred, when it hath reference to the gods, it is called religion.* There was in Rome a chappell of *Piety* dedicated by *Acilius*, there where shee dwelt, that fedde her mother being in prison, with the milke of her breasts. *Festus*. There was also a statue erected that represented this. *Valer. lib. 5. Obsequens* mentioneth a temple of *Piety* that stood in *Flaminius* his Theater. (i) *Consentes* Pieties chappell,  
 Twelue of those there were, six of either sexe. Their Images stood guilded in the market-place. *Varro rer. rust. lib. 1.* Those were *Iuno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars, Mercury, Iupiter, Vulcane, Neptune, Apollo, Enn.* They were called *Consentes* because they all consented what was to be done. *Iupiter* vsing them as counsellours in his greatestt affaires as *Augustine* saith heere, and *Seneca* more plainely *Natur. quæst. lib. 2. Pomponius Latus*; an excellent and diligent antiquary obserued (they say) and wrote to *Lorenzo Medici*; that each of these gods had a peculiar month dedicated to them. *Iuno* had *Ianuarie*, *Neptune* *February*, *Minerua* *March*, *Venus* *Aprill*, *Apollo* *May*, *Mercury* *Iune*, *Iupiter* *Iulie*, *Ceres* *August*, *Vulcan* *September*, *Mars* *October*, *Diana* *November*, *Vesta* *December*. *Diodor* saith that the *Chaldes* called two and thirty starres the gods consulters, and the twelue signes of the *Zodiacke* which rule ouer each month, they called the principall gods. The *Egyptians* had also their twelue chiefe gods, but not them that the *Romaines* had. (k) *Hee was used* *Numa* diuiding the *Romaines* lands both into priuate possessions and *Commons*, set bounders at each one; and therevpon erected a chappell to god *Terminus* on the hill *Tarpeius*: to whome they offered no liuing thing, but onely fourmenty, and the first of the fruites, though afterwards this vse was left, with others. This god was a stone, and all the bounders were stones; which if any man remooued out of the place, it was lawfull to kill him forth-with. But *Tarquinius Priscus*, hauing vowed to build a temple to *Ioue*, *Iuno* and *Minerua*, vpon the hill *Tapeius*, and laying the foundations, of this magnificent worke, hee found many Altars inhumed there, which were dedicated by *Tatius*, and diuers other Kings: which when he would haue remooued thence that the place might be free for *Ioue*, he asked the opinion of *Alcius Navius* the augur, who hauing beheld the birds of each perticular god, all signified willingnesse of departure, except the birds of *Terminus*, and *Iuuentas*. So *Tarquin* the proud his Nephew, building the *Capitoll* after him, was faine to leaue them two there where they were found before. It was a good signe *Accius* said and portended stability vnto the confines of the *Romaine* Empire, and that their youth should bee inuincible. *Plut. Dionys. Liny* and *Florus* say that this remoouall fell out in *Tarquin* the *Proudes* time: though their words may be reduced vnto this wee haue already said. If not, I had rather trust them in this matter then the *Greekes*, that *Mars* was a third in this obstinacy of the gods, I haue not read: that the other two were, I haue. (l) *Terminus* *Saturne* and his brother *Titan* agreeing in a league vpon the condition that *Saturne* should bring vppe no man-childen of his owne, and *Saturne* beeing againe fore-told by Oracle that his sonne should thrust him from his throne, hee resolved presently to deuoure and make an end of all his male-children: *Iupiter* beeing borne, and hee comming to dispatch him, they had laid a great stone in the childes place: which stone *Iupiter* (hauing attained the Kingdome) consecrated vpon *Mount Parnassus*, and it was called in greeke *Βάτυλος*. *Hesiod. Hesychius*. Wherevpon it grew a prouerbe vpon Gluttons. *Thou wouldest swallow the stone* *Batylus*. *Batylus* (saith *Enseb. out of Sanchoniaton*) was sonne to *Calus* and *Rhea*, brother to *Saturne*. Hee was after called *τερμινω*, in latine *Terminus*, and would not yeeld to great *Iupiter*, perhaps (saith *Lactant.*) because hee had saued him from his fathers chaps. Hee stood alwaies openly at Rome and so was worshipped. *Fest. Lactant.* (m) *Iuuentas* *Iuuentas* and *Iuuenta*, but *Iuuentas* saith *Acron* is the true name. *Horace. et parium comis sine te Iuuentas Mercuriusque. Iuuentas and Mercury are both rustich without thee.* In *Horace* it standeth for youth it selfe else-where. *Olim Iuuentas & Patruus Vigor, Once youth and Pristine valour*: and againe *fugie Iuuentas, & verecundus Color*, the youth, and modest red are vanisht, now, and fled: This goddesse is called *Hebe* in Greeke, daughter to *Iuno* alone, without a father, as *Mars* was her sonne: Though the *Greekes* make *Ioue* her father, shee was *Hercules* wife, and *Ioues* cup-bearer till *Ganymede* had her place wh<sup>ch</sup> properly is vigor of youth. Shee had a temple in the *Great circuite*, dedicated by *Lucullus* the *Duamuir*. *M. Linius* being *Consull* had vowed it, 16. yeares before for the conquest of *Asdrubal*. And being *Censor*, put it to *M. Cornelius* and

Thunders  
of how ma-  
ny sorts.

and *T. Sempronius* Consuls to build, and had plaies at the dedication of it. *Lin. lib. 36.* Hee had a little oratory in the market-place also. (n) *Sūmanus* ] *Plato, quasi-summus manium*, the Prince of spirits. His temple was neare to that of *Inuentas*. *Plin.* His sacrifice was round cakes, *Fest.* Hee ruled the night thunder, and *Ioue* the daies, which was therefore called *Dia*. The thunder that was doubtfull, happing at twi-light or so, they called *Prouersa*: and offerings was brought vnto both the gods, at those times. So the Romaines had but these two gods to rule all their thunder, but the Tuscans had nine and eleauen kindes of thunder. *Plin. lib. 2. Festus*, and the common doctrine of Rome held three kinds of thunder, the *Postularian*, requiring some sacrifices. The *Perematian*, signifying the other to be well and sufficiently exiated. The *Mannian*, which were the strokes of the thunderbolts. *Seneca* also sets downe as many: the first of *Iupiter* alone, giuing men warning: the 2. from the *Consentes*, warning, but not without hurte the third, from the decree of the superiour gods, wholly mischieuous and hurtfull. Thus much of thunder out of *Cecinna*, *Volaterranus*, *Araldus*, *Seneca Nat. quest. lib. 2.* and some out of *Pliny*, but briefly and scattred here & there in him as many other things, besides are. (o) *Scarce finde* ] This god was very base, and few knew him. They knew he was one of the gods that ruled the night, but his name was vnknowne. *Ouid Fast. 6.*

*Reddita, quisquis is es, Summano templa feruntur,  
Tunc cum Romanis Pirthe timendus eras.*

*Summanus* house (what ere he be) was reared,  
When *Pirrhus* of great Rome so much was feared.

His feast was the 13. *Cal.* of Iuly: his temple neare the great *Circuite*, and his chappell in the *Capitoll*.

What reasons the Pagans bring for their worshipping of gods gifts  
for gods themselues. CHAP. 24.

LET vs examine their reasons. Doe you thinke (say they) our ancestours were such fooles that they knew not those to be gods gifts; and not gods truly: but because they knew that they could not haue them but from some god, they called their gods which they thought had the gift of them, by the names of the things themselues: some-times deriuing words from thence; (as *Bellona* of *Bellum*, warre, not *Bellum* it selfe, and *Cunina* of *Cune*, needles, not *Cune*. *Segetia* of *Seges* corne, not *Seges* it selfe, *Pomona* of *Pomum* an apple, not *Pomum* and *Bubona* of *Bos* an oxe, not *Bos*) and some-times neuer altring the word at all, but calling them iust as the thing is called: As *Pecunia* the goddesse, that giues money, (not holding money it selfe for a goddesse) and *virtus*; that giueth vertue, (a) *Honor* for honour, *victoria* for victory, *Concordia* for *Concord*, and so *Felicitie* being called a goddesse, is not ment of the thing giuen, but of the powre that giueth it. Well, out of this reason will we finde an easie way to perswade all such as haue not hardned their hearts, to be of our opinion.

## L. VIVES.

Honour  
temple.

HONOUR (a) for ] You see (saith *Tully*) *Marcellus* hath renewed the Temple of Honour, the which *Qu. Maximus* built long before in the *Ligarian* warre. *De nat. de. lib. 2.* There was one temple in Rome both to *Vertue* and *Honour*, which *C. Marius* built: but it was in diuers pertitions: for one roome might not serue them both, as the Colledge of Priests answered *Marcellus* in his eight Consulshippe. The old Romaines sacrificed bare-headed vnto *Honour*, but couered to all besides. *Plur. Prob.*

of

*Of the worshipp of one God onely, whose name although they knew not,  
yet they tooke him for the giuer of felicity.*

## CHAP. 25.

**F**OR if mans weakenesse obserued thus much, that felicitie could not come but from some god, and that this was perceiued by those that worshipped so many gods, who therefore would call him that they thought could giue it, by the name of the thing it selfe, knowing no other name hee had; this prooueth sufficientlie that *Iupiter* could not giue felicity, whome they worshipped already, but onely hee whome they worshipped vnder the name of *Felicity*. So then, is it confirmed that they thought *Felicity* could not bee giuen but by a God that they knew not well, seeke but him out then and giue him his due worshipp and it sufficeth. Casheere this returne of innumerable and as vnecessary gods, nay deuills: let not that god suffice the worshipp, whose giuft is not sufficient: hold not (I say) that God for a sufficient giuer of felicity whose felicity is wholly insufficient. But in whom is it sufficient? in the true and onely GOD, the giuer of all felicitie: serue him. It is not hee that they call *Ioue*. For if it were hee, they would neuer stand seeking this giuft of another, who goeth vnder the name of *Felicity*: besides they would not doe *Ioues* honour that wrong, as for to count him as *Ioue* is counted; an adulterer (a) with other mens wiues, and an vnchaste Iouer, and rauisher of (b) faire boies.

## L. VIVES.

**A** N adulterer (a) which *Ioues* foule adultery are the Poets common songs: as which *Alcmena*, *Leda* &c. (b) Faire boies] As of *Ganymede*; of whom here-after. Ioues adulteries.

*Of the stage-plaies which the gods exacted of their seruants.*

## CHAP. 26.

**B**UT these were fictions (a) of Homer (quoth *Tully*,) transferring humane affects vnto the gods. I had rather they had transferred diuine affects vnto vs. This graue man indeed was much displeas'd with the vnseasonable fictions of those times. I but why then did the wisest and most learned men of all the Romaines, present stage-plaies, writing them, and acting them to the honour of their gods, and as partes and pointes of their religion? Here *Tully* exclaimeth not against poetike fictions but against the old ordinances. And would not the ordainers exclaime too, and say, why what doe wee? our gods intreated vs, nay forced vs vpon paine of destruction to exhibite them such things as honours: punishing the neglect thereof with severity, and shewing themselues pleased in the amendement of that neglect. That which I will now relate, is reckoned as one of their most vertuous, and memorable deedes. (b) *Titus Latinus*, a rustike house-keeper was warned in a dreame to bidde the Romaine Senate restore the stage-plaies, because vpon their first day of presentation an offender caried out and whipped to death before all the people, had sore displeas'd the gods that doe not loue such sadde spectacles, but are all for mirth and iollity: Well, hee neglected to tell the Senate this, but was warned againe the next night. Neglecting it againe, suddenly his sonne died. And the third night he was warned againe vpon paine of a greater mischiefe.

Time! *Latinus* history.

He not daring as yet to reueale it, fel into a sore and horrible disease. And then hauing imparted it to his friends, they counselled him to open it to the senate, so he was caried to them in his coach, and hauing told his dreame, grew well in an instant, and went home on his feet. The senate being amazed with his miracle renewed the plaies with treble charges, who seeth not now (that seeth at al) how villenously these deuills abuse those men that are their slaues, in forcing these things from them, as honors, which an vpright iudgement would easily discerne to be obscenities. (c) From this slauery can nothing deliuer man but the grace of God through Iesus Christ our Lord: In those plaies, the gods crimes, that the Poets faigne, are presented: yet by the gods expresse charge, were they by the Senat renewed. And there did the stage-plaiers, act, produce and present *Ioue*, for the veriest whore-maister in the world, had this beene false, hee should haue beene offended at it: but taking deligh (as he did) to haue villaines invented vpon him, who would serue him that would not serue the deuill? Is this the founder, enlarger, and establisher of the Roman Empire? and is he not more base and abie& then any *Romaine* that beheld him thus presented? can hee giue happinesse that loued this vnhappy worship, and would bee more vnhappy angry if it were not afforded him?

## L. VIVES.

Fictions (a) of Homer saith Tully] I approue not Homer for saying that Ioue did take vp Gany-med for his forme and person, this was not a iust cause to anger Laomedon. But Homer fained, transferring humane affects vnto the gods: I had rather he had trassferred theirs to vs: which of theirs? so florish, to be wise, witty, and memoratiue. A most graue Sentence, taxing their impious superstition that proportion gods attributes vnto our frailty, supposing him as testy, crabed, cruell, eniuious, proud, contentious, arrogant, inconstant, finally as wicked as our selues, were it not better to eleuate our selues vnto y height of his diuine vertue. Cic. *Tusc. quest.* (b) *Titus Larinius*] This history is mentioned by Cicero, *De diuinat.* out of Fabius, Gellius, & *Calius*. It is also in *Livy. lib. 2. Val. Max. lib. 4. Aul. Gell. Macrob. Lactantius*. It fell out in the yeare of the citty, CCLII. Consulls, *M. Minutius, and A Sempronius*. Some call the man *Larinius*: *Lactantius* calls him *Tiberius Arinus* (c) from this slauery] Alluding vnto that exclamation of *Paul Rom. 7. Wretched man that I am, who shall deliuer me from the body of this death? the grace of G O D through Iesus Christ.*

## Of the three Kinds of Gods whereof Scæuola disputed.

## CHAP. 27.

IT is least in memory that *Scæuola*, (a) their learned high Priest, disputed of three kinds of gods that were taught by authors; one by the Poets, one by the Phylosophers; one by the Princes of the City. (b) The first sort, hee saith, were but fooleries, much of their doctrine being fictitious: the second, disagreeing from a politicke state, hauing much superfluity, and diuers inconueniences, for the superfluity: it is no great mater, for it is a saying amongst men: *supersticity hurteth not*, but what are the inconueniences; to deny openly that *Hercules, Esculapius, Castor, and Pollux* are gods; for the Philosphers teach that they were men, and died as other men do. To what end is this, but that the citties should bee filled with statues of such as are no true gods, the true god hauing neither sex, age nor body. But this, *Scæuola* would not haue the people to know, because he did not thinke it was faulse himselfe. So that he holds it fit citties should bee deluded in religion, which indeed *Varro* stickes not plainely to affirme. *De re. vin.* A godly religion, whereto

whereto when weake mindes going for refuge, and seeking to bee freed by the truth, must bee tolde, that it is fite that they bee illuded. Nor doth the same booke conceale the cause why *Scauola* reiecteth the Poets gods. It is because they doe so deforme them with their stories, that they are not fite to keepe good men company, (c) one being described to steale, and another to commit adulterie: as also to doe and say so filthily and fondly, as that the (d) three goddesses, striving for eminence of beauty, the other two being cast by *Venus*, destroyed *Troy*: That *Ioue* was turned to (e) a Bull, or a (f) Swanne, to haue the company of some wench or other: that (g) a goddesse married a man, and that *Saturne* ate vp his sonnes. No wonder! No vice, but there you haue it set downe, quite against the natures of the deities. O *Scauola*; abolish those playes if it bee in thy power! tell the people what absurd honors they offer the gods, gazing on their guilt, and remembring their pranks, as a licence for their owne practise! If they say, you Priests brought them vs, intreate the gods that commanded them, to suffer their abolishment: If they bee bad, and therefore at no hand credible, with reuerence to the Gods Maiesties, then the greater is the iniurie that is offered vnto them, of whome they are so freely inuented. But they are *Deuills* (*Scauola*) teaching guiltinesse, and ioying in filthinesse, they will not heare thee. They thinke it no iniurie to haue such blacke crimes imputed vnto them, but rather holde them-selues wronged if they bee not imputed, and exhibited. Now if thou callest on *Ioue* against them, were there no other cause for it, but the most frequent presenting of his (h) enormities, (though you call him the God and King of the world) would hee not thinke himselfe highly wronged by you, in ranking him in worship with such filthy companions, and making him gouernor of them?

## L. VIVES.

**S***cauola* (a) their ] There were many of this name: but this man was priest in *Marius* his Sciull warre, and killed by *Marius* the yonger. *Tully* saith hee went often to heare him dispute, after *Scauola* the *Augur* was dead. (b) ] *he first* ] *Diomysius* writeth that the *Romaines* reiected all the factions of the gods fights, wranglings, adulteries, &c. which were neither to bee spoken of gods, nor good men: and that *Romulus* made his *Quirites* vse to speake well of the gods, *Antiqu. Rom. lib. 2. Enseb. de prep. Euang.* (c) *One,* ] *Mercurse*, that stole *Tyresias* Oxen, *Mars* his sword, *Vulcans* tonges, *Neptunes* Mace, *Apollos* bow and shafts, *Venus* her girdle, and *Ioues* Scepter. (d) *Three* ] euery childe knowes this. (e) *A Bull* ] for *Europa*, (f) *A Swanne* ] for *Lada*, of these read *Ouid. lib. 6. Metamorph.* (g) *A goddesse married* ] *Ceres* to *Iafus*, *Harmonia* to *Cadmus*, *Callirrhoe* to *Chrysaoras*, *Aurora* to *Tycho*, *Thetis* to *Peleus*, *Venus* to *Anchises*, *Circe* and *Callippo* to *Vlysses*. Read *Hesiods Theogonia*. (h) *Enormities,* ] of lechery, cruelty, and such like.

Mercurie.

*Whether the Romaines diligence in this worship of those gods,  
did their Empire any good at all.*

## CHAP. 28.

**B**y no meanes then could these gods preserue the *Romaine* Empire, being so criminous in their owne filthy desiring of such honors as these are, which rather serue to condemne them, then appease them. For if they could haue done that, the *Greekes* should haue had their helpes before, who afforded them farre better store of such sacrifices as these, with farre more stage-playes and shewes. For they, seeing the Poets taxe their gods so freelye,  
neuer

neuer thought shame to let them taxe them-selues, but allowed them free leaue to traduce whom they pleased, and held the Stage-players worthy of the best honors of their state. But euen as *Rome* might haue had golden coynes, yet neuer worshipped *Aurinus* for it, so might they haue had siluer and brasse ones without *Argentinus* or his father *Esculanus*, and so of all other necessaries. But so could they not possesse their kingdome, against the will of the true God, but in despite of all the other, let them doe what they list, that one vnknowne God being well and duly worshipped, would haue kept their kingdome on earth in better estate then euer, and afterward haue bestowed a kingdome on each of them in heauen (had they a kingdome before or had they none) that should endure for euer.

*Of the falsenesse of that Augury that presaged courage and stabilitie  
to the state of Rome. CHAP. 29.*

FOR what a goodly presage was that which I spake of but now, of the obstinacie of *Mars*, *Terminus* and *Iuuentas*, that it should signifie that *Mars* (a) his nation, the *Romaines*, should yeeld the place to no man: that no man should remooue the limittes of their Empire, because of *Terminus*, and that their youth should yeeld to none, because of *Iuuentas*. Now marke but how these gods misused their King, daring to giue these Auguries as in his defiance, and as glorying in the keeping of their places: though if these antiquities were true, they neede feare nothing. For they confessed not that they must giue place to Christ that would not giue place to *Ioue*: and they might giue Christ place without preiudice to the Empires limits, both out of the temples, and the hearts that they held. But this we write was long before Christ came, or that Augurie was recorded: notwithstanding after that presage in *Tarquins* time, the *Romaines* lost many a battel, and prooued *Iuuentas* a lyer in hir Prophecie, and *Mars* his nation was cut in peeces within the very walles, by the conquering *Galles*; and the limittes of the Empire were brought to a narrow compasse in *Hannibals* time, when most of the citties of *Italy* fell from *Rome* to him. Thus was this fine Augurie fulfilled, and the obstinacie of the presagers remained to prooue them rebellious deuils. For it is one thing not to giue place, and another to giue place and regaine it afterwards. Though afterwards the bounds of the Empire were altered in the East by (b) *Hadrianus* meanes, who lost *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia* and *Syria* vnto the *Persians*, to shew god *Terminus* that would not giue place to *Ioue* him-selue, but guarded the *Romaine* limittes against all men, to let him see, that *Hadrian* a King of men, could doe more then *Ioue* the King of gods. (c) The sayd Prouinces being recouered afterward, now almost in our times, god *Terminus* hath giuen ground againe, (d) *Iulian* (that was giuen so to the Oracles) desperately commanding all the ships to bee burned that brought the armie victuals, so that the souldiours fainting, and hee himselve being slaine by his foes hands, there was no meanes for one man to escape, but by yeelding to the foe so much of the Empire as now to this day they possesse: making a bargaine not altogether so bad as *Hadrians* was, but taking a (e) middle course betweene two extremes. So that *Terminus* his standing out with *Ioue* was but an vnlucky signe and foolish augury, seeing that *Hadrians* will, *Iulians* rashnesse, and (f) *Ionians* necessitie, all made him giue roome to them. The *Romaines* that were of discretion, obserued this well, but they could not ouer-turne the inueterate idolatry wherein the Deuills had bound the city so fast: and they themselues, though holding

The removal of the Romain Empires bounds.

holding these things vaine, thought notwithstanding *Nature* should haue that diuine worship allowed her, which indeed is the true gods onely peculiar, vnder whom she is at command. *These serued the creature, rather then the Creator* (as the Apostle faith) *who is blessed for euer more*. This Gods helpe was needed, to send some godly men to suffer death for the true religion, and thereby to take away these erroneous illusions from the world.

Rom. 1.

## L. VIVES.

**M***Ars* (a) *his nation*] The *Romaines*, both for their valors, and their originall from *Mars* his sonne. So many of the writers call diuerse *Romaines*, *Martiall minded*. (b) *Hadrianus*] Fourteenth Emperour of Rome, adopted by *Traian*, whom he succeeded. But enuying his fathers glory amongst others, he gaue the *Persians* back *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia* and *Assyria* (which *Traian* had wone from them by conquest) setting *Euphrates* as bounder to the Empire, and calling home the armie. *Eutrop. lib. 8*. The reason I thinke was because it was an olde saying, that that generall that led an army beyond *Euphrates* and the cittie *Ctesiphon*, should neuer haue good fortune: which hapned to *Crassus*; and *Traian* himselfe neuer came into *Italy* from the *Parthian* conquest. (c) *The said*] *Eutrop. Assyria* by the *Antonini Pii*, bretheren, *Mesopotamia* by *Galiennus*, vnder the conduct of *Odenatus*: *Armenia* for *Diocletian* vnder *Galerius*. (d) *Julian*] He began his raigne in the Cities *MCXVI*. yeare: Consuls, *Mamertinus* and *Nenitta*: A great foe to *Christianitie*; being ouerthrowne by the *Parthians* at *Ctesiphon*, by his death hee left the whole armie and state in a desperate case. (e) *Middle*] So that the bounds were not remooued by force, but by condition of peace. (f) *Ionianus*] A *Pannonian*, being made Emperour by the soldiours, in this extremitie of *Julians* procuring, he was faine to conclude a disgracefull peace with the *Parthians*; but necessitie hath no law. Hee gaue them the towne *Nisibides*, and part of the vpper *Mesopotamia*, and so came the Empires bounds to be remooued.

Hadrian.

Julian.

Ionian.

*The confessions of such as doe worship those Pagan gods, from their owne mouthes.* CHAP. 30.

**C***icero* (a) beeing Augur, derideth the Auguries, and (b) blames men for letting their actions relie vpon the voyce of a Crowe or a Dawe. O but this (c) Academick faith, that all things are vncertaine; hee is not worthy to be trusted in any of these mysteries. (d) *Q. Lucil. Balbus* in *Tullies* second booke, *De nat. deor.* disputeth hereof; and hauing prooued these superstitions to be *Physicall* in nature, yet condemneth the institution of Images and their fables, in these words. *Perceiue you not then that from the usefull obseruation of these things in nature, the tract was found to bring in those imaginarie and forged gods? hence came all the false opinions, errors and old wiues tales: for now are wee acquainted with the shapes, ages, apparell, kindes, mariages, kindreds, and all are squared out by humaine fancies: nay they haue turbulence of effects also. wee haue heard of their desires, sorrowes and passions. Nor wanted they warres, if all tales bee trae: They fought in (c) parties, not onely in Homer, but all on a side also against the (f) Titans, and Giants: and hence ariseth a sottish beleefe of their vanitie, and extreme (g) inconstancie.* Behold now what they them-selues say that worship these forgeries; hee affirmeth that these things belonged to superstition, but he teacheth of religion as the *Stoikes* doe. *For* (quoth hee) *not onely the Philosophers, but all our ancestors made a difference betweene religion and superstition. For (h) such as prayed whole dayes together, and offered for their childrens liues, those were called Superstitious.* Who perceiuech not now that hee, standing (i) in awe of this cities custome, did notwithstanding commend the religion of his ancestors

Tullies dislike of images and fables of the gods,

The gods warres.



aunccestors and would faine haue feuered it from superstition, but that he cannot tell how? for if the auncients called those *Superstitious*, that prayed and sacrificed whole daies together, were not they worthy of that name also, whome he reprehendeth for inuenting so many distinct ages, images, and sexes. &c. for the whole number of the gods? if the institutors of those be culpable, it implieth guilt also vnto these ancients that inuented and adored such idle fooleries: and vnto him also (for all his eloquent euasions) that must be tied by necessity to this absurd worship: and dare not speake in a publike oration what hee deliuereth here in a priuat disputation. Thankes therefore be giuen to our Lord Iesus Christ, from all vs Christians, not to (k) Heauen and Earth (as he would haue it) but vnto him that made Heauen and Earth, who hath ouerturned and abolished those superstitions (which *Balbus* durst scarcely mutter at) by his heauenly humility, his Apostles preaching and his martirs faith, that died for the truth and liued in the truth, hauing by these meanes rooted all errors not only out of the hearts of the religious, but euen out of the Temples of the superstitious.

## L. VIVES,

**C**icero being (a) *Augur*.] And of their College: elected by *Q. Hortensius* the Orator. (b) *Blameth*.] *De diuinat. lib. 2.* (c) *Academike*.] That sect would affirme nothing, but confute the assertions of others, which *Cicero* vseth in many of his dialogues, professing himselfe a defender of that sect, *de na. de. li. 2.* (d) *Balbus*.] An excellent *Stoike*. (e) *On sides*.] On the one side *Iuno Pallas, Neptune*: against them, *Apollo Venus* and *Mars* in the *Trojan* wars. (f) *Titans*.] Sonne to *Earth* and *Titan*, *Saturnes* brother: they claimed the Kingdome of *Iupiter*, by the agreement of their fathers, first they did but wrangle, but afterwards to armes. It was a great warre, yet the *Titans* were subdued. Buu then followed a greater, the rest of the *Titans* renewing their forces and chasing *Ioue* and all his friends into *Egypt*. The first was called the *Titans* war, this the *Giants*. (g) *Inconstancy*.] Thus saith *Tully*. (h) *Such as*] *Lactantius* disliketh this deriuation of *Superstitious* and *Religious*, deriuing *religions* of *religo* to *bind*, because they are bound to God: *superstitious* of *superstes*, *alone*, because they were of the false religion, which was professed in the liues of their aunccestors. *lib. 4. of Religions*, and read *Gellus. lib. 4.* But *Tully* doth not confine the name to those praying fellowes, but saith it was of large vse afterwards in other respects (i) *in awe*.] In the bookes, *De nat. deor.* and *De diuinat*, it is plaine that *Tully* durst not speake his mind freely of those gods, because of the inueterat custome of his country. (k) *heauen and*] whome *Tully* with the *Stoicks* maketh the chiefe of the gods.

*Of Varros reiecting the popular opinion, and of his beleefe of one God, though he knew not the true God.*

## CHAP. 31.

**A**ND what say you to *Varro* (whom we are sory should make plaies as an honor to true gods in religion, though not in iudgment, seeing he exhorteth men to the adoration of the gods so religiously) doth not he confesse, that he is not of the opinion of those that left the *Romaines* their religion, and that if he were to leaue the citty any institutions, hee would rather giue them their gods after the prescript of nature? But seeing that the former hath beene of so long a continuance, hee saith that it was but his duty to prosecute his discourse hereof from the eldest antiquities, to the end that the people should not be induced rather to honor then to contemne them, wherein this iudicious writer sheweth that the things whereof he writeth would be contemptible to the people as well as to him-selfe, if they were not kept in silence. I should haue thought one might but

but haue coniectured this, but that himselfe saith in many places that there is much truth, which the people ought not to know: nay and if it were all falsehood, yet it were fit the people should neuer-the-lesse thinke that it were truth: and therefore the *Grecians* shut vp their (a) *Teleta*, and their (b) most secret mysteries in walles. Here hee hath made a discouerie of all the politike gouernment of the world. But the *Deuills* take great delight in this playing double: making them-selues the maisters both ouer the deceiuers and the deceiued, from whose dominion nothing freeth vs but the grace of God, through Iesus Christ our Lord. This acute and learned man saith further, that hee thinketh onely those to discern God, who teach that hee is a soule, moouing, and swaying the whole world: and here-by, though hee yet haue no firme holde of the truth (for God is no soule, but the soules maker) yet if the Citties custome had permitted him, assuredly hee would haue raught them the worship of one onely God, and the gouernor of the world: so that wee should but haue this onely controuersie with him, whether God were a soule, or the soules maker. He saith also that the old *Romaines* were a hundred three-score and ten yeares with-out Idols: and had they beene so still (quoth hee) religion had beene kept the purer; to prooue which, hee produceth (amongst others) the *Iewes*, and concludeth, that who-so-euer they were that first inuented Images, they freed the citty from all awe and added vnto errour: beeing well aduised that the sencelesnesse of the Idols would make the gods them-selues seeme contemptible. But whereas hee saith they added vnto errour, that prooues, that there was some errour there, before that Images came in. And therefore his saying, that these onely discerned God which called him a soule gouerning the world; and his opinion that the gods honours would haue beene purer with-out Images, these positions declare how neare the truth hee drawes. For could hee haue done any good against such an ouer-growne error, hee would haue shewed them how that one onely God should haue beene adored, euen hee that gouerneth the world, and that hee is not to bee pictured: and the youth of the Citie beeing set in so neare a path to the truth, might easily haue beene perswaded afterwards, that God was an vnchangeable nature, creating the soule also. These things being thus, what euer fooleries those men haue discouered of their gods in their Bookes, they haue beene laide open by the immediate hand of God, (compelling them to confesse them) rather then by their owne desire to dissuade them: Wherefore that wee alledge from them, is to controule those that will not see from what a damned slauery to the *Deuill*, that same singular sacrifice of so holy blond, and the vouchsafing of the spirit hath deliuered vs.

## L. VIVES.

THE (a) *Teleta*] A sacrifice most secret and most sumptuous: so called, because it consumed so much, of *readings*; to end, or to consume, that some thinke they had their name from their perfection. They belonged to the *Sunne* and *Moone*, as *Porphyry* writeth: and were besides, expiations to *Bacchus*, recorded in *Orpheus* and *Museus* (*Plat. de Rep. lib. 2.*) that taught how to purge the sinnes of the Citties, the liuing, the dead, and euery priuate man by sacrifices, playes, and all delights, and the whole forme of it all was called *Teleta*. Though *Plato* saith the *Teleta* belonged onely to the dead, and freed men from all the euills in hell. (b) *Secret*] Of *Ceres* and others. (c) *The old*] *Numa* forbad the *Romaines* to thinke that God had any shape of man or woman (*Plut. in vit. Num.*) Nor had they any picture at all of any God for the first hundred three score and tenne yeares: they built onely temples and

Who first  
brought  
Images to  
Rome.

little Oratories, but neuer an Image in them, for they held it a sinne to liken the better to the worfe, or to conceiue GOD in any forme but their intelligence: *Euseb, Dyonys*, also saith, that *Numa* built the gods temples but no Images came in them, because hee beleued that God had no shape. *Tarquinius Priscus* following the *Greekes* foolery and the *Tuscans*, first taught the erection of statues, which *Tertullian* intimateth, saying; *Goe to, now religion hath profited. For though Numa inuented a great deale of curious superstition, yet neither was there temples nor statues as yet entred into the Romaines religion, but a few poore thrifty ceremonies: no skie-towring Capitols, but a sort of little altars made of Soddes, earthen dishes, the perfumes out of them, and the God in no plase. For the Greeke and Tuscan artes in Sculpture were not yet entred the Cittie.*

*What reason the Kings of the world had, for the permitting of those false religions in such places as they conquered.*

CHAP. 32.

**H**EE saith also, that in the gods genealogies, the people followed the Poets more then the Philosophers, and thence the olde *Romaines* their ancestors, had their beliefe of so many sexes, mariages, and linages of the gods. The reason of this (I suppose) was, because the politrique and wise men did especially endeouour to nouse their people in this illusiue maner, and to make them not onely worshippers, but euen immitators of the deuills that delighted to delude them. For euen as the Deuills cannot possesse any, but such as they haue deceiued, so vniust and Deuil-like Princes perswaded their people to their owne vaine inuentions, vnder the name of religion, thereby to binde their affections the firmer to their seruice, and so to keepe them vnder their soueraignties. And what ignorant and weake man can auoide both the charmes of Princes and Deuils?

*That God hath appointed a time for the continuance of euery state on earth.*

CHAP. 33.

**W**HEREFORE GOD, that onely and true author of felicitie, hee giueth kingdomes to good and to bad; not rashly, nor casually, but as the time is appointed, which is well knowne to him, though hidden for vs, vnto which appointment not-with-standing hee doth not serue, but as a Lord swayeth it, neuer giuing true felicitie but to the good. For this, both (a) subiects and Kings may eyther haue or wante, and yet bee as they are, seruants and gouernours. The fulnesse indeed of it shall bee in that life where (b) no man shall serue. And therefore here on earth, hee giueth kingdomes to the bad as well as to the good, least his seruants, that are but yet proselites should affect them as great matters. And this is the mysterie of his olde Testament, wherein the new was included: that (c) there, all the gifts and promises were of this world, and of the world to come also, to those that vnderstood them, though the eternall good that was meant by those temporall ones, were not as yet manifested: nor in what gifts of God the true felicitie was resident.

L. VIVES.

**S**ubiects (a) and ] Stoicisme: A slave wife, is a free man: a King foolish, a slave.  
(b) No man shall serue, ] Some bookes wante the whole sentence which followeth.  
And

*And therefore. &c. (c) There all.]* The rewards promised to the keepers of the law in the old Testament were all temporall, how be it they were mysticall types of the Celestiall.

*Of the Iewes kingdome, which one God alone kept unmoued as long as they kept the truth of religion.*

CHAP. 34.

**T**O shew therefore that all those temporall goods which those men gape after, that can dreame of no better, are in Gods hands alone, and in none of their Idolls, therefore multiplied he his people in *Egipt*, from (a) a very few and then deliuered them from thence by miraculous woundes. Their women neuer called vpon *Lucina* when their children multiplied vpon them incredibly; and when he preserued them from the (b) *Egyptians* that persecuted them, and would haue killed all their children. They suckt without *Ruminas* helpe; slept without *Cunina*, eate and dranke without *Educa* and *Potica*, and were brought vp without any of these puppy-gods helpe: married without the *Nuptiall* gods, begot children without *Prisapus*, crossed through the diuided sea without calling vpon *Neptune*, and left al their foes drowned behind them. They dedicated no *Goddesse Manna*, when heauen had rained *Manna* for them: nor worshipped the *Nymphes* when the rocke was cleft and the waters flowed out: they vsed no *Mars* nor *Bellona* in their warres, and conquered, not without *Victory*, but without making *Victory* a goddesse. They had corne, oxen, hony, apples, without *Segetia*, *Bobona*, *Mella* or *Pomona*. And to conclude, all things that the *Romaines* begged of so many false gods, they receiued of one true God in far happier measure: And they persisted not in their impious curiosity in running after strange gods, as if they had beene enchanted, and lastly in killing of Christ, in the same kingdome had they liued happily still, if not in a larger. And that they are now dispersed ouer the whole earth, is gods especiall prouidence, that what Alters, Groues, Woods, and Temples of the false gods he reprobueth, and what sacrifices he forbiddeth, might all be discerned by their bookes as their fall it selfe was foretold them, by their prophets: And this least the Pagans reading them with ours, might thinke wee had faigned them. But now to our next booke, to make an end of this tedious one

Gen. 46.

The dispersion of the Iewes.

L. VIVES.

**F**rom a very few] The Sonnes of *Israell* that went into *Egipt*, were 70. *Gen. 49. (b) Egyptians.*] Here is a diuersity of reading but all one sence: and so is there often else-where, which I forbear to particularize, or to note all such occurrences,

Finis, lib. 4.

## THE CONTENTS OF THE fifth booke of the City of God.

1. That neither the Romaine Empire, nor any other Kingdome had any establishment from the powre of Fortune, nor from the starres. chapter 1.

2. Of the mutuall Sympathie, and dissimilitude of the health of body, and many other accidents in twinnes of one birth.

3. Of Nigidius the astrologians arguments, in this question of the twinnes drawne from the potters wheele.

4. Of Esau and Iacob two twinnes, and of the diversity of their conditions and qualities.

5. How the Mathematicians may bee committed of professing direct vanity.

6. Of twinnes of different sexes.

7. Of the election of daies of marriage, of planting, and of sowing.

8. Of their opinion that give not the name of Fate the position of the starres, but unto the dependance of causes upon the will of God.

9. Of Gods fore-knowledge and mans freedom of election against the opinion of Cicero.

10. Whether Necessity haue any dominion ouer the will of man.

11. Of Gods vniuersall providence, ruling all, and comprising all.

12. How the ancient Romaines obtained this encrease of their Kingdome at the true Gods hand, beeing that they neuer worshipped him.

13. Of ambition, which beeing a vice, is notwithstanding herein held a vertue, that it doth restraine vices of worse natures.

14. That we are to auoide this desire of humane honour, the glory of the righteous beeing wholly in God.

15. Of the temporall rewardes that God bestowed upon the Romaines vertues, and good conditions.

16. Of the reward of the eternall Cittizens of heauen, to whome the examples of the Romaines vertues were of good vse.

17. The fruites of the Romaines warres, both to themselves, and to those with whom they warred.

18. How farre the Christians should bee from boasting of their deedes, for their eternall country, the Romaines hauing done so much for their temporall city, and for humane glory.

19. The difference betweene the desire of glory and the desire of rule.

20. That vertue is as much disgraced in seruing humane glory, as in obeying the pleasures of the body.

21. That the true God in whose hand and providence all the state of the world consisteth, did order and dispose of the Monarchy of the Romaines.

22. That the Originalls and conclusions of warres are all at Gods dispose.

23. Of the battaile wherein Radagaisus an idolatrous King of the Gothes was slaine with all his army.

24. The state and truth of a christian Emperors felicity.

25. Of the prosperous estate that God bestowed upon Constantine a christian Emperour.

26. Of the faith and deuotion of Theodosius Emperour.

27. Augustines inuective against such as wrote against the bookes already published.

## FINIS.

# THE FIFTH BOOKE OF THE CITTIE OF GOD:

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishop of *Hippo*,  
vnto *Marcellinus*.

*That neither the Romaine Empire nor any other Kingdome had any establishment  
from the power of fortune or from the starres.*

## CHAP. I.



Hereas it is apparant to all mens discretion, that felicity is the hope of al humane desires, and that she is no goddesse, but merely the gift of a god, and consequently that there is no god worthy of worshippe, but he in whose power it lieth to bestow this felicity vpon men; so that if shee were a goddesse herselfe, the worship of al therest should be intirely hers; now let vs looke in to the reasons why that God that can giue those earthly goods, aswel to the good as the euill, (and consequently to such as are not happy) should vouchsafe the *Romaine* empire so large a dilaration, and so long a contiuanance: for we haue already partly proued, and hereafter in conuenient place will proue more fully, that it was not their rable of false gods that kept it in the state it was in, wherefore the cause of this was neither (a) *Fortune*, nor *Fate*, as they call them, holding *Fortune* to be an euent of things beyond al reason and cause: and *Fate*, an euent from some necessity of order, excluding the will of god and man. But the god of Heauen; by his onely prouidence, disposeth of the kingdomes of Earth, which if any man will say is swayed by fate, and meane by that fate (b) the will of God, he may hold his opinion still, but yet he must amend his phraze of speech, for why did hee not learne this of him that taught him what fate was. The ordinary custome of this hath made men imagine fate to bee (c) a power of the starres, so or so placed, in natiuities or conceptions; which (d) some do seperate from the determination of God, and other some do affirme to depend wholly therevpon. But those that hold that the starres do manage our actions, or our passions, good, or ill, without gods appointment, are to be silenced and not to be heard, be they of the true religion, or bee they bondslaues to Idolatry, of what sort soeuer; for what doth this opinion, but flattery exclude all deity? Against this error, we professe not any disputation, but onely against those that calumniat Christian religion, in defence of their imaginary goddes. As for those that make these operations of the starres in good or bad to depend vpon Gods will, if they say that they haue this power giuen them from him, to vse according to their owne wills they do Heauen much wronge, in imagining that any wicked acts, or iniuries are decreed in so glorious a senate, and such as if any earthly city had but instituted, the whole generation of man would haue conspired the subuersion of it. And what part hath GOD left him in this disposing of humane affaires, if they be swayed by a necessity from the starres, whereas he is Lord both of starres and men? If they do not say that the starres are causes of these wicked arts, through a power that god hath giuen them, but that they effect them by his expresse commaund; is this fit to be imagined for true of God, that is vnworthy to be held true of the starres, (e) But if the starres bee said to portend this onely

Fortune &  
Fate what.

What the  
vulger hold  
fate.

The Astro-  
logians ne-  
cessity of  
the starres.

And not to procure it, and that their positions be but signes, not causes of such effects (for so hold many great Schollers, though the Astrologians vse not to say (f) *Mars* in such an house signifieth this, or that : no, but maketh the child-borne an homicide, to (g) grant them this error of speeche, which they must learne to reforme of the Philosophers in all their presages deriued from the starres positions:) how commeth it to passe that they could neuer shew the reason of that diuersity of life, actions, fortune, profession, arte, honour, and such humaine accidents, that hath befallne two twinnes; nor of such a great difference, both in those afore-said courses, and in their death, that in this case, many strangers haue come nearer them in their courses of life, then the one hath done the other, beeing notwithstanding borne both within a little space of time the one of the other, and conceiued both in one instant and from one acte of generation?

## L. VIVES.

Fate what  
it is.The defectes  
3.

Epicurus.

Fortunes,  
Casualties  
what they  
are as A-  
phrodite-  
he thinketh.

**F**ortune. (a) *Nor fate*] Seeing *Augustine* disputeth at large in this place concerning fate, I will diue a little deeper into the diuersity of olde opinions herein, to make the rest more plaine. *Plato* assumed there was one GOD, the Prince and Father of all the rest, at whose becke all the gods, and the whole world were obedient: that al the other gods, & celestial vertues were but ministers to this Creator of the vniuers: and y they gouerned the whole world in places and orders by his appointment: that the lawes of this great God were vnalterable, and ineuitable, and called by the name of *Necessities*: No force, arte, or reason, can stoppe, or hinder any of their effectes: whereof the prouerbe ariseth: *The gods themselues must serue necessity*: But for the starres, some of their effects may be auoided by wisdome, labour or industry, wherein fortune consisteth: which, if they followed certaine causes, and were vnchangeable, should bee called fate, and yet inferre no necessity of election. For it is in our powre to chooise, beginne, or with, what wee will: but hauing begunne, fate manageth the rest that followeth. It was free for *Laius* (saith *Euripides*) to haue begotten a sonne, or not: but hauing begotten him, then *Apollo's* Oracle must haue the euentts prooue true which it presaged. This and much more doth *Plato* dispute obscurely vpon, in his last *de repub.* For there hee puttes the three satall sisters, *Necessities daughters*, in heauen: and saith that *Lachesis* telleth the soules that are to come to liue on earth, that the deuill shall not possesse them, but they shall rather possesse the deuill: But the blame lieth wholly vpon the choise, if the choise bee naught, GOD is acquit of all blame: and then *Lachesis* casteth the lottes. *Epicurus* detideth all this, and affirmes all to bee casuall, without any cause at all why it should bee thus or thus, or if there bee any causes, they are as easie to bee auoided, as a mothe is to bee swept by. The *Platonists* place *Fortune* in things ambiguous, and such as may fall out diuersely: also in obscure things, whose true causes, why they are so or otherwise, are vnknownes so that *Fortune* dealth not in things that follow their efficient cause, but either such as may bee changed, or are vndiscovered. Now *Aristotle* (*Phys. 2.*) and all the *Peripatetikes* after him (*Alex. Aphrodisiensis* beeing one) is more plaine. Those things (saith hee) are casuall, whose acte is not premeditated by any agent: as if any man digge his ground vppe, to make it fatte, finde a deale of treasure hidden; this is *Fortune*, for hee came not to digge for that treasure, but to fatten his earth: and in this, the casuall euent, followed the not casuall intent. So in things of fortune, the agent intendeth not the end that they obtaine, but it falleth out beyond expectation: The vulgar call fortune, blinde, rash, vncertaine, madde, and brutish as *Paruuius* saith: and ioynne *Fate* and *Necessity* together, holding it to haue a powre both ouer all the other gods and *Ioue* their King himselfe. Which is veified by the Poet, that said, *What must bee, passeth Ioue to hold from beeing, Quod fore paruum est, id summum exuperat Iouem*. For in *Homer*, *Ioue* lamenteth that hee could not saue his sonne *Sarpedon* from death, the fates constraining him to die: and *Neptune* greeces that hee could not hinder *Vlisses* his returne home, and reuenge the blindnesse of his sonne (*Ulops*, *Fate* hauing decreede the contrary: and *Iupiter* in *Ouid* saith:

In sola

Tu sola insuperabile fatum  
Nate mouere putas.

Daughter 'tis onely thou  
Canst mooue relentlesse fate.

Saith he: And a little after.

Que neque conuulsam cali, nec fulminis iram,  
Nec metuant ullas tula atque eterna ruinas.

Which feare nor thunders, gods, nor powers infernall,  
But stand vnaw'd, vnmooued, and eternall.

There were some that held nothing casual, but all fixed, certaine and immutable: *Democritus*, *Empedocles*, and *Heraclitus*, were all of this opinion, which many others maintained after them, as others did the positions of *Epicurus*. *Lucane Phars. lib. 2.* declareth both the opinions in these words,

Sive parens rerum primum informia regna,  
Materiamq; rudem flamma cedente recepit,  
Finxit in aeternum causas, quod uncta cocerit.  
Se quoq; lege tenens, & secuta iussa ferentem,  
Factorum immoto diuisi limite mundum,  
Sive nihil positum est, sed fors incerta vagatur,  
Fertque resertq; vices, & habent mortalia casum, &c.

Or natures God (when first he bound the fire,  
And wrought this masse into one forme intire)  
Forged eternall causes, all eff:cting;  
Him else, and all the worlds estate subiecting  
To destenies inchangeable directing;  
Or bene our states in fortunes gouernance,  
To rise, or fall, and all by onely chance.

Fortune is often vsed for destenie, and the euent of things: which when they fall out as wee desire, that we call *Felicitie*: if contrary, *Infelicitie*: Thus much here, more else-where. (b) *The will of God* ] Of this by and by. (c) *A power of the starres* ] wherein the *Stoikes*, *Plato*, and almost all the other Philosophers do place *Fate*: following the *Chaldeaes* and *Agyptians*, to whom all the Mathematicians also doe giue their voyces. (d) *Some do seperate* ] Some say, the operation of the starres is a distinct power from the will of God: and in attributing this vniuersall power to them, exclude Gods prouidence from humaine affaires. Besides, there are that affirme, that although God doe looke to the state of the world, yet the starres haue their peculiar dominion in vs neuerthelesse. So hold *Manilius* and *Firmicus*, and the Poets most commonly.

The Stars dominion.

Others subiect them all vnto the will of GOD omnipotent, as *Plato* and the *Stoikes* doe, affirming all their operations to bee but the praescript lawes of him. (e) *But if the starres* ] *Origen* vpon that place of *Genesis*. *Let them be for signes*, *Chapt. 1. vers. 14.* Saith that the starres doe signifie, but effect nothing. *They are* (saith he) *as a booke opened, wherein may bee read all things to come, which may bee prooued by this, that they haue often signified things past. But this booke cannot bee read by any witte of man.* *Plotine* was of *Origen*s opinion also, denying the starres any acte in those things, but onely signification. *Seneca*, speaking of the Starres, saith, they either cause or signifie the effects of all things, but if they doe cause them, what auaieth it vs to know, that we cannot alter? and if they but signifie them, what good doth it thee, to fore-see that thou canst not auoide? (f) *Mars in such* ] *Mars* is a starre, bloudie, fiery, and violent. Being in the seventh house (saith *Firmicus lib. 3.*) in a partile aspect with the *Horos-* *Mars a Star* cope (that is, in the West) hee portendeth huge mischieues, slaying the natiuities with murderers, and many other villanies. (g) *To grant them* ] Hee alludeth vnto *Tullies Chrysippus (de Fato)* that would teach the Mathematicians, how to speake in their art.

Plotine.

Seneca.

*Of the musuall simparchie and dissimilitude of health of body, and many other accidents in twins of one birth.*

CHAP. 2.

*Cicero* (a) saith, that *Hippocrates* that excellent Phisitian wrote, that two children that were brethren, falling sicke, and the sicknesse waxing and waning in both alike, were here-vpon suspected to be twinnes. (b) And *Pofidonius* a *Stoike*, and one much affected to *Astrologie*, laboureth to prooue them to haue bin borne both vnder one constellation, and (c) conceived both vnder one. So that which the Phisitian ascribeth to the similitude of their temperatures of body, the *Astrologian* attributes to the power and position of the starres in their natiuities.



But truly in this question, the Phisitions coniecture standeth vpon more probability, because their parents temperature might bee easily transfused into them both alike at their conception: and their first growth might participate equally of their mothers disposition of body, & then being nourished both in one house, with one nourishment, in one ayre, countrie, and other things correspondent, this now might haue much power in the proportionating of both their natures alike, as Physicke will testifie: Besides, vse of one exercise equally in both, might forme their bodies into a similitude, which might very well admit all alterations of health alike, and equally in both. But to drawe the figure of heauen, and the starres vnto this purity of passions (it being likely that a great companie of the greatest diuersitie of affects that could bee might haue originall in diuerse parts of the world, at one and the same time) were a presumption vnpardonable. For (d) we haue knowne two twinnes, that haue had both diuerse fortunes, and different sicknesses, both in time, and nature: whereof (mee thinkes) *Hipocrates* giueth a very good reason, from the (e) diuersitie of nourishment, and exercise, which might bee cause of different health in them: yet that diuersitie was effected by their wills and elections at first, and not by their temperature of body. But neither *Posidonius*, nor any patron of this fate in the starres, can tell what to say in this case, and doe not illude the single and ignorant with a discourse of that they know not, for that they talke of the space of time, between that point which they call the (f) *Horoscope*, in both the twinnes natiuities: it is either not so significant as the diuersitie of will, acte, manners, and fortune of the twinnes borne doth require, or else it is more significant, then their difference of honors, state, nobilitie, or meannesse will permit: both which diuersities they place onely in the figure of the natiuitie. But if they should be both borne ere the *Horoscope* were fully varied, then would I require an vnitie in each particular of their fortunes, which (g) cannot be found in any two twinnes that euer yet were borne. But if the *Horoscope* be changed ere both bee borne, then for this diuersitie I will require a (h) difference of parents, which twins cannot possibly haue.

## L. VIVES.

**P***Cicero* (a) saith] I cannot remember where: I beleue in his booke *De fato*: which is wonderfully mutilate, and defectiue as we haue it now, and so shall any one finde that will obserue it. (b) *Whom* *Posidonius*] A *Rhadian*, and a teacher of *Rhodes*. Hee was also at *Rome* a follower of *Panatius*. *Cicero* (c) conceived both] for the conception is of as much moment as the natiuitie. (d) *We haue knowne*] Such were *Procles* and *Cyresteus*, Kings of *Lacedamon*. *Cic. de diuinat. lib. 2.* (e) *Diuersitie of*] This is one of the causes why an *Astrologian* cannot judge perfectly of natiuities, *Ptol. Apotelesmaton. lib. 1.* (f) *Horoscope*] *ἰερόνομος* is the looking vpon an houre: and is that part of the *Zodiake*, which ascendeth our *Hemisphere*, at any euent. For the reuolution of this *Zodiake* is perpetuall, and still one part of it ariseth in our *Horison*, and the part directly opposite, setteth: all the other are diuided amongst the other houses of heauen. (g) *Cannot be found*] Nature neuer bound any one thing to another in such proprietie, but she set some differences betweene them: what skilleth it whether those two had originall from one seede? Euery man is framed and borne to his owne fortune, and be they two or three brethren borne at once, their destinies promise no fraternitie, but each one must vndergoe his particular fate. *Quintil. In Geminis Languentibus.* (h) *Difference of parents*] why should not the riuers be like that flow both from one head?

Of *Nigidius* the *Astrologians* argument, in this question of the twinnes, drawne from the potters wheele. CHAP. 3.

**F**Rustrate therefore is that notable fiction of the Potters wheele, which *Nigidius*

*Nigidius* (a) ( they say ) answered to one that plunged him in this controuersie, whervpon he was called (b) *Potter*. Turning a potters wheele twice or thrise about as fast as he could, he tooke inke, & in the turning made two markes (as it seemed) in one place of the wheelles egde: and then, staying the wheele, the markes were found far a sunder one from another vpon the edge of the wheele, (c) euen so (saith he) in the swift course of heauen, though one child be borne after another in as short a time as I gaue these two markes, yet in the heauens will be passed a great space. And that ( quoth he ) is the cause of the diuersity of conditions, and fortunes betwixt two twinnes. ( d ) Here is a figment now farre more brittle then the Pottes that were made by that wheele, for if there bee thus much power in Heauen ( and yet cannot bee comprehended by the constellations ) that one of the twins may bee an heyre and inherite, and not the other, how dare those Astrologians giue such presages vnto others that are not twinnes, when as they are included in those secret points in natiuities which none can comprehend? But if they say they do prognosticate this to others, because they know that it belongeth vnto the knowne and discerned spaces that passe in natiuities, and that those moments that may come betweene the birth of two twins do but concerne slight things, and such as the Astrologian vseth not to bee troubled with; for no man will aske the calculator when he should sit, walke, or dine? How can this be said when wee shew such diuersity in the manners, states, actions, and fortunes of two twinnes.

## L. VIVES.

*Nigidius* (a) they say] *P. Nigidius Figulus* was borne of a very honest family, and came to be Prator: he was of great wit, and excellent both in many other worthy sciences (so that hee was compared with *Varro*, in whose time, or thereaboutes, he liued) and especially in the *Mathematiques*. *Tully* nameth him often. *Suetonius* saith that out of *Octavianus* his figure of natiuity, he presaged that he should be Lord of all the world. *Lucane. lib. i.*

*Nigidius Figulus.*

*At Figulus, cui cura deos secretaque cali,  
Nosse fuit, quem non stellarum Aegiptia Membis,  
Aequaues nisi numerisque mouentibus astris.*

But *Figulus* whose study was to scan,  
Heauens high presage, whome no *Aegiptian*,  
In *Mathematique* skill could paralel, &c.

(b) Called *Potter*.] In latine *Figulus*. This man was of the *Nigidian* family; there were other *Figuli* of a more honored house, namely the *Martians*, whereof one was consull with *L. Iul. Caesar*, two yeares before *Ciceros* consullship. Another, with *Nasica*, but was put from his place, because the auguries were against his election. (c) So (quoth he.)] How much time thinke you (saith *Quintilian*) was betweene the first birth, and the second? but a little truely in mortall mens iudgement, but if you will consider the immensity of this vniuerse, you shall find much passed betweene their two productions. In *geminis langu.* (d) Here is a figment.] This one another presages, positions and calculations in natiuities, for if so little a space of time bee swere of *Nigidius* ( which the *Mathematitians* thinke was most acute, doth vtterly subuert all capable not onely of diuersities but euen of contraries, who can prognosticate any thing of any childe borne, when as the moment both of his conception his and natiuity is so hard to be knowne? So that were it graunted, that the starres haue power in vs, yet vnto man it is incomprehensible: the moments whereto the figure must be erected being impossible to bee found, and the swift course of the Heauens ouertunning our slow consideration. *Iulius firmicus*, a man idley eloquent, hauing objected this reason against him-selfe and his arte, and promising to dissolue it, after he hath tumbled himselfe sufficiently in a multitude of common places, lets it alone with silence, and thinkes he hath done very wel, supposing that this whirle-winde of his eloquence had cast dust inough into the readers eies to make him forget the aduerse argument. But it is neither he, nor any *Chalde* of them al that can answer it. *Thomas Aquinas* in like manner entangleth himselfe exceedingly in circumstances of times, and minuites, and places; for in his booke *De fato*, he saith that twins are of diuers dispositions, because the seed of generation

The stars  
out run our  
flacke  
thoughtes!

was

was not receiued into the place of conception al at one time, so that the center of the heart, being not one in both, they must needs haue different egresses and *Horizons*. But how small a space is their spent in the full receiuing of the seede? how little a time passeth betweene the coagulation of the hearts, that this should be sufficient to trasmute the whole nature of man? So that hereby it is not sufficient to tel the *Mathematician* that such an one was borne at *Paris* or *Valencia*, but hee must know in which streete, in which chamber, nay in what part of the chamber, But in another worke, I will handle this theame of another fashon, and proue, that there is no trust to be put in those vaine superstitions, but that all dependeth vpon our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ, whome we are to intreat for them all.

*Of Esau and Iacob two twinnes, and of the diuersity of their conditions and qualities. CHAP. 4.*

**I**N the memory of our fore-fathers ( to speake of men of note ) there were two *Gen. 25.* (a) twins borne, so nere to gether, that the second held the first by the heele, yet in their liues, maners and actions, was such a maine disparity, that that very difference made them enemies one to another. I meane not this, that the one sat, when the other stood, nor that the one slept, when the other waked, these belong to those first markes and moments which they cannot comprehend who erect those figures of natiuity for the *Astrologers* to iudge vpon: (b) one of them bound himselfe to serue for wages: the other serued not at all: the one was loued by his mother, so was not the other: the one lost his honor and inheritance (a matter of great moment amongst them) and the other obtained it: And how great a diuersity was there in their mariages, wiues, children and goods? exceeding much.

L. VIVES.

**T**WO (a) Twins borne] *Iacob* and *Esau*, of *Isaac* and *Rebecca* *Gene. 25. 25. 26.* (b) One of] *Iacob* he serued *Laban* his father in law, for *Rachell*: he was dearely beloued of his mother *Rebecca*, and got *Esau* his patrimony from him, which was a thing in those daies of most honor, and vse, of all things besides.

*How the Mathematicians may be convicted of professing vanity.*

CHAP. 5.

*Hipocrates*  
his guesse.

**W**HEREFORE if these things belong to those spaces of time that passe betwixt the births of twins, and are not wrought vpon by the constellations, why then are they presaged out of the *Horoscopes* of others. But if they be presaged as pertinent vnto the larger spaces of time that fal vnder the notice of *Artists*, & not vnder these momentary minuits that are indistinguable, then what vse is there of the potters whele, but only to turne leaden heads about till they become braine-sicke, and past discerning those *Mathematicians* vanities? And those whose diseases (so simpathizing in all circumstances) made *Hipocrates* out of the rules of *Phisike*, iudge them to be twinnes, do not they sufficiently put downe those that will needes make that proceed from the starres which ariseth out of the temperature of their bodies? For why did they not sicken as they were borne, one after an other? (for borne together they could not bee) or if their different times of birth be no cause of different times of sicknesse, why do they alledge it to be the cause of other accidents? why should they trauell, marry, beget children, and do such like at diuers times, onely because they were borne at diuers times, and yet not be sicke at diuers times by the same reason? If their difference of birth changed their *Horoscope*, and all other matters thereon depending,

ding, why then did that equality remaine with the times of their sicknesse, that remained in the time of their conception: or if they say that the course of sicknesse onely followeth the conception, and all the rest the natiuity, then ought they not to prognosticate any thing concerning sicknesse at natiuities, vnlesse they haue the houre of conception, but if the Astrologian presage sicknesse without seeing the figure of the conception because the sayd presage is included in those interposed moments of the birth, how would hee tell either of those twins when hee should bee sicke, who hauing each a diuers *Horoscope*, yet must neuerthelesse fall sicke both at one time? Finally, I aske againe, if the intermission in the birth of two twinnes bee so much, that it alters their whole fortunes, because of their *Horoscopes*: and in altering of the (a) foure angles, (wherein they put all the powre,) altereth also their whole destenies, how can this come to passe, when as the time of their conceptions was both at one instant? Or if two that are both conceiued at one point of time, may fortune to bee borne the one before the other, why may not two that are borne both in one moment of time, haue fortune to die the one before the other? for if that one & the same moment of their conception hindered not the succession of their birth, why should the same moment that is one in both the birthes, hinder the successiue time of their death? If their conceiption, being in one minut, permit the to haue diuers fortunes in their mothers wombe, why should not their natiuity being of the same state, permit them to haue diuers fortunes while they liue vpon earth? & to take away all the fictions of this arte, (or rather vanity) of theirs, in this one question, what is the cause, that such as are conceiued both in one moment of time, both vnder one constellation, should neuerthelesse haue their destinies in their mothers wombe, to bee borne at seuerall times? and yet, that two being borne of two mothers, both in one moment of time, cannot haue diuers destenies, whereby the one may die before the other, or out-liue the other? did not their destiny enter vpon their conception, or could they not haue it vnlesse they were first borne? why is it said then that if the houre of conception bee knowne, they can presage many things most oraculously? And here vpon it is said of some, that a certaine wise man did make choise of an houre of copulation with his wife, whereby to beget a sonne whose after worth should be admired? And lastly, whereof commeth it, that *Pasidinius* the Astrologian gaue this reason for the two brethrens perticipated sicknesse, that it was because they were borne, and conceiued both together? he added, *Conceined*, because it should not bee objected to him that it was not certaine that such as were conceiued together should bee borne both at the same instant: and that hee might draw this mutuall affect of theirs, not from their paritie of temperatures, but from the powre of the starres. But if there bee such a powre of equallizing the destiny of twinnes in their conception, then verily the diuersity of time in their birth ought not to alter it. If the destenies of twinnes bee changed by their seuerall times of birth, why may we not rather conceiue that before their birth, they were appointed by destiny to seuerall births? Shall not then the will of the man liuing, change the Fate of his natiuity, when as his order of birth doth change the fate of his conceiption?

#### L. VIVES.

**T**He 4. (a) *Angles*] Foure chiefe angles the Astrologers put in euery natiuity. 1. the *Horoscope*, the signe of the orient; ascending 2. The opposite to which is the signe of the West The Angles of hea- falling diametrically distant from the *Horoscope* 180. degrees. 3. *Mid-heauen*, the point between uen.  
the

the *Horoscope* and the west angle. 4. the opposite mid-heaven vnder the earth. The Greekes call these foure : *ἀνατολή, ἡβή, μεσημέρια, ὑβρινος*, there are foure other angles also, in the 2. 6. 8. and 12. signe from the *Horoscope* : the Greekes call *θεῖον, θεῖον, ἀνάλιον, τυχεῖον, ἀγαθοδαίμονον*, *The God the goddesse, the good fortune, the good Genius*. These angles are nothing but the signes of heaven, which they consider in their iudgements, counting the *Horoscope* first and the rest successively. The angle of the *Horoscope* concerneth the life : the 2. money or hope : the 3. brethren, the 4. parents : the 5. children, the 6. health : the 7. marriage, the 8. death &c. This *Manilius*. lib. 2. relateth out of the fooleries of *Maternus*. But wee haue angled long inough for any good we haue gotten forward.

*Of twinnes of different sexes.* CHAP. 6.

**I**T often falleth out notwithstanding, that in these concurrences and vnions of time, conception and constellation, the children conceived are the one a male the other a femalle. I knowe two twinnes of diuers sexes, both of them aliue, and lusty at this day. They are as like in fauour, one to another as their difference of sexe can permit : but in their fashion, and order of life, so vnlike that (besides the actions which must of necessity distinguish betweene men and women) hee is continually in warre in the office of a *(a)* *Count* and neuer commeth home : shee continually in her country where she was borne, and neuer goeth abroad. Nay which is more incredible (respecting the powres of the stars and not the wills of God and men) he is a married man, and shee is a holy Virgin; hee hath many children, & she was neuer married. O but their *Horoscopes* had a great sway in all those things : tush, I haue shouen the powre of that to bee iust nothing, already : I but whatsoeuer it doth, it is there, in the natiuity, that it must do it. What, and not in the conception, wherein it is manifest that there was but one generatiue act concurrent? (for *(b)* natures powre is such that a woman hauing once conceived, cannot second any conception, vntill she bee deliuered of the first. and therefore it is necessary that the twinnes conceptions fall both in one moment : were their diuers *Horoscopes* (thinke you) the cause that in their birth, hee became a man-child, and she a woman? wherefore since it is no such absurdity to say, that there are some planetary influences that haue effect onely vpon diuersity of formes in bodies, as we see the alteration of the yeare, by the sunnes accessse and departure, & diuers things to increase, and decrease, iust as the moone doth : (crabs for example and all shel-fishes : besides the wonderfull *(c)* course of the sea :) but that the minde of man is not subiect vnto any of these powres of the starres : those artists now desiring to binde our actes vnto this that wee see them free from, doe shew vs plainly, that the effectes of the starres haue not powre so much as vpon our bodies. *(d)* For what is so pertinent vnto the bodie, as the sexe thereof : and yet wee see, that two twinnes of diuers sexes may bee conceived both vnder one constellation. Wherefore what fonder affection can there bee, then to say that that figure of Heauen which was one in the conception of them both had not powre to keepe the sister from differing in sexe from her brother, with whom she had one constellation, and yet that that figure of heauen which ruled at their natiuity had powre to make her differ so far from him in her Virgins sanctimony.

Man is not conceived after the first conception, vntill the birth.

L. VIVES.

**A Count.** Office of a *(a)* *Count*] A *Count* is a name of dignity, vsed but of these moderne times.

*Marcellinus*

*Marcellinus* nameth it in his 14. booke calling *Nebrius* Count of the Orient, and *Geronius* count of *Magentia*, and in his sixteenth booke *Ursulus*, Count of the beneuolences, and twenty one *Philagrius* Count of the Orient. I know not whether these counts were those that were called in *Greece* *Acolithi*, and were alwaies at the Emperors elbowe, (b) *Natures*]. Of all creatures, onely the Hare and the Cony do conceiue double, vpon the first conception, and hauing young in their bellies, will conceiue a fresh. *Arist. Plin.* A woman (saith *Aristotle*: *Hist. animal. lib. 7.* seldome conceiueth vpon her first young: but sometimes she may: if there passe but a little space betweene the conceptions, as *Hercules* and *Sphyclus* (by report) were conceiued. There was an adulteresse also, that bore two children at a birth, one like her husband, and another like her lemman. This out of *Aristotle* and *Plini. lib. 7.* but they are rare examples. And if a man would expose them, hee could not bee brought by reason to confesse that those children were conceiued one after another: though I know that *Erasistratus*, a worthy Philitian holdeth, that all twins are conceiued one after another, and so do diuers *Stoicall* Philosophers also hold of many twins but not of all. But *Hippon* and *Empedocles* held that of one act of generation by reason of the abundance of seed, were all twins conceiued, *Asclepiades* ascribeth it to the vertue not the abundance of seed. (c) *Wounderfull course of the sea.* ] Worthily wounderfull, whereof the true cause is not fully knowne vnto this day, neither of the double flowing dayly, nor double flowing monethly, which the Saylers cal the springtides, falling out at the moones full and the change, (d) *for what.* ] The male and female in all creatures are correspondente in all things but generation, but in that *he is the male that generateth in another and of him selfe: she the female that can generate of an other and in her selfe*, therefore they talke of many women that haue beene changed into men:

Creatures  
superfiant  
that is breed-  
ing vpon  
blood.

Twinnes  
both begot-  
ten and  
borne.

The tide of  
the sea.

What male  
& female is

*Of the election of daies of maryage of planting and of sowing.*

CHAP. 7.

**B**Vt (a) who can indure this foolery of theirs, to inuent a new destiny for euery action a man vndertaketh; That wise man aforesaid it seemes, was not borne to haue an admirable sonne, but rather a contemptible one, and therefore elected he his houre, wherein to beget a worthy one. So thus, did he worke himselfe a destiny, more then his starres portended, and made that a part of his fate, which was not signified in his natiuity. O fondnesse most fatall! A day must now be chosen for marriage: because otherwise one might light of an vn lucky day, and so make an ill marriage. But (b) where then is the destiny of your natiuity? can a man change what his fate hath appointed, by choosing this day or that and cannot the fate of that day which he chooseth be altered by another fate? againe, if men alone of all the creatures of earth bee vnder this starry power, why do they (c) choose daies to plant, and daies to sowe, and so forth; daies tame cattle, daies to put to the males for increase of oxen, or horses, and such like? If the election of those daies bee good, because the starres haue dominion in all earthly bodies, liuing creatures and plants, according as the times do change; let them but consider how many creatures haue originall from one and the same instant, and yet haue such diuers ends, as hee that but noteth will deride those obseruations as childrens toyes, for what sottē will say that all herbes, trees, beasts, birds, serpents, wormes, and fishes, haue each one a particular moment of time to bee brought forth in? yet men do vse for trying of the mathematicians skil, to bring them the figures of the births of beasts, which they haue for this end deligently obserued at home, and him they hold the most skild Mathematician, that can say by the figure, this protendeth the birth of a beast and not of a man, nay they dare goe vnto what beast it is whether fit for bearing wolle, for carrages, for the plough, or the custody of the house, for the

T

are

are often asked counsell of the destenies of dogs, and giue answeres breeding great admiration. Nay men are now growne to that grosenesse of braine, that they thinke when a man is borne, creation is tyed to such an order, that not so much as a fly is brought forth in that region at that time; for if they giue vs but birth-rome for a fly, we will draw them by gradation till we come to an elephant. Nor haue they wit to consider this, that in their selected day of sowing corne, it springeth and groweth vp altogether, and being growne to the height it ripens altogether, and yet the canker spoyleth one peece and the birds another, and men cut vp the third, of al this corne, that neuerthelesse grew vp altogether. How will they doe with the constellation of this, that hath partaken so many kindes of ending? Or doth it not repent them of electing daies for these things, denying them to belong to heauens disposing, and putting onely men vnder the starres, to whome onely of all the creatures vpon earth God hath giuing free and vnconstrained wills. These being considered, it is no euill beleefe to thinke that the Astrologers (d) do preface many things wonderfully and truly, but that is, by a (e) secret instinct of euill spirits, (whose care it is, to infect, nouse, and confirme mens minds in this false and dangerous opinion of fate in the starres) and not by any art of discerning of the *Horoscope*, for such is there none.

Astrologers  
how true  
prefagers.

### L. VIVES.

**W**Ho can (a) endure.] The Astrologers, *Haly*, *Abenragel*, *Messahalach*, and others write of these elections. *Haly*, *Ptolomies* interpretor as *Picus Mirandula* writeth, saith, this part of Astrology is friuolous and fruitlesse. (b) *Where then.*] If your natiuities destinie be against your enterprife, it shall neuer haue good end, as *Ptolomy* holdeth: *Picus* writeth much against Astrologers. *lib. 2.* and of this matter also. But *Augustine* hath the summe of all here. (c) *Choose daies.*] *Hesiod* was the first that distinguished the daies of the moone, and the year, for country businesses: and him did all the writers of husbandry follow, *Greekes Latines* and others: *Democritus*, and *Virgill*, *Cato Senior*, *Varro*, *Columella*, *Palladius*, *Plinie* &c. (d) *Do preface.*] He that often shooteth must needs hit some-times, few of the Mathematicians false answeres are obserued, but all their true ones are, as miraculous. (e) *Secret instinct.*] *The presages from the starres* (saith *Augustine* else where) are, as by bargain from the deuills, and instincts of iibeirs, which de doct. clu. the minds of men feele, but perceiue not and he presageth best, that is in greatest credit with his diuel.

Hesiod.

writers of  
husbandry.

Sup Gen.  
ad. lit. et. 2.  
de doct. clu.

Of their opinion that giue not the name of Fate the position of the starres, but vnto the dependance of causes vpon the will of God.

### CHAP. 8.

**A**S for those that do not giue the position of the starres in natiuities and conceptions the name of fate, but reserue it onely to that connexion of (a) causes, whereby all things come to passe, wee neede not vse many words to them: because they conforme this coherence of causes to the will of God, who is well and fully beleueed, both to fore-know al things before the euent, and to leaue no euent vndisposed of ere it be an euent: from whome are all powers, though from him arise not all wills for that it is the will of that great and all-disposing God, which they call *Fate*, these verses. (b) of *Anneus Senecas* I thinke will proue.

Gods fore-  
knowledge.

*Duo me summus pater, altique dominator poli;  
Quocumque placuerit, nulla parenda mora est.  
Assum impiger: fac nolle, comitabor gemens:  
Malis que patiar facere quod licuit bono.  
Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt.*

Lead me, Great Lord, King of eternity,  
Euen where thou wilt, Ile not resist thee L.  
Chang thou my will yet still I vow subiection,  
Being led, to that that 's in the good election.  
" Fate leads the willing, haies the obstinate.

Thus in the last verse, hee directly calleth that *Fate*, which in the former hee called the *will of the great Lord*, to whome hee promiseth obedience, and to be led willingly, least hee bee drawne on by force, because, *Fate leads the willing, haies the obstinate.* And (c) *Homers* verses translated into Latine by *Tully* are as these are.

Tales

*Tales sunt hominum mentes qualis pater ipse,  
Iupiter auctifferas lustravit lumine terras.*

Such are the mindes of men as *Ioue* the great  
Vouchsafes, that fills the earth with light, and heate.

Wee would not bring Poetique sentences for confirmation of this question, but because that *Tully* saith, that the *Stoikes*, standing for this power of *Fate*, vse to quote this place of *Homer*, wee now alleadge them, not as his opinion, but as theirs, who by these verses of *Fate* shewed in their disputations what they thought of *Fate*, because they call vppon *Ioue*, whome they held to be that great God, vppon whose directions these causes did depend.

## L. VIVES.

**C**onnexion (a) of causes ] (*Cic. de diuin. lib. 2.*) Reason therefore compels us to confesse that all things come to passe by fate: by fate I mean the Greeks *εὐκαιρία*, that is, an order or course of fate. things & causes, arising one from another: that is the eueralting truth flowing frō aleternity. (*Crysippus in Gellius* saith, that *Fate* is *εὐκαίριος συνταγμα*, &c. A natural composition of causes and things arising one from another, from aleternity being an immutable combination of them all. (b) *Anneas Seneca*] *Epist. lib. 18.*) The verses were (*Cleanthes* his, *Seneca* but translated them: they are all *Senarian*. But the first of them is not perfectly read: it were better to read it. *Duc me parens celsiq; dominator Poli*: *Coleyne* copy hath it, *Duc summe Pater alti; dominator Poli*. Indifferent well. The said thing hath *Seneca* in his book *de beneficijs*, speaking of God: if you call him *Fate* (saith he) it is not amisse: for he is the first cause whence all the rest haue originall: and fate is nothing but a coherence of causes. This is the common opinion of the *Stoikes*, to hold one God, calling him *Fate*, and *Mens*, and *Iupiter*, and many other names. These are the foure ancient opinions of *Fate*, which *Picus* (*Contra Astrolog. lib. 4.*) rehearseth. The first held *Fate* to be nature, so that the things which fell out by election, or chance, they excluded from *Fate*, as *Virgill* saith of *Dido*, that killed her-selfe, and dyed not by *Fate*: and *Cicero*: *If any thing had befallen me, as many things hung ouer mans head besides nature and besides fate*; This opinion is *Philologicall*, and imbraced by *Alexander*, one of *Aristotles* interpreters. The second held fate to be an eternall order and forme of causes, as aforesaid. Third put all in the stars. The fourth held fate to be onely the execution of the will of God. (c) *Homers*] *Odyss.*

*τοὺς γὰρ ἄνδρας, &c.* Such are the mindes of men, &c

*Ulysses* speaketh them to *Phemius*, affirming a mutability of mens mindes, and that they are not of power to keepe them-selues fixt, but alter continually as it pleaseth the great *Iupiter* to inspire and transforme them. The later of the latine verses in the text doth not expresse *Homers* mind. But I suspect it to be wronged in copying.

Of Gods fore-knowledge and mans free dome of election, again?  
the opinion of Cicero. CHAP. 9.

**A**gainst those men, *Tully* thinketh he cannot hold argument, vnlesse hee ouerthrow diuination, & therefore he laboureth to proue that there is no præscience, nor fore-knowledge of things to come, (a) either in God or man; there is directly no such matter. Thus denieth he Gods fore-knowledge, & idely seeketh to subuert the radiant lustre of true prophecies, by propounding a sort of ambiguous and fallible oracles, whose truth notwithstanding he doth not confute. But those coniectures of the *Mathematiques* he layeth flat, for indeed they are the ordinance to batter them-selues. But for al that, their opinion is more tollerable, y ascribe a fate (b) vnto the stars, then his, y reiects al fore-knowledge of things to come: For to acknowledge a God, & yet to deny that, is monstrous madness: which he obseruing, went about to proue euen that *the foole hath said in his heart: there is no God*: Mary not in his own person, he saw the danger of mallice too well; and therefore making *Cotta* dispute hand-smooth against the *Stoikes* vpon this theame, in his books *De natura Deorum*: there he seemes more willing to hold with (c) *Lacilius Balbus*, that stood for the *Stoikes*, then with *Cotta*, that argued against the di-



uine essence. But in his bookes *Of diuination*, hee directly opposeth the fore-knowledge of things, (*d*) of him-selfe and in his owne person: all which it seemeth hee didde least hee should yeelde vnto fate, and so loose the freedome of election: For hee supposed that in yeelding to this fore-knowledge, fate would follow necessarily there-vpon, without all deniall. But how-soeuer the Phylosophers winde them-selues in webbes of disputations, wee, as wee confesse the great and true GOD, so do we acknowledge his high will, power, and fore-knowledge: Nor lette vs feare that wee doe not performe all our actions by our owne will, because he, whose fore-knowledge cannot erre, knew before that we should do thus or thus: which *Tully* feared, and therefore denied fore-knowledge; and the *Stoicks* that held not al things to be done by necessity, thought that they were done by fate: What then did *Tully* feare in this præscience, that he framed such detestable arguments against it? Verily this, that if all euent were knowne ere they came to passe, they should come to passe according to that fore-knowledge. And if they come so to passe, then God knoweth the certain order of things before hand: and consequently the certaine order of the causes; and if he know a certaine order of causes in all euent, then are all euent disposed by fate: which if it be so, wee haue nothing left in our power, nothing in our will: which granted (*saith he*) *the whole course of humanity is ouerturned: law, correction, praise, disgrace, exhortation, prohibition, al are to no end: nor is there any iustice in punishing the bad, and rewarding the good.* For auoiding of which inconueniences (so absurd and so pernicious) he vtterly reiecteth this fore-knowledge of things, and draweth the religious minde into this strait, that either there must be som-what in the power of our will, or else that there is a fore-knowledge of things to come, but the granting of the one is the subuersiõ of the other: choosing of the fore-knowledge, we must loose the freedome of election, and choosing this, we must deny the other. Now this learned and prouident man, of the two maketh choise of freedome of election: and to confirme it denieth the fore-knowledge vtterly. And so instead of making men free, maketh them blasphemous. But the religious mind chooseth them both, confesseth & confirmeth them both. *How (saith he?) For granting this fore-knowledge, there followeth so many consequents that they quite subuert all power of our will: and holding thus by the same degrees we ascend, till we find there is no præscience of future things at all, for thus we retire through them. If there be any freedome of the will, all things do not follow destiny: If all things follow not destiny, then is there no set order in the causes of things: Now if there bee no set order in the causes of all things, then is there no set order of the things them-selues, in Gods fore-knowledge, since they come from their causes. If there bee not a sette order of all things in GODS fore-knowledge, then all things fall not out according to the sayd knowledge. Now if all things fall not out as hee hadde his fore-knowledge of them, then is there in God no fore-knowledge of things to come. To these sacriligious and wicked opposers, thus wee reply: GOD doth both know all things ere they come to passe, and wee doe all things willingly, which wee doe not feele our selues and knowe our selues directly inforced to. Wee hold not that all things, but rather that nothing followeth fate: and whereas Fate vseth to be taken for a position of the stars in natiuities and conceptions, we hold this a vaine and friuolous assumption: wee neither deny an order of causes wherein the will of God is all in all, nether do we cal it by the name of *Fate*. (*g*) vnles *Fate* be de-riued of *fari* to *speak*, for we cannot deny that the scripture saith, *God spake once these two things: I haue heard, that power belongeth vnto God, & to thee O Lord mercy**

Fate of no  
force.

for

for thou wilt reward every man according to his workes. For whereas hee saith; God spake once, it is meant that hee spake *unmooneably*, and *unchangeably*, that all thinges should fall out as hee spake, and meant to haue them. In this respect wee may deriue *fate* from *fari* to *speake*, but we must needs say withall that it is vsed in another sence then we would haue men to thinke vppon. But it doth not follow that nothing should bee left free to our will, because God knoweth the certaine and sette order of all euent. For Our very wills are in that order of causes, which God knoweth so surely, and hath in his præscience, humaine wills, beeing the cause of humane actions: So that hee that keepeth a knowledge of the causes of all thinges, cannot leaue mens wills out of that knowledge, knowing them to bee the causes of their actions. (g) For *Tullies* owne wordes (*Nothing commeth to passe without an efficient cause*) is sufficient alone to sway downe this matter quite against him-selſe: for what auails the subsequence: *Nothing is without a cause, but every cause is not fatall, because there are causes of chance, nature and will*: It is sufficient that nothing is done but by precedent cause. For those causes that are casuall, giuing originall to the name of *Fortune*, wee deny them not: wee say they are secret, and ascribe them either to the will of the true God, or of any other spirit: The (h) naturall causes wee doe neuer diuide from his will, who is natures Creator: But the causes voluntary, God; Angels, Men, and diuers other creatures haue often in their wil and power: (i) If we may call that power a will by which the brute beastes flye their owne hurt, and desire their good by Natures instinct. That there is a will in Angels, I doe absolutely affirme; be they good whom we call Gods Angells, or euill whome we call the diuels Angels, fiends, or diuels them-selues. So men good and bad haue all their wills: and hereby it is apparant, that the efficient causes of all effects, are nothing but the decrees of that nature, which is *The spirit of life*: Aire or wind is called a *Spirit*: But because it is a body, it is not the spirit of life. But the spirit of life, that quickneth all things, is the *Creator* of all bodies and all created spirits: this is God a *spirit from eternity uncreated*: in his wil there is that height of power, which assisteth the wills of the good spirits, iudge:h the bad, disposeth of al, giuing power to whom he pleaseth, and holding it from whome he list. For as he is a Creator of all natures, so is hee of all powers: but not the giuer of all wills: for wicked wills are not of him, beeing against that nature which is of him. So the bodies are all subiect vnto diuers wills: some to our owne wills (that is the wills rather of men then of beasts) som to the Angels, but all to the will of God: vnto whom al wills are subiect, because they haue no power but what hee giueth them. The cause then that maketh all, and is not made it selſe is God The other causes do both effect and are effected: such are all created spirits, chiefly the reasonable ones. The corporal causes, which are rather effects then otherwise, are not to be counted as efficient causes, because they came but to do that which the will of the spirit within them doth inioine thē: how then can that set order of causes in Gods foreknowledge deprive our wils of power, seeing they bear such a sway amongst the very causes them-selues? But (k) let *Cicero* rangle, & his fellowes, that say this order is farall, or rather fate it selſe; which we abhor, because of the words; chiefly being vsed in a false beliefe: but wheras he denieth that God knoweth assuredly the set order of those causes, we detest his assertion, worse then the *Stoicks* do: for he either denieth God (which he indeuoreth vnder a false person in his bookes *De nat. de.*) Or if he do acknowledge him, yet in denying him this fore-knowledge, he saith but as the foole said in his heart, *There is no God*: for if God want the præ-

Voluntary causes.

Genes. 1. Spirit of life.

Euill wills not from God.

Our wills causes.

Deny gods præscience, and deny God.

science of all future euent hee is not God. And therefore (l) our wills are of as much power, as God would haue them, and knew before that they should be, and the power that they haue is theirs free, to do what they shall do truly and freely: because he fore-knew that they should haue this power, and do these acts, whose fore-knowledge cannot be deceiued: wherfore if I list to vse the (m) word *fate* in any thing, I would rather say that it belonged to the weaker, and that *will* belonged to the higher, who hath the other in his power, rather then grant that our liberty of will were taken away by that sette order, which the *Stoikes* (after a peculiar phraze of their owne) call *fate*.

## L. VIVE S.

**E**ither (a) in God } *De diuinat.* lib 2. where in a disputation with his brother *Quintus*, he in-  
deauoureth to ouerthrow diuination, for which *Q.* had stood in the booke before. For he  
saith that. *There is nothing so contrary to reason and constancy as fortune is, so that (mee thinkes )*  
*God him-selfe should haue no fore-knowledge of those casuall euent.* For if he haue, it must come so  
to passe, as he knoweth, and then it is not casual: but casuall euent there are, and therefore there is  
no fore-knowledge of them. This in the said place, and much more pertaining to the explaining  
of this chapter, which it sufficeth vs to haue pointed out. (b) *A fate to the Stars* } They all doe  
so, but some giue fate the originall from them, excluding God. (c) *Lucilius Balbus* } In the end  
of the booke thus he concludeth: *This said we departed, Velleit's holding Corta's disputation for the*  
*truer, and I being rather inclined to Balbus suit.* (d) *Of him-selfe* } For in his 2. booke hee spea-  
keth him-selfe, and confuteth his brothers assertions for diuination. (e) *Stoikes* } Of this in the  
next chapter. (f) *Vulesse fate.* } (*Var. de Ling. lat. l. 8.*) The destinies giue a fortune to the  
childe at the birth, and this is called *fate*, of *fari* to *speake*. *Lucan.* lib. 9.

Non vocibus illis,  
Nunc en erat dixitque tunc  
Quicquid fieri licet

The Deities neuer need,  
Much language: fate but once (no more) doth read,  
The fortune of each birth

It seemes hee borrowed this out of the *Psalme* heere cited; or out of *Iob.* chap 33. v. 14.  
*Hee hath spoke once and hath not repeated it againe.* Both which places demonstrat the con-  
stancy of Gods reuealed knowledze by that his once speaking: as the common interpretation  
is: the which followeth in the *Psalme*, these two things &c. some refer to them which follow-  
eth: *That power belongeth, &c.* Others, to the two testaments. The *Thargum* of the *Chaldee*s  
commeth neere this later opinion: saying, *God hath spoken one law, and wee haue heard it twise*  
*out of the mout's of Moyse the great scribe, & vertue is before our God, and thou Lord that thou*  
*wouldest be bountifull vnto the iust.* (g) *For Tullies* } In his booke *de fato* following *Carneades*, he  
setteth down three kinds of causes; *naturall* arising from nature, as for a stone to fal downward,  
for the fire to burne: *Voluntary* consistting in the free wills of men, (wherein it is necessary there  
be no precedent causes, but that they be left free:) and *Casual*, which are hidden and vnknown  
in diuers euent: Herein he is of the *Naturalists* opinion, that will haue nothing cometo passe  
without a cause. (h) *Naturall* } Fire hath no other cause of heate, a stone of heauynesse, a man  
of reason, procreation of like, &c. then the will of natures Creator: who, had hee pleased, might  
haue made the fire coole, the stone mount vpwards, the man a brute beast, or dead or vnable to  
beget his like. (i) *If we may cal* } *Arist.* *de anima.* l. 3. } Putteth *will* only in reasonable creatures,  
and *appetite* (being that instinct wherby they desire, or refuse any thing) in beastes. *Will* in crea-  
tures of reason, is led by reason, and accompanied by *election*, or rather is *election* it selfe. (k) *But*  
*Cicero* } With the *Stoikes.* (l) *Our wills are* } God created our wils free: and that because it was  
his will: so they may make choyce of contraries, yet cannot go against Gods predestination: nor  
questionlesse euer would although they could: for sure it is, that much might bee done, which  
neuer shall: so that the euent of things to come proceed not from Gods knowledge, but this  
from them w not-withstanding in him are not to come, but already present, (wherein a great  
many are deceiued) wherfore he is not rightly said to fore-know, but only in respect of our  
actions, but already to knowe, see and discern them. But is it seen vnfit that this eternall  
knowledge should deriue from so transitory an obiect, then we may say that Gods knowledge  
ariseth from his prouidence and will, that his will decreeth what shall bee, and his know-  
ledge conceiueth what his will hath appointed. That which is to come (saith *Origen* vp-  
pon *Genesis*) is the cause that God knoweth it shall come: so it commeth not to passe because

God

Causes of  
these kinds,

Nature.

How God  
fore-  
knoweth.

God knoweth it shall come so to passe; but God fore-knoweth it, because it shall come so to passe. (*m*) *Vse the word* ] So do most of the Latines, Poets, Chroniclers and Orators: referring *fate* to men, and *will* to God: and the same difference that is here betweene *fate* & *will*, *Boethius* puts betweene *fate* and *providence*. *Apuleius* saith, that *providence* is the diuine thought, preseruing him for whose cause such a thing is vnderaken: that *fate* is a diuine law fulfilling the vncchangeable decrees of the great God. so that if ought be done by *providence*, it is done also by *fate*: and if *Fate* performe ought, *Providence* worketh with it. But *Fortune* hath something to doe about vs, whose causes we vtterly are ignorant of: for the euent runne so vncertaine, that they mixing them-selues with that which is premeditated and (we thinke) well consulted of, neuer let it come to our expected end: and when it endeth beyond our expectation so well, and yet these impediments haue intermedled, that wee call *happynesse*: But when they peruert it vnto the worst, it is called *misfortune* or *unhappynesse*. In *Dogmata Platonis*.

*Whether necessity haue any dominion ouer the will of man.* CHAP. X.

**N**OR need we feare that (*a*) *Necessity* which the *Stoikes* were so affraid off, that in their distinctions of causes, they put some vnder *Necessity* and some not vnder it, and in those that did not subiect vnto it, they gat our *wils* also, that they might bee free though they were vrged by *necessity*. But if that bee *necessity* in vs, which is not in our power, but will be done do what wee can against it, as the necessity of death; then is it plaine, that our wills are subiect to no such *necessity*, vse we them howsoeuer, well or badly: For we do many things which wee could not do, against our wils. And first of all to *will* it selfe: if we will a thing, there is our will; if we will not, it is not. For we cannot will against our wills. Now if *necessity* be defined to be, *that whereby such a thing must needs fall out thus, or thus*, I see no reason we should feare, that it could hinder the freedom of our wills in any thing. (*b*) For we neither subiect Gods being, nor his praesciences vnto *necessity*, when wee say God must needs liue eternally, and God must needs fore-know all things; no more then his honour is diminished, in saying hee cannot erre, hee cannot die; He cannot do this, why? because his power were lesse, if he could doe it, then now it is in that he cannot. Iustly is he called almighty, yet may hee not dye, nor erre: He is called almighty because he can do all that is in his will, not because he can suffer what is not his will; which if he could he were not almighty. So that he cannot do some things, because he can do all things. So when wee say that if we will any thing of *necessity*, we must will it with a freedom of will, tis true: yet put we not our wil vnder any such *necessity* as depriues it of the freedom. So that our wils are ours, willing what we will, and if we will it not, neither do they will it: and if any man suffer any thing by the will of another against his own will, his will hath the own power still, & his sufferance cometh rather from the power of God then from his own will: for if hee vvilled that it should be other wise, and yet could not haue it so, his will must needs bee hindered by a greater power: yet his will should be free still, & not in any others power, but his that vvilled it, though he could not haue his will performed: wherfore what-soeuer a man suffereth against his wil he ought not attribute it vnto the wils of Angels, Men, or any other created spirits, but euen to his who gaue their wils this power. So then, (*c*) our wils are not vse-les, because that God fore-seeth what wil be in them: he fore-saw it what-euer it be, fore-saw somewhat: and if he did fore-know somewhat, then by his fore-knowledge there is som-thing in our vvils: Wherfore we are neither compelled to leaue our freedom of will by retrayning Gods fore-knowledge, nor by holding our wils freedom to denie GODS fore-knowledge; GOD forbid we should: we belecue and affirme them both constantly and truly, <sup>Præscience & freedom of will</sup> the later as a part of our good faith, the former as a rule for our good life: and <sup>badly also.</sup>

badly doth hee liue that beleueth not aright of GOD. So God-forbid that wee should deny his fore-knowledge to be free, by whose helpe wee either are or shall bee free. (d) Therefore law, correction, praise, disgrace, exhortation, and prohibition are not in vaine: because hee fore-knew that there should bee such: They haue that power which hee fore-knew they should haue: and prayers are powerfull to attaine those things, which hee fore-knoweth that hee will giue to such as pray for them. Good deedes hath hee predestinated to reward, and euil to punishment. (e) Nor doth man sinne because God fore-knew that he would sin: nay, therefore it is doubtlesse that he sinneth, when he doth sin, because that God, whose knowledge cannot be mistaken, fore-saw that neither fate nor fortune, nor any thing else, but the man himselfe would sin, who if he had not bin willing, he had not sinned: but whether he should be vnwilling to sinne, or no, that also did God fore-know.

How man  
sinneth.

### L. VIVES.

That (a) a necessitie } Me thinketh (saith Tully) that in the two opinions of the Philosophers the one holding fate the doer of all things, by a very law of necessity (of which opinion Democritus, Heraclitus, Empedocles and Aristotle were) and the other exempting the motions of the wil from this law: Chrysippus professing to step into a meane, as an honorable arbitrator betweene them, inclineth rather to those that stand for the minds freedom. De fato. lib. Therefore did Oenomaus & Cynike say, that Democritus had made our mindes slaues, and Chrysippus halfe slaues. Euseb. de prep. Euang. l. 6. Therin is a great disputation about Fate: The Stoikes bringing all vnder fate, yet binde not our mindes to any necessity, nor let them compel vs to any action. For all things come to passe in fate by causes precedent, and subsequent, but not principall and perfect: the first of which doe but assist vs in things beyond our power, but the later do effect that w<sup>h</sup> is in our power. Plutarch relating the Stoikes opinion, saith that they hold the euent of things to haue a diuerse original: some, from that great necessity; some from fate, some from liberty of will, some from fortune, and chance particular. They follow Plato indeed in all their doctrine of fate. Which Plutarch both witnesseth, and the thing it selfe sheweth. But whereas they say y<sup>e</sup> all things comes off fate, and that in fate there is a necessity, then they speake of the prouidence and wil of God. For as we haue shewen they called Ioue fate, and that said Pronoia, that prouidence, wherby he ruleth all fate like-wise. (b) We neither subiect } The Platonists say the gods must needs be as they are, and that not by adding any external necessity, but that naturall one; because they cannot be otherwise; being also voluntary, because they would bee no otherwise. Wherfore I wonder at Plinius Secundus his cauillation against Gods omnipotency, that he cannot do al things, because he cannot dye, nor giue him-selfe, that he can giue a man, death. It is vnworthy so learned a man. Nay he held it a great comfort in the troubles of this life, to thinke that the gods somtimes were so afflicted, that like men, they would wish for death and could not haue it: he was illuded (bee-like with the fables that maketh Pluto grieue at his delay of death as Lucian saith. *Et rector terra quem longa secula torquet. Mors dilata deum*—Earths god that greeued sore, his welcome Death should be so long delayed.—(c) Our wils are not } A hard question, and of diuers diuersly handled: Whether Gods fore-knowledge impose a necessity vpon thinges? In the last chapter I touched at somthings correspondent: Many come out of the new schooles, prepared fully to disputation with their fine art of combinations, that if you assume, they will not want a peece to defend, and if you haue this, they wil haue that, so long till the question be left in greater clouds then it was found in at first: as this put case, God knoweth I will run to morrow, suppose I will not run, put case that, suppose y<sup>e</sup> other: And what vse is there of these goose-traps? To speake plainly with Augustine here, a man sinneth not because God knoweth that he wil sin: for he need not sin vnles he list: and if he do not, God fore-knoweth that also: or as Chrysostome saith vpon the Corinthians. *Christ indeed saith, it is necessary that scandal should be, but herein he neither violateth the will, nor inforceth the life, but fore-selleth what mans badnesse would effect: which commeth not so to passe because God fore-saw it, but because mans will was so bad: for Gods praescience did not cause those effects, but the corruption of humaine mindes caused his praescience.* Thus far Chrysostome interpreted by learned Donatus. And truly Gods praescience furthereth the euent of any thing, no more then a mans looking on furthereth

Democri-  
tus.  
Chrysi-  
pus.

Pluto.

Gods pra-  
escience no  
cause of  
euent.

furthereth any act: I see you write, but you may choose whether to write or no; so is it in him: furthermore all future things are more present vnto God, then those things which we call present are to vs: for the more capable the soule is, it comprehendeth more time present. So Gods essence being infinite, so is the time present before him: he, the only eternity being only infinite. The supposition of some future things, in respect of Gods knowledge, as wel as ours, hath made this question more intricate then otherwise it were. (d) *Therefore law*] This was objected vnto them that held fate to be manager of all euent: since that some must needs be good, and some bad, why should these be punished and those rewarded, seeing that their actions (being necessities and fates) could neyther merit praise nor dispraise? Again should any bee animated to good, or dissuaded from vice, when as the fate beeing badde, or howsoeuer, must needs bee followed? This *Manilius* held also in these wordes,

*At hominum menti tanto sit gloria maior,  
Quod celo gaudente venit, rursusq; nocentes,  
Oderimus magis, in culpam, penasq; creatos.  
Nec refert scelus unde cadat, scelus esse fatendum est  
Hoc quoq; satate est, sic ipsum expendere satum: &c.*

Mans goodnesse shines more bright, because glad fate,  
And heauen inspires it: So the bad we hate  
Far worle, 'cause fate hath bent their deeds amisse.  
Nor skils it whence guilt comes, when guilt it is  
Fates need it is, to heare it selfe thus leane. &c.

But wee hold that the good haue their reward, and the bad their reproch; each one for his free actions, which he hath done by Gods permission, but not by his direction. (e) *Nor doth man*] His sin ariseth not from Gods fore-knowledge, but rather our knowledge riseth from this sin, For as our will floweth from Gods will, so doth our knowledge from his knowledge. Thus much concerning fate, out of their opinions, to make *Augustines* the Playner.

*Of Gods vniuersall providence, ruling all, and  
comprising all. CHAP. II.*

**W**Herefore the great and mighty *GOD* with his *Word* and his holy *Spirit* (which three are one) God only omnipotent, maker and Creator of euery soule, and of euery body, in participation of whom, all such are happy that follow his truth and reiect vanities: he that made man a reasonable creature of soule and body, and he that did neither let him passe vnpunished for his sin, nor yet excluded him from mercy: he that gaue both vnto good and bad essence with the stones, power of production with the trees, senses with the beasts of the field, and vnderstanding with the Angels; he, from whome is all being, beauty, forme and order, number, weight and measure; he, from whom all nature, meane & excellent, all seeds of forme, all formes of seed, all motion, both of formes and seedes deriue and haue being: He that gaue flesh the originall, beauty, strength, propagation, forme and shape, health and symmetry: He that gaue the vnreasonable soule, sence, memory and appetite, the reasonable besides these, phantasie, vnderstanding and will: He (I say) hauing left neither heauen, nor earth, nor Angel, nor man, no nor the most base and contemptible creature, neither the birds feather, nor the hearbes flower, nor the trees leafe, without the true harmony of their parts, and peacefull concord of composition; It is no way credible, that he would leaue the kingdomes of men, and their bondages and freedoms loose and vncomprized in the lawes of his eternall providence.

*How the ancient Romaines obtained this increase of their  
Kingdome, at the true Gods hand, being that they ne-  
uer worshipped him. CHAP. I2.*

**N**ow let vs look what desert of the *Romains* moued the true God to augment their dominion, he in whose power all the Kingdoms of the earth are. For the better performãce of w<sup>e</sup> we wrot our last book before, to proue y<sup>e</sup> their gods whom they

Loue of  
glory.

Kings.

Consuls

they worshipped in such ridiculous manner, had no such power; & thus far haue we proceeded in this book, to take away the questiō of destiny & fate, least some man being perswaded that it was not the deed of the gods, should rather ascribe it vnto fate then to gods wil, so mighty & so omnipotent. The ancient *Romains* therefore (as their histories report) though like to all other nations (excepting the *Hebrewes*) they worshipped Idols and false goddes, offering their sacrifices to the diuels, not to the true Deity; yet their desire of praise made them bountifull of their purses, they loued glory & wealth honestly gotten: honor they dearly affected & honestly, offering willingly both their liues, and their states for them. The zealous desire of this one thing suppressed al other inordinate affects: and hence they desired to keep their country in freedom, and then in soueraingty, because the saw how basenesse went with seruitude, and glory with dominion. Where-vpon they reiected the imperiousnesse of their Kings, and set downe a yearely government betwene two heads, called *Consuls à Consulendo*, of providing; not *Kings*, nor *Lords of reigne and rule*: (though *Rex* do seeme rather to come à *Regendo*, of governing, & *regnum*, the *Kingdome*, of *Rex*, then otherwise: ) but they held the state of a King to consist more in this imperious domination, then either in his discipline of gouernance, or his benevolent providence: so hauing expelled *Tarquin*, and instituted Consuls, then (as *(a)* *Salust* saith wel in their praise) the citty getting their freedom thus memorably, grew vp in glorie, as much as it did in power: the desire of w<sup>h</sup> glory wrought al these world-admired acts which they performed: *Salust* praiseth also *M. Cato* and *C. Caesar*, both worthy men of his time, saying *Comon-wealth* had not had a famous man of a long time before, but that thē it had a couple of illustrious vertue, though of diuers conditions: he praiseth *Caesar*, for his desire of Empire, armes and war, wherby to exemplifie his valour: trusting so in the fortune of a great spirit, that he roused vp the poore *Barbarians* to war, tossing *Bellona's* bloody ensigne about, that the *Romaines* might thereby giue prooffe of their vigors. This wrought he for desire of praise and glory. Euen so in the precedent ages, their loue, first of liberty, and afterward of soueraignty and glory, whetted them to all hard attempes. Their famous Poet giues testimony for both: saying:

*Nec non Tarquinium eicctum Porfenna inebat  
Accipere, ingentiq; urbem obsidione premebat:  
Aeneadæ in ferrum pro libertate rucbant, &c.*

*Porfenna* guirts them with a world of men,  
Commands that *Tarquin* be restor'd. But then  
To armes the *Romaines* for their freedome runne.

For then was it honour to die brauely, or to liue freely, but hauing got their freedome, then succeeded such a greedynesse of glory in them, that freedome alone seemed nothing, without domination, hammering vpon that, which the same Poet maketh *Ioue* to speake in prophetique-wise.

— — — — — *Quin aspera Iuno  
Que mare nunc, terrasq; metu, celumque fatigat,  
Conflia in melius referet, mecumq; fouebit  
Romanos, rerum dominos gentemq; togatum.  
Sit placitum, venient lustris labentibus etas,  
Cum domus Aſaraci Phuthiam, charasq; Mycenas  
Seruicio premet, ac vultis dominabitur argis.*

— — — — — And *Iuno* though shee yet  
Fill heauen and earth with her disquiet fitte,  
Shall turne her minde ar length, and ioyne with me,  
To gurd the *Romaines* (*c*) gownned progeny,  
It stands, succeeding times shall see the day,  
That old (*d*) *Aſaracus* his stocke shal tway  
(*f*) *Phithia*, *Mycene* and all *Argos* round &c.

Which *Virgill* maketh *Iupiter* speake, as prophetically, being false out true before he wrote these verses: But this by the way to shew that the *Romaines* affection of liberty and domination, was a parcell of their most principall glory and lustre. Hence it is, that the same Poet in distributing the artes amongst the Nations, giues the *Romains* the art of *Domination* & soueraignty ouer others saying.

*Exudent alij spirantia mollius æra  
Crede equidem, viuos ducent de marmore vultus.*

| Others can better carue in brasse perhaps,  
(*f*) It is true: or cutte the stone to humane shapen:

*Orabunt*

*Orabunt causas melius, ceteri, meatus  
Describent: radio & surgentia sidera dicent,  
Tu, regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,  
Ha tibi, erant artes, preciq; imponere morem  
Parcere subiectis & d. bellare superbo.*

Others can better practise lawes loud intes,  
Or teach the motions of the fulgid starres.  
But (Romanes) be your artes, to rule, in warres,  
To make all knees to sacred peace be bow'd,  
To spare the lowly and pull downe the proud.

These artes they were the more perfect in, through their abstinence from pleasures, from couetousnesse after ritches, (the corrupters both of body and minde) from extorting from the poore cittizen, bestowing on beauly plaiers. So that in the dominion of those corruptions which befell afterwards, when *Virgil* and *Saluste* did both write, the Romaines vsed not the fore-said arts, but deceites and trickes, to raise their glories. And therefore *Salust* saith, *At first mens hearts gave place to ambition, rather then couetousnesse, because that was more neere to vertue: for the industrious and the sloathful haue both one desire of honor, glory and sowerainty. But the first (saith he) goeth the true way to worke, the later by craft & false means, because he hath not the true course. The true, are these, to come to honor by vertue, not by ambition: which honor, Empire, and glory, good and bad wish both alike. But the good goeth the true way, that is, by vertue leading him directly to his possession of honor, glory, sowerainty.* That this was the Romanes course, their temples shewed, *vertues & honors* being so (g) close together: (though herein they tooke Gods gifts for gods themselves:) wherein you might easily see, that their end was, to shew that their was no accesse to *honor* but by *vertue*, wherevnto all they that were good referred it: for the euil had it not, though they laboured for honor by indirect means, namely by deceite and illusion. The praise of *Cato* excelleth, of whom he saith that *the more he shunned glory, the more it pursued him*. For this glory that they seeke, is the good(h) opinion of men concerning such or such. And therefore that is the best vertue, that standeth not vpon others iudgements, but vpon ones own conscience, as the Apostle saith: *Our glory is this, the testimony of our conscience:* and againe: *Let every man prooue his owne worke, and so shall bee haue glory in himselfe onely, and not in another.* So that glory & honor which they desire so, & aime so after, by good means, must not go before vertue, but follow it: for there is no true vertue, but leuelleth at mans chiefest good. And therefore the honors that *Cato* required (i) he should not haue required, but the city should haue returned him them, as his due defart. But whereas there were but two famous Romaines in that time, *Casar* & *Cato*, *Catoes* vertue seemes far nerer the truth of vertue, then *Casars*. And let vs take *Cato's* (k) opinion of the state of the city, as it was then, & as it had bin before. *Thinke not (saith he) that our ancestry brought the citty vnto this hight by armes. If it were so, we should make it far more admirable then euer. But they had other meanes which we want: industry at home, equity abroad, freedome in consultation, and purity of mindes in all men, free from inst and error. For these haue we gotten riot, and auarice, publike beggerie and priuate wealth: ritches we praise, and sloath we follow: good & bad are now vndistinguished, ambition deuouring all the guerdon due to vertue. Nor wonder at it, when each one patcheth vp a priuate estate, when you serue your lusts at home, and your profit or affect here. This is that that layeth the state open to all incursion of others.* (l) He that readeth these words of *Cato* in *Salust*, may think that y old Romaines were al such as those, whom we haue shewne to be so praise-worthy before: it is not so: for otherwise his words which we related in our second booke should be false, where he saith: that the city grew troubled with the oppressing powre of the great ones, & that the people grew to a diuision from their fathers vpon this cause: that there were diuers other dangerous dissentions, and that they agreed in honesty & concord no longer then they stood in feare of *Tarquin*, & of the great war of *Hetruria*: which being ended, the Senators began to make slaues of the people, to iudge

Vertues  
and honors  
temples.

Glory.

2. Cor. 1.  
Galat. 6.

True vertue.

Lib. 5.  
Cap. 18:  
of



of their liues as imperiously as the Kings had done, to chase men frō their possessions, & only their factiō bare the sway of all; vnto which discords (the one desyring to rule, & the other refusing to obey) the second African warre gaue end, because a feare began then to returne vpon them, and called their turbulent spirits from those alterations to looke to the maine; and establish a concord: But all the great affaires were managed by a few that were as honest as the times afforded, and so by tolerating those euills, the state grew well vp, through the prouidence of a few good gouernors: for as this writer saith, that hauing heard & read of many memorable military deeds of the Romaines by sea & land, he had a great desire to know what it was that supported those great busynesses, wherein the Romaines very often with a handfull of men (to count of) haue held out war with most powreful, rich & victorious Kings: & hauing lookt wel into it, he findeth, that the egregicus vertue of a very few citizens hath bin cause of this happy successe of al the rest: surmounting wealth by pouerty, & multitude by scarcity. *But after that corruption had eaten through the City* (saith hee) *then the greatnesse of the common-wealth supported the viciousnesse of her magistrats.* So the vertue of a few, ayiming at glory, honor, & soueraignty, by a true line: that same vertue, is that which *Cato*, so preferreth: This was the industry at home, that he so commended, which made their publike treasury rich, though the priuate were but meane (*m*) And the corruption of maners he bringeth in as the iust contrary, producing publike beggery through priuate wealth. Wherefore, whereas the Monarchies of the East had bin along time glorious, God resolued to erect one now in the West also, which although it were after thē in time, yet should bee before them in greatnesse and dignity. And this he left in the hands of such men as swaied it, especially to punish the vicious states of other nations: and those men were such, as for honor & dominations sake would haue an absolut care of their coutry, whence they receiued this honor: and would not stick to lay down their own liues for their fellowes, suppressing couetoufnesse, & al other vices, only with the desire of honor.

## L. VIVES.

Consuls.

**C**alled (*a*) *Consuls*] That *Consul* comes of *Consulo*, this all do acknowledge: but *Consulo* signifieth many things, and here ariseth the doubt in what sence *Consul* is deriued from it. *Quintil.* lib. i. Whether *Consul* come of *Providing for*, or of *Iudging*, for the old writers vsed *Consulo* to *iudge*, and it is yet a phrase, *boni consulas, iudge well.* *Livy* and *Quintil.* say that the *Consul* was once called *Iudge*. But I rather hold with *Varro*, that the *Consul* is a name of ministry, implying that he hath no powre nor authority in the state, but onely to be the warner of the Senate, and to aske the peoples counsell, what they would haue done. For the Senate of old, neuer did any thing but the *Consul* first asked the peoples mindes, and brought them word how it passed, whence this ordinary phrase ariseth: *He intreated the Consul to bring word backe how this or this passed:* *Casars* letters beeing brought by *Fabius* to the *Consuls*, The *Tribunes* could very hardly with much contention obtaine that they should be read in the Senate, but that their contents should bee related to the Senate, they could not be perswaded. *Cas. Commen. de bello Pompei* lib. i. Whereby it appeareth that the Senate gaue not their verdicts vpon any thing, but what was related to thē by the *Consuls* which custome was duly obserued in old times. But afterwards some of the magistrates got powre to enforce the senates voices to any thing what they listed prefer. *Varro*'s words are these (*de ling. lat. lib. 4.*) *He was called Consul for consulting with the people and senate.* Vnlesse it be as *Aetius* saith in *Brutus* hee that *Iudges* right [*Qui recte consulat,*] Let him bee *Consul.* (*b*) *Saluste*] In bello *Catilin.* (*c*) *Gowned*] Rightly *gowned* (saith *Seruius*) for al ages and sexes therē ware *gownes.* (*d*) *Affaracus*] Grandfire to *Anchises*, father to *Capis*, of whom came *Aeneas*; of him *Iulus*, of him the *Alban King* and of them *Romulus.* (*e*) *Phibia*] This is touching the reuenge of *Troy*, that their countries that burned *Troy* should be subdued by a progeny of *Trojans.* So saith the *Aeneads.*

Affaracus.

Ernest

eruet ille Argos, Agamemnoniasq; Mycenae,  
 Jpsunq; Aeacidem genus Arripotentis Achilli  
 Phus auos Troiae, & templa tcmrata Mineruae.

The towers of Argos he shall vndermine,  
 And wrack (Pelides) that great ionne of thine,  
 Reuenging Troy and Pallas wronged shrine.

*Phthia* was *Achilles* his natiue soile, a towne in *Phtheias* a part of *Macedonia*. Hee was brought vp tho at *Larissa*, and therefore called *Larissens*: though *Phthia* and *Larissa* bee both in *Achaia*, as else where I will make plaine, as also that the *Argos* towne was called *Larissa*. *Phthia* in *Macedonea* was subdued by *L. Emilius*, after he had ouerthrowne *Perseus*. *Mycenia*, is in *Argolis*, as *Mela* testifieth, and from thence the Kingdome was transferred to *Argos*. *L. Mummius* conquered it, together with all *Achaia*: *Argos* is neere *Mycena* saith *Mela*. The Kingdome was the *Argives* from *Inachus* to *Pelops* D X L I I I I. yeares. *Euseb. Iulius Higinus* saith that *Virgill* erreth in these verses, for hee that conquered *Argos* did not ouerthrow *Pyrrhus*, so that hee would haue the middle verse taken out. But *Seruius* saith there is, *Illeq;*, and hee, to be vnderstood, it beeing vnderstood of *(urius)*. (f) *Tis true* Nay all one: *Marius* built them after the *Cymbrian* warre: but because there was a gutter betwixt them, they seemed a couple. (b) *Opinion of men* ] This is glory in generall: but the true glorie is a solid and expresse thing (saith *Tully*) no shadow: and that is the uniforme praise of them that are good, the uncorrupted voice of such as iudge aright of vertues excellence: which answers vertue like an *Eccho*, and followeth it like a shadow. *Iusc. quest. lib. 3. (i) Should not* This *Cato* of *Utica* (of whom he speaketh) sued for the tribuneshippe, and got it: the praetorship, and (after one repulse, *Vatinius* (a fellow hated of *GOD* and man) beeing preferred before him) got that too: the consulship, and there had a finall repulse. Hee was a man (saith *Plutarch*) fit to bee bought for a magistrate, and more fit to bee forced vnto dignities, then to sue for them. (k) *Opinion* ] In his oration which (beeing *Tribune*) hee made in the Senate, against the *Conspirators*. *Salust. Catilin.* (l) *Hee thas heareth* ] The later Romaines were alwaies a talking of the vertues of their ancestry, extolling them to heauen: either because all things declined from better to worse, or because they thought still that the times past were best. (m) *And the corruption* ] A diuerfity of reading, *vitium esse contrarium & e contrario*, all to one sence: the latter is in all the old manuscripts.

Phthia,  
Larissa.

Micena.

Argos.

Glory.

Cato of Utica.

*Of Ambition, which beeing a vice, is notwithstanding heerein held a vertue that it doth restraine vices of worse natures.* CHAP. 13.

**B**ut hee is better sighted, that can see this desire of glory to bee a vice: *Horace* saw it, and therefore sayd,

*Laudis amore tumes, sunt certa piacula que te,*  
 (b) *er pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.*

You swell with thirst of praise: but I can tell  
 A medecine: read this booke thrice ouer (b) well.

Epist lib. 1.

And in his *Odes* hee sung this, to the same purpose of suppressing ambitious thoughts.

(c) *Latius regnes audium domando*  
*Spiratum, quam si Lybiam remotis*  
*Gadibus iungas, & utraq; Pænus,*  
 ——— *Seruiat uni.*

He that can conquer his affects rebelling,  
 Hath larger Monarchy, then he that swaies  
 The *Lybians*, (c) *Gades*, and both *Africas*,  
 ——— And more excellng.

Car. lib. 2

But notwithstanding, those that doe not bridle their exorbitant affects by faith, by the powre of the holy spirit, and the loue of that intellectuall beauty, though they cannot bee happy, yet they may bee lesse vnhappy, in auoyding this thirst of humaine glory howsoeuer: *Tully* could not (f) dissemble this, in his booke *Of the Common-wealth*, where speaking of the instruction of a Prince, for a City, hee saith hee must bee (g) *nourished with glory*: and so there-vpon inferreth what worthy deedes this glory had drawne from his ancestors. So that they were so farre from resisting this vice, that they did wholly giue themselues to augment and excite each one, thinking it vse-full to the state: Though in his bookes of Philosophy, *Tully* neuer dissembles (b) this contagion, but confesseth it as cleare as day. For speaking of studies, ayming at the true good, and containing

Glory a  
Princes  
nourish-  
ment.

contemning the vaine blasts of humaine praises, hee inferreth this axione, (i) *Honour nourisheth artes, and glory keepeth all men on worke in studies, and what men approue not, lieth vnregarded.*

## L. VIVES.

**S**ayd (a) [*Epist. lib. 1. to Macenas. ter pure: thrife ouer (b) well*] The Philosophers bookes of manners are to bee read purely, diligently, not against the will, but desirously, that wee may reape profit thereby, for so doing, wee shall. *Prophery* saith wee must come with cleane handes, as vnto a sacrifice. (c) *Latus* [*Carm. lib. 2. ad Salust. (d) Gades*] An Island of Spaine, famous for *Hercules* his trauels and pillers: (e) *Both Africa's* [*Acron and Porphyry* thinke that by the one, hee meaneth *Lybeans*, and by the other the *Gadetan*s whom the *Africans* first placed there: as if the Poet intended a coniunction of Empire in lands diuided by seas, as hee saith in the said place, before. (f) *Dissemble*] Some read *Silere*, conceale, but the old Copies read it as wee haue set it downe. (g) *Nourished*] *Stoicisme*. *A wise man is a creature of glory; Symonides*, (quoted by *Xenophon* in his *Hieron*) distinguisheth a man from all other creatures in this especiall thing, that hee is touched by glory and honour. (h) *This contagion*] The proposition [ab] in the Latine text is superfluous: our reading is in the better. (i) *Honour*] *Proem. Tusc. quest.*

*That wee are to auoide this desire of humaine honour: the glory of the righteous being wholly in GOD. CHAP. I4.*

**V**Herefore without doubt, wee had better resist this desire then (a) yeelde to it. For much the nearer are we to GOD, as we are purer from this impurity: which although in this life, it bee not fully rooted out of the heart, because it is a temptation that troubleth euen the best proficientes in religion, yet let the loue of righteousnesse suppress the thirst of ambitiousnesse. And thus: if some things lie vnrespected, because men approue them not, and yet bee good and honest, then let the loue of humaine praise blush, and giue place to the loue of truth. For this is a great enemy to our faith, if that the affect of glory haue more roome in our hearts then the feare or loue of our GOD: and therefore hee saith: *How can you beleewe, that expect honor one from another, and seeke not the honour that commeth of GOD? And likewise it is said of some that beleued in him and yet durst not professe it; They loued the praise of men more then the praise of GOD.* Which the holy Apostles did not: for they preached the name of Christ, where it was (b) not onely not approoued of, (as *Tully* saith, and what men approue not, lieth vnregarded) but where it was euen detested, holding the rule that their maister (the mindes phisition) had taught them. *Whosoeuer shall deny mee before men, him will I also deny (c) before my Father which is in Heauen, and (d) before the Angells of GOD:* So that all their reproaches, by their cruell persecutions, their extreame paines, could not driue them from preaching this saluation, let the madnesse of man oppose what it could. And whereas this diuine life, conuersation, and doctrine of theirs, hauing suppressed all hardnesse of heart, and erected the peace of righteousnesse, was crowned with an vnbounded glory in Christ his church: this did not they rest, as in the expected guerdon of their vertues, but referred it all vnto Christ his glory, by whose grace they were what they were. And the same did they transfuse into such, as they conuerted vnto the loue of him, whereby they might become such as they were before them: for to keepe them from touch of humaine ambition their Maister taught them this

this, *Take heede that you doe not your good deedes before men, to be seene of them, or else yee shall haue no rewarde of your father which is in heauen.* But least they should misconceiue this, and feare to doe well before men: and so become lesse profitable by struing to keepe their vertuous acts in secret, then other-wise; he saith againe, *Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good workes and glorifie your father which is in heauen.* Doe not well with an intent that men should see you doe so, and so turne to behold you, who are not what you are by them: but doe so that they may glorifie your father in heauen, vnto whom if they turne they may bee such as you are. Thus did the Martirs, that excelled the *Scauola's*, *Curtij* and *Decij*, (not by punishing them-selues, but by learning the inflictions of others) in true vertue, piety, and innumerable multitude. But the others, liuing in an earthly citty, wherein the end of all their endeouours was by them-selues propounded to them-selues, the fame (namely) and domination of this world, and not the eternitie of heauen, not in the euerlasting life, but in their owne ends, and the mouthes of their posteritie: what should they loue, but glory, whereby they desired to suruiue after death in the (e) memories and mouthes of such as commended them.

Mat. 6. 1.

Mat. 5. 16:

## L. VIVES.

**T**Hen yeeld (a) to it ] So must the sence be: wee must resist the desire of glorie, and not yeeld to it. (b) *Not onely not* ] wee haue giuen it the best reading of all I thinke and the nearest to likelihood. (c) *Before my father* ] Matt. 10. 33. (d) *Before the Angels of God* ] Luc. 12 9. (e) *Memories and mouthes* ] *I flie, as lining, through the mouthes of men, saith Ennius.*

*Of the temporall rewards that God bestowed vpon the Romaines  
vertues and good conditions.* CHAP. 15.

**S**Vch therefore as we haue spoken of, if God did neither meane to blesse them with eternitie in his heauenly cittie, amongst his Angels (to which societie that true pietie brings men, which affordeth that true diuine worship (which the Greekes call (a) λατρία) to none but onely the true God) nor to vouchsafe them an earthly glory or excellence of Emperiall dignity; then should their vertues, the good actes whereby they endeouored to ascend to this glory, passe vnrewarded. But the Lord saith euen of such as doe good for humane glory; *Verely I say vnto you they haue their reward:* These therefore that neglected their priuate estates for the common-wealth and publike tresurie, opposing couetise, hauing a full care of their countries freedome, and liuing according to their lawes, without touch of lust or guilt, these seemed to goe the right way to get them-selues honour, and did so: honored they are almost all the world ouer, all nations very neare, receiued their lawes, honored were they then in all mens mouthes, and now in most mens writings through the world: Thus haue they no reason to complain of Gods iustice; they haue their reward.

True pietie.

## L. VIVES.

Call (a) λατρία ] of λατρευω, to worship, or to serue.

Latris.

*Of the reward of the eternall citizens of heauen, to whom the examples  
of the Romaines vertues were of good vse.*

CHAP. 16.

**B**Vt as for their rewarde that endure reproches here on earth for the cittie

V 2

of

The eternall city.

Rom. 8.  
Mat. 5.

2. Cor. 5.

of GOD, ( which the louers of the world doe hate and deride ) that is of another nature . That City is eternall : No man (a) is borne in it, because no man dieth in it . Felicity is there fully, yet no goddesse, but a Gods guift : of this habitation haue wee a promise by faith, as long as wee are here in pilgrimage on earth, and longe for that rest aboue . The Sunne ariseth not there both vpon good and bad, but the Sonne of righteousnesse shineth onely ouer the good. There shalbe no neede to respect the common treasury more then the priuate, truth is all the treasure that lieth there . And therefore the Romaine Empire had that glorious increase, not onely to bee a fit guerdon to the vertues of such worthies as wee fore-named, but also that the cittizens of heauen in their pilgrimages vpon earth, might obserue those examples with a sober diligence, and thence gather how great care, loue, and respect ought to bee carried to the heauenly country for life eternall, if those men had such a deare affect to their earthly country for glory so temporall.

## L. VIVES.

**N**O man (a) is borne] That is, their is no increase of them, no more then there is decease, their iust number being predestinate and fore-knowne by the eternall GOD himselfe.

*The fruites of the Romaines warres, both to themselves and to those with whom they warred. CHAP. 17.*

**F**OR what skilleth it in respect of this short and transitory life, vnder whose dominion a mortall man doth liue, so hee bee not compelled to actes of impiety or iniustice. But did the Romaines euer hurt any of the nations whom they conquered and gaue lawes vnto, but in the very fury and warre of the conquest? If they could haue giuen those lawes by agreement, it had beene better (but then had beene no place for triumph) for the Romaines liued vnder the same lawes themselves that they gaue to others. This (a) had beene sufficient for the state, but that *Mars, Bellona* and *Victory* should then haue beene displeased, and displeaced also, if they had had no wars, nor no victories. Would not then the states of Rome, and other nations haue beene all one? especially, that beeing done, which was most grauely and worthyly performed afterwardes, (b) euery man that belonged to the Romaine Empire, beeing made free of the citty, as though they were now all cittizens of Rome, whereas before there was but a very few, so that such as had no landes, should liue of the common? this would haue beene granted vnto good gouernours by other nations, sooner by intreaty then force. For what doth conquering, or beeing conquered hurt, or profit mens liues, manners, or dignities either? I see no good it doth, but onely addeth vnto their intollerable vaine-glory, who ayme at such matters, and warre for them, and lastly receiue them as their labours rewarde. Doth not their land pay tribute to the state as well as others? Yes. May they learne any thing that others may not? No. (c) And ate there not many Senators that neuer sawe Rome? True. Take away vaine-glory and what are men but men? And if the peruersenesse of the age would permit the verie best meanes for to beare away the greatest honours, then should not this humaine honour bee so prize-worthy howsoeuer, beeing but a breath and a light fume? But yet let vs vse these things, to doe our selues good towards GOD. Let vs consider what obstacles these men haue scorned, what paines they haue taken, what

what affects they haue suppressed, and onely for this humane glorie which afterward they receiued as the reward of their vertues; and let this serue to suppress our pride also, that seeing the cittie wherein wee haue promised habitation and Kingdome, is as farre different from this in excellence, as Heauen from earth, life eternall from mirth temporall, firme glory from fuming vaine-glory, angells company from mens, and his light that made the Sunne & Moone, from the light of the Sunne and Moone: then haue the citizens of this heauenly region done iust nothing, in doing any thing for attaining this celestiall dwelling, seeing that the other haue taken such paines in that habitation of earth, which they had already attained: especially, the remission of finnes, calling vs as citizens, to that eternall dwellings, and hauing a kinde of resemblance with *Romulus* his sanctuary, by which hee gathered a multitude of people into his cittie through hope of impunity:

Remission  
of finnes.

Romulus  
his sanctu-  
ary.

### L. VIVES.

**T**His had beene (a) The olde bookes reade *Hoc si fieret sine Marte &c.* if this could haue beene done without *Mars*, making it runne in one sentence vnto the interogation. (b) *Euery man*] The *Latines* were made free denizens of olde: and from them it spred further into *Italie*; ouer *Po*, ouer the *Alpes*, and the sea. *Claudius Caesar* made many *Barbarians* free of *Rome*: affirming; that it was the ruine of *Athens* and *Lacedæmon*, that they made not such as they conquered free of their *Citties*. Afterwardes, vnder *Emperours* that were *Spaniards*, *Africans*, and *Thracians*, whole *Prouinces* at first, and afterwardes the whole *Empire* was made free of *Rome*. And wheteas before; all were called *Barbarians* but the *Greekes*, now the *Romaines* beeing *Lords*, exempted themselues, and afterward the *Latines*, and all the *Italians* from that name: but after that, all the *Prouinces* beeing made free of the *Cittie*, onely they were called *Barbarians* which were not vnder the *Empire* of *Rome*: And thus doth *Herodian*, *Spartianus*, *Europius*, and later *Historiographers* vse it. So the riuer *Rhine* had two bankes, the neither of them was *Romaine*, the further, *Barbarian*, (*Clandianns*).

All the *Romaine* sub-  
iects made  
free of the  
citty.

*Barbarians*  
who they  
are.

*Rhines*  
bankes.

*O quoties doluit Rhemus quâ Barbarus ibat,  
Quod te non geminis frueretur iudice ripis.*

| O how *Rhine* wept, on the *Barbarian* shore,  
That both his bankes were not within thy powre.

(c) *And are there not*] Many nations beeing made free of the *Citty*, many of the chiefe men of those nations were made *Senators*, though they neuer saw *Rome*, no more then a many that were *Citizens*.

*How farre the Christians should bee from boasting of their deedes for their eternall country, the Romaines hauing done so much for their temporall Cittie, and for humane glory.* CHAP. 18.

**W**HY is it then so much to despise all this worlds vanities for eternitie when as *Brutus* could kill his sonnes (beeing not enforced to it) for feare his country should loose the bare liberty? Truly it is a more difficult matter to kill ones children, then to let goe those things which wee doe but gather for our children, or to giue them to the poore, when faith or righteousnesse bids vs. Earthly ritches can neither blesse vs nor our children with happinesse; we must either loose them in this life or leave them to be enioyed after our death, by one, we cannot tell whom, perhaps by those wee would not should haue them. No, it is *GOD*, the mindes true wealth, that makes vs happy. The Poet reares *Brutus* a monument of vn-happinesse for killing his sons, though otherwise he praise him.

God the  
mindes true  
wealth.

— *Natosq; pater fera bella mouentes,  
Ad sanam patriã pro libertate vocabit  
Infelix, ut cumq; ferent ea fata minores.*

His sonnes, consist of turbulent transgression,  
He kills, to free his country from oppression,  
Haplesse how ere succeeding times shall ringe.

But in the next verse hee giues him comfort: *Vicit amor patrie laudumq; im-  
mensa cupido. Conquer'd by's countries lone, and thirst of prey.* (c) The two things  
that set all the Romaines vpon admirable action. So then if the Father  
could kill his owne sonnes, for mortall freedome, and thirst of praise, (both  
transitory affects) what a great matter is it, if wee doe not kill our sonnes, but  
count the poore of Christ our sonnes; and for that eternall liberty, which  
freeth vs from sinne, death and hell; not for humaine cupidity, but for Christian  
charity; to free men, not from *Tarquin*, but from the deuills, and their King?  
And if *Torquatus*, another *Romaine*, slew his owne sonne, not for fighting against  
his country, but for going onely against his command, beeing generall, (he bee-  
ing a valorous youth and prouoked by his enemy, yea and yet getting the vic-  
tory): because there was more hurt in his contempt of authority, then good in  
his conquest: why should they boast, who for the lawes of that neuer-ending  
country doe forsake onely those things which are neuer so deare as children;  
namely earthly goods and possessions? If *Furius Camillus*, after his banishment,  
by his vngratefull country, which he had saued from beeing oppressed by the va-  
lourous *Veians*, yet would daigne to come to free it the second time, because hee  
had no better place to shew his glory in: why is hee extolled (as hauing done  
great matters) who hauing (perhaps suffered some great disgrace and iniury in  
the church, by his carnall enemies) hath not departed to the churches enemies,  
the Heretikes, or inuented some heresie against it him selfe, but rather hath  
guarded it, as farre as in him lay, from all the pernicious inuasions of heresie, be-  
cause their is no (a) other place to liue in vnto eternall life, though there bee o-  
thers enough to attaine humaine glory in? If *Scæuola*, when he saw he had failed  
to kill *Porfenna*, (a fore foe to Rome,) and killed another for him, to make a peace  
with him, put his hand into the fire that burned on the Altar, saying that Rome  
had a multitude such as he that had conspired his destruction, and by this speech  
so terrified him that hee made a present peace with them and got him packing:  
why shall any man talke of his merits in respect of the Kingdome of Heauen, if  
he loose, (not his hand but) his whole body in the fire for it, (not by his owne  
choise but) by the powre of the persecutor? If *Curtius*, (to satisfie the Oracle  
that commanded Rome to cast the best Iewell it had into a great gulfe, and the  
Romaines being resolu'd that valour and men of armes were their best Iewells)  
tooke his horse and armout, and willingly leaped into that gaping gulfe;  
why shall a man say hee hath done much for heauen that shall (not cast himselfe  
to death but) endure death at the hands of some enemy of his faith, seeing  
that GOD, his Lord, and the King of his country, hath giuen him this rule as a  
certaine Oracle: *Fe are not them that kill the bodie, but are not able to kill the soule.* If  
the two *Decii* consecrated themselues to their countries good & sacrificed their  
bloud (as with praiers) vnto the angry gods for the deliuerance of the Ro-  
maine armie, let not the holy Martires bee proude of doing any thing for  
the pertaking of their eternall possessions, where felicity hath neither error  
nor ende, if they doe contend in charitable faith and faithfull charity, even  
vnto the shedding of their bloud both for their brethren, for whom and also  
for their enemies by whome it is shedde. (k) If *Marcus Puluillus* in his dedi-

cation

cation of the Temple to *Ioue*, *Iuno* and *Minerua* false newes beeing brought (c) (by those that enuied his honour) of his sonnes death; that so hee might leaue all the dedication to his fellowe, and goe perturbed away, did neuerthelesse so contemne the newes, that (d) hee had them cast him forth vnburned, his desire of glory vtterlie conquering his grieffe of beeing childlesse: why should that man say hee hath done much for the preaching of the gospel, (which freeth and gathereth Gods cittizens out of so many errours) to whome beeing carefull of his Fathers funerall, the LORD sayd. *Follow mee, and let the dead bury their dead?* If *M. Regulus*, not to deale falsely with his most cruell enemies; returned backe to them from Rome it selfe, because (as hee answered the Romaines that would haue staid him) hee could not liue in the dignitie of an honest citizen in Rome, since hee had beene a slaue in Africke: and that the Carthaginians put him to an horrible death for speaking against them in Romes Senate: What torments are not bee scorned, for the faith of the country, vnto whose eternall happinesse faith it selfe conducteth vs? Or what reward had GOD for all his benefits, if, for the faith which euery one owes to him, hee should suffer as much torment as *Regulus* suffered for the faith which he ought to his bloudest foes? Or how dare any Christian boast of voluntary pouerty (the (f) meanes to make his trauell vnto his country, where GOD, the true riches dwelleth more light and easie) when he shall heare or read of (g) *L. Valerius*, who dying consull, was so poore, that his buriall was paid for out of the common purse, or of *Q. (h) Cincinnatus*, who hauing but 4. acres of land, and tilling it himselfe with his owne hands, was fetched from the plough to bee Dictator? an office (i) more honorable then the Consulls? and hauing (k) conquered his foes, and gotten great honor, returned to his old state of pouerty? Or why should any man thinke it a great matter, not to bee seduced from the fellowship of celestial powers, by this worlds vanities, when as hee reads how (l) *Fabricius* could not bee drawne from the Romaines by all *Pyrrhus* the King of *Epirus* his promises, though extended euen to the 4. part of his Kingdome, but would liue there still in his accustomed pouerty? for whereas they had a ritch and powrefull wealepublike, and yet were so poore themselues, that (m) one that had been twice Consull was put out of that Senate of (n) poore men by the Censors decree, because hee was found to bee worth ten pound in siluer; if those men that enriched the treasury by their triumphs were so poore themselues, then much more ought the christians, whose ritches are (for a better intent) all in common, as the Apostles acts record: to be distributed to euery man according to his neede: *neither any of them said that any thing he possessed was his owne, but all was in common*: much more I say ought they to know that this is no iust thing to boast vpon, seeing that they doe but that for gayning the society of the Angells, which the other did (or neere did) for their preferuing of the glory of the Romaines. These now, and other such like, in their bookes, how should they haue beene so knowne, and so famous, had not Romes Empire had this great and magnificent exaltation and dilatation? Wherefore that Empire, so spacious, and so continuant & renowned by the vertues of those illustrious men was giuen, both to stand as a rewarde for their merrites, and to produce examples for our vses. That if wee obserue not the lawes of those vertues for attaining the celestiall Kingdome, which they did for preferuing one but terrestriall, wee might bee ashamed: but if wee doe, then that wee bee not exalted, for as the Apottle saith. *The afflictions of this present time are not worthy of the glory which shalbe*

Regulus.

The praise  
of voluntar  
y pouerty.Valerius  
Poplicola.  
Q. Cincinatus.

Fabricius.

A&amp;4

Rom. 8. ver.  
18.



shewed vnto vs. But their liues seemed worthy of that present temporall glory. And therefore the Iewes, that executed Christ, (the Newtestament reuealing what the old cōceiled, that God was not be worshipped for the earthly benefites which he bestowes vpon bad as well as good, but for life eternall, and the perpetuall blessing of that supernall citty) were iustly giuen to be the slaues and instruments of their glory: that those that sought earthly glory by any vertue foeuer, might ouercome and subdue those that refused and murdered the giuer of true glory and eternall felicity.

## L. VIVES.

NO other (a) place. ] Some texts want the second negatine, but erroneously, It must bee read as wee haue placed it. (a) *M. Puluillus.* ] *Lin. lib. 2. Valer. lib. 5. Plut. in Poplicol. Dionys,* and others. This temple to *Ioue, Iuno* and *Minerua, Tarquin. Priscus* vowed, *Tarquin the proud* built, and the dedication falling to the *Consuls*, *Puluillus* had it, and was informed (as *Augustine* saith) that his sonne. &c. (c) by those that ] by *M. Valerius*, brother to *P. Valerius Consul*, who greeued that that magnificent temple should not be dedicated by one of his family and so brought that news of *Puluillus* his sonnes death that the greefe of his family, might make him giue ouer the dedication. (d) *Hee bad them cast him.* ] *Plutarch, Liny* sayth hee bad them bury him then. (e) *Let the dead* ] Liuing to the world, but dead in deed, since dead to God, let them bury such as they thinke are dead. (f) *the meanes.* ] In ones life, as in ones trauell, the lesse Burthen he hath about or vpon him, the lighter he goeth on his iourney. (g) *L. Valerius* ] *Lin. Plutarch* and *Valerius* write of this *Valerius Poplicola* was so poore that they were faine to bury him at the charge of the citty. So doth *Eutropius* and others. It is said each one gaue somewhat to his buriall: *Plut.* farthings a peece saith *Apuleius, Apolog. de. Magia.* *Augustine* doth but touch at the story, respecting neither his surname nor the yeare of his death, for he was called *Publius* not *Lucius* and died a yeare after his 4. consulship, *Uerginius* and *Cassius* being *Consul*. the sixt yeare after the expulsion of the Kings *Lin. Dio.* (h) *Q. Cincinatus. Lin. lib. 3. Valer. lib. 4. (i) More honorable.* ] The dictatorshippe was a regall office, from it was no apeale, to it were consulls and all obedient, it continued by the law but sixe monethes, and was in vse onely in dangerous times, the election was made alwaies in *Italy*, and in the night: Hee was called the maister of the People, and had the Maister of the horsemen ioyned with him. This office had originall in the CCLII. yeare of the Citty after *Casars* death, by the law of *Antony* the consul; and for enuy of *Cesar* perpetuall dictatorialship was abolished for euer (k) *conquered.* ] The *Equi*, and triumphed ouer the (l) *Fabritius.* ] One not rich, but a scorner of ritches. Being sent Embassador to *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus* about the ransoming of the prisoners, he asked him if he would go to *Epirus* with him; & he would giue him the fourth part of his kingdom, he replied it was not fit, for all the people would wish rather to be vnder his cōmand then *Pirrhus* his. *Pirrhus*, content with this answer admired the plaine magnanimity of the man, offered him mony as a friend, he would none. (m) *One that.* ] *Cornelius Rufinus* this was: *Fabritius* the Cenfor put him off the Senat for being worth ten pound in coined siluer. *Lin. lib. 4* nay he had beene Dictator saith *Gellius. lib. 4.* this was the first *Cornelius* that was called *Sybilla* and then *Silla*, of all the *Cornelian* family. *Maerob.* he was first consull with *Manl. Cur. dentatus*, and thirteen yeares after, with *C. Iunius.* (n) *poore men* ] *Rome* was neuer more fertile of content honest men then in the warre of *Pirrhus*.

The dictatorialship.

Fabritius a scorne of ritches.

Corn. Silla.

The difference betweene the desire of glory, and the desire of rule.

## CHAP. I9.

Desire of rule without love of glory.

There is a difference betweene desire of glory and desire of rule: for though the first do incline to the second, yet such as affect the true humane glory, haue a desire to be pleasing vnto good iudgments, for ther is much good in manners, whereof many can iudge well although many againe haue not this good, nor go that honest way to glory, honor and soueraignty that *Salust* saith of: *He goeth by the true way.* But whosoever desires to rule without that desire of glory which keeps men in awe of good iudgments, he careth not by what villany he compasse his

affect, and so his going about it will shew. And therefore the hunter of glory either followeth the true tract or couers his courses so well, that he is held to be still in the true tract, and thought to be good when hee is not so, wherefore to the vertuous, contempt of glory is a great vertue: because God beholdeth it, and not the iudgemēt of man, for whatsoeuer he doth before men, to shew this contempt, hee hath no reason to thinke they suspect him amisse, that thinke hee doth it for his more glory. But he that contemneth their opinatiue praise, contemneth also with it, their vnaduised suspect: yet not their saluation (if he be good) because he that hath his goodnesse from God, is of that iustice, that he loueth his very enemies, and so loueth them that he wisheth his slanderers & backe-biters reformed, and to become his companions, not here but in his eternall country, for his commanders, as he respecteth not their praises, so hee neglecteth not their loues, desiring neither to falsefie their prayes, nor delude their loues: and therefore vrgeth the to the praise of him, from whom euery one hath all his praise-worthy endowments. But y man that despising glory, doteth on dominatiō, is worse then a beast, both in (a) manners barbarisme, & lustes extremity. Such men *Rome* hath had: for though it had lost the care of credit, yet it retained stil the affect of fouerainty: nay *Rome* (saith *History*) had many such, But (b) *Nero Caesar* was he that got first of all to the top-turret of all this enormity: whose luxury was such that one would not haue feared any manly act of his: & yet was his cruelty such, as one ignorāt of him would not haue thought any effeminate sparke residēt in him, yet euen such as this man was haue no dominion but from the great Gods prouidence, holding mans vices sōetimes worthy of such plagues. The scripture of him is plaine: *By me kings raigne, & Princes: Tyrans by me gouerne the earth.* But (c) least *Tyrannus* here (should be taken only for vild & wicked kings, & not (as it it meant) for al the old worthies, heare. *Vir. Pars mihi pacis erit dextrā tetigisse Tyranni,* (d) Some peace I hope, by touching your kings hands.

Desire of rule without loue of glory.

Contempt of glory.

Gods prouidence is it y raise the wicked. *Pro. 8, 15.*

But elsewhere it is more plainly spoken of God, that he maketh an *hipocrite* *toraigne*, because the people are snared in perversnesse. Wherefore though I haue done what I can to show the cause why the true and iust God gaue the *Romaines* such assistance in erecting their Empires and Citties earthly glory vpon such a frame of Monarchy, yet there may be a more secret cause then yet we see; namely the diuers deserts of the world, open to God, though not to vs: it being plaine to all godly men, that no man can haue true vertue without true piety, that is, the true adoration of the one and true God: nor is that vertue true neither, when it serueth but for humane ostentation. But those that are not of the eternall city called in the scriptures the city of God, they are more vñe-full to their earthly city (e) in possessing of that world-respecting vertue, then if they wanted that also. But if (f) those that are truly Godly, and vp-right of life, come to haue the government of estates, there can no greater happines befall the world then through the mercy of God to be gouerned by such men. And they do attribute all their vertues (be they neuer so admired) vnto the grace of God only, (g) who gaue them, to their desires, their faith and prayers: besides, they know how far they are from true perfection of iustice; I meane such as is in the angelicall powers, for whose fellowship they make them-selues fit. But let that vertue that serueth humane glory without piety be neuer so much extolled, it is not comparable sō much as with the vnperfect beginnings of the Saints vertues, whose assured hope standeth fixed in the grace and mercy of the true God.

True vertue serueth not glory.

Job 34.

### L. VIVES.

**M**anners (a) *Barbarisme* ] or vices barbarisme, read whether you will (b) *Nero* ] *Somme*  
to

**Tyrannus.** to *Domitius Enobarbus* and *Agrippina*, daughter to *Germanicus*: adopted by *Cl. Caesar*, his Stepfather, and named *Nero Caesar*, after him he succeeded him, and was the last of *Caesars* blood that was emperor: a man of strange cruelty and beastlinesse, and for these vices left noted to all posterity: otherwise, as *Suetonius* saith, he was desirous of eternitie of fame. He called *Aprill*, after him-selfe *Neroneus*, and ment to haue named *Rome Neropolis*. (c) *Least Tirans.* ] Of this before, the King & the tyran, diffred not of old, the word comes of *τυραννως*, to command or sway. *Virgill. Te propter lybica gentis Nomadumque Tyranni Odere ineenfi: for thee, the Libians and Numidian Kings, hated him sore, &c.* and *Horace carm. 3. Princeps et innantem Marica Littoribus tenuisse Lyrim, late Tyrannus. &c.* *Tyrannus* is some-times Lord & some-times a cruell Prince, sometimes a Potent Prince, *Acron*. So *Augustine* here putteth worthy, for Potent, *συρραυς* in Greeke being both power, and fortitude: as *Homer* & *Pindarus*, often vse it: *In Nemeis de Hercule. Αωαυιν υις, my sonnes valor. (d) Some peace.* ] *Latinus* his words of *Aeneas*, whom he held to be a good man. (e) *In possessing.* ] A salty place, the sence is: when they haue that desire of human glory they are of more vse in an earthly state, thē when they want it. (f) *Those that.* ] They are the true Philosophers and if they should rule, or the rulers were like them, happy should the states be, saith *Plato. (g) Who gaue.* ] *James. i. 5. 6. If any of you lacke wisdome, let him aske of God, which giueth, to all men liberally and reprocbeth no man, and he shall giue it him. But let him aske in faith and wauer not. &c.*

*That vertue is as much disgraced in seruing humaine glory as in obeying the pleasures of the body. CHAP. 20.*

**T**He Philosophers that (a) make vertue the scope of all humane good, do vse in disgrace of such as approued vertue and yet applied it all to bodily delight (holding this to be desired for it selfe, and vertue to be sought onely for respect to this pleasure) to deliniate a Picture (as it were with their tongues) wherein pleasure sitteth on a throne, like a delicate Queene, and all the Vertues about her, ready at a becke to do her command. There she commands *prudence* to seeke out a way whereby *pleasure* may reigne in safety: *Justice* must go do good turnes, to attaine friends, for the vse of corporall delights, and iniury none: *fortitudes* taske is, that if any hurt (not mortall) inuade the body, she must hold *pleasure* so fast in the mind, that the remembrance of delights past, may dull the touch of the paine present. *Temperance* must so temper the nourishment, that immoderation come not to trouble the health, and so offend Lady *pleasure*, whome the *Epicures* do say is chiefly resident in the bodies soundnesse. Thus the *virtues* being in their owne dignities absolute commanders, must put all their glories vnder the feete of *pleasure*: and submit them-selues to an imperious and dishonest woman. Then this picture, there cannot be a sight more vild, deformed, and abhominable to a good man, say the Phylosophers, and it is true. Nor thinke I that the picture would be so faire as it should be, if *humaine glory* were painted in the throne of *pleasure*: for though it be not a (b) nice peece, as the other is, yet it is turgid, and full of empty ayre, so that ill should it besecme the substantiall *vertues*, to be subiect to such a shadow, that *prudence* should fore-see nothing, *justice* distribute nothing, *fortitude* endure nothing, *temperance* moderate nothing, but that which aymeth at the pleasing of men & seruing of windy glory. Nor are they quite from this blot, who contemning the iudgements of others (as scornors of glory) yet in their owne conceit hold their wisdome at a high prise, for their vertue (haue they any) serueth humane glory in another maner, for he that pleaseth him-selfe is (c) but a man, but he that builds and beleeueth truly and piously vpon God, whome he loueth, applieth his thoughts more vpon that which hee displeaseth himselfe in, then vpon those things, which if they be in him, do rather please the truth, then him: nor doth he ascribe the power he hath to please, vnto any

The picture of pleasure.

other, but vnto his mercy, whom he feareth to displease: giuing thanks for the cure of this, and praying for the cure of that.

## L. VIVES.

**P**hilosophers that (a) make] The Stoikes, as *Cleanthes*. This picture Tully talketh of, *De finib. l. 2.* (b) *Nice.* ] For glory is got by sweat and paines. (c) *But a man* ] bends his affects no further then mans present being.

*That the true God in whose hand and prouidence all the state of the world consisteth, did oracel and dispose of the Monarchie of the Romaines.* CHAP. 21.

**T**His being thus, the true God (a) that giueth the heavenly kingdome onely to the godly, but the earthly ones both to good and bad, as himselfe liketh, whose pleasure is all iustice; he is to haue all power of giuing or taking away soueraignty, ascribed vnto himselfe alone, and no other, for though we haue shewen some things that he pleased to manifest vnto vs, yet far, far is it beyond our powers to penetrate into mens merits, or scan the deserts of kingdoms aright. This one God therefore, that neither staieth from iudging, nor fauouring of man-kinde, when his pleasure was, and whilest it was his pleasure, let *Rome* haue soueraignty: so did he with *Assyria* & *Persia* (b) who (as their bookes say) worshipped onely two gods, a good & a bad: to omit the *Hebrews*, of whom (I thinke) sufficient is already spoken, both of their worship of one God, & of their kingdome. But he that gaue *Persia* corne without *Sigetta's* helpe, and so many gifts of the earth, without any of those many gods (that had each one a share in them, or rather were three or foure to a share,) he also gaue them their kingdome, without their helpes, by whose adoration they thought they kept their kingdome. And so for the men: he that gaue (c) *Marius* rule, gaue *Caesar* rule, he that gaue *Augustus* it, gaue *Nero* it: he that gaue *Vespasian* rule or *Titus* his sonne (d) both sweet natured men, gaue it also to *Domitian*, that cruell blood-sucker. And to be brieft, he that gaue it to *Constantine* the Christian, gaue it also to *Iulian* (e) the *Apostata*, whose worthy towardnesse was wholly blinded by sacriligious curiosity, and all through the desire of rule: whose heart wandered after the vanity of false oracles, as hee found, when vpon their promise of victory he burned all his ships that victualled his armie: and then being slaine in one of his many rash aduentures, hee left his poore armie in the iawes of their enemies, without all meanes of escape, but that God *Terminus* (of whom we spake before) was faine to yeeld, and to remoue the bounds of the Empire. Thus did he giue place to necessity that would not giue place to *Iupiter*. All these did the True, sacred and only God dispose and direct as hee pleased, & if the causes be vnkowne why he did thus, or thus, is he therefore vniust?

## L. VIVES.

**G**od that (a) giueth] Here is a diuersity of reading in the text: but all comes to one sence. (b) *Who as their*] The *Persian Magi* (whose chiefe *Zoroaster* was) held two beginnings: a good and a bad: that the God of heauen, this the god of hell. This they called *Pluto* and *Arimanius*, the euill *Demon*: that *Ioue* and *Horosmades*, the good *Demon*, *Hermipp. Eudox. Theopomp. apud Laert.* Those *Plato* seemes to follow (*de leg. l. 10.*) putting two sorts of soules in the world, originalls of good and originall of bad: vnlesse he do rather *Pythagorize*: who held, that the vnity was God, the minde, the nature, and the good of euery thing: the number of two, infinite, materiall, multiplicable, the *Genius* and euill. The *Manichees* also (*Aug. de heres.*) held two beginnings, contrary, and coeternall: and two natures and substances of good and of euil: wherein they followed the old heretikes. (c) *Marius*] He coupleth a good and a bad together. *Marius* most cruell, *Caesar* most courteous, *Augustus* the best Emperour, *Nero* & worst that could be. (d) *Both sweetly*] *Vespasian* had two sonnes, *Titus* & *Domitian*. Their father was conceited and full of delicate mirth: and *Titus* the sonne so gentle, and indeed so full a man, that hee was called

*Zoroaster.*  
Two kinds of soules in *Plato's* world.  
*Pythagoras* his numbers.  
The *Manichees*.

*Vespasian.*

called *Man-kindes Delicacy*: *Sueton.* I have resolved (saith *Pliny* the second in his preface of his naturall Historie to *Titus* the sonne) to declare unto you (most mirthfull Emperor, for that stile is the fittest, as being your olde inheritance from your Father. &c.

**Domitian.** *Domitian* was neither like father nor brother, but bloody and hated of all men. (e) *The Apostata*] a fugitiue, or turne-coate: for being first a Christian, *Libanius* the Sophister peruerred him, and from that time hee was all for oracles, lottes, with crafts and promises of Magicians, where-by he came to destruction, being otherwise a man of a great spirit, and one as fitte for Empire as the world afforded.

**Julian,**

That the originalls and conclusions of warres are all at Gods dispose.

CHAP. 22.

Warres  
soone en-  
ded.

SO likewise doth he with the times and ends of warre, be it his pleasure iustly to correct, or mercifully to pittie mankind, ending them sooner or later, as he wil-  
leth. *Pompeys* (a) Pirate warre, and *Scipio* his (b) third *African* warre, were ended with incredible celeritie. The *Slaves* was also, (c) though it cost *Rome* two Con-  
suls and many Captaines, making all *Italy* feele the smart of it; yet in the third  
yeare after it was begun, it was finished. The *Picenes*, *Martians*, *Pelignians*, (*Itali-  
ans* all) sought to pluck their necks from their long and strickt seruitude vnto  
*Rome*, though it now had subdued huge dominions, and razed *Carthage*. In this  
warre the *Romaines* were forely foyled (d) two Confulls killed, and many a tall  
souldior and worthy Senator left dead: yet this warre had continuance but vn-  
to the 5. yeare: mary the second *African* warre lasted a great while, eighteene  
yeares: to the great weakning of the common-weale, and almost the vtter ruine  
there of, 70000. soldiors falling in (e) two battels. The first *African* warre held  
three and twenty yeares: *Mithridates* warre (f) forty yeares. And least any one  
should thinke that in the ancient lawdable times the *Romaines* had any better  
rules to dispatch warre sooner then the rest, the *Sammites* warre lasted (g) almost  
fiftie yeares, wherein the *Romaines* were conquered, euen vnto slauerie. But be-  
cause they loued not glory for iustice, but iustice for glory, they (h) broake the  
peace and league which they had made. These I write, because some being igno-  
rant in antiquities, and other-some being dissemblers of what they know, might  
other-wise vpon discouery of a long warre since the time of Christianitie, flie in  
the face of our religion, and say if it were not so potent, and if the old adorations  
were restored, that warre would haue bene ended by the *Romaines* vertues, and  
the assistance of *Mars* and *Bellona*, as soone as the rest were. Let them that reads of  
their warres, recollect but what (i) vncertaine fortune the ancient *Romaines* had  
in the warres with the whole world, being tossed like a tempestuous sea, with  
thousand stormes of inuasions and armes: and then let them needes confesse,  
what so faine they would conceale, and cease in this opposition against Gods  
power, to possesse others with errors, and be the butchers of their owne foules.

Warres  
hardly en-  
ded.

L. VIVES.

**Pompeys** (a) *Pyrates warre*] Ended in fortie dayes after *Pompeys* departure from *Brundu-  
sum*. *Flor.* Cic. pro leg. *Manl.* (b) *Third African*] Begunne and ended in three yeares.  
(c) *Although*] *Arius* the *Prator* and two *Consuls*, (*n. Lentulus* and *L. Gellius* were ouer-  
throwne by *Spartacus*. (d) *Two Consuls*] *L. Iul. Cesar*, and *P. Rutilius. Lisie.* (e) *Two battles,*  
At *Thrasymene*, and at *Canas*. (f) *Forty yeares*] *Florus*, but it was first staid by a peace made  
with *Sylla*: then renewed by *L. Lucullus*, and lastly ended by *Pompey the great.* (g) *Almost*  
*fiftie.*] fortie nine, as *Entropius* and *Orosius* account. *Florus* saith fiftie, *Appian* eightie, and  
he is neerest *Linies* account, that saith the *Romaines* warre with the *Sammites* lasted neare an  
hundred yeares, in vncertainty of fortune. lib. 23. But if *Fabius Gurges* ended it in his Con-  
sulship

fullship, it is but fiftie yeares from the Consulships of *M. Val. Coruinus* and *Cornelius Cossus*. But indeed the *Samnites* ioyned with *Pyrrhus*, and had had a conflict before with *Dentatus*, betweene *Gurges* his Consulship and *Pyrrhus* his comming into *Italy*. (b) Broake the peace ] This *Liue* sheweth crookedly inough. *lib. 9.* wherein hee saith, that the *Romaines* childishly deluded the faith, league, and othe, which they had passed to *Pontius* Captaine of the *Samnites*: it was true. For they sought forth childish euasions for their owne profit. (i) *Vncertaine fortune*] some haue *Euentus* here for *Fortune*, I will not dispute whether *Euentus* may haue the plurall number: *Valla* saith it is rare, but yet sometimes it is so vsed, he doth not deny it. Euentus.

*Of the battell wherein Rhadagaisus, an idolatrous King of the Gothes was slaine, with all his armie.*      CHAP. 23.

**N**AY that wonderfull mercy of Gods, in an acte done with in our memories, they will not so much as mention with thanks-giuing, but endeouour as much as in them lieth, to smother it in eternall obliuion; which should wee doe, wee should bee as gracelesse and vngratefull as they. *Rhadagaisus* (a) King of the *Gothes*, hauing brought a huge armie euen before the walles of *Rome*, and holding his sword euen ouer their necks (as it were) vpon one day was ouer-throwne so suddenly, that not so much as one *Romaine* being slaine; slaine? no nor yet wounded, his whole armie consisting of aboute ten thousand men, was vtterly defeated, hee himselve and his sonnes taken and iustly beheaded. If this wicked *Barbarian* had entred *Rome* with those forces, whom would hee haue spared? what places would hee haue honored, what God would he haue feared? whose bloud, whose chastitie should haue escaped him? But o how these wretches boasted of his precedent conquests, that he had beene so victorious, that hee had gotten such and such fields, onely because he was a dayly sacrificer to those gods which Christianity had chased from *Rome*! For at his approach thether, where by the beck of Gods Maiestie hee was crushed to nothing, his fame was so spacious that it was tolde vs here at *Carthage*, that the *Pagans* beleueed, reported, and boasted that hee could not bee conquered by any of those that would not suffer the *Romaines* to adore those gods, whose good fauours he had obtained by the dayly sacrifices hee offered. Thus they neuer gaue thanks for the mercifull goodnesse of God, who hauing resolved to chastise the worlds corruption with a greater *Barbarian* irruption, yet did moderate his iustice with such mercy, that at first he gaue their leader into the hands of his enemies, because the *Deuils* whom he serued should gaine no soules by the perswasion of the glory of his conquests. And then when such *Barbarians* had taken *Rome*, as against all custome of hostilitie defended, such as fled into the holy places, onely in reuerence of Christianity, professing them-selues farre greater enemies for the name of Christ, vnto the *Deuils* and sacrilegions sacrifices, (in which the other reposed his trust) then vnto the opposed souldiers them-selues: Thus God did giue the *Romaines* this mercifull correction, and yet by destroying the *Deuils* adorer, shewd them that there was neither any helpe in those sacrifices for the state of this present life (as they may see that will bee attentiuie and not obstinate) nor that the true religion is to bee refused for earthly necessities, but rather held fast, in hope and expectation of the heauenly glories.

### L. VIVES.

*Rhadagaisus* (a) King. ] This was in *Honorius* his time, of whom read the preface.

*The state and truth of a Christian Emperors felicitie.*

## CHAP. 24.

FOR wee Christians doe not say, that Christian Emperors are happy, because they haue a long reigne, or die leauing their sonnes in quiet possession of their Empires, or haue beene euer victorious, or powerfull against all their opposers. These are but gifts and solaces of this laborious, ioylesse life; Idolarers, and such as belong not to God (as these Emperors doe) may enioy them: Because God in his mercy will not haue these that know him, to belecue that such things are the best goods hee giueth. But happy they are (say wee) if they reigne iustly, free from being pulled vp with the glozing exaltations of their attendance, or the cringes of their subiects, if they know them-selues to bee but men, and remember that: if they make their power their trumpetter, to diuulge the true adoration of Gods Maiestie, if they loue, feare and honor him: if they long the most for that Empire (a) where they need not feare to haue partners: if they be slack to auenge, quick to forgiue: if they vse correction for the publick good, and not for priuate hate: if their pardons promise not liberalitie of offending, but indeed onely hope of reformation: if they counterpoise their enforced actes of seueritie, with the like waight of bounty and clemencie, (b) if their lusts bee the lesser because they haue the larger licence: if they desires to rule their owne affects, rather then others estates: and if they do all things, not for glory, but for charity, and with all, and before all, giue God the due sacrifice of prayer, for their imperfections; Such Christian Emperors wee call happy, here in hope, and hereafter, when the time wee looke for, commeth indeed.

## L. VIVES,

*Empire (a) where*] On earth Kings loue no consorts: power is impatient of participation, saith *Lucan*, but in heauens ioyes, the more fellowes, rather the more ioy then the lesse. (b) *If their*] A prouerbe, the more leaue, the lesse lust should follow.

*Of the prosperous estate that God bestowed vpon Constantine  
a Christian Emperor. CHAP. 25.*

FOR the good God, least those that worship him for the life of eternitie, (should thinke that no man can attaine to this earthly glory, but such as adore the Deuills, (whose (a) power in those things beareth a great sway) bestowed such store of those earthly benefits as no other man durst wish for, vpon (b) *Constantine* the Emperour, one that worshipped no Deuills, but onely the sayd true God. To him did hee grant the building of (c) a new Cittie, pertaker of the (d) *Romaine* Empire, as the Daughter of Rome her selfe; but (e) excluding all diabolicall temples, or idols. Long did hee reigne therein, and alone swayde (f) the whole *Romaine* worlde: hee was in warre most victorious: in suppressing (g) tyrants most fortunate. Hee dyed an aged man, and left his (h) sonnes all Emperors; But least any Emperor after him, should turne Christian for hope of attaining *Constantines* felicity, (the scope of Christianitie being not that, but life eternall.) He cut off (i) *Inuian* far sooner then he did *Iulian*, & suffred (k) *Gratian* to be slaine by his enemies sword: yet with far more respect, then (l) *Pompey* was killed, that worshipped the *Romaine* gods. For *Cato*, whom hee left as his successor

Christian  
Emperors  
dying vn-  
fortunately,

in

in the warre hee waged, could neuer reuenge his death; But *Gratianus* (though the soules of the godly regarde not such solaces) was fully reuenged by (*m*) *Theodosius*, with whome hee shared the Empire, though hee had (*n*) a younger brother: being more respectiue of a faithfull friend then of a too awfull power.

## L. VIVES.

**V** *Hose* (*a*) power] In the earth there is none like Behemoth, saith *Iob*. Chap. 41. vers. 24. for he knowes indeed where all treasure lyeth, which is the meanes to height, and the ruining of foes. (*b*) *Constantine*] sonne to *Constantius* and *Hellen*: borne in *Brittaine*, first Christian Emperour of *Rome*, after *Phillip*: he ouer-threw his opposers, and liued and dyed an happy old Emperour, at *Nicomedia*, the 31. yeare of his Empire. (*c*) *A new Citie*] *Virgill*.

*O regina nouam cui condere Iupiter urbem, &c.*

O Queene, whom *Ioue* vouchsafes to build a new, &c.

*Constantine* hauing gotten an vniuersall peace, and ridde himselfe of troubles, began to thinke of building a new city; to bee called by his name: first hee beganne one at *Sardis* in *Asia*, then at *Sigewm* in *Troas*: thirdly at *Chalcedon*, and there hee erected walles. But as they wrought, the birds tooke the lines of the *Masons*, and carryed them to *Bizantium* in *Thrace*, and so by Gods appointment (as it were) they built it vp there, naming it *Constantinople*, as it is called yet: and *Byzantium* also, because of the other towne that *Pausanias* the *Spartan* King built there: which *Seuerus* almost, and *Galiennus* souldiours vtterly subuerted. (*d*) For thether did *Constantine* transport many *Senators*, and noble families; and the Emperours laye more at *Constantinople* then at *Rome*: so contended it with *Rome* in state and dignitie. (*e*) *Excluding*] Hee dedicated it to the Blessed *Virgin Mary*. (*f*) *Romaine world*,] *The Romaine world*, for that part of the world that the *Romaines* had vnder them: so say wee the *Christian world*, for that part wee holde. *Lucane* vseth the *Iberean world*, for *Spaine*, and the *Northren world* for *France* and *Germanie*: And when *Caesar* was to remooue out of *Spaine* into *Italy*, and so into *Greece*:

*Victrices aquilas aliam laturus in orbem;*

Bending his Eagles to another world: saith he.

The phrase *Marcellinus* vseth often: and *Aurelian* to *Zenobia* wrote himselfe Emperour of the *Romaine world*, *Trebell. Pollio*. Now it is foolish to call them Emperours of that part of the world that they neuer conquered: or of that which they once had conquered, and now haue lost, because they lost it by the same law they gotte it, by warre and bloud-shed. But these vaine titles make Princes goe madde, whereas in-deede they are nothing but the worlds fire-brands, and man-kindes destructions: Shame on the doltish *Lawyers*, for iangling so about them. (*g*) *Tyrants*] *Maxentius* and *Licinius*. (*h*) *Sonnes*] *Constantius*, *Constantine*, and *Constans*: It is not certaine whether hee him-selfe shared the Empire amongst them, or they amongst them-selues after his death. (*i*) *Iouinian*] hee dyed at *Dadastan* in *Iouinian Asia*, of a paine in the stomacke, the seauenth moneth of his Empire. *Varronianus* and hee being *Consulls*. Hee was a Christian, and cannonized a Saint by *Valentian*. (*k*) *Gratian*] *Valentinian*s sonne. The *Romaine* bandes conspired against him whilest hee liued at *Treuers*, and elected one *Maximus* for their leader, who slew him as hee was vpon going into *Italy*, Hee was a religious Christian Prince. This of him, and the rest here mentioned, I haue from *Eutropius*, *Paulus Diaconus*, *Oros*, and *Pomp. Latus*, (*l*) *Pompey*] *Ptolomyes* guard *Pompey*, slew him in a boate before all the people of *Alexandria*, looking on them. An vnworthy death for so worthy a man. *Liu. Flor. Plutarck*, *Lucane*, *Appian*. (*m*) *Theodosius*] He was a *Spaniard*, *Gratian* at *Syrmiu*m made him his fellow Emperour, with the peoples great applause, being a man both vertuous and valiant, descended from *Traian*, and (they say) like him in person. He tooke *Maximus* at *Aquileia*, and beheaded him. (*n*) *A younger*] *Valentinian*.

Of the faith and deuotion of *Theodosius Emperour*.

CHAP. 26.

SO he did not onely keepe the faith which hee ought him in his life time, but like



Iohann  
Hermit and  
a Prophet.

A great  
wind ayded  
Theodosius

like a Christian indeede, receiued his little brother *Valentinian* into his protection and defence, when *Maximus* his murderer had chased him from his state: and held the care of a father ouer him, which he needed not haue done, but might easily haue taken all to himselfe, had his ambition ouerpoyled his religion. But he preserued his state imperiall for him, and gaue him all the comfort, honest courtesie could bestowe. And when as the good fortune of *Maximus* begot him a terrible name, *Theodosius* did not creepe into a corner of his Palace, with wizards and coniuers, but sent to (b) *John*, that liued in a wildernesse of *Egypt*, whome he had hard was graced from God by the spirit of prophecy: to him sent hee and receiued a true promise of victory. So soone after hauing killed the tyrant *Maximus* he restored the (c) child *Valentinian* to this empire, from whence he was driuen shewing him all the reuerend loue that could be: and when this child was flaine, (as hee was soone after, either by treachery, or by some other casualty) and that *Eugenius* another tyrant was vnlawfully stept vp in his place, receiuing another answer from the prophet, his faith being firme, hee fetched him downe from his vsurped place, rather by prayer then power, for the soldiors that were in the battell on the vsurpers side told it vnto vs, that there came such a violent wind from *Theodosius* his side, that it smote their darts forth of their hands, and if any were thrown, it tooke them presently in an instant, and forced them vpon the faces of those that threw them. And therefore (d) *Claudian* (though no Christian) sings this well of his praise.

*O nimium dilecte deo cui militat arbor,  
Et coniuati veniunt ad classica venti.*

O gods belou'd, whome powers aere call,  
And winds come arm'd to helpe, when thou dost call

And being victor (according to his faith and presage) hee threw downe certaine Images of *Iupiter* which had beene consecrated (I know not with what ceremonies) against him, and mirthfully and kindly (e) gaue his footemen their thunderboulds, who (as they well might) iested vpon them: because they were glad, and said they would abide their flashes well inough: for the sonnes of his foe, some of them fell in the fight (not by his command:) others being not yet Christians, but flying into the Church, by this meanes hee made Christians, and loued them with a Christian charity: nor diminishing their honoures a whit, but adding more to them. He suffered no priuat grudges to bee held against any one after the victory. He vsed not these ciuill warres, like as *Cynna*, *Marius*, and *Sylla* did, that would not haue them ended, (f) when they were ended; but he rather sorrowed that they were begun, then ended then, to any mans hurt. And in all these troubles, from his reignes beginning, hee forgot not to assist and succour the labouring Church, by all the wholesome lawes which hee could promulgate against the faithlesse: (g) *Valens* an *Arrian* heretike hauing done much hurt therein wherof he reioyced more to be a member then an earthly Emperour. He commanded the demolition of all Idols of the Gentiles, knowing that not so much as earthly blessings are in the diuells power, but all and each particular in Gods. And what was there euer more memorable then that religious (h) humility of his, when being euen forced by his attendants to reuenge the iniury offered him by the *TheSalonians*, (vnto whome notwithstanding at the Bishoppes intreaties hee had promised pardon) hee was excommunicate and showed such repentaunce, that the people intreating for him, rather did lament to see the imperiall Maiesty so delected, then their feared his wath

Theodosius  
his humi-  
lity.

when

when they had offended. These good workes, and a tedious roll of such like, did he beare away with him out of this transitory smoake of all kinde of humaine glory: their rewarde is eternall felicitie, giuen by the true God, onely to the good. For the rest, be they honors, or helpes of this life, as the world it selfe, light, ayre, water, earth, soule, sense, and spirit of life, this he giueth promiscuallly to good and bad: and so he doth also with the greatnesse and continuance of the temporall Empires of all men, which he bestoweth on either sort, as he pleaseth.

## L. VIVES.

When (a) as ] *Andragathius* one of *Maximus* his Countes; an excellent scouldior, and a cunning leader, managed all the warre; and with his trickes brought *Theodosius* to many shrewd plunges. (b) *Iohn* ] An *Anchorite*, that had the spirit of propheticie presaging many things, and this victory of *Theodosius* amongst others. *Prosper Aquitan.* *Theodosius* sent often to him for counsell in difficult matters. *Diacon.* (c) *The childe* ] He made him, being *Gracians* brother, Emperor of the West, but *Arbogastes*, Count of *Vienna* slew him by treachery, set vp *Eugenius*, and with a mighty power of *Barbarians* stopped the passage of the *Alpes*, to keepe *Theodosius* back. The godly Prince fasted and prayed all the night before the battle, and the next day fought with them, though being farre their inferiour in number, and yet by gods great and miraculous power, gotte a famous victory. *Eugenius* was taken and put to death. *Arbogastes* slew himselfe. (d) *Claudian* ] Most men hold him an *Egyptian*, and so *Posidonius* that liued with him, and was his familiar affirmeth. Not *Posidonius* the *Rhodian*, but a certaine Prelate of *Africa*. He was borne to Poetry, elegantly wittied, but a little superstitious, There is a Poeme of Christ vnder his name, perhaps he made it to please *Honorius*, for he was a great flatterer. The verses here cited, are in his Panegyrike vpon *Honorius* his third Consulship, written rather in his praise then vpon *Theodosius*, though he speake of this victory at the *Alpes*, which like a scurrilous flatterer, hee rather ascribeth to *Honorius* his fate and felicity, then to *Theodosius* his piety. For thus hee saith :

## Victoria velox

*Auspiciis effecta tuis: pugnastris uterq;  
Tu satis genitorq; manu: te propter & Alpes  
Inuadi faciles: cauto nec profuit hosti  
Munitis habisse locis: spes irrita vallis  
Concidit & scopulis patnerunt claustra reuulsis.  
Te propter gelidis Aquilo de monte procellis  
Obruit aduersas acies, reuoluit aque tela  
Vertit in auctores, & turbine repulit hastas.  
O nimium dilecte deo cui fundit ab antris  
Aeolus armatas hyemes, cui militat aether,  
Et coniuati veniunt ad classica venti!*

## Swift victory needs not be fought,

Shee's thine: this fight, thou and thy father fought;  
Their natue strength: nor did it boote the foe  
To man his fortes: the trench and rockes fell flatte,  
And left away for thee to enter at.  
For thee, the North-winde from the heights descended,  
In whirle-windes raining all the darts they bended  
At thee, on their owne breasts, in pointed showers:  
O Gods belou'd! to whom the stormy powers  
Raids from the deepe in armes ethereall,  
And windes are prest to helpe, when thou doost call.

Thus *Claudian* hath it, differing some-what from *Augustines* quotation. It may be the verses were spred at first as *Augustine* hath them, for he liued in *Claudians* time. In the copie of *Caleine* it is read, iust as it is in the text. *O nimium dilecte deo cui militet aether! &c.* And so in *Orosius* and *Diaconus*. (e) *Footemen* ] An office in court, that was belonging to the speedy dispatch of the Foot-men.

Princes message : not much vnlke our *Lackeys* at this day : *Footmen* they were called both of old by *Tully*, and of late times by *Martiall*. *Suetonius* mentioneth them in his *Nero*: He neuer trauelled, nor made a iourney (saith he of *Nero*) without a thousand *Caroches*, their mules shodde all with silver, his muletowns all in silken raiments, and all his coach-men and foote-men in their bracelers and ritche coates. And in his *Titus* : Presently he sent his foote-men to the others mother, who was a farre off, to tell her very carefully that her sonne was well. The *Romaine* Emperour remoouing into *Greece*, gaue *Greeke* names to all the offices about them : and amongst others, these foot-men were called *Agilis*, runners. Such they had of old also, as *Alexander the great* had *Philonides*, that ranne 1200. furlongs in one day : *Plinie*. (f) When they were ] They would not be quiet when the warres were finished : but hauing no foes left to kill, made them-selues some continually to practise murder vpon. (g) *Valens* ] A chiefe *Arrian*, hee did extreame harme to the Bishops and religious men in the Church, and put many of them to death, and sent *Arian* Bishops to the *Gothes*, that desired to be instructed in the Christian faith. (b) *Hamilstie* ] The *Thessalonicians* (cittizens of a towne of *Macedonia* so called) hauing by a tumult begun in the Theater, expelled the Magistrates out of the towne, *Theodosius* being here-at greuously offended, intended to punish this iniurious act most seuerely : yet by the Bishops intreaties, pardoned them. Not-with-standing, the wronged parties hauing many friends in court that ceased not dayly to animate and vrge *Theodosius* to this reuenge, at length being ouer-come by their intreaties, hee sent an armie, and put a many thousands of the cittizens to death. For which deed, *Ambrose* Bishop of *Millaine*, on good-Friday, excommunicated him, barring him the Church, vntill he had satisfied for his crime by a publick repentance. He obeyed, and prostrating himselfe humbly before the world (as the old custome was) professed himselfe repentant, and sorry for his offence, intreated pardon first of God and the whole hoast of heauen, next of the Bishop, and lastly of all the whole church, and being thus purged, was restored to the vse of Church and Sacraments.

Valens.

The-massacre at The-salonica.

Theodosius his humili-tic.

Augustines inuective against such as wrote against the Bookes already published. CHAP. 27.

**B**Vt now I see I must take those in hand, that seeing they are conuicted by iust plaine arguments in this, that these false gods haue no power in the distribution of temporall goods, (which fooles desire onely) now goe to affirme that they are worshipped, not for the helps of this life present, but of that which is to come. For in these fiue bookes past, wee haue sayd enough to such as (like little babies) cry out that they would faine worship them for those earthly helps, but cannot be suffred. The first three Bookes I had no sooner finished, and let them passe abroade vnto some mens hands, but I heard of some that prepared to make (I know not what) an answer to them, or a reply vpon them. Afterward I heard, that they had written them, and did but watch (a) a time when to publish it securely. But I aduise them not to wish a thing so inexpedient : (b) It is an easie thing for any man to seeme to haue made an answer, that is not altogether silent; but what is more talkatiue then vanitie, which cannot haue the power of truth, by reason it hath more tongue then truth? But let these fellowes marke each thing well : and if their impartiall iudgements tell them, that their tongue-ripe Satyrisme may more easily disturbe the truth of this world, then subuert it, let them keepe in their trumperies, and learne rather to bee reformed by the wise, then applauded by the foolish. For if they expect a time (not for the freedome of truth but) for the licensing of reproch, God forbid that that should bee true of them, which *Tully* spoake of a certaine man, that was called happy, in hauing free leaue to offend. (c) O wretched hee that hath free libertie to offend! And therefore what euer hee be, that thinketh himselfe happy in his freedome of reproching others, I giue him to vnderstand that farre happier should he be in the lacke

Answer.

Vanitie hath more tongue then truth

lacke of that licence, seeing that as now, hee may in forme of consultation contradict or oppose what hee will, setting aside the affecting of vaine applause: and heare what hee will, and what is fit in honest, graue, free, and friendly disputation.

## L. VIVES.

*Watch (a) a time* ] Many write against others, and watch a time for the publication, to the hurt of the aduersary and their owne profit. Such men writing onely to doe mischief, are to be hated as the execrable enemies of all good judgments. For who cannot doe iniurie? And what a misde hath hee that thinketh his gifts and learning must serue him to vse vnto others ruine? If they seeke to doe good by writing, let them publish them then, when they may doe others the most good, and their opponents the least hurt. Let them set them forth whilest their aduersary liues, is lusty, and can reply vpon them, and defend his owne cause. *In praes. histor. nat.* *Plinie* writes that *Asinius Pollio* had Orations against *Plancus*, which hee meant to publish after his death, least hee should come vpon him with a reply. *Plancus* hearing of it, tush saith hee, there is none but ghosts will contend with the dead: which answer so cutte the combes of the Orations, that all Schollers made icasts and mockes of them. (b) *It is easie* ] The blinde vulgar, (the voluntary censitres of the contentions betweene the greatest Schollers) if a man be silent, presently condemne him, and giue him for conquered, without any other tryall: and holding him the sufficient answer, that doth not hold his peace. If both write much; O then (say they) it is a hard controuersie, and io leaue it: neter looking (nor if they would, could they discern) whose cause is better defended; because they doe not vnderstand it: But euen as *Augustine* saith here, *Vanity hauing more words then veritie*, those fooles oftenest iudge on that side, that kept the most coyle. (c) *O wretched* ] *Tusc. l. 5.* speaking of *Cinna*: *Is hee happy that slew those men: no, I rather thinke him wretched, not onely for dooing it, but in that he carried himselfe so to gette the licence to doe it: Though to offend is vnlawfull, and licensed to no man, wee abuse the world: for that is lawfull which each mans good hath left free vnto him, to performe or follow.*

Finis, lib. 5:

X 4

THE

## THE CONTENTS OF THE fixt booke of the City of God.

1. Of those that affirme they do worship these Gods for eternall life, and not for temporall respects.

2. What may be thought of Varroes opinion of the gods, who dealeth so with them in his discovery of them and their ceremonies, that with more reuerence vnto them he might haue held his peace.

3. The diuision of Varroes bookes which he stileth. The Antiquities of Diuine & Humaine affaires.

4. That by Varroes disputations the affaires of those men that worshipped the gods, are of far more antiquitie then those of the Gods themselues.

5. Of Varroes three kinds of Diuinity: Fabulous, Naturall and Politique.

6. Of the Fabulous and Politique Diuinity against Varro.

7. The coherence and similitude between the fabulous Diuinitie and the ciuill.

8. Of the naturall interpretations which the Paynim Doctors pretend for their Gods.

9. Of the offices of each peculiar God.

10. Of Senecaes freer reprehension of the ciuill Theology then Varroes was of the Fabulous.

11. Senecaes opinion of the Iewes.

12. That it is plaine, by this discovery of the Pagan Gods vanity, that they cannot giue eternall life, hauing no power to helpe in the temporall.

FINIS.

# THE SIXTH BOOKE OF THE CITTIE OF GOD:

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishōp of *Hippo*,  
vnto *Marcellinus*.

*Of those that affirme they do worship these gods for eternall life and not  
for temporall respects.* CHAP. I.



**I**N the five precedent bookes I thinke they be sufficiently con-  
founded that hold that worship iustly giuen vnto these false  
gods, which is peculiar onely to one true, GOD, and in greeke  
is called *ἀετρία*, and that this worshippe ought to bee offered  
vnto them for temporall commodities, all which Gods, Chris-  
tianity conuinceth either to bee friuious and vnprofitable  
Images, and damned spirits, or at least, and at best no *Creators*,  
but *Creatures*. But who knoweth not that neither those five bookes, nor all that a  
man could make, would stay and satisfie excesse of obstinacy? for it is some mens  
glory (vaine indeed) neuer to yeeld to the truth, but oppose it to their owne per-  
dition, in whose bosomes sinne hath so large an Empire, for their disease exceed-  
eth all cure, not through the Phisitians want of skill, but the patients impatient  
frowardnesse. But as for such as read the sayd bookes without any obstinate in-  
tent, or with little, and ponder the things they reade in an vnpartiall discretion,  
those shall approue, that our labour in their satisfaction, hath rather performed  
more then the question required then otherwise: and that all the malice, where-  
in they make Christianity the cause of all the afflictions falling vpon this transi-  
tory world, (the best learned of them dissembling their knowledge against their  
owne consciences) is not onely voide of all reason and honesty, but frought  
with light rashnesse and pernicious impudence. Now therefore (as our method  
exacteth) are they to bee dealt withall that make eternity the end of this errone-  
ous worship, which Christian religion so reiecteth: let vs take our beginning  
from the holy and oraculous Psalmist, that saith (a) *Blessed is the man that maketh* Psalm. 40. 4.  
*the Lord his trust, and regardeth not the proude nor such as turne aside to lies.* But of al  
such as doe goe astray in those errors, the Philosophers are least faulty, that could  
neuer abide the fond opinions of the vulgar, who made their gods images, & fa-  
bled diuers things of them, most false and vnworthy the Deities, or els beleued  
them from the reports of others, and from that beleefe intruded them into the  
ceremonies, and made them parts of their worships. Wherefore with such as  
(b) though they durst not openly, yet secretly disliked those things, this question  
may be filty disputed of: Whether it bee fit to worship one God the maker of al  
bodies and spirits, for the life to come, or many gods (c) beeing all (by their best  
Philosophers confessions,) both created and aduanced. But who can endure  
to heare it said that the gods which I reckned vp in part, in the 4. booke, and haue  
peculiar charges can giue one life eternall. And those sharpe witted men that  
boast of the good they doe by writing of these things, in instructing the people  
what to intreate at each of their hands, would they commit such a grosse  
absurdity as that which the Mimickes doe in feast, asking water of *Bacchus* and  
wine of the *Nymphes*? As thus: would they teach a man that praied vn-  
to the *Nymphes* for wine, if they answered him, wee haue no wine; goe  
to *Bacchus* for that: Then to replie, if you haue no wine I praie you then  
giue

Life eternal  
in vaine af-  
ked of the  
gods.

giue mee life eternall? what grosser foolery could there bee then this? would not the *Nymphes* fall a laughing (for they are *(d)* prone to laughter when they do not affect deceite as the deuills vse to do) and say to him, why fond man dost thou thinke we haue life eternall at command, that haue not a cuppe of wine at command as thou hearest? Such fruitlesse absurdity should it bee to aske eternall life or hope for it of such Gods as are so bound to peculiar charges in things respecting this fraile and transitory life, that it were like mymicall scurrility to demaund any thing of any one of them which resteth vnder the disposing of another. Which when the *Mimikes* doe, men doe very worthily laugh at them in the Theater, and when ignorant fooles doe it, they are farre more worthily derided in the world. Wherefore the peculiar positions that wee ought to make vnto euery god, by the gouernours of cities, their learned men haue compiled, and left vnto memory: which must bee made to *Bacchus*, which to the *Nymphes*, *Vulcan* &c. part whereof I recited in the fourth booke, and part I willingly omitted. Now then if it bee an error to aske wine of *Ceres*, bread of *Bacchus*, water of *Vulcan*, and fire of the *Nymphes*: how much more were it an error to aske life eternall of any one of them? wherefore if that in our disputation about the earthly Kingdomes, and in whose powre they should bee, wee shewed that it was directly false to beleue that they consisted in the powre of any one of those imaginary gods, were it not outragious madnesse then to beleue that the life eternall, with which the Kingdomes of the earth are no way worthy to be compared, should bee in the gift of any of them? Nor can their state, and hight, compared with the basenesse of an earthly Kingdome in respect of them, bee a sufficient cloake for their defect in not being able to giue it: because (forsooth) they doe not respect it. No, what euer hee bee that considering the frailty of mans nature maketh a scorne of the momentary state of earthly dominion, he will thinke it an vnworthy iniury to the gods to haue the giuing and guarding of such vanities imposed vpon them. And by this, if that (according as wee proued sufficiently in the two bookes last past) no one god of all this catalogue of noble and ignoble gods were fit to behold the bestower of earthly states, how much lesse fit were they all to make a mortall man pertaker of immortality? Besides (because now wee dispute against those that stand for their worship in respect of the life to come) they are not to bee worshipped for those things which these mens erroneous opinion (farre from all truth) haue put as their proprieties, and things peculiarly in their powre: as they beleue that hold the honouring of them very vsefull in things of this present life, against whom I haue spoken to my powre in the five precedent volumes. Which being thus, if such as adore *Iuuentas*, flourish in vigor of youth, and those that doe not, either die vnder age, or passe it with the greces of decrepitate sicknesse: If the chinnes of *Fortuna Barbata* her seruants grow full of haire, and all others be beardlesse: then iustly might we say that thus farre these goddesse are limited in their offices: and therefore it were no asking life eternall of *Iuuentas*; that could not giue one a beard, nor were any good to bee expected of *Fortuna Barbata* after this life, that had not powre to make one liue till he had a beard. But now, their worship being of no vse for those things in their powre, seeing many haue worshipped *Iuuentas* that liued not to bee youthes; and as many honoured *Fortuna Barbata* that neuer had good beards: and many without beards that worshiped her were mocked by them that had beards and scorned her; is any man then so mad, that knowing the worshipping of them to bee vneffectuall in those things whereto their pretended powre extendeth

extendeth, yet will beleue it to be effectuell in the obtayning life eternall? Nay euen those that did share out their authority for them, (least beeing so many, there should some sit idle,) and so taught their worshippe to the rude vulgar, nor these themselues durst affirme that the life eternall was a gift comprised in any of their powers.

## L. VIVES.

**B**lessed (a) is the man] The Septuagints translate it τὸ θεοῦ κενὸν ἔστι αὐτῷ. That maketh the name of the LORD his hope. But the Hebrew, originall hath it as *Augustine* citeth it. Indeed, the difference is not of any moment. (b) Though they durst not] They feared the lawes, as they did the Areopagites at Athens: as *Tully* saith of Epicurus. (c) Being all] *Plato* in *Timæo*. (d) Prone to laughter] Alluding to *Virgill* in his *Palamon*.

*Et quo, sed faciles Nympha risere, sacello &c.*

The shrine wherein the pleasant Nymphes were merry.

He doth not call them *Faciles*, pleasant, or kind, because they were soone moued to laughter, but because they were soone appeased; and easie to bee intreated. — *Faciles venerare Napeas*, saith he in his *Georgikes*, to adore the gentle *Napea*. And in the same sence are men called Gentle, *Faciles*.

*It hath may bee thought of Varro's opinion of the gods, who dealeth so with them in his discouery of them and their ceremonies, that with more reuerence vnto them he might haue held his peace. CHAP. 2.*

**V**Who was euer a more curious inquisitor of these matters then *Varro*? a more learned inventor, a more diligent iudge, a more elegant diuider, or a more exact recorder? And though he be not eloquent yet is hee so documentall, and sententious, that to reade his vniuersall learning will delight one that loues matter, as much as *Tully* will one that loueth wordes. Yea *Tully* (a) himselfe leaueth this testimony of him, that the same disputation, that hee handleth in his Academicke dialogues, hee had (hee saith) with *Marcus Varro*, a man the most acute, and (d) doubtlesse the most learned of his time. (c) Hee saith not the most eloquent, because herein hee had his betters: but, most acute: and in his Academicke whete hee maketh doubts of all things, hee calleth him *Doubtlesse the most learned*: being so assured hereof that he would take away all doubt which hee vsed to induce into all questions, onely in this Academicall disputation forgetting himselfe to bee an Academicke. And in his first booke, hauing commended his workes, (d) wee saith hee in the Citty were but as wandring pilgrimes, thy booke brought vs home, and taught vs to know what, and whom wee were. Thy countrie's age, time, religious and politiq. discipline, habitations, order, all the formes, causes and kindes of diuine and ciuill discipline, by these are fully discouered. So great was his learning, as (e) *Terentius* also testifieth of him in the verse. *Vir doctissimus undecunq. Varro: Varro, a man of vniuersall skill: who hath reade so much that wer wonder how hee hath had time to write, and (f) hath written so much that we wonder how any man should read so much.* This man (I say) so learned and so witty, had he bin a direct opposer of that religion he wrote for, & held the ceremonies, no way religious, but wholly superstitious, could not (I imagine) haue recorded more detestable absurdities thereof, then hee hath already. But being a worshipper of the same gods, & a teacher of that worship, that hee professeth he seareth that



that his worke should bee lost, not by the enemies incurſion, but by the citizens negligence, and affirmeth that with a more worthy and commodious care were they to bee preſerued, then that wherewith *Metellus* fetched the *Palladium* from the ſlaues, and *Aeneas* his houſhold gods from the ſacke of Troy: yet for all this, doth hee leaue ſuch things to memory, as all, both learned and ignorant do iudge moſt abſurd and vnworthy to bee mentioned in religion? What ought wee then to gather, but that this depely *Skild man* (becing not freed by the holy ſpirit) was ouer-pretſed with the cuſtome of his city and yet vnder ſhew of commending their religion gaue the world notice of his opinion.

### L. VIVES.

**T**ully (*a*) *himſelfe*] What Tully ment to handle in his *Academikes*, his thirteenth *Epistle* of his firſt booke to *Atticus* openeth fully: becing rather indeede a whole volume, then an *Epistle*. He writeth alſo (*de diuinat. lib. 2.*) that hee wrote fourth bookes of *Academickall queſtions*. And though he certifie *Atticus* that hee hath drawne them into two, yet wanteth there much: and of the two that wee haue extant, *Nonius Marcellus* quoteth the ſecond diuers times by the name of the fourth. The place *Auguſtine* citeth, is not extant in the bookes wee haue. (*b*) *Doubtleſſe the moſt*] *Varro* in his life time (when enuy ſtirre moſt) was called the moſt learned of the *Gowned men*, and (which neuer man had beſides him) in his life had his ſtatue ſet vp in the library which *Aſinius Pollio* made publike at Rome. (*c*) *He ſaith not*] *Varro* (as by his bookes left vs doth appeare) either regarded not, or els attained not any pleaſing formality of ſtile. (*d*) *We ſaith hee*] *Academ. queſt. lib. 1.* and the like is in *Philippic. 2.* (*e*) *Terentianus*] A *Carthaginian*, liuing in *Diocletians* time, hee wrote a worke of letters, ſyllables and meeters, in verſe, which is yet extant. *Seruius* and *Prifeian* cite him very often. The verſe *Auguſtine* quoteth is in the chapter of *Phalenciakes*. (*f*) *hath written*] *Gellius. lib. 3.* relateth out of *Varro* his firſt booke *Hebdomarum*, that becing ſoure ſcore and ſoure yeares of age, hee had written 490. bookes of which ſome were loſt at the ranſacking of his library when he was proſcribed.

Varro while  
he liued had  
his ſtatue  
ſet vp.

Terentia-  
nus,

### The diuiſion of *Varro's* bookes which he ſtileth, The antiquity of diuine and humane affaires. CHAP. 3.

**H**E wrote one and forty bookes of antiquities: diuiding them into affaires diuine and humane: theſe hee handled in ſiue and twenty of them, the diuine in ſixteene ſo following the diuiſion, that euery ſix bookes of humanity he diuided into (*a*) ſoure parts: proſecuting the perſons, place, time, and nature of them all; in his firſt ſixe hee wrote of the men, in the ſecond ſixe of the places, in his third ſixe of the times, in his laſt ſixe of the actions: One ſingular booke, as the argument of them all, hee placed before them all: In his (*a*) diuinitie alſo hee followeth the ſame methode touching the gods, (for their rites are performed by men in time and place). The ſoure heads I reherſed hee comprifeth in three bookes peculiar. In the firſt three of the men, the next three of places, the third of the times, the laſt of the ſacrifices, herein alſo handling who offered, where, when, and what they offered with acuity and iudgement. But becauſe the chiefe expectation was to know to whom they offered, of this followed a full diſcourſe in his three laſt bookes, which made them vp ſiueene. But in all 16. becauſe a booke went as an argument by it ſelfe before all that followed: which becing ended, conſequently out of that ſiue-fold diuiſion the three firſt bookes did follow of the men, ſo ſub-diuided that the firſt was of the *Prieſts*, the ſecond of  
the

the 3. of the fifteene (a) rite-observerers. His second three books of the places, handled 1. the Chappels, second the Temples: 3. the religious places. The three bookes of the times, handled first their holydaies. 2. the Circensian games: 3. the Stage-playes. Of the three concerning the sacrifices, the 1. handled consecrations: 2. the priuate offerings: 3. the publike. All these as the partes of their precedent pompe, the goddes them-selues follow in the three last, they on whome all this cost is bestowed: In the 1. the goddes knowne. 2. the goddes vncertaine: 3. the whole company of them: 4. the selected principals of them. Now in this goodly frame and fabrike of a well distinguished worke, it is apparant to all that are not obstinately blinde, that vayne and impudent are they that begge or expect eternall life of any of these goddes: both by that we haue spoken and that wee will speake. These are but the institutions of men, or of diuels: not good diuels as hee saith, but to bee plaine wicked spirits, that out of their itrange mallice, instill such pernicious opinions into mens phantasies, by abusing their senses, and illuding their weake capacities, thereby to draw their soules into vanity more deepe, and vnloose the hold they haue, or might haue of the inchangeable and eternall verity. *Varro* professeth him-selue to write of humanity before Diuinity, because first (saith hee) there were Citties and societies, which afterward gaue being to these institutions. But the true religion hath no original from earthy societies: God the giuer of eternall comfort inspi- reth it into the hearts of such as honour him.

## L. VIVES.

*In* (a) 4. parts ] diuided them into foure sections, not inducing parts of contrarieties of such like. (b) *In his Diuinity also* ] *Idem* the old books read, but it may be an error in the copyers. *Idem* is better: In like manner. (c) *Augurs* ] Their order is of great Antiquitie, deriued from *Asia* to *Greece*, thence to *Hetruria* and the *Latine Aborigines*, and so to *Rome*. *Romulus* was an Augur, and made 3. others. *Dionisius*. He set an Augur in euery Tribe. *Liu*. In pro- cesse of time they added a fourth: and afterwards siue more which made vp nine: And so they did with the Priests: *Consuls* *M. Valerius*, and *Q. Apuleius*. (d) *Fifteene rite-observerers*. ] *Tarquin* the proud hauing bought the books of the *Sybil*s, appointed two men to looke in them still as need was: those were called the *Duumvirs* of the sacrifices. Afterwards these two were made tenn; by the *Sextian Licinian* law in the contention of the orders, two yeares before the *Plebeians* were made capable of the Consulship: and a great while after, siue more added, which number stood firme euer after.

*That by Varro's disputations, the affaires of those men that worshipped the goddes, are of farre more Antiquity then those of the goddes them-selues.*

## C H A P. 4.

**T**HIS therefore is the reason *Varro* giueth why hee writes first of the men and after of the goddes who had their ceremonious institutions from men: Euen as (saith hee) *the Painter is elder then the picture, and the Carpenter then the house, so are Citties before their ordinances* But yet hee saith if hee were to write of the full nature of the goddes, hee would haue begun with them, and haue dealt with men afterwards: As though heere hee writ but of part of their natures, not of all: Or that (a) some part of the goddes nature (though not all) should not alwaies be preferred before men? Nay what say you to his discourse in his three last bookes of goddes certaine, goddes vncertaine, and goddes selected? Heere hee seemes to omit no nature of the gods. Why then should he say if wee were to write of all the nature of gods and men, wee would haue done with the

Y

goddes

goddess ere wee would begin with the men? Eytther hee writes of the goddesses natures in whole, in part, or not all: if in whole, then should the discourse haue hadde first place in his worke: if in part, why should it not bee first neuerthelesse? Is it vnfit to preferre part of the gods nature before whole mans? If it be much to preferre it before all the worldes, yet it is not so to preferre it before all the *Romaines*. And the Bookes were written only in *Romes* respect, not in the worldes, yet (saith he) the men are fittest before, as the Painter to the picture, and the Carpenter to the building: plainly intimating that the Deities affaires had (as pictures and buildings haue) their originall directly from man. So then remayneth; that hee wrote not all of the goddesses natures, which hee would not speake plainly out, but leaue to the readers collection. For where hee saith, (b) not all, Ordinarily it is vnderstood (Some) but may bee taken for (None) For none neytther *all* nor *some*. For as hee saith (c) If it were all the goddesses nature that he wrote of, hee would haue handled it before the mens. But truth (hold hee his peace) cryeth out, it should neuerthelesse haue the place of the *Romaines* particular, though it bee but particular it selfe. But it is rightly placed as it is, the last of all, therefore it is none at all. His desire therefore was not to preferre Humanity before Diuinity, but truth before falshood. For in his proceesse of humanity hee followeth history: but in his diuinity nothing but vaine relations and idle opinions. This is the aime of his subtile intimation, in preferring the first, and giuing the reason why hee doth so: Which hadde hee not giuen, some other meanes perhaps might haue bene inuented for the defence of his methode. But giuing it him-selfe, hee neytther leaueth others place for other suspitions, nor sayles to shew that hee doth but preferre men before mens institutions, not mans nature before the Deities: Heerin confessing that his bookes of Diuinity are not of the truth pertaining to their nature, but of their falshood effecting others error: which (as we said in our 4. booke) hee professed that hee would forme nearer to the rule of nature if hee were to build a City: but finding one established already, he could not choose but follow the grounded customes.

## L. VIVES.

**T**hat (a) *some part*] There is no part of the goddesses nature were it neuer so small but is to bee preferred before mans whole. (b) *Not all*] It is a wonder that our Commentators missed to make a large discourse of æquipalences in this place, and of the Logicians axiomes and dignities out of their fellow *Petrus Hispanus*: nor nothing of mobilities, and immobilities. *Augustine* in this place speaketh of the Logicians precepts, of, not *all men* dispute, and *some men* doe not dispute, which runne contrary: But not all affirmeth nothing: so that whether some men do not dispute, or none dispute, not all is truly said of either. For if it bee true that no man do this, then true it is that not all men do it, because some doe it not, if it be false to say all men do it: These arise out of the repugnances of contraries & contradictories: for if it be true that no man is, and false that some man is not such, then shall it be true that [all men are such] all is beeing contradictory to [some is not] and so should [all] and [none] light true in one sence, which cannot bee; these precepts of inquiring truth and falshood, *Aristotle* taught, and the Greeke Logicians after him, as likewise *Apuleius Peribermenias*, *Martian Capella* and *Sennerius Boethius*, whome wee may call Latines, (c) *If it were*] *Augustine* taking away the adiunct taketh that also away to which it is an adiunct: Our Logicians say that reiecting the conditionall conclusion, the precedent is reiected, so if he wrote of any nature of the gods, it were to come before humaine affaires: but that which he doth write is not to come before them: Therefore hee writeth not of Gods nature: Otherwise the consequence were false

were false if the antecedent were true and the consequent false. For the repugnance of the consequent should concur with the antecedent. Now this discourse of mine were logical if the termes were such, that is schoole-termes, filled with barbarisme and absurdity; but because they are grammer, that is some-thing nearer the latine, though not fully latine, yet they are Gramarian, not Logical.

*Of Varro his three kindes of diuinity, fabulous, naturall,  
and politike.* CHAP. 5.

**A** Gaine, what meaneth his three-fold distinction of the doctrine concerning the gods, into mythicall, Physicall, & ciuill; and (to giue him a latine tongue) That is the first, (a) *fabulare*, but we will call it fabulous, for *μῦθος* in grecke, it is a fable or tale. The second Naturall as the vse of the word teacheth plaine. The third hee nameth in latine, Ciuill: And then proceedeth: Mythicall the Poets vse principally: Physicall the Phylosophers: Ciuill the vulgar. For the first (saith hee) it is fraught with fictions most disgracefull to the Deities: As this, that this godde is borne of ones head, that of ones thigh, that of droppes of blood: And this, that the goddes were theeues, adulterers and seruants to man: And finally they attribute such thinges to the goddes, as cannot bee resident but in the most contemptible wretch of all mortality, nor happen but vnto such flauish natures. Here now as farre as feare permitted, hee makes a faire discouery of the iniury offered to the goddes by such vngodly fables: And heere hee might, seeing he speaketh not of the naturall nor ciuill phylosophy, but of the fabulous which hee thought hee might reprehend freely. But now to the next. The (b) second, saith hee is that where-with the Phylosophers haue filled their volumes: Wherein they dispute what, whence, and when the goddes were, whether from eternity of fire, as (c) *Heraclitus* held, or of (d) numbers as *Pithagoras* taught: Or of (e) *Atomes* as *Epicurus* beleueed: and such like as are far more tollerable within the schooles then without, in the place of orations. Here hee blameth nothing in this kinde, but onely relates the controuersies which diuided them into sexes and factions. Yet this kinde he excludeth from the peoples cares, but not the other, which was so filthy and so friuolous. O the religious cares of the people, and euen with them, of *Rome*! The Phylosophers discourses of the goddes they cannot any way indure: but the Poets fictions, and the Players actions, being so much dishonourable to the diuine essences, and fitte to bee spoken of none but the most abiect persons, those they abide and behold with patience: Nay with pleasure. Nay these the gods them-selues do like, and therefore haue them decreed as expiations. I but say some, wee make a difference of these two kindes, the mythicall and the physicall, from the Ciuill, whereof you now are to speake: and so doth he distinguish them also. Well lette vs see what hee saith to that: I see good cause why the fabulous should bee seperate from the rest, because it is false, foule and vnworthy. But in diuiding the naturall and the ciuill what doth hee but approoue that the ciuill is faulty also? For if it be naturall, why is it excluded? And if it be not naturall why is it admitted? This is that that makes him handle the humaine things before the diuine, because in the later hee followed that which men hadde ordained, not that which the truth exacted. But let vs see his ciuill diuinity: The third kinde (saith hee) is that which men of the Citty, cheefely the priests ought to bee cunning in: as, which gods to worship in publike, and with what peculiar sort of sacrifices each one must bee serued: But let vs go on with him. The first of those kindes saith hee was adapted to the Stage. The 2. to the World. The 3. to

the Cittie. VWho seeth not which he preferreth? Euen his second Philosophicall kinde. This belongeth (hee saith) to the VWorld, (f) then which they holde nothing more excellent. But the other two, the first and the third, them he distinguisheth and confineth to the Stage and the Cittie: for wee see that that the pertinence of them to the Cittie hath no consequence why they should pertaine to the VWorld, though there bee Citties in the VWorld; for false opinion may gette that a beleefe of truth in a Cittie which hath not any nature nor place in any part of the VWorld. And for the Stage, where is that but in the Cittie? There ordained by the Cittie, and for what end but Stage-playes? And what Stage-playes but of their goddes, of whome these bookes are penned with so much paynes?

### L. VIVES.

**F**irst (a) *fabulare* The word *Snetonius* vseth: Hee loued (saith hee of *Tiberius*) the reading of *Fabular* History, euen were it ridiculous and foolish. (b) *Second*] The *Platonists*, (chiefly the *Stoikes*) reduced all these goddes fables vnto naturall causes and natures selfe, as their heads. (*Plato* in *Cratylo Cic. de nat. deor. Phurnut.* and others.) But this they doe wring for sometimes in such manner that one may see they do but dally. (c) *Heraclytus*] an *Ephesian*: he wrote a book that needed an *Oedipus* or the *Delian* Swimmer, and therefore he was called *Scotinus*, darke. He held fire the beginning, and end of all thinges, and that was full of soules and *demonos*, spirits. His opinion of the fire, *Hippasus* of *Metapontus* followed. (d) *Numbers*] *Pythagoras* held that God, our soules, and all things in the world consisted vpon numbers and that from their harmonies were all things produced. These numbers *Plato* learning of the Italian *Pythagoreans*, explained them and made them more intelligible: yet not so but that the reader must let a great part of them alone: This *Cicero* to *Atticus* calleth an obscure thing, *Plato* his numbers. (e) *Or of Atomes*] *Epicurus* in emulation of *Democritus* taught that all things consisted of little indiuisible bodies, called therefore *αττομοι*, from which notwithstanding he excluded neither forme, magnitude, nor waight. (f) *Then which they hold*] Nature knoweth nothing more faire, or more spacious. *Seneca. Plato* in *Timeo. Tull. de nat. deor. 2.* and other *Phylosophers* hold this.

### *Of the fabulous and pollitike diuinity against Varro.*

#### CHAP. 6.

**V**arro, seeing thou art most acute, and doubtlesse most learned, yet but a man, neither God, nor assisted by Gods spirit in the discouery of truth in diuinity, thou seest this that the diuine affaires are to bee excluded from humane vanities; and yet thou fearest to offend the peoples vicious opinions and customes in these publike superstitions, being notwithstanding such, as both thy selfe held, and thy written workes affirme to bee directly opposite to the nature of the Deities, or such as mens infirmitie surmized was included in the Elements. What doth this humane (though excellling) wit of thine in this place? what helpe doth thy great reading afford thee in these straits? Thou art desirous to honor the naturall gods, & forced to worship the ciuill: thou hast found some fabulous ones whom thou darest speak thy minde against: giuing (a) the ciuill some part of their disgrace whether thou wilt or no: for thou saist the fabulous are for the Theater, the naturall for the world, the ciuill for the citty: the world being the worke of God, the Theater & Citty of men: nor are they other gods that you laugh at, then those you worship: Nor be your plaies exhibited to any but those you sacrifice vnto: how much more subtile were they diuided into some natural, and some instituted by men? And of these later, the Poets bookes taught one part, and the priests another: yet notwithstanding with such a cohærence in vntruth y the diuels that like no truth approue thē both: but setting aside your natural diuinity (wherof hereafter)

hereafter) pleaseth it you to aske or hope for life eternall of your Poetique ridiculous Stage-goddes? No at no hand. GOD forbid such sacriligious madnesse! Will you expect them of those goddes whome these presentations do please and appease, though their crimes bee the thinges presented: I thinke no man so brainlessly sottish. Therefore neither your fabulous diuinity nor your politique can giue you euerlasting life. For the first soweth the goddes turpitude, and the later by fauouring it, moweth it. The first spread lies, the later collect them. The first hanteth the deities with outragious fixions, & the later imputeth these fixions to the honour of the deities. The first makes songs of the goddes lasciuious pranks, and the later sings them on the gods feast daies. The first recordeth the wickednesses of the goddes, and the later loueth the rehearfall of those records. The first either shameth the goddes, or sayneth of them: The later either witnesseth the truth or delighteth in the fixation. Both are filthy and both are damnable. But the fabulous professeth turpitude openly, and the politique maketh that turpitude her ornament. Is there any hope of life eternall where the temporall suffers such pollution? Or doth wicked company and actes of dishonest men pollute our liues, and not the society of those false-adorned, and filthy adored-fiendes? If their faultes be true, how vile are they worshipped? If false, how wicked the worshippers? But some ignorant person may gather from this discourse that it is the poetick fixions only and Stage-presentments that are derogatory from the Deities glory, but not the Doctrine of the Priests, at any hand; that is pure and holy. Is it so? No, if it were, they would neuer haue giuen order to erect playes for the goddes honour, nor the goddes would neuer haue demaunded it. But the Priestes feared not to present such thinges as the goddes honours in the Theaters, when as they hadde practised the like in the Temples. Lastly our said Author indeauoring to make Politike Diuinity of a third nature from the naturall and fabulous, maketh it rather to bee produced from them both, then seuerall from eyther. For hee saith that the Poets write not so much as the people obserue, and the Phylosophers write too much for them to obserue: both w notwithstanding they do so eschew that they extract no small part of their ciuill religion from either of them: Wherefore wee will write of such thinges as the Poetique and the politique diuinities do communicate: Indeed we should acknowledge a greater share from the Phylosophers, yet som we must thank the Poets for. Yet in another place of the gods generations, hee saith the people rather followed the Poets then the Phylosophers, for he teacheth what should be don, there what was done: that the Philosphers wrote for vse, the Poets for delight: and therefore the poesies that the people must not follow, describe the gods crimes, yet delight both gods and men: for the Poets (as he said) write for delight, and not for vse, yet write such thinges as the gods effect, and the people present them with.

## L. VIVES.

**G**uing (a) the ciuill] The Coleine readeth *Perfundas* [ which wee translate. ] *Varro's* reproches of the fabulous gods must needes light in part vpon the politique goddes, who deriue from the other, and indeed are the very same.

*The Coharrence and similitude between the fabulous diuinity and the ciuill.* CHAP. 7.

**T**herefore this fabulous, scænicall, filthy, and ridiculous diuinity hath al reference vnto the ciuill. And all that which all condemne, is but part of this which

which al must be bound to reuerence: Nor is it a part incongruent, (as I mean to shew) or slightly depending vpon the body of the other, but as conformed & consonant as a member is vnto the fabrike of the whole body. For what are al those Images, formes, ages, sexes and habits of the gods? The Poets haue *Ioue* with a beard, and *Mercury* with none, haue not the Priestes so? Haue the *Mimikes* made *Pryapus* with such huge priuities, and not the Priestes? Doth the Temples expose him to bee honoured in one forme, and the Stage to bee laught at in another? Doe (a) not the statues in the Temples as well as the Players on the Stage present *Saturne* old, and *Apollo* youthfull? Why are *Forculus* and *Limentinus* (goddess of doores and thresholds) of the masculine sexe, and *Cardea* goddess of hinges, of the feminine? Because those are found so in the booke of Priestes which the graue Poets held too base to haue places in their Poems. Why is the Stage-*Diana* (b) armed, and the citties a weaponlesse Virgin? Why is the Stage-*Apollo* a harper, and *Apollo* of *Delphos* none? But these are honest in respect of worfe: what held they of *Ioue*, when they placed his Nurse in the Capitoll? Did they not confirme (c) *Euemerus* that wrote truly (not idely) that all these gods were mortall men? And those that placed asort of (d) glutton parasite goddess at *Ioues* table, what intended they but to make the sacrifices (e) ridiculous? If the *Mimike* had said that *Ioue* hadde his Parasites to a feast, the people would haue laught at it. But *Varro* spoke it not in the goddess derision but their commendation, as his diuinity, not his humaine workes doe keepe the record: He spoke it not in explaining the Stage-lawes, but the Capitols: These and such like conuinceth him to this confession, that as they made the goddess of humaine shapes, so they beleued them prone to humaine pleasures: For the wicked spirits lost no time in instilling those illusions into their phantasies: And thence it came that *Hercules* his Sexten beeing idle fell to dice with him-selfe, making one of his handes stand for *Hercules* and another for him-selfe: and plaid for this: that if hee got the victory of *Hercules*, hee would prouide him-selfe a rich supper, and a (f) wench of the Temple stocke: and if *Hercules* ouer-came, hee would prouide such another supper for him of his owne purse: hauing there-vpon won of him-selfe by the hand of *Hercules*, hee prouided a rich supper, and a delicate curtizan called (g) *Laurentina*. Now she lying all night in the Temple, in a vision had the carnall company of *Hercules*, who told her that the first man shee mette in the morning after her departure should pay her for the sport that *Hercules* ought her for. She departing accordingly met with one *Tarutius* a rich yong man, who falling acquainted with her and vsing her company long, at last dyed and left her his heire. Shee hauing gotte this great estate, not to bee vngratefull to the Deities whose reward shee held this to bee, made the people of *Rome* her heire: and then being gone (none knew how,) a writing was found that affirmed that for these deedes shee was deified. If Poets or Players had giuen first life to this fable, it would quickly haue beene packt vppe among fabulous diuinity, and quite seclused from the politike society. But since the people not the Poets, the Ministers not the Mimikes, the Temples not the Theaters are by this author taxed of such turpitude, The Players doe not vainely present the goddess beaftiality, it beeing so vile, but the Priestes doe in vayne to stand so earnestly for their honesty, which is none at all. There are the sacrifices of *Inno*, kept in her beloued Iland (h) *Samos*, where *Ioue* marryed her. There are sacrifices to *Ceres*, where shee sought her daughter *Proserpina* when *Pluto* hadde rauished her: To *Venus* (i) where her

Laurentina  
Hercules  
whore de-  
fied.

sweete

sweete delicate *Adonis* was killed by a boare: To *Cibele*; where her sweete heart *Atis*, a faire and delicate youth being gelded by chaste fury, was bewayled by the rest of the wretched gelded *Galli*. These sacrifices beeing more beastly then all Stage-absurdities (yet by them professed and practised) why doe they seeke to exclude the Poets figments from their politike Diuinity, as vnworthy to be ranked with such an honest kind? They are rather beholding to the Players that do not present all their secret sacriledges vnto the peoples view. What may wee thinke of their sacrifices done in couert, when the public ones are so detestably prophane? How they vse the Eunuchs, and their *Gaynimesdes* in holes and corners, looke they to that: yet can they not conceale the bestiall hurt done vnto such by forcing them. Let them perswade any man that they can vse such Ministers to any good end: Yet are such men part of their sacred persons. VVhat their acts are we know not, their instruments wee know; But what the Stage presents wee know, and what the whores present: Yet there is no vse of Eunuch nor Pathike: Yet of obscæne and filthy persons there is: For honest men ought not to act them. But what sacrifices are these (thinke you) that require such ministers for the more sanctity as are not admitted, no not euen in (k) *Thymelian* bawdery.

## L. VIVES.

**D**O (a) not ] Interrogatiuely, not to inquire, but to fixe the intention of the speech more firmly in the auditors care. (*Quintill. lib. 9.*) The matter is, *Saturnus* is figured with a beard in Temples, and *Apollo* without one: And there is *Dionisius* of *Syracusa's* iest of taking away *Aesculapius* his beard of gold, saying it is not fit the son haue a beard and the father none. *Apollo's* statue at *Delos* held in the right hand a bow, on the left the three graces, one with a harp, another with a pipe, the third with a flute. (b) *Armed* ] With bow and quiuer. (c) *Eumernus* ] *Eumernus*. Of *Messina* in *Sicilie*: he wrote the true story of *Ioue* & the other gods out of old records, miseries and Hieroglyphikes called by the *Greeks* the holy story. *Ennius* interpreted. it *Cicero*. He is mentioned by *greek* authors, by *Cicero*, *Varro*, *Lactantius*, *Macrobius*, *Seruius*, and many more. *Sextus. Empericus* calleth him *Atheist*, for writing the truth of the gods. So doth *Theodoricus* of *Cyrene*; & numbers him with *Diagora* and the *Theoderi*: *tymon* in *Syllis* calleth him *ὑπερηφανος*, an insolent old fellow, & an vniust writer. (d) *Glutton*. ] To the Priests Colledge, three were added to look to the gods banquets, and called the *Triumviri Epulones*. Afterward they were made two more, siue: Lastly ambition added two more to these, & this number stood of *Septemviri* Epulons, that looked to *g* prouiding of *Ioues* banquet, before whose Image they banquetted also themselves. *Cicero*. (in *aruspic. respons.*) calleth the Parasites, because such euer feed at other mens tables, as *g* greek word intimateth: *Varro* calleth them so by the nature of the word, Parasites, *quasi, Ioues* guests *παράσιτος* of *μαγειρία*, to seek his meat abroad. (e) *Ridiculous* ] *Mimical*. (f) *Awench* ] *Flora* (some say, others *Acca Laurentia*, whose feastes are called *Larentinalia*. Therof read *Macrob. Saturnall. 1.* *Lactantius* glanceth at it. Hir sur-name (saith *Verrius Flaccus*) was *Flaua*: of this also read *Plutarch. Probl.* (g) *Laurentina* ] *Laurentia* Commonly *Larentia*: for *Acca Laurentia* they say was nurse to *Romulus*, and the *Laurentalia* are hir feasts: but his curtizans are the *Floralia*. (h) *Samos* ] An Ile in the *Agean* sea, so called for the height and cragginesse thereof. *Varro* writeth that it was first called *Parthenia*, *Iuno* being ther brought vp, & married to *Ioue*: wherefore she hath a most worthy and anciēt Temple there erected: a statue like a bride & yearly feasts kept in honor of hir marriage. This (*Lactant. lib. 1.*) *Samos* was deare to *Iuno*, for there she was borne. *Virg. Aeneid. (i) Where her sweet* ] *Cynaara* *Adonis* his death. begotte *Adonis* vpon his daughter *Myrrha*, by the deceit of her Nurse: *Adonis* reigned in *Cyprus*. *Val. Probus* vpon *Virgils* Eglogue called *Gallus* following *Hesiod*, saith that hee was *Phanix* his sonne, and that *Ioue* begot him of *Philostephanus* without vse of woman. *Venus* loued him dearely: but he beeing giuen all to hunting, was killed by a Boare. They fable that *Mars* beeing iecalous, sent the Boare to doe it, and that *Venus* bewailed him long; and turned



Venus her  
statue on  
mount Li-  
banus.

Gingrire  
what it is.

Thimele  
wife to La-  
tinus a Mi-  
mike actor.

ned him into a flower, called by his name. *Macrobius* : telles of *Venus* hir statue on mount *Libanus*, with a sad shape of sorrow, hir head vailed, and hir face couered w her hand: yet so as one would thinke the teares trickled down from her eies. The *Phanicians* called *Adonis*. *Cyngra*. (*Pollux*. lib. 4.) and so were the pipes called that were vsed at his yearly funerall feasts, though *Festus* say they were named so because the goose is said to *gingrire*, when she creaketh. Besides, because *Adonis* was slaine in his prime, therefore they dedicated such gardens to *Venus* as made a faire shew of flowers and leaues without fruite: Whence the prouerb came of *Adonis* gardens, which *Erasmus* with many other things explaineth in his *Adagies*, or as *Budaus* calleth the worke in his *Mercuries* seller, or *Minerua's* ware-house. (*k*) *Thymelian*.] A word the *Greekes* vse often: and of the *Latines* *Vitruuius* (*Architect*. lib. 5.) but obscurely in mine opinion, which I will set downe that others may set down better, if such there be. The Stage stood in the Theater betweene the two points farthest extended, and there the Players acted comedy and tragedy: The Senators had their seat between that and the common galleries, wherein there was a place siue foote high which the *Greekes* called *Thymele* and *Logeus*, wheron the tragedian (*chorus* danced; and the comedians too, when they had one, somtimes to the Players, sometimes to the people when the Players were within; there also stood the musique, and all such as belonged to the Play and yet were no actors: and the place got the name of *Orchestra*, from the greek *ὄρχησθαι* to dance: and the *Greekes* call *Thymele* *ἀντίκιον*, belonging to the pipes: and al the Musicians there playing were called *Thymelici*. They thinke it tooke the name *Thymele*, of the Altars therein erected to *Bacchus* and *Apollo*, for *θυμολή* is taken for an Altar. *Donate* applieth *Terence* his words in *Andria*, take *veruim* from the Altar: vnto this *Apuleius* vseth *Thymelicium Choragium* for the Players apparel. (In *Apolog*. 1.) *Thymele* was also the wife of *Latinus* a *Mimike*, and fellow-actor with him in his momery. *Domitian* delighted much in them both as *Martiall* sheweth in his Epigram to him.

*Qua* Thymelem spectas desissemque latinum  
*illa* fronte precor carmina nostra lege.

| As *Thymele* and *Latinus* were in place,  
(Good) reade our verses with the self-same face.

Of the naturall interpretations which the Paynim Doctors pretend for their goddes. CHAP. 8.

Saturnea  
denouner  
of his sons.

But these things (say they) are all to be interpreted naturally & Physiologically. Good, as though we were in quest of Physiology and not of Theology, as if we sought nature and set God aside. For though the true God be God in nature and not in opinion onely, yet is not all nature God; for men, beasts, birds, trees & stones, haue each a nature that is no deity. But if your interpretation of the mother of the gods, be, that she is the earth, what need we seek further? what do they say more that say al your gods were mortal men? For as the earth is the mother, so are they earths children: but refer his sacrifices to what nature you can, for men to suffer (a) womens affects is not according but contrary to nature. Thus this crime, this disease, this shame is professed in hir sacrifices, that the vildest wretch liuing would scarcely confesse by tortures. A gaine if these ceremonies, so much fouler then all Stage-obscænitie, haue their naturall interpretations for their defence; why should not the like pretended excuse be sufficient for the fictions Poeticall? They interpret much in the same manner: so that in that it is counted so horrid a thing to say that *Saturn* deuoured his sons: they haue expounded it thus, that (b) length of time, signified by *Saturns* name, consumeth all thinges it produceth: or as *Varro* interpreteth it that *Saturne* belongeth to the seeds, which beeing produced by the earth, are intombed in it again: others giue other sences and so of the rest. Yet is this called fabulous Theology, and cast out, scorned and excluded for all the expositions; and because of the vnworthy fictions, expelled both from cohærence with the naturall and Phylosophycall kind, as also with the ciuill and politique. Because indeed, the iudicious and learned compilers hereof, saw both the fabulous and the politique worthy reprehension; but they durst not reprocue this as they might doe the other. That, they made culpable, and this

this they made comparable with that, not to preferre eyther before other, but to shew them both fit to bee reiected alike: and so hauing turned them both out of credite without incurring the danger of openly condemning the later: the third the naturall kinde might gette the lesse place in mens opinions. For the ciuill and the fabulous are both fabulous and both ciuill, both fabulous, witness hee that obserues their obscenities, both ciuill, witness hee that obserues their confusing them together in playes and sacrifices. How then can the power of eternity ly in their handes whome their owne statues and sacrifices do prooue to bee like those fabulous reiected gods, in forme, age, sexe, habite, descent, ceremonies, &c. In all which they either are conuicted of mortallity, and attaining those erroneou honours by the diuels assistance, in or after their life or death, or else that they were true diuels them-selues that could catch all occasions of filling mens hearts with errors contagion.

## L. VIVES.

**W**omens (*a*) affects] The Priestes of *Cibile*, the *Galli*, who not being able to doe like men, suffered like women. (*b*) Length of Time] *Cicero de nat. Deo. lib. 2. Saturne* is called *xpivos* in greeke and time, *χρονος*. Of this hereafter.

*Of the offices of each peculiar God.*

## CHAP. 9. II.

**W**hat say you to the obsurd Numitary diuision of the goddes charges. where each one must haue prayers made to him for that which hee commaundeth? (Of these we haue recited part but not all): Is it not more like a scæne of scurrillity then a lecture of Diuinity? If a man should set two Nurfes to looke to his childe, one for the meate, and another for the drinke, as they doe two goddes, *Educa* and *Potica*, hee should bee taken for a *Cumane* asse, or a *Mimicall* foole. And then they haue a *Liber*, that letteth loose the masculine sperme in men, at carnall copulation, and one *Libera* for the women, whome they hold *Venus* (for (*a*) women, they say, doe lette forth sperme also) and therefore they dedicate a mans priuie member to *Liber*, and a womans to *Libera*: Besides (*b*) wine and women they subiect vnto *Liber*, as the prouokers of lust: and in such mad manner keep they their *Bacchanalian* feasts: where *Varro* confesseth that the *Bacche* women could not possibly doe such such thinges vnlesse (*c*) they were madde (*d*) yet the Senate being growne wiser, disliked and abolished these sacrifices. It may be heere they discred the power of the diuels in such mens mindes as held them to be gods. Truly this could not haue bene vppon the Stage: there the players are neuer madde, though it bee a kinde of madnesse to honour the goddes that delight in such gracelesnesse. But what a strange distinction hath hee of the religious and the superstitious, that the later do stand in feare of the gods, and the first doe but reuerence them as parents, not fearing them as foes: and to call al the gods so good that they wil far sooner spare the guilty then hurt the guiltles: and yet for all this the woman in child-bed must haue three gods to look to her after hir deliuerance, least *Syluanus* come in the night and torment her: in signification wherof three men must go about the house in the night, & first strike y thresholds w an hatchet, then with a pestle, and then sweep thẽ with beesomes, that by these signes of worship, they may keep *Syluanus* out: because the trees are not pruned without iron, nor corn is not made into meal without pestles; nor the fruits swept vp together without beesoms: frõ these three acts, three gods got names: (*e*) *Intersidona*, of the hatchets cutting, *Intercisio*: (*f*) *Pilumnus*, of *Pilu* the pestle or mortar.

*Dcherra*

*Demetra*, of *Verro* to sweepe: And these kept *Sylvanus* from the woman in bed. Thus were they fayne to haue three good against one bad, or all hadde beene too little: and these three must with their handsome neate culture, oppose his rough, sauage brutishnesse. Is this your goddes innocence? is this their concord? Are these your sauing Cittie Deities, farre more ridiculous then your Stage-goddes? When man and woman are wedde together, godde *Iugatinus* hath to doe: Nay that's tollerable. When the bride must bee ledde home, godde (*g*) *Domiducus* looke to your charge: now who must keepe her at home? godde *Domitius*: I but who must make her stay with her husband? why that can goddesse *Manturna* do. Oh why proceed wee further! spare, spare mans chaster eares: let carnall affect and shamefast secrecie giue end to the rest! What doth all that crew of goddes in the Bride-hall chamber vppon the departure of the (*h*) *Paranymphs*, the feast maisters? Oh sir, not to make the woman more shamefast by their beeing present but because shee is weake and timorous, to helpe her to loose her virginity with lesse difficulty. For there is goddesse *Virginensis*, Godde *Subigus*, goddesse *Prema*, goddesse *Partunda*, and *Venus*, and *Priapus*. If the man stood in need of helpe in this businesse, why were not one of them sufficient to helpe him? Would not *Venus* her power serue, who they said was so called because virginity could not be lost without her helpe? If there bee any shame in man, that is not in the gods, when the married couple shall thinke that so many goddes of both sexes to stand by at their carnall coniunction, and haue their handes in this businesse, will not thee bee lesse forward and shee more froward? If (*i*) *Virginensis* bee there to loose the Virgingirdle, *Subigus* to subiect her vnder the man, and *Prema* to presse her downe from moouing after the act, what shall \* *Partunda* haue to doe but blush and gette her out of dores, and leaue the husband to doe his businesse. For it were very dishonest for any one to fulfill her name vppon the bride, but hee. But perhaps they allow her presence because shee is a female. If shee were a male and called *Partundus*, the husband would call more protectors of his wiues honesty against him, then the childe-bearing woman doth against *Sylvanus*. But what talke I of this, when (*k*) *Priapus* (that vnreasonable male) is there vppon whose (*l*) huge and beastly member: the new bride was commanded (after a most honest, old and religious order obserued by the Matrons) to gette vppe and sitte? Now, now lette them go, and casheere their fabulous theology from the politicall, the Theater from the Cittie, the Stage from the Temple, the Poets verses from the Priests Documents, as turpitude from honesty, falshood from truth, lightnesse from grauity, foolery from seriousnessse! Now lette them vse all the futtle art they can in it! Wee know what they doe that vnderstand the dependance of the fabulous theology vppon the ciuill, and that from the Poets verses it redoundes to the City againe as an Image from a glasse, and therefore they, not daring to condemne the ciuill kind, present the Image thereof and that they spare not to spit true disgrace vppon, that as many as can conceiue them, may lothe the thing that shape presenteth and resembleth: Which the goddes notwithstanding behold with such pleasure, that that very delight of theirs bewrayes their damned essences; and therefore by terrible meanes haue they wrung these Stage-honours from their seruantes in the sacrifices: Manifesting heereby that them-selues were most vnclane spirits, and making that abiect, reprobate, and absurd Stage-diuinity a part of this ciuill kinde that was held selected and approued, that all of it beeing nought but a lumpe of absurdity framed of such false goddes,

It signifies  
the en-  
bling of the  
woman to  
bring forth  
a childe.

as neuer were, one part of it might bee preferued in the Priestes writings, and another in the Poets. Now whether it haue more parts is another question. As for *Varro's* diuision, I thinke I haue made it playne inough that the diuinity of the Stage and the Cittie belong both to that one politike kinde: And seeing they are both markeable with the like brandes of foule, false and vnworthy impiety, farre bee it from religious men to expect eternall life from eyther of them. Lastly *Varro* him-selfe reckons his goddes from mans originall, beginning with *Ianus*, and so procedes through mans life to his age, and death, ending with (*m*) *Nania*, a goddesse whose verses were sung at old mens funerals. And then hee mentions goddes that concernes not man, but his accidents, as apparrell, meate, and such necessaries of life, shewing what each onely could, and consequently what one should aske of each one. In which vniuersall dilligence of his hee neuer shewed whome to aske eternall life of, for which onely it is that wee are Christians. Who is therefore so dull, that hee conceiue not that this man in his dilligent discouery of politike Diuinity, and his direct and apparant comparison of it with the fabulous kinde, and his playne affirmation that this fabulous kinde was a part of the ciuill, desired onely (*n*) to gette a place for the naturall kinde (which hee called the Philosophers kinde) in the mindes of men? Fully reprehending the fabulous kinde, but not daring meddle with the ciuill, onely shew it subiect to reprehension, so that it beeing excluded together with the fabulous, the naturall kinde might haue sole place in the elections of all good vnderstandings. Of which kinde GOD willing I meane to speake more peculiarly and fully in place conuenient.

## L. VIVE S.

**F**Or (*a*) women] *ipsam*, or *ipsas*. It is a great question in Phylosophy. *Plato* and *Aristotle* say no, only they let down in copulation a certain humor like vnto sweate, which hath no vse in generation; *Pythagoras* and *Democritus* say they are spermatique: and *Epicurus* also after them, as he vseth to follow *Democritus*. *Hipponax* as a meane between them both, saith it is sperm, but not vsful in generation, because it remaineth not in the vessel of conception. (*b*) Wine and women] The Satyrs and mad-women called the *Howling-Bacche* followed *Bacchus*. Here-vpon *Enstasius* saith he had his name from that confused cry. (*Baxoir* is to be mad) and that a [*c*] more was added to help the sound. The women were also called *Mimallonides*, of a hil in *Asia minor* called *minans*, & *Bassarides*, and *Thyiades* of *Thyia* where *Bacchus* his rites had first institution. *Plutarch* describeth their pomp thus: First, was carryed a flagon of wine, & a sprig of a vine: then one led a goat: after a boxe, a pine apple, and a vine-prop: all which afterward grew out of use, and gaue place to better. *De cupid. opum*. There was also the vanne (*Virgill.*) which is otherwise called the creele. *Seruius*. *Varro* names the vine-prop and the pine-apple, & were like the Iuy Iauelins y the *Baccha* bore, which followed *Bacchus* into India. These Iauelins were all guirt round with branches of the vine and Iuy, this Iuy they added because one kinde of it procureth madnes, and makes men drunk (saith *Plutarch*) without wine, and appeaseth thē that are ready to fal into fury: indeed al Iuy is called *uioen* of *uioen*, to prouoke lust: the *Thirse* is also the nuptial crown: also the lamp that they bore in honor of *Dionysus*: but when it striues for y crowne it is written *θυσίς*: the last fillable acnte. In those sacrifices, the offers were rapt with fury, & thence came the name of *Bacchus*. *Val. Prob.* *Baccharis*, is to rage, and the *Baccha* were those raging bedlesn women that performed this sacrifice to *Liber Pater*: they were called *Menades*, & He *Menoles* quasi all mad as *Clement* saith. *Enseb.* (*c*) They were mad] Quiet mindes would not haue committed such fooleries, filthynesse and butcheries; for many slaughters were committed in those sacrifices. *Pentheus*, *Minus* King of India, *Lycurgus* of *Thrace*, and *Orpheus*, were all thus murdered. (*d*) Yet the Senate] of the expulsion by a decree, read *Livy* lib. 39. (*e*) *Intercidona*] So it is in most of the old copyes. (*f*) *Pilumnus*] *Pilumnus* and *Picumnus*.

mus were bretheren gods. *Picumnus* found out the manning of grounds, and therefore was called *Sterquidinus*. *Pilumnus* found out the manner of braying or grinding of corne, and therefore was worshipped by the Bakers, and the pestle called *Pilum* after him. (*Seru. in Aeneid. 9.*) *Italy* (saith *Capella*) ascribeth the grinding of corne to *Pilumnus*. (lib. 2.) *Pilum* was also a *Komaine* weapon with a three square yron head, nine nches long, the staffe fivie foote; and also an instrument where-with they beat any thing to poulder in a mortar. *Modestus*. The ancient *Heturians* and *Latines* made all their meale by morters with hand-labour. Afterwards were Milles inuented for fit vse: which had also plaine and wodden pestles. (*Plin. l. 18.*) *Marcellus* saith that *Pilumnus* and *Picumnus* were rulers of marriage fortunes. *Varro de vita pop. Rom. l. 2.*) If the child liued, that the Midwife placed it vpon the earth, for to bee straight and lucky, and then was there a bed made in the house for *Pilumnus* and *Picumnus*. (d) *Domiducus* *Capella* calls *Iuno* so: *Interduca, Domiduca, Vnxia, and Cynthia* (saith he) thou art to be inuoked at marriages by 5 virgins, to protect their Iourney. (l. 2.) he speaketh to *Iuno*: thou must lead them to fortunate houses, & at the anoynting of the posts, stick down al good luck there, and when they put of their girdle in their beds, then do not faile them: al this *Capella* (b) *Paranymphs* *Hierome* called them the *pronubi*, such as brought the Bride to hir husbands bed: the *Latines* also called them *n auspices*, because (as *Tully* saith) they hand-fisted them and presaged good luck to the marriage: these came from the Bridegroom to the Bride, and returned from hir to him for the vaile. *Tacitus* hath these words of *Nero*: he was obscene in all things lawfull, and lawlesse, and left no villany unpractised, but for more filthinesse, made a sollemne marriage with one of his kennell of his vnnaturall lechers called *Pythagoras*: hee wore his vaile, sent two auspices to him, ordained the brid-bed and the nuptiall tapers. (i) *Virginensis* *Capella* seemes to call her *Cynthia Iuno*. The virgins of old wore a *Virgin fillet*. *Hom. Odyss. 17.* which custome *Rome* got vp, & kept it vntil the ruine of the Empire. *Martia. Qui zona soluit diu Ligatam*: who loof'd 5 long knit-fillet, &c. In *Spain* they vse them yet. (k) *Priapus* he was expelled from *Lampscacū* where he was borne, for the hugeness of his pre-pendent. *Seruius. Lactantius* writes that he & *Silenus* his asse, being al in *Bacchus* his company, stroue who bore the better tooles: and that the Asse ouer-came him, and therefore *Priapus* killed him. *Collumnella* calleth him the terrible-member-god. *Ouid* in his *Priapeia* hath much hereof, which for shames-sake I omit. (l) *Huge and beast-like* *Ouid* confirmeth this.

Para.  
nymphs.

Priapus.

*Priape quod sis fascino grauis sentio, &c.*

And a little after.

*Soles sacrum vinctus pampino caput,  
Ruber sedene: cum rulentate fascino.*

! Since (*Priapus*) thou hast so huge a toole.

! Thou crown'd in vines with fiery face dost sitte:  
Yet looks thy toole as fiery euerie white.

*Horace* also vseth *fascinum* in the same sence: because (saith *Porphyrus*) that the witches often practised their crafts vpon this member: but I think rather because it kept away witch-crafts: for in *Dionysius* his feasts, *Priapus* being rightly consecrated and crowned with a garland by the most honest *Matron* of the town, this was an auoidance of al witch-craft from the corne, as *Augustine* sheweth in the next book, out of *Varro*: and for the auoidance of witch-craft was the Bride bidden to sit vpon it: for *Pompeius Festus* saith that the *fescenine* verses that were sung at marriages seem to deriue their name fro driuing away this *fascinum*: so was *Priapus* the god of seed in marriages as wel as the fields, and worshipped that witch-craft should not hinder their fruitfulness, Vnles it be as *Lactantius* saith (l. 1.) 5 *Musinus* was a god vpon whose priuy part the bride vsed to sit, in signe that he had first tasted their chastity: that this was *Priapus* we shewed in the 4. book, his office was to make the mah more actiue and the woman more patient in the first copulation, as *Augustine* here implieth. *Festus* saith also that the bride vsed to sitte on a sheep-skin, to shew either that the old attire was such, or that hir chief office now was spinning of wooll: *Plutarch* saith that when they brought the bride they laid a sheep-skin vnder hir, and she bore home a distaffe and a spindle. (m) *Nenia* It was indeed a funerall song, sung to the flute in praise of the dead, by the hired mourner, all the rest weeping: *Simonides* his inuention. *Horace*. she was also a goddesse, hauing a Chappel without Port *Viminal*: hir name was deriued from the voyce of the mourners: some it signifieth the end: other thinke it is drawne from the collicke gut which is called *ritro* the out-most and treble string in Instruments is called *ritro* and hereof was the last song sung to one, called *Nenia*. (*Fest. lib. 12.*) (*n*) *Get a place.* ] The sence is *Varro's*; endeauour vnder-hand is to worke out both the poetique and politique Diuinity out of mens hearts, and leaue place onely for the naturall.

Nenia.

Of

Of Seneca's freer reprehension of the cruill Theologie then Varro's  
was of the fabulous. CHAP. IO.

**B**Vt the liberty that this man wanted in reprehending that ciuill diuinity which was so like to the stages, *Anneus Seneca* (whom some proofes confirme to haue liued in the (a) Apostles times) wanted it not fully, though in part he did: In his workes written he had it, but in his life he lackt it. For in his (b) booke against superstitions, farre more free is he in beating downe the politicall kinde of Theology, then *Varro* was against the poeticall. For speaking of Images, the Immortall and sacred gods (saith he) doe they consecrate in a vile, dead, and dejected substance, confining them to shapes of men, beasts, fishes and ambiguous monster-like creatures: calling them deities; which if one should meete aliue were monsters and prodigies. And a little after, speaking of naturall diuinity, hauing reiected some opinions proposeth himselve a question thus: shall I beleeue (saith one) that Heauen and Earth are Gods, that their are some vnder the moone, and some aboute it? shall I respect *Plato*, or (c) *Strato* the Peripatetique while this makes God without a soule, and that, without a body? Answering then to the question: what then saith he: dost thou thinke there is more truth in the dreams of *Romulus*, *Tatius*, or *Tullus Hostilius*? *Tatius* dedicated goddesse *Cloacina*, *Romulus*, *Picus* and *Tiberinus*: *Hostilius*, Feare and Palenes, two extreame affects of man: the one beeing a perturbation of an affrighted minde, the other of the bodie: not a disease but a colour. Are these more like Gods, inhabitants of heauen? And of their cruill and obscæne ceremonies, how freely did hee strike at them? One geldeth himselve, another cuts off his torne partes: and this is their propitiation for the gods anger: but no worship at all ought they to haue that delight in such as this is. The fury and disturbance of minde in some is raised to that hight by seekeing to appease the gods, that (d) not the most barbarous and (e) recorded tyrants would desire to behold it. Tyrants indeed haue rent off the parts of some men, but neuer made them their owne tormentors. (f) Some haue beene gelded for their Princes lust: but neuer commanded to bee their owne gelders. But these, kill themselues in the temples, offering their voves in bloud and wounds. If one had time to take enterview of their actions, hee should see them do things so vnbeseeeming honesty, so vnworthy of freedome, & so vnlike to sobernesse, that none would make question of their madnesse; if they were fewer: but now their multitude is their priuiledge. And then the capitoll trickes that hee recordeth, and fearelessly inueigheth at, who would not hold them mad ones, or mockeries? For first in the loosing of (g) *Osiris* in the Aegiptian sacrifices, and then in the finding him againe, first the sorrow and then their great ioye, all this is a puppetry and a fiction, yet the fond people though they finde nor loose not any thing, weepe, for all that, and reioice againe as heartily as if they had: I but this madnesse hath his time. It is tolerable (saith hee) to bee but once a yeare madde. But come into the Capitol, and you will shame at the madde acts of publike furor. One sets the gods vnder their King, another tells *Ioue* what a clocke it is, another is his sericant, and another maketh a rubbing of him as if hee anointed him. Others dresse *Iuno* and *Minerva's* haire, standing a farre off the temple, not onely of the Image, and tricking with their fingers as if they were a combing and crisping it; another holds the glasse, and another bids the gods to (h) bee his aduocates. Some present them

Z

with

with scrolles, and propound their causes to them. One old (*i*) arch-plaier plaid the Mimike continually in the Capitoll, as if the gods had found great sport in him whom the world had reiected. Nay there yee haue all trades worke to the gods: And a little after: But these though they bee idle before the gods, yet they are not bawdy, or offensiuē. But some sit there, that thinke *Ioue* is in loue with them: neuer respecting *Iuno's* poetically supposed (*k*) terrible aspect. This freedom *Varro* durst not assume, hee durst goe no farther then Theology poetically: but not to the ciuill which this man crusheth in sunder. But if we marke the truth, the temples where these things are done, are worse then the Theaters where they are but fained. And therefore *Seneca* seleceth those parts of this ciuill Theology for a wise man to obserue in his actions, but not to make a religion of. *A wise man* (saith he) will obserue these as commands of the lawes, not as the pleasures of the gods, and againe: Wee can make mariages, *ny* and those unlawfull ones, amongst the gods, joyning brother and sister: *Mars* and (*l*) *Bellona*, *Vulcan* and *Venus*, *Neptune* and *Salacia*: Yet some we leaue single, as wanting (*m*) means of the bargaine, chiefly some being widows, as *Populonia*, *Fulgura*, and *Rumina*, nor wonder if these want sutors. But this rable of base gods forged by inueterate superstition, wee will adore (saith hee) rather for lawes sake then for religions, or any other respect. So that neither law nor custome gaue induction to those things either as gratfull to the gods or vse-full vnto men. But this man whom the Philosophers made as (*n*) free, yet beeing a great (*o*) Senator of Rome, worshipped that he disauowed, professed that he condemned, and adored that he accused: because his philosophy had taught him this great matter, not to bee superstitious in the world, but for law and customes sake, to imitate those things in the Temple, but not acts them in the Theater: so much the more damnably, because that which he counterfeited, he did it so, that the (*p*) people thought hee had not counterfeited: But the plaier rather delighted them with sport, then wronged them with deceit.

L. VIVES.

**A** *Posses* (*a*) times ] It may bee the proofes are the Epistles that are dispersed vnder the name of him to *Paul*, and *Paul* vnto him: but I thinke there was no such matter. But sure it is, that he liued in *Nero's* time, and was Consull then: and that *Peter* and *Paul* suffred martirdome about the same time. For they, and hee left this life both within two yeares: it may be both in one yeare, when *Silius Nerva*, and *Atticus Vestinus* were Consulls. (*b*) *Booke against superstitions* ] These, and other workes of his are lost: one of matrimony, quoted by *Hierome* against *Iovinian*: of timely death, *Lactant*. of earth-quakes, mentioned by himselfe. These, and other losses of old authors *Andrew Straneo* my countirman in his notes vpon *Seneca*, deploreth: a tast of which he sent me in his Epistle, that vnited vs in friendship. He is one highly learned, and honest as highly, furthering good studies with all his power himselfe, and fauoring all good enterprises in others. (*c*) *Strato* ] Son to *Archelaus* of *Lampascus*: who was called the Phisicall because it was his most delightfull studie, hee was *Theophrastus* his scholar, his executor, his successor in his schoole, and maister to *Protomy Philadelphus*: There were eight *Strato's*: *Laert*. in *Vit*. (*d*) *That not the* ] The grammarians cannot endure *Ne* and *quidem* to come together: but wee reade it so in fixe hundred places of *Tully*, *Pliny*, *Linie* and others: vnlesse they answere vnto all these places that the copiers did falsify them. I doe not thinke but an interposition doth better: this I say. (*e*) *Recorded* ] As *Dyomisius*, *Phalaris*, *Mezentius*, *Tarquin the Proud*, *Sylla*, *Cynna*, *Marius*, *Tiberius*, *Claudius*, and *Caligula*. (*f*) *Some haue* ] The Persian Kings had their Eunuches, in whome they put especiall trust. [ So had *Nero* ]. (*g*) *Ofyrus* ] Hee beeing cut in peeces by his brother *Typhon*, and that *Isis* and *Orus Apollo* had reuenged his death, vpon *Typhon*, they went

Iohannes  
andreas  
Straneus.

Strato.

Ofyrus.

went to seeke the body of *Osyris* with great lamentation, and to *Ihs* her great ioy, found it, though it were disparted in diuers places: and hereupon a yearely feast was instituted on the seeking of *Osyris* with teares, and finding him with ioy. *Lucane* saith hereupon *Nunquam satis quasitus Osyris*: the ne're well-sought *Osyris*. (b) *Be his aduocates*] *Vadari* is to bring one to the iudge at a day appointed, *Vadimonium*, the promise to bee there. So the phrase is vsed in *Tully*, to come into the Court, and the contrary of it is, *non obire*, not to appeare, *Pliny* in the preface of his history, and many other authors vse it: the sence here is, they made the gods their aduocates like men, when they went to try their causes. (i) *Arch-plaier*] *Archimimus*, comes of *uauoua*, to imitate because they imitated their gestures whom they would make ridiculous, as also their conditions, and then they were called *Ethopai*, and *Ethologi* whereof comes *Ethopeia*. *Quintil. Pantomimi* were vniuersall imitators, *Archimimi*, the chiefe of all the *Mimikes*, as *Fano* was in *Vespasians* time. Who this was that *Seneca* mentions, I know not. (k) *Terrible*] She was ialous and maligned all her step-sons and *Ioues* harlots; so that shee would not forbear that same *Dadaiian* (statue which *Ioue* beeing angry threatned to marry in *Baotia*. For being reconciled to him, she made it be burnt. *Plut.* Hence was *Numa's* old law. *No harlot touch Iuno's altar. Sacrifice a female lambe to Iuno, with disheueled hayre.* (l) *Bellona*] Some make her his mother, and *Nerione* (or as *Varro* saith, *Nerione*) his wife: which is (as *Gellius* saith) a Sabine word, & signifieth vertue and valour, and thence came the *Nero's* surname. The Sabines had it from the Greekes: who call the sinewes *νεύρα*, and thence comes our *Nerues*] and the Latine *Neruus*. *Plaut. Trucul.* *Mars* returning from a iourney salutes his wife *Nerione*: *Gell. Noct. Att. lib. 10.* (m) *Meanes of the bargain*] That is one to bee coupled with: hence comes the Latine phrase *Quarere condicionem filie*, to seeke a match for his daughter *Linie* lib. 4. *Cic. Philipp.* It was vsed also of the Lawiers in diuorses. *Conditione tua non utar. Ille not vse thy company.* (n) *As free*] We must seeme Philosophy (saith *Seneca*) to be free: vsing free, as with a respect, not simply. (o) *Seneca*] Hee was banished by *Claudius*: but *Messalina* being executed, and *Agrippina* made Emperesse, she got his reuocation, and senatorship, and praetorship of the Emperor, that hee might bring vp her sonne *Nero*. So afterward *Trebell. Maximus* and he were Consuls. *Ulp. Pandect. 36.* Hee was wonderfull rich. *Tranquill. Tacitus.* The gardens of rich *Seneca*. (p) *People*] His example did the harme, which *Eleazar* died to auoide *Macchab. 2. 6.* with far more holinesse and Philosophicall truth.

Seneca his opinion of the Iewes. CHAP. II.

THIS man amongst his other inuectiues against the superstitions of politike Theology condemnes also the Iewes sacrifices, chiefly their saboaths: saying that by their seauenth day interposed, they spend the seauenth part of their life in idlenesse, and hurt themselues by not taking diuers things in their time. Yet dares he not medle with the Christians (though then the Iewes deadly foes) vpon either hand, least he should praise them against his countries old custome, or dispraise them perhaps against (a) his owne conscience. Speaking of the Iewes, he saith: The custome of that wicked nation getting head through all the world, the vanquished gaue lawes to the vanquishers. This hee admired, not knowing the worke of the god-head. But his opinion of their sacraments hee subscribeth. They know the cause of their ceremonies (saith hee) but most of the people doe they know not what. But of the Iewish sacrifices how farre gods institutions first directed them, and then how by the men of God that had the mystery of eternity reuealed to them, they were by the same authority abolished, wee haue both els-where spoken chiefly against the (b) *Manichees*, and in this worke in conuenient place meane to say some-what more.

L. VIVES.

AGAINST (a) his owne] *Nero* hauing fired Rome, many were blamed for the fact by the villens



villens of his Court, and amongst the rest the Christians whom *Nero* was assured should smart for all, because they were of a new religion: so they did indeede and were so extremely tortured that their pangs drew teares from their severest spectators. *Seneca* meane while begged leaue to retire into the contrie for his healths sake: which not obtayning, hee kept him selfe close in his chamber for diuers moneths: *Tacitus* saith, it was because hee would not partake in the malice that *Nero's* sacriledge procured: but I thinke rather, it was for that hee could not endure to see those massacres of innocents. (*b*) *Manichees* They reuiled the old Testament and the Iewes lawe. *August. de Hares. ad Quodvultdeum*, Them scriptures they sayd GOD did not giue, but one of the princes of daikenesse. Against those *Augustine* wrote many bookes.

*That it is plaine by this discouery of the Pagan gods vanity, that they cannot giue eternall life, hauing not power to helpe in the temporall.*

CHAP. 12.

Now for the three Theologies, mythycaill, physicall and politicall: or fabulous, naturall and ciuill: That the life eternall is neither to be expected from the fabulous, for that the Pagans themselues reiect and reprehend, nor from the ciuill, for that is prooued but a part of the other: if this bee not sufficient to proue, let that bee added which the fore-passed bookes containe, chiefly the 4. concerning the giuer of happinesse: for if Felicity were a goddesse, to whom should one goe for eternall life but to her? But being none, but a gift of GOD, to what god must we offer our selues, but to the giuer of that felicity, for that eternall and true happinesse which wee so intirely affect? But let no man doubt that none of those filth-adored gods can giue it: those that are more filthily angry vnlesse that worship be giuen them in that manner, and herein proouing themselues dire& deuills: what is sayd I thinke is sufficient to conuince this. Now hee that cannot giue felicity how can he giue eternall life? eternall life, wee call endlesse felicity, for if the soule liue eternally in paines, as the deuills do, that is rather eternall death. For there is no death so fore nor sure, as that which neuer endeth, But the soule beeing of that immortall nature, that it cannot but liue some way, therefore the greatest death it can endure is the deprivation of it from glory, and constitution in endlesse punishment. So hee onely giueth eternall life (that is endlessly happy) that giueth true felicity. Which since the politique gods cannot giue, as is proued: they are not to bee adored for their benefits of this life as wee shewed in our first fiue precedent bookes: and much lesse for life eternall, as this last booke of all, by their owne helps hath conuincd. But if any man thinke (because old customes keepe fast rootes) that we haue not shewne cause sufficient for the reiecting of their politique Theology, let him peruse the next booke, which by the assistance of GOD I intend shall immediately follow this former.

Eternall  
life.

Finis lib. 6.

THE

# THE CONTENTS OF THE seauenth booke of the City of God.

1. *Whether diuinity be to be found in the select gods, since it is not extant in the politiqne Theology. chapter. 1.*
2. *The selecte gods, and whither they be exempted from the baser gods functions.*
3. *That these gods elections are without all reason, since that baser gods haue nobler charges.*
4. *That the meaner gods beeing buried in silence were better used then the select, whose faults were so shamefully tradused.*
5. *Of the Pagans more abstruse Phisiologicall doctrine.*
6. *Of Varro his opinion that GOD was the soule of the world, and yet had many soules vnder him in his parts, al which were of the diuine nature.*
7. *Whether it stand with reason that Ianus and Terminus should be two gods.*
8. *Why the worshippers of Ianus made him two faces, & yet would haue him set forth with foure also.*
9. *Of Ioues power, and Ianus his compared together.*
10. *Whether Ianus and Ioue bee rightly distinguished or no.*
11. *Of Ioues surnames, referred all vnto him as one God, not as to many.*
12. *That Iupiter is called Pecunia also.*
13. *That the interpretation of Saturne and Genius prone them both to be Iupiter.*
14. *Of the functions of Mars and Mercury.*
15. *Of certaine starres that the Pagans call their gods.*
16. *Of Apollo, Diana and other select gods, called parts of the world.*
17. *That Varro himselfe held his opinions of the gods to be ambiguous.*
18. *The likeliest cause of the propagation of Paganisme.*
19. *The interpretations of the worship of Saturne.*
20. *Of the sacrifices of Ceres Elusynā.*
21. *Of the obscenity of Bacchus sacrifice.*
22. *Of Neptune, Salacia and Venillia.*
23. *Of the earth held by Varro to be a goddesse, because the worlds soule ( his God ) doth penetrate his lowest part and communicateth his essence there-with.*
24. *Of Earths surnames and significations which though they arose of diuers originalls, yet should they not be accounted diuers gods.*
25. *What exposition the Greeke wise-men giue of the gelding of Atys.*
26. *Of the filthinesse of this great Mothers sacrifice.*
27. *Of the Naturallists figments, that neither adore the true Diety, nor vse the adoration thereto belonging.*
28. *That Varro's doctrine of Theology hangeth no way togither.*
29. *That all that the Naturalists refer to the worlds parts should be referred to GOD.*
30. *The means to discerne the Creator from the Creatures, and to auoide the worshipping of so many gods for one, because their are so many powers in one.*
31. *The peculiar benefis ( besides his common bounty ) that GOD bestoweth vpon his seruants.*
32. *That the mystery of our redemption by Christ was not obscure in the precedent times, but continually intimated in diuers significations.*
33. *That Christianity onely is of power to lay open the diuills subtilly and delight in alluding of ignorant men.*
34. *Of Numa his bookes which the Senate for keeping their mysteries in secret, did command should be burned.*
35. *Of Hydromancy whereby Numa was mocked with apparitions.*

FINIS.

Z 3

THE

# THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF THE CITTIE OF GOD:

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishop of *Hippo*,  
vnto *Marcellinus*.

*Whether diuinity be to be found in the select Gods, since it is not extant  
in the Politique Theologie. CHAP. I.*



Diuinity  
wherefore  
to bee  
sought.

Hereas I employ my most diligent endeauor about the extirpation of inueterate and depraued opinions, which the continuance of error hath deeply rooted in the hearts of mortall men; and whereas I worke by that grace of GOD (who as the true GOD is able to bring this worke to effect) according to my poore talent: The quicke and apprehensiuē spirits that haue drawne full satisfaction from the workes precedent, must beare my proceedings with pardon, and pacience: and not thinkemy subsequnt discourse to bee superfluous vnto others because it is needlesse vnto them. The affirmation that diuinity is not to bee sought for terrestriall vies (though thence wee must desire all earthly supplies that we neede) but for the celestiaall glory which is neuer not eternall, is a great matter. This diuinity, or, let mee say deity; for this (a) word our Christians haue now in vse as expressly traduced from the Greeke θεότης. This diuinity therefore or deity is not in that politique Theology which *M. Varro* discourseth of in his 16. bookes: that is, the worship of any god there expressed will not yeeld to man eternall life: hee that will not bee perswaded this is true, out of our sixth booke last finished, when hee hath read this, I beleeue shall not finde any point of this question left vndiscussed: for some perhaps may thinke that the selected gods of *Varro's* last booke (whereof wee sayd some what) and none but they are to bee honored for this eternall beatitude. I say not herein as (b) *Tertullian* said, with more conceite prehaps then truth: if the gods be chosen like (c) scallions, then the rest are counted wicked. This I say not, for I see that out of an elected sort, another perticular election may be made: as out of a company of elected souldiars one is elected for this office in armes and another for one not so weighty: and in the church, when the elders are elected, the others are not held reprobate: beeing all GODS good faithfull elect. In architecture, corner and foundation stones are chosen, yet the rest are not refused but will fit other places. Grapes are chosen to eate: but they are not worth nought which we leaue for wine. The matter is plaine and needes no farther processe. Wherefore neither the gods nor their seruants are faulty, in that they are selected from many: but let vs rather looke what the selected are, and what is the end of their selection.

## L. VIVES.

This (a) word] Vsed by *Hierome*, *Lactantius* and *Fulgentius*: the Greekes deriued the substantiue θεότης, diuinity, from θεός, diuine: which substantiue the Christians tooke in as large a sence as the word it selfe *Diuine*: and when the would expresse Gods nature with the fittest tearme, they vsed θεότης. So doth *Athanas*, both the *Gregories* and other Grecians: which they might rather do (saith *Quintillian*) then the Latines. But yet all the strict rules of art could

not

not keepe the latines from vsing *Deitas*, the deity in expressing Gods proper nature : nor is it extended so farre as *Diuine*, is, or diuinity: for they are spoken of bookes, deeds, men, &c. But neither *Deitas*, or *Deus* are prædicates for them, though they bee diuine. And therefore methinks *Valla* doth blame the Christian writers vnderferuedly, to say they vse a new word, not heard of before. (*In Dialectica.*) For to take away the *Greekes* authority of framing themselves words, is to cancell their old priuiledges. (*b*) *Tertullian.*] Of him read *Hierome de scriptor. Eccl.* Hee was a Priest of (*arithage* Sonne to a vice consull: quicke witted and yehement: he liued in the times of *Seuerus* and *Caracalla*, and wrot much: which being recorded I surcease to recount. *Ciprian* the Martir passed not a day without reading a peece of his workes: but called him his Maister, yet fell hee to bee a *Montanist*, through the enuy and malice of the clergy of *Rome*. All this hath *Hierome*. His bookes, lay many ages lost, at last this very yeare when this booke came forth, *Beatus Rhenanus* of *Slesstad*, a learned scoller found them in *Germanie*, and set them forth at *Frobenius* his presse. (*c*) *Scallions.*] *Bulbus* is a name to all rootes that are like onions. *Palladius* vseth it for the lilly roote: but the proper *Bulbi* are they that the *Arabians* all *Mergarides*, and prouoke lust as *Martiall* shewes. *Plinny lib. 1.* saith the chiefe of those *Bulbi* are the *squilla* or sea vnions, of which sort the roote called *Epimenidia* is onely fit to eate. *Theophrast. lib. 7.* The rest are not for meate.

*Mergarides*  
perhaps our  
English po-  
tatoes.

The selected gods, and whether they be exempted from the baser gods  
functions. CHAP. 2.

Those (*a*) selected gods, *Varro* commendeth in one whole booke, and these they are *Ianus Ioue, Saturne, Genius, Mercury, Appollo, Mars, Vulcan, Neptune, Sol, Orcus, Liber Pater, Tellus, Ceres, Iuno, Luna, Diana Minerva, Venus, and Vesta*. In these 20. are 12. males and 8. females. Now (*b*) whether are they called select, for their principal charges in the world, or for that they were more knowne & adored then the rest? if because of their greater charges, then may they not come to meddle in the petty busineses of the baser gods. But at the conception of the child, whence all those petty gods charges arise, *Ianus* is making fit receit for the seede: (*c*) *Saturne* hath businesse in the seed also; (*d*) *Liber* is making the mans seed flow abundantly: and *Libera* whome they say is *Venus*, she is working the like in the woman: all these are of your selected gods. But then there is *Mena*, the goddesse of the female fluxe, a daughter of *Ioue* but yet a base one. And (*f*) this sway in the fluxe, he giueth to *Iuno* also, in his booke of the select ones amongst whom she is Queene: and here is *Iuno Lucina* together with her stepdaughter *Mena*, rule both one blood. And then there are two obscure fellows (of gods) *Vinnunus* and *Sentinus*, one giueth vitall breth, and another sence to the child begotten. These two base gods do more seruice here then all the other great selected gods, for what is all that the heape together in the womans wombe, without life and sence, but as a lumpe of (*g*) clay and dust,

L. VIVES.

Those (*a*) Selected. ] To the twelue counsellor gods (before remembred) were twelue other added, as Nobles but not Senators: yet such as had greate charge in the world, and great share in diuers consultations, as others of other meaner sort haue sometimes. *Seneca* saith that *Ioue* made *Ianus* one of the *Conscript fathers* and consull of the afternoone: but there hee scoffeth, though indeed all these god-stories are but meere fopperies. And here are the couples *Iupiter* and *Iuno*, *Saturne* and *Tellus*, *Mercury* and *Minerva* (but not married, but both of one science) as *Bacchus* and *Ceres*, *Appollo*, *Diana* and, are ) then

*Mars* and *Venus* the two louers, *Vulcan* and *Vesta* the two fires: *Sol* and *Luna* the worlds two lights: marry *Ianus*, *Neptune*, *Genius* and *Orcus* the goddesse vnchosen, are all too base for them. (b) *Whether*] A problematicque forme of argument. (c) *Saturne*] comming of *Saturn*, a thing sowne. *Var. de Lin. Lat. l. 4.* (d) *Liber*] *Cicero* (*de nat. deor. 2.*) saith that *Liber Bacchus*, sonne to *Ioue* and *Semele*, is one, and *Liber* that the Romaines worship so reuerently with *Libera* and *Ceres* is another. That these two later were *Ceres* children, and so called *Liberi*: *Libera* was daughter to *Ceres*, and called *Proserpina*, saith he. *In Verr. Actio. 6.* These three had a temple neare the great Circuite, vowed by *A. Posthumus* Dictator, and renewed by *Tiberius Caesar*. *Tacit. lib. 2.* (e) *Mena*] the Moone: *muon* in the *Greece*, because the womens fluxe follows her motion. *Arist. de anima.* shee was the daughter of *Ioue* and *Latona*: and therefore he calleth her *Iuno's* step-daughter: But by this name she is vnknowne to the Latines. (f) *This sway*] The women adored *Iuno Fluona*, for stopping this fluxe at conceptions. *Festus.* (g) *Claye and dust,*] alluding to mans beginning and end. *Genesis 1. In claye hee began, and in dust hee shall end.*

*That these gods elections are without all reason since that baser gods  
haue nobler charges. CHAP. 3.*

**B**Vt why doth hee call so many of the selected gods to this charge, and then *Vitumnus* and *Sentinus* get the principall offices of all the rest? Select *Ianus*, he maketh way for the seed: select *Saturne* hee brings it: select *Liber*, hee puts it freely forth: and so doth *Libera* (a) be shee *Ceres* or *Venus*, to the women, select *Iuno* with her daughter *Mena's* helpe, brings fluxe of blood to (b) nourish the birth. But base *Vitumnus*, he brings life to it: obscure *Sentinus*, he giues it sence. Which two gifts are as farre about the rest, as they are short of reason. For as the reasonable creature excelleth that which is but onely sensitiue, as the beast: so the sensitiue must needs excell that which hath neither sence nor life. So that *Vitumnus* the quickner, and *Sentinus* the sence-giuer had more reason to be selected, then either *Ianus* the seed-guider, *Saturne* the giuer, or *Liber* and *Libera* the loosers: which seede it were vnworthy to imagine, vnlesse it were animated and made sensitiue: which select gifts the select gods giue not, but onely a couple of poore obscure fellows that must stand at the doore when these are let in. If they reply, *Ianus* is god of all beginnings, and therefore iustly openeth the wombe: *Saturne* of all seede, and therefore iustly worketh in the mans sowing of it: *Liber* and *Libera* of the distillation of seede in all spermaticall creatures, and therefore must worke in this dispersing of mans: *Iuno* of all births and purgations, and therefore iustly must haue a hand in the womans at this time: Well what of *Vitumnus* and *Sentinus*, haue they dominion ouer all things liuing and sensitiue? If it bee granted, then see how these two are aduanced. For seedesto growe on earth is earths nature: but to liue and haue sence, that comes from the gods of the starres, they say. But if they say that these two haue swaye onely ouer fleshly sensitiues; why then could not hee that giueth sence to fishes and all things else, giue flesh sence also, and extend his generall power through each peculiar? what need then of *Vitumnus* and *Sentinus*? If hee that rules life and sence, rule all things else, and gaue the charge of fleshly sensitiues to these his two seruants, as a place of no credite: Kept these selected gods so fewe attendants, that they could not commit the said base offices to some of their followers, but must debase all (their cause of selection) their nobility to bee ioyned fellow-worke-men with such a base couple? Nay *Iuno* the selected Queene of all the selected (c) *Ioues* wife and sister, yet is *Interduca* to the children, and worketh with a couple of base goddesse *Adeona* and *Abeona*. And there is goddesse

desse *Mens*, that sends the childe a good minde, shee's no select, and yet (*d*) how can a greater guift be giuen to man? Now *Iuno* playes *Iterduca*, and *Domiduca*, as though it were such a matter to make a iourney or to come well home, if one bee not in his right minde: yet the goddesse of this good guift was none of the select. Truly shee deserued it before *Minerua* (*e*) that had charge of the childes memory in this quartering of duties. For who doubteth that it is better to haue a good minde, then a memory neuer so capable? for hee that hath a good minde is neuer euill. But (*f*) many wicked men haue admirable memories, and are so much worse because they cannot forget their euill cogitations. Yet is *Minerua* selected. And for *Vertue* and *Felicitie*, (of whom our fourth booke treateth) those goddeses they had, but neuer selected them, whilst *Mars* and *Orcus*, the one the causer of death, and the other the receiuer, these were selected. Seeing therefore that in these worthlesse affaires, shared amongst so many, the *Patritian* and *Plebeian* God, worke all together in huggermugger: and that some gods that were not held worthy of selection, had more honorable charges in the busineses, then the selected: it resteth to beleue, that their being knowne to the vulgar more then the other, and not their bearing charge about the other, put in their names into this bill of selection. And therefore *Varro* himselfe saith, that (*g*) many father-gods and mother-goddeses, were growne ignoble, like mortall men. If therefore felicity bee not to bee placed amongst those selects, because they gotte their places rather by chance then desert: yet surely fortune should bee one amongst them, or rather about them, who giueth not her gifts by reason, but euer casually, as it falleth out. Shee of right should haue bene their chiefe, as shewing hir power chiefly vpon them; when as we see it was no vertue nor reasonable felicitie of theirs but onely the power of fortune (as all their adorers doe beleue) that made them bee selected. For witty *Salust* it may bee excluded not the gods when he sayd. *Fortune ruleth in euery thing: disposing them rather according to her will then vnto truth*. For they can shew no reason why *Venus* should bee famous and *Vertue* obscure, seeing both are made goddeses, and their merits are not comparable. If *Venus* deserued her enshement in this, that more affect her then vertue, why then is *Minerua* famous, and Lady *Money* obscure, seeing that in all sorts of men there is (*h*) more loues coyne then knowledge? and euen in the artes, you shall not finde one but it is set to sale, and still there is more respect to that which respecteth other ends (*i*) then to that which other ends doe most respect. If therefore the fond vulgar were the selectors, why was not *Money* put before *Minerua*, since all their trades aime at *Money*? But the wise-men selected them, why was *Venus* preferred before *Vertue*, which all reason will of right preferre? Certainly (as I sayd) if fortune (who as they thinke, that thinke her so powerfull) ruleth in euery thing (disposing them rather according to her lust and liking then to right or reason) had so much power ouer the gods, that shee could aduance and obscure whom shee list, then should the first place of the selected of right haue bene hers, that had such authoritie ouer the state of the gods. But may wee not thinke that Fortune was Fortunes owne foe, and so kept her from the place? Sure it was so: shee was her owne foe, that could giue aduancements to others, and tooke none her selfe.

A good minde better then memory.

### L. VIVES.

[*Ibera*, (*a*) *bee* *bee*] Wee said shee was sister to *Dionysius*, and that they two betoken the Sunne

Sunne and Moone, that rule in naturall feedes of all sorts, we wil shew that *Luna* is also *Venus* and *Ceres*. *Apulei. Metamorph. lib. 11. Macrob. Saturn. 1. Val. Prob. Seruius in Georg. 1. Propheyy* saith the Moones generatiue vertue is called *Ceres*. *Virgill*, following *Varro*, ioynes *liber* and *Ceres*: whence it is plaine that *Ceres* was also called *libera*. (b) *To norish*.] Hereof *Plin. lib. 7.* It is the matter or substance fitted for generation the masculine seed congealing in it, and so growing to perfection, when it flowes in women with child, their burthen is dead, or corrupted. *Nigidius*. Then this bloud menstruall there cannot be a more filthy, nor venemous thing: which alone is inough to curbe and dash the proud heart of man. (c) *Wife and sister*.] *Virgill*: It is common. (d) *How can*.] This is all the Philosophers saying: a man is the wonder of the world, and the mind the wonder of the man. (e) *That had charge*.] In *Mineruas* feasts the children caried new yeares-gifts to their maisters and made a play day of that, to do seruice to *Minerua* that ruled the memory, the store-house of discipline, and the especiall signe of wit in little children as *Quintilian* saith; shee ruleth the wit also and was called the birth of *Loues* braine. *Ouid. fastor*.

*Pallada nunc iuri tene: æq. ornate puellæ:  
Qui bene placarit Pallada doctus erit.*

[ Now Pallas temple (youthes and damells) fill,  
He that can please her shall haue wit at will,

And so he proceedeth. (f) *Many wicked*.] *Plato* in his *Thætetus*, saith that the cholericke person is the best memoried: gessing doubtlesse by the hot and dry braine. (g) *Many father gods*.] *Ioue* is about *Saturne*, and he about *Calus*, whose parents are vnknowne, though *Phur-nutus* calls his father by the name of *Amon*, *Iuno* also is more famous then *Ops*, and shee then her mother. (h) *More loues coyne*.]

*Querenda Pecunia primum est: vertus post nummos*

*Hæc Ianus summus ab imo Perdocet:*

*Hæc recinunt iuuenes dictata senesque.*

First coyne, then vertue: this doth *Ianus* sing,

And this through mouthes of youth and age doth ring.

*Euripides* presents one in a humor neglecting althings, all reproches for wealth: his reason is: why what? doe they aske how good one is? how honest? no, how ritch? each one is that which hee possesseth. (i) *Then to that which*.] A difference of reading, but it is reformed, the *Axiom* is *Aristotles, Poster. 1. That*, whose end respecteth another is not so good as the end it respecteth, and principles are both plainer and before their conclusions, in precedency, though here he speake not so much of the finall cause as of the efficient. But in his *Ethickes* he teacheth that the things respected are better then the things respecting.

*That the meaner gods being buried in silence were better vsed then the select,  
whose faults were so shamefully traduced.*

CHAP. 4.

**N**OW any one that longed after honor might gratulate those selected gods and say their selection had bin good if it had not rather beene vsed to their disgrace then their honors, for the basenesse of the meaner sort kept them from scornes. Indeed we do laugh when wee see how fond opinion hath parted them into squadrons, and set them to worke vpon trifles like (a) spittle men, or the (b) gold-smith in the siluer-streete, where the cup goeth through so many hands ere it bee done, when as one good worke-man might do all himselfe. But I thinke they had each such little shares, to learne their worke the sooner, least the whole should haue beene too long in learning. But we can scarcely finde one of the vnselected gods that is become infamous by any foule act doing: but scarcely one of the select, but on the contrary. The latter came downe belike to the base workes of the first, but the first ascended not to the high crimes of the later. In (c) deed of *Ianus* I finde nothing blame-worthy: perhaps he liued honestly and out of the (d) ranke of villaines, he receiued *Saturne* courteously, being expelled his kingdome, and shared his state with him, and they built two cities, the one  
*Ianiculum,*

*Ianiculum*, the other *Saturnia*. But those sencelesse adorers of Idolatry and filthinesse, haue made him a very monster: some-times with two faces, some-times with foure. Did they desire that since the other gods had lost all (e) honesty of face by their fowle actes, his innocence should bee the more apparant by his many fore heads?

## L. VIVES.

**L**ike (a) *Spittle-men*] A diuerse reading: ours is the best as I thinke. Hee doth meane such men as had the gathering of some abiect pence, of little or no vse to the state: some fragments of collections. (b) *Goldsmiths*] One carues, one guildes, one sets on an eare, or a corner or such like, though the place sellers are not Gold-smiths, but put their worke out to the goldsmiths themselves or rather bankers, or exchangers: the workemen kept shops about the great market place. *Virru. l. 5. Liu. lib. 26.* To get thee out of the market place, is *Plautus* phrase in his *Perfa.* *Augustine* vieth the *Syluer-streets* here, for a place where the gold-smiths wrought. (c) *Of Iannus*] Hee was borne in *Italy*, and raigned there with *Camefes*, borne there also: the country was called *Camefena*, the Cittie *Ianiculum*: but he dying, *Iannus* ruled all, and entertained *Saturne* in his flight from *Crete*: learned husbandry of him, and shared his kingdome with him: giuing him Mount *Tarpeius*, whereon there stood a tower and a little towne which he called *Saturnia*: *Aeneas* would haue called it *Aeneopolis* afterwards, but it kept the olde name *Saturnia* still: there were some monuments of it remained long after: the *Saturnian* gate called afterward *Padana*, as the writing on the wall testifieth; and the temple of *Saturne* in the entrance. *Tarquinius* the proud afterwards building *Ianus* temple, and *Saturne* being as it were expelled from thence also by his sonne, the whole *Capitoll* was dedicated in the name of *Great omnipotent Iupiter*. *Virg. Aeneid. 8. Seru. ibid. Ouid. fast. 1. Entrop. Solin. Macrob. Diony. & Pruden. ius.* There is a booke vnder *Berosus* the *Chaldeans* name that saith *Ianus* was *Noah*: I hold that booke nothing but meere fables, worthy of the *Anian* Commentaries. Of *Iannus*, here-after you shall heare more. (d) *Ranke of villaines*] *Ouid. (fast. 6.)* saith hee rauished nimph *Crane*, who was afterwards called *Carna*, and made goddesse of hinges: But *Augustine* either had forgot it, or else held it but a false fiction. (e) *Honesty of face*] the face and the forehead are taken for shame. Hence is *Plinies* *Perfricare faciem & frontem in Quintilianum*, so make one ashamed. *Lucan.*

*Nec color imperii, nec frons erit vlla senatus:*

The Court will want all shame, the state all shape.

And *Perfus.* Exclamet *Melicerta* perisse---*Frontem de rebus*----

Let *Melicerta* crye---All shame is fledde.

Of the Pagans more abstruse Physiologicall doctrine.

## CHAP. 5.

**B**ut let vs rather heare their naturall expositions, where-with they would seeme to cloake their pitious errors as in cloudy mysteries. First *Varro* so commends them, that he saith the pictures, shapes and vestures of the gods were erected of old for the deuoute, therein to contemplate the worlds soule, and the parts thereof, that is the true God: in their mindes: whereof such as erected humane shapes, seemed to compare the immortall essence vnto the soule in man, and as if the vessel should bee put for the thing it selfe, and a flaggon (a) set in *Libers* temple, to signifie wine; taking the continent for the contained; so by that humane shape, the reasonable soule in the like included might bee expressed, of which nature they say that God, or the gods are. These are the mysticall doctrines which his sharpe witt went deepe into; and so deliuered. But tell mee thou acute man, hast thou lost that iudgement in these mysteries that made thee say, that they that first made Images, freed the Cittie from all awe, and added error to error,



error, and that the old *Romaines* serued the gods in better order without any statues at all? They were thy authors for that thou spokest against their successors. For had they had statues also, perhaps feare would haue made thee haue suppressed thy opinion of abolishing Images, and haue made thee haue sought further for these vaine *Mythologies* and figments: for thy soule, so learned and so ingenious (which we much bewaile in thee) by being so ingratefull to that God (by whom, not with whom it was made: nor was a part of him but a thing made by him, who is not the life of all things, but all lifes maker) could neuer come to his knowledge by these mysteries. But of what nature and worth they are, let vs see. Meane time this learned man affirmeth, the worlds soule intirely to bee truly God, so that all his Theologie being naturall, extendeth it selfe euen to the nature of the reasonable soule. Of this naturall kinde hee speaketh briefly in his booke whence we haue this: wherein wee must see whether all his mysticall wrestings can bring the naturall to the ciuill, of which he discourseth in his last booke of the select Gods: if he can, all shall be naturall. And then what need hee bee so carefull in their distinction? But if they be rightly diuided, seeing that the naturall that he liketh so of is not true, (for hee comes but to the soule, not to God that made the soule:) how much more is the ciuill kinde vntrue and subiect, that is, all corporall and conuersant about the body as his owne interpretations being dilligently called out, shall (by my rehearfall) make most apparent.

## L. VIVES.

**F**laggon (a) *Oenophorum*, of *ivos*, wine, and *oleu* to carry, *Iuuenall* vseth the word. *Sat. 6.* and *Apuleius Asin. l. 2. & 8.* and *Martiall. Pliny* saith, it was a worke of the rare painter *Praxitales*: but he meanes a boy bearing wine. *Beroaldus* out of this place gathereth that they vsed to set a flaggon of wine in *Bacchus* temple: It is more then hee can gather hence, though it may be there was such an vse.

*Of Varro his opinion that God was the soule of the world, and yet had many soules under him in his parts, all which were of the diuine nature.*

## CHAP. 6.

**T**He same *Varro* speaking further of this Physicall Theologie (a) saith, that he holds God to be the soule of the world, which the Greekes call *κόσμος*, and (b) that this world is God. But as a whole man, body and soule, is called wise of the soule onely, so is the world called God in respect of the soule onely, being both soule and body. Here (seemingly) he confesseth one God, but it is to bring in more, for so he diuides the world into heauen and earth: heauen into the ayre and the skie, earth into land and water: all which foure parts he fillles with soules, the skye (c) highest, the ayre next, then the water, and then the earth: the soules of the first two hee maketh immortall, the latter mortall. The space betweene the highest heauen and the Moone hee fillles with soules ethereall and starres, affirming that they both are and seeme celestiall Gods: (d) Betweene the Moone and the toppes of the windes he bestoweth ayry soules, but inuisible (laue to the minde) calling them *Heroes Lares*, and *Genij*. This he briefly recordeth in his prologue to his naturall Theologie, which pleased not him alone, but many Philosophers more: whereof with Gods helpe we will discourse at full, when wee handle the ciuill Theologie as it respecteth the select gods.

L. VIVES.

## L. VIVES.

**T**heology (a) saith] The Platonists, Stoicks, Pythagorians and the Ionikes before them all, held God to bee a soule: but diuersly: Plato gaue the world a soule, and made them conioyned, god. But his other god, his *Mens*, he puts before this later, as father to him. The Stoicks and hee agree, that agree at all. *Thales* and *Democritus* held the worlds soule the highest god. (b) *That this*] Plato, the Stoicks and many Phylosophers held this. (c) *Skie the highest*] Aristotle puts the fire about the ayre and the heauen: the Platonists held the heauen to be fiery, and therefore called *Aether*. And that the ayre next it was a hurtlesse fire, kindled by it. This many say that Plato held: following *Pythagoras*, who made the vniuersall globe of 4. bodies. But *Varro* heere maketh ayre to be next heauen, as the Stoicks did especially, and others also. Though the Platonists and they differ not much, nor the *Peripatetiques*, if they speak as they meane, and be rightly vnderstood. But *aether* is the aire as well as the skie and fire, as *calum* is in latine. *Virgil*.

*Vlla lenem fugiens raptim secat athera pennis:*

With swift-wing'd speede she cuts the yeelding aire,

(d) *Betweene the moone*] The first region of the Ayre (Aristotle in his Physicks) ending at the toppe of the cloudes; the second containyng the cloudes, thunder, rayne, hayle and snows the third from thence to the Element of fire.

*whether it stand with reason that Ianus and Terminus  
should bee two godees. CHAP. 7.*

**I**anus therefore whome I begun with, what is he? The (a) world. Why this is a plaine and brief answer: but why hath (b) he the rule and beginnings then, and another (one *Terminus*) of the ends? For therefore they haue two (c) months dedicated to them *January* to *Ianus*, and *February* to *Terminus*. And so the (d) *Terminalia* are then kept, when the (e) purgatory sacrifice called (f) *Februm* was also kept, whence the moneth hath the name: Doth then the beginning of things belong to the world, to *Ianus* and not the end but vnto another? Is not al things beginning in the world to haue their end also therein? What fondnesse is this, to giue him but halfe a power, and yet a double face? were it not better (g) to call that double-faced statue both *Ianus* and *Terminus*, and to giue the beginnings one face and the ends to another, because he that doth an act must respect both? For in all actions he that regardeth not the beginning fore-seeth not the end. So that a respectiue memory and a memoratiue prouidence must of force go together. But if they imagine that blessednes of life is but begun and not ended in this world, and that therefore the world (*Ianus*) is to haue but power of the beginnings: why then they should put *Terminus* amongst the selected gods before him: For though they were both imploied about one subiect, yet *Terminus* should haue the better place; for the glory is in the conclusion of euery act, and the beginnings are full of doubt and feare till they bee brought to perfection, which euery one at his beginning of an act doth desire, intend and expect, nor ioyeth hee in the beginning, but in the consummation of his intents.

## L. VIVES.

**T**he (a) world] *Macrobius Saturn. 1.* (b) *The rule of*] *Xenon* saith, because he did first induce religion into *Italy*; therefore he deserued to be ruler of the beginnings of sacrifices: he that would know more of this, let him read *Macrobius*, a known author. (c) *Months*] The *Romaine* yeare before *Numa* had but 10. months w<sup>th</sup> the *Albanes*. *Numa* added the 2. last, *January* & *February*. *Varro*. *Plutarch*. *Ouid* thinketh that *January* of old began the yeare. (Fast. 2.) & *February* ended it, the last day wherof was *Terminus* his feast, and that afterwards the *Decembris*

in the 12. tables ioyned January and February together. (d) *Terminalia*] the last feast of February, before the expulsion of *Tarquin*: but after they kept the kings-flight feast after the other. The *Terminalia* (saith *Bede*) were the 23. of February. *De nat. rerum.* (e) *The purgatory*] The *Terminalia* were no purgations, but the *Februa* were, which were kept that moneth also, (f) *Februa*] *Ouid fastorū. 2.* *Februa Romani dixerē pia minā Patres.*

Our fathers said the *Februa* were purgations.  
And a little after. *Deniq̄ quocumq̄ est quo corpora nostra purgantur,*  
*Hoc apud intonsos nomen habebat auos.*  
What euer washt the bodies guilt away,  
Vnkempt antiquity call'd *Februa*.

And hence came our February. (g) *To call that double-faced*] *Cicero* seemes to make *Ianus* God both of beginnings & ends. *De nat. deor. 2. Macrob.* doth the like, following y opinion of many.

*Why the worshippers of Ianus made him two faces, and yet would haue him set forth with foure also.* CHAP. 8.

**B**UT now to the meaning of *Ianus* (a) his two faces. Two hee had (say they) one before, another behind, because when we gape, our mouth is like the world (& therefore the Greeke called them (b) palate, *uenter*, heauen. And some Latine poets haue called the palate *Cælum*, heauen also: from whence is a way out-ward, to the teeth, & inward to the throate. See now to what a passe the world is come, for your Greeke or poetical name of the palate. What is all this to life eternall? or the soule? here is gods worship all bestowed, for a little spittle to spit out, or swallow downe, as the gates shall open or shut. But who is so foolish that cannot finde in the world two contrary passages, whereat one may enter in or out? but of our mouth & throate (whose like is not in the world) must frame the similitude of the world in *Ianus*, onely for the palate, (c) whose similitude is not in *Ianus*. And whereas they make him 4. faces, calling his statue double *Ianus*, these they attribute to the 4. corners of the world, as if the worlds foure corners looked all forward, as his 4. faces do. Againe if *Ianus* be the world, & the world consist of 4. parts then the picture of two faced (d) *Ianus* is false (for though he be foure-faced sometimes, yet he neuer hath foure gates). Or if the two-faced picture be true, because east & west includeth vsually all the world, will any man when we name the north and the south, call the world double, as they doe *Ianus* with his 4. faces? nor haue they any similitude in the world correspondent to their foure gates of ingresse & egress; as they haue found for the 2. faces in the mouth of a man: (e) vnlesse *Nep-tune* come with a fish, there indeed in his mouth is a passage in and a passage out, and waies forth on either side his chaps. But of all these wayes there is none leadeth any soule from vanity, but such as heare the truth say; *I am the way*.

John. 10.

### L. VIVES.

**I***anus* (a) his] Some say his wisdom & prouidence procured him this double fronted statue, as *Homer* saith of a valiant fellow: *ἀμὲν πρῶτον καὶ ὀπίσσω λυσσῶν*; hee looked both before & behinde at once. *Plutarch* gaue two reasons for this statue. First because he was first a Grecian called *Perlabus* (as is recorded) and then comming into *Italy*, changed both name, language, and conditions. Secondly because he taught the *Italians* both husbandry and pollicy, *Problems*. Others (as *Ouid*, which reason *Augustine* here toucheth) say hee signifieth the world, one face being the east, and another the west. Some say he had reference to the rising and setting of the sunne, & signified the sun. *Nigidius* he also saith that the *Greekes* worshipped *Apollo Thyannes*, and *αγῶν*: the Porter, and the Journey-guider. But I thinke not in that shape that the *Romains* worshipped *Ianus*: for *Ouid* saith:

*Quem tamen esse deum dicam te Iane biformis?*  
*Nam tibi par nullum Grecia nomen habet.*

In English thus:

What god (two-fronted *Ianus*) shouldst thou be?  
Of all the gods of *Greece* is none like thee.

He

He was framed with foure faces also. *C. Bass. de diis apud Macrob.* *Ianus* hath two faces as the doore-keeper of heauen and hell : foure faces , because in his Maiestie hee compriseth all the earths climates. This is *Janus* who in their ceremonies they called double *Ianus*: the two faced one was called *Ianus* the simple: the others Temple was open in war and shut in peace. (*b*) *Palate, uerbor* ] *Arist. de part. Animal.* And *Pliny* imitating him, vseth *calum* for the palate. (1. 11.) speaking of the brain: this (quoth he) is the most excellent of the spermatie parts nearest to the [ heauen of the head, ] palate. (*c*) *Whose similitude* ] or , from whose similitude *Ianus* hath his name. (*d*) *Ianus is false* ] Some hold the rest, vnto [ Or if the two fac'd picture ] to bee foisted in. It is not very vnlikely by the subsequence. (*e*) *Vnlesse Neptune* ] for in men it cannot bee found.

Of *Ioues* power, and *Ianus* his compared together. CHAP. 9.

**B**Vt let them tell vs now whom they meane by *Ioue* (*a*) or *Iupiter*. He is a God (quoth they) that rules the causes of all effects in the world. This is a great charge. Aske (*b*) *Virgils* excellent verse else.

*Fœlix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.*

O blessed he, and excellent, that kens the cause of each euent.

But why then is *Ianus* preferred before him? let the great absolute scholler speake. Because saith he, *Ianus* rules the first things, and *Ioue* the greatest. Why then *Ioue* is still worthy of the superioritie : the greatest things controule the first : and excell them in dignity though they be short of them in time. If the beginnings, and the excellencies of all actes be compared together this is true: To goe is the beginning of an acte; but to finish the iourney is the perfection. To begin to learne, is another, but the habite of learning is the excellence, and so in all things, the beginning is the first, and the end the best. But the cause of *Ianus* & *Terminus* is already heard. But the causes that *Ioue* swayeth are not effects, but efficient: nor can the facts begun or ended be before them, for the agent is alwayes before the acte. Wherefore let *Ianus* haue sway in beginnings of acts, *Ioue* yet hath dominion in things before his. For nothing is either ended or begun without a precedent efficient cause. Now as for this great natures maister, and cause-disposing God, if the vulgar call him *Ioue*, and adore him with such horrible imputations of villanie as they doe, they had better and with lesse sacriledge, beleue no God at all. They had better call any one *Ioue* that were worthy of these horred and hatefull horrors, or set a stocke before them and call it *Ioue*, with intent to blaspheme him (as *Saturne* had a stone laide him, to deuoure in his sonnes stead) then to call him both *thunderer*, and *letcher*, the worlds ruler, and the womens rauer, the giuer of all good causes to nature, and the receiuer of all bad in himselfe. Again if *Ianus* bee the world, I aske where *Ioues* seate is is? our author hath said that the true Gods are but parts of the worlds soule, and the soule it selfe: well then hee that is not such, is no true God. How then? Is *Ioue* the worlds soule, and *Ianus* the body, this visible world? If it be so, *Ianus* is no god, for the worlds body is none: but the soule and his parts onely, witnesse them-selues. So *Varro* saith plainly, hee holds that God is the worlds soule, and this soule is god: But as a wife man hath body and soule, and yet his name of [ wife ] is onely in respect of his soule. So the world hath soule and body, yet is called God onely in reference to the soule. So then the worlds body alone is no god: but the soule, either sepe-  
rate or combined with the body, yet so that the god-head rest onely in it selfe: if *Ianus* then be the world and a god; how can *Ioue* be a part of *Ianus* onely, and yet so great a god? for they giue more to *Ioue* than *Ianus*, *Iouis omnia plena; all is full of Ioue*, say they. Therefore if *Ioue* be a god, & the king of gods, they cannot make any but him to bee the world, because hee must reigne ouer the rest, as ouer his

owne parts. To this purpose *Varro* in his booke of the worship of the gods which he published seuerall from these other, set downe a distich of *Valerius (c) Soranus* his making: it is this;

*Iupiter omnipotens regum; rex ipse deusque,  
Progenitor, genitrixq; deum, deus unus & omnis.  
High Ioue, Kings King, and Parent General;  
To all the gods: God onely, and God all.*

These verses *Varro* expoundeth, and calling the giuer of seed, the male, and the receiuer the female, accounted *Ioue* the world, that both giueth all seed it selfe, and receiueth it into it selfe. And therefore *Soranus* (saith hee) called *Ioue*, *Progenitor, genitrixq;*, father and mother, *Full Parent general, to all &c.* and by the same reason is it that he was called, one and the same, all: for the (f) world is one, and all things are in that one.

### L. VIVES.

[*One (a) or Iupiter*] For they are both declinable nominatiues: *Genetimo, Iouis* and *Iupiteris*: though wee vse the nominatiue onely of the later, and the other cases of the first, as the Greekes doe *Zeus* and *J'os (b) Virgils*] *Georgic. 2.* calling the inuestigators of causes happy, as the Philosophers did, of the *Peripatetiques* and *Academikes*, *Arist. Ethic. 10.* [*Cicero de finib. 5.*] (*c) Soranus*] Mentioned by *Cicero, de Oratore. 1. Plin. lib. 3. Solin. Polibist. Plut. Probl. Macrob. Saturn. Seru. in Georg. 1.* Hee was a learned Latine, counted the best scholler of the Gowned professors. *Cic. de orat. 1. Varro* was so held also but *Soranus* before him, as *Ennius* the best Poet before *Virgill*. Hee had honors at Rome, and the tribuneship for one: and because hee spoake the secret name of Rome which no man might vtter, hee lost his life. *Plin. Solin. Macrob. and Plutarch*, though in *Pompeys* life *Plutarch* saith that *Q. Valerius* the Philosopher (which most vnderstood to be *Soranus*) was put to death by *Pompey*. But this is but at the second hand (saith he) from *Oppius*: let vs beware how wee trust a friend to *Cesar* in a storie of *Pompey*. Some say hee died suddenly: Others, that hee was crucified. *Seru. (d) Iupiter*] The old copies read *Iupiter omnipotens, regum rerumq; deumq;*, for the first verse. (*e) Giuer of seede*] *Orph. Hymn.*

*Zeus ἀπαν ἔκ.*

God as a man begets, as woman, breeds.

(f) World is] So held all the best Philosophers against *Anaximander, Anaximenes, Aristarchus, Xenophanos, Diogenes, Leucippus, Democritus* and *Epicurus*, all which held many worlds.

*Whether Ianus and Ioue be rightly distinguished or no.*

### CHAP. 10.

**W**herefore *Ianus* being the world, and *Ioue* the world also, and yet the world but one, why then are not *Ianus* and *Ioue* one? Why haue the seuerall Temples, seuerall altars, rites and statues all seuerall? Because the originall is one thing and the cause another, and therefore their names and natures are distinct herein? Why how can this bee? If one man haue two authorities, or two sciences, because they are distinct, is he therefore two officers, or two tradesmen? So then if one GOD haue two powers ouer causes, and ouer originalls, must hee needs therefore be two Gods, because they are two things? If this may bee saith then let *Ioue* be as many gods as he hath surnames for his seuerall authorities, for all his powers, whence they are deriued are truly distinct: let vs looke in a few of them, and see if this be not true.

*Of Ioues surnames, referred all vnto him, as one god, not as to many.* CHAP. 11.

**T**hey called him (*a) Victor, Inuincible, Helper, Impulsor, Stator, (b) Hundred footed,*

*Supinall,*

the Rafter, (c) the Nourisher, *Ruminus*, and innumerable other names too long (d) to rehearse. All the names they gaue one God for diuers respect and powers, yet did they not make him a god for each peculiar, because he conquered, was vnconquered, helped the needy, had power to inforce, to stay, to establish, to ouerturne, because he bore vp the world like a (e) rafter, because he nourished all, and as it were gaue all the world suck. Marke these powers conferred with the epithites: Some are of worth, some idle: yet one gods worke they ate (f) all, as they say. I thinke there is more neerenesse of nature betweene the causes and the beginnings of things, for which they make one world two gods, *Ianus and Ioue*, who (they say) both contrayneth all, and yet giueth creatures sucke: yet for these two works of such different qualities, is not *Ioue* compelled to become two gods, but playeth the one part as he is *Tigillus The Rafter*, and the other as he in *Ruminus*, the *Dugg-bearer*. I will not say that it were fitter for *Iuno* to suckle the words creatures then *Iupiter*, especially hauing power to make a wayting maide of goddesse *Rumina*: for it may bee they will reply: why *Iuno* is nothing but *Iupiter*, as *Soranus* saith.

*Iupiter omnipotens regum, rerumq; deumq;  
Progenitor, genetrixque deorum.*—

He is god only and god all: but why is he called *Ruminus* then, when if you looke a little farther into him, you shal find him to be *Rumina* the goddesse, for if it seeme (g) iustly vnworthy of the maiesty of the gods, to set one to looke to the knot of the corne, and another to the blade, how much more is it vnreuerently ridiculous to put a base office, the suckling of whelps, lambes, calues or so, vnto the performance of two gods, the one whereof is Lord of the whole vniuerse: I, and not this neither with his wife, but with a base goddesse, I cannot tell whom *Rumina*, vnlesse hee be both *Ruminus* and *Rumina*, this for the females, and that for the males, For I dare say that they (h) would not haue giuen *Ioue* a female name, but that he is called a father and a mother, or a full parent generall in the said verses. Nay I find him also named *Pecunia*, a name of one of the shake-rag goddessees in our forth booke. But since men and women both haue mony, why is he not *Pecunius* and *Pecunia* aswell as *Ruminus* and *Rumina*, but let them looke to that.

## L. VIVES.

**H**im (a) *Victor*.] *Ioue* had many surnames both greeke and latine, which *Orphens* purposely collecteth in his Himnes, and *Homer* dispersedly in both his Poenes and Himnes, as that he is φίλος friendships Lord: Ζεῦσιος, Hospitable: ἱταρῆος, sociable, ἰσχυρὸς god of others and other like more natural to him then vsfull to men. Besides there was *Iupiter Anxur*, and *Terracina*, quasi a τει Ζεῦσι, bearded: and here-vpon was *Terracina* called *Anxur*. *Seru*. There was also *Iupiter, Apomyas* in *Olympia* consecrated by *Hercules*, to chase away the flies, *μύας* which troubled his sacrifices, and ἐξάρτιος, at *Athens*, the kinsman: his feast was the second day of the ἀναρῆσις, that is the deceitfull daies, and it was called *Anarrhysis*, of the blood that ranne from the slaughtered offrings. There was ἀξερῆσις the Hatchet bearer, in *Caria* with an axe in his hand in stead of a thunderboul, called by the *Lidians*, ἀξερῆσις. *Plas. Prob.* In Greece there was ἰλυθῆσις, the deliuerer, that freed them from *Persian* armies. *Dodonens* in *Chaonia*, *Milesius* in *Asia Minor*, *Hammon* in *Africa*, μολιχῆσις at *Athens*, that had no sacrifice, but fruite, and apples. *Thucydides*. There was also ἀπασιος, the Pardoner, at *Argos*, κίκακος, the cuckow, and οὐξῆσις, dedicated by *Phrixus*, as the fellow of his flight: and

there was the golden fleece that *Appolonius* speaketh of.

*Aratrus* also amongst the Phœnicians, *Celus* his sonne, *Saturnus* brother, called *Dagon*, the first inuentor of plowes, and therefore called *Iupiter Aratrus*, of *Aratrum*, a plough: there was *πρωτοπλασιος* common to all Greece. *Agorans*, the Courtier in Sicily, for in the Court hee had a statue. *Herodot.* There was in Rome besides those that *Augustine* reckoneth, *Iupiter Feretrius*, of the rich spoyles that *Romulus* bore [*Ferebat*] from the foe: he dedicated him *Capitolinus*, of the place: *Elicius*, dedicated by *Numa* on Auentine, for getting knowledge of [*Eliciendis*] the gods pleasures for the expiation of thunder. *Pistor*, the Baker of the bread the besieged threw downe from the Capitol when Rome was taken: his feast was the sixth of Iunes Ides. *Viminus* of the Hill *Viminall*: *Predator*, the prey-getter, to whom a part of euery prey was due. *Seru.* *Ultor*, the Reuenger, dedicated by *Agrippa*. The thunderer, which *Augustus* dedicated after the Spanish warre: The keeper, *Domitian* erected in the Capitol, The Latine, *Tarquin* the Proud on mount *Alba*. Th' Inuincible, his feast, *Id. Iunii*. The-finder, dedicated by *Hercules* for finding his oxen. His altar was neare *Port Tergemina*, and his offering was a heifer. *Adulus*, honored at mariages. *Lin.* *Dionys.* *Plus.* *Sueson.* *Lactansius* writeth that *Ioue* got the surnames of all his hostes, or friends, as of *Athabyrius*, and *Lapriandus*, that ayded him in warre, as also *Laprius*, *Molion*, and *Cassius*. *Thesens* dedicated a Temple to *Ioue Hecalesius*, and ordained him sacrifices in Athens territory, because of his olde Hostesse *Hecalesia*, *Aristotle* saith that GOD beeing but one, is called by many names, the Lightner, the thunderer, the Ethereall, the Celestiall, the Thunder-striker, the Rayne-sender and the Fruite-sender, the City-guide, and the Birth-ruler, the Fortifier, the Homogeniall, Fatherly: as also all Fate, and all that belongs to Fate, Necessity, Reuenge, and *Adrasteian*.

(b) *Hundred-footed*] For his stability, as *Augustine* expoundeth it standing on many feete: There is a worme called *Cenotupes*, [wee call her a Palmer.] (c) *Nourisher*] *Alimam*, of *Alo* to nourish, Not *Aliennus*. *Venus* was called *Alma*, so was *Ceres* and the earth, as the nourisher of all. Some reade it *Alumnus*,; but they mistake the meaning exceedingly. (d) *To reherse*] The *Commentators* not vnderstanding the Latine so well as they might tooke out [*Persequis*, to reherse] and depraued the place, with *Perse prosequi*, thinking *persequi* was onely to persecute. (e) *Rafter*] A peece of wood whereon the frame of the house resteth: *Aristotle* compareth the knotte where the arche is ioyned in the middest, vnto GOD in the world, who were he absente but one minute (saith hee) the whole frame of nature must needs fall, as the whole arche must vpon the least of their ioynt. Nor farre from this purpose is the verse of *Orpheus* in his hymnes, concerning *Ioue*. Ζεὺς πᾶσιν νόμος τῆ ἐξῆραν ἀστυκτορος GOD is the linke, of th' earth and starry Heauens: and afterward, Ζεὺς πᾶσις. God is the seas roote. (f) *All*] Great and little, worthy and idle. (g) *Iustly unworthy*] The crew of gods about the corne, was derided in the fourth booke. (h) *Would not*] The copies that leaue out [not] are depraued.

That *Iupiter* is called *Pecunia* also. CHAP. 12.

**B**ut doe you heare their reason for this name? Hee is called *Pecunia* (say they) *coyne*, because hee can doe all things. Of fine reason for a name of a god! Nay hee that doth all things is basely iniured that is called *Pecunia*, *coyne*. For what is that which all (a) mortall men possesse vnder the name of *coyne*, or money, in respect of the things conteyned in heauen and earth? But auarice gaue him this name, that hee that loued money might say his god was not euerie bodie, but the King of all the rest. Farre more reason therefore had they to call him *Ritches*: for *Ritches* and *Money* are to severall things. (b) *wise*, iust & honest men we call *ritch*, though they haue little or no money, for they are the richer in vertues: which maketh little suffice them for necessaries, whereas the greedy couetous man that alwaies gapeth after mony, him we count euere poore and needie.

Such

Such may haue store of money, but therein they shall neuer lack store of want. And God, we say well, is ritch, not in money, but in omnipotencie. So likewise, monied men are called ritch, but be they greedy, they are euer needy, and mony-lesse men are called poore, but be they contented, they are euer wealthy. What stufte then shall a man haue of that diuinity, whose scope and chiefe God (c) no wise man in the world would make choice of? How much likelier were it (if their religion in any point concerned eternall life) to call their chiefe vniuersall God (d) *Wisdome*, the loue of which cleanseth one from the staines of avarice, that is the loue of money.

## L. VIVES.

**A**LL (a) *mortall*] All mens possessions, haue reference to money: so that it is said, that *Peculium*, gaine, commeth of *Pecudes*, sheepe (*Columell. Sern. Festus.*) because these were all the wealth of antiquitie: for they were almost all sheepleards, and from them this word came first, and afterward signified cittie-wealth also. *Var. de ling. lat. lib. 4.* (b) *Wise.* *Just.*] a Stoicall Paradoxe. *οἱ σοφοὶ μὴ οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν.* onely the wise are ritche. *Tully* prooues it strongly: and many Philosophers haue confirmed it, all whose mindes were against money. (c) *No wise man*] Auarice (saith *Salust*) is the loue of Money, which no wise man euer affected: it is a poyson that infecteth all the manlinesse of the minde, and maketh it effeminate: being euer infinite and insatiable, neither contented with want, meane nor excessse. (d) *Wisdome*] as well call our God.

*That the interpretations of Saturne and Genius,  
prooue them both to bee Iupiter.*

## CHAP. 13.

**B**Ut what should we do saying more of *Iupiter*, to whom al the other gods haue such relation, that the opinion of many gods will by and by prooue a bable, and *Ioue* stand for them all, whether they bee taken as his parts and powers, or that the soule that they hold is diffused through all the world: gotte it selfe so many diuerse names by the manifold operations which it effected in the parts of this huge masse, whereof the visible vniuerse hath the fabrike and composition? For what is this same *Saturne*? A chiefe God (saith he) and one that is Lord of all seedes and sowing. What? but doth not the exposition of *Soranus* his verses say that *Ioue* is the world, and both creator and conceiuer of all seedes? He therefore must needs rule the sowing of them. And what is (a) *Genius*? God of generation (saith he.) Why tell me, hath any one that power, but the world, to whom it was said, *High Ioue*, *full parent generall of all*? Besides, hee saith in another place, that the *Genius* (b) is the reasonable soule, peculiar in each peculiar man. And that the soule of the world is a God of the same nature, drawing it to this, that that soule is the vniuersall *Genius* to all those particulars. Why then it is the same that they call *Ioue*. (c) For if each *Genius* bee a god, and each soule reasonable a *Genius*, then is each soule reasonable a god by all consequence, which such absurdity vrgeth them to deny, it resteth that they make the worlds singular soule their selected *Genius*, and consequently make their *Genius* directly *Ioue*.

## L. VIVES.

**W**HAT (a) is *Genius*? ] The Lord of all generation. *Fest. Pompey.* The sonne  
A 2 4 of



of the gods and the father of men, begetting them: and so it is called my *genius*. For it begot me. *Aufustius*. The learned haue had much a doe about this *Genius*, and finde it manifoldly vsed. Natures *Genius* is the god that produced her: the Heauens haue many *Genii*, read them in *Capella* his *Nuptia*. *Melicerta* is the seas *Genius*. *Parthen*: the foure elements, fire, ayre, water, and earth are the *genii* of all things corporall. The Greekes call them  $\rho\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha$ , &  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\alpha\upsilon\theta\lambda\iota\upsilon\varsigma$  geniall gods. Such like hath *Macrobinus* of natures *Penates*: *Iupiter* and *Iuno* are the ayre, lowest, and meane: *Minerua* the highest, or the æthereall sky: to which three *Tarquinius Priscus* erected one Temple vnder one roofo. Some call the moone and the 12. signes *Genis*: and chiefe *Genii* too. (for they wil haue no place without a predominant *Genius*.) Euery man also hath his *Genius*, either that guardeth him in his life, or that lookes to his generation, or that hath originall with him, both at one time. *Censorin*. *Genius*, and *Lar*, some say are all one. *C. Flaccus de Indigitaments*. The *Lars* (saith *Ouid*) were twinnes to *Mercury* and *Nymph Lara*, or *Larunda*. Wherefore many Philosophers and *Euclide* for one, giues each man two *Lars*, a good and a bad: such was that which came to *Brutus* in the night, as he was thinking of his warres hee had in hand. *Plutarch. Flor. Appian.* (b) *Genius is*] Of this more at large in the booke following. (c) *For if each*] A true *Syllogisme* in the first forme of the first moode, vsually called *Barbara*.

Of the functions of Mars and Mercury.

CHAP. 14.

**B**UT in all the worlds parts they could finde neuer a corner for *Mars* and *Mercury* to practise in the elements, and therefore, they gaue them power in mens actions, this of eloquence, & the other of warre. Now for *Mercury* (a) if he haue power of the gods language also, then is he their King, if *Iupiter* borrow all his phrase from him: but this were absurd. But his power stretcheth but vnto mans onely, it is vnlikely that *Ioue* would take such a base charge in hand as suckling of not onely children, but cattell also, calues or foales, as thence he hath his name *Romulus*, and leaue the rule of our speech (so glorious a thing and that wherein we excell the beasts) vnto the sway of another, his inferiour. I but how if *Mercury* be (b) the speech onely it selfe, for so they interprete him: and therefore he is called *Mercurius*, (c) *quasi Medius currens*, the meane currant, because to speak is the only currant meane for one man to expresse his minde to another by, and his greeke name (d)  $\iota\pi\upsilon\tau\iota\varsigma$ , is nothing but interpreter & speech, or, *interpretation* which is called in greeke also  $\iota\pi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$ , and thence is hee (e) Lord of merchants, because buying and selling is all by wordes and discourses. Herevpon they (f) wing his head and his feete, to signifie the swift passage of speech, and call him (g) the messenger, because all messages, and thoughts whatsoeuer are transported from man to man by the speech. Why very well. If *Mercury* then be but the speech, I hope hee is no god then, by their owne confessions. But they make gods of no gods, and offring to vnclane spirits in stead of beeing inspired with gods, are possessed with deuills. And because the world and elements had no roome for *Mars* to worke in nature, they made him god of war, which is a worke of man not to be desired after. But if *Mars* be warre as *Mercury* is speech, I would it were as sure that there were no warre to bee falsly called god, as it is plaine that *Mars* is no god.

L. VIVES.

**M**ercury (a)] There were fise *Mercuries* (*Cicero*.) The first, sonne to *Calus* and *Dies*, the second to *Valens*, and *Pheronis*, this is he that is vnder the earth calleth otherwise *Tryphanius*, third sonne to *Ioue* and *Maia*, fourth father to *Nilus*, him the Egyptian held it sacriledge

ledge to name. 5. Hee that the Pheneates worshipped hee killed *Argus*, they say, and therefore governed Egypt, and taught the Egyptians lawes and letters. They call him *Theut*. Thus saith *Tully*. *Theut* is named by *Plato* in his *Phedon*, and *Euseb. de preparat. Euang. lib. 1.* who saith the Egyptians called him *Thoyth*, the *Alexandrians*, *Thot*, the Greekes *ἰων* and that he first taught letters and looked into the secrets of Theology. *Diodorus* saith hee first inuented spelling of words, and giuing of names to things, as also rites and ceremonies. *Lib. 1.* for the wordes; *Horace* doth testifie it out of *Aleaus*: and therefore the Egyptians thought him the inuenter and god of languages, calling him the interpreter of God and men: both because hee brought religion as it were from the gods to men, and also because the speech, and praiser passeth from men to the gods; with which is no commerce. Thence comes *Aristides* his fable, there was no commerce nor concord between man and man, vntill *Mercury* had sprinkled them with language; and the inuenting of letters in issue was a fit occasion to make them thinke that hee was a god, hauing power by their secrecy to dispatch things with such celerity. (b) *The speech onely*] *Mercury* (they say) is the power of speech, and is saigned to bee straight, seeing the tongue runnes so smoothe, but in a set speech some will haue a solar vertue, which is *Mercury*, others a *Lunary*, that is *Hecate*, other a power vniuersall called *Hermopis*, *Porph. Physiologus*. One of the causes of his beeing named *Cyllenius* is (saith *Festus Pompeius*) because the tongue doth all without hands; and them that want handes are called *καλλοι*; though this is a name common to all lame persons. Others hold that he had it from some place. (c) *Mercurius quasi*] Of *Merx*, marchandise, saith *Festus*; and I thinke truely it comes of *Merco*, to buy or sell, whence our word *Merchant* also commeth. (d) *ερμης*] Of *ερμης*, to interpret. This it is to be the gods messenger: not to interpret their sayings, but faithfully to discharge their commaunds, which the speech can doe, transferring things from soule to soule, which nought but speech can doe: and since soules were taken for gods thence was hee counted the gods interpreter. *Plato* in *Cratylo*: *εἰς τὸ εἰρηθεῖν*. They that doth *ερμης*, (saith he) that is speake, wee iustly call *Ironies*. But now hauing gotten, as wee thinke, a better word, wee call it *Hermes*. *Iris* also may bee deriued *εἰρημης*, to speake, for shee is a messenger also. Hee that dealeth in any other mans affaire, is called an interpreter, a meane, and an arbitrator. *Ser. in Aeneid. 4.* and *Cicero* in diuers places. *Virgil* also, In *Dido's* words to *Iuno*, the meane of attonement betweene her and *Aeneas*, saith thus.

*Tu harum interpres curarum et conscia Iuno.*

Thou *Iuno* art the meane, and knowes my griettes.

(e) *Lord of Merchants*] Without language farewell traffique. *Diodorus* saith that some report *Mercury* to haue found out weights, and measures: and the way to gaine by trading. There is a Greeke prouerbe *κέρως ἐρμης*, common gaine. (f) *Winged*] His feete wings are called *Zalaria*, & in *Homere*, *πτερυγες* he had head-wings also behind each of his eares. *Apuleius. Apologus*, his wings were aboue his hat, as he saith in *Plautus* his *Amphitruo*. I weare these fethers in my hat. *Beroald. Sueton* in *August.* (g) *Messenger*] *Diodor. Sicul. lib. 6.* *Atron* in *Horat. Car. lib. 1.*

*Of certaine starres that the Pagans call their gods.*

CHAP. 15.

PERhaps these (a) starres are their gods that they call by their gods names. For one they call *Mercury*, another *Mars*: nay and there is one *Ioue* also, though all the world be but *Ioue*. So is there a *Saturne*, yet *Saturne* hath no small place besides, beeing the ruler of all seede. But then there is the brightest of all, *Venus*, though they will needs make her (b) the Moone also: though she and *Iuno* contend as much for that glorious star, in their opinion, as they did for the (c) golden apple. For some say that *Lucifer* is *Venus*: others, *Iuno*, but *Venus* (as she doth euer) gets it from *Iuno*. For many more call it *Venus*, then *Iuno*, there are few or none of the later opiniō. But who wil not laugh to haue *Ioue* named the King of gods and yet see *Venus* haue a farre brighter starre then his? His fulgor should haue beene as super-eminent as his power: but it seemes lesse (they reply) and  
hirs

hirs more, because one is nearer the earth then another. Why but if the highest place deserue the honour why hath not *Saturne* the grace from *Iupiter*? Or could not the vanity that made *Ioue* King, mount so high as the starres? So that *Saturne* obtaineth that in heauen which hee could neither attaine (d) in his Kingdome nor in the Capitoll? But why hath not *Ianus* a starre as well as *Ioue*, beeing all the world, and comprehending all as well as (e) *Ioue*? Did hee fall to composition for feare of law, and for one star in heauen was content to take many faces vpon earth? And if two starres onely made them count *Mars* and *Mercury* for deities, being notwithstanding nothing but speech and warre, no parts of the world, but acts of men: why hath not *Aries*, *Taurus*, *Cancer*, *Scorpio* &c. that are in the (f) highest heauen, and haue more. (g) certaine motions, why haue not they Temples, Altars and sacrifices? nor any place either amongst the popular gods or the selected?

## L. VIVES.

**T**hese starres] *Plato* saith that the Greekes (and many Barbarians) whilom vsed to adore no gods, but the Sunne, Moone and Starres, calling them naturall gods (as *Beritius* wrot to *Sanchoniatos*) affirming that of the ancient, men the Phœnicians and Egyptians first began to erect temples and sacrifices for their friends and benefactors: naming them by the stars names: one Heauen, another *Saturne*, a third the Sun, and so forth. Thus saith *Plato*. Doubtlesse the gods themselues being cunning Astrologians either gaue themselues those names, or such as held those great powers of theirs to be in the stars, gaue the Inuentors of Star-skil those names. For the star *Mercury* they say maketh men witty, eloquent, and fitting to the planet hee is ioyned with: and *Seneca* liketh this cause of his name of the gods interpretor. For with *Iupiter* and the Sun, he is good, with *Mars* and *Mercury*, maleuolent. *Mars* is violent, a war-breeder, & as *Porphyry* saith, the Lo: of wrath, because of fiery ardor, ariseth fury and warre. Hence is the Stoikes Theology referring all the gods natures to the worlds: and consequently so obscure that the truth is not possibly to be extracted: as *Eusebius* saith both out of *Sanchoniato*, & pro-ueth also by argument: *De preparat. Euang. lib. 1. As Augustine* doth also here. (b) *The moone also*] *Mac. Sat. 1.* alledging *Philochorus* in *Atis*: that *Venus* is the Moone, and that men in womens apparell sacrificed to her, and women in mens, because she was held both: Thou heauenly *Venus* (saith *Apuleius*) to the Moone, y caused all copulation in the beginning, propagating humane original, thou art now adored in the sacred oratory of *Paphos*. *Transform. lib. 1. 1.* (c) *Golden apple*] The goddesses contention about the golden apple is plainer then that it needs my reherfall: of *Lucifer*, *Pliny* saith thus. Vnder the Sun is the bright star *Venus* moouing diurnally, and planetarily: called both *Venus* and *Luna*, in the morning being *Sols* harbinger, she is called *Lucifer*: as the pety-sun, and light-giuer of the day: at night following the sun, she is stiled *Vesper*, as the light continuer and the moones vice-gerent. *lib. 2. Pithagoras* first of all found her nature, magnitude, and motion. *Olympiad. 4. 1.* about the yeare of Rome 142. shee is bigger then all the other starres, and so cleare that (some-times) her beames make a shadowe. That maketh her haue such variety of names, as, *Iuno*, *Isis*, *Berecynthia*, &c. (d) *In his Kingdome*] Whence he was driuen by his son *Ioue*, as also from the Capitoll that before was called *Saturnia*, vntill it was dedicated to *Iupiter* (*Capitolinus*). (e) *Ioue*] Vling *Iouis* the Latine nominatiue, as *Tully* doth in 6. *De republ.* that happy starre called *Ioue*. (f) *Highest*] The Zodiake in the 8. Sphere, so called of *Zōdion*, a creature: euery signe whereof conteyneth diuers bright starres. (g) *Certaine motion*] Perpetually and diurnally once about from East to West in 24. houres making night and day, and euer keeping place: whereas the Planets are now ioyned, now opposite, now swift, now retrograde, which change gaue them the greeke name *Planet* of *πλανήτης*, *error*: though they keepe a certaine motion neuerthelesse: yet seemingly they erre and wander through their alteration in motion, which the Zodiake neuer alters, as situate in the 8. Sphere called *ἀπλανής*.

Of Apollo, Diana, and other select gods, called parts of the world. CHAP. 16.

**A**ND though they make (a) *Apollo*, a (b) wizard & a (c) phisitian, yet to making him

him a part of the world, they say he is the Sunne, & *Diana* his sister is the Moone, and (*d*) goddesse of iourneyes. So is shee (*e*) a Virgin also, vntouched, and they both beare shafts, (*f*) because these 2. stars only do send to the earth. *Vulcan* they say, is the worlds fire. *Neptune* the water: father *Dis*, the earths foundation and depth, *Bacchus* and *Ceres* seed-gods, he to the masculine, shee of the feminine; or hee of the moysture and shee of the dry part of the seede. All this now hath reference to the world, to *Ioue*, who is called the full parent generall, because hee both begets and brings forth all things seminall. And *Ceres* the great mother, her they make the earth, and *Iuno* besides. Thus the second causes of things are in her power, though *Ioue* be called the full parent, as they affirme him to bee all the world. And *Minerua* because they had made her the artes goddesse, and had neuer a starre for her, they made her also the sky, or (*g*) the Moone, *Vesta* they accounted the chiefe of all the goddeses, being taken for the earth: and yet gaue her the protection of the (*h*) worlds fire, more light and not so violent as that of *Vulcans* was. And thus by all these select gods they intend but the world: in some totall, and in others partill: toall, as *Ioue* is: partill, as *Genius*, the great mother, *Soll* and *Luna*, or rather *Apollo* and *Diana*, sometimes one god stands for many things, and sometimes one thing presents many gods, the first is true in *Iupiter*, hee is all the world, hee but onely (*i*) Heauen, and hee is onely a starre in Heauen: So is *Iuno*, goddesse of all second causes, yet onely the ayre, and yet the earth, though shee might (*k*) get the starre from *Venus*. So is *Minerua* the highest sky, and the Moone in the lowest sky as they hold. The second is true in the world, which is both *Ioue* and *Ianus*: and in the earth which is both *Iuno*, the Great mother, and *Ceres*.

## L. VIVES.

**A**pollo. (*a*) ] *Tully de dat deor. lib. 3.* makes 4. *Apollos*, and 3. *Dianas*. The 3. *Apollo*. and the 2. *Diana* were the children of *Ioue* and *Latoa*. (*b*) *Wizard*. ] Commonly affirmed in all authors of this subiect, Greeke and Latine. *Plato* saith the *Thessalonians* called him not ἀπίλωνα, but απλιν simple, because of his diuination, wherein was required, τὸ ἀλυτὸς καὶ απλῆρ, ταύτων γὰρ ἓστι: truth, and simplicity, which are all one. In *Cratilo*. *Glaucons* taught him his diuination, he that was afterward made a Sea-god and called *Melicerta*. *Nicand* in *Atolis*. (*c*) *Physician*. ] *Macrob. Satur.* They counted the vestalls thus. *Apollo physician*, *Apollo Paan*, &c. He proues him to bee *Aesculapius*, that is a strenght of health, a rising soly from the substance of animated creatures. Much of *Apollo* yea may read in the said place. (*d*) *Goddesse of*. ] Her statues were cut all youthfull, because that age beareth trauell left *Festus lib. 9.* for *Diana* was held a goddesse of waies and iournies: shee ruled also mountaines and groues, and vsed the pathes often in her hunting, as shalbee shewed hereafter. (*e*) *Virgin*. ] So it is reported, that it was not lawfull for men to come in her temple at *Rome*, becaule one rauished a woman there once that came to salute the goddesse, and the dogs tare him in peeces immediately. *Plato* calleth her ἀστειμυς, &c. because of the integrity and modesty that she professed in her loue of virginity: or, ἁστειν &c. because she hath the copulation of man and woman. Though the fables go that shee lay with *Endymion*: and that *Pan*, *Mercuries* sonne, gaue her a white sheepe for a cast. *Virg. 3. Georg.*

*Munere sic niueo lana si credere dignum est,*

*Pandens Archadia captam te Luna fefellit;*

*In Nemora alta vocans, nec tu aspernata vocantem es. &c.*

*Arcadian Pans white fleece (tis said) so blinded,*

*Thine eyes (faire Phæbe:) he being breefely minded,*

*Call'd the, thou yeeldest, and to the thicke you went, &c.*

(*f*). *Shafts*. ] *Apollo* beareth those that hee killed the serpent *Python* withall: and therefore

fore *Homer* calleth him oftentimes *επιβολος*, that is far-darting, *επιβολος*, that is shooting high: and *αειβων*, eternall archer: Now *Diana*, vowed a perpetuall virgine, haunteth the woods and hills, hunting as *Virgill* describeth *Venus* when *Aeneas* saw her buskind, and sucked round, and a quiver at her backe, as ready for the pursute. These shaftes are nothing (all say) but the beames of those starres as *Lactantius* saith of the Sonne.

*Armatus radiis elementa liquentia lustrans,*  
Armed with raies he vewes the watry playnes.

(g) *The Moone.*] *Porpb. Naturall. deor interpretat.* That in the Sunne (saith he) is *Apollo*, that in the Moone *Minerva*, signifying wisdome. (h) *Worlds fire.*] Ours that we vse on earth, belonging (as I say) to generation: Though herein, as in all fictions is great diuersity of opinions. *Phuornicus* saith *Vulan* is the grosser fire, that wee vse, and *Iupiter* the more pure fire, and *Prudencius* saith.

*----- Ipse ignis qui nostrum seruit ad usum.*  
*Vulcanus, ac perhibetur, et in virtute superna,*  
*Fingitur ac delubra deus, ac nomine et ore,*  
*Assimulatus habet, nec non regnare caminis,*  
*Fertur, & Aeolia summus faber esse vel Aetna.*

----- The fire that serues our vse,  
Hight Vulcan, and is held a thing diuine,  
Grac't with a stile, a statue and a shrine,  
The chimeys god he is, and keepes they say,  
Great shops in Aetna and Aeolia.

(i) *Oneley Heauen.*] *Ennius:* *Aspice hoc sublime candens quem innocens omnes,*  
*Iouem ----- behold yond flaming light, which each call Ioue.*

(k) *Get the starre.*] In the contention for *Lucifer* or the day starre.

*That Varro him-selfe held his opinions of the Gods to be ambiguous.*

#### CHAP. 17.

**B**Vt euen as these cited examples do, so all the rest, rather make the matter intricate then plaine: and following the force of opiniatiue error, sway this way, and that way, that *Varro* him-selfe liketh better to doubt of them, then to deliuer this or that positiuely, for of his three last bookes hauing first ended that of the certaine gods, then hee came into that of the (a) vncertaine ones, and there hee saith: *If I set downe ambiguities of these gods, I am not blame worthy. Hee that thinketh I ought to iudge of them, or might set him iudge when he readeth them. I had rather call all my former assertions into question then propound all that I am to handle in this booke, positiuely.* Thus doth hee make doubts of his doctrine of the certaine gods aswell as the rest. Besides in his booke of the select ones hauing made his preface out of naturall theology, entring into these politique fooleries, and mad fictions, where truth both opposed him, & antiquity oppressed him, here (qd he) *I wil write of the gods to whom the Romaines haue built temples, & diuersity of statues, but I wil write so as xenophanes (b) Colophonus writeth: what I thinke, not what I wil defend, for man may thinke but God is he that knoweth.* Thus timerously he promiseth to speake of things not knowne nor firmly beleueed, but only opiniatiue, & doubted of being to speake of mens institutions. He knew that ther was the world, heauen, and earth, stars, & al those together with the whole vniuerse subiect vnto one powerfull and inuisible king: this he firmly beleueed, but hee durst not say that *Ianus* was the world, or that *Saturne* was *Ioues* father and yet his subiect, nor of the rest of this nature durst he affirme any thing confidently.

#### L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) *Vncertaine.*] Of these I haue spoken before: now a little of the vnknowne, for it is an error to hold them both one: The territories of *Athens* had altars to many vnknowne

vnknowne gods: *Altes*. 17. and *Pausanias* in *Attic*. *ἱερὸν ἀγνωστῶν θεῶν*, the altars of the vnknowne gods: These *Epimenides* of Creete found for the pestilence, being sore in that country, the oracle aduised them to expiate their fields, yet not declaring what god they should inuocate, in this expiation, *Epimenides* being then at Athens, bad them turne the cattell that they would offer into the fields, and the priests to follow them, and where they staid, there kill them and offer them to the vnknowne propiciatory God. Therevpon arose the erection of these altars which continued euen vnto *Laertius* his time. This I haue beene the willinger to relate, because of that in the *Actes*. (b) *Xenophanes* ] Sonne to *Orthomenes* of Ionia where *Mimernus* the Poet was borne. *Apolodorus*, out of *Colophon*. Hee held all things incomprehensible, against the opinion of *Laertius*. *Sosion*. *Ensebins* following *Sosion*, saith hee did hold all our sences false and our reason, for company: he wrote of the gods against *Homer* and *Hesiod*. There was another *Zenophanes*, a lesbian, and a Poet,

*The likeliest cause of the propagation of paganism.*

CHAP. 18.

OF all these the most credible reason is this: that these gods were men that by the meanes of such as were their flatterers, (a) had each of them rites and sacrifices ordained for them correspondent vnto some of their deedes, manners, wites, fortunes and so forth: and that other men (rather diuells) sucking in these errors, and delighting in their ceremonies nouelties, so gaue them their propagation, being furthered with poetiall fictions, and diabollicall illusions. For it were a likelier matter that an vngratious sonne did feare killing by as vngratious a father, and so expelled him from his kingdome, then that which hee saith, that *Ioue* is aboute *Saturne* because the efficient cause which is *Ioues*, is before the materiall which is *Saturnes*. For were this true, *Saturne* should neuer haue beene before *Ioue*, nor consequently his father. For the cause goeth alwaies before the seede, but the seede neuer generateth the cause. But in this endeauor to honour the vaine fables, or impious actes of men with naturall interpretations, their most learned men are brought into such quandaries, that wee cannot choose but pittie their vanity, as well as the others.

L. VIVES.

**H**Ad (a) each ] In this place the Copies differ, but our reading is the most authentical, and most ancient. Some Copies leaue out [ *By the meanes of such as were their flatterers* ] But it is not left out in the olde manuscripts, wee reade it as antiquitie leaue it.

*The interpretations of the worship of Saturne.*

CHAP. 19.

**S**aturne (say they) deuoured all his children, that is all feedes returne to the earth from whence they came: and a clod of earth was laide in steed of *Ioue* for him to deuoure, by which is meant that men did vse to bury their come in the earth before that plowing was inuented. So then should *Saturne* bee called the earth it selfe, and not the feedes, for it is the earth that doth as if were deuoure the owne ofspring, when as the feedes it produceth are all

Bb

returned

returned into it againe. But what correspondence hath mens couering of corne with cloddes, vnto the laying of *Saturne* a clod in steed of *Ioue*? is not the corne which is couered with the clod, returned into the earthes wombe as well as the rest? For this is spoken as if hee that laid the clod, tooke away the feede. Thus say they, by the laying of this clod was *Ioue* taken from *Saturne*, when as the laying of the clod vpon a feede maketh the earth to deuoure it the sooner. Againe, beeing so, *Ioue* is the feede, not the feedes cause as was sayd but now. But these mens braines runne so farre a stray with those fond interpretations, that they know not well what to say. A fickle hee beareth for his husbandry they say: Now in (a) his raigne was not husbandry inuented, and therefore (as our author interpreteth) the first times were called his, because as then men did liue vpon the earthes voluntary increase and fruites. Whether (b) tooke he the fickle vpon the losse of his scepter as one that hauing beene an idle King in his owne raigne would become a painefull laborer in his sonnes? Then hee proceedeth, and saith that (c) some people, as the Carthaginians offred infants in sacrifice to him, and others, as the (d) Gales, offered men, because mankinde is chiefe of all things produced of feede. But needeth more of this bloody vanity? This is the obseruation of it all, that none of these interpretations haue reference to the true, liuing, incorporeall, changelesse nature, whereof the eternall life is to bee craued: but all their ends are in things corporall, temporall, mutable and mortall, and whereas *Saturne* they say did (e) geld his Father *Calus*, that is (quoth hee) to bee understood thus, that the diuine feede, is in Saturnes power and not in Heauens: that is, nothing in heauen hath originall from feede. Behold here is *Saturne* made Heauens sonne, that is *Ioues*. For they affirme stedfastly that *Ioue* is heauen. Thus doth falshood without any opposer ouerthrow it selfe: Hee saith further, that hee was called (f) *tempus* that is, space of time, without the which no feede can come to perfection. This and much like is spoken of *Saturne* in reference to the feede: Surely *Saturne* with all this power should haue beene sufficient alone to haue governed the feede: why should they call any more gods to this charge, as *Liber*, and *Libera*, or *Ceres*? of whose power ouer feede hee speaketh as if he had not spoken at all of *Saturne*.

Sacrifices  
of men.

Falshood  
ouer-  
throwes it  
selfe.

### L. VIVES.

[IN (a) his raigne] Who first inuented husbandry, it is vncertaine. Some (as the common sort hold) take it to bee *Ceres*: other, *Triptolemus* (at least for him that first put it in practise,) as *Iustine*, and *Ouid*: Some, *Dionysius*, as *Tibullus*, *Diodorus* calleth him *Osyris*, and therefore *Virgil* saith.

*Ante Iouem nulli subigebant arua coloni,*  
Vntill *Ioues* time there were no husband-men.

*Saturne.*

Some thinke that *Saturne* taught it vnto *Ianus* and the Italians: beeing driuen to inuente some-what of necessity after hee was chased from *Crete*. So that still husbandry was not inuented in his raigne but after. The poets will haue no husbandry in the golden age, the daies of *Saturne*: *Virgill* saith, the earth brought fruites *Nulla poscente*, no man taking paines for them: and *Ouid*, *fruges tellus inarata ferebat*, the earth bore corne vnplowed. *Hesiod.* *καρμῶσ' ἄνευ βίου*. The earth brought fruite vnforced, both good and in abundance. (b) Tooke hee] His fickle was found at *Zancle* a city in *Sicily* & thence the towne had that name. *Sil. Ital. lib. 14.* For *ZANAN* in the Sicilian tongue, was a fickle. *Thucyd.* (c) Some people] *Oros. lib. 4. cap. 6.* *Trogus, Lact. lib. 1.* and *Posseminius Festus*. Some say the Carthaginians offred children to *Hercules*. *Plin. li. 36.* but others say it was to *Saturne*. *Plato in Mmoē. Dionys. Halicarn. Theodorides Cirenens.*

*Crenen*. in Sacrific. Euseb. and Tertullian who addeth that at the beginning of *Tiberius* his reigne he forbad it therin, and crucified their priests: yet they did continue it secretly euen at the time he wrot this. Some referre the cause of this cruelty vnto *Innos* hate. But *Eusebius* out of *Sanchoniato* reciting the *Phanicians* theology saith that *Saturne* King of *Palestine* dying, turned into the star we call *Saturne*, and that soone after *Nymph Anobreth* hauing but one onely sonne by *Saturne* who was therefore called *Leud* (for that is one onely sonne in the *Phenitian* tonge) was compelled to sacrifice him for to deliuer her contry from a daungerous warre: and that it was an ould custome in such perills to pacifie the wrath of the reuenging *Demon* with the blood of the Princes dearest sonne. But the *Carthagians* (being come of the *Phanicians*) sacrificed a man vnto *Saturne*, whose sonne had beene so sacrificed: either of their own first institution in *Africa*, or else traducing it from their ancestry. *De pra. Euan.* How these children were sacrificed *Diodorus* telleth: *Biblioth. lib. 20.* They had (saith he) a brazen statue of *Saturne*, of monstrous bignesse, whose hand hung downe to the Earth so knit one within another, that the children that were put in them, fell into a hole full of fire. Thus far hee. When we published this booke first, our sea-men discovered an Iland calling it after our Princes name; *Carolina*, wherein were many statues of deuills, hollow within, brazen all; and their hands ioyned, wherein the Idolaters vsed to lay their children they sacrificed, and there were they cruelly burned by the extreame heate of the brasse caused by the fire that they made within them. (d) *The Gaules.* Not vnto *Saturne*, but to *Esus*, and *Theutantes*. *Plin. lib. 30. Solin. Mela, Caesar. Lucane, and Lactantius.* To *Mercury* saith *Tertullian*: but that is *Theutantes*. *Plin.* mentioneth *Tiberius* his prohibition of so damnable a superstition. *Claudius* forbad them as *Suetonius* saith: Indeed *Augustus* first forbad it but that was but for the city onely. A decree was made in the yeare of *Rome*. DCLVII. consulls; *P. Licinius Crassus*; and *Cn. Cornelius Lantulus*, forbidding humane sacrifices all the Empire through: and in *Hadrians* time it ceased almost all ouer the world, *Iupiter Latiaris* was worshipped with ablation of mans blood in *Terrullians*, nay and *Eusebius* and *Lactantius* his time: And before *Hercules* was *Saturne* so worshipped in *Latium*, which sacrifice *Faunus* brought vp for his grandfire *Saturne*, because of an oracle that was (as *Lactantius* and *Macrobius* recite out of *Varro*) this:  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ , &c. bring beads for *Dis*, and lightes for *Dis* his father: *Dis* his father was *Saturne*. *Lactantius* readeth it  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\lambda\epsilon$   $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma$   $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$  is a word doubtfull,  $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$  circumflexe is light and  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$  acute is a man, *Homér*

$\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha$   $\delta\epsilon$ , &c.

Streight gainst the sutors went this heauenly man.

And often elsewhere. *Plutarch* in his booke intituled  $\lambda\alpha\beta\iota$   $\beta\iota\omega\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ , liue in priuate, giueth the reason why  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$  should bee both light and a man. But *Hercules* comming into Italy and seeing the *Aborigines* that dwelt there continually take of the Greekes for sacrifice that were come thether to inhabite, and asking the cause, they told him this oracle, which hee did interpret light, not man: and so they decreed that yearly each Ides of May the Priests and Vestalls should cast thirty mens images made of osiers or wickers into Tyber, from of the bridge *Miluius*: calling them *Argai*, (for the old latines held all the Gretians Argiues) and that *Saturne* should haue lights offered to him. *Dionis. Plutarch. Varro. Festus, Gel. Macrob. Propert. Lactant. Ouid.* yet *Ouid* telleth this tale of another fashion *Fastor. 5.* *Manethon* saith, the *Aegyptians* vsed to sacrifice three men to *Inno* in the city of the sunne, but King *Amasis* changed the sacrifice into three lights. (e) *Geld his father.* *Eusebius* discoursing of the *Phanicians* diuinity saith thus: after *Calus* had reigned. 32. yeeres, his Sonne *Saturne* lay in waite for him about fouds and fountaines and hauing gotten him, guelled him: his holy blood dropped into the spring and the place is to bee scene at this day. Hee was (saith *Diodorus*) an excellent Astrologian, and distinguished the yeare, and by this skill got his name, hee taught the rude ciuility and sciences, and reigned in the northwest of *Africa*, hauing 45. children by seuerall wiues. (f)  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha$   $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma$   $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ . *Cicero* giueth another interpretation of *Calus* *Iome*, and *Saturne*, *de nat. deor. lib. 2.* But *Saturne* is  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$ , and time  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma$ . The *Romains* called *Saturne* the father of verity because truth will out in time. *Plutarch.*

Of the sacrifices of *Ceres Eleusina*. CHAPTER. 20.

OF *Ceres* (a) her sacrifices, them of *Eleusina*, vsed at *Athens* were the most noble.

Bb 2



noble. Of them doth *Varro* say little or nothing onely he talkes a little of the corne that *Ceres* found out, and of her losse of *Proserpina* that was rauished by *Pluto*. And she (he saith) doth signifie fruitfulness of seed, which one time sayling, and the earth seeming to bewaile that want of fertility, it grew to an opinion that *Hell*, or *Pluto* had taken away the daughter of *Ceres*, the said fruitfulness, which of creeping forward, is called *Proserpina*, which thing they deploring in publike manner, because that fertility came againe, all their ioy returned at the returne of *Proserpina*, and so had *Ceres* feasts institution, furthermore hee saith this, that shee hath many things in her sacrifices which haue no reference but to the corne.

## L. VIVES.

**Ceres sacrifices.** **Proserpina.** **Triptolemus.** **The silence of the Eleusine sacrifices.** **Perephatte.** **Canephete.**

**Ceres (a) her sacrifices** ] To haue a little discourse hereof more then is vulgar, will neither bee vnpleasing nor vnprofitable. *Ceres* had *Proserpina* by *Ioue*, *Pluto* rauished her out of Sicily and her mother fought her almost all the world ouer. At last comming to *Eleufis*, one of the twelue townes in the Athenian territory, one *Celus* the King thereof tooke hir to harbour and let hir haue the education of *Triptolemus*, his (or as *Strabo* saith) *Itimus* his sonne by *Hiona*. What euer hee was, hee loued *Ceres* well, ordered her a sollemne yearely sacrifice calling the feast *Eleufina*, and *Ceres* and *Proserpina* the second *Eleufine* goddesses: Some say that *Eriethus* brought them out of *Egypt*, I doe not disproue them, for thence came the most of the worlds Idolatry. These sacrifices none might see but voraries, the crier badde *auoids all prophaine*: and hence had *Virgil* his verse. *Procul o procul este prophani*, Fly, fly farre hence, prophaine: *Sern*, and *Alcibiades* was sore troubled for being at *Ceres* her sacrifices before hee was initiate. The first that published them was the Philosopher *Numerius*, to whom afterwards the goddesses (they say) in a dreame appeared, in whores habite and complained that hee had made them common. Which certainly proued their ceremonies whorish: for had they beene honest, they would haue feared divulgation. *Socrates* in *Plato* glanceth at this and much more commending the gods turpitudes to bee kept in all taciturnity, and threatning that hee would discouer the secrets of *Isis*, which is all one with *Ceres*. In which wordes hee maketh *Isis* acknowledge plaine inough that they are filthy. Hereof saith *Nazianzene* thus, *Wee haue no rauisht Proserpina, nor wandering Ceres, nor Triptolemus, nor Dragons, nor such as partly doe and partly suffer: I shame to lay the night-sacrifices in the light, and to turne a mystery into a turpitude. Eleufine, knoweth & such as looke vpon these concealed matters, fit indeede for concealment.* Thus hee in his *Epiphania*, beginning at these words: *επι της διυαριστηαις*. And happy *Iason* (saith *Theocritus*) that attained more than men prophaine beleuee, *Ζαλας ης ελας*. Wherein hee closely girdeth at the adultery of *Ceres* and *Iason*. What these sacrifices did containe, *Eusebius* sheweth thus out of *(Iement)*: Some say (quoth hee) that *Melampus Amythaons* sonne brought the sollemnities of *Ceres* from *Egypt* into *Greece*. *Ceres* was deliuered, the daughter was brought vppe: some called her *Perephatte*: *Ioue* begot her in forme of a Dragon, and so comes the Dragon to bee shewne rouled vppe in the *Sanatians* Mysteries, as a memoriall of the gods; or I should say of so fowle a turpitude. *Perephatte* also brought forth a sonne like a Bull: wherevpon some poets haue sung of the Bull, the Dragons father, and the Dragon, the Bulls father: Those memoriall secrets they beare vppe vnto a hill, and they celebrated the shepards goade, yes I thinke the shepards goade, a kinde of rod that the *Bacchanalians* did beare. Further of these secrets I cannot relate, of the basket, the rape, the *Idonorian* gulfe, *Euboleus* his sonne, all whom together with the two goddesses that one gulfe did swallow vp, and therevpon they haue a hogsty in their ceremonies: which the women in the citties there-aboutes obserue in diuers fashions: there is the *Thefsmophoria*, the *Sciophoria*, and the *Inephabiliphoria*, in all which was there diuers laments for *Ceres* her losse and *Periphattes* rape. This *Eusebius*, as *Trapezuntius* interpreteth him, for the greeke booke I haue not. The women priests caried baskets also couered, one full of flowers, portending the spring, another with eares of corne, for autumn. These Virgins were called, *κανηφαι*, basket-bearers: *Tully* mentioneth them against *Varro*, though *Porphyry* vpon *Horace* affirme that the *Canephete* were *Iuno*'s seruants at her sacrifices at *Aibens*. These

These wee speake of, *Clement* saith were called orgies, of the anger that was betweene *Ceres* and *Ioue*. *Catullus*.

*Pars obscura cauis celebrabant Orgia cistis:*

*Orgia que frustra cupiunt audire prophani.*

Part keeping th' *Orgies*, hollow baskets bare:

Th' *Orgies*, which none vnhalloved must come neare.

Orgies.

But all the Greek sacrifices almost, were called *Orgies*, *Strab. lib. 10. Ser. in 4. Aeneid*. Therein were thus many images, 1. The creators, borne by the chiefe-priests, the misteries expounder. 2. the sonnes, borne by the taper-bearer. 3. the Mcones, by the altar-seruant, or sacrificer. 4. *Mercuries*, by the crier: and 5. a womans. ( ) as *Priapus* was borne in *Diomysius* his sacrifices, as *Theodoritus* witnesseth: who affirms that *Ioue* lay both with *Ceres* the mother and *Proserpina* the daughter: And to those sacrifices might none but the invited bee admitted, nor any whose conscience accused him of any crime, for so the crier proclaimed. *Nero* durst not come there, for his guilt: and *Antoninus* would needes bee invited, to prouee himselfe innocent. Yet whether it were at the great sacrifices or no, I know not, for at Athens it was a law that no stranger should be admitted them. *Aristoph. Commentator*. So *Hercules* desiring initiaticn, though he were a friend, and *Ioues* sonne, yet it being against the law, they ordaine the smaller sacrifices *Elensua*, where any stranger might haue access, calling the former, *Ceres* her sacrifices, the later *Proserpina's*: which he saith were but *ασπις αποσταυρωε*. As a purgation and preparation to the greater. The coate which they put on at their initiation must neuer come of vntill it be so ragged, that it bee past wearing: Some say they kept them to make childrens swadling cloathes off. And thus for Greece. Rome had a great yearely feast of *Ceres*, which mourners might not be present at. *Liu*. They had also the mariages of *Ceres* or *Orcus*, where in it was an offence to bring wine, but frankincence onely and tapers, whereof *Plautus* saith, *I thinke you are about Ceres feasts, for I see no wine*. *Aulular*. Of this sacrifice read *Macrobius Saturn*. and *Seruius* vpon *Virgils Georgikes* lib. 1. vpon this place.

*Cuncta tibi Cerem pubes agrestis adoret,*

*Cui tu lacte fauos, & mitti dilue Baccho.*

Call all the youth ynto the se rites diuine,

And offer *Ceres* hony, milke, or wine.

There were also the *Cerealia*, games in *Ceres* honour, whereof *Politian* a great scholler hath *Cerealia* written in his *Miscellanea*: whose iudgement least some bee mistaken by, I will write mine opinion hereof. First the old Circian games that *Romulus* ordained to *Hipposeidon* and these *Cerealia* are not al one: these are farre later in originaall: Againe these later, were kept long before *Memmius* his time. *Liu*. namely the sixteenth yeare of the second African warre by the Senates decree. *Qn. Seruillus Geminus* beeing dictator, and *Julius Aelius Paetus* Maister of the horse. Nor doe *Tacitus* or *Ouid* comptroll this, in saying the *Cerealia* were kept in the great Circuite. The *Cereale* Aediles were made for the cornes prouision not for the plaies though they made some to *Ceres*. But I maruell that *Politian* thinketh that that *Memmius* whome *Cesar* made *Aedile*, was hee to whom *Lucretius* dedicated his booke or (if it shall please you) *Politian*, his sonne, when as *Lucretius* died in the second consulships of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, and the worke was written in *Memmius* his youthfull daies. True it is one error begets many. I would not haue any man thinke this spoken in derogation from the glory of so great a scholler; for *Politian* is not to bee reiected for beeing deceiued, hee was but a man. My words ayme at the profit of the most, not at detraction from him or any. If any man thinke otherwise (which is false) know hee, that it is no iniury to reprehend either *Politian* or any man else of the cunningest, in matter of antiquity: But of the *Cerealia*. let this suffice.

Of the obscantie of Bacchus sacrifices. CHAP. 21.

But now for *Libers* (a) sacrifices, who ruleth not onely all moisture of seedes and fruites whereof wine seemes principall, but of creatures also: To describe their full turpitude, It irkes me for losse of time, but not for these mens blockish pride. Amongst a great deal of necessary omission, let this goe, whereas

B b. 3.

hee

hee saith that *Liber*s sacrifices were kept with such licence in the high-waies in Italy, that they adored mens priuities in his honour: their beastlinesse exulting, and scorning any more secrecie. This beastly sight vpon his feast daies was honorably mounted vpon a (b) waggon, and first rode thus through the country, and then was brought into the city in this pompe. But at (c) Lauinium they kept a whole month holy to *Liber*, vsing that space all the beastly words they could devise, vntill the beastly spectacle had passed through the market place, and was placed, where it vsed to stand. And then must the most honest matron of the towne crowne it with a garland. Thus for the seeds successe was *Liber* adored: and to expell witch-craft from the fields, an honest matron must doe that in publicke, which an whore should not do vpon the stage if the matrons looked on. For this was *Saturne* accounted insufficient in this charge, that the vnclane soule finding occasion to multiply the gods, and by this vnclaneesse being kept from the true GOD, and prostitute vnto the false, through more vnclane desires, might giue holy names to these sacriledges, and entangle it selfe in eternall pollution with the diuells.

## L. VIVES.

**Bacchus his sacrifices.** **L**iber (a) sacrifices | Kept by the Thebans on mount Cytharon euery third yeate: in the nights and called therefore *Nyctilena*. *Seru.* and of the yeares, *Trieretica*, or *Triennialis*. Herein were the *Phally*, (that is huge priuy members) vsed. *Herodor. Plutarch, de cupid.op.*

**Phallus.** The Agiptians vsed litle statues with such huge perpendents: the other nations caried the members onely about, for fertility sake. The feasts were called *Phallogogia*. *Theodoret.lib.3.*

**Philagogia.** Why *Priapus* and *Bacchus* haue feasts together, there bee diuers reasons. 1. Because they were companions. 2. because without *Bacchus*, *Priapus* can doe naught, and therefore was held the sonne of *Bacchus* and *Venus*. 3. because *Bacchus* is Lord of seede, whereof *Priapus* is the chiefe instrument, and therefore god of gardens, and hath his feasts kept by the husbandmen with great ioye. Now *Diodorus* saith that *Osyris* (whome hee counteth *Bacchus*) being cut in peeces by *Typhon*, and euery friend bearing part away, none would take the priuy member, so it was cast into Nyle. Afterwards *Isis* hauing reuenged his murder, got all his body againe, onely that shee wanted, and so consecrated an Image thereof, and for her comfort honored it more then all the other parts, making feasts to it, & calling it *Phallus* at the Priests first institution; *Naxianzene* reckneth both *Phalli* and *Ithyphalli*: but I thinke they differ not, but that for the more erection it was called *Ithyphallus*, of the greeke. (b) *Waggons*

**Ithyphallus.** To yoake mife in waggons saith *Horace* in his *Satyres*. lib. 2. It is adiminitiuie of wayniess

**Plostrum.** *Plaustra*: much difference is about *Plaustra* and *Plostra*, *V. Probus* is for *Plostra*: *Florus* told *Vespasian* hee must say *plaustra*, so the next day he called him *Flawrus*, for *Florus*. *Suetonius.* (c) *At Lauinium* | A towne in Latinum, built by *Aeneas* and named after his wife. *Alba longa* was a colony of this: of *Alba*, before is sufficient spoken.

**Lauinium.**

## Of Neptune, Salacia, and Venilia. CHAP. 22.

**N**OW *Neptune* had one *Salacia* to wife, gouernesse (they say) of the lowest parts of the sea, why is *Venilia* ioyned with her, but to keep the poore soule prostitute to a multitude of deuills? But what saith this rare Theology to stoppe our mouthes with reason? *Venilia* is the flowing tide. *Salacia* the ebbing: What? two goddesses, when the watter ebbing, and the water flowing is al one? See how the soules lust (a) flowes to damnation! Though this water going bee the same returning, yet by this vanity are two more deuills inuited, to whom the soule (b) goeth, and neuer returneth. I pray the *Varro*, or you that haue read so much, and boast what you haue learned, explayne mee this, not by the eternall vnchanging nature which is onely god, but by the worlds soule, and the parts, which you hold true gods. The error wherein you make *Neptune* to bee that part of the worlds soule

**Venilia.**  
**Salacia.**

foole that is in the sea, that is some-what tolerable: but is the water ebbing and the water flowing two parts of the world, or of the worlds soule? which of all your wits containeth this vnwise credence? But why did your ancestors ordaine yee those two goddesse, but that they would prouide that you should not bee ruled by any more gods, but by many more deuills, that delighted in such vanities: But why hath *Salacia*, that you call the inmost sea, being there vnder her husband, lost her place? for you bring her vp aboue when shee is the ebbing tide: Hath shee thrust her husband downe into the bottome for entertaining *Venilia* to his harlot.

## L. VIVES.

**L**ust (a) *flows*] Alluding to the sea. (b) *Goeth and neuer returneth*] Spoken of the damned, that neither haue ease nor hope at all. He alludeth to *Iob. 10. vers. 21. Before I goe and shall not returne, to the land of darknesse and shadow of death, euen the land of misery and darknesse,* which both the words them-selues shew, and the learned comments affirme is meant of hell. Hell.

*Of the earth, held by Varro to be a goddesse, because the worlds soule (his god) doth penetrate his lowest part, and communicateth his essence there-with. CHAP. 23.*

**W**E see one earth, filled with creatures: yet being a masse of elemental bodies and the worlds lowest part, why call they it a goddesse? because it is fruitful? why are not men gods then that make it so with labour, not with worship? No, the part of the worlds soule (say they) *contained in her, maketh hir diuine: good: as though that soule were not more apparant in man: without all question, yet men are no gods: and yet which is most lamentable, are subiected so that they adore the inferiours as gods, such is their miserable error. Varro in his booke of the select gods, putteth (a) three degrees of the soule in all nature. One, living in all bodies vn-sensitiue, onely hauing life: this he saith we haue in our bones, nailes and haire: and so haue trees living without sence. Secondly, the power of sence diffused through our eyes, eares, nose, mouth and touch. Thirdly, the highest degree of the soule, called the minde, or intellect: confined (b) onely vnto mans fruition: wherein because men are like gods, that part in the world he calleth a god, and in vse a *Genius*. So diuideth hee the worlds soule into three degrees. First stones and wood, and this earth insensible which we tread on. Secondly the worlds sence, the heauens, or *Aether*: thirdly, her soule set in the starres (his beleued gods) and by them descending through the earth, goddesse *Tellus*: and when it comes in the sea, it is *Neptune*: stay, now back a little from this morall theologie, whether hee went to refresh him-selfe after his toile in these straites: Back againe I say to the ciuill, let vs plead in this court a little. I say not yet, that if the earth and stones, bee like our nailes and bones, they haue no more intellect, then sence. Or if our bones and nailes be said to haue intellect, because wee haue it, hee is as very a foole that calleth them gods in the world, as hee that should terme them men in vs. But this perhaps is for Philosophers, let vs to our ciuill theame: For it may bee though hee lift vp his head a little to the freedome of this naturall theologie, yet comming to this booke and knowing what he had to doe, hee lookes now and then back, and saith this, least his ancestors and others should be held to haue adored *Tellus* and *Neptune* to no end. But this I say, seeing earth onely is that part of the worlds soule that penetrateth earth: why is it not made intirely one goddesse, and so called *Tellus*? which done, where is *Orcus*, *Ioues* and *Neptunes* brother, father *Dis*: and where is *Proserpina* his wife that some*

Varro his degrees of soules,  
The intellect.

opinions

opinions there recorded, hold to be the earths depth not her fertility? If they say the soule of the world that passeth in the vpper part is *Dis*, and that in the lower, *Proserpina*, what shall then become of *Tellus*? for thus is she intirely diuided into halfe: that where she should be third, there is no place, vnlesse some will say that *Orcus* and *Proserpina* together are *Tellus*, and so make not three but one or two of them: yet 3. they are held, & worshiped by 3. seuerall sorts of rites, by their altars, priests & statues, and are indeed three deuills that do draw the deceiued soule to damnable whoredome. But one other question: what part of the worlds soule is *Tellumo*? No, saith he, the earth hath two powers, a masculine to produce, and a feminine to receiue, this is *Tellus* and that *Tellumo*: But why then doe the Priests (as he sheweth) adde other two and make them foure? *Tellumo*, *Tellus*, (c) *Altor* *Rusor*? for the two first, you are answered: why *Altor*? of *Al*, to nourish, earth nourisheth all things. Why *Rusor*? of *Rursus*, againe, all things turne againe to earth.

## L. VIVES.

The soules  
two parts.

**P**Uteth three (a) degrees ] *Pythagoras* and *Plato* say the soule is of three kindes, vegetable, sensitiue, reasonable: Mans soule (say they is two-fold): rationally and irrationall: the later two-fold, affectionate to ire and to desire: all these they doe locally seperate. *Plat. de Rep. l. 4.* *Aristotle* to the first three addeth a fourth, locally motiue. But he distinguisheth those parts of the reasonable soule in vse onely, not in place nor essence, calling them but powers, referred vnto actions. *Ethic. Alex. Aphrodisens* sheweth how powers are in the soule. But this is not a fit theame for this place. But this is all: it is but one soule that augmenteth the hayre and bones, profiteth the senses, and replenisheth the heart and braine. (b) *Onely vnto* ] This place hath diuersities of reading, some leaue out part, and some do alter: but the sence being vualtered, a note were further friuolous. (c) *Altor* ] *Father Dis* and *Proserpina* had many names in the ancient ceremonies. *Hee, Dis, Tellumo, Altor, Rusor, Cocytus*: *hee Verra, Orca* and *Nurse Tellus*. Thus haue the priests bookes them. *Romulus* was also called *Altellus*, of nourishing his subjects so admirably against their enuious borderers. *Iupiter Plutonium* (saith *Trismegistus*) rules sea and land, and is the nourisher of all fruitfull and mortall soules. *In Asclepio.*

Dis, Pro-  
serpina, Ro-  
mulus cal-  
led Altellus

*Of earths surnames and significations, which though they arose of diuerse originals, yet should they not be accompted diuerse Gods.*

## CHAP. 24.

**T**HEREFORE earth for her foure qualities ought to haue foure names, yet not to make foure gods. One *Ioue* serues to many surnames, and so doth one *Iuno*: in all which the multitude of their powers constitute but one God and one goddesse, not producing multitude of gods. But as the vilest women are some-times ashamed of the company that their lust calleth them into, so the polluted soule, prostitute vnto all hell, though it loued multitude of false gods, yet it some-times lothed them. For *Varro*, as shaming at this crew, would haue *Tellus* to be but one goddesse. They (a) call her (saith hee) the *Great mother*, and her *Tymbrell* is a signe of the earths roundnesse: the turrets on her head, of the townes: the seates about her, of her eternall stability when all things else are moued: her *Galli* Priests signifie that such as want seede must follow the earth that containeth all: their violent motions about her doe aduise the tillers of earth not to sitte idle, for there is still worke for them. The *Cymballs* signifie the noyses with plough-irons, &c. in husbandry, they are of brasse, for so were these instruments (b) before Iron was found out. The same *Lion* signified that the roughest land might by tillage be made fertile. And then he addeth, that shee was called *Mother earth*, and

and many other names, which made them thinke her severall gods. They heid earth to be *Ops* (saith he) because helpe, (*Opis*) maketh her more fruitfull: *Mother*, for hit generall production. *Great* for giving meate. *Proserpina*, because the fruit doe creepe (*Proserpant*) out of her. *Vesta*, for that the hearbes are her vesture: and so saith he are other deities fitly reduced vnto her by severall respects. But if she be one goddesse, (as in truth she is not) why runne yee to so many? Let one have all these names, and not bee many goddesse. But errors power prevailed to draw *Varro* fearefully after it: for he saith; neither doth this controule their opinions that take these for many gods. There may be one thing (saith he) and many things therein. Well suppose that many things are in a man: therefore many men? many things are in a goddesse, therefore many goddesse? But let them diuide, combine, multiply, repley and imply what they will. These are the mysteries of great *Mother-earth*, all referred to seede and husbandry. But doth your tymbrell, turret, eunuches, rauings, cymballs and Lions in all this reference, promise eternall life? doe your gelded *Galls* serue her to shew that seed-wanters must follow the earth, and not rather that the following of her brought them to this want? for whether doth the seruice of this goddesse supply their want or bring them to want? is this to exp'aine, or to explode rather? Nor is the deuills power herein euer a iotte obserued, that could exact such cruelties, and yet promise nought worth the wishing. If earth were held no goddesse, men would lay their hands vpon her and streng then them-selues by her, & not vpon them-selues, to enervate them-selues for her: If she were no goddesse, she would bee made so fertile by others hands, that shee should neuer make men barren by their owne hands. And whereas in *Libers* sacrifices an honest Matron must crowne that beastly member, her husband perhaps standing by blushing and sweating (if hee haue any shame) and whereas in mariages the bride must ride vpon (*c*) *Priapus* his *Collstaffe*, these are farre more (*d*) lighter and contemptible then that cruell obscenity, and obscene cruelty: for here the deuills illude both sexes, but maketh neither of them their owne murtherers. There they feare the bewitching of their corne, here they feare not the vn-manning of them-selues: There the bride (*e*) is not so shamed that she either looseth chastitie or virginity, here the massacre of man-hood is such, the gelded person is left neither man nor woman.

## L. VIVES.

**T**hey (*a*) call her] *Ouid Fast.* 4. giues another reason of the *Great mothers* worship. The Cymballs and Tymbrils were imitations of the *Corybant*, that kept loue with the noyse of their shields and helmes: the tymbrels stand for the bucklers being lether, and the Cymballs for the helmes being brasse. The turrets are for that she built first towers in Citties, the *Ennubes* she liketh for *Atys* his sake: she is borne by Lions because shee tamed them. (*b*) *Before Iron*,] This is left out by some. (*c*) *Priapus* his *Collstaffe*] A Metaphor; *Scapus* is the stalke of any hearbe, but vsed in *Varro* and *Pliny* for a mans priuy member, th t is erected like a stake or stalke: *Scapus* is also a beame or iuncture in building. *Vir.* (*d*) *Lighter*] so is the old man. *Scapus*. (*e*) *Is not so*] *Priapus* was vsed to helpe the husband in taking away the maiden-head of the wife, and the wife in fruitfulness of off-spring.

What exposition the Greeke wise men giue of the gelding of *Atys*. CHAP. 25.

**B**Ut we haue forgotten *Atys* & his meaning all this while, in memory of whose loue the (*a*) *Galls* are gelded. But the wise Greekes forget not this goodly matter. Because of the earths front in the spring, being fairer than, then euer. (*b*) *Porphyry* a famous Philosopher saith *Atys* signifieth the flowers, & was therefore gelded, because the flowre falleth off before the fruite. So then, not (*c*) *Atys*, man,

or manlike, but his priuy parts onely were compared to the flowers, for they fell of in his spring: nay many fell not of, were cut of; nor followed any fruit vpon this, but rather lasting sterility, what then doth all that which remained of him after his gelding signifie? whether is that referred? the meaning of that now? or because they could finde no reference for this remainder, doe they thinke that he became that which the fable sheweth, & as is recorded? Nay *Varro* is ours against them in that iustly, and will not affirme it, for his learning told him it was false.

## L. VIVES.

Why the  
Galli geld  
themselues.

**T**He Galli (a) are] *Cybele's* priest: of these wee haue spoken. *Festus* saith they gelded themselues, because hauing violated their parents name they would neuer be parents. *Bardeanes* the Syrian saith that King *Abgarus* made all their hands to be cut off that had vsed themselues so: and so this ceremonie ceased: *Macrobius* interpreteth the passages of *Cybele* and *Atys*, *Venus* and *Adonis*, *Isis* and *Osiris*, all one way: calling the women the earth, and the men the sunne. (b) *Porphyry*] Of him else-where: this place is in his booke *De rational. nat. Deor.* *Atys* and *Adonis* (saith he) are the fruites, but *Atys* especially the flowers that fall ere the fruite bee ripe, and so they say hee was gelded, because the fading flowers beare no fruite. (c) *Atys man or mans like*] Alluding to *Plato's* riddle. *De rep. 5.* *A man and no man, hauing sight and no sight, smote and smote not, a bird and no bird, with a stone and no stone, vpon a tree and no tree: that is, An eunuch, purblinde, threw and but touched a Batte with a pumyce stone, sitting in an Elderne tree.*

Plato his  
riddle.

## Of the filthinesse of this Great Mothers sacrifices.

## CHAP. 26.

**N**O more would *Varro* speake of the *Ganymedes* that were consecrated vnto the said *Great mother*, against all shame of man and woman: who with anointed heads, painted faces, loose bodies and lasciuious paces, went euen vntill yesterday vp and downe the streetes of *Carthage*, basely begging (a) of the people where-withall to sustaine them-selues. Of these haue not I (to my knowledge) (b) read any thing: their expositions, tongues and reasons were all ashamed and to seeke. Thus the *Great mother* exceeded all hit sonne-gods, not in greatnesse of deity, but of obscenity. *Ianus* him selfe was not so monstrous as this (c) monster: hee was but deformed in his statue: but this was both bloody and deformed in her sacrifices. Hee had members of stone giuen him, but she takes members of flesh from all her attendance. This shame, all *Ioues* lcheries come short of: he besides his female rapes, defamed heauē but with one (d) *Ganymede*, but she hath both shamed heauen, and polluted earth with multitudes of (e) profest and publike *Sodomites*. It may be thought that *Saturne* that gelded his father comes neere, or exceeds this filthinesse: O but in his religion men are rather killed by others then guelled by them-selues. He eate vp his sonnes say the Poets, let the Physicall say what they will: history saith he killed them: yet did not the *Romaines* learne to sacrifice their sonnes to him from the *Afficans*. But this *Great mother* brought her Eunuches euen into the *Romaine* temple, keeping her bestiall reakes of cruelty euen there: thinking to helpe the *Romaines* to strength, by cutting away their strengths fountaines. What is *Mercuries* theft, *Venus* her lust, the whoredome and the turpitude of the rest (which were they not commonly sung vpon stages, wee would relate) what are they all to this soule euill, that the *Mother* of the gods onely had as her peculiar? chiefly the rest being held but poetically fictions, as if the Poets had inuented this too, that they were pleasing to the gods? So then

it

it was the Poets audaciousnesse that recorded them, but whose is it to exhibite them at the gods vrgent exacting them, but the gods direct obsecrancy, the deuills confessions, and the wretched soules illusions? But this adoration of *Cibele* by gelding ones selfe the Poets neuer inuented, but did rather abhorre it then mention it: Is any one to bee dedicated to these select Gods for blessednesse of life hereafter, that cannot liue honestly vnder them here, but lies in bondage to such vnclene filthinesse, and so many dammed deuills? but all this (say they) hath referenceto the world: nay looke if it be not to the wicked. (f) \ What cannot bee referred to the world that is found to bee in the world? But we doe seeke a minde that trusting in the true religion doth not worshippe the world as his God, but commendeth it for his sake, as his admired worke, and being expiate from all the staines of the world; so approacheth to him that made the world: wee see these selected gods more notified then the rest: not to the aduancement of their merits, but the diuulging of their shames; this proues them men, as not onely Poemes but histories also do explaine: for that which *Virgill* saith *Æn. 8.*

*Primus ab æthere venit Saturnus Olympo,  
Arma Iouis fugiens, & regnis exul adeptis.  
(g) Whence Saturne came Olimpus was the place,  
Flying Ioues armes, exil'd in wretched case.*

And so as followeth, the same hath (h) *Euemerus* written in a continueate history, translated into latine by *Ennius*: whence because much may bee taken both in Greeke and also in Latine that hath bin spoken against these errors by others before vs, I cease to vrgt them further.

### L. VIVES.

**B**egging (a) Of.] These *Galli* were allowed to beg of the people by a law that *Metellus* made *Ouid*, shewes the reason in these verses.

*Dic inquam, parua cur stipe quarat opes?  
Consultis as populus de quo delubra Metellus  
Fecit, ait, danda mos stipsis inde manet.  
Tell me (quothe I) why beg they basely still?  
Metellus, built the shrine o' th' townes expence,  
(quothe he) and so the begging law came thence.*

*Cicero* in his sacred and scuerest lawes (of those times) charged that *None* but the *Idean* goddesse Priests should beg: his reason is because it fills the mind with folly and empties the purse of mony. [ But what if *Augustine* or *Cicero* saw now how large and rich societues go a begging to those on whome they might better bestow something? whilest hee (meane time) that giueth it sitteth with a peece of browne bread, and a few herbes, drinking out of an earthen put full of nothing but water, and a great sort of children about him for whose sustentance he toyleth day and night: and he that beggeth of him is a rich begger, fed with white and purest bread, partridge and capons: and soaked in spiritfull and delicious wines? ] (b) *Red any thing.* Of their interpretation. (c) *Monsters.* He seemeth to meane *Triapus*. (d) *Ganimede.* Sonne to *Troos* King of *Phrigia*, a delicate boy: *Tantalus* in hunting forced him away, and gaue him to *Ioue* in *Crete*: *Ioue* abused his body: The Poets fable how *Ioue* catcht him vp in the shape of an eagle, and made him his chiefe cupbearer, in place of *Hebe* and *Vulcan*: *Iano's* children, and turned him into the signe *Aquary*. (e) *Profeft.* Openly avowing their bestiall obsecrancy. (f) *What cannot.* There is not any other reading true but this. (g) *Whence Saturne.* *Euander* to *Aeneas*. *Virg. Ænead.* (h) *Euemerus.* Some read *Homerus*, falsely: for it was *Euemerus* as I said that wrot the History called Sacred.

[ The Iouan  
nists omit  
this. ]

] *Ganimede:*

Of



*Of the Naturalists figments that neither adore the true deity,  
nor vse the adoration thereto belonging.*

## CHAP. 27.

WHEN I consider the *Physiologies* which learned and quick witted men haue endeoured to turne into diuine matters, I discover as plaine as day that they cannot haue reference to ought but naturall and terrestriall ( though inuisible ) objects, all which are farre from the true God : If this extended no further then the congruence which true religion permitted, then were their want of the knowledge of the true God, to be deplored, and yet their abstinence from acting or authorizing obscenity, to be in part approued. But since that it is wickednesse to worship either body or soule for the true God ( whose onely dwelling in the soule maketh it happy ) how much more vile is it to adore these things with a worship neither attaining saluation nor temporall renoune? and therefore if any worldly element be set vp for adoration with temple, priest or sacrifice, which are the true Gods peculiar, or any created spirit, all were it good and pure : it is not so ill a thing because the things vsed in the worship are euill, as because they are such as are due onely to his worship, to whom all worship is due. But if any one say hee worshippeth the true God in monstrous statues, sacrifices of men, crowning of priuities, gelding, payments for sodomy, wounds, filthy and obscene festiuall games, hee doth not offend because hee that hee worshippeth is to bee worshipped, but because he is not to be worshipped so as hee doth worship him. But he that with these filthinesses, worshippeth not God the creator of all, but a creature, be it harmlesse or no, animate or dead; double is his offence to Gods once for adoring that for him which is not hee; and once for adoring him with such rites as is (a) not to be afforded vnto either. But the foulness of these mens worship is plaine: but what or whom they worship, is not so, were it not for their owne history that recordes the gods that exacted those bestialities so terribly: so therefore doubtlesse they were deuills, called by their politique Theologie into Idols, and passing from thence into mens hearts.

## L. VIVES.

IS (a) *not to be*] Nothing is to be worshipped in that manner, neither God, nor that which is not God; for the worship of it selfe is wicked.

*That Varro his doctrine of Theologie hangeth no way together.*

## CHAP. 28.

THerefore what is it to the purpose, that so learned a man as *Varro* hath endeoured to reduce all these gods to heaven and earth, and cannot? they slip from his fingers and fall away do what he can: for being to speake of the goddesses: seeing that as I laid ( quoth he ) *in my first booke of the places, there are obserued two beginnings of the gods, producing deities: celestiall and terrestriall, as before being to speake of the masculine gods, we began with heauen, concerning Ianus called heauen or the world: so now of the feminine beginning with the earth, Tellus.* I see how sore so good a witte is already plunged. Hee is drawne by a likelyhood to make heauen the agent and earth the patient, & therefore giueth the first the masculine forme, and the latter the feminine: and yet vnderstandeth not that hee that giueth those vnto both these two, made them both. And here-vpon he interpreteth (a) the *Samotheatians* noble mysteries so, saying that hee will lay open such things thereof to his nation as it neuer knew: this he promiseth most religiously. For he saith he hath obserued in Images that one thing signifieth earth, another heauen, another  
the

the abstracts of formes, (b) *Plato's Idea*: hee will haue *Ioue* to bee heauen, *Iuno* earth, *Minerua* the Ideas: Heauen the efficient, earth the substance, *Idea* the forme of each effect: Now here I omit to say that *Plato* ascribed so much to these formes, that he saith heauen doth nothing without them, but it selfe was made by them. This I say, that *Varro* in his booke of the Select gods, hath vtterly ouerthrowne this ditinction of those three: Heauen hee placeth for the masculine, for the feminine, earth: amongst which he putteth *Minerua*, that but now was about heauen. And *Neptune* a masculine God, is in the sea, therefore rather in earth than heauen. Father *Dis*, or (c) *Pluto* a male-god, and their brother, he is also in earth vpmost, and *Proserpina* his wife vnder him. How can those heauen-gods now be earth-gods, or these earth-gods haue roomes about or reference to heauen? what sobriety, soliditie, or certaintie is in this discourse? And earth is all their mother, that is serued with nothing but sodomy, cutting and gelding. Why then doth he say, *Ianus* the gods chiefe, and *Tellus* the goddesses, where error neither alloweth one head, nor furie a like time? why goe they vainely about to referre these to the world, (e) as if it could be adored for the true God, the worke for the maker? That these can haue no reference thether, the truth hath conuincid: referre them but vnto dead men, & deuills, and the controuersie is at an end

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) *Samothracians* ] Of these gods I haue already spoken. They are Heauen and earth, *Ioue* and *Iuno* that are the great *Samothracian* gods. *Varro de ling. lat. l. 4.* And *Minerua* also. To these three the stately temple of the Capitoll was dedicated. In Greeke it is not well knowne who these *Samothracian* gods were. *Apollonius* his interpretor hath these words, they call the *Samothracian* gods, *Cabiri*, *Nnaseas* saith that their names are *Axiernus*, that is, *Ceres*. *Axiocersa*, *Proserpina*, *Aziocersus*, father *Dis*, and *Mercury* their attendant as *Dionysodorus* saith. *Athenion* saith that *Ioue* begotte *Iason* and *Dardannus* vpon *Electra*: The name *Cabiri* serues to deriue from the mountaines *Caberi* in *Phrygia*, whence these gods were brought. Some say these gods were but two, *Ioue* the elder and *Dionysus* the yonger. Thus farre hee: Hee that will read the Greeke, it beginneth at these words: *Καβίριος τῆς ἐν τῇ σαμοθρακίᾳ, &c.* Now *Iason* they say was *Ceres* sonne, and called *Caberus* the brother of *Dardannus*: others say *Iason* loued and lay with *Ceres* and was therefore slaine by thunder. Hee that will read more of the *Cabiri*, let him go to *Strabo lib. 10.* (b) *Plato's Idea*, ) So called of *εἶδος*, a forme or shape, for hee that will make a thing, first contemplateth of the forme, and fitteth his worke thereto: A Painter drawes one picture by another: this is his *Idea*, and therefore it is defined, a forme of a future acte. The *Idea* of all things are in God, which in framing of the world and each part thereof, hee did worke after: and therefore *Plato* maketh three beginnings of all: the minde; that is God the worker: the matter or substance of the world: and the forme that it is framed after: And God (saith he in his *Tymeu*) had an *Idea* or forme which hee followed in his whole fabricke of nature. So that not onely the particuler spaces of the world, but the elements, heauen and the whole vniuerse ( *πᾶσα* ) had the beginning from an *Idea*. They are eternall, vncorporall, and simple formes of things (saith *Apuleius Dogmat. Platon*) and from hence had God the figures of all things present and future, nor can more the one *Idea* be found in one whole kinde of creature, according to which all of that kinde are wrought as out of waxe. Where these *Idea's* are, is a deeper question and diuersly held of the *Platonists*: of that here-after. (c) *Pluto* ] Of *πλούτος*, gaine. *Dis* in Latine, *quasi diues*, ritche: for out of the earths bowels, (his treasurie) do men fetch vp stones of worth, and mettalls. And therefore was he said to dwell vnder the land of *Spaine*, as *Strabo* saith: because there was such store of mettall-mines, corne, cattle, and meanes of commodity. (d) *One head* ] for *Ianus* had two heads, & *Cybel's* Priests were mad. (e) *As if it* ] or, which if they could no godly person would worship y world.

The Samothracian gods.

Cabiri

Platos Idea.

Pluto.

That all that the Naturalists referre to the worlds parts, should be referred to God. CHAP. 29.

**F**OR this their naturall theologie referreth all these things to the world, which would

Cc

The workes  
of the true  
God.

(would they auoide scruple of sacriledge) they should of right referre to the true God the worlds maker and creator of all soules and bodies. Obserue but this, we worship God, not heauen, nor earth ( of which (a) two parts of the world consisteth: ) nor a soule or soules diffused through all the parts thereof: but a God that made heauen and earth and all therein, he made all creatures that liue, brutish, & sencelesse, sensitiue, and reasonable: ( b ) And now to runne through the operations of this true and high GOD, briefly, which they reducing to absurd and obscene mysteries, induced many deuills by. We worship that God that hath giuen motion, existence, and limits to each created nature, that knowes, conteines and disposeth of all causes, that gaue power to the seedes, and reason to such as hee vouchsafed: that hath bestowed the vse of speech vpon vs, that hath giuen knowledge of future things to such spirits as he pleaseth: and prophecietieth by whom he please, that for mans due correction, ordereth and endeth all warres & worldly tribulations: that created the violent and vehement fire of this world, for the temperature of this great & huge masse: that framed and guideth all the waters: that set vp the sunne as the worlds clearest light, and gaue it congruent act and motion: ( c ) that taketh not all power from the spirits infernall: that afforded nourishment moist or dry vnto euery creature according to the temperature: that founded the earth and maketh it fertill: that giueth the frutes thereof to men and beasts: that knowes and orders all causes, principall and secondary: that giueth the moone her motion: and hath set downe waies in heauen and earth to direct our change of place: that hath grac'd the wit he created, with arts and sciences, as ornaments to nature: that instituted copulation for propagation sake: that gaue men the vse of the earthly fire to meet by and vse in their conuentions. These are the things that learned Varro either from others doctrine or his owne coniecture striueth to ascribe vnto the selected Gods by a sort of ( I wotte nere what ) natrall interpretations.

#### L. VIVES.

**W**Hich (a) two parts } Gen. 1. 1. In the beginning God created heauen and earth. Which two make the whole world, including in beauen all things celestially, in earth all things mortall. (b) And now } An Epilogue of all the gods powers which he hath disputed of. (c) That taketh } Read Job. 40. & 41. of the deuills power from God.

*The meanes to discern the Creator from the creatures, and to auoide the worshipping of so many gods for one, because there are so many powers in one.* CHAP. 30.

**B**ut these are the operation of one onely and true God: yet as one & the same god in all places, all in all, not included in place, not confined to locall quantitie, indiuisible and immutable, filling heauen and earth with his present power, his nature (a) needing no helpe. So doth he dispose of all his workes of creation, that each one hath the peculiar motion permitted it. For though it can doe nothing without him, yet is not any thing that which he is. He doth much by his Angels, but onely he maketh them also blessed. So that imagine he do fend his Angels to men for some causes, yet he maketh not the men blessed by his Angels, but by himselfe as he doth the angels: from this true and euerlasting God, and from none other hope we for life eternall.

#### L. VIVES.

(a) Needing } as the other gods do, that must be faine to haue assistance in their faculty & power.

*The peculiar benefits (besides his common bounty) that God bestoweth upon his seruants.* CHAP. 26.

**F**OR of him, besides these benefits whereof wee haue spoken partly, such as are left

left to the administration of nature and bestowed both vpon good and bad, wee haue a particular bounty of his loue perticular only to the good: for although we can neuer yeeld him sufficient thanks for our being, life, sence, and vnderstanding of him, yet for that he hath not forsaken vs when we were inuolued in sinne, turned away from his contemplation, and blinded with loue of blacke iniquity, for that hee hath sent vs his *Word*, his onely *Sonne*, by whose incarnation and extreame passion for vs we might conceiue how *(a)* dearly god esteemed vs, and by that singuler sacrifice bee purged from our guilt, and by the illumination of his holy spirit in our hearts, tread downe all difficulties, and ascend to that eternall rest, and ineffable sweetnes of his contemplation: what heart, how many tounge can suffice to returne sufficient thanks for this last benefit?

## L. VIVES.

**H**ow *(a)* dearly.] *Rom. 8. 32. Who spared not his owne sonne but gaue him for vs all to death. &c.*

*That the Mistery of our redemption by Christ was not obscure in the precedent times, but continually intimated in diuers significations.*

## CHAP. 32.

**T**His Mistery of Eternall life, euen from the first originall of mankinde, was first by the angells declared vnto such as God vouchsafed, by diuers signes and mysticall shadowes congruent to the times wherein they were shewed. And then the Hebrewes being gathered into a common wealth to keepe the memory of this misery, had diuers that prophecied the things that should fall out from the comming of Christ vnto *(a)* this very day: some of which Prophets *(b)* vnderstood the Prophecies, and some did not. Afterwards they were disperseed amongst the gentiles to leaue them *(c)* the testimony of the scriptures which promised eternal saluation in Iesus Christ: for not only al the Prophecies, which were in words, & all the precepts which had reference to actions and manners, were therein conyained, but all their sacrifices also, the Priesthoods, temple or tabernacle, altars, ceremonies, feasts, and what euer hath reference to that diuine worship of God, were all presages, and propheticall significations of that eternall life bestowed by Christ, all which we now beleue either are fulfilled, or see are now in fulfilling, or trust shalbe fulfilled hereafter in him.

All things fulfilled in Christ.

## L. VIVES.

**V**nto *(a)* this very day.] For the Prophecies are not yet at an end: and though the summe of them all were fulfilled in Christ, yet by him diuers things since are to come to passe which haue particularly beene intimated in the prophecies: as that (not in one prophet onely) of the gathering together of the disperseed Israell, at the end of the world. *(b)* Understood.] All the Prophets vnderstood not their prophecies, nor did those that vnderstood part vnderstand all; for they spoake not them-selues but by Gods inspiration, whose counsellors they were not fully acquainted with: nor did God vse them as men skilfull in future events, but as such as hee ment to speake to the poeple by: yet deny we not but that the summe of all their visions, the comming of the *Messias* was revealed to them by God almighty. The gentiles also were of opinion that the *Sybills* and the other Prophets vnderstood not all their presages, for they spake them at such times as they were rapt beyond their reason, and hauing put of their proper mindes, were filled with the deity. And therefore *Iamblicus* saith that the more staid and sober that the *Sibilles* and prophets are in their prophecyng, the darker and

How the Prophets vnderstood the prophecies both Heathen & others.

obscurer their prophecies are : and then they speake plainly and clearly when they are wholly *Enthusiasticall. In mysteriis. (c) The testimonie* That the scriptures might be disper'd throughout the world, wherein the consequents of Christs comming and suffering were so plainly described, that none that had seene or heard of *Christs* life and doings, could deny that he it was of whom they were prophesied.

*That Christianity onely is of power to lay open the Devills subtilty and delight, in illuding of ignorant men.*

## CHAP. 33.

Who were  
the Gen-  
tiles gods.

**T**His onely true religion is of power to lay open that the Gentiles gods are most vnclane spirits, desiring vpon the occasion of some departed soules, or vnder the shapes of some earthly creatures, to bee accounted gods, and in their proud impurity taking pleasure in those obscænitie as in diuine honours, maligning the conuersion of all mens soules vnto the true God. From whose beastly and abominable tyranny a man then getteth free, when hee layeth his beliete vpon him, who by his rare example of humillity declared from what height and for what pride those wicked fiendes had their fall. Hence arose those routes of gods, whereof partly wee haue spoken, and others of other nations, as well as those wee now are in hand with, the Senate of selected gods : selected indeed, but for villany, not for vertue. Whose rites *Varro* seeking by reason to reduce to nature, and to couer turpitude with an honest cloake, can by no meanes make them square together : because indeed the causes that hee held (or would haue others hold) for their worship, are no such as he takes them, nor causes of their worship. For if they, or their like were so, though they should not concerne the true God, nor life eternall which true religion must affoord, yet their colour of reason would be some mitigation for the absurd actes of Ignorance : which *Varro* did endeouour to bring about in diuers their theater-fables, or temple-mysterie : wherein hee freed not the theaters for their correspondence with the temples, but condemned the temples for their correspondence with the theaters : yet endeououring with naturall reasons to wipe away the filthy shapes that those presentments imprinted in the senses.

*Of Numa his bookes, which the Senate for keeping their mysterie in secret, did command should be burned.*

## CHAP. 34.

**B**Vt contrarywise, we do finde (as *Varro* himselfe said of *Numa* his bookes) that these naturall reasons giuen for these ceremonies could no way be allowed of: nor worthy of their priests reading, no not so much as their secret reseruing. For now I will tell yee what I promised in my third booke to relate in conuenient place: One (a) *Terentius* (as *Varro* hath it in his booke *de Cultu deorum.*) had some ground neare to mount *Ianiculus*, and his seruants plowing neare to *Numa* his tombe, the plough turned vp some bookes, conteining the ceremonies institutions: (b) *Terentius* brought them into the city to the *Prator*, who hauing looked in them, brought this so weighty an affaire before the Senate : where hauing read some of the first causes why hee had instituted this and that in their religion; The Senate agreed with dead *Numa*, and like (c) religious fathers, gaue order to the *Prator* for the burning of them.

Euery one here may beleue as he list : nay let any contentious mad patron of absurd vanity say here what he list. Sufficeth it, I shew that the causes that *Numa* their King gaue for his owne institutions, ought neither to bee shewed to people,

people, senare, no nor to the Priests them-selues: and that *Numa* by his vnlawfull curiosity came to the knowledge of such deuillish secrets as he was worthy to be reprehended for writing of. Yet though hee were a King that feared no man, hee durst not for all that either publish them, or abolish them: publish them he would not for feare of teaching wickednesse: burne them he durst not for feare of offending the deuils: so he buried them where he thought they would be safe, (d) not fearing the turning vp of his graue by a plough. But the Senate fearing to re-prooue their ancestors religion, and so agreeing with *Numa's* doctrine, yet held these bookes too pernicious either to bee buried againe (least mens madder curiositie should seeke them out) or to bee put to any vse but burning: to the end that seeing they must needs stick to their old superstition, they might doe it with lesse blame by concealing the causes of it, whose knowledge would haue disturbed the whole cittie.

*Numa*,  
founder of  
the Ro-  
mane reli-  
gion.

### L. VIVES.

**O**NE (a) *Terentius*] The storie is written by *Liuy*, *Valerius*, *Plutarch* and *Lactantius*. *Liuy* and *Valerius* his ordinary follower; say that *Q. Petilius* found the bookes. *Pliny*, (out of *Cass. Hemina*) that *Gn. Terentius* found them in one chest; not two. *Liuy* calles that yeares Consulls, *C. Bebius Pamphilus*, and *M. Amilius. Lepidus*: for whom *Hemina* putteth *P. Cornelius Cethegus*: after *Numa* his reigne DXXXV. of the bookes the seuerall opinions are in *Plinie lib. 13. cap. 13.* (b) *Terentius*] *Petilius* they sayd: some say he desired the Pretor they should be read: others that he brought a Scriuener to read them. The historie in *Liuy lib. 40.* in *Valerius*, and *Plinie lib. 1.* 'Tis sufficient to shew the places: He saith he brought them into the City, for though *Numa's* tombe were in the cittie (namely in the foureteenth region, on *Ianiculus*) yet being beyond *Tyber*, such as came to the Senate house seemed to come out of the suburbes, or countrie. (c) *Religious fathers*] as touched with feare that religion should haue hurt by the publication of those bookes. Some read religious in reference vnto bookes: that is, stirring scruples of religion in mens mindes, for that is the signification of the Latine phrase: vnlesse any man will read it irreligious. (d) *Not fearing*] It was a great and religious care that was had ouer Sepulchers of old: none might violare or pull them downe, it was a law in the twelue tables, and also one of *Solons* and *Numa's*, & of most old law-giuers, *Greekes* and *Latines*: belonging rather to their religion then their ciuill law, for they held Sepulchers the temples of th'Infermall gods, and therefore they wrote vpon them these letters: *D. M. S. Ditis, Manibus sacrum*: A place sacred to the gods of Hell: and their solemnities were called *Necia*. *Cicero de legib. lib. 2.*

The reu-  
erence of  
Sepulchers.

*Of Hydromancie, whereby Numa was mocked with apparitions.*

#### CHAP. 35.

**F**OR *Numa* him-selue, being not instructed by any Prophet or Angell of God, was faine to fall to (d) *Hydromancie*: making his gods (or rather his deuills) to appeare in water, and instruct him in his religious institutions. Which kinde of diuination saith *Varro*, came from *Persia*, and was vsed by *Numa*, and afterwards by (b) *Pythagoras*, wherein they vsed bloud also, and called forth spirits infernall, *Necromancie* the greekes call it, but *Necromancie* or *Hydromancie*, whether ye like, there it is that the dead seeme to speake. How they doe these things, looke they to that: for I will not say that their lawes prohibited the vse of such things in their cities before the comming of our Sauour, I doe not say so; perhaps they were allowed it. But hence did *Numa* learne his ordinances which he published without publishing their causes: so afraide was he of that which he had learned, and which afterward the Senate burned. But why then doth *Varro* giue them

Hydro-  
mancie:

Necro-  
mancie:

such a sort of other naturall reasons, which had they beene in *Numa's* bookes, they had not beene burned, or else *Varro's* that were dedicated to (c) *Cesar* the priest should haue beene burned for company? So that, *Numa's* hauing nymph (d) *Egeria* to his wife was (as *Varro* saith) nothing but his vse of water in *Hydromancy*. For so vse actions to bee spiced with falshood and turned into fables. So by that *Hydromancy* did this curious King learne his religious lawes that hee gaue the Romaines, and which the Priests haue in their bookes: marry for their causes them hee learned also, but kept to himselfe: and after a sort entoumbed them in death with himselfe, such was his desire to conceale them from the world. So then either were these bookes filled with the deuills bestiall desires, and thereby all the politique Theology that presenteth them such filthynesses, made altogether execrable, or els the gods were showne by them, to bee none but men departed whome worm-eaten antiquity perswaded the world to bee gods, whereas they were deuills that delighted in those obscæne mynisteries, and vnder their names whom the people held diuine, got place to play their impostures, and by illusiue miracles to captiuatize all their soules. But it was by gods eternall secret prouidence, that they were permitted to confesse all to *Numa* who by his *Hydromancy* was become their friend, and yet not to warne him rather to burne them at his death, then to bury them: for they could neither withstand the plough that found them, nor *Varro's* penne, that vnto all memory hath recorded them. For the deuills cannot exceed their direct permission, which GOD alloweth them for their merits that vnto his iustice seeme either worthy to be onely afflicted, or wholly seduced by them. But the horrible danger of these bookes, and their distance from true diuinity may by this bee gathered, that the senate chose rather to burne them that *Numa* had but hidden, then (e) to feare what hee feared that durst not burne them. Wherefore he that will neither haue happinesse in the future life, nor godlinesse in the present, let him vse these meanes for eternity. But hee that will haue no society with the deuill, let him not feare the superstition that their adoration exacteth, but let him sticke to the true religion which conuinceth and confoundeth all their villanies and abominations.

Gods prouidence.

True religion conuinceth the deuills.

## L. VIVES.

The kinds of Diuination.

**T**O (a) *Hydromancy*] Diuination by water. Diuination generally was done by diuers means: either by Earth, *Geomancy*: or by fire, *Pyromancy* (or *Ignispicina*, found by *Amphiarans* as *Pliny* saith: ) or by smoake, *Captomancy*: or by birds, *Augury*: or by intrailles, *Aruspicina*: (vsed much by the Hetrurians, and by *Ianus*, *Apollo's* sonne, amongst the Heleans, and after him by *Thrasibulus* who beheld a dogge holding the cut liuer) or by a siue, called *Coscinomancy*, or by hatchets, *Axinomancy*, or by Hearbes, *Botinomancy*, the witches magike, or by dead bodies, *Necromancy*, or by the starres, *Astrologie* (wherein the most excellent are called Chaldees, though neuer borne in *Caldæa*): or by lottes, *Cleromancy*: or by lines in the hand, *Chiromancy*, or by the face and body, *Physiognomy*: or by fishes, *Ithyromancy* (this *Apuleius* was charged with: ) or by the twinckling and motion of the eies called *Saliatio*, & the *Palmig*, augury. Then was there interpretation of dreames, and visions, or sights of thunder or lightning, noyses, sneezings, voices, and a thousand such arts of inuoking the deuills, which are far better vnmimed. *Hydromancy* I haue kept vnto the last: because it is my theame: It is many-fold: done either in a glasse bottle full of water, wherein a Childe must looke, (and this is called, *Gastromancy* of the glasses belly) or in a basen of water, which is called *Lecanomancie*, in which *Strabo* sayth the Asians are singular. *Psellus de demonibus*, affirmeth this also and sheweth how it is done: that the deuills creepe in the bottome, and send forth a still confused

confused sound, which cannot bee fully vnderstood, that they may be held to say what euer commeth to passe, and not to lye. Many also in Springs did see apparitions of future things. *Pausanias* saith, that in *Agina* (a part of *Achaia*) there is a temple of *Ceres*, and a fountaine neare it, wherein sick persons after their offering sacrifice behold the end or continuance of their sicknesses. *Iamblichus* tells of a caue at *Colophon* wherein was a Well that the Priest hauing kept sacrifice certaine set nights, tasted of, and presently became inuisible, and gaue answers to all that asked of him. And a woman in *Branchis* (saith he) sat upon an *Axle-tree*, and either holding a rod that one of the goddesses gaue her, or dipping her foote or skirt in the water, so became rapt, and prophesied. *Apuleius* writeth out of *Varro*, that the *Trallians* inquiring by this magike of the end of the warre of *Mithridates*, one appeared in the water like *Mercurie* vnto the boy that looked in it, and sung the future successe of the war in 360. verses: but because of his mention of the boy, I thinke hee meanes *Gastromancie*. *Apolog. de Magia*. This last kinde did *Numa* vse in a fountaine: *Plutarch* saith, that there were women in *Germanie* that would presage euents by the courses, noyse and whittle-pittes of riuers. In his life of *Cesar*. (b) *Afterward Pythagoras*] A carefull respect of the times: for *Numa* was dead long before *Pythagoras* was borne. Some say that he was *Pythagoras* his scholler, and *Ouid* for one: they all erre: but error is lighter in a Poet then in an Historiographer. (c) *Cesar*] Dictator and Priest, to whom *Varro* dedicates his *Antiquities*. (d) *Egeria*] Some held her to be one of the *Muses*, and therefore called the wood where shee vsed *Lucus Camanarum*, the *Muses wood*. Some other held her but a water-nimphe, and that after *Numa* his death *Diana* turned her into a fountaine. *Ouid* saith shee was called *Egeria*, ab egerendo, of putting forth, because the great bellied women sacrificed vnto her for the ayde shee was thought to giue them in the deliuerance of children. *Festus*. (e) *To feare*] For *Numa* durst not burne them for feare of prouoking the deuills anger against him.

Finis lib. 7.

C 6 4

THE



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3. *Of the Socraticall discipline.*

4. *Of Plato the chiefe of Socrates his scholars, who diuided philosophy into three kinds.*

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13. *Of Platoes affirmation that the gods were all good, and lovers of vertue.*

14. *Of such as hold three kinds of reasonable soules: In the gods, In aery spirits, and in*

*Men.*

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## FINIS.

## THE

# THE EIGHTH BOOKE OF THE CITTIE OF GOD:

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishop of *Hippo*,  
vnto *Marcellinus*.

*Of the questions of naturall Theologie to bee handled with the  
most excellent Philosophers. CHAP. I.*



Now had wee need to call our wittes together in farre more exacte manner then we vsed in our precedent discourses; for now wee are to haue to doe with the Theology called naturall, nor deale wee against each fellow (for this is neither the ciuill, nor stage-theology, the one of which recordes the gods filthy crimes, and the other their more filthy desires, and both shew them diuills and not gods) but against Philosophers whose very name (a) truly interpreted, professeth a loue of wisdom. Now if GOD (b) bee wisdom as Wisdom. truth and scripture testifieth, then a true Philosopher is a louer of GOD. But 7. 10. Heb. because (c) the thing thus called, is not in all men that boast of that name (for (d) all that are called Philosophers are not louers of the true wisdom,) we must select such as wee know how they stand affected by their writings, and with them dispute of this question in due fashion. I vndertake not here to refute all the Philosophers assertions that concerne o her matters, but such onely as pertaine to this Theology, (which (e) word in greeke signifieth speech of diuinity) nor all of that kinde either. but onely such as holding a deity respecting matters terrestriall, yet affirme that the adoration of one vchangeable GOD sufficeth not vnto eternall life, but that many such are made and ordained by him, to bee adored also for this respect. For these doe surpasse *Varro* his opinion in their ayne at the truth: for hee could carry his naturall Theology no farther then the world and the worldes soule: but these beyond all nature liuing, acknowledge a GOD, creator not only of this visible world, (vually called Heauen and Earth) but of euery liuing soule also: and one that doth make the reasonable soule blessed, by the perticipation of his incorporeall and vchangeable light: that these Philosophers were called *Platonists*, of their first founder *Plato*, I thinke that none that hath heard of these opinions but knoweth.

## L. V I V E S.

**V**ery (a) name, *φιλοσοφία* wisdomes loue: *επισκοπία*, wisdomes loue whose contrary is Philosophy. *απολογία*, opposition to wisdom, as *Speusippus* saith. (b) Bee wisdom ] Wisdom the 7. *Paul* to the *Hebrewes* chapter 1. Doe call the sonne, the wisdom of the father, by which hee made the world. c. 7 be thing ] *Lactantius* holds this point strongly against the Philosophers: and *Pacinnus* hath an elegant saying. I hate (saith hee) the men that are idle indeede and Philosophicall in word. But many haue handled this theme. (d) All that ] A different reading, all to one purpose. (e) Word in greeke ] *βίβλος*, speech, or discourse, or reason concerning GOD for *λόγος* is all these.

of

*Of the two kinds of Philosophers Italian, and Ionian, and of their authors.* CHAP. 2.

The Italian  
Philoso-  
phy.

The Ionike  
Philoso-  
phy.

Wherefore concerning this *Plato*, as much as shall concerne our purpose, I will speake in brieffe, with a remembrance of such as before him held the same positions. The greeke monuments (a language the most famous of all the nations) doe record (a) two kinds of Philosophers: th' Italian, (b) out of that part of Italy which was whilom called *Magna Grecia*: and the (c) *Ionian*, in the country now called Greece. The Italian had their originall from (d) *Pythagoras* of Samos, (e) who also was the first author (they say) of the name of Philosophers. For whereas they were before called wise men, that professed a reformed course of life about the rest, hee beeing asked what hee professed answered, *hee was a Philosopher, that is a lover and a longer after wisdom*: but to call himselfe, a wise man, hee held a part of too great arrogance. But the *Ionikes* were they whose chiete was (f) *Thales Milesius*, (g) one of the seauen Sages. But the (h) other sixe were distinguished by their severall courses of life, and the rules they gaue for order of life. But *Thales*, to propagare his doctrine to succession, searched into the secrets of nature, and committing his positions vnto monuments and letters, grew famous: but most admired hee was, because hee got the knowledge of (k) *Astrologicall* computations, and was able to prognosticate the eclipses of Sunne and Moone, yet did hee thinke that all the world was made of (l) water: that it was the beginning of all the elements, and all thereof composed. (m) Nor did hee teach that this faire admired vniuerse, was gouerned by any diuine or mentall power. After him came (n) *Anaximander* his scholler, but hee changed his opinion concerning the natures of things: holding that the whole world was not created of one thing (as *Thales* held of water) but that euery thing had originall from his proper beginnings, which singular beginnings hee held to be infinite, & that infinit worlds were thereby gotten, all which had their successiue original, continuance and end: (o) nor did he mention any diuine minde as rector of any part hereof. This man left (p) *Anaximenes* his scholler and successor, who held all things to haue their causes from the (q) infinite ayre: but hee professed their was gods: yet made them creatures of the ayre not creators thereof. But (r) *Anaxagoras* his scholler first held the diuine minde to bee the efficient cause of all things visible, out of an infinite matter consisting of (s) vnlike partes in themselues, and that euery kinde of thing was produced according to the *Species*, but all by the worke of the diuine essence. And (t) *Diogenes* another of *Anaximenes* his followers held that the (u) ayre was the substance producing all things, but that it was ayded by the diuine essence without which of it selfe it could doe nothing. To *Anaxagoras* succeeded (x) *Archelaus*, and (y) hee also held all things to consist of this dissimilitude of partes, yet so, as there was a diuine essence wrought in them, by dispersing and compacting of this (z) consonance and dissonance. This mans scholler was (a) *Socrates*, *Plato* his Maister, for whose sake I haue made this short recapitulation of these other.

L. VIVES.

Two (a) kindes ] The sects of Philosophers at first were so great in Greece, that they were distinguished by the names of the Seigniories they liued in: One of Italy, the country where

where *Pythagoras* the first Maister of one opinion; taught: another of *Ionia*, *Thales* his native soile, wherein *Miletum* (standeth, called also (saith *Mela*) *Ionia*; because it was the chiefe Citie of that country. So did *Plato* and *Aristotle* distinguish such as were of more antiquity then these. (b) *Out of that part*] At *Locris* (saith *Pliny*) beginneth the coast of that part of Italy called *Magna Grecia*: it is extended into three baies: and confronteth the Hadriatique sea (now called *Golfo De Venetia*) which the Grecians vsed oftentimes to crosse ouer: I wonder that some haue held al Italy to be called so; because *Pliny* doth write thus: What haue the Grecians (a most vanie-glorious nation) shewne of themselves, in calling such a part of Italy, *Magna Grecia*; *Great Greece*? Whereby hee sheweth that it was but a little part of Italy, that they named thus. Of the 3. baies I spoke of, one of them containes these fiue Citties, *Tarentum*, *Metapontus*, *Heraclea*, *Croto*, and *Turii*: and lieth betweene the promontories of *Sales*, and *Lacinium*. *Mela*. It is called now, *Golfo di Taranto*. Here it is said *Pythagoras* did teach. (c) *Ionian*] *Ionia* is a country in *Asia Minor*, betweene the *Lydians*, the *Lycaonians*, and our sea hauing *Eolia* and *Caria* on the sides: this on the South-side that on the North: *Miletus* is the chiefe Citie (saith *Mela*) both for all artes of warre and peace: the native soile of *Thales* the Philosopher, *Tymotheus*, the Musician, *Anaximander* the Naturalist, and diuers other whose wittes haue made it famous. *Thales* taught his fellow cittizen, *Anaximander*, he his fellow cittizen also *Anaximenes*: hee, *Anaxagoras* of *Clazomene*, *Pericles*, *Archelaus* and *Socrates* of *Athens*: and *Socrates* almost all *Athens*. (d) *Pythagoras*] *Aristoxenus* saith hee was of *Tyrrenum*, an Ile that the Greekes tooke from the Italians, hee went into *Egypt* with King *Amasis*, and returning backe; disliking the tyrannous rule of *Polycrates* of *Samos* hee passed ouer to *Italy*. (e) *Who also*] *Cicero* (*Tusc.* 5. out of *Heraclides* of *Pontus*) relateth that *Pythagoras* beeing asked of *Leontes* the *Phliatian* King what hee professed, hee answered that whereas the rest of his profession had called themselves wise men, *Sophi*, hee would bee called. But a lover of wisdom, a *Philosopher*; with a more modest respect of his glory: And herevpon the name *Sophi* grew quite out of custome, as ambitious and arrogant: and all were called *Philosophers* after that, for indeed the name of wise, is Gods peculiar onely. (f) *Thales*] The first Naturalist of Greece borne in the first yeare of the 35. *Olympiad*, after *Apollodorus* his account in *Laertius*. (g) *One of the*] A sort of youthes hauing bought (at a venture) a draught of the *Milesian* fishers, and had drawne vp a tablet of gold, they fell to strife about it, each would haue had it, so vnto *Apollo* his oracle they went, who bad them giue it vnto the wise. So first they gaue it vnto *Thales*, whom the *Ionians* held wise: he sent it vnto another of the seauen, and hee to another, and so till it came to *Solon*, who dedicated it to *Apollo*, as the wisest indeed. And these seauen had the fame of wisdom ouer all Greece, and were called the seauen Sages. (h) *The other sixe*] *Chilo* of *Lacedaemon*, *Pittacus* of *Mitilene*, *Bias* of *Priene*, *Cleobolus* of *Lindus*, *Periander* of *Corynthe*, and *Solon* of *Athens*: of these at large in the eighteenth booke. (i) *Committing his*] Some say that the *Astrology* of the Sayers was his worke: others ascribe it vnto *Rhacus* of *Samos*, *Laban* the *Argiue* saith he wrote 200. verses of *Astrology*. (k) *Astrologically*] *Endemus* saith hee presaged the eclipses. *Hist. Astrolog.* Amongst the *Greeks* (saith *Pliny* lib. 2.) *Thales*, in the fourth yeare of the 48. *Olympiade*, was the first that found their course of eclipses, and prognosticated, that which fell out in King *Haliattes* time, in the C LXX. yeare after the building of *Rome*. So saith *Eusebius*, and *Cicero de diuinat. lib. 1.* Where for *Haliattes*, he writeth *Astiaiges*. But they liued both at one time, and had warres one with another. (l) *Water*] As *Homere* calls the sea, father of all: *Plutarch* (in *Placit. Philos.*) and others giue *Thales* his reason, because the seede of all creatures animate is moist: and so is all nutriment: Nay they held that the seas moisture nourisheth and increaseth the stars. (m) *Nor did he*] Yet *Velleius* in *Tully*, affirmeth that *Thales* thought all things to bee made of water, and that the essence that was the cause of all their production, is God: and *Laertius* saith that hee held all things full of *Damones*: and being asked whether the gods knew not a mans euill deeds: Yes (said he) and thoughts too: But this proues Gods knowledge onely, and not his operation to be auouched by him. (n) *Anaximander*] A *Milesian* also, but not hee that wrote the *Histories*. He held an infinite element was the substance of the production of all things: but neuer shewed whether it was fiery, ayry, earthly or watry: Hee held besides that the partes of this infinite thing were successiueley changed, but that the whole was immutable. *Aristot. Plus. Laert. Euseb.* (o) *Nor did he*] Herein *Plutarch* reprehendeth him for finding the matter, and not the efficient cause. For that infinite element is the matter, but without some efficient cause it can doe nothing.

Ionia:

Pythagoras.

Thales of Miletus;

The 7. Greeke Sages.

Anaximander.

But

But *Tully* saith that hee affirmed that there were naturall gods farre distante East and West, and that these were their innumerable worlds; *De nat. deor. lib. 1.* So that these contraries, their original and there efficient are all one, namely that eternall cold and heate: as *Enseb. de prepar. Euang.* saith, and *Aristotle* intymateth *Phys. lib. 1.* (p) *Anaximenes*] Sonne to *Enrystratus*, a M. Iesian also: borne, *Olympiad. 64.* He died in the yeare of *Cresus* his ouerthrow, as *Apollodorus* counteth. (q) *Infinite ayre*] Infinite (saith *Ensebius*) in kinde, but not in qualities: of whose condensation, and rarefaction all things haue their generation. Hee held the ayre god, generated, infinite and eternally mouing: The stars, the Sunne and the Moone were created (hee held) of the earth. (*Cicero. (r) Anaxagoras*] Borne at Clazomene, a towne in Ionia, he died, *Olymp. 88.* beeing 62. yeares of age. His worke (saith *Plutarch* and *Laertius*) beganne thus: *There was one vnuerfall masse: an essence came, and disioyned it and disposed it:*] For hee held a matter or masse including infinite formes of creation and parcells of contraries and others, all confused together, which the diuine essence did compose, and seperate: and so made flesh, of many parcells of flesh, of bones, bone, and so of the rest: yet are these other parcells formally extant in the whole, as in their bones there is parcells of flesh, and fire, and sinewes, &c. For should bread or meate giue encrease to a bone, or the blood vnlesse there were seedes or little parcells of bone and blood in the bread though from their smallenesse they be inuisible? *Arist. Plutarch, Laertius. (s) Vrlike*] Or like: either is right. For as *Aristotle* saith, *Anaxagoras* held infinite partes in euery body, both contrary, and correspondent, which hee called *Homogenia*, or ὁμογενεῖς: *similaria*, like: *Symiliarities* *Gaza* translathet it. For in bodies they are partes that are *similare*, as in fire water, flesh, bone &c. and here the name of each part is the name of the whole: each drop of water is water, and each bit of flesh is flesh, and so of the rest: then are there also partes *dissimilar*, as in a man, an horse and so forth: wherein are parts seuerally called, as bones, nerues, blood, skin, and such: likewise in artificiall things: as a table, a booke, or so: euery leafe is not a booke, nor euery part of the table a table. These parts are called *Heterogenea*, or, *Of diuers kinds: multigene*, *Agricola* calles them. The *Symiliar* partes *Anaxagoras* held to bee in all things infinite, either different, as of wood, bloud, ayre, fire, bone and such: or congruent as of water, infinite parcells all of one nature, and so of fire, &c. for though bodies bee generate by this separation, yet cannot these parts bee so distinguished but infinite will still remaine: that euermore is best meanes for one thing to bee progenerate of another, and nourished, so that this communication continueth euerlastingly, of nature, place, and nutriment. But of the *Heterogenea* all parts hee did not put infinite in nature, for hee did not hold that there were infinite men in the fire, nor infinite bones in a man.

**Diogenes.** (t) *Diogenes*] There were many of this name one of Synope called the Cynike: one of Sicyon, an Historiographer: one a stoike, fellow Embassador to Rome which *Carnedes* borne at Seleucia, but called the Babilonian, or Tharsian: one that writ of poeticall questions, and *Diogenes Laertius* from whom wee haue this our Philosophy, elder then them all: one also called *Apolloniata*, mentioned here by *Augustine*. Our commentator like a good plaisterer daubed the Cynike and this, into one, as hee made one *Thomas*, of *Thomas Valois* and *Thomas Aquinas* in his Commentaries vpon *Boethius. (u) Ayre*] *Cic. de nat. de.* What is that ayre that *Diogenes Apolloniata* calles God? He affirmed also innumerable worlds, in infinite spaces, and that the ayre thickning it selfe into a globous body, produaeth a world. (x) *Archelaus*] Some say, of Myletus, some of Athens. He first brought *Physiologie* from Ionia to Athens: and therefore was called *Physicus*, also because his scholler *Socrates* brought in the Morality. (y) *He also*] *Plutarch* saith he put the infinite ayre for the worlds general principle, and that the rarity and density thereof made fire and water. (z) *Consonance*] Eternity, say the manuscripts. (a) *Socrates*] This is hee that none can sufficiently commend: the wisest Pagan that euer was: An Athenian begot by *Sophoniscus* a stone-cutter, and *Pbanareta*, a mid-wife: A man, temperate, chaste, iust, modest, patient, scorning wealth, pleasure and glory: for he neuer wrote any thing: he was the first that when others said he knew all, affirmed himselfe hee knew nothing.

Of the Socraticall discipline. CHAP. 3.

**S**ocrates therefore was (a) the first that reduced Philosophy to the reformation of mannes for al before him aymed at naturall speculation rather then practise of

morality: I cannot surely tel whether the tediousnesse (*b*) of these obscurities moued *Socrates* to apply his minde vnto some more set and certaine inuention, for an assistance vnto beatitude: which was the scope of all the other Phylosophers intents, and labours: or (as some doe fauorably surmise) hee (*c*) was vnwilling that mens mindes being suppressed with corrupt and earthly affects, should offer to crowd vnto the height of these Physicall causes whose totall, and whose originall relyed soly (as he held) vpon the will of God omnipotent, only and true: wherefore he held that (*d*) no mind but a purified one, could comprehend them: and therefore first vrged a reformed course of life, which effected, the mind vnladen of terrestriall distractions might towre vp to eternity, & with the owne intellectuall purity, sticke firme in contemplation of the nature of that incorporeal, & vnchanged and incomprehensible light, which (*e*) conteyneth the causes of all creation. Yet sure it is that in his morall disputations, (*f*) he did with most elegant and acute vrbanity taxe and detect the ignorance of these ouer-weening fellowes that build Castles on their owne knowledge, eyther in this, confessing his owne ignorance, or dissembling his vnderstanding. (*g*) wher-vpon enuy taking hold, he was wrackt by a (*h*) callumnious accusation, and so put to death (*i*) Yet did *Athens* that condemned him, afterward publicly lament for him, and the wrath of the commony fell so sore vpon his two accusers that one of them was troden to death by the multitude, and another forced to auoid the like by a voluntary banishment. This *Socrates* (so famous in his life and death) left many of his schollers behind him, whose (*l*) study and emulation was about moralyty euer, and that *summum bonum* that The final  
greatest good which no man wanting can attain beatitude. (*m*) VVhich being not good.  
euidēt in *Socrates* his controuersiall questions, each man followed his own opiniō, The Socras  
and made that the finall good: (*n*) The finall good is that which attained, maketh tists of di-  
man happy. But *Socrates* his schollers were so diuided, (strange, hauing all one- uers opi-  
maister) that some (*o*) *Aristippus* made pleasure this finall good: others (*p*) *Antisthe- nions.*  
*henes*) vertue. So (*q*) each of the rest had his choice: too long to particularize.

## L. VIVES.

**W**As the (*a*) first] *Cicero. Acad. Quest.* I thinke (and so do all) that *Socrates* first called *Socrates*  
Phylosophy out of the mists of naturall speculations, wherein all the Phylosophers be-  
fore had bene busied, and applyed it to the institution of life and manners, making it & meane  
to inquire our vertue and vice, good and euill: holding things celestially, too abstruse for natural  
powers to investigate, & far separte from things natural: which if they could be known, were  
not vsfull in the reformation of life. (*b*) *Tediousnesse*] *Xenophon. Comment. rer. Socraticis.* r. writ-  
teth that *Socrates* was wont to wonder, that these dayly and nightly inuestigators, could neuer  
finde that their labour was stil rewarded with vncertainties: and this he explaneth at large. (*c*)  
*Was unwilling*] *Lactantius* his wordes in his first booke, are these. *I deny not but that Socrates*  
*hath more witte then the rest that thought they could comprehend all natures courses, wherein I*  
*thinke them not onely vnwise, but impious also, to dare to aduancee their curious eyes to view the alti-*  
*tude of the diuine providence.* And after: *Much guiltier are they that lay their impious disputation*  
*upon quest of the worlds secrets, prophaning the celestially temple therby, then either they that enter the*  
*Temples of Ceres, Bona Dea, Vetta.* (*d*) *No minde*] *Socrates* disputeth this at large in *Plato's*  
*Phadon*, at his death: Shewing that none can bee a true Phylosopher that is not abstracted in  
spirit from all the affects of the body: which then is affected when in this life the soule is loo-  
sed from all perturbations, and so truly contemplated the true good, that is the true God:  
And therefore Phylosophy is defined a meditation of death, that is, there is a seperation  
or diuorce betweene soule and body: the soule auoyding the bodies impurities, and so be-  
comming pure of it selfe: For it is sin for any impure thought to be present at the speculation *The true*  
of that most pure essence: and therefore (hee thought) men attoned unto God haue far more *Philo-*  
*phat,*  
D d knowledge

[The Lo-  
uanists  
leau  
this.]

knowledge then the impure that know him not. In *Plato's Cratylus*, hee saith good men are onely wise: and that none can be skilfull in matters celestiall, without Gods assistance. In *Epinomede*. There may be other beginnings found, eyther knowne to God or his friendes, saith *Apulcius* out of *Plato*. (e) *Which conteyneth*] This is *Plato's* opinion related by *Augustine*, nor his owne. [This I adde because our truth-hunter sets it as *Augustines*, and then comes in with his realities and formalities, such as *Augustine* neuer dreamed of.] For *Plato* saith, *God is the mindes light, like as the sunne wee see is the light of the body, whereby we see, So is God the cause of our vnderstanding, whose sacred light insuseth things, and the knowledge of truth into vs. De Rep. 6. The sunne is the light of the world visible, and God of the inuisible. Nazanz.* (f) *He did with most*] *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Aeschines*, *Xenocrates* and other reduced *Socrates* his wordes into Dialogues, wherein hee most elegantly reprehendeth their ignorance that perswaded both them-selues and the multitude that they knew all things: Such were *Protagoras*, *Gorgias*, *Euthydemus*, *Dionysodorus*, and others. (g) *Wher-upon*] His disputation (saith *Plato*) ouerthrew him. Three (saith *Laertius*) accused him, *Anytus*, *Melitus* & *Lycon*, an Orator in *Anytus* his defence of the trades-mens tumultuous crew and the other Cittizens, whome *Socrates* had often derided. *Melitus* defended the Poets, whom *Socrates* would haue expelled the City. Of these thinges read *Plato* and *Xenophon* in their Apologies for *Socrates*: But the playnest of all is *Laertius* in his life of *Socrates*. He was condemned by two hundred eighty one sentences. (h) *Callumnious*] *My accusers* (saith *Socrates*) *nor my crimes, can kill me: but enuy onely which both hath destroyed and will destroy the worthyest euer.* (i) *Yet did Athens*] They did so greue for his death, that they shut vp all the schooles: and made a sad vacation all ouer the City, put *Melitus* to death, banished *Anytus* and erected *Socrates* a brazen statue of *Lysippus* his workmanship. (k) *Many*] All the sects almost, deriued from *Socrates*; the *Platonists*, *Academikes*, *Cyrenaiques*, *Cynikes*, *Peripatetiques*, *Megarians* and *Stoikes*. (l) *Study and emulation*] This onely question made all the sects. (m) *Which being not*] For his disputations rather were confutations of others, then doctrines of his owne. For professing himselfe to know nothing, hee thought it vnfit to affirme any thing. *Plato's Theatetus*. (n) *The small good*] To which all things haue reference. *Cic. de finib.* For this (saith hee lib. 3.) *being the utmost* (you knowe I interpret the greeke τειος, so) *Wee may call it the last, or the end, for which all thinges are desired, and it selfe onely for it selfe: as Plato, Aristotle and the rest* affirme. (o) *Aristippus*] A *Cyrenian*, the first *Socratist* that taught for money, as hee would haue also paid for his learning: (But *Socrates* neuer tooke pay, saying his *Genius* forbad him) Hee suffered also *Dionysius* of *Syracusa* the younger, to deride him, and flattered him for gayne. Hee made bodily pleasure the greatest good. *Diog. Laert.* Of them the *Cyrenaiques* Phylosophers had their originall. An end of this with a briefe note out of *Hierome* vppon *Ecclesiastes*, speaking of pleasure. Let this (quoth he) *Be affirmed by some Epicurus, or Aristippus, or the Cynikes, or such Phylosophicall cartell: it must bee the Cyrenaiques, for what had the Cynikes to doe with bodily pleasures?* (p) *Antisthenes*] The author of the *Cynikes*, or Dog-sect: maister to *Diogenes* of *Synope* the *Cynike*: hee held vertue the greatest good. (q) *Each of*] The diuersity of opinions herein, you may read in *Cicero* his 2. de *finibus*. And wee haue toucht them briefly in the preface to his worke de *legibus*.

*Socrates*  
his statue.

*Aristippus*.

*Antisthe-  
nes*.

Of *Plato* the cheefe of *Socrates* his schollers, who  
diuided *Phylosophy* into three kindes.

#### CHA P. 4.

**B**Vt of all *Socrates* his schollers, there was one whose glory worthily obscured all the rest: *Plato*: (a) Hee was an Athenian, borne of honest parentage, and endowed with perfection of vnderstanding farre more then all his-fellowes. So hee thinking that his inuention and (b) *Socrates* his instructions were all too short of the true ayme of *Phylosophy*, and therefore would needes goe trauell to any place where Fame tolde him he might drinke of the fount of noble sapience. So went hee into (c) *Aegipt*, and there learnt

learnt all that hee held worth learning, and from thence into (*d*) *Italy*; where the *Pythagoreans* were famous, and there didde he drayne from the most eminent teachers, all the *Phylosophy of Italy*. And because hee dearly affected his maister *Socrates*, hee maketh him in all his Dialogues to temperate that which (*a*) either he had learned of others, or inuented of him–selfe, with his delicate vrbanity and morality. So whereas the study of (*f*) wisdome is eyther concerning action or contemplation, and thence assumeth two seuerall names, a<sup>ctiue</sup> and contemp<sup>latiue</sup>, the a<sup>ctiue</sup> consisting in the practise of morality in ones life, and the contemp<sup>latiue</sup> in penetrating into the abstruse causes of nature, and the nature of Diuinity. (*g*) *Socrates* is said to excell in the a<sup>ctiue</sup>: *Pythagoras* in the contemp<sup>latiue</sup>. But *Plato* conioyned them into one perfect kinde, which (*h*) hee subdiuided into three sorts: The *Morall*: consisting chiefly in action: The *Naturall* in contemplation: The *Rationall*, in (*i*) distinction of true and false: (*k*) which though it bee vsfull in both the other, yet it pertaineth more particularly to contemplation. And therefore this *Trichotomy* or triple diuision doth not contradict the other *Dichotomy* that includeth all in action and contemplation. But as for *Plato's* opinion herein, what should be the end of all actions, the cause of all natures, and the light of all reasons, is both tedious to follow, and may not be rashly affirmed. For (*l*) delighting in his maister *Socrates* his dissembling of his knowledge (whome hee maketh disputant in all his dialogues) and affecting that, he left his owne opinions in these great questions as ambiguous (very neare) as his maisters? yet do we intend out of his owne discourses, and his relations (*m*) from others, to repeat some of his positions, eyther such as do square with truth of that religion, which our faith professeth and defendeth, or such as oppose it: as farre as shall concerne the singularity or multitude of goddes, whome the Catholike religion sayth we must worship for the obtayning of eternall felicity in the life to come. For it may be that such as knew *Plato* to excell al the other *Philosofers* of al nations, and vnderstood him far better then others, do think that in God is the cause of natures, & light of reason and the rule of life: which haue reference to the three *Phylosophies*, *Naturall*, *Rationall* and *Morall*. (*n*) For if a man were created, by his excellling part to aspire to that which excelleth all, that is, the One, True, almighty God, without whome nothing hath being, no reason instructeth and no vs<sup>e</sup> assisteth: (*o*) then let him be searched out, in whom we haue all security: let him be beheld, in whom is al our certainty, let him bee beloued, in whome is all our morality.

The study of wisdome and what it concernes.

## L. VIVES.

**P**lato (*a*) His parents were *Aristo* and *Perictione*: Hee came from *Codrus* by the father, *Plato* the last King of *Athens*: by the mother from *Solon*, one of the seauen sages; the famous Law-giuer of *Athens*. Both his pedigrees claime from *Neptune*. He was born at *Athens*: *Olympiad*. 88. His life and actions are recorded by many; who extoll him for wisdome and conuersation aboue al earthly men. But indeed their loue is so far from doing him more then right, & but that I know them stand dearly affected vnto him, I should suspect they did somewhat enuy his praise: for he erreth in my iudgement that holdeth not *Plato* to haue bin some-what more then man, at least of that same rare, and singular race and stamp of men. (*b*) *Socrates* his] A diuers reading. (*c*) *Egypt*] *Laertius* (saith *Euripides*) & he went thether together, after his return from *Italy*. (*d*) *Italy*] Into *Magna gracia*, where *Pythagoras* had left many of his sect: of whom *Architas* the elder read vnto *Plato* at *Tarentum*, and *Enritus*, *Timans* at *Locris*, *Phylolaus* at *Crotone*. *Tully* in his *Cato Maior*, saith he came thether in the Consulships of *L. Emilius*, and *Appius Claudius*: though *Livy* at that time (that was twenty foure yeares after the *Candine* soyle) putteth *Furius Camillus* in *Appius* his place. *Plato* went also to *Megara* to *Euclide* the *Muscedonian*



Effecting  
disciplines,  
Plato.

tion, and to *Theodorus* another of *Cyrene*: and but for the warres ment to haue visited the *Persian Magies*. (e) *Either he had* ] At this learning he said was *Socrates* his ( *Epist ad Dionis.* ) Ascribing all his *Phylosophy* both morall & naturall to him. (f) *Wisdom is* ] *Plato* & *Aristotle* reckon some disciplines that are neither actiue nor contemplatiue, but effectual, as *Archeitecture* and all mechanike trades. So that some they say are speculatiue, as *Theology*: some actiue wherein no effect remains after the act, as *musique* and all *rhetorike*: some affecting materially as all the trades, *building*, *cobling*, *caruing*, &c. But this last is impertinent in this place. (g) *Socrates is said* ] *Actiue*, that is in morality and vertuous rule of the actions, wherein he is said to be wholly imploied: yet did hee speculate much in this kind: for *Adymantus* saith to him ( *Plato Derepub. lib. 2.* ) *I thou hast spent thy time in nothing but speculation*: And what paines he tooke in the inuestigation of the meanes to attain the *summum bonum*, him-selfe sheweth in his *Apology* in *Plato*: but he directed all to action: but *Pythagoras* his aymes being at matters only pertayning to them-selues, had their full limitation in them-selues. (h) *He sub-diuided* ] This diuision (saith *Eusebius de prep. Euang.* ) hee had from the *Hebrewes*, alledging *Atticus* the *Phylosophers* opinion, who describeth them plainly, and that hee conioyned the parts of *Phylosophy* that was in peeces before, as the torne members of *Pentheus*: for *Thales* and his followers were all *Physicall*: The other sages all *Morall*: *Zeno* and the *Eleans*, all *Logicall*. All these *Plato* combined and diuulged, publishing his *Phylosophy* perfect, not by peece-meale as *Aristotle* confirms ( *Phys. lib. 7.* ) *Phylosophy* at first (saith *Laertius* in his *Plato* ) medled but with nature: then came *Socrates* and made it *Morall*. then *Plato* with his ratiouall made it absolute, & had the last hand vpon it. *Apuleius* speaking of him saith that he filled all his bookes with the most admirable and extracted things that *Zeno* and *Parmenides* had taught, so conioyning the tripartite *Phylosophy*, and so reconcyting each, that he auoyded all dissonance of parts, and made each acknowledge a dependance vpon other. ( *Dogmat. Platon* ) Some of his *Dialogues* all *Logicall*, as his *Gorgias* and his *Euthydemus*: some priuately *Morall*, as his *Memnon*, *Entiphyro*, *Phylebus* and *Crito*: some publicly *Morall*, as his *Laves*, and his *Respublica*: Some *Naturall*, as his *Timans*: Some *Supernaturall*, as his *Parmenides*, and his *Sophista*: yet all these are *Logically* composed. (i) *distinction of true* ] *terminat* or *determinat*, all is but to distinguish, so doth *Lucane* vie *determinat*, *ab ausonijs determinat arua Colonis*, diuides the fieldes. And *Mela* vseth it so also, *Bosphorus determinat Europam ab Asia*, *Bosphorus* diuides &c. (k) *Which though it be* ] It is a great question in our Schooles whether *Logicke* be speculatiue or practike: A fond question truly I thinke, and fellow with most of our *Phylosophycall* theames of these times, where the dreames of practise and speculation do nought but dull young apprehensions. And now at last the cause goes on the *Practikes* sides, because it teacheth to dispute: as though wee argue not more in our contemplation of nature, then in our morality. But these Schoole-men neither know how to speculate in nature, nor action, nor how the lifes actions are to be ordered: Not that I thinke these must belong onely to speculation, but *Augustine* saith here, *That it is necessary to them both: but especially it is imploied about seeking truth, falsehood, and probability.* ] (l) *Delighting in his maister* ] *Plato* (as I said) confessed that *Socrates* was author of all his workes, and in all his *Dialogues*, the wordes that *Plato* giueth him, are by his author onely to be held his opinions, though hee speake his owne opinion by the mouth of *Timans*, and the *Arthemian* stranger, and *Zeno* the *Elean*. (m) *From others* ] Or from him: For *Socrates* and hee were still of one opinion, though others were so also. (n) *For if a man* ] [ What need such a turmoyle whether this be the intellect, or will, since *Aristotle* to omit others, saith that the minde is mans most excellent part, in that it is both intellect, will and memory: But they are so hard, that beeing not vnderstood by these fellowes, they admire them: many these beeing playne, and almost palpable, they neglect ] (o) *Then let* ] Alluding to the diuision of *Phylosophy* into three parts: The old bookes for *security*, *read certainty*, and for *certainty*, *truth*.

[This  
note the  
Louanists  
haue left  
out who-  
ly.

Plato.

[And this  
also for  
company.

*That the cheefe Controuersie with the Platonists is about  
Theology, and that all the Philosophers opinions  
hereof are inferior vnto theirs.*

CHAP. 5.

**I**F *Plato* then affirme that a wise man is an immitator, a knower and a belouer of this GOD: VVhose participation makes a man blessed, what neede wee meddle

meddle with the rest, whereof none come so neare vs as hee? Away therefore with this same fabulous theology, pleasing reprobate affections with the crimes of the goddes: Away with the ciuill, wherein the diuels working vpon the willingnesse of the ignorant to impure actes, cause them to celebrate mortall errors for diuine honours: In the beholding of which, they (a) make their seruants the vsers of their vayne villanies, both by the example of these dishonest sports alluring others to their worshippe, and making them-selues also better sport with the guilt of the spectators of these impurities. Wherein also, if there be any honesty left in the Temples, it is polluted by attraction of turpitude from the Stages and if any filth bee presented on the Stages, it is graced with the cohærence it hath with that of the Temples. The pertinents wherof *Varro* interpreting by references to heauen, nature and causes of production, sayled wholly of his purpose because the thinges them-selues signified no such matters as he interpreted them by. And though they did, the reasonable soules, which are parts in that order of nature, are not to bee held for goddes: Nor ought it to be subiect to those things ouer which God hath giuen it superiority: Away with those thinges also which *Numa* buried, beeing pertinent to these religious ordinances: and beeing afterwards turned vp by a plough, were by the Senate buried. And those also (to fauor our suspition of *Numa*.) Which *Alexander* the great wrote (b) to his Mother, that hee hadde learned of *Leon* an *Egyptian* Priest: Where not onely *Picus*, *Faunus*, *Aeneas*, *Romulus*, *Hercules*, *Aesculapius*, *Bacchus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, and other mortal men, whome they hadde for their goddes, but euen the (c) gods of the greater families, whom *Tully* (not naming them though) seemes to touch at in his *Tusculane Questions*: *Iupiter*, *Iuno*, *Saturne*, *Vulcan*, *Vesta*, and many other which *Varro* would make nothing but Elements and parts of the world, there are they all shewne to haue beene but men. For the Priest fearing the reuealing of these misteries, warned *Alexander* that as soone as his Mother hadde read them, hee should burne them. So not all this fabulous and ciuill Theology shall giue place to the *Platonists*, (who held a true God the author of all thinges, the clearer of all doubtles, and the giuer of all goodnes) but euen the other *Phylosophers* also, whose grosse bodily inuentions held the worlds beginning to be bodily: let al these giue place to those good god-conceiuing men: let *Thales* depart with his water, *Anaximenes* with the ayre; the *Stoikes* with their (d) fire, *Epicurus* with his *Atomes*, his indiuisible and insensible bodies, and all other (that now are not for vs to recount) who placed natures originall, in bodies eyther simple, compound, quicke or dead, for there were (e) some, and the *Epicureans* were they, that held a possibility of producing the quicke out of the dead: (f) others would produce out of the quick, some things quick and some dead: yet all bodily, as of a body produced. But the *Stoikes* held (g) the fire one of this visible worldes foure elements, to bee wise, liuing, the Creator of the world whole and part, yea euen God him-selfe. Now these & their fellowes, followed euen the bare surmises of their owne fleshly opinions, in these assertions. For (h) they hadde that in them which they saw not, and thought that to bee in them which they saw externally: nay which they saw not, but imagined onely: now this in the sight of such a thought, is no body, but a bodies likenesse. But that where-with our minde seeth seeth this bodyes likenesse, is neither body nor likenesse, and that which discerneth the other, iudging of the deformity or beauty of it, is more beautious then that which it iudgeth of: This is the nature of mans minde and reasonable soule, which is no body; nor is the bodies likenesse, revolved in the minde a body either. So then it is neyther fire, ayre, water nor

All the  
phyloso-  
phers  
short of  
Plato.

The Sto-  
ikes fire.

The corpo-  
real world  
earth

earth, of which foure bodies which wee call Elements, this visible World is composed. Now if our soule bee no body; how can God that made it bee a body? So then let these giue place to the *Platonists* and (i) those also that shamed to say God was a body, and yet would make him of the same essence that our soules are: being not moued by the soules mutability, which it were vile to ascribe vnto God. I but (say they) (k) the body it is y alters the soule: of it selfe it is invulnerable. That which is immutable, nothing externall can change: But that that any body alters is not vnchangeable: because it is externally alterable.

## L. VIVES.

**T**hey (a) make] A difference of reading, but not worthy the noting. (b) Wrote this] *Cyprian*, affirming al y Pagan gods were men, saith: that this is so, *Alexander writeth in a famous volume to his mother, that the feare of his power made such secrets of the gods to bee reuealed vnto him by that Priest, that they were (he saw now) nothing else but ancient kinges whose memories used to be kept at first, and afterwards grew to sacrifices. De Idoll. Vanitate.* (c) Gods of the] *Tarquinius Priscus*, first King of *Rome* added 100. Senators to the ancient Senate, and these were called the fathers of the lesser families: the former of the greater, which phraze *Tully* vseth metaphorically, for the ancient confirmed gods. If we should seeke the truth of Greeke authors, (saith *Tully*) *euē these goddesses of the greater families would be found to haue gone from vs here on earth, vp into heauen.* Thus farre he: *Tusc. Quest. 1.* Teaching the soules immortality, which beeing loosed from the body, shall be such as they who are adored for gods. Such were *Romulus Hercules, Bacchus, &c.* And thus is heauen filled almost full with men. *Tully* also elsewhere calleth such gods of the greater families, as haue alwaies bene held celestiall. *In Legib.* Those that merit heauen he calleth *Gods ascript.* (d) Fire] *Cic. de nat. deor.* The *Stoikes* hold al actiue power, fire: following (it seemes) *Heracitus.* And *Zeno* their chiefe defineth the nature that he held for god, to be a fire artificiall, generatiue, and moouing. (e) Some.] The *Epicureans* held all men and each thing else to come out of *Atomes*, flying about at randome and knitting together by chance. (f) Others.] So the old *Manuscripts* do read it. (g) Held the fire] *Cic. de nat. deor.* (h) They had that] They could not conceiue the soule to be incorporeall, but corporall onely, nor vniuersally that, but sensible onely. And it is triuiall in the Schooles. *Nothing is in the vnderstanding that was not first in the sence.* That is, our minde conceiueth but what is circumscribed with a body sensible, or an obiect of our sence. So we conceit incorporeall things, corporally, and corporall things neuer seene, by imagination and cogitation of such or such formes as we haue seene: As one that neuer saw *Rome*, but thinkes of it, he imagineth it hath walls, churches, buildings, or such-like, as he hath seene at *Paris, Louvaine, Valencia, or elsewhere.* Further, *Augustine* teacheth that the thoughts are incorporeall, and that the mindes internall sences which produce thoughts, are both before thoughts, and thinges themselves: which sences internal, God being the Creator of, must needs be no body, but a power more excellent then al other bodies or soules. (i) Those also] *Cic. de nat. deor. l. 1.* for *Pythagoras* that held God to be a soule continueate & diffused through al nature, neuer marked the perturbations our soules are subiect to, by which (were God such) he should be distracted, and disturbed, & when the soules were wretched (as many are) so should god be also: which is impossible: but *Plato* deriued our soules frō the substance of the stars, & if they died yong, he affirmed their returne thether again, each to the star whence it came: and that as the stars were composed of the 4. Elements, so were the soules, but in a far different manner then that composition of the bodies. (k) The body] *Virgil (Georg. 4. & Aeneid. 6.)* reciteth *Pythagoras* his opinion singing of God, that is the worlds soule, whence each one drawes a life at his originall, and returns it at his death. But because it may be doubted how all soules haue one originall sence, one vnderstandeth better then another, and vseth reason more perfectly: this difference he held did proceed from the body and not from the soules. For these are his wordes.

*Principio Calum at Terras Camposq; liquentes,  
Lucentemq; Globum terra, Titaniaq; astra:  
Spiritus intus alit totamq; infusa per artus,  
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet. &c.*

Heauen

Heauen, Earth, and Sea each in his proper bound,  
 The Moones bright globe, and all the spangled round,  
 A spirit within doth feed, doth moue, and passe  
 Through euery parcell of this spacious masse.

All which is explayned at full by *Seruius* the Gramarian. *Porphyry* confesseth with *Pythagoras* that the soule suffereth with the body: whose affects, good or bad, redound in part vnto the soule, yet denieth hee that they alter the soules nature. *De sacrificijs*. lib. 4.

*How the platonists conceived of the naturall part of Phylosophy*

CHAP. 6.

**V**Vherefore these Phylosophers whom fame (we see) hath worthily preferred before & rest, did wel perceiue that God was (a) no bodily thing: & therefore past further then al bodies in this inuestigatiō: they saw that no (b) mutable thing was God, and therefore went further then al mutable spirits, and soules to seek for him. Again they saw that (c) al formes of mutable things, whereby they are what they are (of what nature soeuer they be) haue originall from none but him, that is true and vnchangeable. Consequently, neither the body of this vniuerse, the figures, qualities, motions and Elements, nor the bodies in them all, from heauen to earth, either vegetatiue, as trees, or sensitiue also as beasts or reasonable also, as men: nor those that need no nutriment but subsist by them-selues as the Angels, can haue being, but from him who hath only simple being. For in him (d) to be, and to liue, differ not: as if he might haue being without life: neither to liue, and to vnderstand: as if he could haue life without intellect: nor to vnderstand and to be blessed, as if he could haue the one and not the other. But his life, vnderstanding and beatitude are all but his being. From this invariable and simple essence of his, they gathered him to be the vncreated Creator of all existence. For they considered that all thinges are eyther body, or life: that the (e) life excelleth the body: that sensibility is but a *species* of the body; but vnderstanding of the life: and therefore they preferred intellect before sence: Sensible thinges are those that are to be seen or touched. Intelligible can only be vnderstood by the minde. For there is no bodily sweetnesse, be it in the body, as beauty, or in motion, as a muscalle song, but the minde doth iudge therof: which it could not doe if this forme were not in it more excellent, then eyther in that quantity of body, or that noyse of voyces and keeping of tones and times. Yet if it were not mutable and could not iudge better then another of these sensible *species*, nor one be wittier, cunninger, or more exercised then another, but he that began after should profit as much as he that learned before: and he that profited after should be vnaltered from his ignorance before: but that which admitteth *maiority* or *minority*, is changeable doubtlesse. And therefore these learned men did well obserue that the first forme of thinges could not haue existence in a subiect mutable. And therefore beholding degrees of diuersity in the formes of soules and bodies, and that the seperation of al forme from the directly destroyed the, this infered necessity of some vnchangeable and consequently an all-excelling forme: this they held the beginning of all thinges, vncreated, all creating, exceeding right. This what they knew of God he did manifest vnto them by teaching them the graduate contemplation of his parts invisible by his workes visible: as also his eternity and diuinity, who created all thinges both visible and temporary. Thus much of their Physiology, or naturall Phylosophy.

God onely hath true essence, al the rest depend vpon him.

Things sensible and intelligible.

Mutable what.

Rom. 1. 19. 20.

## L. VIVES.

God is no  
body.

**G**OD (a) was no body ] This *Alcinous* in *Plato's* doctrine argueth thus. If God were a body hee should have substance and forme : for so have all bodies, being like the *Idea's*, whereto they have a secret resemblance. But to say God hath substance and forme is absurd : for he should neither be the beginning, nor uncompounded : Therefore hee hath no body. Besides, every body is of some substance : What then shall GOD be of fire or ayre ? earth or water ? Nor of these are beginnings : but rather have a later being then the substance whereof they consist. But these are blasphemies, the truth is, GOD is incorporeall. If he were a body, hee were generated, and therefore corruptible. But farre are those things from GOD. Thus farre *Alcinous*. (b) No mutable ] *Plato* ( in *Timæus* ) calls God *ἄνυλον*, one, the same, and alwaies like him-selfe, as *Tully* translates it. *Alcinous* saith hee must needs be an intelligible substance. Of which kind the soule is better, then what is not the soule, but the power that is perpetually actual, excelleth that which is potentiall, such therefore is God. (c) All formes ] In Greek *εἶδος*, so *Tully* & others interpret it, (d) To bee and to live ] *Alcinous* saith that God is supreme, eternall, ineffable, selfe-perfect, needing nothing, eternally absolute, Deity, cause of all being, truth, harmony, good, and all these, in one, and one. For I count them not as dis-ioyned, but coessentiall. And a little after he saith that God is incomprehensible, onely apparant to the thought : but contented vnder no kinde what-soeuer : not definable, nor specificall, nor subiect to any accident : to say hee is euill were wickednesse, and to say hee is good is insufficient, for then hee should participate of goodnesse, but hee hath neyther difference nor accident. This opinion did *Dionysius* the Diuine follow, denying wisdome, life, or vnderstanding to be in god. For these are the names of particular perfections which are not in God: This seemes to bee grounded on *Plato's* wordes in *Phædon* that all good is such by participation of good : but there hee excepteth true good, that is doubtlesse God the *Idea* and essence of all beautifull goodnesse. (e) Life excelleth ] Hee calls the soule life, as *Aristotle* doth *ἀνάγκη*, perfection or *ἀνάγκη*, any thing eternally actuall: both may bee said of the soule. But *Plato* speaking of soules, meaneth (it seemes) onely the rationally.

*Dionysius*  
the Diuine.

*The excellency of the Platonists above the rest, in logicke.*

C H A P. 7.

**N**OW as concerning the other part of their (a) doctrine, called logicke, farre be it from vs to ioyn them in comparison with those fellowes that fetched the iudgement of truth from the bodily senses, and held all things to bee swayed by their false and friuolous positions, as (b) *Epicurus* held, yea and euen the *Stoikes*. (c) These men standing onely affected to the art of disputation called *Logike*, thought it was to be deriued from the senses : affirming that from them the minde doth receiue definable notions (d) *ἰσχυρὰ* and thence the whole methode of learning and teaching hath the propagation. Now (e) heere doe I wonder how these men (f) affirming a wise-man onely to bee beautifull, hadde any notion of this beauty from their sense : and how their carnall eyes could behold the faire forme of wisdome. (g) But those whome wee doe worthyly preferre haue distinguished the conceites of the minde conceiued from the formes receiued by the sense : Giuing them no more then their due, nor taking ought of their due from them. But (h) the light of the mind giuing power to conceiue all, this they hold is God, that created all.

## L. VIVES.

**T**Heir (a) Doctrine ] *Plato* diuided speach into five parts. 1. ciuill, vsed in politike affaires, counsels and such like. 2. rethoricall, which is demonstratiue, or iudiciall, contayning praise or dispraise, accusation or defence. 3. ordinary discourse of one man with another. 4. worke-mens

workemens conference in matters mechanical: 5. Logically, consisting of dialogues, questions and answers. This last is by some ascribed to bee *Plato's* invention; as *Phavorinus*: others giue it to *Alexamenes Teius*, *Aristotle*: Some also to *Zeno* the Elean: certaine it is that *Plato* gaue much ornament vnto discourse, replenishing it with all parts of learning, grauity and elegance: Wherein though the Logically formes be not expressly taught, yet they are laid downe in practise, and their vse fully expressed: And particularly demonstration is practised in his *Timæus Sophismes*, in *Euthydamus*, whence *Aristotle* had many of his fallacious: But *Socrates* his induction is of most power of all, and seemes to take the originall from him: For *Socrates* vsed it more nimbly then any man liuing. And from him *Quintilian* bidde his Orator fetch it. (b) *Epicurus*] Hee held the Sunne to bee no bigger then it seemed: And that if the sense once mistake, one should neuer trust it after. *Cicero*, (*Plutarc, Placit. lib. 4.*) The *Stoikes* held the senses true, but their objects now true, and now false. But *Epicurus* held sense an object all true, many opinion hee said erred sometimes; and *Cicero* saith of *Zeno*, That vnto the formes receiued by our senses hee adioyned the assent of the minde, which hee will haue fixed, and voluntary in euery one of vs. Hee didde not affirme all that wee saw was true: But onely such as brought with them certaine peculiar declarations for that which they pretended. (c) *These men*] The *Stoikes*; for the *Epicures* reiected Logike, as vaine and vnprofitable. The *Stoikes* vsed it exceedingly. And *Chrysippus*, *Cleanthes* and *Zeno*, Masters of that sect, wrote much in that kinde: but all concerning the later part Iudgement the first, Invention they commonly meddle not with as *Cicero* saith in his *Topikes*. (d) *Præcognitio*] The first apprehensions, *καταληψις*, or vnderstanding of things. These nature hath giuen man, whence the knowledge of many great secretaries arise, which motions arise from visible and palpable objects, producing eyther knowledge, ignorance or opinion, the meane betweene both. *Cicero* calleth them begunne conceits, and saith *Epicurus* first named the *προαληψις*, as if one should say, a premeditate apprehension of a thing in the mind, without which we can neither vnderstand, inquire nor dispute. Many the *Stoikes* I see haue vsed this word also, which *Tully* translateth *anticipations*: And *Chrysippus* defineth it to bee a *natural vnderstanding of uniuersalities*. *Laert.* (e) *Heere do I*] Hee proueth that the affirmers of these positions rather trusted vnderstanding then sense. (f) *affirming a wise man*] A Stoicall Paradoxe. (g) *But those whome*] *Plato* so dealt that hee debarred the senses from power to iudge the truth, allowing that only to the mind, prouing the authority of that most fitte to bee trusted, because it beholdeth alone the simple truth, vniforme and vnfaigned, in that manner as it is. (h) *The light*] This sunne they held was the light of the eye, and that the prince of the World was the light of the soule to vnderstanding, knowledge wisdom, and iudgement; and therefore hee is the father of all light: For from Cicer. Acad. Quest. lib. 1. that light inuisible, the light visible hath his originall, as I shewed before out of *Plato*. The same *Alemaes* teacheth. *In Doctrina Platonis.*

*That the Platonists are to be preferred in Morality also.*

CHAP. 8.

There remaineth the Morall, in Greeke *ἠθικὴ* which inquireth after the greatest good whereto all our actions haue reference: and which is desired for it selfe only, for no other end, but to make vs blessed in attaining it only: and therefore we call it the end: as referring all the rest vnto it. But desiring it only for it selfe: This blisse-affording good some would deriue from the (a) bodie, some from the (b) minde, some (c) from both: For seeing that a man consisteth but of soule and body, they beleued that his cheefe good must haue originall from one of the two, and therein subsist; as the finall end standing as the shot-marke of all their actions, which being once attained, their labours were crowned with perfection. So that they (d) that added a third kinde of good, to these two namely, consisting of honour, riches and such goods of Fortune, otherwise called extrinsecal: did not propose it as a finall good, that is, to be desired in respect of it selfe, but referred it to another: being of it selfe good to the good and badde to the bad. So this good then, that some deriued from the body

The Phyl-  
sophers cō-  
tention  
about the  
greatest  
good.

body, and some from the soule, and some from both, all deriued from the mans selfe. But they that tooke the bodies part had the worse side, the soule had the better: many they that tooke both, expected this good from the whole man. So then, part or whole, it is from man, howsoeuer. These three differences made about three seuerall sects of Phylsophers: each man construing diuersly both of the bodies good, and the soules good, and both their goods. But lette all those stand by and make them place that say that he is not happy that inioyes a body, nor hee that inioyes a minde, but hee that inioyes God: Not as the soule inioyes the body, or it selfe, nor as one friend inioyes another, but (e) as the eye inioyes the light. If the rest can say any thing for the other similies, or against this last, what it is, God willing wee shall in due season discover.

### L. VIVES.

Know-  
ledge of the  
truth.

**F**rom the (a) body] So did Epicurus, Aristippus, and all their followers. (b) The minde] The Stoikes. (c) From both] As Calipho, Polemon and Diodorus. (d) That added] This triple diuision of goods, into the bodies, the mindes, and fortunes Augustine often vseth. It is Aristotles and the Peripatetiques: taken from diuers places of Plato, as I will shew in the next booke. (e) As the eye] Plato saith that the knowledge of the truth is the greatest good, which being hardly to be attained in this life giues vs cause to think that scarcely any one liuing is truly happy: many there is great hope of partaking it in the life to come, when wee are freed from the bodies bounds, the sole impediment of the soules perfection. But when we die (so we die pure) then in the sight of that or that truly existent truth, God, we shall inioy the height of our desires, that is, truth and vniuersall knowledge. Wherefore as the eye wanting the light is vselesse, and setteth the owner sadly affected in darkenes, and perpetually sorrowfull: but when the Sun, the light comes, it riseth with vigor to the function, and vseth the office with cheerefulnesse and alacrity: so our intellect beeing vngined from the body, if it want the light of Gods truth, it must needes lament and languish, but if it haue it, it exulteth, and ioyfully vseth that light which presents the formes of all the creation. Whence it cometh that in our pleasures and felicities wherein we fulfill our affections, and as it were inioy our selues, we do not reape that delectable comfort that we draw from the internall contemplation of that eternall good, and from that attayning the pure light of so perfect a wisdom. So that the soule that is absolutely blessed, inioyeth not God in his beauty, and loue, which concerne pleasure, an act of the will: but in his truth which is an act of the intellect: though then followeth his beauty, and his loue, intirely delectable, nor can these be seperated. For none knowes God, but admireth him: none admireth him, but ioines loue to his admiration and delighteth in them all. Thus much out of Plato in diuers places of his Respub. leges Phadon and Philabus, who still preferreth the inquiry and contemplation of truth, and that to men of pure life, exhorting and exciting all there-vnto. And this all the Academicks and Peripatetiques professe after him, as Tully teacheth *De finib. lib. 5.*

*Of that Phylsophy that cometh nearest to Christianity.*

### CHAP. 9.

Platoes  
Phyloso-  
pher a louer  
of God.

**L**et it suffice now to remember that Plato (a) did determine that the end of all good was the attayning a vertuous life, which none could but hee that knew and followed God: nor is any man happy by any other meanes. And therefore he affirmeth, that to be a Philosopher is to loue God, whose nature is incorporeal: And consequently that wisdomes student, the Phylosopher, is then blessed when hee inioyeth God. For though the inioying of each thing a man loueth doth not forth-with make him happy: (for many by placing their loue on hateful obiects are wretched, and more wretched in inioying them) yet is no man happy that inioyeth not that he loueth. For (b) euen those that loue what they should not, thinke not them-selues happy in louing, but in inioying. But he that inioyes what he loues, and loues the true and greatest good. Who (but a wretch) will deny

deny him to bee happy? This true and greatest good, is GOD saith *Plato*, and therefore hee will haue a Phylosopher a louer of GOD, that because Phylosophy aimes at beatitude, the louer of God might bee blessed by inioying GOD. Wherefore what euer Phylosophers they were that held this of the high and true God, that he was the worlds Creator, the light of vnderstanding, and the good of all action: that he is the beginning of nature, the truth of doctrine, and the happinesse of life: whether they be called *Platonists* (as fittest) or by any other sect: (c) whether the *Ionian* teacher held as this *Plato* did, and vnderstood him well; Or that the *Italians* held it from *Pythagoras* & his followers, or any other of the same doctrine, of what nation so euer they were, and were counted Phylosophers (d) *Atlantes*, *Lybians*, (e) *Egyptians*, (f) *Indians*, (g) *Persians*, (h) *Chaldeaes*, (i) *Scythians*, (k) *Galles*, (l) *Spaniards*, or others that obserued and taught this doctrine, them wee preferre before all others, and confesse their propinquity with our beleefe. For though a Christian, vsed onely to the Scriptures, neuer heard of the *Platonists*, nor knoweth whether Greece held two sects of Phylosophers, the *Ionike* and the *Italian*, yet is hee not so ignorant in humanity, but hee knowes that the Phylosophers professe either the study of wisdome or wisdome it selfe. But lette him beware of those that dispute (m) of the Elements of this world onely, and reach not vp to God that made them Elements. The Apostle giues vs good warning of this: Beware (saith hee) least any deceiue you by Philosophy and vaine descent, according to the worlds Elements. But least you should thinke that hee held all Phylosophers to bee such, hee saith else-where: (n) For that which which is knowne of God, is manifest in them, for God hath shewed it vnto them. (o) For his invisible powers from the beginning of the world are manifested by his workes, and so is his (p) eternall vertue. And hauing spoken a great matter concerning God vnto the Athenians which few of them vnderstood (q) In him we liue, & moue, and haue our being: he added as some also of your writers haue said: Hee knew how to beware of their errors. For hee said that GOD had by his workes, laid open his invisible power to their vnderstanding, there also hee said that they did not worship him aright, but gaue the diuine honours & were his pecuriarly, vnto other thinges thē was lawfull: because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankfull: but became vaine in their owne imaginations: O their foolish heart was full of darkenesse! For professing them-selues wise, they prooued fooles, and turned the glory of the incorruptible God, into the similitude of the Image of a corruptible man, and of birds, and beasts, and serpents. (r) In this place the *Romains*, *Grecians*, *Egyptians*, and all that gloryed in their wisdome, are iustly taxed. But they and we will argue this hereafter: as for those things wherein we and they consent, as of one God the Creator of this vniuerse, who is not only incorporeall, aboue all bodies, but also incorruptible aboue all spirits, our beginning, our light and our goodnesse, in these we preferre them before all others.

## L. VIVES.

**P**lato did determine ] That venerable, and holy-teaching *Plato*, surmounting all Phylosophers in almost all other matters, in defining mans greatest good, out-strippe him-selfe, in his first booke *De Legib*. Hee deuides good, into diuine and humane: The last is quite seperate from vertue, the first conioyned therewith. *Socrates* in *Plato's* *Gorgias* affirms that beatitude consisteth in learning and vertue, calling onely the good, happy, the euill wretched. And in *Menexenus*, in fixe hundred places, (and so all *Plato* through) good is onely honest and beauteous. As for other goddes, without vertue they are the destruction of him that possesseth them. But these are but *Plato's* common sayings: in these hee goeth with his fellowes: But when he list, he riseth in spirit, and leaues all to other schooles of wisdome beneath him. His *Philebus* is a dialogue of the greatest good, or as some



some intitle it, *ἡδονή*, of pleasure. Therein hee maketh fixe rankes of goods, in the second standes the thinges proportionate, faire, perfect sufficient, and such like. In the third vnderstanding, and sapience. In the fourth, the goods of the soule, sciences, artes and good opinions. But in the first, he putteth measure, moderation and oportunity. All which (as hee writeth to *Dionysius*) import that GOD is the proportion, cause, measure, author and moderator of all goodnesse. And in his 2. *de Repub.* hee calleth GOD, the greatest good and the *Idea* of good. And therefore *Apuleius* defineth GOD to bee the professor and bestower of Beatitude: *Dogm: Plat.* And *Speusippus* defineth him to be, *A living immortall and supernaturall essence, sufficing to beatitude, and cause of nature and all goodnesse.*

The contemplation of this good didde *Plato* say, made a man happy. For in his Banquet; *Diortima*, a most wise woman biddeth *Socrates* to marke her speech well. *And then falling into a discourse that our loue concerned beauty, at last shee drew to a deeper sheame, affirming a beauty that was eternall, immutable and undiminished, nor increased, nor fayre in one part and not in another, nor beeing subiect to any vicissitude, or alteration of times: Nor beautyfull in one respect and not in all: Whose beauty is neyther altered by place, nor opinion, nor is as a part, or an accident of that essence wheroin it is. But it is euer existens in one and the same forme, and from thence flowes all the Worldes beauty: yet so, as neyther the original of any thing decreaseth it, nor the decay augmenteth it, or giueth any effect, or change to it. This holy and venerable beauty when a man beginneth to behold truly, that is beeing dislinked from the loue of other beauties, then is not hee farre from the toppe of his perfection. For that is the way to thinges truly worth desiring: Thus must wee bee truly ledde vnto it, when a man ascendeth by degrees from these inferior beauties vnto that supreme one, transporting him-selfe from one fayre obiect vnto two, and so vnto all the rest of all beautyfull desires, where-uppon the like disciplines must needes follow, of which the onely chiefe and chieffy to bee followed, is the contemplation of that supreme beauty, and from thence to draw this lesson, thus must a man internally beauteous, direct his life. Saw you, but this once cleare, you would scorne ritches, honours and exterior formes. Tell me now (saith shee) how great a happynesse should hee giue thee that should shew thee this sincere, this purest beauty, not circumscrip with a forme of mortality, nor with coullors nor metalls, or such like trash, but in it selfe meerevely diuine, and one and the same to all eternity? I pray thee wouldst thou not admire his life that should haue his wises so full as to behold and inioy this glorious beauty? O glorious pertaker of unchanged solid vertue! Friend of the all powerfull God, and aboue all other Diuine and immortall. These are the wordes of wise *Diortima* vnto *Socrates* to which hee replyeth that hee beleued her, and that hee labourerth to perswade man-kinde that there is no such meane to attaine the possession of this pulchritude, as the loue of it: and that no man should thinke it were ynough to dispute of it in wordes, or to contemplate there-uppon with an vnpurged heart. Which things is hard, nay neere impossible saith *Plato*: yet teacheth hee that beatitude is attained by imitation of GOD (*De leg. 4.*) where speaking of GODS friendes and enemies, hee saith, That it must bee a wise mans continuall meditation how to follow God, and make him the rule of his courses before all mortall men, to whose likenesse his chiefe study must bee to mold him-selfe. what it is to be like GOD hee sheweth in his *Thaastus*, it is to bee iust, wise and holy. And in his Epistle to *Hermias* and his fellowes, hee saith, That if any man bee a *Phylosopher*, hee aymeth at the knowledge of God, and his father, as farre as happy men can attayne it. And in his *Epinomis*, speaking of GOD, hee saith: Him doth each man especially admire, and consequently is inflamed with the power of humaine witte to labour for this beatitude in this life present, and expecting a place after death with those that haue serued vertue. This saith *Plato*, who placed the greatest beatitude, in the life to come. For hee sayth in the same booke, That none (or very few) can attayne happynesse in this life, but great hope there is after this life to inioy the happynesse for which wee haue bene so carefull to kepe and continue our courses in goodnesse and honesty. And towards the end hee saith: It is wickednes to neglect God, the reason of all beeing so fully already discovered. Hee that can make vse of all this, I count him truly wise, and firmly avow that when hee dyeth, he shall not be any longer in the common fashion of this life, but haue a certayne peculiar excellence allotted him, to bee both most wise and most happie: And lue a man so, where he will, in Iland or continent, hee shall pertake this felicity: and so shall he that vseth these directions wheresoener, in government of others, or in private estate referring all to God. But as wee sayd before, so say wee still, very few attaine this por-*

fections

fection *z* this life : this life : this is most true, and no way rashly spoken. Thus much out of his Epinomis. In the end of his *De Repub.* thus. Behold now the rewards, stable and glorious which a good man shall receiue both of god and man, besides the particular benefits that his iustice doth re-  
 turne him. But all these are nothing, neither in number nor quantity in respect of those after death. And in his *Phadon* : wherefore (saith Socrates) while wee liue here on earth, let vs haue as little commerce with the body as may be, for so wee shall get to some knowledge, and keeping a good watch ouer it vntill that God set vs free from it, wee shall passe away pure from contagion, to conuerse with such as ouer selues, and by our selues haue full vnderstanding of that sincere and pure truth, which being so, one that is a going my way, hath a great hope to bee there crowned with the fruition of that for which in his life he suffered so many afflictions. And after : If he be a true Philosopher, that opinion of Gods must needs beare a great stroke with him, namely that he cannot attaine the pure wisdom vntill after this life. Thus much out of Plato, in diuers places, partly the words, and partly the sence : which being assumed (to shew his opinion) out of his owne workes, maketh it superfluous to ad any quotations out of other Platonists. (b) *Euen those that loue.* ] I wouder that *Valla* in his logike saith that their is no loue but delight : the world controules him. I loue mine absent friend, yet my delight departed with him. But this is not the least nor the last absurdity in that booke. To enioy, is to take delight of in any thing : as *Augustine* writeth in his 80. questions : Wee enioy that wee take pleasure in : of the vse and the fruit, hereafter in the leauenth booke. (c) *Whether the Ionian.* ] Though *Plato* had much from *Pythagoras*, yet was hee a *Ionian* Philosopher for hee followed *Socrates* more then either *Architas* or *Timens*. (d) *Atlantikes.* ] *Africans*, bording on the Ocean : *Atlas* was the first King, brother to *Sa-* *Atlantikes.*  
*turne*, and sonne to *Calus* : A great Astronomer. Hee taught his Sonne *Hesperus* and many more the Art ; for hee had seauen daughters all married to the *Heroes*, that had Sonnes *Atlas.*  
 no lesse glorious then the Parents. Hee taught diuers of the vulgar also, whence the *Egyptians.*  
 art spred into *Libia* where *Hercules* learnt it and disputed of it. (e) *Egyptians.* ] Their Philosophy is ancient, but most part from *Chaldea*, chiefly from *Abraham* : though they (as *Diodorus* writes) ascribe it to *Isis* and *Osiris*, *Vulcan*, *Mercury*, and *Hercules*. How euer, sure it is much of their Philosophy was diuine, and much false and filthy. (f) *Indians.* ] There Philosophers were called *Brachmans* : of whom read *Philostratus* his *Vita Apollon. Thyran.* and *Strabo* such as wrot of *Alexander* the *Macedonian* his conquests. (g) *Persians.* ] They had the *Magæes*, that *Zoroaster* taught. (h) *Cladaes.* ] The chiefe Astrologians and diuinators of the world : of these read *Diodorus lib. 3.* (i) *Scythians.* ] Their Philosophers whilom, contended with the *Egyptians* for antiquity : a nation valiant, plaine, iust, harmelesse, doing more by naturall wit, then Greece with all her laborious discipline. (k) *Galles.* ] or Frenchmen. They had their *Druides* : *Casar Comment. Gallic. Bell.* and Poets also which were both Philosophers and *Druides.*  
 diuins, called *Saronide. Diu. 1. 6.* they had also the wisards that people came vnto for trifles. No sacrifice amongst them might be offered without a Philosopher, that was, a Naturalist diuine and humane : and these ruled all, in all places. Their *Druides* (as *Strabo saith lib. 4.*) were both naturalists and Moralists. (l) *Spaniards.* ] In Spaine, before siluer and gold were found, there was no warres, many Philosophers, and the people liued wonderfull religiously : euery society had *Spain.*  
 a magistrate by the yeare, chosen out of the most learned and iudicious ranke of men, equity was the executor of iustice then, without lawes clangor : (yet the *Turdeiani* now called the *Andeluzians* had certaine wonderfull old lawes written) few or no controuersies were euer mooued : and those that were did either concerne vertuous emulation, the reasons of nature, of the gods, of good manners, or of some such theames, which the learned disputed of at set times, and called the women to bee auditors. Afterwards, certaine mountaines that were full of mettall within brake out and burned, and the melted gould and siluer, left admiration of such fine stufes, in mens mindes, so shewing this to the *Phanicians*, who were then the generall marchants of the world, they bartered of their mettalls away to them for thinges of no value. The *Phanicians* spying this gain, acquainted diuers of the *Asians* and *Greekes* therewith, and so came often thether with a multitude of men, sometimes with great nauies, and otherwhiles with but two or three Marchants shippes : Now many either liking the ayre and the soyle, or else louing gold better then their gods, set vp their rests in Spaine : and by one trick or other found meanes to contract alliance with others : and then began they to send Colonyes into Spaine out of all *Asia*, and the Iles adiacent, and these spread their villenies amongst the silly ignorant soules. Then began the *Spaniards* to admire their owne wealth : to fight, to prey one vpon another, first priuately, and soone after

in whole armies : afterward to flat nations warre, waged vnder alien leaders: the *Phanicians* at first, the authors both of their present and future misfortunes : Then good manners got them gone, equity was sent packing away , and lawes came vp, together with digging of mettalls, and other traffiques , so that farewell Philosophy, and all artes grew almost to vtter ruine : for they were not written but onely passed by tradition from mouth to eare . But that which remained of thē was renewed by some wel-wishing wits, in the time of the Romaine peaces: but first the Gothes , and afterward the Saracins rooted them vtterly from amongst the vulgar. There is an old memorial extant of the ancient times, written in greek and Latine: I hope by it to illustrate the original of any natiue coutry. (*m*) *Of the elements* ] That is, such as conceiue no further thē the elements: such as think them the originalls of al, & neuer leaue GOD any thing to doe , whose will disposeth all things. (*n*) *For that which is knowne* ] *τι γινώσκοντες οὐ θεῶν φάσμα ἴσθη* *ἔδωκεν* saith the greeke. (*o*) *His inuisible* ] *τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀρτιστοις ἰσχυροῦ τοῖς πομπαινοῖς ἵσθη* *ἔκαστα* saith the Greeke *αἰών* is both *Creation*, and the thing *created*. *Valla* thinketh that this inuisibility is meant of the forme and fabrik of heauen and earth, according to that of the Psalme. *The heauens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth the workes of his hands.* And we find *Aristotle* and many more to gather by the world externall shape of the world, that there is a God , that hath a prouidence and care of the world : and the same they gather by the course and motion of times , by the order of our life, and of the whole vniuerse, wherein such things could not be done, but by that most wise and glorious gouernor of the said vniuerse. *Augustine* translath *αἰώνες*, *constitutions* , to make it imply that men may conceiue the secrets of GOD, by his workes , euen from the worlds first constitution , to perswade vs that this knowledge had existence before *Christ* his comming, or *Moyse* lawe, euen from the first creation of the world . And this me thinkes is nearest vnto *Pauls* minde, who in this place disputeth against the Philosophers , telling them that when or where euer they liue, they may finde a god the gouernor and father of all vniuersity : and that (for so follows the sequel) and that, by the workes which he hath made, may his inuisibility bee certainly gathered. (*p*) *Eternall vertue* ] Not onely his secret wisdom, and iustice, but his illustrious deity and power: vnlesse you take away [ *And so* ] and let the rest depend vpon the former: for the greeke [*τῶ*] signifying conjunction, was the cause that [*quod*], was thrust into the Latine interpretation. (*q*) *In him we liue* ] The ancients called GOD the life y is diffused throughout the vniuerse : and the aire also : so that this is true howsoeuer : that in him wee liue , wee moue and haue our being. *Aratus* also said, that al waies, courts, hauens, and all places and things were full of *Ioue* : which his interpretor attributeth to the ayre. (*r*) *In which place* ] The Romaines and Greekes worshipped mens statues for gods, the Egiptians beasts.

*What the excellence of a religious Christian is in these Philosophicall artes.*

CHAP. IO.

**N**OW if a christian for want of reading , cannot vse such of their words as fits disputations , because hee neuer heard them : or cannot call that part that treates of nature, either naturall in Latine, or physicall in Greeke : nor that that inquires the truth, rationally or Logically : nor that which concernes rectifying of manners , and goodnesse of ends Morall ; or Ethicall : yet thence it followes not that he knowes not, that from the true God is both Nature , whereby hee made vs like his Image, Reason, wherby we know him, and Grace wherby we are blessed in being vnited to him . This then is the cause why wee prefer these before the other : the other spent their wittes in seeking out of the causes of things, the meanes of learning , and order of life : these knowing GOD , found that their was both the cause of the whole creation , the light of all true learning, and the fount of all felicity . So that what *Platonists* or others soeuer held thus of GOD, they held as we doe . But wee choose rather to deale with the (*a*) *Platonists* then others , because their workes are most famous; for both the Greekes ( whose language is very greatly esteemed of the nations ) doe preferue and extoll them , and the Latines , moued by their excellence and glory learning them more willingly themselues , and by recording them

them in their tongues also, left them the more illustrious and plaine to vs, and to all posterity.

## L. VIVES.

**V** *Is the (a) Platonists*] From *Plato* and *Aristotles* time, vnto *Aphrodiseus*, that liued vnder *Senecus* and his sonne, *Aristotle* was rather named amongst the learned then either read, or vnderstood: *Aphrodiseus* first aduentured to explaine him, and did set many on to search farther into the author, by that light hee gaue; yet did *Plato* keepe about him still, vntill the erection of publike schooles in France and Italy, that is, as long as the Greeke and Latine tongues were in account: [but when learning grew Mercenary, and Mimicall, all their aime was gaine, and contention, and verbosity, and fond subtilty, with vile fained wordes of arte, and friuolous quilllets, then was *Aristotles* logike and physikes held fit for their purpose, and many better bookes of his throwne aside. But as for *Plato* because they vnderstood him not, (nay and *Aristotle* much lesse, yet) because hee teacheth no trickes; oh neuer name him? I speake not this to imply *Aristotles* learning more insufficient then *Plato's*, but it is a shame that *Plato*, a holy Philosopher should bee thrust by, and *Aristotles* best part also; and the rest so read, that he must speake their pleasures, beeing such fooleries, as not *Aristotle*, no, not any mad man of his time would haue held or divulged.]

[This is no good doctrine in the Louanists opinion, for it is left out, as distastefull to the schoolemen, though not to the direct truth.]

*Whence Plato might haue that knowledge that brought him so neare the Christian doctrine.* CHAP. II.

**N**OW some of our Christians admire at these assertions of *Plato* comming so neere to our beleefe of God: So that some thinke that at his going to Egypt, hee heard the Prophet (a) *Hieremye*, or got to read some of the prophets bookes in his trauell: these opinions I haue (b) else-where related. But by all true chronicles supputation, *Plato* was borne an 100. yeares after *Jeremy* prophesied. *Plato* liued 81. yeares, and from his death to the time that *Ptolomy* King of Egypt demanded the Hebrew prophesies, and had them translated by the 70. Iewes that vnderstood the greeke also, is reckned almost 60. yeares. So that *Plato* in his trauell, could neither see *Hieremye*, beeing dead, nor read the scriptures beeing not as yet translated into the greeke, which he vnderstood (c) vnlesse (as he was of an insatigable studie) he had had them read by an interpretor, yet so as hee might not translate them, or copy them (which *Ptolomy* as a friend might intreate, or as a King, command) but onely carry away what he could in his memory. Some reason there is for this, because *Genesis* beginneth thus. *In the beginning GOD created heauen and earth, and the earth was without forme and voide, and darknesse was upon the deepe, & the Spirit of GOD mooued upon the waters.* And *Plato* in his (d) *Timeus* saith that GOD first (e) ioyned the earth and the fire. Now it is certaine that (f) hee meaneth heauen by fire: so that here is a correspondence with the other: *In the beginning GOD created heauen and earth.* Again hee saith that the two (g) meanes conioyning these extremities, are water and ayre, this some may thinke he had from the other, *The spirit of GOD mooued upon the waters:* not minding in what sence the scripture vlieth the word *Spirit*, and because (h) ayre is a spirit, therefore it may bee hee gathered that hee collected 4. elements from this place. And whereas hee saith a Philosopher is a louer of God, there is nothing better squareth with the holy scriptures: but that especially (which maketh mee almost confesse that *Plato* wanted not these bookes) that whereas the Angel that brought Gods word to *Moyse*, being asked what his name was that bad him goe

*Plato* heard not *Hieremye*.

Gen. 1.1.2

*Platos* growndes out of drubny.

free the Israelites out of Egipt, answered his name was (i) *I am that I am*: And thus shalt thou say to the children of Israell, *I am hath sent me to you*: as if that in comparison of that which truly is, being immutable, the things that are immutable, are not. Plato stuck hard vpon this, and commended it highly: And I make a doubt whether the like be to be found in any one that euer wrote before Plato, except in that booke when it was first written, so, *I am that I am*, and thou shalt tell them that *I am sent me to you*. But wherefoeuer he had it, out of others bookes before him, or as the Apostle saith: *Because that which is knowne of God, is manifest vnto them: for God hath shewed it them. For the inuisible things of him that is, his eternall power and god-head, are seene by the creation of the world, being considered in his workes.* This maketh mee chose to deal with the Platonists, in our intended question of naturall Theology, namely, whether the seruice of one GOD, or many, suffice for the felicity of the life to come. For as touching the seruice of one or many for the helpes of this temporall life, I thinke I haue said already sufficient.

## L. VIVES.

Hieremy.

Plato an  
Arike  
Moyles.Plato held  
heauen, fire.

**P**rophet (a) Hieremy] Hee went with the two Tribes *Beniamin* and *Iuda* into Egipt, and was there stoned at Tanis: there the inhabitants honour him, for the present helpe his combe giues thē against the stinging of serpents. (b) *Else-where*] *De Doctr. xpian. 2. Eusebius* saith. Hieremy began to prophecy the 36. Olympiade: and Plato was borne the 88. of the Septuagines hereafter. (c) *Unlesse* (as he was) *Instin Martyr.* in *Paracl. ad gent. Euseb. de prep. Theodor. de Grac. affect.* all affirme that Plato had much doctrine from the Hebrew bookes. Herevpon *Numenius* the Philosopher said *τις ἀδελφίμωνος ἀνίκου?* what is Plato but *Moses* made Athenian? And *Aristobulus* the Iewe writing to *Philometor*, saith, as *Eusebius* citeth it: *Plato did follow our law in many things: for his diuers allegations haue prooued him an obseruer of it in particenlar things, and that in many.* For the *Pentateuch* was translated before *Alexanders* time, yea before the *Perfian* Monarchy, whence hee and *Pythagoras* had both very much. (d) *Timæus*] So because *Timæus* the *Locrian* is induced as disputing of the wor'd, him had Plato heard in Italy, and he wrote of the world in the dorike tongue, out of which booke Plato hath much of his doctrine. (e) *Ioyned the earth*] The words are translated by *Tully* thus: *Corporeum & aspectabilem itemq; tractabilem esse, necessarium est: nihil porro igni vacuum videri, aut tangi, quod careat solido. Solidum autem nihil, quod terra sit expertum quamobrem mandum efficere molens deus, terram primam, ignemq; iungebat.* The same is *Tymæus* his opinion in his work *De Mundo & anima.* (f) *He meaneth*] Plato said heauen was of fire, the Stars of the soure elements, because they seemed more solid. But he held not heauen of the nature of our fire, for he held fires of diuers nature. (g) *Two meanes*] Water and fire must needs haue a meane of coherence. But solid bodies are hardly reconciled by one meane but must haue two, which may of themselves & their accidents, compose a conuenient third, such is water & ayre, between fire & earth: for water to earth, & ayre to fire, beare the same proportion, and so doth water and ayre betweene themselves which combination rules so in the elements, that in the ascending and descending innumerable and imperceptible variations of nature all seemes but one body, either rarified vnto fire, or condensate vnto earth. (h) *Ayre is a spirit*] But not of God: of this hereafter. (i) *I am*] *ἰαμ εἰμι*, this εἰμι is a participle: as one should say, *I am he that is.* For wee can not transtate it by one word, as *Seneca* affirmeth *Epist. lib. 8.* But wee may call it *Ens*, of *sum* (as *Cesar* did,) being, of, to bee, as potent, of *possum* So did *Sergius. Quintil.* GOD meaneth, that hee hath being: whereas as nothing else hath properly any being: but are as *Isayas* saith: *of nothing*: and *Iob* hath it often, *G O D onely hath being*, the rest haue not their existence (saith *Seneca*) because they are eternall themselves, but because their maker guardeth them, and should hee disist, they would all vanish into nothing. Plato also sayth that corporall things neuer haue true being, but spirituall haue. In *Timeo & Sophista*. And there, and in his *Parmenides* hee saith that *G O D is one*, and *Ens*, of whom all things depend: that nature hath not a fitte expressiue name for his Excellence, nor can hee bee defined, nor ascribed, nor knowne, nor comprehended, that hee begotte all these lesser gods whom

whom in his *Tymaus* he saith are immortall only by their fathers wil, not by their own power Him hee calleth *εἰς* which is: as he saith of a true Philosopher in his *Phaedon*, *εἰς* *τις* *οὐκ* *ἐστὶν* *οὐδὲν* he conceiueth him which is: and a little after: *ἡ* *οὐκ* *ἐστὶν* *οὐδὲν* *ἐστὶν* *οὐδὲν* pertaker of them which is, and in his *Tymaus* *εἰς* *τις* *οὐκ* *ἐστὶν* *οὐδὲν* the eternall being, vnbe gotten. And all the *Platonists* agree that the title of his *Parmenides*, *De ente & uno rerum principio*, and of his *Sophista* *εἰς* *τις* *οὐκ* *ἐστὶν* *οὐδὲν* are both ment of GOD, which is the true being, and the beginning of all things: and *εἰς* being a perticile is of the presentence, signifying that GOD hath no time past, nor to come, but with him all is present, and so his being is. That he saith in his *Tymaus*, *Time* hath partes, past, present and to come: and these times of our diuiding are by our error falsely ascribed to the diuine essence, and vnmeetely. For wee vse to say, hee was, is, and wilbe: but indeed he onely is, properly and truely; was and wilbe belong to things that arise and proceede according to the times and with them. For they are two motions: but the onely Lord of eternity hath no motion, nor is elder, nor hath beene younger, nor hath not beene hitherto, nor shall not bee hereafter, nor feelieth any affect of a corporall bodie, but those partes, past and to come are belonging to time that followeth eternity, and are *species* of that which moueth it selfe according to number and space. Thus much out of *Tymaus*: hee that will reade the author, let him looke till hee finde these words, *εἰς* *τις* *οὐκ* *ἐστὶν* *οὐδὲν* *εἰς* *τις* *οὐκ* *ἐστὶν* *οὐδὲν* &c. there this sentence beginneth. *Gregory* vsed part of it in his Sermon of the birth of Christ, and handled it largely in that place. GOD was alwaies, and is, and shalbe (saith he) nay rather God is alwaies: was, and shalbe are partes of our time, and defects in nature. But hee is eternally being: and so he told *Moyse*, when hee asked him his name. *εἰς* *τις* *οὐκ* *ἐστὶν* *οὐδὲν* *εἰς* *τις* *οὐκ* *ἐστὶν* *οὐδὲν* &c. Then hee beginnes to mount, and with diuine eloquence to spread the lustre of GODS eternity and immutability: but this worthy man is faine to yeeld vnder so huge a burden, and shut his eyes, dazled with so fiery a splendor. *Plutarch* tells that on one poste of the Temples dore at Delphos was written, *γνῶθι σεαυτὸν*, know thy selfe, and on the other, *εἰς*, thou art: the first hauing reference to our preparation in matters of diuinity, and the later vnto GODS nature, which is alwaies fixt and firme, whereas ours is fluxe and mutable. Wherefore, it may well bee said of him whose nature is not subiect to any alteration of time, but alwaies fixed and vnalterable, *thou art*. Thou art, may also bee referred vnto the vn moueable eternity, without any respect of the time, as *lato* saith in his *Parmenides*, who will not haue the time present made an attribute of GOD, because it is a time, nor will haue him called an essence, but rather somewhat inexplicable about all essence, to know what it is not, is easie, but what it is, impossible. Some thinke that *Parmenides* himselfe in his Philosophicall poeme, meaneth of GOD there where hee saith, *all things are but one*: and so thought *Simplicius*: for it is vnlike that so sharpe a wit as *Parmenides*, found not the difference and multitude of things which hee setteth plainly downe in his poemes. For hauing spoken largely of that onely *Ens*, hee concludeth thus: *Thus much of the true high things, now concerning the confused and mortall thing, in which is much error*. *Aristotle* through desire to reprehend erroneously traduceth his opinion in his *Physikes*, which *Themistius* toucheth at: *Parmenides* (saith he) did not thinke an accident, that hath existence but from another, to bee the *Ens* hee meant of, but hee spoke of the *Ens* which is properly, especially and truely so, which is indeed no other but *Plato* his very *Ens*. Nay what say you to *Aristotle*, that saith himselfe that *Parmenides* ment of that one *Ens* which was the originall of all: The other *Platonists* opinions I haue already related: Now as for that sentence (so common against them) that the things intelligible onely, not the sensibile, haue existence: *Alcymus* in his worke to *Amyntas* declareth that *Plato* had both it, and that of the *Idea's*, out of *Epicharmus* his bookes, and alledgeth the words of *Epicharmus* himselfe, who was a Philosopher of Coos, a *Pythagorean*, who held that learning made a man as farre more excellent then others, as the sunne excells the starres and all other light, and the sea the riuers. *Plato* himselfe in his *Sophista* auerreteth the antiquity of that opinion that affirmed the essence of intelligibilities onely, and that therevpon arose a great contention with those that held the world to consist of onely bodies. *Tymaus* also the Locrian in his booke *de mundo*, wrote of these *Idea's*. But *Plato* refined all these things, and brought in a more polite, elegant forme, adding besides altitude and diuinity of doctrine, admirable and excellent. I make no question that *Pythagoras* did learne those misteries out of the Scriptures in Egypt. And it is more likely that he talked with *Hieremy* there, then that *Plato* did.

One God.

Epicharmus.

*That the Platonists for all their good opinion of the true GOD, yet neuertheless held that worship was to bee giuen to many.* CHAP. 12.

**T**Herefore haue I chosen these before the rest, because their good opinion of the true & only GOD, made them more illustrious then the rest, & so far preferred by posterity, that whereas (a) *Aristotle*, *Plato's* scholler, an excellent witted man, (b) *Plato's* inferior indeed, but farre aboue the rest; who instituted the Peripatetique sect, that taught walking, and had many famous schollers of his (c) sect in his (d) maisters life time, and after *Plato's* death (e) *Speusippus* his sisters son and *Xenocrates* his beloued scholler succeeded in his schoole, called the (f) *Academy*, and their followers (g) therevpon, *Academikes*: yet the later Philosophers that liked to follow *Plato* would not bee called *Peripatetiques*, nor *Academikes*, but *Platonists*: Of which sort there were these famous Gretians (h) *Plotine*, (i) *Iamblychus*, (k) and *Porphiry*: and *Apuleius* an African was famous both for his writings in the Greeke and Latine tongues. But all these, and their followers, yea euen (l) *Plato* himselfe, held it fit to adore many gods.

### L. VIVES.

**A**ristotle, **V**Hereas (a) *Aristotle* borne at *Stagyra*, sonne to *Nicomachus* and *Phastis* both descended from *Æsculapius*: borne the 99. *Olympiade*. He came to *Plato* at 15. yeares old, and heard him till he was 35. when as *Plato* died: and then beganne he to teach himselfe, walking in the *Lycium*, whence his followers were called *Peripatetiques* of *περιπατω*, to walke. He was an admirable, singular witted man, inferior to none: *Plato's* better in variety of knowledge, and all the worlds better in disputation of all artes. Nor are these great gifts of his to be euill taken, or maligned: we must confesse indeed that hee was an affectator of glory, and too curious a condemner of others, but withall, modest and abstinent: nor in doctrine of artes had he euer his fellow. I wish he had delt more vprightly in his confutations of others. (b) *Plato's* inferior] comparison betweene *Plato* and *Aristotle* is odious, because of their diuersity of studies. Doubtlesse they were both admirable examples for all to imitate. The greekes call *Plato*, *θεός*, *diuine*, and *Aristotle* *διδασκαλός*, which is asmuch: *Plato's* eloquence was such that it was a common saying, if *Ioue* would speake greeke, he would speake *Plato's* greeke: But *Aristotles* knowledge in Rhetorick (I had almost said) excelled *Plato's*: mary in vse hee was farre short of him. For *Aristotle* affected a succinct phrase: least being tedious, and drawing each thing at length the discourse might become to profuse, and the rules of arte too long to beare away. So his enduour was not to admit an idle word, which made him attaine vnto a great perfection in the proper vse of the greeke language and figures. (c) *Sekt*] *εἰρησῆς* in Greeke, a word of indifference, but ordinarily taken in the worst sence, for all opinions priuate, or other, without the Church, wee call Heresies. (d) *His Masters life*] *Aristotle* (saith *Plato* in *Laërtius*) hath kicke against vs, as soles doe at their dammes. Yet some say hee did not teach whilest *Plato* liued. (e) *Speusippus*] *Enrymedors* sonne, *Plato's* successor, he taught 8. yeares, and tooke pay, for which *Dionysius* mockt him: he went also as far as *Macedon* to sing the *Epithalamion* at *Cassanders* marriage, for mony: which *Philostratus* saith he had written in bald and rugged verse. Growing diseased *Xenocrates* of *Chaledon* succeeded him at his owne request, one that *Plato* loued deere well, and trauelled with him into *Sycily*: he was but dull of wit, but of a seuer and sacred carriage. *Plato* saith *Aristotle* lackt the bit and he the spurres: but loued him so well that when men swore he spoke ill of him, he would not credite them, thinke it vnpossible that one whom hee loued so well, should not loue him againe. In controuerfies of law, the Judges neuer put him to his oth: thinking it sin not to trust so iust a man though hee swore not. (f) *Academy*] A fanne was indeed nere *Athens*, al woods & fennes, & therefore vnhealthful & had bin, (saith *Laërtius*) the habitation of *Academus*, one of the *Heroës*: *Empolis* the *Cómedian* calleth him a god: but *Plutarch* in his life of *Thesens*, shews what he was. It was he y told *Castor* & *Pollux* y *Thesens* after his rape of *Hellen*, kept her secretly at *Aphidna*: & therefore was euer a ter respected both by them & al the other *Lacedemonians*: for in al their roades made into y *Atheniã* territories, they neuer meddled with *Academia*: but *Dicaearchus* saith y it first

first was called *Ecedemia* of one *Ecedemus*, a soldiour vnder *Castor* and *Pollux*: and so after, came to be called *Academia*: This *Laertius* toucheth at. *Apuleius* saith that *Plato* left all his patrimonie, in a little garden neare this *Academie*, two seruants, a cup for sacrificing in, and as much gold as would make an eare-ring. *In vita Platon.* *Laertius* saith hee was honorably buried in the *Academy*, and that *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, hauing taken *Athens*, erected *Plato* a statue, dedicating it to the *Muses*. In *Athens* (this we may not passe) were these schooles. First the *Academy*, secondly *Licium*, thirdly *Prytaneum*, fourthly *Canopum*, fifthly *Stoa*, sixthly *Tempe*, seuenthly *Cynosarges*. (g) *Thereupon* ] This is the old *Academy*, taught to *Archefilas*, by *Solemon Senocrates* his scholler, and hee endeoured to reduce all to *Socrates* his forme of disputation, to affirme nothing, but confute all, and this was called the new *Academie*, which *Tully* in *Varro's* person affirmeth was like the old one: But hence-forth those that had positive grounds for any thing, and held a truth to be in things, as *Plato* did, were not called *Academicks* but *Platonists*, I thinke because the name of *Academicks* was so proper to *Archefilas* schooles. (h) *Plotine* ] Borne (saith *Snidas*) at *Lycopolis* in *Egypt*: hee wrote foure and fittie bookes, obscure ones, to keepe the custome of his sect. Hee liued in th'Emper: r *Galienus* time, vntill *Probus* entred, he of whose destiny *Firmicus* doth so lie and prate. *Porphyry*, *Plotines* scholler wrote his life at large. (i) *Iamblichus* ] Of *Calebis*, *Porphyries* scholler, a *Pythagorist* rather then a *Platonist* as *Hierom* testifieth: yet in all diuine matters, the *Platonists* are *Pythagorians*. His witte and manners were better then his maisters. (k) *Porphyry* ] A *Tyrian*, one neither found in body nor minde, of wauering iudgement, vnmanly inueterate malice and cruelty: a professed *Plotinist*: *Snidas* saith he was *Amelius* scholler also. *Porphyry* (saith he) was properly called *Basileus*, a *Tyrian* philosopher, *Amelius* his scholler whom *Plotine* taught. Hee liued in *Aurelians* time and continued vntill *Diocletians*. Thus saith *Snidas*. Why he was called *Basileus* he sheweth in his maister *Plotines* life. *Amelius* (quoth he) dedicated this booke to me, and in the title called me *Basileus*, for that was my name: in the language of my country, I was called after my father, *Malcus*: which translated is king. Thus he of himselfe. (l) *Plato* himselfe ] In his *Timæus* he calles *Saturne*, *Ops*, and *Iuno* gods, and all the rest brethren and kinsfolkes amongst them-selues, and else-where, hee commands sacrifices vnto their gods, *Demonies* & *Heroes*: saying it is these to whom the *Cities* good estate is to be commended. *De legib. & de repub.* in diuerse places.

Of *Plato's* affirmation, that the gods were all good, and louers of vertue.

CHAP. 13.

Wherefore though in other points they and wee doe differ, yet to ouer-passe them in this great controuersie now in hand, I aske them what gods we must worship? the good, the bad, or both? nay herein we must take *Plato's* (a) assertion, that holds all the good to be good, no bad ones of them: Why then this worship is the gods, or then it is the gods, and if they be bad their god-head is gone. This being true, (and what else should we beleue:) then downe goeth the (b) opinion that affirms a necessity of appeasing the bad gods by sacrifices, and inuoking the good. For there are no bad gods: & the good onely (if there were) must haue the worship, without any other pertakers. What are they then that loue stage-plays, and to see their owne crimes, thrust into their honors and religion? their power prooues them some-thing, but their affects conuince them wicked, *Plato's* opinion of plays was shewen in his iudgement of the expulsion of *Poets*, as pernicious and balefull to an honest state. What gods are they now that oppose *Plato* in defence of those plays? hee cannot endure that the gods should bee slandered, they cannot endure vnlesse they be openly defaced. Nay they added malicious cruelty to their bestiall desires, depriuing *T. Latinus* of his sonne, & striking him with a disease, mary when they had done as they pleased, then they freed him frō his maladie. But *Plato* very wisely forbade all feare of the euill powers, & confirming himselfe in his opinion, feared not to avow the expulsion of al these politique absurdities, from a firme state, all those filthinesses y those gods delighted in. And this *Plato* doth *Labeo* make a *Semy-god*: euen that (c) *Labeo* that holds that sad, black and bloody sacrifices do fit the euill gods, & mirthfull orgies the good: why then



dares *Plato*, but a semigod, boldly debarre the gods themselves, the very good ones, from those delights which hee held obscænce and vnlawfull? These gods neuertheless confute *Labeo*, for they showed them-selves cruell and barbarous against *Latinus*, not mirthfull nor game-some. Let the *Platonists*, that hold all the gods to be good and in vertue the fellowes of the wise, and affirme it a sacriledge to beleue other of them, let them expound vs this mistery, wee will, say they: marke vs well we do so.

## L. VIVES.

**P**lato's. (a) Assertion. ] *Deleg. 1c.* he saith the gods are good, full of vertue, providence and iustice: but yet that they haue all this from him that bath the true being, the Prince of nature, as from the fountaine of all good: esse. This argument *Socrates* (in their banquet) vseth to proue *Loue* no god: all the gods are good, and blessed: so is not *Loue*: ergo. *Porphry de sacrific.* 3. *G O D* is neither hurtfull, nor needfull of any thing. So held the *Stokes*, as *Tully* saith, *Offic. 2* but wee are all for *Plato* now; whereof *Agustine* speaks if wee should recite all, what end should wee make. (b) The opinion. ] *Apuleius* saith some of the *Damones* loue day offerings, some the nights, some mirthfull rites, some sad and melancholy. *De deo locrat Porphorio* vpon *Horace* his *Carmen seculare* saith it: was a common opinion that some gods were worshipped least they should hurt, and others from protection. *Plutarch* saith that kings and princes did offer sacrifices to these great *Damones*, to auert their wrath which was alwaies most perillous. *Porphery* saith that states neede some-times offer to the diuells to appease them from hurting their corne, cattell or horses, for sure it is (quoth he) that if they bee neglected, they will become angry, and doe men much mischief: but lawfull worship they haue none, and this the diuines (not the vulgar ones) do hold, allowing sacrifices to bee offered them, but that they must not bee tasted of. *De abstinent. animal. lib. 2.* (c) *Labeo*. ] *Porphery* in the said booke, allowes no liuing creature, but frutes flowets hony and meale to be offered to the gods aboue: So vsed the ancients, and so should it be saith *Theophrastus*, and *Pitthagoras* would neuer suffer creature to bee kil'ed for sacrifice. But blood and slaughter are expiations for the deuills. And *Porphery* elsewhere saith that the lower the gods are, the sadder sacrifices they require: the earth-gods, and hell-gods loue blacke cattell: the first vpon altars, the latter in granes and pits.

Why the euill gods are worshipped.

The supernall gods haue no creatures liuing offered to them.

Of such as held. 3. Kinds of reasonable soules: in the gods, in airy spirits, and in men

CHAP. 14.

The deuills community with gods and men.

**A**LL reasonable (a) creatures (say they) are threefold: gods, men, deuills the gods the heighest, then the diuells, lastly, men: the first hauing place in heauen, the second in the ayre, the third on the earth: each with his change of place, hath difference in nature: the gods are of more power then the spirits, or men: and men are vnder the spirits and gods, both by place of nature and worth of merit, (b) the spirits, in the middest, are vnder the gods and so their inferiours: aboue men in place, and therefore in power with the gods, they are immortall: with men passionate, and therefore louers of loose sports, and poeticall figments and are subiect to all humaine affects, which the gods by no meanes can bee: So *Plato's* prohibition of Poetry, did not depriue the gods of their delights, but only the airy spirits. Well, of this question diuers, but *Apuleius* a *Platonist* of *Madaura*, chiefly in one whole worke, disputeth, calling it *De deo Socratis*, of *Socrates* his god: wher he disputeth what kind of god (c) this power that *Socrates* had attendant vpon him, was: It was as his friend, & forbad him to proceed in any action which it knew would not end prosperously. Now there he plainly affirmeth, that this was no god, but ouely an airy spirit, handling *Plato's* doctrine rarely, concerning the height

height of the gods, mans meannesse, and the diuells midle interposition. But this being thus, how durst *Plato* deprive (not the gods, for them hee acquitted from all touch of humane affects) but then the ayry spirits of their stage pleasures, by expelling of Poets? vnlesse by this act hee meant to warne mans soule how euer here encheyned in corruption, yet to detest the vnpure, and impious foulenesse of these deuills, euen for honesties sake? for if *Plato's* prohibition, and prooue be iust, then is their demand and desire most damnable. So either *Apuleius* mistooke the kind of *Socrates* his *Genius*, or *Plato* contradicts himselfe, now (d) honoring those spirits and strenght after abridging them their pleasures, and expelling their delights from an honest state; or else *Socrates* his spirit was not worth the approuing, wherein *Apuleius* offended in being not ashamed to stile his booke (e) *De deo Socratis*, of his god, and yet protes by his owne distinction of *Dij & demones*, that hee should haue called it *De demone Socratis*, of his diuell. But this hee had rather professe in the body of his discourse then in his title, for the name of a *Demon* was by good doctrine brought into such hate, that (f) whosoever had read *Demon* in the title, ere he had read the *Demons* commendations in the booke, would haue thought *Apuleius* (g) made. And what found he praise-worthy in them, but their subtile, durable bodies, and eleuation of place; when hee came to their conditions in generall, hee found no good, but spake much euill of them: so that hee that readeth that booke, will neuer maruell at their desiring plaies, and that such gods as they should be delighted with crimes, beastly shewes, barbarous cruelty, and what euer else is horrible or ridiculous, that all this should square with their affects, is no wonder.

## L. VIVES.

**R** *Reasonable (a) Creatures.* *Plato* reckoneth three sorts of gods: the *Deities*, the *Demon es*, & the *Heroes*: but these last haue reference to men; whence they arise. *De leg. 4. Epinom. Plutarck* highly commends those that placed the spirits betwixt gods and men: were it *Orpheus*, some *Phirgian* or *Egyptian*, for both their sacrifices profeseth it. *De defect oracul.* for they found the meanes (saith he) wherein gods and men concurre. *Homer* (saith he) vseth the names at random: now calling them gods, and now demones: *Hesiod*; fire made reasonable nature quadripartite: into gods, spirits, *Heroes*, and mortales: who liuing well arise both to *Heroes* and *Demon es*. (b) *The spirits.* *Socrates* in *Platos Conuiuium*, mentioneth a disputation with *Diatryma*, where hee affirmeth the spirits nature to bee meane betweene gods and mans. (c) *This power.* *Socrates* (they say) had a spirit that forbad him all acts whose euents it knew should not bee successfull: but neuer incited him to any thing whatsoever. (d) *Honoring.* Teaching it also *Epinom.* (e) *De deo.* All that handled this before *Apuleius*, called this spirit a *Demon* not a deity: him-selfe in about six hundreth places in *Plato*, in *Plato Zenophon* also, *Cicero* and *Plutarck*; *Maximus* of *Tyre* who wrot a double demonstration hereof: So did many other call it, both *Platonists* and *Philosophers* of other nations; recitall were tedious. (f) *Whosoever.* Whosoever reads the title before the booke ere he read the booke. (g) *Made.* For the gentiles as then called the *Demonyaks*; and such as were possessed with the deuill, mad men:

The orders of the gods

That neither the ayry spirits bodies, nor height of place, make them excell men.

## CHAP. 15.

**W** Herfore God forbad that a soule that feares God should thinke those spirits to excell it because they haue more (a) perfect bodies: So should beasts excel vs also, many of which goe beyond vs in quicknes of sence, nimblenes, swiftnesse, strength and long life, what man sees like the Eagle, or Vultur? smells like to the dog? is swifter then stags, hares, and birds? strong as a lyon or an elephant, or liues with the serpent (b) that with his skin put of his eares & becomes yong again; But

But as we excell these in vnderstanding, so do wee the ayrie spirits in iust liuing; or should do at least. For therefore hath the high prouidence giuen them bodies in some sort excellling ours, that we might haue the greater care to preferue, and augment that wherein we excell them, rather then our bodies: and learne to contemne that bodily perfection which wee know they haue, in respect of the goodnesse of life, whereby we are before them, and shall obtaine immortalitie of body also, not for the etermitie of plagues to afflict, but which purity of soule shall effect. And for the (c) higher place, they hauing the ayre, and we the earth, it were a ridiculous consequence to make them our betters in that: for so should birds be by the same reason. (d) I but birds being tyred, or lacking meate come downe to earth to rest or to feede, so doe not the spirits: Well then, will you preferre them before vs, and the spirits before them? if this bee a mad position, as mad a consequence it is to make them excell vs by place, whom we can, nay must excell by pyety. For as the birds of the ayre are not preferred before vs, but subiected to vs for the equitie of our reason: so though the deuills being higher then wee, are not our betters because ayre is aboue earth: but we are their betters, because our faith farre surmounteth their despaire. For *Plato's* reason diuiding the elements into foure, and parting moouable fire and immoouable earth by interposition of ayre and water, giuing each an equall place aboue the other, this prooues that the worth of creatures dependeth not vpon the placing of the elements. And *Apuleius* making a man an earthly creature, yet preferreth him before the water-creatures, whereas *Plato* puts the water aboue the earth, to shew that the worth of creatures is to be discerned by another methode then the posture of naturall bodies: the meaner body may include the better soule, and the perfecter the worse.

Mans hope  
aboue the  
deuills de-  
spaire.

## L. VIVES.

The deuills  
bodies.

The ser-  
pents reno-  
uation.

Lib 8.  
*Apul de*  
*Deo Socra-*  
*tis.*  
*Olympus.*

**M**ore (a) perfect] *Apuleius* makes them of a meane temperature betweene earthly and æthereall, more pure and transparent. then a clowde, coagulate of the most subtile parts of ayre, and voide of all solidity, inuisible vnlesse they please to forme themselues a groser shape. (b) *That with his skinne*] Casting his skinne, he begins at his eies, that one ignorant thereof would thinke him blind. Then gettes he his head bare, and in 24. houres putteth it of his whole body. Looke *Aristot. de gen. anim. lib. 8. (c) Higher place*] Which *Apuleius* gathers thus: No element is voyde of creatures. Earth hath men and beasts: the water, fishes: fire some liuing things also, witnesse *Aristotle*: Ergo the ayre must haue some also: but vnlesse those spirits bee they, none can tell what they be. So that the spirits are vnder the gods, and aboue vs: their inferiours our betters. (d) *I but birds*] *Apuleius* his answer: thus: Some giue the ayre to the birds to dwell in: falsly: For they neuer go higher then *Olympus* top: which being the highest mount of the world, yet perpendicularly measured is not two furlongs high: whereas the ayre reacheth vp to the concaue of the Moones spheare, and there the skies begin. What is then in all that ayrie space betweene the Moone and *Olympus* top? hath it no creatures? is it a dead vnlesse part of nature? And againe, birds (if one consider them well) are rather creatures earthly then æreall: on earth they feed, rest, breed, and flye as neare it as may bee: and when they are weary, earth is their port of retirement. This from an imperfect copy of *Apuleius*: yet *Augustines* reason of the place must stand: for though the spirits bee aboue the birds, yet the birds are still aboue vs: but I meane not heare to play the disputant.

what *Apuleius* the Platonist held concerning the qualities of those ayrie spirits.

## CHAP. 16.

**T**His same *Platonist* speaking of their qualities saith, that they are (as men) subiect

subject to passions, of anger, delight, glory, unconstancie in their ceremonies, and furie upon neglect. Besides, to them belong diuinations, dreames, auguries, prophesies, and all magicians miraculous workes. Briefly he defineth them, things created, *passiue*, reasonable, *æreall*, eternall: In the three first they participate with vs: in the fourth with none, in the fifth with the gods: and two of the first the gods share with them also. For the *(a)* gods (saith hee) are creatures: and giuing each element to his proper inhabitants, hee giues earth to men, and the other creatures: water to the fishes, &c. aire to these spirits, and *Aether* to the gods. Now in that the spirits are creatures, they communicate both with men and beasts, in reason with gods and men, in eternity with gods onely; in passion with men onely, in ayrie essence with none. So that they are creatures is nothing; for so are beasts: in that they are reasonable, so are we, equally: in that they are eternall, what is that without felicity: *(b)* Temporall happinesse excells eternall miserie. In that they are *passiue*, what get they by that? so are we, and were we not wretched wee should not bee so: in that their bodies are ayrie, what of that, seeing a soule of any nature is preferred before a body of what perfection so euer? And therefore the honor giuen by the soule, is not due to the soules inferiour. But if that amongst these spirits qualities hee had reckoned wisdom, vertue and felicitie, and haue made them communicate these with the gods, then had he spoake some-what, worth noting, yet ought we not to worship them as God, for these ends, but rather we should know him of whom they had these good gifts. But as they are, how farre are they from worth of worship, being reasonable to be wretched, *passiue* to be wretched, eternall to be euer wretched? wherefore to leaue all and insist on this onely which I said those spirits shared with vs, that is passion, if euery element haue his creatures, fire and ayre immortalls, earth and water mortalls, why are these spirits subject to perturbations? (to that which the Greekes call *(c)*  $\pi\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$ , whence our word passion deriueth: word *(d)* of word,  $\pi\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$ , and passion, being *(e)* a motion of the minde against reason). Why are these in these spirits that are not in beasts? for th' apparence of such in beasts, is *(f)* no perturbation, because it is not against reason, which the beast wanteth. And that it is a perturbation in men, *(g)* their foolishnesse, or their *(h)* wretchednesse is cause. For we cannot haue that perfection of wisdom in this life that is promised vs after our acquittance from mortality. Now the gods they say cannot suffer those perturbations, because that their eternitie is conioyned with felicity: and this they affirme the reasonable soule that is absolutely pure, enioyeth also. So then if the gods be free from passion, because they are *(i)* creatures blessed, and not wretched: and the beasts, because they are creatures, neither capable of blessednesse nor wretchednesse: it remaineth that these spirits be perturbed like men, onely because they are creatures not blessed but wretched.

Plato's de  
uultis.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He *(a)* Gods ] Plato also in his *Timæus* saith, that they are inuisible creatures. *Apuleius de deo Socr.* makes some vncorporall *Damones*, viz. *Loue & Sleep.* *(b)* *Temporal*] It is said that *Chyron Saturnes* sonne refused immortality, & that *Vlysses* chose rather to liue and die at home with his father and friends, then to liue immortal amongst the goddesses. *Plato* saith it is better to liue a very little while, then to be eternally posselt of all bodily pleasures without iustice & the other vertues. *de legib:* the Philosophers haue a saying, *it is better to be then not to be:* of that hereafter. *(c)*  $\pi\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$ ] So *Tull. Tus. qu.* translateth it: & *Quintil. l. 6.* termeth it affects, & holds y most proper. *Pliny* only of their ancients, vseth passion for it: but I make doubt that the copy is faulty *li. 20.* the words are, *It helpeth the passions of the belly, being annointed therupō.* *(d)* *Word of word*] as  $\pi\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$  of  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , & *passio* of *passior*, to suffer: *(e)* *A motion*] *Tully* hath it from *Zeno.* *(f)* *No perturbation*

Immortallity worke then mortality.

Tully

*Tully Tusc. quest.* The affections of the body may be inculpable, but not the mindes: all which arise out of the neglect of reason, and therefore are existent onely in men: for that which wee see by accident in beasts, is no perturbation. (g) *Their foolishnesse* ] For wee are ouer-borne with false opinions: and our selues rather worke our affects then receiue them *ab extra*, and as *Seneca* saith, we are euer worse afraide then hurt. The *Stoikes* held all perturbations to haue their source from deprauation of opinion. For desire is an opinion of a future good: and feare an opinion of future euill, sorrow, of present euill, ioy of present good, all which we measuring by the fondnesse of our thoughts, and not by the nature of things, thence it comes that wee are rapt with so many violent thoughts, (b) *Their wretchednesse* ] This is mans miserie, that the very wisest is subiect to sorrow, ioy, and other affects, doe he what he can. (i) *Creatures* ] *Socrates* durst not confesse that these spirits were bad, or wretched: but hee boldly affirms they are neither good nor happy. *Plato. Conuuisio.*

*whether it becomes a man to worship those spirits from whose guilt he should be pure.* CHAP. 17.

**W**Hat fondnesse then, nay what madnesse subiects vs vnto that religion of deuils, when as by the truth of religion we should be saued from participation of their vices? for they are moued with wrath (as *Apuleius* for all his adoring and sparing them affirms): but true religion biddeth vs not to yeeld to wrath, but rather (a) resist it. (b) They are wonne with guifts, wee are forbidden to take bribes of any. They loue honors, we are (c) prohibited all honors affectation. They are haters of some, & louers of some, as their affects transport them: truth teacheth vs to loue all, euen (d) our very enemies. Briefly all the intemperance of minde, (e) passions and perturbations, which the truth affirms of them, it forbiddeth vs. What cause is then, but thine owne lamentable error for thee to humble thy selfe to them in worship, whom thou seekest to oppose in vprightnesse of conuersation? and to adore those thou hatest to imitate, when as all religion teacheth vs to imitate those we adore?

### L. VIVES.

**Abbot A. Agatho.** **R**ather (a) resist ] *Christ* in *Matthewes* Gospels vtterly forbids anger. *Abbot Agatho* said that an angry man could neuer please GOD, though hee should raise the dead to life. (b) *They* ] They take willingly, and begge impudently. *Apollos* oracle did alwayes bid his clients remember him with a guift to make them-selues more fortunate by: yet the craftie deuill desires not their money (he needed not) but their mindes that was his ayme. (c) *Prohibited* ] *Christ* forbids his Apostles to assume the name of Maisters, to sit high at table, or loue salutes in the streetes: and commands that the chiefe should bee but as a minister. For honor arose with Heathenisme, and should fall there-with, and not suruiue in the Church: nor is it magnanimous to affect but to contemne it. (d) *Our very enemies* ] *Mat. 5.44.* *Loue your enemies, blesse them that curse you, &c.* It sufficeth not, to beare them no hate, we must loue them: which is not impossible. For first *Christ* did it, and then *Steuens. Hierom.* (e) *Passions and perturbations* ] or passionate perturbations.

*Of that religion that teacheth, that those spirits must bee mens aduocates to the good gods.* CHAP. 18.

**I**N vaine therefore did *Apuleius* and all of his opinion, honor them so as to place them in the ayre, and because God and man (as *Plato* (a) saith) haue no immediate commerce, these are the carriers of mens prayers to the gods, and their answers to men. For those men thought it vnfit to ioyne the gods with men: but held the spirits fit meanes for both sides, so (b) to take the prayers hence, and bring answers

answers thence: that a chaste man, and one pure from Magicall superstition, might vse them as his patrons, by whome hee might send to the gods that loue such things as if hee forbear to vse it, maketh him farre more fitt to bee heard of good deities: for they loue stage-filth; which chastitie lotheth: they loue all the villanies of witch-crafts which innocence abhorreth. Thus chastity and innocence if they would any thing with God, must make their enemies their intercessors, or else go empty away. He may saue his breath in defence of stage-plaies: *Plato* his highly-admired maister giueth them too sore a blow: if any man bee so shamelesse, as to delight in obscænity him-selfe, and thinke it accepted also of the gods.

## L. VIVES.

**P***lato* (a) saith } In *Socrates* person in his *Coniunium*. *Diotyma* hauing put loue as meane betwixt mortalltie and immortalitie: *Socrates* asked her, *What that loue was?* *Δίονος μίση*, quoth she, the great *Damon*: (*Socrates*) for all those *Damones* are betwixt gods and men. *Socrates* not yet conceiuing her, asked the nature of this *Damon*. He carieth (saith she) messages betweene the gods and men: theirs to vs, ours to them: our prayers, their bounties. Such as this haue the middle place of the vniuerse: thether descend prophecies, thether aimes all ceremoniall artes of the Priests, charmes, *Teleta*, and all the parts of Magicke. And shee addeth; *Θεοί δε ἀνθρώπων ἰμύρωται*, God hath no coniunction with man, but useth these *Damones* in all his commerce with men, sleeping or waking. (b) Take them } *Apuleius* calls them *Saluti-geruli*, health-bearers; and *administri*, ministers: the first in our respect, the second in the gods. *Capella* calls them *Angeli*, messengers, that tell the gods what we doe, and *Praestites*, because their hand is chiefe in all actions.

*Of the wickednesse of arte Magicke, depending on these wicked spirits ministry.* CHAP. 19.

**N**ow will I out of the publike (b) light of all the world, bring ouer-throwes to the artes Magicke, whereof some wicked and some wretched doe make boaste in the deuills name: why if they bee the workes of the god, are they so seuerely punished by the lawes? or haue Christians diuulged these lawes against them with any other intent then to suppress a thing so generally pernicious vnto all man-kinde? what saith that worthy Poet?

*Testor chara deos, & te germana, suumq;  
Dulce caput; Magicas inuitam accingier artes.*

(b) Sister, by heauen, and thee that hearst my vowes,  
I would not vse arte Magick, could I choose.

And that which hee saith else-where.

(c) *Atq; satas alio vidi traducere messes.*  
I saw the witch transport whole fields of corne,

In that these diabolicall artes were reported of power to remooue whole harvests of corne and fruits whether they pleased: was not this (as *Tully* saith) recorded in the xii. tables of *Romes* ancient lawes, and a punishment proclaimed for all such as vsed it? Nay (d) was not *Apuleius* him-selfe brought before Christian Iudges for such practises? If hee had knowne them to be diuine, hee should haue auouched them at his accusation, as congruent with the diuine powers, and haue conuincd the opposite lawes of absurde impietie, in condemning so admirable effects of the deities. For so might hee either haue made the Iudges of his minde, or if they had bene refractarie, and following their vniust lawes put him to death, then the spirits would haue done his soule as good a turne as hee had deserued in dying fearelessly, for the due auouching of their powerfull operations.

Ff

Our

Ancid. 4.

Virg. Aeg.  
log. 8.Apuleius  
accused of  
Magick.

Our martyrs when Christianity was laide to their charge; knowing it was the tract of eternall glory, denied it not to auoide a temporall torment, but auerred it constantly, bore all tortures vndantedly, and dying securely, struck shame vpon the lawes fore-heads that condemned it as vnlawfull. But this *Platonist* wrote a large and eloquent oration (e) now extant, wherein hee purgeth himselfe of all touch of vsing these artes, and sees no meanes to prooue his owne innocence but by denying that which indeed no innocent can commit. But (f) for all these magick miracles, hee rightly condemneth them, as done by the workes and operations of the deuills: wherefore let him looke how hee can iustly giue them diuine honors, as mediators betweene the gods and vs, when he shewes their workes to be wicked: and such indeed as wee must auoyde if wee will haue our prayers come neare to the true God. And then what are the prayers that hee affirmeth they doe beare vnto the gods? Magicall or lawfull? If magicall, the gods will receiue no such prayers: if lawfull, then vse they no such ministers. But if a sinner (chiefly one that hath sinned in Magicke) repent and pray; will they carry vp his prayers, or obtaine his pardon that were the causers of his guilt, and whom hee doth accuse? Or doe these deuills (to obtaine his pardon) first repent them-selues for deceiuing him, and receiue a pardon them-selues also afterward. Nay, none will say so: for they that hope to get pardon by repentance, are farre from being worthy of diuine honors: for if they were desirous of them, and yet penitents also, their pride were to be detested in the first, though their humility were to be pittied in the latter.

## L. VIVES.

Magike los-  
bidden.

**L**ight (a) of the ] Some read law. (b) Sister ] Dido vnto hir sister *Anna*, when *Aeneas* was departed: This *Virgill* grounds vpon the *Romaines* lawes, who for all their superstition, yet condemned Magicke. *Seruius*. (d) *Atq; satas* ] *Virg. Pharmaceute. Plin. l. i 8. Duod. Tab.* Hee that Enchants the corne, &c. and so in diuerse places. *Pliny* saith, that *Veetius Marcellus*, *Nero's* Harbinger had an Oliue-yard in the *Marucine* fields, that remooued quite ouer the high-way, and that the whole farmes went out of their places and seated them-selues elswhere. Magicke (saith *Apuleius*) was forbidden of old by the twelue tables because of the incredible bewitching of the corne: (d) Was not ] So were many, by the *Romaine* lawes: *Apollonius Tyanens* by *Domitian*, and *Apuleius* by *Claud. Maximus* *Præfēt of Africa* not the Christian. (e) Now extant ] His two Apologies concerning Magicke: wherein hee leaueth all his luxurious phraze, and his fustian tearmes, and goeth to it like a plaine lawyer: yet not so well but hee flies out here and there and must bee *Apuleius* still. (f) For all these ] How could men know (saith *Ensebins*) how to call and compell the Deuils, but by the deuills owne teaching them? This *Porphyry* confesseth, and alledgeth *Hecates* prescription how shee should bee called out. *De Orac.*

whether it be credible that good Gods had rather conuerse with those  
spirits then with men. CHAP. 20.

**O** But there is a necessitie bindeth these spirits in this place between the gods and men, to carry & recarry messages & answers from the one to the other. Well, and what necessity? why because no god hath commerce immediatly with man. Very good! Oh (a) that is a glorious holynesse of GOD surely, that conuerseth not with a penitent, humble man, and yet will conuerse with a proud spirit! Hee hath no commerce with a man that flieth from succour to his death, but with a spirit that counterfeits his deity, hee hath: hee medleth not with him that asketh pardō, but with the spirit that imagineth mischief he doth: he dealeth not with a Philosopher y expelleth stage-plays, out of an honest city.

but

he dealeth with a deuill that forceth stage-playes from the priests and Senators, as part of the religion of a citty, he liketh not the mens company that forbid slanders of the gods, but the deuils that delight in them, theirs he liketh of. Hee conuerfeth not with the man that executeth iust lawes vpon Magicians, but with the deuills that teach Magicke, and giue it effect those hee conuerfeth with : nor is ioynd with a man that flieth the example of the deuill, yet ioynes with the deuill that hunteth for the wrack of man : This is likely fure.

## L. VIVES.

**O** *(a) that is a glorious* ] The *Bruges* copie hath a little alteration, transferring [*penitent*] into a following sentence : but the sence is all one : it were curiosity to stand vpon such small trifles.

*whether the gods vse the Deuills as their Messengers, and be willing that they should deceiue them, or ignorant that they do it.*

## CHAP. 21.

**B**Vt there is a great necessity of this so vile an inconuenience, because the *Aethereall* gods, (but that these spirits being vpward) other-wise could not know the affaires of earth : heauen (yee know) being farre from earth, and ayre adioyning to both. O rare wisdom! This is their opinion, that their good gods haue a care of humane businesses, else were they not worth worship, and yet the distance of place debarres them from notice how things passe, but that the spirits helpe them : so there are they necessary : and consequently worship-worthy, as the meanes that the gods haue to know mens cases, and to send them helpe in time : If this then be so, the deuills contiguous body is better knowne to the gods then a mans good minde. O lamentable necessity ! nay ridiculous detestable vanitie, to keepe vanity from diuinitie. If the gods by their freedom from the bodies obstacles, can behold our mindes, what need they any spirits helpe ? And if the gods haue corporall meanes, as sight, speach, motion, or so, in bodies, by which they receiue the spirits messages, then may the spirits lye, and deceiue them also. So that if the deyties be not ignorant of the deuills deceits, no more are they bard the knowledge of our actions. But I would they would tell mee whether the spirits told the gods that *Plato* disliked the slanders that the Poets laide vpon them, and yet concealed that they did like well of them, or concealed all, that the gods neuer knew it : or reuealed all, *Plato's* religious zeale, and their owne vile affection ? or did they suppress *Plato's* opinion that would haue such impious liberty abrogated as by Poetique fables did iniure the gods, and yet shamed not to lay open their owne wickednesse in affecting such playes as contained the gods disgraces : Choose of these foure which they will, and marke the sequell. How vilely they thought of these good gods. If they choose the first, then it is granted that the gods might not conuerse with good *Plato* that restrained their flames, and yet conuerfed with those euill spirits that reioyced at these iniuries of the gods, who could not know a good man being a farre but by these deuills, because they could not know these deuills that were so neare them. If they take the second, and say the spirits concealed both, that the gods should neither know *Plato's* religious lawe, and the deuills sacriligious practise, what vse can the gods haue of these messengers for any knowledge, seeing they could not haue knowledge of the good lawes that honest men promulgated in their honor against



the lust of those vile spirits! If they choose the third and make these spirits both to celebrate *Plato's* prohibition of the gods iniuries, and their owne affectation of their continuance: why were not this rather to ouer-crow them, then to interpret to them? And so should the gods heare and iudge of both these relations, that they neither should casheere these spirits of their seruice, that opposed *Plato* his good zeale, nor forbear to send *Plato* rewards by them, for his honest intent. For so are they placed in the chaine of natures (a) elements, that they may haue the company of those that iniurie them, but not of those that defend them: both they may know, but the states of (b) ayre and earth they cannot alter, nor transmute. Now if they choose the fourth, it is worse then all. For who can endure the deuills should tell the gods how they are abused by players and Poets, and of the height of pleasure themselues take in these shewes, and yet bee silent of *Plato's* graue decree that abrogated all such obscenities? that so the good gods might haue intelligence of the wickednesse of the worst: their owne messengers; and yet none of the Philosophers goodnesse, that aymed all at their honor whereas the other professed their extreame disgrace.

## L. VIVES.

The elements chained.

**T**He (a) chaine of } for the elements are chained together as it were: the lower to the higher, so coherent, that the parts contiguous seeme both of one nature & so it is in the spherés that are all contained one within another. (b) *Ayre and earth* That we can neither ascend (not in thought) vnto them, nor they descend to vs, to heare and helpe vs without interpretours.

*The renouncing of the worship of those spirits against Apuleius.*

## CHAP. 22.

The deuills habitation.

**T**O auoyde therefore all euill thoughts concerning the gods, all the fouré are to be auoyded: nor must we at all beleue what *Apuleius* would haue vs, and others with him, that the *Demonés* are so placed betweene the gods and men, that they beare vp mens prayers, and bring downe the gods helpe: but that they are spirits most thirstie of mischiefe, wholly vniust, proud, enuious, treacherous, (a) inhabiting the ayre in deed, as thrust out of the glorious heauen for their unpardonable guilt, and condemned eternally to that prison. Nor are they aboue man in merite because ayre is aboue earth, for men doe easily excell them, not in quality of body, but in the faith and fauour of the true God. Indeed they rule ouer many that are not worthy of the perticipation of gods truth: such are their subiects, wonne to them by false myracles, and by illusions perswading them that they are gods. But others that looked more narrowly into them and their qualities, would not beleue this that they were gods, onely they gott this place in their opinion, to be held the gods messengers, and bringers of mens good fortunes. Yet those that held them not gods, would not giue them the honor of gods because they saw them euill, and held all gods to be good: yet durst they not denie them all diuine honors, for feare of offending the people, whose inueterate superstition preferued them in so many temples, altars, and sacrifices.

## L. VIVES.

**I**nhabiting (a) the ayre, ] The olde writers placed all their fable of hell in the ayre: and there was *Summanus*, *Proserpina*, the *Mánes*, and the *Furies*. *Capella*, *Chalcidius* saith, the ayre was iustly called *ánthos*, darke: *Peter* also and *Iude* affirme that the deuills are bound in darknesse in the ayre, & some in the lowest parts of the earth. *Empedocles* in *Plutarch* saith,

faith that Heauen reiected them, earth expels them, the sea cannot abide them, thus are they tortured by being tossed from place to place.

Hermes Trismegistus *his opinion of Idolatrie, and how he might come to know that the Egiptian superstitions were to be abrogated.* CHAP. 23.

**F**OR *Hermes* (a) the Egiptian, called *Trismegistus*, wrote contrary to these. *Asclepius* indeed holds them no gods: but middle agents betweene gods and men, that being so necessary, he conioynes their adoration with the diuine worship. But *Trismegistus* saith, that the high God made some gods, and men other some. These words as I write them, may bee vnderstood of Images, because they are the workes of men. But he calleth visible and palpable bodies, the bodies of the gods: wherein are spirits (inited in thereto) that haue power to hurt or pleasure such as giue them diuine honors. So then, to combine such a spirit inuifible, by arts vnto a visible image of some certaine substance, which it must vse as the soule doth the body, this is, to make a god, saith hee, and this wonderfull power of making gods, is in the hands of man. His (b) words are these: *And whereas our discourse (saith he) concernes the affinitie betweene gods and men, marke (Asclepius) this power of man: Our God the Lord and Father, is the creator of the celestiall gods, so is man of the terrestriall, which are in the temples. And a little after: So doth humanity remember the originall, and euer striueth to imitate the deity: making gods like the owne Image, as God the father hath done like his. Do you meane statues replied Asclepius? statues, quoth he: doe you not see them animate full of spirits and sence, (d) (trust your eyes) doing such wonders? see you not statues that presage future euent (farre perhaps (e) beyond all propheticall inspiration to fore-tell) that cure diseases and cause them, giuing men mirth or sadnesse, as they deserue? Know you not (Asclepius) that Egipt is heauens image, or rather the place whereinto all the celestiall graces descend, the very temple of the whole world. And since wisdom should fore-know all, I would not haue you ignorant herein. The time shall come that all the zeale of Egipt shall be abrogated, and all the religious obseruations held idle and vaine.* Then goeth hee forward, prophesying (by all likelyhood) of christianity, whose true sanctitie is the vtter subuersion of all fictions and superstitions: that the Sauours true grace might free vs from those humaine gods, those handy-workes of man, and place vs in gods seruice, mans maker. But *Hermes* presageth these things as the deuills confederate, suppressing the euidence of the Christian name, and yet fore-telling with a sorrowfull intimation, that from it should proceed the wracke of all their Idolatrous superstitions: for *Hermes* was one of those, who (as the Apostle saith) *Knowing GOD, glorified him not as GOD, nor were thankfull, but became vaine in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was full of darknesse: when they professed them-selues wise, they became fooles. For they turned the glory of the incorruptible God into the similitude of the Image of a corruptible man, and byrdes, and foore-footed beasts, and Serpents (f) For this, Hermes saith much of God according to truth; But how blindness of heart drawes him to affirme this, I know not, that these gods should bee alwayes subiect, whome man hath made: and yet to bewaile their abrogations to come. As if man could bee more miserable any way, then in liuing slaue to his owne handy-worke: (g) it being easier for him to put off all humanitie in adoring these peeces hee hath made, then for them to put on deity by being made by him. For it comes oftener to passe that a man being set in honor, be not vnderstood to bee like to the beasts, then that his handy-worke*

Rom 1.21,  
22.23.

should bee preferred before the worke that God made like his owne Image, to wit, mans selfe. Worthily then doth hee fall from his grace that made him, that maketh that his Lord which he hath made himselfe. Those vaine, deceitfull, pernicious sacriledges, *Hermes* foreseeing should perishe, deploreth, but as impudently as hee had knowne it foolishly. For the spirit of GOD had not spoken to him as it did to the Prophets, that spokethis with gladnesse. *If a man make gods, behold they are no gods*: and in another place: *At that day (saith the LORD) I will take the names of their Idols from the earth, and there shall be no remembrance thereof.* And to the purpose, of Egypt heare *Isaas*. *The idols of Egypt shall be moued at his presence, and the heart of Egypt shall melt in the midst of her, and so forward.* Such were they also that reioyced for the fulfilling (*h*) of that which they knew should come to passe: as *Simeon*, *Anna* and *Elizabeth*, the first knowing Christ at his birth, the second at his conception: and (*i*) *Peter*, that by Gods inspiration sayd *Thou art that Christ the Sonne of the living GOD*. But *Hermes* had his knowledge from those deuills, that trembling in the flesh sayd to *Christ*: *why art thou come to vndo vs before the time*: Either (*k*) because that came suddenly vpon them which they expected not vntill afterwards, or that they called it their vndoing to bee knowne, and so despised: and this was before the time, that is, the iudgement wherein they, and all men their sectaries are to bee cast into eternall torments: as that (*l*) truth saith, that neither deceiueth nor is deceiued; not as hee saith that following the puffes of Philosophy flies here and there, mixing truth and falshood, greewing at the ouerthrow of that religion which afterwards hee affirms is all error.

Icy 19. I  
I. uc. I.  
Luc. I.  
Mat. 16. 16  
Mat. 8. 29

### L. VIVE S.

**H**ermes (*a*) ] Of him by and by. (*b*) *His words* ] We haue seene of his bookes, greeke and latine This is out of his *Asclepius*, translated by *Apuleius*. (*c*) *So doth humanity* ] So humanity adapting it selfe to the nature and originall (saith *Hermes* his booke) (*d*) *Trust* ] So hath *Hermes* it: *Bruges* copy hath. *Mistrust* not your selfe. (*e*) *Beyond* ] *Apuleius* and the *Coleine* copy haue it both in this maner, onely *Mirth*, the *Coleynists* haue more then he. (*f*) For *Hermes* ] I would haue cited some of his places, but his bookes are common, and so it is needeleffe. (*g*) *It being easer* ] A diuersity of reading, but of no moment, nor alteration of sence. (*h*) *Of that which* ] Reioycing that *Christ* is come, whom the law and Prophets had promised. So *Iohn* bad his disciples aske, *art thou he that should come or shall wee looke for an other?* (*i*) *Peter* ] This confession is the Churches corner stone, neuer decaying, to belecue and affirme THAT IESVS IS CHRIST THE SONNE OF THE LIVING GOD. This is no Philosophicall reuelation, no inuention, no quirke, no worldly wisdome, but reuealed by GOD the father of all to such as hee doth loue, and vouchsafe it. (*k*) *Because* ] Hee sheweth why the deuills thought that *Christ* vndid them before the time. (*l*) *Truth* ] *Mat. 25. 41. Depart from mee ye cursed into everlasting fire which is prepared for the deuill and his angells.*

*How Hermes openly confessed his progenitors error, and yet bewayled the destruction of it.* CHAP. 24.

**F**OR after much discourse, hee comes againe to speake of the gods men made: but of these sufficient (saith hee): let vs returne againe to man, & to reason, by which diuine giuft man hath the name of reasonable. For we haue yet spoken no wonderfull thing of man: the (*a*) wonder of all wonders is that man could finde out the diuine nature, and giue it effect. Wherefore our fathers erring exceedingly in increduliry (*b*) concerning the deities, and neuer penetrating into the depth of diuine religiō, they inuēted an art, to make gods, whervnto they ioyned a vertue

a vertue out of some part of the worlds nature, like to the other: and conioyning these two, because they could make no soules, they framed certaine Images whereinto they called either Angells, or deuills, and so by these mysteries gaue these Idols power to hurt or helpe them. I know not whether the deuills being admired would say asmuch as this man saith. Our fathers exceedingly erring (saith he) in incredulity concerning the deities, & not penetrating into the depth of diuine religion, inuented an arte to make gods. Was hee content to say they but erred, in this inuention? no, he addeth. *Exceedingly*, thus this exceeding error and incredulity of those that looked not into matters diuine, gaue life to this inuention of making gods. And yet though it were so, though this was but an inuention of error, incredulity, and irreligiousnes, yet this wise man lamenteth that future times should abolish it. Marke now whether Gods power compell him to confesse his progenitors error, & the diuills to bee made the future wrack of the said error. If it were their exceeding error, incredulity & negligence in matters diuine that giue first life to this god-making inuention, what wonder if this arte bee detestable, and all that it did against the truth cast out from the truth, this truth correcting that errour, this faith that incredulity, this conuersion that neglect? If he conceale the cause, and yet confesse that rite to be their inuention, we (if we haue any wit) cannot but gather that had they bin in the right way, they would neuer haue fallen to that folly: had they either thought worthily, or meditated seriously of religion yet should wee see a firme that their great, incredulous, contemptuous error in the cause of diuinity, was the cause of this inuention, wee should neuertheless stand in need to prepare our selues to endure the impudence of the truths obstinate opponets. But since he that admires the power of this art aboue all other things in man, and grieues that the time should come wherein all those illusions should claspe with ruine, through the power of legall authority: since he confesseth the causes that gaue this art first original, namely the exceeding error, incredulity & negligēce of his ancestor in matters diuine: what should wee doe but thinke GOD hath ouerthrowne these institutions by their iust contrary causes? that which errors multitude ordained, hath truths tract abolished: faith hath subuerted the worke of incredulity, and conuersion vnto Gods truth hath suppressed the effects of true Gods neglect: not in Egypt only, (where onely the diabolicall spirit bewaileth) but in all the world, which heareth a new song sung vnto the Lord, as the holy scripture saith. *Sing vnto the Lord a new song: Sing vnto the Lord, all the earth:* for the (c) title of this Psalm is, when the house was built after the captiuity: the City of God, the Lords house is built, that is the holy Church all the earth ouer: after captiuity wherein the deuills held those men slaues, who after by their faith in God became principall stones in the building: for mans making of these gods, did not acquit him from being slaue to these works of his, but by his willing worship he was drawn into their society: a society of furtle diuills, not of stupid Idols: for what are Idols but as the Scripture saith, haue eyes and see not, & all the other properties that may be said of a dead senselesse Image, how well soeuer carued. But the vnclane spirits, therein by that truly black art, bound their soules that adored the, in their society, & most horrid captiuity: therefore saith the Apostle: *we know that an Idol is nothing in the world: But the Gentiles offer to deuills & not vnto God: I wil not haue them to haue society with the deuils.* So then after this captiuity that bound men slaue to the deuills, Gods house began to be built through the earth: thence had the Psalm the beginning. *Sing vnto the Lord a new song: sing vnto the Lord, all the earth. Sing vnto the Lord and*

Spirits and  
deuills cal-  
led into I-  
mage.

Psal. 96.1

Col. 1. 8. 4

praise his name (d) declare his saluation (e) from day to day. Declare his glorie amongst all nations, and his wonders amongst all people. For the Lord is great and much to be praised: hee is to be feared aboue all gods. For all the gods of the people are Idols, but the Lord made the heauens. Hee then that bewailed the abolishment of these Idols in the time to come, and of the flauery wherein the deuills held men captiue, did it out of an euill spirits inspiration, and from that did desire the continuance of that captiuitie which beeing disannulled, the Psalmist sung that gods house was built vp through the earth. *Hermes* presaged it with teares; the Prophet with ioy, and because that spirit that the Prophet spake by is euer victor: *Hermes* himselfe that bewailed their future ruine, and wisht their eternity is by a strange power compelled to confesse their original from error, incredulity and contempt of GOD, not from prudence, faith, and deuotion. And though he call them gods, that in saying yet men did make them (and such men as wee should not imitate) what doth he (despite his heart) but teach vs that they are not to be worshiped of such men, as are not like thē that made them: namely of those that be wise, faithful, and religious: shewing also that those men that made them, bound themselues to adore such gods as were no gods at al. So true is that of the Prophet: *If a man make gods, behold, they are no gods*. Now *Hermes* in calling those gods that are made by such meanes, that is, deuills bound in Idols, by an arte, or rather, by their owne elections, and affirming them the handy-workes of men, giueth them not so much as *Apuleius* the *Platonist* doth (but wee haue shewne already how grosely and absurdly) who maketh them the messengers betweene the gods, that God made, and the men that hee made also: to carry vp praiers and bring downe benefites: for it were fondnesse to thinke that a god of mans making could doe more with the gods of Gods making then a man whom he made also could. For because a deuill bound in a statue by this damned arte, is made a god: not to each man, but to his binder (g) such as he is. Is not this a sweete god now, whome none but an erroneous, incredulous, irreligious man would goe about to make? furthermore if the Temple-deuills, beeing bound by arte (forsooth) in those Idols by them that made them gods at such time as they themselues were wanderers, vnbelecuers, and contemners of gods true religion, are no messengers, betweene the gods and them; and if by reason of their damnable conditions, those men that do so wander, belecue so little, and despise religion so much, be neuertheless their betters, as they must needs bee, beeing their god-heads makers: then remaineth but this, that which they doe, they doe as deuills onely, either doing good, for the more mischiefe, as most deceitfull, or doing open mischiefe: yet neither of these can they doe without the high inscrutable prouidence of God: nothing is in their power as they are the gods friends, and messenger to and from men: for such they are not: for the good diuine powers, whom wee call the holy angells, and the reasonable creature inhabiting heauen, whether they be *Thrones, Dominations, Principalities, or Powers*, can hold no frindship at all with these spirits: from whom they differ as much in affection as vertue differeth from vice, or (b) malice from goodnesse.

How man  
doth make  
the deuill  
god.

The deuills  
benefites  
hurtfull.

### L. VIVES.

**T**HE wonder (a) ] There also hee calleth man a great miracle, a venerable, honorable creature. (b) [concerning the] Or, against the deities. (c) The title] The greeke saith: *A praying song of Dauid*, that, the house was built after the captiuitie. *Hieromes* translation from the Hebrew

Hebrew hath no title, and therefore the Greekes call it ἀντίγραφον, Vntitled. (d) *Declare*] ἀγγαλιισθη, and afterwards ἀγγαλιισται, *Annunciate*, declare, tell. (e) *From day*] A Greeke phraise ἡμέρας ἐξ ἡμερας. (f) *An arte*] *Porphyry* saith the gods doe not only afford men their familiar company but shew them what allureth them, what bindeth them, what they loue, which daies to auoide, which to obserue, and what formes to make them, as *Hecate* shewes in the Oracle, saying, shee cannot neglect a statue of brasse, gold or siluer: and shewes further, the vse of worm-wood, a Mouses blood, Mirrh, Frankincense, and stirax. (g) *Such as he*] An euill man, for such an one *Hermes* describes. (h) *Malice*] Malice is here vsed for all euill: as the Greekes vse κακία, but *Tully* saith he had rather interpretε κακία, by vice; then by malice: for malice is a *Species* of vice, opposite to honest simplicity, and mother to all fraude and deceit.

De Philo-  
soph. Orac.

Malice.

*Of such things as may be common to Angells and Men.* CHAP. 25.

**V**Wherefore the deuills are no means for man to receiue the gods benefits by, or rather good Angells: but it is our good wills, imitating theirs, making vs liue in one community with them and in honor of that one God that they honor (though we see not them with our earthly eyes) that is the meanes to their society: and whereas our miserable frailty of will, and infirmity of spirit doth effect a difference betweene them and vs, therein wee are farre short of them, in merit of life not in habite of body. It is not our earthly, bodily habitation, but our vn-cleane carnall affection, that causeth separation between them and vs. But when we are purified, we become as they: drawing neare them neuertheless before, by our faith, if we beleue that (by their good fauours also) he that blessed them, will make vs also blessed.

*That all Paganisme was fully contained in dead men.* CHAP. 26.

**B**ut marke what *Hermes* in his bewaying of the expulsion of those Idols out of Egypt, which had such an erroneous incredulity & irreligious institutors, saith amongst the rest, then (saith he) *that holy seate of temples shall become a sepulcher of dead bodies.* As if men should not die vnlesse these things were demolished, or being dead, should be buried any where saue in the earth? Truly the more time that passeth, the more carcasses shal stil be buried & more graues made. But this (it seemes) is his grieffe, that the memories of our Martires should haue place in their Temples: that the mis-vnderstanding reader hereof might imagine that the Pagans worshiped gods in the Temples, and wee, dead men in their tombes. For mens blindness doth so carry them head-long against (a) Mountaines letting them not see till they bee struck, that they doe not consider that in all paganisme, there cannot bee a god found but hath bin a man: but on will they, and (b) honor them as eternally pure from all humanity. Let *Varro* passe, that said, *all that lied were held gods infernall*, (c) proouing it by the sacrifices done at all burials, (d) there also he reckneth the (e) funerall plaies, as the greatest token of their diuinity, plaies beeing neuer presented but to the gods. *Hermes* him-selfe (now mentioned) in his deplorative presage, saying: *Then that holy seate of Temples shall become a sepulcher of dead bodies*, doth plainly auerre, that the *Egyptian* gods were all dead men: for hauing said that his fathers in their exceeding error, incredulity and neglect of religion, had found a meane to make gods; herevnto (saith he) they added a vertue out of some part of the worlds nature, and conioyning these two, because they could make no soules, they framed certaine Images, into which they called either Angells or deuills, and so by these misteries gaue those Idols power to hurt or helpe them.

The Mar-  
tires me-  
mories suc-  
ceeded the  
Idols.

Then

Mercuries  
tombe.

Then hee proceedes to examples. *Thy(e) grandfather (Asclepius) saith he the first inuenter of Phisicke, hath a temple (f) on mount Lybia, neare the (g) Cracodile shore: there lyeth his worldly man, his body, but his residue or his whole (if man be whole life) is gone vp to heauen, helping all sicke persons now by his deity as hee did before by his Phisicke.* Lo heare hee confesseth a dead man worshipped for a god, there where his graue was: erring, and making others erre, in saying, *that hee was ascended to heauen, and helpeth all sicke persons by his deity.* Nay hee proceedes to another. *My grandfather (h) Hermes (saith hee) lying in the towne of (i) his Sur-name, doth hee not assist and preserue all that implore his helpe,* This was *Hermes* the elder *Mercury*, buried (they say) in *Hermopolis*, the towne of his surname. Behold now, here are two men gods already, *Esculapius* and *Mercury (k)* for the first, the opinion both of Greekes and Latines confirme it. But the (l) second many thinke was neuer mortall: yet hee saith here, *that hee was his grandfather, for (m) this is one and that another though both haue one name.* But this I stand not vpon: he and *Esculapius* were both made gods of men, by this great testimony of his nephew (n) *Trismegistus*, who proceedes, and sayth (o) *Isis, the wife of Osiris doth much good (wee see) being pleased, and being offended, much euill.* And then to shew that these are of that kind of gods that men make by this art, hee giueth vs to vnderstand, that he thinks those diuells to be soules of dead men, which he saith those erring, incredulous irreligious fellowes called by art into statues: because these could make no soules: & when he hath spoken that of *Isis, being offended, much hurt*, he addeth: for earthly and worldly gods are soone offended, and moued to anger by reason they consist (p) of men, in both their natures: Both their natures, (saith he) taking the deuill for the soule and the image for the body, wherevpon it came to passe (saith hee) that such and such creatures became holy in Egypt, and their soules were (q) adored in al the citties, that consecrated them in their liues, so far that they haue part of their worship assigned them, and are called by their names. Where is now that sad complaint that Egypt the seat of temples should become a graue for carcasses? see, the false spirit that made *Hermes* speake it, made him also confesse that it was already filled with their carcasses whome they held as gods. But in his complaint hee was but the vent of the deuills woe, because their eternall plagues were in preparing by the martyres holy memories, for in such places are they often tormented, and forced to confesse themselues, and to auoyde the bodies possessed.

### L. VIVES.

The Necia  
plaies.

**A**gainst. (a) *Mountaines.* And such things as all men else could see and shunne. (b) *Honor them.* A diuersity of reading: the old bookes haue the sentence shorter, but the sence is not altered at all. (c) *Prouing it.* The *Necia* (saith *Tully*) or funeral sports, should not bee called feasts as well as the other gods holy daies are, but that men would haue their dead ancestors accounted as gods, *De leg. lib. 2.* (d) *Funerall.* Wherein were comedies acted. *Terrences Adelpus* was acted at *Paulus Emilius* his funeralls. *P. Corn. Scipio*, and *Q. Fabius* (two of his sons) being Ediles. They had also sword-plaies: brought in by *M. and D. Iunius Brutus*, his sonnes at their fathers funeralls. *App. Claud. Caudax*, and *M. Fuluius* being Consulls. They fought in the beast market. *Lin. lib. 11. Valer. lib. 2. Anson. in Gryph.*

*Tres primas Thracum pugnas, tribus ordine sellis*

*Iuniada Patri inferias misere sepulcro.*

Three chaires three fights, wherein the Thracians traue,  
Attended *Iunius Brutus* to his graue.

They

They had also a banquet and a dole. (e) Grandfather (*Aesclepius*).] *Aesclepius* in greeke is *Aesculapius* to this *Aesclepius*, *Augustine* makes the Phisitition *Aesculapius* grand-father, which of *Tully* his 3. *Aesculapii* this was, I know not: one of them (they say) was thunderstrucke, and buried at *Cynosura* in *Acchasia*, Another neare the riuer *Lusius* in *Arcadia*, the third was the second *Mercuries* brother, sonne to *Valens* and *Pheronis*, and him the *Arcadians* haue in much honor. *Tacitus* saith *Osiris* was called *Aesculapius*: it may be this. It is liker that *Hermes* speaketh of him, then any other. (f) *Mount Libia*.] It runnes along from the lowest part of Egypt vnto *Cinopolis*, *Ptolomy* takes it for many mountaines, & calles it the *Libian* coast. (g) *Crocodile*] A serpent that laies eges, foure-footed, growing to seauenteene cubites length, or more: hee moueth his vpper chappe, and so doth no creature liuing besides him: deuoueth man and beast, and liues part in the water and part on the dry-land. *Herodor. Arist. & Plin. Senec.* saith that it feareth one couragious, and insulteth ouer one that feares it. The *Crocodile* citty is in the heart of Egypt neare to the *Libian* Mountaine not farre from *Ptolemais*, in the end of the sixt Parallel of the third climat, The *Egyptians* saith *Porphyry* worshipped a *Crocodile*, becauic he was consecrated to the Sunne as the *Ram*, the *Buzzard*, and the *blacke beetle*. (h) *Hermes*.] *Cicero* reckneth siue of them, two the *Egyptians* worshipped: the first *Nilus* his sonne, whome it was sacrilege to name: second hee that killed *Argus*, was *Egyptes* king, taught them letters and lawes, him they call *Theut*, after their first moneth. *Enseb. lib. 1.* saith that the *Phanician* theologians held *Trismegistus* to be *Saturnes* secretary, *Calus* his sonnes, and that hee vsed his helpe in defending his mother, giuing him at his going into the South, all Egypt. *Dionisius* saith he was counsellor to *Isis* and *Osiris*: and *Osiris* going forth to warre, left him at home to direct his wife *Isis*: that hee was of singular prudence, and taught the world much knowledge in artes and sciences. This (I thinke) was ground-father to this *Hermes* that wrot thus: and that hee was called *Theut*, the *Demon* (as *Plato* saith in his *Phad.*) that inuented *Mathematiques*, letters, and dice, and taught them to *Thamus* King of Egypt afterward called *Hammon*. (f) *Towne of his surname*.] *Hermopolis*, a great city in Egipt, A marke (saith *Ptolomy*) to those that trauell from the West of *Nile* vnto our sea: beyond *Crocodilopolis*: in the seauenth Parallel the therd climate. (k) *For the first*.] For hee is but held a semigod, died for his merits, as *Hercules*, *Bacchus*, and *Romulus*, were, *Theodoretus* saith that in *Homers* time he was held no God: for hee maketh *Peon* cure *Mars*, not *Aesculapius*, And speaking of *Machaon*, he calles him the Sonne of *Aesculapius* an absolute Phisitian, (l) *Second, many*.] He is one of the perpetuall Gods counsellours (m). *This is one*.] The famous *Mercury* was sonne to *Ioue* and *Masia*, *Atlas* his Grand-child, for there were two other as I said, *Egyptians*, and two more, one the Sonne of *Calus* and *Dies*, the other, of *Valens* and *Pboronis*: the first they picture with Erected priuities for hauing beheld *Proserpina*: the later, the *Lebadians* worshipped in a caue, and cal him *Trophonius*. (n) *Trismegistus*,] As the French say trespuissant, and we, thrice mighty. But the latter wrot not *Trismegistus*, but his grand-father did: yet both were called *Hermes Trismegistus*. The first, *Theut*, was a great king, a great Priest & a Philosopher. Thus it pleaseth some to describe his greatnesse. (o) *Isis*.] *Isis* & *Osiris* do much good (saith *Hermes* his booke). (p) *In both their natures*.] *Hermes* had it without nature: extra naturam. (q) *Adored*.] The *Egyptians* had innumerable things to their gods. Garlike and Onions, by which they swore as *Pliny* saith: and many creatures, after whome they named their citties, *Crocodilopolis*, *Lycopolis*, *Leontopolis*, and *Latopolis*. vpon the crocodile, the wolfe, the lion and the place-fish: So *Apis* first instituting the adoration of the Oxe, was adored himselfe in an oxes shape, *Mercury* in a dogs, *Isis* in a cowes, *Diodorus* write: h that their leaders wore such crests on their helmets, *Anubis* a dog, *Alexander* the great a wolfe. &c. whence the reuerence of those creatures first arose, and there vpon those Princes being dead, they ordained them diuine worships in those shapes. This is that which *Mercury* saith, their soules were adored that in their liues had ordayned honor to those creatures, as indeed the Princes wearing them on their helmes and sheelds, made them venerable, and respected: and the simple people thought that much of their victories came from them, and so set them vp as deities.

Of the Honor that Christians giue to the Martirs. CHAP. 27.

YET we erect no temples alters nor sacrifices to the martirs, because not they, but their god is our God, wee honor their memories, as Gods Saints standing



ding till death for the truth, that the true religion might be propagated, and all Idolatry demolished: whereas if any others had beleued right before them, yet feare forbad them confesse it. And who hath euer heard the Priest at the altar, that was built vp in gods honor, and the martires memories, say ouer the body, I offer vnto thee *Peter* or vnto thee *Paul*, or (a) *Cyprian*? hee offers to God, in the places of their memorialls, whome God had made men, and martirs, and aduanced them into the society of his Angells in heauen, that wee at that solemnity may both giue thanks to God for their victories, and bee encouraged to endeour the attainment of such crownes and glories as they haue already attained: still inuocating him at their memorialls: wherefore all the religious performances done there, at the martires sollempnities, are ornaments of their memories, but no sacrifices to the dead, as vnto gods, and (b) those that bring banquets thether, which notwithstanding the better Christians do not, nor is this custome obserued in most places, yet, such as do so, setting them downe, praying ouer them, and so taking them away to eate, or bestow on those that neede: all this they do onely with a desire that these meates might be sanctified, by the martirs, in the god of martirs name. But hee that knoweth the onely sacrifices that the Christians offer to God, (c) knoweth also that these are no sacrifices to the Martires: wherefore we neither worshippe our Martires with Gods honors nor mens crimes, neither offer them sacrifices nor turne their (d) disgraces into any religion of theirs; As for *Isis Osiris* his wife, and the *Ægyptian* goddesse and her parents, that haue beene recorded to haue beene all mortall, to whome she sacrificing (e) found three graines of barley, and shewed it vnto her husband and *Hermes* her counsellour: and so they will haue her to be *Ceres* also, what grosse absurdities are hereof recorded, not by Potes, but their own Priests (as *Leon* shewed to *Alexander* and he to his mother *Olimpia*) let them read that list, and remember that haue read: and then but consider, vnto what dead persones and dead persons workes their diuineſt honors were exhibited. God forbid they should in the least respect compare them with our Martirs, whome neuertheless we account no gods wee make no priests to sacrifice vnto them, it is vnlawfull, vndecent, and Gods proper due: neither do wee please them with their owne crimes, or obscæne spectacles: whereas they celebrate both the guilt that there gods incurred who were men, and the fayned pleasures of such of them as were flat deuills. If *Socrates* had had a god, he should not haue bin of this sort: But such perhaps as loued to excell in this damnable art of making gods, thrust such an one vpon him being an inocent honest man, and vnskillfull in this their pernicious practise. What need wee more? none that hath his wits about him will now hold that these spirits are to be adored for the attainment of eternall blisse in the life to come. Perhaps they will say that all the gods are good, but, of these spirits some are good and some badde: and that by those that are good wee may come to eternity, and therefore ought to adore them: well, to rip vp this question, the next booke shall serue the turne.

## L. VIVES.

*Cyprian.* **O**R. (a) *Cyprian.*] Bishoppe of Carthage, most learned, as wittnesse his holy works. Hee receiued the crowne of Martirdome vnder *Valerian*, so *Pontius* his Deacon writeth. (b) *Those.*] A great custome in Afrike. *Aug. confess. lib. 6.* where he saith that his mother at Millaine was teatls, did bring potage, and bread and wine to the Martirs shrines, and gaue them to the porter: But  
*Ambrose*

*Ambrose* forbade her, both for that it might be an occasion of gluttony, and for the resemblance it had with paganism. (c) *Knoweth also.* Many Christians offend in not distinguishing between their worship of God and the Saints: nor doth their opinion of the Saints want much of that the Pagans beleued of their gods, yet impious was *Vigilantius* to bar the Martyrs all honor, and fond was *Eunomius* to forbear the Churches lest hee should be compelled to adore the dead. The Martyres are to be reuerenced, but not adored, as god is. *Hieron contra vigilant.* (d) *Disgraces* [But now, euen at the celebration of Christs passion and our redemption, it is a custome to present plaies almost as vile as the old stage-games: should I be silent the very absurdity of such shewes in so reuerend a matter, would condemne it sufficiently. There *Iudas* plaie the most ridiculous *Mimike*, euen then when he betraies Christ. There the *Apostles* run away, and the soldiours follow, and all resounds with laughter. Then comes *Peter*, and cuttes off *Malchus* eare, and then all rings with applause, as if *Christs* betraying were now reuenged. And by and by this great fighter comes and for feare of a girle, denies his Maister, all the people laughing at her question, and hissing at his deniall: and in all these reuels and ridiculous stirres Christ onely is serious and seuer: but seeking to moue passion and sorrow in the audience, hee is so farre from that, that hee is cold euen in the diuine matters: to the great guilt, shame, and sinne both of the priests that present this, and the people that behold it. But wee may perhaps finde a fitter place for this thame] (e) *Found the graine of this barley*] And wheate also saith *Diodor lib. 1.* and therevpon some Citties present them both in her ceremonies. But *Osiris* her husband first obserued their profit, and taught the world it, chiefly barley that maketh ale in such countries as want wine: and is now vsed in the North parts. But they made meate of it in old time. *Plin. lib. 18.* out of an Athenian ceremony that *Menander* reporteth; prouing it of elder inuention then wheate. For had they found wheate sooner (saith *Pliny*) barley would haue bin out of request for bread, as it was presently vpon the finding of wheate, thence-forth becoming meate for beasts.

Martyres  
not to be  
adored.

Plaies of  
the passion  
of Iesus  
Christ, was  
lawfull.

The Lou-  
nists want

Isis, Ceres,

Wheate  
put barley  
out of cre-  
dit.

Finis lib. 8.

G g

THE

## THE CONTENTS OF THE ninth booke of the City of God.

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3. *What qualities Apuleius ascribeth vnto the diuells, to whom he giueth reason but no vertue.*
4. *The opinions of the Stoikes and Peripatetiques concerning perturbations of the minde.*
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*Mens.*

12. *How the diuills if they be neither blessed with the Gods, nor wretched with Men, may be in the meane betwixt both without participation of either.*
14. *Whether mortall men may attaine true happinesse.*
15. *Of the mediator of God and Man, the Man Christ Iesus.*
16. *Whether it bee probable that the Platonists say, that the gods auoiding earthly contagion haue no commerce with men, but by the meanes of the ayry spirits.*
17. *That vnto that beatitude that consisteth in participation of the chiefest good, wee must haue onely such a Mediator as Christ, no such as the deuill.*
18. *That the diuills vnder collour of their intercession, seeke but to draw vs from God.*
19. *That the word Dæmon is not vsed at now of any Idolater in a good sence.*
20. *Of the quality of the diuills knowledge, whereof they are so proud.*
21. *In what manner the Lord would make himselfe knowne to the diuills.*
22. *The difference of the holy Angells knowledge, and the diuills.*
23. *That the Pagan Idols are falsely called gods, yet the scripture allowes it to Saints and Angells.*

## FINIS.

## THE

# THE NINTH BOOKE OF THE CITTIE OF GOD:

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishop of *Hippo*,  
vnto *Marcellinus*.

*The scope of the afore-passed disputation, and what is remaining  
to treat of.* CHAP. I.



**I**N these controuersies of the gods, some haue held deities of both natures, good and euill: others (of better mindes) did the gods that honor to hold the all good. But those (a) that held the first, held the ayery spirits to be gods also, and called them gods, as they called the gods, spirits, but not so ordinarily. Indeed they confesse that *Ioue* the Prince of all the rest was by *Homer* (b) called a *Demon*. But such as affirmed all the gods were good ones, and farre better then the best men, are iustly moued by the artes of the ayry spirits, to hold firmly that the gods could doe no such matters, and therefore of force there must bee a difference betweene them and these spirits: and that what euer displeasent affect, or bad act they see caused, wherein these spirits doe shew their secret power, that they hold is the diuills worke, and not the gods. But yet because they place these spirits as mediators betweene their gods and men (as if God and Man had no other meanes of commerce) to carry and recarry praies & benefits from the one to the other, this beeing the opinion of the most excellent Philosophers the *Platonists*, with whom I choose to discusse this question, whether the adoration of many gods be helpfull to eternall felicity? In the last booke we disputed how the deuils (delighting in that which all wise and honest men abhorre, as in the foule, enormous, irreligious fictions of the gods crimes (not mens) and in the damnable practise of Magike) can be so much nearer to the gods, that men must make them the meanes to attaine their fauors: and wee found it vtterly impossible. So now this booke (as I promised in the end of the other) must not concerne the difference of the gods betwixt themselues (if they make any such) nor the difference of the gods and spirits (the one beeing farre distant from men (as they say) and the other in the midst betweene the gods and men) but of the difference of these spirits amongst themselues. This is the present question.

## L. VIVES.

**T**Hese (a) that held] *Plato* held all the gods to bee good, but the *Demon*es, to bee neither good not euill, but neuters. But *Hermes* hath his good angells and his bad. And *Porphery* hath his helpfull *Demon*es, and his hurtfull: as some of the *Platonists* hold also. (b) *Homer* called] *Plutarck* (*de defect. Oracul.*) saith that *Homer* confounded the deities and *Demon*es together, vsing both names promiscually: Hee calls *Ioue* a *Demon*: which word as one interpreteth it, is sometimes vsed for good, and sometimes bad. And *Iliad. 1.* hee saith, *Ioue* with the other *demon*es, calling all the gods by that name: vpon which place his interpretor saith: Hee calleth them *Demon*es either for their experience, wisdome, or gouernment of man. So saith *Iulius Pollux*: *Homer* called the Gods, *Demon*es, and *Plato* calleth the worlds Architect the great *Demon*:  
In eodemo  
Demon.

*Demon*: for Deity & *Demon* are both taken in one sense: This *Demon* *Plato* mentioneth. *De republ.* But it is a question whether he meane the Prince of al the world, or the deuills Prince: for they haue their Hierarchy also. Euery spirit (saith *Proclus De anima et demone*) in respect of that which is next vnder it is called a *Demon*: and so doth *Iupiter* (in *Orpheus*) call his father *Saturne*. And *Plato* himselfe calls those gods, that gouerne propagation, and protect a man without mediation, *Damones*. To declare (saith he in *Timaeus*) the generation and nature of the other *Damones*, were more then man can comprehend: for each power that protecteth a man without anothers mediation, is a *demon*, be it a *God*, or lesse then a *God*. Thus farre *Proclus*.

*Whether amongst the spirits of the ayre that are vnder the gods, there be any good ones, that can further a man in the attaiement of true blessednesse.* CHAP. 2.

FOR many vse to say there are some good deuills and some badde: but whether this opinion bee *Plato's* or whose soeuer, it is not to bee omitted, because no man shalbe deluded in honoring those spirits as if they were good, or such as whilest hee thinketh should by their place bee a meane of reconciliation betwixt them and the gods, and desireth their furtherance, to bee with them after death, doe mūeigle him and drawe him in with deceit, quite from the true *God*, with whom onely and in whom onely, and from whom onely, euery reasonable soule, must expect and enjoy beatitude.

*What qualities Apuleius ascribeth to the deuills, to whom he giueth reason but no vertue.* CHAP. 3.

HOW is this difference of good and euil then extant, when as *Apuleius* the *Platonist*, disputing so much hercof, and attributing so much to those ayry powers, yet neuer speaketh a word of their vertues, which hee would haue done if they had had any? Hee shewes not the cause why they are happy, but the signes of their misery he openeth at full: confessing that though they haue reason, they want vertue, that doe not giue way to vnreasonable passions, but (as fooles vse to be) they are often perturbed with tempestuous and vnquiet motions. His words are these. *Of these Damones, the Poets (not much amisse) doe faigne some to be haters, and some louers of some perticular men: preferring some, and detesting others; So that pittie, anger, joy, and all humane effects are easily accidents vnto them: and so is their minde exposed to the dominion of all perturbations, which the gods (whose mindes are quiet, and retired) are not.* Here you heare plainly that the deuills soules as well as mortalls are subiect to all disturbance of passion, and thereby not to bee compared vnto wise men, who can curbe and suppress those exorbitant affects, howeuer accident vnto them by reason of their humanity; giuing then no predominance to worke any vnreasonable effect, opposite to iustice: But they are more like (not to say worse) vnto fooles, & wicked persons, not in bodies, but qualities, elder they are indeed, and incurably tortured, still floting in the sea of perturbation, hauing no hold at all of verity, or vertue, which are the meanes to repress all outragious affects.

Deuills  
perturbed  
with pas-  
sions.

*The opinions of the Stoikes and Peripatetiques concerning perturbations of the minde.* CHAP. 4.

CONCERNING motions of the minde which the Greekes call *πάθη*, and some of

vs,

vs. (with Tully) *Perturbations* others *Affects*, or affections; and some more expressly from the Greeke, *Passions*, there bee two opinions of the Philosophers: Some say that they may befall a wise man, yet so as they are still awed by reason, and by the rule of the minde, obliged to what conditions discretion imposeth. The holders of this are *Platonists*, or *Aristotelians*, for *Aristotle*, the first *Peripatetic*, was *Plato* his scholler. But others (as the *Stoikes*) exempt a wise man from any touch of those passions. And (a) those, *Tully* in his bookes *De finibus*, proueth to bee rather materially then formally opposite vnto the *Platonists* or *Peripatetiques*: because the *Stoikes* (b) will not admit the externall helps of the body, or estate, to the name of goods, reseruing that onely for vertue, as the art of liuing, fixed in the minde. But the (c) others, following the common fashions, call them goods, many of small value in respect of vertue: So then howsoeuer they differ in their name, they concurre in their esteeme, nor do the *Stoikes* shew any thing in this controuersie but nouelty of phrase: So that I hold directly, that in this question, (d) whether a wise-man may haue passions of minde or no, their controuersie is rather verball, then reall: for I am perswaded they are iust of the *Platonists* and *Peripatetiques* minde herein, though their words pretend a difference. This prooffe, I will shew faire to auoide the tediousnesse of a longer discourie. (e) *A Gellius*, in (f) eloquent and excellent scholler, writteth in his *Noctes Atticae*, that hee was at sea in the company of a famous *Stoike*. This Philosopher (as *Gellius* tells at large, but I in brieft) seeing the shippe in great perill by reason of a dangerous and dreadfull tempest, was pale for very feare: which some that were by (beeing euen in the chaps of death so curiously obserueth whether the Philosopher were preturbed or no) did percieue the storme ending, and feare letting mens tongues loose, a rich glutton (g) of Asia fell a scoffing the *Stoike* for beeing so terribly afraide of that brunt which himselfe had passed without any passion at all: but hee (h) replied as *Aristippus* the *Socratist* did, vpon the like case, that the other hauing but the soule of a base knaue, needed not care for it, but hee was care full for the soule of *Aristippus*. This answer packt away the rich chuffe, and then *Gellius* asked the Philosopher (no: desiring to offend, but to learne) what was the cause of his feare. Who desiring to satisfie a man so desirous to know, hee pulleth out of his scrippe the booke of (i) *Epicetus*, a *Stoike*, containing the *Axiomes* of *Zeno* and *Chrysippus*, *Stoicismes* founders: wherein *Gellius* (saith hee) shewed him this position, That the (k) mindes apprehensions (they call them fantasies) arising from fearefull and terrifying obieets, can neither bee hindred from befalling a wise man, nor from moouing his minde when they doe befall: that hee shall feare, or bee sadde, a little by these passions too hasty intrusion vpon his reason: Yet (l) not so farre that they leaue an opinion or consent, of the minde vnto their effect, behinde them: for this they keepe free, as the difference between: the foole and the wise: the foole consenteth to his passions: the wise man though hee suffer them, yet keepes his election, and his reprobation of them all, firme and free. Thus much from *A. Gellius*, no better, but briefer then his owne relation of that with himselfe reade in *Epicetus*, from the positive doctrine of the *Stoikes*. Which beeing true, leaues small difference betweene them and other Philosophers in this point of affects. For both doe quit mans reason from beeing ouer-ruled by passion. And perhaps therefore the *Stoikes* denie a wise man to feale them, because they alter him not, nor hurt his wisdom. But they (m) befall him (not moouing his wisdom) in the respects of the commodities or discommodities of this life which notwithstanding hee will not call goods, or euills. For if the Philosopher

An history of a Philosopher that was in a storme at sea.

had not esteemed that which hee doubted to loose by that ship-wracke, namely his life and bodylie safety, hee would neuer haue beene pale for the matter: Yet might his minde stand fixt for all that externall pallor, and hee still hold firme that life and bodily safety, which their hee feared to loose, were not of those goods that make their possessors good, as vertue doth. But in that they say they are not to bee called goods at all, but onely commodities, in this their minde is more vpon the word then the matter. For what care is there of their name, when as their losse leaues both *Stoike* and *Peripatetique* alike affected? prouing thereby their equall esteeme of them, call them what they list? If the daunger of these goods or commodities should draw either of them to mischiefes, or els to bee lost: they both ioyne in this; rather to abiure the vse of bodily benefits then to transgresse the rules of iustice. Thus is the minde still fixed, holding stedfastly that no passion (though it insult vpon the foules meaner parts) can domineere ouer reason: but reason ouer them, excercising vertues soueraignty ouer them by opposition, nor by consent. For such an one doth *Virgil* say *Eneas* was.

*Mens immota manet, Lachrymae voluntur emanare.*

His minde stood fixt, yet fruitlesse teares must oute

## L. VIVES.

**T**Hose (a) Tully] *De finib. lib. 3.* Cato Minor is for the Stoikes, in the question of the highest good: all whose arguments Tully himselfe (*lib. 4.*) refuteth, prouing their controuersie with the *Platonists* and *Peripatetiques* to bee onely verball: whose principall founder *Zeno* was. (b) Will not] (*Cic. de finib.* calls them *esteemables*: and *Acad. quest. lib. 1.* saith thus. *Zeno placed all the necessaries of beatitude, in vertue onely*: nor reckned ought good, but what was honest, that being the simple and onely good. The rest (though not bad, yet) some are naturall, some against nature, some meane betweene both. The naturall he holds are to bee held in some esteeme, and contrary of the contrariety. The meane, hee leaues as neuters, not to be held at, any esteeme: make degrees of esteeme in the naturall also: the more esteemable hee called *προτιμωτα*, preferred, the lesse *ἀποτιμωτα*, reiected, and these words Tully vscth *de finib. lib. 3.* (c) Others] *Plato de leg. lib. 4.* maketh goods triplet: corporall, mentall, externall: the first and last, being secluded from vertue: he maketh vselesse, hurtfull and dangerous, the midlemost, are diuine, and happy adiuncts of the wise man onely, making man happy of himselfes alone: the other properly are not goods, but respectiuelly: nor vnto all, but the iust onely: to whom that which the vulgar calleth euill, is a truer good, then these are to the wicked, seruing them onely as instruments of more mischiefe. This is common in *Plato*, who gaue originall to almost al the Stoikes rare and admired *paradoxes*: as, *that honest things are only good: only a wise man is rich & free: the good man is happy the bad miserable: to beare a wrong is more felicity then to offer one.* Yet did *Plato* call those corporall and external benefits, goods: because (as *Apuleius* saith *Dog. Pla.*) their vse is necessary in common life: yet so are they goods, as vertue must better them, and adapt them to the fit prosecution of happinesse. So, *good they are* (saith *Plato*) *when they are vertues instruments, and serue in her ministry: when oiberwise, they are direct plagues & destructions.* And this *Aristotle* also held. (d) *Whether a wise*] Of affects Tully discourseth at large (*Tusc. quest. 4.*) which, & what they are that a wise man must not be exposed vnto, in *Stoicisme*. But the *Platonists*, and their most generall followers the *Peripatetiques* say that they are naturally ingrafted in man, irremouable and onely to bee repressed. (e) *A. Gellius*] He liued in *Adrians* time and then wrote his *Noctes Atticae*. Hee was very familiar with *Phauorinus* and *Taurus*, both Philosophers, and with *Apollinaris* and *Probus*, Grammmarians: of his learning and wit, take *Augustines* iudgement, whom the most, nay rather all the Grammmarians doe second: perhaps because that hee was of their profession (sufficeth it to say thus) though by *Augustines* leaue I thinke him far otherwise. But of this else-where. The place here quoted is *lib. 19. cap. 1.* (f) *Eloquent*] Or of quick inuention. (g) *Of Asia*] Which word addeth to his luxury, for from *Asia* it first arose. (h) *Replied as Aristippus.*] Who had the like chance in sayling to *Corinth*. *Laertius.* (i) *Epictetus*] A *Phrygian*, borne at *Hieropolis*, seruant to *Epaphroditus*, *Nero's* chamberlaine, and

Goods of  
3. sorts.

Stoicall Pa-  
radoxes.

Gellius.

Epictetus.

and liued vnto the *Antonines*, of him was made this disticke.

*Διός Ετιχτητος &c.*

Borne was I slaue, and *Epictete* my name:

Belou'd of God; as *Irus* poore; and lame.

For lame he was indeed. *Sustine & abstine*, was much in his mouth, which *Gellius* saith oftentimes hee wrote not much: nothing of his was extant in *Suidas* times: His *Mannell* was his scholars *Arriannus*, & of his. The booke that this Philosopher puld out of his scrip was the fift of his disputations. (k) *Minds*] Phantasies of *partice* to imagine. *Tully* translates it, a thing scene, it is the model that the mind frames it selfe after any object, arising of the external impulsio, which is seconded by consent or resistance, so begetting opinion. But the opinions condemned by the *Stoikes*, seeme rather to be the affections that wee doe procure our selues from our owne depraued iudgements and opinion: sorrow they called an opinion of a great euil present: ioy of a great good: desire an opinion of a great future good: feare, of an euill. Thence doe they affirme that opinion troubleth vs more then reall causes: and we are oftener feared then hurt. But this is toucht already. They held further that an vngrounded opinion, or weake assent without due consideration doth not befall a wise man. (l) *Not so farre*] *Arriannus* in his *Enchiridion* biddes a wise man as soone as any terrible object presents it selfe vnto him, to consider that it is as but a *phantasme*, and not such as it appeareth. (m) *Befall*] *Plato* saith that affects are in a man as like nerues, or little strings whereby nature drawes vs forward, into contraries, as themselues are contraries: but hee that hath giuen his reason once dominion ouer them shall finde their force of no effect worth esteeming.

*That the Christians passions are causes of the the practise of vertue, not inducers vnto vice.* CHAP. 5.

**H**ERE is no need to stand vpo a large discouery what the christians scriptures teach in this point of affects: It doth subiect the whole minde to Gods gouernance, and assistance, and all the passions vnto it, in that manner that they are al made to seeme the increase of iustice, finally our doctrine inquires not so much whether one be angry, but wherefore? Why he is sad, not whether he be sad, and so of feare? For anger with an offender to reforme him: pittie vpon one afflicted to succor him: feare for one in daunger to deliuer him, these no man, not mad, can reprehend. The *Stoikes* (a) indeed vse to reprehend pittie. But that *Stoike* might more honestly haue pittied another mans daunger then haue feared his owne. But with farre more humanity and piety sayd *Tully* (b) in *Cesars* praise: *Of all thy vertues, is none more admired, nor applauded then thy mercy*: What is mercy but a compassion, in our owne heart of anothers misfortunes, vrging vs as farre as our power stretcheth to releoue him? This affect serues reason, when our pittie offendeth not iustice, either in releueing the poore or forgiuing the penitent. This (c) that eloquent *Cicero* stuck not to call a vertue, which the *Stoikes* reckon with the vices: yet doth *Epictetus* out of the doctrines of *Zeno* and *Chryssippus*, the first patrons of this sect, allow these passions vnto a man, whom nathelless they must needs keepe from all vice, and consequently these passions that befall a wise man, so as they doe not offer any preiudice to his reason or vertue, are no vices, and the *Stoikes*, *Platonists* and *Peripatetiques* doe all agree in one. But (as (d) *Tully* saith) *the Grecians (of old) affect verbosity of contention rather then truth*: But now it is a further question whether it bee coherent vnto y infirmity of this present life to suffer these affections in all good offices how euer, whereas the holy Angells, though they punish such as gods eternall prouidence appointeth with anger, though they helpe those that they loue out of danger, without any feare, and succor the wretched without feeling any compassion, are notwithstanding said (after our phraze of speaking) to be pertakers of those passions, because of the similitude of their workes, not any way because of their infirmity of affections: And so God in the scripture is sayd to be angry; yet farre is hee from feeling affect, the effect of his reuenge did procure this phraze, not the turbulence of his passion.



## L. VIVES.

**S**Toikes (a) indeed ] *Cic. pro Muren.* A many come to you in distresse and misery ; you shall be a villaine in taking any compassion vpon them. This in disgrace of *Stoicisme* hath Tully. (b) Tully ] *Pro Q. Ligario.* (c) *This now* ] intimating that he had more words then wisdome, as *Saluste* sayd of *Catiline* : *wisdome indeed being peculiar to those that serue the true God, the King of the whole vniuerse, and his wisdome, his sonne.* (d) Tully saith ] *Craffus* his words of the Greekes opinion of an oratour. *De oratore lib. 1.*

*What passion the spirits that Apuleius maketh mediators betweene the gods and men are subiect vnto, by his owne confession. CHAP. 6.*

**B**Vt, to deferre the question of the holy Angels awhile, let vs see how the *Platonists* teach of their mediating spirits, in this matter of passion. If those *Damones* ouer-ruled all their affects with freedome and reason, then would not *Apuleius* haue sayd that they are tossed in the same tempestuous cogitations that mens hearts doe fleete in. So their minde then, their reasonable part, that if it had any vertue seated in it should be the dominator ouer these turbulent affects of the inferior parts : this very minde floteth (say the *Platonists*) in this sea of perturbation. Well, then the deuills mindes lye open to the passions of lust, feare, wrath, and the rest. What part then haue they free, wise, and vnaffected, whereby to please the gods, and conuerse with good men, when as their whole minde is so subiugated vnto affects, & their vices, that their whole reason is eternally employed vpon deceipt & illusion, as their desire to endamage all creatures is eternall?

The deuills  
minds sub-  
iect: to pas-  
sions.

*That the Platonists doe but seeke contentions in saying the Poets defame the gods, whereas their imputations pertaine to the deuills, and not to the gods. CHAP. 7.*

**I**F any say the Poets tolerable fictions that some gods were louers or haters of some men, were not spoken vniuersally but restrictiue, respecting the euill spirits, whom *Apuleius* saith, *doe flote in a sea of turbulent thoughts* : how can this stand, when in his placing of them in the midst betweene the gods and vs, hee saith not, *some, for the euill, but (a) all, because all haue ayrie bodies* ? for this he saith is a fiction of the Poets that make gods of those spirits. and call them so, making them friends to such or such men, as their owne loose affects do put in their heads to poetize : whereas indeed the gods are farre from these in place, blessednesse and qualitie. This is the fiction then, to call them gods that are not so : and to set them at oddes, or at amity with such or such perticular men, vnder the titles of deities. But this fiction (saith he) was not much : for though the spirits bee called gods as they are not, yet they are described as they are. And thence (saith he) is (b) *Homers* tale of *Minerua*, that staide *Achilles* from striking in the midst of the Greeke hoast. That this was *Minerua*, hee holds it false, because shee (in his opinion) was (c) a goddesse highly placed amongst the greatest deities, farre from conuersation with mortalls. Now if it were some spirit that faouered the Greekes against *Troy*, as *Troy* had diuerse against them, one of whom hee calls (d) *Venus*, and another *Mars*, who indeed are higher gods then to meddle with such trifles, and if those spirits contended each for his owne side, then this fiction is not farre wide, saith he. For it was spoken of them whome he himselfe hath testified subiect to affects, as mortall men are : so that they might vse their loues and hates not according to iustice, but euen (e) as the people doe in huntings and courses,

*Minerua.*

courses, each one doe the best for his owne partie : for the Philosophers care it seemes was this, to prevent the imputation of such acts vpon the gods ( whose names the Poets vsed ) and to lay them vpon the spirits to whom of right they belonged.

## L. VIVES.

**B**<sup>Vt</sup> (a) all ] all are meane betweene gods and men, not in substance, but nature and place. (b) *Homers* ] *Iliad*, 1. She staide *Achilles* from striking *Agamemnon*, vpon ill words past betweene them. (c) *A goddesse* ] One of the twelue counsellor-gods that *Ennius* hath in his distich : high, good, powerfull, and inuisible. (d) *Venus* ] They thinke ] saith *Plutarch De defect. orac.* that none of these calamities which the gods are blamed for, were their doings, but the workes of certaine wicked spirits. (e) *As the people* ] In the greater circuite, they had horse-races and huntings : and the riders were attired either in white, blew, Greene or redde : and so many parties were there. *Martiall* mentions two of their colours, *Prasine*, & *Venetian*, that is, Greene and blew. Some hold those foure colours dedicated to the foure seasons of the year. *Domitian* (saith *Suetonius*) added two more, golden and purple : The blew was sacred to the stormy winter: Greene to the verdant spring: white to the Autumne frosts, and red to the Summers fires. *Plinie* writeth thus hereof: *I wonder to see so many thousands of people gazing at a sort of fellows riding about like boyes, if they did either respect the horses speed or the horsmans skill, it were all well, but their munde is all vpon the colour, and if they change colours in the midst of their course the spectators fauour changeth also: and those whome they knew but euen now a farre of, and called lowd vpon their names, presently, they haue done with, they: Such fauour, such credit followeth a paltrey coate: Not in the vulgar iudgement onely ( which is not worth a tatter ) but euen in the mindes of the grauer sort, hath this foolery gotten residence. Epist. lib. 8.*

The Circi-  
an colours.

Apuleius his definition of the gods of heauen, spirits of ayre, and men of earth. CHAP. 8.

**W**Hat of his definition of spirits? it is vniuersall and therefore worth inspection. They are (saith he) creatures, passiuē, reasonable, aeriall & eternall: In all which five there is no community, that those spirits haue with goodmen, but they haue it with bad also. For making a large description of man, in their place, being the last, as the gods are the first, to passe from commemoration of both their extreames, vnto that which was the meane betweene them, viz. these deuills; thus he saith. *Men, ioying (a) in reason, perfect in speach, mortall in body, immortal in soule, passionate and vncōstant in minde, brutish and fraile in body, of discrepant conditions, and conformed errors, of impudent boldnesse, of bold hope, of indurate labour, and vncertaine fortune, perticularly mortall, generally eternall, propagating one another, short of life, slowe of wisdom, sudden of death and discontented in life, these dwell on earth.* In these generalls (common to many) he added one, that he knew was false in few: (b) *slowe of wisdom*: which had he omitted, hee had neglected to perfect his description. For in his description of the gods, hee saith, that that beatitude which men doe seeke by wisdom, excelleth in them, so had hee thought of any good deuills, their definition should haue mentioned it, either by shewing them to participate some of the gods beatitude, or of mans wisdom. But hee hath no seperation betweene them and wretches: though hee bee fauourable in discouering their maleuolent natures, not so much for feare of them, as their seruants that should read his positions: To the wise hee leaues his opinion open inough, and what theirs should bee: both in his seperation of the gods from all tempest of affect, and therein from the spirits, in all but eternitie; and in his intimation that their mindes were like mens, not the gods, nay and that not in wisdom, which men may partake with the gods, but in being prone to passions.

Apuleius  
his descrip-  
tion of man

passions, which rule both in the wicked and the witleffe: but is ouerruled by the wise man, yet so as hee had (c) rather want it, then conquer it, for if hee seeke to make the diuells to communicate with the gods in eternity of mind onely, not of body, then should hee not exclude man, whose soule hee held eternall, as well as the rest: and therefore hee saith that *man is a creature mortall in body, and immortall in soule.*

## L. VIVES.

[*Oying (a) in reason.*] Or contending by reason, (*Cluotes, of Cluo, to striue. (b) Slow.*) Happy is hee that gets to true knowledge in his age. *Plato. (c) Rather want.*] A wise man hath rather haue no passions of mind: but seeing that cannot be, he taketh the next course, to keepe them vnder, and haue them still in his power.

*whether the ayry spirits can procure a man the gods friendships.*

## CHAP. 9.

**W**Herfore, if men by reason of their mortal bodies haue not that participation of eternity with the gods, that these spirits by reason of their immortall bodies haue: what mediators can their be between the gods & men that in their best part, their soule, are worse then men, and better, in the worst part of a creature, the body? for, all creatures consisting of body and soule, haue the (a) soule for the better part, bee it neuer so weake and vicious, and the body neuer so firme and perfect: because it is of a more excellling nature, nor can the corruption of vice deiect it to the baseness of the body: but like base gold, that is dearer then the best siluer, so farre doth it exceed the bodies worth. Thus then those iolly mediators, or posts from heauen to earth, haue eternity of body with the gods and corruption of soule with the mortalls, as though that religion that must make god and man to meete, were rather corporall then spirituall! But what guilt or sentence hath hung vp those iugling intercedents by the heeles, and the head downward, that their lower partes their bodies participate with the higher powers: and their higher, their soules with the lower, holding correspondence with the Gods in their seruile part, and with mortalls in their principall? for the body (as *Salust* saith) is the soules slaue: at least should bee in the true vse: and hee proceeds: the one wee haue common with beasts, the other with gods: speaking of man whose body is as mortall as a beasts. Now those whome the Philosophers haue put betweene the gods and vs, may say thus also: *wee haue body and soule, in community with gods and men*: but then (as I said) they are bound with their heeles vpward hauing their slauish body common with the gods, and their predominant soule common with wretched men: their worst part aloft and their best vnderfoote, wherefore if any one thinke them eternall with the gods, because they neuer die the death with creatures, let vs not vnderstand their bodies to bee the eternall pallace wherein they are blessed, but (b) the eternall prison wherein they are damned: and so he thinketh as he should.

## L. VIVES.

[*The soule (a) for.*] For things inherent neuer change their essentiall perfection, and I do wonder that once the *Peripatetique* schoole of *Paris* would make any specificall difference of soules. (b) *Damned.*] Not in the future tence: for they are damned euer since their fall.

*Plotines opinion that men are lesse wretched in their mortality then the diuells are in their eternity.* CHAP. 10.

**I**T is said that *Plotine*, that liued but (a) lately, vnderstood *Plato* the best of any. Hee

Hee speaking of mens soules, saith thus: (b) *The father out of his mercy bound them but for a season*, So that in that mens bonds, (their bodies) are mortal; he imputeth it to God the fathers mercy, thereby freeing vs from the eternall tediousnesse of this life. Now the deuills wickednesse is held vnworthy of this fauour whose passiue soules haue eternall prisons, not temporall as mens are, for they were happier then men, had they mortall bodies with vs, and blessed soules with the Gods. And mens equals were they if they had but mortall bodies to their wretched soules: and then could worke them-selues rest after death by faith and piety. But as they are they are not only more vnhappy then man in the wretchednesse of soules, but far more in eternity of bondage in their bodies; (c) hee would not haue men to vnderstand that they could euer come to bee gods, by any grace or wisdome, seeing that he calleth them eternall diuells.

The deuilla  
miserable  
immortal  
ly.

## L. VIVES.

**B**Vt. (a) *Lately*.] In *Probus* his time, not 200. yeares ere *Honarius* his raigne. In *Plotine* *Augustine* saith, him thought *Plato's* academy reuiued. Indeed hee was the plainest and purest *Platonist* that euer was. *Plato* and *Socinus*, Princes of the Philosophers *Macrobius* *Porphiry* his scholler wrot his life, and prefixed it vnto *Plotines* workes. (b) *The father*.] *Plato* said this of the lesser gods in *Timaeus*: but *Plotine* saith it was the mercy of y father, to free mā from this lues tediousnesse, his words are these. *Ioue the father pitying our soules labors prefixed an expiration so the bands wherein wee labour, and granted certaine times for vs to remaine without bodies, there where the worlds soule ruleth eternally, out of all this trouble. De dub. anima.* (c) *For hee*.] *Apuleius*, that writeth that which followeth.

Plotine,

*Of the Platonists that held mens soules to become Dæmones after death.*

## CHAP. II.

**H**EE saith (a) also that mens soules are *Dæmones*, and become (b) *Lares* if their merits be good: if euill, (c) *Lemures*, goblins: if different, (d) *Manes*. But how pernicious this opinion is to all goodnesse, who sees not; for be men neuer so mischeuous, hoping to become *Lemures*, or *Manes*, the more desirous they are of hurt, the worse they turne into, and are perswaded that some sacrifices will call them to do mischief when they are dead, and become such: for these *Larues* (saith hee) are euill *Dæmones* that haue beene men on earth. But here is another question: let it passe: hee saith further, the Greekes call such as they hold blessed *δαίμονες*, good *Dæmones*: herein confirming his position that mens soules become *Dæmones* after death.

Dæmones  
acc.

## L. VIVES.

**H**E saith (a) ] Having often named *Genius*, and *Lar. giu:* me leaue (good reader) to handle them here a little. *Apuleius* his words are these. *In some sence, the soule of man while it is in the body may be called a Dæmon.*

— *Dii ne hunc ardorem mentibus addunt,*

*Enriale, an sua cuique deus sit dira Cupido,*

Causen the gods (*Enriales*) these fires,

Or beene those gods which men call loose desires.

*So then good desire is a good god in the minde.* Some therefore thinke they are called *δαίμονες*, *Genius*, whose *Dæmon*, that is, whose soule is purest perfect. I know not if I mā translate it the *Genius* because that god which is each mans soule though hee bee immortal, yet hath originall after a certaine manner with each man: and thether tend the praiers we offer to our *genius* at carnall coniunctions. Some assigne the body and soule seuered (whose coniunction produceth man) so that the second sort of *Dæmones* is mens soules acquit from the bonds of body and mortality: these the ancient Latine call *Lemures*: and such of these as haue a care of their progeny, and staires quietly about the house, are called *Lares*.

But

**Larua.** But such as for their bad liues, are bound to wander, and vse to amaze good men with idle apparitions, but to hurt the euill men call *Larua*. But when their merits are indifferent betweene the *Lar*, and the *Larua*, then they are called *Manes*, and for honors sake are surnamed gods. For such as liued orderly and honestly, of those persons, were first graced with diuine titles by their successors, and so got admittance into the temples, as *Amphiarnus* in Bzotia, *Mopsus* in Africk, *Osiris* in Egypt, others elsewhere, and *Aesculapius* euery where. And thus are gods that haue beene mortall men diuided. Thus farre out of *Apuleius* from a most vnperfect copy though printed by one of good credit: *Plato* also calles our soules least part, a *Dæmon*: in *Cratyl*. His words: you know whom *Hesiod* calls *Dæmones*, euen those men of the golden age: for of them hee saith.

The golden  
sect of men.

--- *Mens an demon.*

*At genus hoc postquam fatalis condidit hora.*

*Dæmones hi puri terrestres tunc vocitantur,*

*Custodes hominum felices, qui mala pellunt.*

--- A Dæmon or a minde,

But when set fate calld hence this glorious kinde,

Then might they Earthly *Dæmones* and pure.

Mans happy guides from ill, and guards most sure.

**Dæmon.**

I thinke they were called golden (not that they were worth gold) because they were iust and vertuous, and in that respect are we called Iron. But any good man of those daies shall stand in the ranke of *Hesiodes* golden men also. And who is good, but the wise? I hold therefore that hee called them *Dæmons* for their wisdom & experience, as the word imports: wherefore well wrot hee and whosoever wrot it *A good man dying is aduanced and made a Dæmon, in his wisdom*. So say I that a wise man dying and liuing so, becometh a good Dæmon, as *Hermogenes* also affirmeth. Thus far *Plato*, in his *Timæus*, whence I doubt not but *Origen* had his error, that mens soules become *Dæmones*, and so contrariwise. *Plutarch*, *Orig*, *Porphry* also saith that a proper part of the soule, viz, the vnderstanding is a *Dæmon*, which hee that hath wise, is a happy *δαίμων*: and hee that hath not, is vnhappy: that euill soules become wicked spirits and liars and deceiuers like them: But *Proclus* distinguisheth of a *Dæmon* and makes all plaine. It is true (saith hee) that *Plato* saith there is a *Dæmon* in the reasonable soule: but that is comparatiue true, not simply, for their is a *Dæmon* essentiall a *Dæmon* in respect, and a *Dæmon* in habit. Euery thing in respect of the inferiour as a *Dæmon*, is called a *Dæmon*: so *Iupiter* calls his father *Saturne* in *Orpheus*. And *Plato* calls them gods that haue the immediate disposition of generation *Dæmones*: to declare the nature and generation of the other *Dæmones*, were more then man can comprehend (saith hee:) for each power that affordeth a man immediate protection, be it a god lesse or more, is called a *Dæmon*. Now the habitual *Dæmon* is the soule that hath practised it selfe wholly in actions rather diuine then humane and so hath had speciall dependance therevpon: and in this sence *Socrates* calles the soules that liued well, and are preferred to better place and dignity, *Dæmons*. But the essentiall *Dæmon* hath not his name from habite, or respect, but from the propriety of his owne nature: and is distinct from the rest in essence, proprieties, and actions. But indeed in *Tymæus* each reasonable soule is called a *Dæmon*. Thus far *Proclus* who liketh not that a soule should be called a *Dæmon* simply: for that he restraines only to that essence that is a meane between the gods & vs, nor wil haue any thing but our soule called a *Dæmon* comparatiue: not that which worketh the chiefe in it, be it reason or affect, in minds found or perturbed wherein *Apuleius* and hee agree not!: for that which *Virgill* saith (it is indeed a riddle, or a probleme) is like this of *Plato*: *law to the good man is his god, lust to the euill*. *Seruius* expounds *Virgill* thus. *Plotine* and other *Philosophers* make a question, whether our minde moue of it selfe vnto affects or counsells, or bee led by some other power? first they said, it is moued it selfe, yet found they afterwards that our familiar genius was our instigator to all goodnesse, and this wee haue giuen vs at our birth: but for affections euill and exorbitant, in those wee are our owne guides; for it is impossible that the good gods should inuite vs vnto euill. Thus much *Seruius*. But surely the affects that do moue vs, *Plato* calleth also *Dæmones*. And it is a wounder to see the controuersies of men of one sect in the question of gods and *Dæmones*; *Apuleius* hee contradicted *Plato*,

*Plotine*

*Plotine* him, *Porphyry* all of them, nor can *Iamblichus* and he agree, nor *Proclus* and *Iamblichus*, the diuels them-selues setting difference amongst them as they please to teach them. (b) *Lares* ] *Lares*. All one with the *Genii* saith *Apuleius*: and *Censorinus* sheweth it in an old opinion. *De die. nat.* *Cicero* translates *Dæmones* by *Lares*; may with a condition, If I may say so. *Capella* calls them *Presbites*, and *Angeli*, and *Seruius* (in *Æneid.* 6.) *Manes*: it is said each man hath his good *Genius* and his bad: viz. reason that effecteth good, and lust euill. This is the *Larua* the euill *Genius*: that the *Lar*, the good one. If the *Larua* ouer-rule a man in this life, then is hee damned by it in the life to come, and punished for his folly: if the *Lar* conquer, hee is purified, and carryed vpppe to blisse, by the sayd *Lar*. *Plato* also is of the same opinion, saying the soules go to iudgement. *De rep. Vltimo.* (c) *Lemures* ] The peaceable dead soules are *Lares*, *Lemures*. the hurtfull *Larua* or *Lemures*: and those they trouble or possesse, *Larua*. At the ayre saith *Capella*, (*Nuptiar.* lib. 2,) from the Moone is in *Pluto*'s power, otherwise called *Summanus*, *quasi manuum summus*: the Prince of diuels: and the Moone that is next the ayre is therefore called *Proserpina*, vnder whome the *Manes* of all conception are subiect, who delight after death in those bodies, and if they liued honestly in their first life, they become *Lares* of houses and citties: if not they are made *Larua*, and walking Ghostes: so that heere are the good and euill *Manes* which the Greekes call *αἰεθδus* and *κακὸς δαιμόνιος*. Heere also are their Governours *Mana* and *Maturna*, and the Gods called *Aquila*, *fura* also, *Furina*, and mother *Mania* and other *Agents* of the goddes doe liue heere. Thus much *Capella*. There (sayth *Porphyry*) are the *Lemures*, Ghosts that affright and hurt men, presaging their death: called *Lemures quasi Remures* of *Remus*; for expiation of whose murder *Romulus* offered and instituted the *Lemuralia* to bee kept the third day of May, at such time as February was vn-added to the yeare. Ther-vpon it is sinne to marry in May. (*In horat.* Epist. lib. 2.) This hee hath from *Ouid.* *Fastor.* 5. (d) *Manes* ] As if they were good. *Fest.* For they vsed *Mana* *Manes*. For *bona*, also mother *Maturna*, and *Poma Matura* ripe apples. These were adored for feare of death, and called the *Manes*; as it were good, whereas they were rather *Immanes* and monstrous euill.

*Of the three contraries whereby the Platonists distinguish  
the diuels natures from the mens.*

CHAP. 12.

**B**Vt now to those creatures whome he placeth properly betweene the goddes and men, being reasonable, passiuē, æreall and immortall. Hauing placed the goddes the highest, and the men the lowest, here (saith he) are two of your creatures: the gods and men much differing in height of place, immortality and perfection, the habitations being immeasurably distant, and the life there eternall; and perfection heere, fraile and (a) faltring: their wittes aduanced to beatitude, ours deiected vnto misery. Heere now are three contraries betweene natures two vttermost parts, the highest & the lowest: for the three praises of the gods estate, hee compareth with the contraries of mans. Theirs are height of place, eternity of life, perfection of nature. All these are thus opposed by him from humanity: the first height of place vnmeasurably distant from vs: the second eternity of life, poized with our fraile and faltring state: the third perfection of nature and witte, counterpoized by our witte and nature, that are deiected vnto misery. Thus the goddes three, height, eternity, beatitude: are contraryed in our three. Baseness, mortality and misery; now the diuels beeing in the mid-way betweene them and vs, their place is knowne, for that must needs bee the midde-distance betweene the highest and the lowest. But the other two must bee better looked into, whether the diuels are eyther quite excluded from them, or participate as much of them as their middle posture require: excluded from them they cannot bee: for (b) wee cannot say that they are neyther happy

H h

nor

nor wretched (as wee may say that the mid-place is neither the highest nor the lowest) beasts and vnreasonable creatures neither are so. But such as haue reason must be the one: Nor can we say they are neither mortall nor eternall: for al things aliue are the t'one. But he hath said they are eternall. It remaineth then that they haue one part from the highest, and another from the lowest, so being the meane them-selues. For if they take both from eyther, their mediocrity is ouerthrown, and they rely wholly vppon the lower part or the higher. Seeing therefore they cannot want these two qualities aboue-said, their mediation ariseth from their partaking one with either. Now eternity from the lowest they cannot haue: for there it is not: so from the highest they must haue that: So then is there nothing to participate for their mediety sake betweene them and mortalls, but misery.

### L VIVES.

**A**nd (a) *faltring*] *Subcissima* with *Apuleius*, or *Succidua*, with some Copies of *Augustine*, the later is more proper and significant, (b) *We cannot*] Contradictories in opposites admit no meane: as one must perforce either run or not run. Other opposites do, as blacke and white, contraries and other coullors the meanes betweene them. Some admit it not in particulars: As liuing and dead in creatures: Seeing and blinde, at natures fitte times. *Arist. Categor.*

*How the diuells if they be neyther blessed with the gods nor wretched with men, may be in the meane betwixt both without participation of eyther.*

### CHAP. 13.

**S**O then according to the *Platonists*, the goddes are in eternall blessednesse, or blessed eternity, and men are in mortall misery or miserable mortality: And the spirits of the ayre betweene both, in miserable eternity, or eternall misery. For in his five attributes giuen them in their definition, is none that sheweth (as he promised) their mediety: this community with vs including their reason, their beeing creatures, and their beeing passiue, and holding community with the goddes onely in eternity: Hauing their ayry nature, common with neither. How are they meanes then, hauing but one from the higher, and three from the lower? Who sees not how they are thrust from the meane to the lower side? But thus they may be found to be in the midst: they haue one thing proper to them-selues onely, their ayry bodies, as the gods haue their caelestiall, and man his terrestriall: and two things they haue common to both: their being creatures and their gift of reason: For hee speaking of the goddes and men, sayd: *Heere haue you two creatures*: Nor do they affirme but that the goddes haue reason. Two then remains: their passiuenesse, and their eternity, one common with the lower and the other with the higher, so beeing proportioned in the meane place that they decline to neither side. Thus then are they eternally miserable or miserably eternall. For incalling them passiue hee would haue called them miserable, but for offending them that serued them. Besides, because the world is not ruled by rash chance but by (a) Gods prouidence: these spirits should neuer haue bin eternally miserable, but that they are extremely malicious: wherfore if the *Eudemones* be blessed, thē is it not they that ar in this mediety between Gods & men: where is their place then, admitting their ministry between  
goddes

The di-  
uells eter-  
nally mi-  
serable.

gods and men. If they be good and eternall, then are they blessed. If blessed, then not in the midst, but nearer to the gods and further from men: frustrate then is all their labour that seeke to proue the mediety of those spirits being good, immortall, and blessed, betweene the gods immortall and blessed, and men mortall and wretched. For hauing beatitude and immortality, both attributes of the gods, and neyther proper vnto man, they must need hold nearer correspondance with gods then men. For if it were otherwise, their two attributes should communicate with one vpon either side, not with two vpon one side: as a man is in the midst betweene a beast and an Angell: a beast being vnreasonable and mortall, an Angell reasonable and immortall, a man mortall and reasonable, holding the first with a beast, the second with an Angell, and so stands meane; vnder Angels aboue beastes. Euen so in seeking a mediety betweene immortality blessed, and mortality wretched, wee must eyther finde mortality blessed, or immortality wretched.

## L. VIVES.

**B**<sup>T</sup> (*a*) *Gods providence*] So *Plato* affirmeth often: that the great father both created and governed all the world: Now hee should doe vniustice in afflicting an innocent with eternall misery: for temporall affliction vpon a good man is to a good end, that his reward may be the greater and hee more happy by suffering so much for eternall happynesse.

*whether mortall men may attaine true happynesse.*

## CHAP. 14.

**I**T is a great question whether a man may be both mortall and happy: some (*a*) considering their estate with humility, affirmed that in this life man could not be happy, others extolled them-selues and auouched that a wise man was happy: which if it bee so, why are not they made the meanes, betweene the immortally happy, and the mortally wretched? Hold their beatitude of the first, and their mortality of the later? Truly if they be blessed they enuy no man. For (*b*) what is more wretched then enuy? And therefore they shall do their best in giuing wretched mortals good counsell to beatitude, that they may become immortall after death and bee ioyned in fellowship with the eternall blessed Angels.

## L. VIVES.

**S**<sup>Some</sup> (*a*) *considering*] *Solon* of Athens held, none could be happy til death. *Plato* excepted a few: But *Solon* grounded vpon the vncertaine fate of man: For who could say *Pryam* was happy before the warre, being to suffer the misery of a tenne yeares siege? Or *Cresus* in all his wealth, being to be brought by *Cyrus* to bee burnt at a stake? Now *Plato* respected the difficulty of attayning that diuine knowledge in this life, which makes vs blessed. (*b*) *What* <sup>Enuy.</sup> That is all the good that enuy hath, that it afflicteth those extremely that vse it most, as the Greeke author saith.

*Of the Mediator of god and man, the man Christ Iesus.*

## CHAP. 15.

**B**Vt if that bee true (which is farre more probable) that all men of necessity must bee (*a*) miserable whilest they are mortall, then must a meane be found which is God as well as man, who by the mediation of his blessed mortality may helpe vs out of this mortall misery vnto that immortall happynesse: And this meane must bee borne mortall, but not continue so. He became mortall



not by any weakening of his Deity, but by taking on him this our fraile flesh: he remained not mortall, because hee raized him-selfe vp from death: for the fruit of his mediation is, to free those whom he is mediator for, from the eternall death of the flesh: So then it was necessary for the mediator betweene God and vs, to haue a temporall mortality, and an eternall beatitude, to haue correspondence with mortals by the first, and to transerre them by eternity to the second. Wherefore the good Angels cannot haue this place, beeing immortall and blessed. The euill may, as hauing their immortality, and our misery: And to these is the good mediator opposed, beeing mortall for a while, and blessed for euer, against their immortall misery. And so these proud immortals, and hurtfull wretches, least by the boast of their immortality they should draw men to misery, hath hee by his humble death and bountifull beaitude expelled from swaying of all such hearts as he hath pleased to cleanse and illuminate by faith in him: what mean the shal a wretched mortall, far seperate from the blessed immortals, choose to attain their societies? The diuels immortality is miserable: But Christs mortality hath nothing vndelectable. There we had need beware of eternall wretchednesse: heere we need not feare the death (which cannot be eternal) and we cannot but loue the happines which is eternal: for the me an that is immortally wretched aimes al at keeping vs frō immortal beatitude, by persisting in the contrary misery: but the mean that is mortal & blessed, intends after our mortality to make vs immortal (as he shewewed in his resurrection) and of wretches to make vs blessed, & he neuer wanted. So that ther is an euill meane that seperateth friends, and a good that reconciles them: & of the first sort (b) is many, because the blessednes that the other multitude attaineth, comes al frō participating of one God: wherof the miserable multitude of euil Angels being (c) deprived, & rather are opposite to hinder, then interposed to further, doth al that in it lieth to withdraw vs from that only one way that leadeth to this blessed good, namely the word of God, not made, but the maker of al: yet is he no mediator as he is the word: for so is hee most blessed, and immortal, farre from vs miserable men. But as he is man: therein making it plaine that to the attainment of this blessed, and blessing good, we must vse no other mediators wherby to work: God him-selfe, blessed and blessing al, hauing graced our humanity with participation of his deity: for when hee freeth vs from misery and mortality, he doth not make vs happy by participation of blessed Angels but of y trinity, in whose participation the Angels themselues ar blessed: and therefore (d) when he was below the Angels in forme of a seruant, then we also aboute them in forme of a god: being the same way of life below, and life it selfe aboue.

Phil. 2.

## L. VIVES.

**B**E (a) miserable ] *Homer* calls men *δαροι*, and *αθαιοι*, that is miserable, and so do the Latines. (b) Is many ] *Virtue* is simple, and singular, nor is there many waies to it. *Vice* is confused, and infinite paths there are vnto it. *Arist. Ethic.* So the diuels haue many wayes to draw a man from God, but the Angels but one to draw him vnto him by Christ the Mediator. (c) Deprived ] As darkencesse is the priuation of light, so is misery of beatitude. But not contrarywise. (d) When he was ] *Plin. 2.* Who being in the forme GOD, thought it no robbery to be equall with GOD, but made him-selfe of no reputation, and took on him the forme of a seruant. These are *Pauls* wordes proouing that though *CHRIST* were most like to his father, yet neuer professed him-selfe his equall here vppon earth, unto vs that respected but his manhood: Though hee might lawfully haue done it: But the LORD of all putte on him the forme of a seruant, and the high GOD debased him-selfe into one degree with vs, that by his likenes to ours, he might bring vs to the knowledge of his power & essence, and so estate vs in eternity before his father: and that his humanity might so inuite vs, that his

Diuinity

Diuinity did not terrifie vs, but take hold of our acceptance of this inuitation, and so translate vs into ioy perpetuall. But hee could neither haue bin inuited nor allured to this, but onely by one like our selues: nor yet could wee bee made happy, but onely by God the fountaine of happynesse. So then there is but one way, Christs humanity by which all accesse lyeth to his Deity, that is life eternall and beatitude.

*whether it be probable that the Platonists say, That the gods auoyding earthly contagion, haue no commerce with men, but by the meanes of the ayry spirits.*

CHAP. 16.

FOR it is false that this *Platonist* saith *Plato* said: *God hath no commerce with man:* and maketh this absolute seperation, the most perfect note of their glory and height. So then the Diuels are left to deale, and to bee infected by mans conuersation, and therefore cannot mundifie those that infect them, so that both become vnclean, the diuels by conuersing with men, and then men by adoration of the diuels. Or if the diuels can conuerse with men, and not bee infected, then are they better then the gods: for they cannot auoid this inconuenience: for that he maketh the gods peculiar, to bee farre aboute the reach of mans corruption. But (a) God the Creator (whome we call the true God) he maketh such an one (out of *Plato*) as words cannot describe at any hand, nay and that the wisest men in their greatest height of abstractiue speculation, can haue but now and then a sodaine and (b) momentary glimpse of the (c) vnderstanding of this God. Well then if this high God (d) afford his ineffable presence vnto wise men, sometimes in their abstractiue speculation: (though after a sodaine fashion) and yet is not contaminate thereby: why then are the gods placed so farre off, for feare of this contamination? As though the sight of those ethæreal bodies that light the earth were not sufficient. And if our sight of the starres (whome hee maketh visible gods) doe not contaminate them, then no more doth it the spirits, though seene nearer hand. Or is mans speech more infectious then his sight, and therefore the goddes (to keepe them-selues pure) receiue all their requests at the deliery of the diuels? What shall I say of the other sences? Their smelling would not infect them if they were below, or when they are below as diuels, the smel of a quicke man is not infectious at all, if the steame of so many dead carcasses in sacrifices infect not. Their taste is not so crauing of them as they should bee driuen to come and aske their meate of men: and for their touch, it is in their owne choyce. For though (e) handling bee peculiar to that sence indeed, yet may they handle their businesse with men, to see them and heare them without any necessity of touching: for men would dare to desire no further then to see and heare them: and if they should, what man can touch a God or a Spirit against their wils: when we see one cannot touch a sparrow, vnlesse he haue first taken her? So then in sight, hearing & speech the goddes might haue corporeal commerce with man. Now if the diuels haue thus much without infection, and the gods cannot, why then the goddes are subiect to contamination: and not the diuels? But if they bee infected also, then what good can they doe a man vnto eternity, whome (beeing them-selues infected) they cannot make cleane, nor fit to bee adioyned with the gods, between whom and men they are mediators? And if they cannot doe this, what vse hath man of their mediation? Vnlesse that after death they liue both together corrupted, and neuer come nearer the goddes; nor inioy any beatitude, either of them. Vnlesse some will make the spirits like to sponges, fetching all the filth from others, and

God not polluted, by being present vnto wise men.

retayning it in them-selues: which if it bee so, the gods conuerse with spirits that are more vn-cleane then the man whose conuersation they auoyd for vn-cleane-nesse sake. Or can the gods mundifie the diuels from their infection, vn-infected and cannot do so with men? VVho beleeueth this that beleueth not the diuels illusions? Againe, if the lookes of man infect, then those visible gods, the (f) worlds bright eyes, and the other stars, are lyable to this infection, and the diuels that are not seene but when they list, in better state then they. But if the sight of man (not his) infect, then let them deny that they do see man, we seeing their beames stretcht to the very earth. Their beames looke vn-infected through all infection, and them-selues cannot conuerse purely with men onely, though man stand in neuer so much necessity of their helpe, wee see the Sunnes and Moones beames to reflect vppon the earth without contamination of the light. But I wonder that so many learned men, preferring things intelligible ever-more before sensible, would mention any corporall matter in the doctrine of beatitude. VVhere is that saying of (g) Plotine: *Lette vs flie to our bright country, there is the father, and there is all?* VVhat flight is that? (h) to become like to GOD. If, then the liker a man is to GOD the nearer hee is also, why then the more vnlike, the farther off: And mans soule the more it lookes after thinges mutable and temporall, the more vnlike is it to that essence that is immutable and eternall.

## L. VIVES.

God incō-  
prehensible

**G**OD (a) the Creator ] *Apul. de deo Socrat. & Dog. Platon.* GOD is celestially, ineffable, and vn-name-able, whose nature is hard to finde, and harder to declare. words The of Plato are these *αὐτὸν οὐκ ἰσχυρὰ φάσιν γινῆσθαι ἀδιάντων* To finde God is hard, but to comprehend him impossible. Thus farre *Apuleius. Plato* in his *Timæus*, that to finde out the father of this vniuerse is a hard matter, but to expresse his full nature to another, utterly impossible. And in his *Parmenides*, disputing of that One, Hee saith it can neyther bee named, defined, nor comprehended, seene nor imagined: (b) *Momentary.* Signifieth that the dimme light sodainly with-draweth it selfe, leauing a slender species, or light impression thereof only, in the mindes of such as haue seene it: yet such an one as giueth ample testimony, of the immensity and lustre thereof. (c) *Vnderstanding* ] In the world there are some markes whereby the worldes Maker may be knowne, but that a farre off, as a light in the most thicke and spacious darke: and not by all, but only by the sharpest wits that giue them-selues wholly to speculation thereof. (d) *Afford his* ] Nor doth the knowledge of God leaue the wise minde, but is euer present when it is purely sought, and holyly. (e) *Handling* ] *Contractation*, of *Tracto* to handle. (f) *Worldes bright* ] *Apulei. de deo Socrat.* For as their maesty required, he dedicated heauen to the immortal goddes, whome partly wee see, and call them celestially: as, you the worlds bright eye that guides the times: *Vos O Clarissima mundi Lumina*, saith *Virgill* of the *Sunne* and *Moone. Georg. 1.* (g) *Plotine* ] *Plato* saith hee, *(Coleyne copy. (h) To become* ] The sentence is *Plato*: wee rehearsed it in the last book. Hee calls heauen our country, because hence we are exiled: Our bright country, because all thinges there are pure, certaine and illustrate, here soule, fickle and obscure: There is the father of this vniuerse, and all thinges about him as the King of all, as *Plato* writes to *Dyonisius. How shall wee gette thether, being so farre, and the way unpasseable by our bodies? Onely one direct and ready way there is to it, to follow God with all our indeanor of imitation. This onely eleuateth vs thether.*

God is to  
be partly  
knowne of  
his crea-  
tures.

*That unto that beatitude that consisteth in participation of the greatest good, we must haue onely such a mediator as Christ, no such as the diuell.*

## CHAP. 17.

**T**O auoyd this inconuenience, seeing that mortall impurity cannot attayne

to

to the height of the celestially purity, wee must haue a Mediator, not one bodyly mortall as the goddes are, and mentally miserable as men are, for such an one will rather maligne then further our cure; but one adapted vnto our body by nature, and of an immortall righteousnesse of spirit, whereby (not for distance of place but excellence of similitude) hee remayned aboue, such an one must giue vs his truly diuine helpe in our cure from corruption and captiuitie. Farre bee it from this incorruptible GOD to feare the corruption of (a) that man which hee putte on, or of those men with whome as man hee conuerfed. For these two Documents of his incarnation are of no small value, that neyther true diuinity could bee contaminate by the flesh, nor that the diuels are our bettets in hauing no flesh; This as the Scripture proclaymeth, is the Mediator betweene GOD and man, the man *CHRIST IESVS*, of whose Diuinity, equall with the father, and his humanity, like vnto ours: this is now no fitte place to dispute.

## L. VIVES.

**O** *F* (e) that man ] The Phraze of *Hierome*, *Augustine* and all the Latine Fathers: The Greekes vse *ἀνθρώπος* in *CHRIST* that is man, nor haue they any other Phraze to vse for the Sonne of GOD his assumption of man: The later Diuines (as if they only were Diuines and hadde found out all *CHRIST*'s Deity and humanity) say that it was not man, but manhood that hee tooke vpon him: And this (say they) is the best ground against heresies. As if *Augustine* and *Hierome* were no body. I but they meant manhood (say these) though they said man. Well then, speake you as they didde, and thinke so too. But you are the neate Polishers of the rude antient Latine and Greeke. Mary the best iest is, you will haue none to contradict the fathers, and giue them the first opposition your selues, and in this you thinke you shew rare acutenesse: But if an other do but leaue your fripples, and sticke to the fathers, you presently proclayme him an Heretique. For if any of your learners of Diuinity, desiring to seeme more religious, and almost attayning it, should say that *CHRIST* assured man, hee is presently thrust from the Lecture for an heretike. O but (say they) man is but the name of the subiect, but manhood declares the nature. Good God what Heretique will not thinke you would deride him if hee vse it thus: And would not deride vs if wee should vse it so.

God assumed man.

All this commentary the

Lovanists

do leaue quite out.

*That the diuels vnder coullor of their intercession,  
seeke but to draw vs from God.*

## CHAP. 18.

**B**Ut those false and deceitfull mediators the diuels, wretched in vncleanesse of spirit; yet working strange effects by their aëreall bodyes, seeke to draw vs from profit of soule, shewing vs no way to GOD, but sweating to conceale that wholly from vs: For in the corporall way, which is most false and erroneous; a way that righteousnesse walkes not (for our ascent to GOD must be by this spirituall likenesse, not by corporall eleuation) but (as I sayd) in this corporall way that the diuels seruants dreame doth ly through the Elements, the diuels are placed in the midst betweene the celestially Goddes and the earthly men, and the gods haue this preheminance that the distance of place keepeth them from contagion of man: so that rather they beleue that the diuels are infected by man, then hee mundified by them, for so would he infect

H h 4

the

the gods(think they)but for the far distance that keeps them cleane. Now who is he so wretched as to thinke any way to perfection,there,where the men do infect, the spirits are infected,and the gods subiect to infection?And wil not rather select that way where the polluted spirits are abandoned, and men are purged from infection by that vnchangeable God, and so made fit persons for the fellowship of the Angels euer vnpolluted.

*That the word Dæmon is not vsed as now of any Idolater in a good sence*

CHAP. 19.

Dæmon v-  
sed alway  
in the scrip-  
ture on the  
worst part.

**B**Vt to auoyd controuersie concerning wordes, because some of these *Demon-feruers*, and *Labco* for one, say, that (a) whome they call: *Demonēs*, others call Angels: now must I say some-what of the good Angels, whome indeed they deny not, but hadde rather call them *Demons* then Angels. But we (as scripture and consequently Christianity instructs vs) acknowledge *Angels* both good and euill, but no good *Demons*. But wher-soeuer in our scripture *Dæmon* or *Dæmonium* is read, it signifieth an euill and vnclane spirit: and is now so vniuersally vsed in that sence, that euen the (c) Pagans them-selues that hold multitude of gods and *Demons* to be adored, yet bee they neuer such schollers, dare not say to their slaue as in his praise: *thou hast a Dæmon*: who-soeuer doth say so, knoweth that he is held rather to curffe then commend. Seeing therefore that all eares do so dislike this word: that almost none but taketh it in ill part, why should we bee compelled to expres our assertion further, seeing that the vse of the word *Angell* will quite abolish the offence that the vse of the word *Dæmon* causeth.

L. VIVES.

Angel  
what it is.

**V**V Home (a) they ] *ἄγγελος* is a messenger: and thence in the Greekes we read often *ἄγγελοι*, the messengers face. *Euripid. Iphigen.* So the *Demonēs* being held the goddes messengers and interpretors, are called *Angeli*, and so is *Mercury* for his office: *Trismegistus* and *Capella* both call him so, and auerre the dueness of his name as declaring our secret thought to the higher powers. (b) *Wee* (as *Scripture*) The Ghospell speaks much of good Angels, and *Christ* nameth the diuels *Angels*. (c) *Pagans*] I said before, that after *Christ* was borne, the name of a *Dæmon* grew into suspect, and so into hatred, as the epithite of an euill essence, as well to the vulgar as the *Phylosofers*.

*Of the quality of the diuels knowledge, whereof they are so proud.*

CHAP. 20.

Dæmonēs,  
why focal-  
led.  
1 Cor. 8. 1.  
Why the  
diuels are  
so proud.

**Y**ET the originall of this name (if we looke into diuinity) affordes some-what worth obseruation, for they were called in Greeke, (a) *ἄσαιορος* for their knowledge. Now the apostle speaking in the holy spirit, saith: *Knowledge puffeth vppe, but charity edifieth*: that is knowledge is then good when it linketh with charity: otherwise it puffeth vp, that is filleth one with vaine glory. So then: In the diuels is this knowledge without charity, and thence they are puffed so big & so proud, that the religious honours which they well know to be Gods due, they haue euer arrogated to them-selues, and as far as they can doe so still. Now what power the humility of *Christ*, that came in forme of a seruant, hath against this diuels pride (as men deserued) dominered in their hearts, mens wretched minds beeing diuelishly as yet puffed vppe, can by no meanes (because of their proud tumor) comprehend or conceue.

L. VIVES

## L. VIVES.

**G**reeke (*a*) *ἄπιστος*] *ἄπιστος* in the old greeke was *ἄπιστος, ἄπιστος*, to know. Thence came *ἄπιστος quasi ἄπιστος* faith the author of the great Etymology, *All knowing*. And Plato is of the same minde, for their knowledge: In *Cratylo*. *Capella* followeth him, and so doe others, *Laërtians* also (*lib. 2.*) giues them this name for their vnderstanding: And so doth *Chalcidius* vpon Plato his *Timæus*.

*In what manner the Lord would make him-sefe  
knowne to the Diuels.*

## CHAP. 21.

**F**OR the diuels hadde this knowledge, they could say to the Lord in the flesh: *What haue we to do with thee, O Iesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy vs* Mark, 1. 14. *before our time?* Here is a plaine knowledge without charity: they feare to be plagued by him, but loued not the iustice in him. Their knowledge was bounded with his will, and his will with conuenience: But they knew him not as the Angels knew him, that participate of his Deity in all eternity, but vnto their terror, out of whose clutches, he quit those y he had predestinated to his Kingdom of true eternall glory, and eternall glorious truth. The diuels therefore knew him not as hee was the life eternall, the vnchangeable light, illuminating all the godly who receiue that light to the purification of their hearts by faith, but they knew him by some temporall effects of his presence, and secret signes of his vertue, which the diuels (*a*) angelicall senses might easilier obserue then mans naturall infirmity: which signes when he suppressed, the Prince of diuels made question of his Deity, and tempted him for the (*b*) tryall of his Deity, trying how farre hee would suffer him-sefe to bee tempted, in (*c*) adapting his humanity vnto our imitation. But (*d*) after his temptation when the good and glorious Angels (whome the diuels extremely feared) came and ministred vnto him; then the diuels gotte Math, 4. more and more knowledge of him, and not one of them durst resist his command, though hee seemed infirme and (*e*) contemptible in the flesh.

## L. VIVES.

**A**ngelicall (*a*) senses] *Christ's* miracles were more admired of the Angells and Diuels then of men, because they knowing the causes of thinges, saw natures power conquered and transcended. Now men though they saw them strange, yet wanted there not some to say hee cast out diuels by *Beelzebub*, their Prince: not so much beleeuing this indeed, as desiring that the simple multitude should beleeuie it. And others of later time haue falsely charged him with art Magicke, against whome (by GODS helpe) I will deale at large in my bookes *De sapientia Christiana*. (*b*) *For tryall*] The Diuell generally tempts man to sinne, but here he aymed not so much at sinne (for he knew his sanctity at least neare expugnable) but his fetch was to see whether the Deity were in this humaine forme. (*c*) *Adapting*] Because he would not seeme exempted (by passing vntempted) from humaine condition: Nor should his seruants after him, thinke much to be tempted, seeing that old malevolent enemy of man didde not spare *CHRIST* him-sefe. (*d*) *After temptation*] This *Temp-* is exemplary also: For as none shall passe vntempted, so if none yeeld to the temptation, they shall all inioy the solace and ministry of Angels, as *Hierome* saith. (*e*) *Contemptible*] Poore, needy, of meane birth and place, farre from ostentation, and hauing his society of such like as hee was.

*The difference of the holy Angels know-  
ledge and the Diuels.*

CHAP. 22.

**V**Nto the good Angels, the knowledge of all temporall things (that puffes vp the Diuels) is vile: not that they want it, but in that they wholly respect the loue of that God that sanctifieth them, in comparison of which ineffable and vnchangeable glory with the (a) loue of w<sup>ch</sup> they are inflamed, they contemne al that is vnder it, that is (b) not it, yea and euen them-selues, that al their good may be imployed in inioying that onely good: And so came they to a more sure knowledge of the world, viewing in God the principall causes of the worlds creation, which causes do confirme this, frustrate that, and dispose of all: now the (c) diuels are far from beholding those eternall and fundamentall causes in the wisdome of God, only they can extract a notion from certaine secret signes which man is ignorant in, haue more experience, and therefore may oftener presage euent. But they are often deceiued, many the Angels neuer. For it is one thing to presage changes & euent from changeable and casuall grounds, and to confound them by as changeable a will (as the diuels are permitted to do) & another thing to fore-see the changes of times, and the wil of God in his eternall vnalterable decrees most (d) certain & (most powerful) by the participatiō of his diuine spirit, as the Angels are vouchsafed by due gradation to do. So are they eternal and blessed. He is their God that made them, for his participation and contemplation, they do (e) continually inioy.

The diuels  
knowledge

The diuels  
often de-  
ceiued.

L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) loue ] Loue alwayes worketh on beauteous obiects. *Socrates in Plato's Phaedo* saith that if corporall eyes could behold the face of honesty and wisdome, they would hold it most deer and amiable. What then if we could see Gods face, whose sayrenesse ((saith the booke of wisdom) appears euen in this, that our sayrest obiects are of his making. *Diotima in Plato's Conui.* (as wee said aboue) holds but one pulchritude worthy the loue of an honest man that desires beatitude. (b) *Is not* ] all that is not God, being vile in respect of God, the Angels contemne both all and them-selues in respect of him, which cogitation fastneth them so firme in Vnion with God, that his beatitude sufficeth without all other appendances to make them eternally blessed. (c) *The diuels* ] For they cannot behold the pole or foundation where-vpon all causes are grounded and turned, nor the fount whence they arise: but only (by their pregnancy and wit, surmounting ours, as also by experence, more then ours (being immortall) they haue a quicke conceipt of things present, and a surer presage in things to come then we haue. Whereby coniecturing euent not from the proper cause, but their owne coniectures, they are oftentimes deceiued, & ly, when they think they speak most true, boasting that they know al things. Nor do the vnpure diuels faile herein onely, but euen the gods them-selues, saith *Porphiry.* (d) *Most certaine* ] Gods will hath this certainty, it effecteth what it pleaseth, else were it not certaine, as not being in his power, but all effects beeing in his hand, it is most certaine. That is, nothing can fall out, but he willeth it, because he willeth nothing but must fall so out. And therefore they that obserue his will, obserue the sure cause of all effectes, because all effectes haue production from his will, so that rightly doth *Augustine* call his will most certaine, and most powerfull, his power being the cause of his wils certainty. This will the Angels and Saints beholding, know as much as the proportion of their beatitude permiteth. For al of them haue not the same knowledge, but gradually, as they haue beatitude, as hee saith. (e) *Continually* ] Continual is their speculation of God, least the least intermission should make them wretched: yet doth not the feare of that, cause them continue the other, but that beatitude doth wholly transport them from the cogitation and desire of all other thinges, they inioying all goodnesse in him that is the fountaine of them all.

Loue of  
faire ob-  
iects.

The cer-  
tainty of  
Gods wil.

That

*That the Pagan Idols are falsely called goddes, yet the scripture allowes it to Saints and Angels.*

## CHAP. 23.

**N**OW if the *Platonists* had rather call these gods, the *Damones*, and reckon them amongst those whome the father created (as their Maister *Plato* writeth) let the do so: we wil haue no verball controuersie with them: If they call them immortall, and yet Gods creatures, made immortall by adherence with him, & not by themselues, they hold with vs, call them what they will. And the best *Platonists* (if not all) haue left records that thus they beleued: for whereas they call such an immortall creature a god, wee (*b*) contend not with them, our scriptures saying: *The God of gods, euen the Lord hath spoken: againe: Praise yea the God of Gods: Againe: A great King aboue all gods:* And in that it is written: *He is to be feared aboue al gods:* The sequell explaines it: *For all the gods of the people are Idols: but the Lord made the beauens.* He calleth him ouer al gods, to wit the peoples, those that the Nations called their gods, being Idols, therefore is he to be feared aboue them all, and in this feare they cryed: *Art thou come to destroy vs before our time?* But whereas it is written. *The God of gods,* this is not to be vnderstood, the God of Idols, or diuels: and God forbid we should say, *A great King aboue all Gods,* in reference to his kingdom ouer diuels: but the scripture calleth the men of Gods familie, gods, *I haue said you are gods, and al children of the most High:* of these must the *God of gods* be vnderstood, and ouer these gods, is King, *The great King aboue al gods.* But now one question: If men being of Gods family, whom he speaketh vnto by men or Angels, be called gods, how much more are they to be so called that are immortall, & inioy that beatitude which men by Gods seruice do aime at? We answer that the scripture rather calleth men by the name of gods, then those immortall blessed creatures whose likenesse was promised after death, because our vnfaithfull infirmity should not be seduced by reason of their supereminence to make vs gods of them: which inconuenience in man is soon auoyded. And y men of Gods familie are the rather called gods, to assure them that he is their God that is the God of gods: for though the blessed Angels bee called goddes: yet they are not called the Gods of Gods, y is of those seruants of God of whom it is said, *You are gods, & al children of the most High.* Here-vpon the *Apostle* saith: *though ther be that are called gods, whether in heauen or in earth, as there be many gods, and many Lords: yet vnto vs there is but one God which is the father: of whome are all things and we in him: and one Lord Iesus Christ, by whome are al things and we by him.* No matter for the name the, the matter being thus past all scruple. But whereas we say from those immortall quires, Angels are sent with Gods command vnto men, this they dislike, as beleuing that this businesse belongs not to those blessed creatures whom they cal goddes, but vnto the *Damones*, whome they dare not affirme blessed but only immortall: or so immortall and blessed as good *Damones* are, but not as those high gods whom they place so high and so farre from mans infection. But (though this seeme a verball controuersie) the name of a *Damon* is so detestable, that we may by no meanes attribute it vnto our blessed Angels. Thus then let vs end this book. Know al that those blessed immortals (how euer called) y are creatures, are no meanes to bring miserable man to beatitude, being from them (*c*) doubly different. Secondly those that pertake immortality with them, and miserable (for reward of their mallice) with vs, can rather enuy vs this happines, then obaine it vs: therefore the

fautors



The diuels  
not to be  
worship-  
ped.

factors of those *Demonēs* can bring no prooffe why wee should honour them as God, but rather that we must auoyd them as deceiuers. As for those whome they say are good, immortal and blessed, calling them goddes and allotting them sacrifices for the attainment of beatitude eternall, In the next booke (by Gods helpe) wee will proue that their desire was to giue this honour not to them, but vnto that one God, through whose power they were created, and in whose participation they are blessed.

### L VIVES.

**A**nd (a) *recker*] *Plato* saith that that great God the father created all the rest. In *Ti-  
meo.* (b) *VVe contend not*] No man denieth (saith *Cyprian*) that there are many gods by participations. *Boethius* calles euery happy man a god, but one onely so by nature, all the rest by participation. And to vs hath *Christ* giuen power to be made the sons of God. (c) *Doubtly*] By, from our misery and mortality: which two wordes, some copies adde vnto the text. The sence is all one, implied in the one and expresse in the other.

Finis, lib. 9.

THE

# THE CONTENTS OF THE tenth booke of the City of God.

1. That the Platonists themselves held that One onely God was the giuer of all beatitude vnto Men and Angels; but the controuersie is, whether they that they hold are to be worshipped for this end, would haue sacrifices offered to themselves, or resigne all vnto God.
2. The opinion of Plotine the Platonist concerning the supernaturall illumination.
3. Of the true worship of God, wherein the Platonists failed in worshipping good or euill Angels, though they knew the worlds Creator.
4. That sacrifice is due onely to the true God.
5. Of the sacrifices which God requireth not, and what he requireth in their signification.
6. Of the true and perfect sacrifice.
7. That the good Angels doe so loue vs, that they desire wee should worship God onely, and not them.
8. Of the miracles whereby God hath confirmed his promises in the mindes of the faithfull, by the ministry of his holy Angels.
9. Of unlawfull Arts concerning the Demils worship, whereof Porphery approoueth some and disalloweth others.
10. Of Theurgy that falsely promiseth to wounde the minde, by the innocation of deuills.
11. Of Porpheries epistle to Anebuns of Egypt, desiring him of instruction in the severall kindes of Demones.
12. Of the miracles that God worketh by his Angels ministry.
13. How the inuisible God hath often made himselfe visible, not as hee is really, but as wee could be able to comprehend his sight.
14. How but one God is to be worshipped for all things temporall and eternall, all being in the power of his providence.
15. Of the holy Angels that minister to Gods providence.
16. Whether in this question of Beatitude we must trust those Angels that refuse the diuine worship and ascribe it all to one God, or those that require it to themselves.
17. Of the Arke of the Testament, and the miracles wrought to confirme the lawe and the promise.
18. Against such as deny to beleene the scriptures, concerning those miracles shewen to Gods people.
19. The reason of that visible sacrifice that the true religion commands vs to offer to one God.
20. Of the onely and true sacrifice which the mediator betweene God and Man became.
21. Of the power given to the deuils, to the greater glorifying of the Saints that haue suffered martyrdom, and conquered the ayrie spirits, not by appeasing them, but by adhering to God.
22. From whence the Saints haue their power against the deuils, and their pure purgation of heart.
23. Of the Platonists principles in their purgation of the soule.
24. Of the true onely beginning that purgeth and reneweth mans whole nature.
25. That all the Saints in the old law, and other ages before it, were iustified onely by the mystery and faith of Christ.
26. Of Porphery his wauering betweene confession of the true God, and adoration of the Demils.
27. Of Porphery his exceeding Apuleius in impietie.
28. What perswasions blinded Porphery from knowing Christ the true wisdom.
29. Of the incarnation of our Lord Iesus Christ, which the impious Platonists shamed to acknowledge.
30. What opinions of Plato, Pophery confuted and corrected.
31. Against the Platonists holding the soule coeternall with God.
32. Of the vniuersall way of the soules freedom, which Porphery sought amisse, and therefore found not: That onely Christ hath declared it.

FINIS.

# THE TENTH BOOKE OF THE CITTIE OF GOD:

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishop of *Hippo*,  
vnto *Marcellinus*.

*That the Platonists themselves held, that One onely God was the giner of all beatitude vnto men and Angels; but the controuersie is, whether they that they hold are to be worshipped for this end, would haue sacrifices offered to themselves, or resigne all vnto God.*

## CHAP. I.



**I**T is perspicuous to the knowledge of all such 'as' haue vse of reason, that man desireth to be happy: But the great controuersies arise vppon the inquisition whence or how mortall infirmity should attaine beatitude: in which the Phylosophers haue bestowed all their time & study, which to relate were here too tedious, and as fruitlesse. He that hath read our 8. booke, wherein we selected with what Phylosophers to handle this question of beatitude, whether, it were to be attained by seruing one God, the maker of the rest, or the others also need not looke for any repetitions here, hauing there to repaire his memory: if it fayle him, we choose the *Platonists*, as worthily held the most worthy Philosphers, because as they could conceiue that the reasonable immorall soule of man could neuer be blessed, but in participation of the light of God the worlds creator: so could they affirme that beatitude (the ayme of all humanitie) was vn-attainable without a firme adherence in pure loue, vnto the vnchangeable *One*: that is *GOD*. But because they also gaue way to Pagan errors (becomming vaine (as *Paul* saith) in their o<sup>r</sup>ne imaginations) and beleued (or would be thought to beleue) that man was bound to honor many gods, and some of them extending this honor euen to deuills, (whom wee haue indifferently confuted:) it resteth now to examine (by gods grace) how these immorall and blessed creatures in heauen (be they in thrones, (a) dominations, principalties, or powers) whom they call gods, and some of them good *Damones*, or *Angels* as we doe, are to be beleued to desire our preservation of truth in religion and piety: that is (to be more plaine) whether their wills be, that we should offer prayer and sacrifice, or consecrate ours or our selues vnto them, or onely to god, who is both their God & ours: the peculiar worship of the diuinity or (to speake more expresse) the deitie, because I haue no one fit Latine word to expresse it; when I need, I will vse the Greeke (b) *Latria*, which our brethren (in all translation of Scripture) doe translate, *Seruice*. But that seruice wherein we serue men, intimated by the Apostle in these words, *Seruants, bee obedient to your masters*, that is, expressed by another Greeke word. But *Latria*, as our Euangelists doe vse it either wholly or most frequently, signifieth the honour due vnto *GOD*. If wee therefore translate it *Cultus* of *Colo*, to worshippe or to till, wee communicate it with more then God, for wee (c) worship [*colimus*] all men of honorable memory or presence: besides *Colo* in generall vse, is proper to (d) things vnder vs, as well as those whome wee reuerence or adore.

for

for hence comes the word *Colonus*, for a husbandman, or an inhabitant. And the gods are called *Calicola*, of *Calum*, Heauen: and *Colo*, to inhabite, not to adore, or worship, nor yet (e) as husband-men, that haue their name from the village of the soyle they possesse, but as that rare Latinist saith. *Vrbs antiqua fuit, (f) Tyry tenuere coloni.* *Coloni* being here the inhabitants, not the husbandmen. And here vpon the townes that haue bene planted and peopled by other greater cities (as one hiue of bees produceth diuerse) are called colonies. So then we cannot vse *Colo* with reference to God without a restraint of the signification, seeing it is communicate vnto so many sences: therefore no one Latine word that I know is sufficient to expresse the worship due vnto God. For though *Religion* signifie nothing so distinctly as the worship of GOD, and there-vpon so wee translate the Greeke (g) *θεουσκια*, yet because in the vse of it in Latine, both by learned and ignorant, (h) it is referred vnto linages, affinities, and all kindreds, therefore it will not serue to auoyde ambiguitie in this theame: nor can wee truly say, religion is nothing else but Gods worship: the word seeming to be taken originally, from humane duty and obseruance. So Piety also is taken properly for the worship of God, where the Greekes vse *ιοουβια*: yet is it attributed also vnto the duty towards our parents: and ordinarily vsed for (i) the workes of mercy, I thinke because God commands it so strictly, putting it in his presence (k) for, and (l) before sacrifices. Whence came a custome to call God, *Pious*. Yet the Greekes neuer call him (m) *ιοουβις*, though they vse *ιοουβια* for mercy, or piety often. But in some places (for more distinction) they choose rather to say *θεουσκια*, Gods worship, then *δουσκια*, plainely, worship, or good worship. But wee haue no one fit worde for to expresse either of these. The Greeke, *λατρία* we translate, *seruice*, but with a restraint of it onely to God: their *θεουσκια*, we turne it, *Religion*, but still with a peculiar reference to God: their *δουσκια* we haue no one word for, but wee may call it Gods worship: which wee say is due onely to him that is the true God, and maketh his seruants gods. Wherefore if there be any blessed immortalls in heauen, that neither loue vs, nor would haue vs blessed, them wee must not serue: but if they both loue vs, and wish vs happinesse, then truly they wish it vs from the fount whence they haue it. Or shall theirs come from one stocke, and ours from another.

Gods ser-  
uants

L. VIVES.

**T**Hrones (a) dominations ] *Iamblichus* diuides the supernall powers into *Angels, Archangels, Damones, Heroes, Principalities* and *Powers*, and those hee saith doe appeare in diuerse manners and fashions. In *Myster*. All the other *Platonists* make them but *gods* and *Damones*. (b) *Latria* ] *λατρία* is *δουσκια*, to serue: but it grew to be vsed for *σκουσι*, to worship. *Suidas*. But *Augustine* will haue the seruice of men called *δουσκια*, not *λατρία*, for the place hee quoteth is: *εις σκλν*, *Seruants &c. Ephes. 6. 5.* Hence ariseth the distinction of *adoratio, Latria, Dulia* and *Hyperdulia*. *Valla* makes *Latria* and *Dulia* both one, for seruice or bondage, and sheweth it by these words of *Suidas*: *λατρία δουσκια ειναι επιμοδα. Seruice or bondage is mercenary.* For an husband saith in *Xenophon*: *I would redeeme this woman from slavery or bondage (εις ελευθεριαν λατρεσθαι) With my life, O Cyrus. Cyripad. lib. 3.* then the wife replied: *Let him redeeme himselfe from bondage (εις ελευθεριαν) With his owne life. Ibid.* The scriptures also vse *λατρευα*, for to bee seruile, or to serue, in *Leuiticus*, *Thou shalt doe no seruile worke (λατρευων.)* And againe, *Thou shalt make none of thy seede to bee slave to thy Prince, (λατρευον.)* And in *Iob*, a begger is called *λατρευω*. *Dulia* and *Latria* haue the last syllable but one, long. (c) *Wee worship* ] And so doth holy writte vse, *Adoration*. (d) *Things vnder vs* ] Rightly: for *Colo* is to handle or exercise: so wee doe *Colere* all that wee vse or practise, learning, armes, sports, the earth, &c. It is also to inhabite.

Dulia

inhabit. (e) *Husbandmen.*] Such as till hired grounds are called *coloni*, as they are called *Inquilini*, that dwell in hired houses in citties, and husbandmen that till their owne ground, aswell as such as are sent forth to inhabit any where, are called *coloni*. Therevpon grew the name of the Roman colonies, to omit the Greekes and Asians. The townes that send out the colonies are called the Metropolitane cities thereof. (f) *Tyrii.*] The Tyrians built Carthage, and came thither with *Dido Elisa*, that fled from *Pigmalion*, after the death of *Sicheus* her husband. This history is as common as a foole: (g) *Opera.*] All one with *Latria* (saith *Suidas*) and *Opuscula* and *Opuscula* are all one, belonging to the gods. For *Orpheus*, they say, first taught the misteries of religion, and because hee was a Thracian hee called this duty, *Opuscula*: or else of *Thresco* (an old word) to see. (h) *It is referred.*] Being taken for piety: which is referred to our country, parents and kined. (i) *The workes.*] The vulgar call the mercifull godly, mercy godlineffe: So do the Spaniards, and French, that speake Latine the worst. (k) *Fore and.*] These two words some copies omit. (l) *Before.*] Wherevpon it is said. *I will haue mercy and no sacrifice. Osee. 6.6.* *Isa. 1.*] None of the learned vse it in that sence indeed.

*The opinion of Plotine the Platonist, concerning the supernall illumination. CHAP. 2.*

**B**Vt wee and those great Philosophers haue no confli& about this question; for they well saw, and many of them plainly wrot that both their beatitude, and ours had originall from the perticipation of an intellectual light, which they counted God, and different from themselves: this gaue them all their light, and by the fruition of this, they were perfect & blessed: (a) in many places doth *Plotine* expaine *Plato* thus: that that which we call the soule of this vniuerse, hath the beatitude from one fount with vs, namely a light which it is not, but which made it: & from whose intellectual illustration it hath al the intelligible splendor. This he argueth in a simily drawn from the visible celestiall bodies compared with these two inuisible things, putting the *Sunne* for (b) one, and the *Moone* for another, for the light of the *Moone* is held to proceed from the reflection of the *Sunne*. So (saith this great *Platonist*) the reasonale or intellectuall soule, of whose nature all the blessed immortalls are, that are contained in Heauen, hath no essence aboue it, but onely gods that created both it, and all the world; nor haue those supernall creatures their beatitude or vnderstanding of the truth from any other originall then ours hath: herein truly agreeing with the scripture, where it is writtten,

*Ioh. 1. 6. 7.* (c) *There was a man sent from God whose name was Iohn, the same came for a witnesse to beare witnesse of the light, that all men (d) through him might beleeue, (e) He was not the light but came to beare witnesse of the light. That was the true light (f) which lighteneth every man (g) that cometh into the world,* which difference sheweth, that that reasonable soule which was in *Iohn* could not bee the owne light, but shone by perticipation of another, the true light. This *Iohn* him-selfe confessed in his testimony, where he said, *Of his fulnesse haue all we receiued.*

L. VIVES.

**I**N (a) many places. From the contemplation of that good father ariseth all beatitude. *Plotine de contemplat.* And elsewhere he saith y our soules after their temporal labours shal enioy one & y same beatitude without difference, with y soule of the vniuerse. (b) *For one.*] For the Prince of the world whence the beatitude ariseth, & the *Moone* for the worlds soule. (c) *There was.*] A man sent least some should thinke every messenger from heauen (& consequently *Iohn* an Angel fro  
God

God, because he could bring no such newes from any but God. (*d*) *Through him* ] not in him quoth *Beda*: (for cursed is the man that trusteth in man) but in the light, by his testimonie, yet Hier. 17 the Greeke, *ἐν αὐτῷ* cannot be distinguished to either side. (*e*) *Hee was not* ] *ἐν τῷ ἐκείνῳ τὸ φῶς*: In the article *ἢ*, *Theophilact* will haue a misterie. The Saints are lights. *You are the light of the world saith Christ*. for they are deriued from his light. Thence followeth that: *That was the true light*: Why, true (saith *Augustine*?) because that which is lightened *ab externo* is light also, but that is the true light that enlightneth. Or the article *τὸ*, may haue relation to the precedence, and the sence bee, *Iohn was not that light of which I spake*. (*f*) *Which lightneth* ] not that all men are enlightned, but because none are enlightned but by this light, or as *Chrysestome* saith it lightneth each man as farre as belongs to him to be lightned. if any doe shutre their hearts against the beames, the nature of the light doth not caufe the darkenesse in them, but their owne malicious depriuing them-selues of such a good, other-wise so generally spred ouer all the world. (*g*) *That commeth* ] *ἐν τὸν κόσμῳ*. *Origen* alleggerizeth vpon it: it lightneth such as come into the world of vertues not of vices.

*Of the true worship of God, wherein the Platonists failed in worshipping good or euill angels, though they knew the worlds creator.*

CHAP. 3.

**T**His being thus, what *Platonist*, or other Philosopher soeuer had held so, and knowne God, and glorified him as God, and beene thankfull, and not become vaine in his conceits, nor haue been an author of the peoples error, nor winked at them for feare: they would haue confessed, that both the blessed immortalls and we wretched mortalls are bound to the adoration of one onely GOD of gods, both their God and ours.

*That sacrifice is due onely to the true God.* CHAP. 4.

**T**O him we owe that Greeke *Latria*, or *seruice*, both in our selues and sacrifices, for we are all his temple, and each one his temples, he vouchsafing to inhabit vs all (*a*) in summe, and each in particuler, being no more in all, then in one: for he is neither multiplied nor diminished (*b*) our hearts eleuated to him are his altars: his (*b*) onely sonne is the priest by whom we please him: we offer him bloody sacrifices when wee shed our blood for his truth: and incence when wee burne in zeale to him, (*c*) the gifts he giueth vs, we doe in vowe returne him: his benefits we consecrate vnto him in set solemnities, least the body of time should bring them into vngratefull obliuion: we offer him the sacrifices of humility & praises on the altar of our heart in *ῥ* fire of feruent loue: for by the sight of him (as we may see him) and to be ioyned with him, are we purged from our guilty & filthy affects and consecrated in his name: he is our blessed founder, & our desires accomplishment. Him we elect, or rather re-elect, for by our neglect we lost him: him therefore we (*d*) re-elect (whence religion is deriued) and to him we do hasten with the wings of loue, to attaine rest in him: being to be blessed by attainment of that finall perfection: for our good (whose end the Philosophers iangled about) is nothing but to adhere vnto him, and by his intellectuall and incorporeall embrace, our soule growes great with all vertue (*e*) and true perfection. This good are we taught to loue with all our heart, with all our soule, and all our strength. To this good we ought to be lead by those that loue vs, and to lead those wee loue. So is the two commandments fulfilled, wherein consisteth all the lawe and the Prophets. (*f*) *Thou shalt loue* (*g*) *thy* (*h*) *Lord thy* (*i*) *God* (*k*) *with all thine heart, with all thy soule, and with all thy minde: and* (*l*) *Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe*. For to teach a man how to loue him-selue, was this end appointed, where-vnto

to referre all his workes for beautitude for he that loues himselfe, desireth but to bee blessed. And the end of this is, coherence with god. So then the command of louing his neighbour, being giuen to him that knowes how to loue himselfe, (m) what doth it but command and commend the loue of God vnto him? This Gods true worshippe, true piety, true religion, and due seruice to God onely, wherefore what immortall power soeuer (vertuous or otherwise) that loueth vs as it selfe, it desires wee should but bee his seruants for beautitude, of whence it hath beautitude by seruing him. If it worshippe not God, it is wretched, as wanting God: if it do, then will not it bee worshipped for God. It rather holds, and loues to hold as the holy scripture writeth. *Hee that sacrificeth to any gods, but the one god shall bee rooted cut,* for to be silent in other points of religion there is none dare say a sacrifice is due, but vnto god alone. But much is taken from diuine worship and thrust into humane honors, either by excessiue humility or pestilent flattery: yet still with a referued notice that they are men, held worthy indeed of reuerence and honor, or at most (n) of adoration. But who euer sacrificed but to him whom hee knew, or thought, or faigned to be a God: And how ancient a part of Gods worship a sacrifice is, *Caine* and *Abel* do shew full prooffe, God almighty reiecting the elder brothers sacrifice, and accepting the yongers.

## L. VIVES.

**A**LL (a) in summe. The Chrch. (b) Our hearts. ] Therevpon are we commanded in diuine seruice to lift vp our hearts, at the preparation to communion. Herein being admonished to put off all worldly thought, and meditate wholly vpon god, listing all the powers of our soule to speculate of his loue, for so is the mind quit from guilts and lets, and made a fit temple for God. (b) His onely sonne. ] Some read, we and the priest please him with his onely sonne, read which you like. (c) The gifts. ] What we giue to God, is his owne, not ours, nor can we please him better, then referre what hee hath giuen vs vnto him againe, as the fount whence they flowed. *What shall I render ouer to the Lord, saith the Psalmist* for all his benefites towards mee? *I will take the cup of saluation, and call vpon the name of the Lord.* This is the onely relation of grace, if thou hast grace. (d) Re-elect. ] *Tully* deriues religion of *relegendo*, reading againe, and calles it the knowledge of GOD, as *Trismegistus* doth. *Lactantius* had rather deriue it of *religando*, binding, because the religious are bound to God in bonds of Piety: *Augustine* of *religendo*, re-electing. I thinke becaute it was fittest for his present allusion. (e) True perfection. ] *Plato* saith that a happy man by speculation of the diuine pulchritude shal bring forth true vertues, not any formes onely. *In conuicio.* (f) Thou shalt loue. ] O what a few lawes might serue mans life! how small a thing might serue to rule (not a true Christian, but) a true man! (indeed hee is no true man that knoweth not and worshippeth not Christ.) What needeth all these *Digests*, *Codes*, *glosses*, *connselles*, and *cauteles*? In how few words doth our great Maister shew euery man his due course. Loue thee that which is aboue aswell as thou canst, and that which is next thee like thy selfe, which doing thou keepest all the laws, and hast them perfit, which others attaine with such toyle & scarcely keepe with so many iuitations and terrors. Thou shalt then bee greater then *Plato* or *Pythagoras* with all their trauels and numbers: then *Aristotle* with all his quirkes and sillogisines: what can bee sweeter then loue? thou art taught neither to feare, fly, nor shrink. (g) Thy. ] God to many, yet the most properly to his seruants: and yet euer common. (h) Lord. ] And therefore to be reuerenced. (i) God. ] And onely God. (k) Withal thine heart. ] Loue God with all thine heart (saith *Augustine de doctri Christian.*) that is, referre all thy thoughts: with all thy soule, that is, referre all thy life: with all thy mind that is, referre all thine vnderstanding, vnto him of whome thou hadst them all. He leaues no part of vs to be giuen to another, but wil haue the fruition of all himselfe. *Origen* explains the hart, viz the thought, worke, and memory: the soule, to bee ready to lose it for Gods sake,

The

Pf. 116. 12  
13.  
Religion.

The sum of  
all religion.

The minde, to professe, or speake nothing but Godly things. (1) *Thou shalt* ] *Augustine de Doct. xpian.* saith that all men are neighbours one to another. And so saith *Christ* in the first precept: for as *Chrysostome* saith, *Man is Gods Image*: so that he that loues man, seemes to loue God. This precept is so congruent to mans nature, that the Philosophers approoued it. For Nature (say they) hath ioyned all men in league and likenesse together. And it is the first in the lawes of friendship, to loue our friend as our selfe: for wee hold him our second selfe. (m) *What doth it* ] Mans desire beeing all vpon happinesse, if he loue his friend as himselfe, he ought to desire to lead him the same way hee goeth himselfe. (n) *Of adoration.* ] For euen men in the scriptures haue a kinde of reuerend adoration allowed them.

Neighbour  
who becometh  
they.

Our friend  
our second  
selfe.

*Of the sacrifices which God requireth not, and what he requireth in their  
signification. CHAP. 5.*

**B**Vt who is so fond to thinke that God needeth any thing that is offered in sacrifice? The scripture condemnes them that thinke so diuersly, one place of the *Psalmist* (to make short) for all: *I said vnto the Lord, thou art my God* (a) *because thou needest none of my goods.* Beleeue it therefore God had no neede of mans cattell, nor any earthly good of his, no not his iustice: but all the worship that hee giueth God, is for his owne profit, not Gods. One cannot say hee doth the fountaine good by drinking of it, or the light, by seeing by it. Nor had the patriarches ancient sacrifices (which now Gods people (b) reade of, but vse not) any other intent, but to signifie what should be done of vs in adherenceto God, and charity to our neighbour for the same end. So then an externall offering, is a visibler sacrament of an inuisible sacrifice, that is, an holy signe. And therevpon the penitent man in the Prophet (or rather the penitent Prophet) desiring God to pardon his sinnes: *Thou desirest no sacrifice though, I would giue it* (saith he:) *but thou delightest not in burnt offering: The sacrifices of God are a contrite spirit: a broken and humbled heart* (O GOD) *thou* (c) *wilt not despise.* Behold here he saith, God will haue sacrifices, and God will haue no sacrifices. Hee will haue no slaughtered beast, but hee will haue a contrite heart. So in that which hee denied, was implied that which hee desired. The Prophet then saying hee will not haue such, why doe fooles thinke he will, as delighting in them? If hee would not haue had such sacrifices as he desired (whereof a contrite heart is one) to haue bin signified in those other (wherein they thought he delighted) hee would not haue giuen any command concerning them in *Leuiticus*: but there are set times appointed for their changes, least men should thinke he tooke pleasure in them, or accepted them of vs otherwise, then as signes of the other: Therefore (saith another *Psalme*;) *If I bee hungry I will not tell thee for all the world is mine, and all that therein is: wil I eate the flesh of Bulls or drinke the blood of Goates,* as who should say, if I would I would not beg them of thee hauing them in my power. But then addeth he their signification: *Offer praise to God, and pay thy vovewes to the most high; And call vpon mee in the day of trouble, and I will deliuer thee, and thou shalt* (d) *glorifie mee.* And in (e) another Prophet: *where-wish shall I come before the Lord and bow my selfe before the high GOD? Shall I come before him with burnt offerings, and with Calues of a yeare old? Will the Lord bee pleased with thousands of Rammes, or with ten thousand riuers of Oyle? Shall I giue my first borne for the transgression, euen the fruite of my bodie for the sinne of my soule? Hee hath shewed thee O man what is good, and what the Lord requireth of thee: surely to doe Iustice and to loue mercy, and to humble thy selfe, and to walke with thy God.*

Psal. 15, 2

Psal. 51, 16;  
17.

Psal. 50, 16  
13.

Ver. 14, 15

Mich. 6, 6;  
7, 8



In these words are both the sacrifices plainly distinct, and it is shewed that God respecteth not the first, that signifie those he respecteth as the Epistle (f) intituled to the *Hebrewes* saith: *To doe good and to distribute forget not: for with such sacrifices (g) God is pleased.* And as it is else-where: *I will haue Mercy and not sacrifice:* this sheweth that the externall sacrifice is but a tipe of the better, and that which men call a sacrifice is the signe of the true one. And mercy is a true sacrifice, wherevpon it is sayd, as before: *With such sacrifices God is pleased.* Wherefore all the precepts concerning sacrifices, in the Tabernacle and the Temple haue all reference to the loue of God and our neighbour. For in these two (as is sayd (h)) is contained all the law and the Prophets.

## L. VIVES.

**B**Ecause (a) *thon*] He is his true Lord that needeth not his goods, when the other needs his. (b) *Read*] So is the best copies. (c) *Thon wilt*] The *Septuagints* reade it *τις σου*. in the third person, and so doth *Augustines text*, but not the *vulgar* [nor our translation.] (d) Some say magnific: some honor: *σακου*, saith the Greeke, and so *Hierome* translateth it. The difference is nothing. (e) *Another Prophet*] *Micah. 6.* carefull to walke with thy God, saith *Hierome* from the hebrew: *Theodotion* hath it, *take diligent heede, ascariu, stand firme, to walke with thy God.* (f) *Intituled*] Intimating the vncertainty concerning the authour thereof. (g) *God is pleased*] The old copies say, let God bee pleased: better then our vulgar *God is deserued, promeretur.* The greeke is *προσιτιται*: *propiciatur*, or *placatur*, is appeased. (h) *Is conueyned*] For this is the end and scope of all the law, and Prophets precepts.

## Of the true, and perfect sacrifice. CHAP. 6.

**E**VERY worke therefore tending to effect our beatitude by a sinfull inherence with God, is a true sacrifice. Compassion shewn vpon a man, and not for Gods sake, is no sacrifice. For a sacrifice (though offered by a man) is a diuine thing and so the ancient Latinists tearme it: wherevpon a man, consecrated w<sup>h</sup>oly to Gods name, to liue to him, and die to the world, is a sacrifice. For this is mercy shewn vpon himsele. And so is it written: *Pity thine owne soule, and please GOD.* And when we chastice our bodyly abstinence, if we doe it as we should, not making our members instruments of iniquity, but of Gods iustice, it is a sacrifice, wherevnto the Apostle exhorteth vs, saying: *I beseech you therefore brethren by the mercies of GOD that you giue up your bodies, a liuing sacrifice holy and acceptable vnto GOD, which is your reasonable seruing of GOD.* If therefore the body beeing but seruant and instrument vnto the soule, being rightly vsed in Gods seruice, bee a sacrifice, how much more is the soule one, when it relieth vpon God, and being inflamed with his loue loofeth all forme of temporall concupiscence, as is framed according to his most excellent figure, pleasing him by participating of his beauty? This the Apostle adioynes in these words: *And fashion not your selues like this world, but bee ye changed in newnesse of heart, that yee may prooue what is the good-will of God, and what is good, acceptable and perfect.* Wherefore seeing the workes of mercy being referred vnto God, (bee they done to our selues or our neighbors) are true sacrifices: and that their end is nothing but to free vs from misery and make vs happy, by that God (and none other) of whom it is said: *It is good for mee to adhere (a) vnto the Lord:* Truly it followeth that all the whole and holy society of the redeemed and sanctified City, bee offered vnto God by that (b) great Priest who gaue vp his life for vs to become members of so great an head in (c) so

Heb. 13. 16

Mercy.

Ecol. 30. 23

Rom. 12. 1

Verse 2.

Psalm. 73.

28

The christians sacrifice.

so meane a forme: this forme he offered, & herein was he offered, in this is he our priest or mediator and our sacrifice, all in this. Now therefore the Apostle hauing exhorted vs to giue vp our bodies a liuing sacrifice, pure & acceptable to God, namely our reasonable seruing of God, and not to fashion our selues like this world, but bee changed in newnesse of heart, that (d) wee might prooue what is the will of God, and what is good, acceptable and perfect, all which sacrifice wee are: For I say (quoth hee) *through the grace that is giuen to mee, to euery one among you, that no man presume to (e) understand more then is meete to understand: but that hee understand according to sobriety, as GOD hath dealt to euery man the measure of faith: for as wee haue many members in one body, and all members haue not one office. So wee beeing many, are one body in Christ, and euery one, one anothers members, hauing diuers gifts according to the grace that is giuen vs &c.* This is the christians sacrifice: wee are one body with Christ, as the church celebrateth in the sacrament of the altar, so well knowne to the faithfull, wherein is shewed that in that oblation, the church is offered.

The sacrament of the altar.

### L. VIVES.

**A** *Where (a)* It is the greatest good: *(b) Great priest* Christ, of Melchisedechs order, not of Aarons: Hee went but once to sacrifice, & that with onely (to wit his crucified body) bought our peace of God. *(c) So meane* Christs man-hood is the churches head: his God-head, the life & soule. *(d) We might prone* So *Augustine* vseth this place wholly Epist. 86, which *Erasmus* wonders at: the greeke referring good, and acceptable, and perfect, all to the will of God. But *Augustine* referreth them either to the sacrifice, or vseth the simply without respect. And in the later sence *Ambrose* also vseth it. *(e) Understand* Or thinke of himselfe, his brethren, or other matters. *(f) Sobriety* *ἡσυχία*. A mediocrity of the whole life is Sobriety saith *Tully* *Offic.* 1. out of *Plato*. Some-time *σωφροσύνη* (saith *Tully* else-where) is translated temperance, moderation, and sometimes modesty: but hee doubts whether he may call it frugality. *Tusc.* 3.

*That the good Angells doe so loue vs, that they desire we should worship God onely, and not them. CHAP. 7.*

**W**Orthily are those blessed immortals placed in those celestial habitations, reioyeing in the participation of their Creator, being firme, certaine and holy, by his eternity, truth & bounty: because they loue vs mortall wretches with a zealous pity, and desire to haue vs immortally blessed also, and will not haue vs sacrifice to them, but to him to whom they know both vs and themselues to bee sacrifices. For we both are inhabitants of that in the psalme: *Glorious things are spoken of thee, thou City of GOD*: part whereof is pilgrime yet with vs, and part assisteth vs with them. From that eternall citty where Gods vnchanging will is all their-law: and from that (a) supernall court (for their are wee cared for) by the ministry of the holy Angells was that holy scripture brought downe vnto vs, that sayth. *Hee that sacrificeth to any but God alone, shall be rooted out.* This scripture, this precept is confirmed vnto vs by so many miracles, that it is plaine enough, to whom the blessed immortalls, so louing vs, and wishing as themselues, would haue vs to offer sacrifice.

Psal. 87. 2

### L. VIVES.

**T**hat supernall (a) Court] Whence the Angells descend and minister vs safety & protection.

Of

*Of the Miracles whereby God hath confirmed his promises in the mindes of the faithfull by the ministry of his holy Angells. CHAP. 8.*

**I** Should seeme tedious in reuoluing the Miracles of too abstruse antiquity: with what miraculous tokens God assured his promises to Abraham *that in his seed should all the earth be blessed*, made many thousand years ago? Is it not miraculous for *Abrahams* barren wife to beare a son, she being of age both past child-birth & conception? that (a) in the same *Abrahams* sacrifices, the fire came down from heauen betweene them as they lay diuided? that the Angells fore-told him their destruction of Sodome, whom he entertained in mens shapes, & from them had Gods promise for a sonne? and by the same Angells was certefied of the miraculous deliury of his brother *Lot*, hard before the burning of Sodome? whose wife being turned into a statue of salt for looking backe, is a great mystery, that none beeing in his way of freedome should cast his eyes behinde him? And what stupendious miracles did *Moyfes* effect in Egipt by Gods power for the freedome of Gods people? Where *Pharaos* Magicians (the Kings of Egipt that held Gods people in thrall) were suffered to worke some wonder, to haue the more admired foile: for they wrought by charmes and enchantments (the delights of the deuills:) but *Moyfes* had the power of the God of heauen & earth, (to whom the good Angells doe serue,) and therefore must needs bee victour: And the Magicians fayling in the third plague, strangely & mystically did *Moyfes* effect the other 7. following: and then the hard-hearted Egiptians, & *Pharao* yeelded Gods people their passage. And by and by repenting, and persuing them, the people of God passed through the waters (standing for them, as rampires) and the Egiptians left al their liues in their depth, being then re-ioyned. Why should I reherse the ordinary miracles that God shewed them in the desert: the sweetening of the bitter waters by casting wood therein, the *Manna* from heauen, that rotted when one gathered more then a set measure: yet gathering two measures the day before the Saboath (on which they might gather none) it neuer putrified at all: how their desire to eate flesh was satisfied with fowles that fell in the tents sufficiēt (O miracle) for al the people, euen til they loath thē! how the holding vp of *Moyfes* hands in forme of a crosse, and his praier, caused that not an *Hebrew* fell in the fight: & how the seditious, seperating them-selues from the society ordained by God, were by the earth swallowed vp quicke, to inuisible paines, for a visible example. How the rocke burst forth into streames being strucke with *Moyfes* rodde, and the serpents deadly bytings being sent amongst them for a iust plague, were cured by beholding a brazen serpent set vp vpon a pole, herein beeing both a present helpe for the hurt, and a type of the future destruction of death by death in the passion of *Christ* crucified! The brazen serpent, beeing for this memory reserued, and afterward by the seduced people adored as an idol, *Ezechias* a religious King, to his great praise, brake in pecces.

### L. VIVES.

**I**N (a) the same This *Augustine* (*Retract. lib. 2.*) recanteth. In the tenth booke (saith he speaking of this worke) the falling of the fire from heauen betweene *Abrahams* diuided sacrifices, is to bee held no miracle. For it was reuealed him in a vision. Thus farre he. Indeed it was no miracle because *Abraham* wondered not at it, because he knew it would come so to passe, and so it was no nouelty to him.

of

*Of unlawfull artes concerning the devils worship, whereof Porphyry approveth some, and disalloweth others. CHAP. 9.*

THESE, and multitudes more, were done to commend the worship of one God vnto vs, and to prohibite all other. And they were done by pure faith and confident piety, not by charmes and coniuration trickes of damned curiosity, by Magike, or (which is in name worse) by (a) *Goetia* or (to call it more honorably) (b) *Theurgie*, which who so seekes to distinguish (which none can) they say that the damnable practises of all such as wee call witches, belong to the *Goetie*, many the effects of *Theurgy* they hold lawdable. But indeede they are both damnable, and bound to the obseruations of false filthy deuills, in stead of Angells. *Porphyry* indeed promiseth a certaine purging of the soule to be done by *Theurgy*, but he (d) falters and is ashamed of his text: hee denies vterly that one may haue any recourse to God by this arte: thus floteth he betweene the surges of sacrilegious curiosity, and honest Philosophy: For, now, he condemneth it as doubtfull, perillous, prohibited, and giues vs warning of it: and by and by, giuing way to the praisers of it, hee saith it is vsfull in purging the soule: not in the intellectuall part that apprehendeth the truth of intelligibilities abstracted from all bodily formes: but the (e) spirituall, that apprehendeth all from corporall objects. This hee saith may be prepared by certaine *Theurgike* consecrations called (f) *Teleta*, <sup>The Tele-</sup> to receiue a spirit or Angell, by which it may see the gods. Yet confesseth hee <sup>12.</sup> that these *Theurgike Teleta* profit not the intellectuall part a iot, to see the owne God and receiue apprehensions of truth. Consequently, we see what sweete apparitions of the gods these *Teleta* can cause, when there can bee no truth discerned in these visions. Finally he saith the reasonable soule (or, as he liketh better to say, the intellectuall) may mount aloft, though the spirituall part haue no *Theurgike* preparation: and if the spirituall doe attaine such preparation, yet it is thereby made capable of eternity. For though he distinguish Angells and *Damones*, placing these in the ayre, and those in the (g) skie, and giue vs counsell to get the amity of a *Damon* whereby to mount from the earth after death, professing no other meanes for one to attaine the society of the Angells, yet doth hee (in manner, openly) professe that a *Damons* company is dangerous: saying that the soule beeing plagued for it after death, abhorres to adore the *Damones* that deceiued it. Nor can he deny that this *Theurgy* (which hee maketh as the league betweene the Gods and Angells) dealerh with those deuillish powers, which either enuy the soules purgation, or els are seruite to them that enuy it: A *Chaldæan* (saith he) a good man, complained that all his endeouour to purge his soule was frustrate, by reason a great Artyst enuying him this goodnesse, adiured the powers (hee was to deale with) by holy inuocations, and bound them from granting him any of his requests. So hee bound them, (saith hee) and this other could not loose them. Here now is a plaine prooffe that *Theurgie* is an arte effecting euill as well as good both with the gods and men: and that the gods are wrought vpon by the same passions and perturbations that *Apuleius* laies vpon the deuills, and men, alike: who notwithstanding (following *Plato* in that) acquits the gods from all such matters by their hight of place, being celestiall.

#### L. VIVES.

**BR** (a) *Goetia*] It is. enchantment, a kinde of witch-craft. *Goetia*, *Magia*, and *Pharmacia Goetia*, (saith

(saith *Suidas*) are diuers kindes : inuented all in Persia . Magike , is the inuocation of deuills ,  
 but those to good endes , as *Apollonius Tyaneus* vsed in his presages . *Goetie* worketh vpon  
 the dead by inuocation , so called of the noyse that the practisers hereof make about graues .  
*Pharmacy* . *Pharmacia* , worketh all by charmed potions thereby procuring death : Magike , and *Astrolo-*  
*gy* , *Magus* (they say) inuented : And the Persian *Mages* had that name from their countrimen ,  
 and so had they the name of *Magusii* . Thus farre *Suidas* . (b) *Theurgy* ] It calleth out the su-  
 perior gods , wherein when wee erre ( saith *Iamblichus* ) then doe not the good gods appeare ,  
 but badde ones in their places . So that a most diligent care must bee had in this operation , to  
 obserue the priests old tradition to a haire breadth . (c) *Witches* ] Many hold that witches , and  
 charms : neuer can hurt a man , but it is his owne conceite that doth it : Bodies may hurt bo-  
 dies naturally ( saith *Plato de leg. lib. 11.* ) and those that goe about any such mischiefe with  
 magicall enchantments , or bondes , as they call them , thinke they can hurt others , and that  
 others by art *Goetique* , may hurt them . But how this may bee in nature , is neither easie to  
 know , nor make others know : though men haue a great opinion of the power of Images :  
 and therefore let this stand for a lawe . If any one doe hurt another by empoysoning , though  
 not deadly , nor any of his house or family , but his cattell , or his bees , if hee hurt them how-  
 soeuer , being a Phisition , and conuict of the guilt ; let him die the death : if hee did it igno-  
 rantly , let the Iudges fine or punish him at their pleasures . If any one bee conuicted of do-  
 ing such hurt by charms , or incantations , if hee bee a priest , or a sooth-saier , let him die the  
 death : but if any one doe it that is ignorant of these artes , let him bee punishable as the law  
 pleaseth in equity . Thus farre *Plato de legib. lib. 11.* *Porphyry* saith that the euill *Demonnes*  
 are euermore the effectors of witch-crafts : and that they are chiefly to bee adored that ou-  
 uerthrow them . These deuills haue all shapes to take , that they please , and are most cunning  
 and couzening in their prodigious shewes , these also worke in these euill , those vnfortu-  
 nate loues : all intemperancy , couetice and ambition , doe these supplie men with , and especi-  
 ally with deceit : for their propriety most especiall is lying . *De anim. abst. lib. 2.* (d) *Fal-*  
*ters* ] As seeing the deuills trickes in these workes , selling themselues to vs by those illusive o-  
 perations . But *Iamblichus* being initiate and ( as hee thought ) more religious , held , that  
 the arte was not wholly reproveable , ( being of that industrie and antiquity ) because that  
 some-times it gulleth the artifice : the priests must therefore diuide the spirits into *Classes* , and  
 remember that no good spirit will bragge of his cunning . (e) *Spirituall* ] Wherein are the  
 abstracts of externall obiects , all reserued , and sent to the common sence , the phantasie , the  
 estimation , and the memory : these , beasts haue as well as wee , being common receipts of the  
 sensible obiects in both : but then wee haue the minde , and the ponderatiue iudgement of  
 reason , consisting of the two intellects the *Recipient* , and the *agens* : last of all is the will . (g)  
*Skie* ] *Plato* ( to beginne with the King in this ranke ) saith that the first kind of gods haue in-  
 uisible bodies : the second spred through heauen , and visible : the third the *Demons* bodies ,  
 two-fold : the first ethereall , more pure then the other in substance : the second ayry , and more  
 grosser , but neither of these intirely visible : there are also the Semi-gods with warty bodies ,  
 seene , and vnseene when they list , and when wee see them their transparent light formes make  
 vs wonder . *In Epinom. Pfellus* . ( Out of one *Marke* a skilfull *Demonist* ) relateth sixe kindes  
 of *Demonnes* . First the fiery , called in Barbarian *Basteliureon* , and these wander in the toppe of  
 the ayry region ( for hee keeps all the *Demonnes* as profaine creatures ( out of a temple ) vnder  
 the moone ) . 2. the ayry , nearer vnto vs . 3. the earthly , dwelling vpon the earth , perillous foes  
 vnto mankinde . 4. watry , dwelling in iuets , lakes and springs , drowning men often , raising  
 stormes at sea , and sinking shippes . 5. the subterrene , that liue in caues , and kill well-diggers ,  
 and miners for mettalls , causing earth-quakes , and eruptions of flames , and pestilent winds . 6.  
 night-walkers , the darke and most inscrutable kinde , striking all things they meet with cold  
 passions . And all those deuills ( saith hee ) hate both gods and men but some worse then  
 others . Then hee procedes to describe how they hurt men , too tediously for me to dilate .  
*Porphyry* reckneth gods that are either heauenly , ethereall , ayry , watry , earthly , or infernall ,  
 and assignes euery one their proper sacrifice . The earthly must haue blacke beasts vpon altars :  
 so must the infernall , but in graues : the watry gods will haue black-birds throwne into the  
 sea , the ayry , white birds , killed . The celestiall and etheriall white sacrifices also that must not  
 bee diminished , and much more of this madnesse hath he in his booke called *Resp. ex orac. A-*  
*poll.* . Nor are they new inuentions , but drawne all from *Orpheus* and *Mercury* , *Mercury* left  
 ( saith

saith *Iamblichus*,) an hundred bookes of the *Empyreall*: an hundred of the *Ethereall*: and a thousand of the celestiall. *Proclus* diuides the deuills into fiue regimentes rather then fiue kinds destinguishing them by their functions. But of this, inough. *Augustin* out of *Porphyr* calls their fiery gods *Empyreall*, whom both *Plato* and *Porphyr* seeme not to distinguisht from the celestiall, whom they make of fiery nature.

*Of Theurgy that falsly promiseth to mundifie the minde by the inuocation of deuills.* CHAP. IO.

**B**Ehold now this other (and they say more learned) *Platonist Porphyr*, with his owne *Theurgy* makes all the gods subiect to passion and perturbation. For they may by his doctrine, bee so terrifying from purging soules by those that enuy their purgation, that hee that meaneth euill may chaine them for euer from benefiting him that desires this good, and that by this art *Theurgique*: that the other can neuer free them from this feare and attaine their helpes, though hee vse the same Art neuer so: Who seeth not that this is the deuills meere cousinage but hee that is their meere slaue, and quite bard from the grace of the Redeemer? If the good gods had any hand herein, surely the good desire of Man that would purge his soule should vanquish him that would hinder it. Or if the gods were iust and would not allowe him it, for some guilt of his, yet it should bee their owne choyse, not their being terrified by that enuious party, nor (as hee sayth) the feare of greater powers that should cause this denyall. And it is strange that that good *Chaldean* that sought to bee thus purged by *Theurgy* could not finde some higher GOD, that could either terrifie the other worse, and so force them to further him, or take away their terrour, and set them free from the others bond to benefite him: and yet should this good *Theurgike* still haue lackt the rites wherewith to purge these gods from feare first ere they came to purge his soule: For why should hee call a greater GOD to terrifie them, and not to purge them? Or is there a GOD that heareth the malicious, and so frights the lesser gods from doing good, and none to heare the well-minded, and to set them at libertie to doe good againe? O goodly *Theurgy*! O rare purgation of the minde! where impure enuy doth more then pure deuotion! No, no, auoide these damnable trap-falls of the deuill, flie to the healthfull and firme truth: For whereas the workers of these sacrilegious expiations doe behold (as hee saith) some admired shapes, of Angells, or Gods, as if their spirits were purged: why if they doe; aske the Apostles reason: For (a) *Satan transformeth himselfe into an Angell of light.*

The deuills apparitions.

2. Cor. 11. 14

These are his Apparitions, seeking to chaine mens poore deluded soules in fallacies, and lying ceremonies; wresting them from the true, and onely purging and perfecting doctrine of GOD: and as it is layd of (b) *Proteus*, hee turnes himselfe to all shapes; persuing vs as an enemy, fawning on vs as a friend, and subuerting vs in both shapes.

L. VIVES.

**F**Or (a) *Satan*] Confest by *Porphyr* and *Iamblichus* both. The deuills most especiall property is lying, and still they assume the faces of other Gods, saith the first. *De sacrifice*

K k

lib. 2.

Proetus.

Lib. 2.

*lib. 2.* Their euill spirits often assume the shapes of good, comming with brags and arrogance to men sayth the second. *In Myster.* (*b*) *Proteus* Sonne (saith *Hesiod*) to *Oceanus*, and *Thetis*: a great prophet, and as *Virgill* saith skild in all things past, present and to come. *Homer* faigneth that hee was compeld to presage the truth of the Troian warre to *Agamemnon*, and *Virgill* saith that *Aristeus* serued him so also. *Valerius Probus*, saith hee was an Egiptian, and called *Busiris* for his tyranny: *Virgil* calls him *Pallenius*, of a towne in Macedonia, and there was hee borne (saith *Seruius*) many reigned (as *Virgill* saith) in *Carpathum*. *Herodotus*, saith hee was of *Memphis*, and King there when *Paris* and *Hellen* came into Egipt, and for their adultery hee would let them stay there but three daies. *In Euterpe.* *Diodorus* saith that the Egiptians called him *Ceteus* whom the Greekes called *Proteus*, that hee was a good Astronomer, and had skill in many artes, and reigned in Egipt in the time of the Troyan warre. The Egiptian Kings vsed alwaies to giue the halfe Lyon, or the Bull, or Dragon for their armes, and thence the Greekes had this fiction. *I thinke hee changed his escurcheon often.*

*Of Porphyryes Epistle to Anebuns of Egipt, and desyring him  
of instruction in the seuerall kindes of Dæmones.*

CHAP. II.

**T**Ruly *Porphyry* shewed more witte in his Epistle to (*a*) *Anebuns* of Egipt, where betweene learning and instructing hee both opens and subuertes all these sacriledges. Therein hee reprooueth all the *Dæmones* that because of their foolishnesse doe draw (as hee sayth) the (*b*) humid vapours vppe, vnto them: and therefore are not in the skie but in the ayre, vnder the Moone, and in the Moones bodie. Yet dares hee not ascribe all the vanities to all the deuills, that stucke in his minde: For some of them hee (as others doe) calls good: whereas before hee had called them all fooles. And much is his wonder why the gods should loue sacrifices, and bee compelled to grant mens sutes. And if the gods and *Dæmones* bee distinguished by corporall, and vncorporall, why should the Sunne, Moone, and other Starres visible in Heauen (whom hee auoucheth to bee bodies) bee called gods? and if they bee gods, how can some bee good, and some euill? Or beeing bodies, how can they bee ioyned with the gods that haue no bodies? Furthermore, hee maketh doubts whether the soule of a diuiner, or a worker of strange things, or an externall spirit, cause the effect.

But hee coniectureth on the spirites side the rather of the two, because that they may bee bound, or loosed, by (*c*) hearbes and stones, in this or that strange operation. And some therefore, hee saith, doe (*d*) hold a kinde of spirits, that properly heare vs, of a suttlenature, and a changeable forme, counterfeiting both gods, *Dæmones*, and dead soules, and those are agents in all good or badde effects: But they neuer further man in good action, as not knowing them, but they doe entangle and hinder the progresse of vertue, by all meanes; they are rash and proud, louers of fumigations, taken easily by flattery, and so forth of those spirits that come externally into the soule, and delude mans senses sleeping and waking: yet all this hee doth not affirme, but coniectures, or doubts, or saith that others affirme, for it was hard for so great a Philosopher to know all the deuills vilenesse fully, and to accuse it freely, which knowledge no Christian Idiot euer seeketh, but fully detesteth. Perhaps hee was afraide to offend *Anebuns* to whome hee wrote, as a great Priest of such Sacrifices, and the other (*e*) admirers of those things as appurtenances

appurtenances of the diuine honors. Yet maketh hee as it were an inquisitiue proceeding in those things which beeing well pondered will prooue attributes to none but malignant spirits. Hee asketh (*f*) why the best gods beeing inuoked, are commanded as the worst, to fullfill mens pleasures: and why they will not heare ones praier that is stayned with vcery, when as they haue such incestuous contracts amongst themselues, as examples to others? Why they forbidde their priests the vse of liuing creatures least they should bee polluted by their smells, when as they are inuoked, and inuited with continuall suffumigations, and smells of sacrifices? And the sooth-sayer (*g*) is forbidden to touch the carcasse, when as their religion lies wholly vpon carcasses. Why the charmer threatneth not the gods, or *Damones*, or dead mens soules but (*h*) the Sunne or the Moone, or such celestially bodies, fetching the truth out by this so false a terour? They will threaten to knocke downe the skie, and such impossibilities, that the gods beeing (like foolish babes) afraide of this ridiculous terour, may doe as they are charged. Hee sayth farther that one *Charemon*, one of the sacred (or rather sacrilegious) priests, hath written, that that same Egyptian report of (*i*) *Isis*, or her husband *Osyris*, is most powerfull in compelling of the gods to doe mens pleasures, when the inuoker threatens to reueale them, or to cast a broad the members of *Osyris*, if hee doe not dispatch it quickly. That these idle fond threatnes of man, yea vnto the gods and heauenly bodies the Sunne, the Moone &c. should haue that violent effect to force them to performe what men desire, *Porphyry* doth iustly wonder at, nay rather vnder colour of one adniring and inquiring, hee sheweth these to bee the actions of those spirits whome hee described vnder shadowe of relating others opinions, to bee such deceitfull counterfeiteres of the other gods, many they are deuills themselues without dissembling: As for the Herbes, Stones, Creatures, Sounds, Wordes, Characters, and (*k*) constellations, vsed in drawing the powers of those effects, all these hee ascribes to the deuill; delight in deluding and abusing the soules that serue and obserue them.

Charemon

So that *Porphyry* either in a true doubt, describeth such of those actes, as can haue no reference to those powers by which wee must ayme at eternity, but conuince them-selues the false deuills peculiars: or els hee desireth by his humility in inquiring, not by his contentions opposing, to drawe this *Anebums* (that was a great Priest in those ceremonies, and thought hee knewe much) vnto a due speculation of these things, and to detect their detestable absurdity vnto him. Finally in the end of his Epistle hee desireth to bee informed what doctrine of beatitude the Egyptians held. But yet hee affirms that such as conuerse with the gods and trouble the deity about fetching againe of theeues, buying of landes, marriages, bargaines or such like, seeme all in a wrong way to wisdom. And the gods they vse herein, though they tell them true, yet teaching them nothing concerning beatitude are neither gods nor good *Damones*, but either the false ones, or all is but a figment of man. But because these artes effect many things beyond all humane capacity, what remaineth, but firmly to beleue, and credibly to affirme that such wonders (in worde or deedes) as haue no reference to the confirmation of their worship of that one God, (to whom to adhere (as the *Platonists* affirme) is the onely beatitude) are onely seducements of the deceitfull fiendes, to hinder mans progresse to vertue, and soly to bee auoided and discovered by true zeale and piety.



## L. VIVES.

Porphyryes  
opinion of  
the gods  
that loue  
sacrifices.

**T**O (a) *Anebens*] Or *Anekon*. (b) *Humid vapors*] Hee saith they loue fumes, and smells of flesh, which fatten their spirituall bodies, which liue vpon vapors, and fumigations, and is diuersly strengthened by their diuersity: *Iamblichus* (the truer *Demonist*) seeing him put this as an expression of the deuills nature, denies it all. For *Porphyry* directly affirmed that all such spirits as delighted in slaughtered offrings, were euill *Damones*, and liers: and consequently so were all his gods to whom he diuideth sacrifices in his *Responſa*, mentioned in our Comment vpon the ninth chapter of this booke. Thus was he tost betweene truth, and inueterate error, daring neither affirme them al good, nor al euill, for feare of his schollers, his disciplines authority, and the deuill himselfe. (c) *Herbes*] *Porphyry* maruells that men haue the gods so obsequious, as to giue presages in a little meale. This admiration, and question *Iamblichus* (as hee vs-eth) answers with a goodly front of words, which any one may reade, but neither the Egyp- tians, nor he himselfe can probably declare what they meane. The gods (saith he) exceeding in power and goodnesse, and the causes contayning all, are wretched if they be drawne down by meale: fond were their goodnesse, if they had no other meanes to shew it; and abiect their nature, if it were bound from contemning of meale: which if they can doe why come they not into a good minde, sooner then into good meale? (d) *Doehold*] *Porphyry* saith those euill *Damones* deceiue both the vulgar, and the wise Philosophers, and they by their eloquence, haue giuen propagation to the error. For the deuills are violent, false, counterfeits, dissemblers & seek to imbezell gods worship. There is no harme but they loue it, and put on their shapcs of gods to lead vs into deuillish errors. Such also are the soules of those that die wicked. For their per- turbations of Ire, concupiscence and malice leaue them not, but are vsed by these soules being now become deuills, to the hurt of mankind. They change their shapcs also, now appearing to vs, and by and by vanishing: thus illuding both our eyes and thoughts; and both these sorts possesse the world with couetice, ambition pride, and lust, whence all warres and conflicts arise: and which is worst of all, they seeke to make the rude vulgar thinke that these things are acceptable to the gods. And poesie with the sweetnesse of phrase hath helped them piti- tily forwardes. Thus farre *Porphyry de Abst. anim. lib. 2.* not in doubtfull or inquiring man- ner, as hee doth in his writing to the priest, but positiuely, in a woike, wherein he sheweth his owne doctrine. (e) *admirers*] The Philosophers whom hee saith erred themselues concerning the gods natures, some in fauour of the gods, and some in following of the multitude. (f) *Why the best*] Thus hee beginnes, *καὶ τῶν θεῶν, &c.* Of those that are called gods but are indeede wicked *Damones*. (g) *The soothsayer*] *Eopotes*, the proper word for him that lookes on their sacrifice. (h) *The Sunne*] So saith *Lucan* his Thessalian witch, that shee can force the gods to what she list. *Lucans.* (i) *Isis or*] These are the Sunne and Moone. Their secret ceremonies being most beastly and obscene, the deuills feare to haue them reuealed (as *Ceres* did) or else delude their worshipp by counterfeite feare, and so make vse of their fonde errour. This of *Isis* and *Osyris* belongs to the infernalls also; for *Porphyry* saith the greatest deuill is called *Serapis* and that is *Osyris*, in Egyp, and *Pluto* in Greece, his character is a three headed dog, signifying the deuills of the earth, ayre and water. His *Isis*, is *Hecate* or *Proserpina*: so it is plaine that this is meant of the secrettes of hell, which haue mighty power in magicall prac- tises. These doth *Erichtho* in *Lucan* threaten to the Mooue, the infernalls, and *Ceres* sacrifi- ces. The Poet expresseth it thus.

Isis.

Osyris.

————— *Miratur Erichtho,*  
*Has satis licuisse moras, irasq̄, morti*  
*Verberat immotum viuo serpente cadauer.*  
*Perq̄, cauas terra quas egit carmine rimas*  
*Manibus illatrat, regnq̄, silentia rumpit.*  
*Typhone, vocisq̄, mea secura Megæra,*  
*Non agitis senis Erebi per inane flagellis*  
*Infeliceu animam? Iam vos ego nomine vero,*  
*Eliciam, stigiasq̄, canes in luce superna*  
*Destinam: per busta sequar: per funera custos*  
*Expellam tumultis, abigam vos omnibus urnis.*

*Teq̄,*

*Teque deis, ad quos alio procedere vultu.  
Eiſta ſoles Hecate, pallenti tabida forma  
Oſtendam, faciemque Erebi mutare vetabo,  
Eloquar immenſo terra ſub pondere, qua te  
Contineant Ennea dapes, quo fœdere mœſtum,  
Regem noctis ames, qua te contagia paſſam,  
Noluerit reuocare Ceres: tibi peſſimè mundi,  
Arbiter immittam ruptis Titana cauernis,  
Et ſubito ferière die.*

-----*Erichſho* wonders much,

At fates de ay, and with a liuing ſnake  
She laſht the ſlaughtred corps, making death quake,  
Een-through the rifts of earth, rent by her charmes,  
She barks in hells broad care theſe blacke alarmes,  
Stone-deaf *Megara* and *Tyſiphone*,  
Why ſcourage yea not that wretched ſoule to me  
From hells huge depths? or will you haue me call yee,  
By your true names, and leaue yee? (ſoule befall yee)  
You ſtigian dogs, Ile leaue you in the light,  
And ſee the graues and you diſſeuerd quite.  
And *Hecate*, thou that art neuer knowne  
But in falſe ſhapes, Ile ſhew thee in thine owne:  
Whole heauen(perforce) ſhall ſee thy putred hew,  
And from earths gutts will I rip forth to vew  
The ſcaſts, and meanes that make thee *Pluto's* whore,  
And why thy mother fet thee thence no more,  
And thou(the worlds worſt King) al-be thou dead  
In darkeneſſe, I will breake through all, and ſend  
Strange light amid thy caues.

And *Porphiry* (in *Reſponſ.*) brings in *Hecate* compelled to answer the magician.

-----*τις δὲ*, &c.

-----Why doſt thou blind vs ſo

*Theodamas*, what wouldſt thou haue vs do.

*Apollo* alſo confeſſeth that he is compelled to tell truth againſt his will:

*Καὶ θὶ μὲν*, &c.

I answer now perfore, as bound by Fate,

And by and by calleth to bee looſed: -----*λευτε*, &c. looſe the left ring. *Porphiry* alſo ſaide (as *Iamblichus* writeth in *Miſter*) that the Priests were wont to vie violent threats againſt the Gods, as thus: if you doe not this, or if you doe that, I will breake downe Heauen. I will reueale *Iſis* her ſecrets, and diuulge the miſtery hid in the depth: I will ſtay the *Baris* (a ſacred ſhip in Egipt) and caſt *Oſiris* members to *Typhon*. Now *Iamblichus* ſaith thoſe threates tend not to the gods, but there is a kind of ſpirits in the world, confuſed, vndiſcreet, and inconfiderat, that heareth from others, but no way of it ſelfe and can neither diſcerne truthes nor poſſibilities from the contraries. On theſe do thoſe threatnings worke, and force them to all duties. Perhaps this is them that *Porphiry* giueth a fooliſh wil vnto: *Iamblichus* proceedeth to the threatſ; read them in him. (k) *Conſtellations.* } *Porphiry* writeth out of *Charemon*, that that astrology is of man incomprehenſible: but all theſe conſtellated workes, and prophecies, are taught him by the deuills. But *Iamblichus* oppoſeth him in this, and in the whole doctrine of deuills. The man is all for this prodigious ſuperſtition, and laboureth to answer *Prophiry* for *Anebums*.

*Of the miracles that God worketh by his Angels miniſtery.*

CHAPTER 12.

**B**Vt all miracles (done by angells or what euer diuine power) confirming the true adoration of one God vnto vs, (in whome only we are bleſſed) we beleeue

Kk 3

Man a  
great mira-  
cle.

belceue truely are done by Gods power working in them immortalls that loue vs in true piety. Heare not those that deny that the inuisible God worketh visible miracles: is not the world a miracle? Yet visible, and of his making. Nay, all the miracles done in this world are lesse then the world it selfe, the heauen and earth and all therein, yet God made them all, and after a manner that man cannot conceiue nor comprehend. For though these visible miracles of nature, bee now no more admired, yet ponder them wisely, and they are more adirable then the strangest: for man is (a) a greater miracle then all that hee can worke. Wherefore God that made heauen and earth (both miracles) scorneth not as yet to worke miracles in heauen and earth, to draw mens soules that yet affect visibilities, vnto the worship of his inuisible essence. But where and when he will doe this, his vnchangeable will onely can declare: (b) at whose disposing all time past hath beene, and to come, is. He moueth all things in time, but time adoreth not him, nor moueth hee future effects otherwise then present. Nor heareth our prayers otherwise then he fore-seeth them ere we pray: for when his Angells here them, he heareth in them, as in his true temples (not made with hands) & so doth he hold al things effected temporally in his Saints, by his eternall disposition.

### L. VIVES.

All time  
present to  
God.

**M**An is a (a) greater] The saying is most common in *Trismegistus*: *Man is a great miracle.*  
(b) *At whose disposing*] *Paul* saith all things lie open and bare vnto Gods knowledge, for all time is neither past nor to come, but present to him. So doth hee determine, and dispose of all things as present, nor doth yesterday, or this day, passe or come with him, as it doth with vs. His power and essence admitteth no such conditions, nor restraints: All eternity is present to him, much more our little percell of time: yet he that made our soules, adapted them times fit for their apprehensions: and though hee see how wee see and know, yet hee neither seeth nor knoweth like vs. Shall wee run on in a Philosophicall discourse hereof, wanting rather wordes then matter, or is it better to burst out with *Paul* into admiration, and cry out. *O the altitude of the riches, wisdom, and knowledge of God!*

*How the inuisible God hath often made himselfe visible, vnt, as he is really but as we could be able to comprehend his sight.* CHAP. IZ.

Exod. 33  
13.

**N**Or hurteth it his inuisibility to haue appeared (a) visible oftentimes vnto the fathers. For as the impression of a sound of a sentence in the intellect, is not the same that the sound was: so the shape wherein they conceiued Gods inuisible nature, was not the same that he is: yet was he seene in that shape, as the sentence was conceiued in that sound, for they knew that no bodily forme could (b) containe God. He talked with *Moyse*, yet *Moyse* intreated him (a) *If I haue found fauour in thy sight, shew mee thy face, that I may (d) know thee.* And seeing it behoued the law of God to bee giuen from the mouthes of Angells with terror, not to a few of the wisest, but to a whole nation, great things were done in the mount before the sayd people, the lawe beeing giuen by one, and all the rest beholding the admirable and strange things that were done. For the Israelites had not that confidence in *Moyse* that the Lacedemonians had in (d) *Lycurgus*, to beleeue that hee had his lawes from *Ioue* or *Apollo*. For when that lawe was giuen the people, that enioynes the worshippe of one God, in the view of the same people were strange proofes shewne (as many as Gods prouidence thought fit) to proue that that was the Creator whom they his creatures ought to serue in that lawe.

L. VI.

## L. VIVES.

**A**ppeard (a) visible ] *John* in his Gospell saith, that no man hath ever seene God : and *Paul* confirmeth it, yet *Jacob* saith, *Hee saw the Lord face to face*. And *Exod. 33.* it is said *Moyse* spake with God face to face, as one friend with another : which many places of Scripture testify. But it is so sure that man cannot behold Gods invisible nature, that some haue said that neither the Angels nor Archangels doe see him. *Chrysof.* and *Gregor.* The fathers therefore saw Angels in such Maiestie of forme as they thought was diuine : for that the Angels spoake with the fathers, and gaue them the lawe, *Paul* affirmeth to the Hebrewes in these words. *If the words spoken by Angels was stedfast, &c.* The same saith *Steuens. Actes. 7.* Now this was no shape of God, (for none hee hath) saith *Chrysofome*, that *Christ* saith the Jewes neuer sawe, but this was that visible shape that the Angels (by Gods appointment) take vpon them, so farre exceeding ordinary shapes, that it seemes diuine, and is a degree to the view of the deity : this (saith he) *Christ* saith they had not seene, though they thought they had *Exo. 19.*

(b) Containe ] A diuerse reading in the Latine. (c) *If I haue* ] It is plaine saith *Gregorie* that during this life, man may see some images of God, but neuer him-selfe in his proper nature : as the soule inspired with the spirit, seemeth some figures of God, but can neuer reach the view of his essence. Hence it is that *Jacob* seeing but an Angell, thought hee had seene God : And *Moyse* for all he was said to speake with him face to face, yet said : *Show mee thy face that I may see thee* : whence it is apparant that hee desired to behold that cleare vncircumscribed nature, which he had but yet beheld in shadowes and figures. *Moral. in Iob. lib. 17.* But the Angell, (Gods deputy) answered *Moyse* thus : *Thou canst not see my face, for there shall no man see mee and liue.* But a little after : *Thou shalt see my back parts : but my face thou shalt not see.*

So the prints of the deity left in his creatures we may see, and so aspire towards his invisibility : each get more knowledge thereof as God giues more grace. But his true essence is more ample, then our weake sence and intellect can comprehend ; or then can be so farre debased. But of speach with God it is not so, nor doe I thinke it impious or absurd to hold that God spake to many of the Fathers, and after *Christ* to many of the Saints : God, euen that God of heauen and earth ; it is not against his Maiestie, but congruent to his infinite goodnesse. His face might be seene as *Augustine* declares. (d) *Know thee* ] Or see thee knowingly. (e) *Lycurgus* ] *Lycurgus* Sonne to *Eunomis* King of *Sparta*, and *Dionassa*, brother to king *Polibites*, or (*Plutarck*) *Polidectes*, after whose death, he reigned vntill his brothers wife prooued with child : for then hee resigned to the childe vnborne, if it were a sonne, and proouing so, hee was protector. He gaue the *Lacedemonians* sharpe lawes, and therefore feyned to haue them from *Apollo* of *Delphors* some say from *Ioue*, because hee went into *Crete*, (to auoide the maleuolence of some of his country-men) and there they say, learned hee his lawes of *Ioue*, that was borne there ; *Iustine* saith hee dyed in *Crete* : But the Historiographers doe neither agree of his birth, lawes, nor death, (saith *Plutarck*) nor of his time, nor whether there were diuerse so called. *Timeus* reckoneth two, and both *Lacedemonians* : but saith that both their deedes were referred to the later, that the elder liued in *Homers* time, or not long after. Of *Lycurgus* lawes, I omitte to speake here, seeing they are so rife in *Plutarck* and *Zenophon*, common authors both.

*How but one God is to be worshipped for all things, temporall and eternall: all being in the power of his providence. CHAP. 14.*

**B**UT the true religion of all mankind (referred to the people of God) as well as one, hath had increase, and receiued more and more perfection, by the succession and continuance of time, drawing from temporalities to eternity, and from thinges visible to the intellectuall : so that euen then when the promise of visible rewards was giuen, the worship of one onely God was taught, least mankind should be drawne to any false worship for those temporall respects : for he is mad that denyeth that all that men or Angels can doe vnto man, is in the hand of One almighty : *Plotine* the *Platonist* (a) disputes of providence, prouing it to be deriued from the high, ineffable & beautilous God, (b) vnto the meanest creature on earth,

earth, (c) by the beautie of the flowers, and leaues : all which so transitory, momentary things, could not haue their peculiar, seuerally-sorted beauties, but from that intellectuall and immutable beauty forming them all. This our Sauour shewed, saying: *Learn how the Lillies of the field doe growe: they labour not, neither spinne, yet say I vnto you that euen (d) Salomon in all his glory was not araye like one of these: wherefore if God so cloathe the grasse of the field which is to day, and to morrow is cast into the Ouen, shall not hee doe much more vnto you; O you of little faith?* Wherefore though the minde of man bee weake, and clogged with earthlie affects, and desires of those things that are so fraile and contemptible in respect of the blessings celestiaall (though necessaries for this present life) yet doth it well to desire them at the hands of one onely GOD, and not to depart from his seruice to obtaine them else-where, when they may soonest attaine his loue by neglect of such trifles, and with that loue all necessaries both for this life, and the other.

## L. VIVES.

**P**latonist (a) disputeth ] In foure bookes, shewing that the least part of this inferior world is respected by the Prince of nature, and that by the intelligible world, which is with God, this world of ours was made: many that the depreffion hath altered it, that the other simple world produced this multiplied, and disperfed. (b) Vnto the meanest ] For some held that Gods prouidence descended no lower then heauen. This same opinion some say was *Aristoteles*, of which else-where: Others held that the Gods medled onely with the greatestt affaires on earth, and (as Kings) medled not with petty matters: where-vpon *Lucane* maketh *Cesar* speake thus to his mutinous soldiours:

Nunquam se cura deorum  
Sic premit, ut vestra vita, vestraq; saluti  
Fata vascet: procerum motus hac cuncta sequuntur.  
Humanis paucis vivit genus. ——— &c.

The gods doe not respect  
Your good so much, as to permit the fates  
To tend on that: they manage greater states,  
Mankinde may liue with small. ——— &c.

(c) By the beauty ] Euery flower hath such an apte forme, growth, bud, secede, and spring, that hee that obserues it, must needs say, the workman of this, is none but God. Gods prouidence (saith *Proclus*) descends from aboute vnto each parcell of the creation, omitting none. But seeing *Plato* is for vs, what neede wee cite his followers? Hee affirms Gods prouidence to dispose of euery little thing, and euery great. In *Epniom*, hauing disputed of it, *De legib. lib. 10*. The summe whereof is this: *Seeing there are gods, they must not be thought idle: therefore they looke to humane affaires: and knowing all, they know both little and great: being farre from sloth and sluggishnesse: nor is their power a whit lesse, in the least businesse, nor doe they thinke it unworthy their maiesty to respect them, for they are degrees to the highest. Therefore they regard all things, great and small.* (d) *Salomon* ] What purple, silke, or dye (saith *Hierome* vpon this place) is comparable to the flowers? what is so white as the Lily? what purple exceeds the Violet? Let the eyes bee rather iudges in this, then the tongue. Thus farre hee. And truly Arte can neuer attaine to natures perfection, imitate how it can: though our esteeme preferre it, and seeing it gette a little by emulation, attribute much more to it.

## Of the holy Angels that minister to Gods prouidence. CHAP. 15.

**I**T pleased the diuine prouidence therefore so to dispose of the times, that as I said, and wee read in the actes, the lawe should bee giuen (a) by the Angells mouths, concerning the worship of the true God, wherein Gods person (not in

in his proper substance, which corruptible eyes can neuer see, but by certaine suppositions of a creature for the creator) would appeare; and speake syllabically in a mans voyce, vnto vs: euen hee that in his owne nature speaketh not corporally but spiritually, not sensiblic but intelligibly, not temporally, but (as I may say) æternall, neither beginning speach, nor ending: whome his blessed and immortall messengers and ministers heard not with eares, but more sincerely, with intellects: and hearing his commands after an ineffable manner, they instantly and easily frame to bee deliuered vs in a visible and sensible manner. This law was giuen (as I say) in a diuision of time, first hauing all earthly promises that were types of the goods eternall, which many celebrated in visible sacraments, but few vnderstood. But there the true religious worship of one onely God, is directly and plainly taught and testified, not by one of the people, but by him that made heaven and earth, and euery soule and spirit that is not him-selfe: for hee maketh them that are made, and haue neede of his helpe that made them, in all their existence.

## L. VIVES.

BY <sup>(a)</sup> the Angels mouthes] Or by their disposing, as Gods ministers in those myracles. Of this here-after.

*Whether in this question of beatitude we must trust those Angels that refuse the diuine worship, and ascribe it all to one God, or those that require it to them-selues.*

## CHAP. 16.

WHAT Angells shall wee trust then in this businesse of eternall blisse. Those that require mortall men to offer them sacrifice and honours, or those that say it is all due vnto GOD the Creator, and will vs most piously, to giue him about it all, as one, in the onely speculation of whome wee may attaine this happinesse. For the sight of GOD, is a sight of that beauty, and worthy such loue, that *Plato* <sup>(a)</sup> did not doubt to call him that wanted this, vnhappy, had hee neuer such store of goods besides. Seeing then that some Angels resigne all this religious worship to him, and some would haue it them-selues: the first refusing all part of it, and the second not daring to forbid him of part of it: let the *Platonists*, *Theurgiques*, (or rather <sup>(b)</sup> *Periurgiques*; for so may all those artes bee fitly termed) or any other Philosophers answer which wee should follow. Nay let all men answer that haue any vse of naturall reason, say, whether wee shall sacrifice to these Gods or Angels that exact it, or to him onely to whome they bid vs, that forbid it both to them-selues and the others. If neither of them did any miracles, but the one side demanded sacrifice, and the others sayd no, GOD must haue all, then ought piety to discern betweene the pride of the one and the vertue of the other. Nay, I will say more, if these that doe claime sacrifice should worke vpon mens hearts with wonders, and those that forbid it, and stand all for GOD, should not haue power at all to worke the like, yet their part should gaine more by reason, then the others by sence: But seeing that GOD, to confirme his truth, hath by their ministerie, that debase them-selues for his honour, wrought more  
great

Periurgiques

True mira-  
cles excell  
the Pagans.

great, cleare, and certaine miracles, then the others, least they should draw weake hearts vnto their false deuotion by inueigling their senses with amazements: who is so grosely fond, as will not choose to follow the truth, seeing it confirmed with more miraculous prooues? for the recorded miracles of the Pagan gods (I speake not of such as time and natures secret causes by Gods prouidence, haue produced beyond custome, as monstrous byrths, fights in the ayre and earth, fearefull, or hurtfull also, (c) all which the deuills subtilty perswaded the world, they both procured and cured) I meane of such as were their euident actes, as the (d) remoouall of the gods (that *Aeneas* brought from Troy) from place to place by them-selues: (e) *Turquins* cutting of a Whetstone (f) the *Epidaurian* serpents (g) accompanying *Esculapius* in his transportation to Rome: the (h) drawing on of the shippe that brought *Berecynthia's* statue from *Phrygia* (being other-wise not to bee mooued by so huge strength of men and beasts) by one woman with her girdle, in testimony of her chastitie: and the (i) carrying of water from *Tyber* in a siue by a (k) vestall, thereby acquitting her selfe from an accusation of adultery. These, nor such as these, are comparable to those, done in presence of the people of GOD, eyther for rarity or greatnesse. How much lesse then the strange effects of those artes which the Pagans them-selues did legally prohibite, namely of *Migicke* and *Theurgie*, (l) many whereof are meere *Deceptiones visus*, and flatte falsehoods indeed, as the (m) fetching downe of the Moone, till (saith *Lucan*) shee spume vpon such hearbes as they desire. Now though some in their arte seeme to come neere others of the Saints wonderous deeds, yet their end that discerneth the latter ones farre to excell the first, theirs. For their multitude, the more sacrifices they desire, the fewer they deserue. But ours doe but prooue vnto vs one, that needeth no such, as hee hath shewed both by his holy writte, and whole abolishment of them ceremonies afterwards. If therefore these Angels require sacrifice, then are these their betters that require none, but referre all to God: for herein they shew their true loue to vs, that they desire not our subiection to them, by sacrifice, but vnto him in contemplation of whome is their felicitie, and desire to see vs ioyned to him from whome they neuer are seperate. But suppose the other Angells that seeke sacrifices for many, and not for one onely, would not haue them for them-selues, but for the gods they are vnder; yet for all this are the other to bee preferred before them, as being vnder but one GOD, to whome onely they referre all religion, and to none other: and the other no waye daring to forbid this GOD all worshippe, to whome the former ascribe all. But if they bee neyther good Angels nor GODS, (as their proud falsenesse proueth) but wicked deuills, desiring to share diuine honours with that one glorious GOD, what greater ayde can wee haue against them then to serue that GOD, to whome those good Angells serue, that charge vs to sacrifice not to them but vnto him, to whome our selues ought to bee a sacrifice?

The angels  
of one god.

### L. VIVES.

**P**Lato (a) did? It is his in many places: all things with-out vertue, and the knowledge of the true *Ens*, is vile and abicet. (b) *Per-irriges*] Of *Per-uro*, to burne, most likely, (c) *Al*

(c) *All which* ] By sacrifice (saith *Valerius*) are the presages of visions and thunders procured. The *Hetrurians* vsed the arte, and *Numa* brought it to *Rome*. It is much mentioned in *Cicero*, *Seneca*, *Linie*, and other Latine authors. *Procurare* is in this place to sacrifice to such a *Procurant*, god (as fitteth the time) to make the euent prosperous. (d) *Remouall* ] *Val. lib. 1.* They were brought to *Laninium*, and placed there by *Aeneas*, and being borne to *Alba* by *Ascanius*, they returned to their other seate againe: and because they might bee perhaps secretly remoued, they were brought to *Alba* againe, and they departed the second time. (e) *Tarquins* ] Hee desiring to increase the number of his trained souldiors, *Attius Nanius* the Augur for- *Attius Ne-* bad him till hee had beheld the Auguries. *Tarquin*, to scoffe his arte: *Prefage by thine arte* *nus, Augur* (saith hee) *whether my thoughts shall come to passe: It shall (quoth Attius, out of his arte:)* *Then cut this Whetstone (quoth Tarquin) with this razor.* Hee did it in that full presence, and whilest he liued euer after was honourably respected, and had a statue erected him in that very place where it was done (namely the *Consistorie*) with a Whetstone and a razor, as testimonies of the fact. *Lin. lib. 1. Cicero de diuinat. lib. 1.* but they say *Attius* cut it, not *Tarquin*. (f) *The Epidaurian* ] This is that *Aesculapins* that was brought from his Temple (fue miles from *Epidaurus*) to *Rome*, in forme of a Serpent. The great deuill it was surely (saith *Lactan-* *The Epi-* *tius*) without dissembling: for the Scriptures call him a Serpent, and *Pherecides* the *Syrian* *daurian* *ser-* saith they all haue serpentine feete. (g) *Accompanying* ] Nay the serpent it selfe was *Af-* *sculapins*, vnlesse they held him inuisible, and this serpent his companion visible. *Aesculapins* was painted with a Serpent wound about a rodde, and called *Ophinchus*, that is, the *Snake-* *bearer*. It was a statute also that Phisitians should vse Snakes. *Higin. Histor. Caest. Plinie* thinks the Snake was sacred to him, because it is so medicinable: but *Macrobius* saith, because it is so quick-fighted. *Horace.*

*Cur in amicorum vitium tam cernis acutum,  
Quam aut aquila, aut serpens Epidaurius?  
Why doost into thy friends ill carriage pryce,  
With a quick Eagles, or a Serpents eye?*

(b) *Drawing* ] The ship that came from *Pessinus* with the *Mother* of the gods, sticking immoueably in *Tyber*, on ground, *Q. Claudia* a *Vestall*, (slandered for incontinencie because *Claudia* *Vestall,* shee loued to goe handsome) tooke hir girdle, and knitting it to the shippe, praide *Berecynthia* if shee knew her chaste to follow her, and so shee did, where-vpon *Claudia* had a statue set vp before the goddesses temple, that stood safe when the Temple was twise burned, *Lin. l. 2. Ouid. Fast. Valer. Maximus.* (i) *Carrying of water* ] A diuerse reading: but of no moment. (k) *A Vestall* ] *Turria. Valer. lib. 8.* (l) *Many* ] Mens thoughts often make them thinke they see that which they see not indeede, and this is often done by a *Phantasme*, or apparition. And hence is most of our reportes of spirites walking, arisen. Yea the spirits themselves doe deceiue our senses: which is no wonder, seeing that our iuglers can doe the like by *leiger du mayn*, which if another should doe, you should haue some make a miracle of: *Iuglers.* And their doings truely are admirable, and their manner very harde to conceiue. Some thinke they are not done but by the deuils meanes: not so: they are but the quick conueyances of arte and exercise, their swift motion preuenting our eye-sights: So doth hee that cheweth bread and blowes forth meale: and hee that drinkes, and letts it out at his throate. O how people will maruell to see them cate daggers, spue heapes of needles, laces, and counters!

I omitte to speake of the trickes of naturall Magicke, making men looke headlesse, and headed like Asses, and spreading a Vine all ouer the roome. Many know the reasons hereof: they are written of and easily done by men, much more by the deuils, that are such cunning naturalists. That the *Pagans* suspected their gods myracles to bee but illusions, or fained imaginations, *Valerius* sheweth plainly, *lib. 1.* I know (saith hee) the doubtfull opinion of the ancients, concerning the gods speach and apparitions, objected to mens eares and eyes, but because they are old traditions, let vs belecue their authors, and not detract from the authoritie of reuerend and antique doctrine. And *Linie* saith in diuerse places that the dangerous *Illusions* times made mens thoughts so scrupulous, that they beleued and reported farre more myracles then were true. (m) *Fetching downe* ] Of the Magicians power. *Lucan* writeth thus. *lib. 6.*

— Illis



— *Illis et Sydera Primum,  
Præcipiti deducta polo Phæbeque serena,  
Non aliter diris verborum obsessa venenis,  
Palluit et nigris, terrenisque ignibus arsit.  
Quam si fraterna prohiberet imagine tellus,  
Infereretque suas flammis celestibus umbras.  
Et patitur tantos cætu depressa labores,  
Donec suppositas propior despumet in herbas.*

— They first disroab'd the spheres,  
Of their cleare greatnes, and *Phæbe* in her station,  
With blacke enchantments and damn'd Inuocation,  
They strike as red, or pale, and make her fade,  
As if the Sunne casting earths sable shade  
Vpon her front, this alteration made,  
So plague they her with harmes, till she come nyer,  
And spume vpon such herbes as they desire.

So in *Virgil*, a witch saith shee can turne the course of the starres. *Ænid. 4.* And *Apuleius* his witch could weaken the gods, and put out the starres. And *Ouid* saith of *Medea*.

*Illa reluctatē cursu deducere lunā  
Nititur, & tenebras addere solis equis.*

She workes to fetch swift *Phæbe* from her chaire,  
And wrap the Sunnes bright steeds in darkned ayre.

For they beleued that charmes would fetch the Moone downe from heauen. *Virg. Pharmac.*

*Carmina uel alo possunt deducere lunā:*

Charmes force the siluer Moone downe from her spheare:

And *Phædras* nurse in *Seneca's Hippolitus*, worshipeth the *Moone* in these termes.

*Sic te Lucidi vultus ferant,  
Et nube rupta, cornibus puris eas:  
Sic te gerentē frenā nocturni atheris,  
Detrabere nunquam Thessali cantus queant.*

So be thy face vnshrouded,  
And thy pure hornes vnclouded!  
So be thy siluer chaite farre from the reach  
Of all the charmes that the *Thessalians* teach.

And in these troubles they held that making of noyse helped the moone, and kept her from hearing the inchanters words: whervpon they sounded cymballs, and bet vpon drummes and basens: for this, they thought a singular helpe. *Propert.*

*Cantus et ē curru lunam deducere tētant,  
Et facerent, si nō ara repulsa sonent.*

Charmes seeke to draw downe *Phæbe* from her seating,  
And would, but for the noyse of basens beating.

And *Iuuenall* speaking of a woman that was an euerlasting prater, saith:

*Vna laboranti, poterit succurrere luna.*

Her onely voyce would keepe the moone from charmes.

They vsed it also in Eclipses, not knowing their cause. *Pliny* speaking of the first declarers hereof saith: great men, and learned that discovered much in the law of nature, more then others, yet feared the death of some starres or some mischiefe to befall them in their eclipses. *Pindarus* and *Stesichorus* (both great schollers) were subiect to this feare, the fayling of the Sunne and Moones light: arguing (said they) the power of witchcraft vpon them, and therefore men beat it from them with loud and confused sounds. Nor is it any wonder those learned men should beleue that the Moone was set from heauen, when as there was a sort of men (since wee could remember) that beleued that an asse had drunke vp the moone, because drinking in the riuier where it shonne, a cloud came on the sudden, and couered it: so the asse was imprisoned,

An Asse  
drunke the  
Moone.

and

and hauing had a very lawfull , and orderly tryall , was ripped vppe , to haue the Moone let forth of his belly , to shine in the world againe. (*n*) *She spum'd*] This they held was the slauer of *Cerberus* dogge vnto the *Moone* , *Hecate*, or *Proserpina* , and the Enchantresses, vsed it much in their witch-crafts.

*Of the Arke of the testament and the miracles wrought to confirme  
this law and promise.* CHAP. 17.

**T**Helawe of God , giuen by the Angels , commaunding the worship of one God, and forbidding all other , was put vppe in, an *Arke* called the *Arke of the Testament* : VVhereby is meant that **GOD** ( to whose honour all this was done ) was not included in that place or any other , because hee gaue them certaine answers from the place of the *Arke* , and shewed miracles also from thence : but that the Testament of his will was there : The law ( that was written vpon tables of stone and putte in the *Arke* ) beeing there : VVhich beeing in their trauell , carryed in a *Tabernacle* , gaue it also the name of the *Tabernacle of the Testament* , which the Priestes with due reuerence did beare. And their signe was a pillar of a clowd in the day, which shone in the night Exod. 13. like fire: and when it remoued, the tents remoued, and where it stayed, they rested. Besides, the law had many more great testimonies giue for it, besides what I haue said, and besides those that approached out of the place where the *Arke* stood: for when they and the *Arke* were to passe *Jordan*, into the land of promise, *The waters cleft, and left them a dry way*: Besides hauing borne it 7. times about the first *Citty* Ios. 4. that was their foe, and (as the land was then) slaue to Paganisme, *the wals fell flatte* Ios. 6. *downe without ruine or battery*. And when they had gotten the land of Promise, & I Kings. 5. that the *Arke* (for their sins) was taken from them, and placed by the victor *Idolater* in their cheefe gods temple, and lockt fast in, comming againe the next day, they found their *Idoll* throwne downe and broken all to peeces: and being terrified by these prodigies (besides a more shamefull scourge) they restored the *Arke* to those they tooke it from. And how? They set it vpon a carriage yoking kine in it (or *Heifers* ) whose calues they tooke from them, and so (in tryal of the diuine power) turn'd them loose to go whether they would : They without guide came straight to the *Hebrwes*, neuer turning again for the bleating of their Calues, but so brought home this great mistery to those that honoured it: These and such like are nothing to God, but much to the terror and instruction of man. For if the *Philosophers* ( cheefely the *Platonists* ) that held the prouidence of God to extend to euery thing great and small , by the prooffe drawne from the seueral formes and beauties of herbs and flowers as wel as liuing creatures, were held to be more wisely perswaded then the rest: How much more do these things testifie the Deity comming to passe at the houre when this religion was taught, that commaundeth the adoration of one God, the onely louing and beloued God, blessing all , limiting these sacrifices in a certaine time , and then changing them into better by a better Priest: and testifying hereby that hee desireth not these, but their significations, not to haue any honour from them neither , but that we by the fire of his loue might be inflamed to adore him, and adhere vnto him, which is al for our owne good , and addeth nothing to his.

*Against such as deny to beleue the scriptures , concerning those  
miracles shewne to Gods people.* CHAP. 18.

**VV**il any one say there was no such miracles; all is lyes? Hee that sayth so  
L I and

The diuels  
worke  
wonders  
for their  
worship.

and takes away the authority of scripture herein, may as well say that the Gods respect not men. For they had no meane but miracles, to attayne their worship, wherein their Pagan stories shew how far they had power to proue them-selues alwayes rather wonderfull then vsfull. But in this our worke (whereof this is the tenth book) we deale not against Atheists, nor such as exclude the gods from dealing in mans affaires, but with such as preferre their gods, before our God, the founder of this glorious Citty: knowing that he is the Creator inuisible & immutable of this visible and changeable world, and the giuer of beatitude, from none of his creatures, but from him-selſe intyrelly. For his true *Prophet* sayth: *It is good for me to adhere vnto the Lord.* The Phylosophers contend about the finall good (a) to which all the paines man takes hath relation. But hee sayd not, it is good for mee to bee wealthy, honourable or inuested a King: Or (as some of the Phylosophers shamed not to say) *It is good for mee to haue fulnesse of bodily pleasure:* Or (as the better sort sayd) *It is good for mee to haue vertue of minde:* But hee sayd: *It is good for me to adhere vnto God.* This had hee taught him, vnto whome onely both the Angels, and the (b) testimony of the law doe teach all sacrifice to bee due: So that the *Prophet* became a sacrifice vnto him, being inflamed with his intellectuall fire, and holding a fruition of his ineffable goodnesse in a holy desire to bee vnited to him. Now if these men of many goddes in the discourse of their miracles, giue credence to their historyes and magicall; Or (to speake to please them) *Theurgicall* bookes, why should not the scripture bee beleueed in these other, who are as farre beyond the rest as hee is about the others, to whom onely these our bookes teach all religious honour to bee peculiar?

Pf. 72.

### L. V I V E S.

Offices.

**T**O (a) which al] *Tully* (stoically) diuided mans offices or duties into two parts, absolute, referred to the absolute vertues, wisdom, &c. and so to good ends, and this the Greekes call *κατὰ φύσιν*, the Latines *rectum*, a thing well done, conteyning all vertuous acts: the other is referred to the rules of common life, and hath alwaies a probable reason why it hath this effect rather then that. This is called *medium*, a meane or community, possible to be drawne to a wise or to a foolish euent. Such actions concerne common weales, honours, riches, &c. (b) *Testimony of* ] Miracles, faith one copy, and another otherwife, all comes to one purpose.

*The reason of that visible sacrifice that the true religion  
commands vs to offer vnto one God.* CHAP. 19.

**B**ut as for those that thinke visible sacrifices pertaine to others, and inuisible to him, as onely inuisible, as greater to the greater, and better to the better, (*viz.* the duties of a pure heart, and an holy will) verely these men conceiue not that the other are Symbols of these, as the sound of words, are significations of things. Wherefore as in our prayes and prayers to him, wee speake vocall wordes, but offer the contents of our hearts, euen so we in our sacrifice, know that wee must offer thus visibly to none but him to whome our hearts must be an inuisible sacrifice. For then the Angels, and predominate powers doe (a) reioyce with vs and further vs with all their power and ability. But if wee offer vnto them, they are not willing to take it, and when they are personally sent downe to men, they expressely forbidde it. And this the (b) Scriptures testifie: Some held that the Angels were eyther to haue adoration, or (that which wee owe only to God) sacrifice: but they were forbidden, and taught that al was only Gods & lawfully giuen him. And those Angels the Saints did follow (c) *Paul & Barnabas* being

The An-  
gels refuse  
honours.  
Apo. 19.

being in Lycaonia, the people (for a miraculous cure) held them goddes, and would haue sacrificed vnto them, but they humbly and godlyly denyed it, and preached that God vnto them in whome they beleued. But the wicked spirits do affect it onely because they know it to be gods onely due. For (as *Porphyry* and others thinke) it is the diuine honours, not the smels of the offerings that they delight in. For those smels they haue plenty, and may procure them-selues more if they list. So then these arrogant spirits affect not the smoake ascending from a body, but the honours giuen them from the soule, which they may deceiue and domineere ouer, stopping mans way to God, and keeping him from becomming Gods sacrifice, by offering vnto other then God.

## L. VIVES.

**R**eioyce (a) with ] The Angels reioyce at mans righteoufnes. *LUC. 15. (c) Scriptures* ] *John* would haue worshipped the Angel that was sent him, but he forbad him, willing him rather to worshippe God, whome he (as his fellow seruant) serued. *Apoc. 19. (c) Paul* ] Being in Lycaonia (a part of Asia) preaching Gods word, and curing a lame man by Gods power, the people said they were gods, calling *Barnabas Ioue*, & *Paul* (that preached) *Mercury*, the pretended God of speech. So they prepared them sacrifices, but the *Apostles* were angry, and forbad it, fearing to take to them-selues, the due of God.

*Of the onely and true sacrifice, which the Mediator be tweene God and man became. CHAP. 20.*

**V**Herefore the true Mediator, being in the forme of a seruant, made Mediator betweene God and man, the man *Christ Iesus*, taking sacrifices with his father, as God, yet in in the seruile forme choose rather to bee one then to take any, least some hereby should gather that one might sacrifice vnto creatures, By this is hee the Priest, offering, and offerer. The true Sacrament whereof is the Churches daily sacrifice: which being the body of him the head, (a) learneth to offer it selfe by him. The ancient sacrifices of the Saints were all diuers types of this also, this being figured in many and diuers, as one thing is told in many words, that it might be commended (b) without tediousnesse. And to this great and true sacrifice, all false ones gaue place.

## L. VIVES.

**L**earneth (a) to ] Or saith she offereth by him, so the *Coleyne & Bruges* copies haue it: but the other is good also. (b) Without tediousnesse ] For variety easeth that, and in discourse he that repeateth one thing twise of one fashion, procureth loathing, but vary it a thousand wayes, and it will stil passe pleasing. This is taught in Rhetorike. And it is like that which *Q. Flaminius* in *Lauie*, saith of the diuers fauces: Therefore the types of the old law that signified one thing, were diuers, that men might apprehend the future saluation with lesse surfet, and the rude perions, amongst so many might find one wherby to conceiue what was to come.

*Of the power giuen to the diuels, to the greater gloryfying of the Saints that haue suffered martyrdom, and conquered the ayry spirits, not by appeasing them, but adhering to God. CHAP. 21.*

**T**He Diuels hadde a certayne temporary power allowed them, whereby to excite such as they possessed, against GODS City, and both to accept sacrifices of the willing offerers, and to require them of the vnwilling, yea euen to extort them by violent plagues: not was this at all preiudicial,

The Mar-  
tyrs the di-  
uels con-  
querers.

but very commodious for the Church, that the number of Martirs might be fulfilled: whom the City of God holds so much the dearer, because they spent their blood for it against the power of impiety: these now (if the church admitted the words vse) we might worthily call our (a) *Heroes*. For this name came from *Iuno*, and therefore one of her sonnes (I know not which) was called *Heros*, the mistery beeing, that *Iuno* was Queene of the ayre, where the *Heroes* (the well deseruing soules) dwell with the *Damones*. But ours (if wee might vse the word) should be called so, for a contrary reason, namely not for dwelling with the *Damones* in the ayre, but for conquering those *Damones*, those aerecall powers, and in them, all that is called *Iuno*: whome it was not for nothing, that the Poets made so enuious, and such an opposit to (c) good men beeing deified for their vertue. But vnhappily was *Virgill* ouer-scene in making her first to say, *Aeneas* conquers men, and then to bring in *Helenus* warning *Aeneas*, as his ghostly father in these wordes.

*Iunoni cane vota libens, dominamq, potentem,  
Supplicibus supera donis-----*

Purchas'd great *Iunos* (d) wrath with willing prayers  
and (e) conquer'd her with humble gifts-----

And therefore *Porphry* (though not of him-selfe) holds that a good God or *Genius* neuer commeth to a man till the bad be appeas'd: as if it were of more power then the other, seeing that the bad can hinder the good for working, and must be intreated to giue them place, whereas the good can do no good vnlesse the others list, and the others can do mischeefe maugre their beards. This is no tract of true religion: our Martirs do not conquer *Iuno*, that is the ayry powers, that mallice their vertues, on this fashion: Our *Heroes* (If I may say so) conquer not *Hera* by humble gifts but by diuine vertues. Surely (f) *Scipio* deserued the name of African rather for conquering Africa, then for begging or buying his honour of his foes.

## L. VIVES.

Heroes and  
Semi-gods.

Our (a) *Heroes* ] *Plato* in his order of the gods, makes some lesse then ayry *Damones*, and more then men, calling them demi-gods: now certainly these bee the *Heroes*: for so are they called that are begotten of a god and a mortall, as *Hercules Dionysius*, *Aeneas*, *Aesculapius*, *Romulus*, and such: one of whose parents being a god, they would not call them bare men, but somewhat more, yet lesse then the *Damones*. And so holds *Iamblicus*, *Hierocles* the Stoike (relating *Pythagoras* his verses, or as some say *Philolaus* his) saith that *Angels* and *Heroes* (as *Plato* saith) are both included in the ranke of *Damones*: the celestially are *Angels*, the earthly *Heroes*, the meane *Damones*. But *Pythagoras* held (quoth he) that the goddes sonnes were called *Heroes Damones*: And so they are, in that fence that *Hesiod* calls the men of the golden age, *Terrestrial Damones*: for hee putteth a fourth sort of men, worse then the golden ones but better then the third sort, for the *Heroes*. But these and the other also he calleth men, and *Semi-gods*: saying

*ἀσπασίμων  
ἡμίθεοι-----*

! A blessed kinde of *Heroes* they were  
Surnamed *Semi-gods*-----

Heroun.

To wit, those y *Plato* meaneth: for these are more ancient & venerable then they that failed with *Iason* in the fatal ship, & fought in the war of Troy. For *Hesiod* calls the warlike, and thence (as *Menander* saith) were they held wrathful, & violent: if any one went by their temples (called *heron*) he

he must passe in reuerend silence, leaft hee should anger the *Heroes*, and set altogether by the *Heroum*. eares. And many such temples were erected in Greece. *Pausanias* mentioneth diuers to *Vlisses*, *Tantalus*, and *Acrisius*. The *Latines* hadde them also: *Plin.* lib. 19. mentioneth of one. *Plato* deriues *Heros*, of *ἦρως* *Lone*: because the loue betweene a god or goddesse and a mortall, produced the *Heroes*. Some draw it from *ἦρως*, to *speake*, because they were eloquent states-men. *Hierocles* allowes the deriuation from loue, but not in respect of the birth, but their singular loue of the gods, inciting vs to the like. For *Iamblichus* saies they rule ouer men, giuing vs life, reason, guarding and freeing our soules at pleasure. (But we haue shoune these to be the powers of the soule, and each one is his owne *Damon*) Some deriue it from *ἦρ*, *earth*, they being earthly *Damones*. For so *Hesiod* calleth the good soules departed, and *Pythagoras* also, bidding vs worship the earthly *Damones*. *Homers* interpretor liketh this deriuation. *ἦρ* (saith he) in one language, is earth: and of earth was mankind made. *Capella* (*Nupt.* lib. 2.) sayth that all between vs and the Moone, is the Kingdome of the *Manes* and father *Dis*. But in the highest part are the *Heroes*, and the *Manes* below them: and those *Heroes*, or semi-gods, haue soules and holy mindes in mens formes, and are borne to the worlds great goods: So was *Hercules*, *Dionys*, *Triptolemus*, &c. and therefore the name comes of *ἦρ*, *Iuno* because shee rules the ayre, whither the good soules ascend, as *Hierocles* witnesseth in these verses of *Pythagoras* or *Philolaus*, relating their opinion herein.

ἦρ δ' ἠπλοῖται σῶμα ἰσθμὶ βίβλυσιον ἄλθη.  
 ἴτε καὶ ἀθάνατοιο, ἦρ ἀμύροιο ἐν ἰσθμῶιο

If quit from earthly drosse to heau'n thou soare  
 Then shalt thou be a God, and dye no more.

But *Plato* thinketh them to become *Sea-goddes*: I beleeue because hee holdes them grosser bodyed then the *Damones* whome he calleth purely aëreall: and so thought fitte to giue them habitation in the most appropinquate part of nature, the water. *Hera* also the *Latines* vsē for a Lady or a Queene: *Virg.* *Æn.* 3. and so *Heroes*, if it deriue from *Hera*, may bee taken for Lords or Kinges. (b) *One of her sonnes* ] I thinke I haue read of this in the Greeke commentaries, but I cannot remember which: these things (as I said before) are rather pertinent to chance then schollership. (c) *Good mens* ] As to *Hercules*, *Dionysius* and *Aeneas*. (d) *Great* ] The translation of *Hera*. For *Proserpina* whom *Charon* (*Æneids* 6.) calls Lady, is the infernal *Iuno*. And *Iuno* the celestiaall is called the great, and the infernall also (saith *Seruius*.) For father *Dis*, is called *Iupiter* infernall. So *Claudian* sings in the silent ring of the spirits, at the wedding of *Orcus* and *Proserpina*.

Nostra parens Iuno, tuq̄, ôgermane tonantis  
 Et gener, unanimis consortia ducite somni  
 Mutuaq̄, alternis innectite colla lacertis.

Rapt. Pro-  
 serp. lib. 2.

*Iuno* our mother, and thou *Iones* great sonne  
 And brother, sweetly may you take your rest,  
 Linckt in each others armes, and breast to breast.

And *Protesilaus* in *Lucian*, calls *Plato*, *Iupiter*. (e) *Conquer* ] Shewing (saith *Donate*) that the greatest enemies are sooner conquered by obeyfance then opposition. (f) *Scipio* ] The first general that euer got sur name from his prouincial conquests, was *P. Cornelius Scipio*, *Publius Africanus*, his sonne. Hee subdued *Africa*, and subuerted *Haniball*, and was intitled *African*. I speake of Generals and prouinciall conquests: *Coriolanus* had that name from the conquest of a towne, and *Sergius Ffaenas*, was so surnamed for subduing the *Fidenates*.

From whence the Saints haue their power against  
 the diuels and their pure purgation of heart.

CHAP. 22.

Godly men doe expell the aëreall powers opposing them, from their possession by (a) exorcismes, not by pacification: and breake their Temptations by prayer, not vnto them but vnto God, against them. For they conquer nor chayne no man but by the fellowship of sinne. So that his name y took on him  
 L 3 humanity

Sin onely  
seuers man  
from God.

humanity, and liued without sinne, confoundes them vtterly. Hee is the Priest and sacrifice of the remission of sinnes: Hee the Mediator betweene GOD and man, euen the man *Christ Iesus* by whome wee are purged of sinne, and reconciled vnto God: for nothing seuers man from God but sinne, which not our merits, but Gods mercy wipeth off vs: it is his pardon, not our power, for all the power that is called ours, is ours by his bounteous goodnesse; for wee should thinke too well of our flesh, vnlesse wee liued (b) vnder a pardon all the while wee are in the flesh. Therefore haue we our grace by a Mediator, that beeing polluted by the flesh, we might be purged by the like flesh. This grace of God wherein his great mercy is shewne vs, doth rule vs by faith in this life, and after this life is ended, will transport vs by that vnchangeable truth unto most absolute perfection.

## L. VIVES.

Exorcisme.

**B**T (a) *exorcisme* ] *ἐξορκισμὸς*, is to admire: *Augustine* translates it so, and *Exorcista*, an admirer: and *Exorcismus*, admiration. The *Exorcist* expelleth the diuell from the *Chatecumenist*, ere he be baptised. *August. Symbol.* It is the third of the lesser orders of the church: they are in all seauen. Of this and of *Exorcisme* before *Baptisme* read *Petrus Lombardus. Sentent. lib. 4. dist. 8. & 24.* (b) *Vnder a pardon* ] Vnder the law of sinne and infirmity, least any one should extoll him-selfe. All the good wee doe, comes from God, by whose pardon wee are vnhusked of the old man, sinne: and by him we liue in iustice.

## Of the Platonists principle in their purgation of the soule.

## CHAP. 23.

Porphyry  
his opinion  
of the Tri-  
nity.

**P**orphyry saith that the Oracles sayd that neyther the Sunnes nor Moones *Telete* could purge vs, and consequently, the *Telete* of no goddes can. For if the Sunnes and Moones (the cheefe gods) cannot, whose is more powerfull? But the Oracles answered (quoth hee) that the beginnings may: least one should thinke that vpon the denyall of this power to the Sunne and Moone, some other God of the multitude might doe it. But what beginnings hee hath as a *Platonist*, wee know. For hee speakes (a) of God the father, the Son called in greeke the *Fathers intellect*: but of the spirit, not a word: at least not a playne one: though what he meaneth, by a meane betweene the two, I cannot tell: for if he follow (c) *Plotine* in his discourse of the three priue essences, and would haue this third, the soules nature: hee should not haue put it as the meane betweene the father and the son. For *Plotine* puts it after the fathers intellect, but *Porphyry* in calling it the meane, interposeth it betweene them. And this hee sayth as well as hee could, or would: but we cal it neither the fathers spirit alone, nor the sonnes, but both. The Philosophers speake freely, neuer fearing to offend religious eares in those incomprehensible misteries: but wee must lay our wordes to a (d) line, that wee produce no impious error, by our freedome of speech concerning these matters. Wherefore when we speake of God, we neither talke of two principles, nor three, as we may not say there were two goddes or three, though when wee speake of the father, the sonne or the holy ghost, we say that each of these is God. Nor say we with the *Sabellian* heretikes, that he that is the father is the sonne, and hee that is the holy ghost is the father and the sonne, but the father is the sons father, and the sonne the fathers sonne, and the holy spirit both the fathers and the sonnes, but neyther father nor sonne. True then it is that man is purged by none but the *beginning*, but this *beginning* is by them too variably taken.

Heed must  
bee had of  
discourse of  
the Trinity.

The Sabellian  
Heretikes.

## L. VIVES.

L V I V E S.

**O**F (a) God the ] It is a question that hath troubled many ; Whether the Phylosophers Whether the Phylo-  
 had any notion of the Trinity? First, we our selues, to whome the mistery of redempti- sopers  
 on is reuealed, haue but a small glance (God knowes) of that radiant light. But what the Phy- sopers  
 losophers of old wrote hereof is easily apparant that they spoke it, rather then knew what they knew the  
 spoke, it is so obscure. These secrets belonged not to their discouery. It sufficed them to at- Trinity.  
 taine the vnity of God: And if (by Gods inspiration) they spoke ought concerning the Trini-  
 ty, it was rather to serue as a testimony of the future truth against their maisters opinions, then  
 to expres any vnderstanding they had therof them-selues. Aristotle writes (de calo et mundo l. 2)  
 y the Pythagorists placed perfection in three, the beginning, midst, and end: and this number they  
 vsed in religion. Thence some hold that Theophrastus his witch said,

To three I offer, three I holy call: But Virgill more plaine:

*Terna tibi hac primum triplici diuersa colore  
 Lycia circundo, terq, hac altaria circum  
 Effigiem duco: numero deus impar gaudet*

First wrap I these three thornes (to frame my spel)  
 Three times about the shape: the altars then  
 We compasse thrice: God loues od numbers well.

And Zeno calleth Logos, fate, necessity, God, and Iones soule. But Plato seems farre more plain: for (Socrates in his de Re pl. 6.) hauing disputed sufficiently of the nature of good, and affirmed that he held it too great a theame for any mans discourse to containe, saith thus: But O you happy men, let vs leaue to say what is good untill another time: For I hold it utterly incomprehensible of mans minde. But my desire at this time is to expresse what the son of this good is, which is most like to good it selfe: If you wil I wil proceed, if not let it alone. Then Glaucus replied that hee should go on with the son and leaue the father till another time. So he proceeds to discourse of the birth, and sonne of good, and after some questions, saith: that good is as the son, and the son is as the light we haue from the sun. And in his Epistle to Hermias he speaketh of such as were sworne to sit studies, and (the Muses sister) lerning by God, the guide & father of al things past, and to come. And in his Epinomis hee saith that by that most diuine Word, was the world and al therein created. This word, did so rauish the wise man with diuine loue, that he conceiued the meanes of beatitude. For many say that it, is meant of the Word, not of the world, and so wee haue vsed it in the eighth book, speaking of Plato's opinion of beatitude. So that Plato mentions the father and the son expressly, mary the third he thought was indeclareable. Though hee hold that in the degrees of Diuinity, the soule of the world, the third proceedeth from the beginning, and the beginnings sonne, Mens. which soule (if one would stand for Plato) might easily be defended to be that spirit that mooued upon the waters, which they seeme to diffuse through the whole masse, and to impart life and being to euery particular. And this is the Trine in diuinity of which he writeth to Dionysius enigmatically, as him-selfe saith. Althings are about the King of al, and by him haue existence: the seconds about the second, and y thirds about the third. I omit to write what Trismegistus saith, & Iamblichus from him: we are all for the Platonist: but I cannot omitte Serapis his answer to Thules (the King of Egipt in the Troian wars) who inquiring of him who was most blessed, had this answer.

πρῶτα θεοῦ, &c.  
 οὐκ ἔστι τὰ ἀνάγκη, &c.

First God and then the sonne, and next the spirit,  
 All coeternall, one in act, and merit.

Serapis his  
 answer.

(b) The son ] Porphyry (explaining Plato's opinion, as Cyril saith against Iulian) puts three essences in the Deity: 1. God almighty. 2. the Creator. 3. the soule of the world: nor is the deity extended any further. Plato & hee both, cal the Creator πατὴρ δὲ νοῦς, the fathers intellect, w the Poets (though obscurely) touch at, calling Minerva πατὴρ νοῦς, borne without a mother, the wisdom brought forth out of the fathers brain. (c) Plotine ] he wrote a book of the three persons or substances: y first hee maketh absolute, and father to the second, that is also eternall and perfect. Plotine. Hee calleth the father Mens also in another place, as Plato doth: but the word arose from him: For hee sayth (De prouid. lib. 2.) in the begining all this whole vniuerse was created by the Mens (the father) and his Worde. (d) A line ] religion tyeth vs to haue a care



Sabellians. how wee speake herein. ( *e* ) Sabellians ] They said that the person of the father, and of the Son  
 1o. 24. was all one, because the scripture saith : *I and the Father am one*

*Of the true onely beginning that purgeth and renueth  
 mans whole nature. CHAP. 24.*

Tribe bar-  
 reth one  
 from light  
 of the mul-  
 tity of re-  
 demption.

**B**Vt *Porphyry* beeing slaue to the malicious powers ( of whome hee was asha-  
 med, yet durst not accuse them ) would not conceiue that *Christ* was the be-  
 ginning, by whose incarnation wee are purged , but contemned him in that flesh  
 which he assumed to be a sacrifice for our purgation, not apprehending the great  
 sacrament , because of his diuell-inspired pride, which *Christ* the good Mediator  
 by his owne humility subuerted, shewing him-selfe to mortals in that mortal state  
 which the false Mediators wanted , and therefore insulted the more ouer mens  
 wretcheds soules : falsely promising them succors from their immortality. But  
 our good and true Mediator made it apparant , that it was not the fleshly sub-  
 stance, but sinne that is euil : the flesh and soule of man may be both assumed, kept,  
 and putte off without guilt , and bee bettered at the resurrection. Nor is death,  
 though it be the punishment of sinne ( yet payd by *Christ* for our sinnes ) to bee a-  
 noyed by sinne , but rather, if occasion serue, to bee indured for iustice. For  
*Christ*s dying, and that not for his owne sinne, was of force to procure the pardon  
 of all other sinnes. That hee was the *beginning*, this *Platonist* did not vnderstand,  
 else would hee haue confessed his power in purgation. For neither the flesh  
 nor the soule was the *beginning* , but the word , all creating. Nor can the flesh  
 purge vs by it selfe, but by that word that assumed it, when *the word became flesh, &*  
*dwelt in vs*. For hee speaking of the mysticall eating of his flesh ( and some that vnder-  
 stood not beeing offended at it, and departing, saying : *This is a hard saying,*  
*who can heare it ?* ) Answered to those that staid with him : *It is the spirit that quick-*  
*eth, the flesh profiteth nothing*. Therefore the *beginning*, hauing assumed flesh and  
 soule, mundifieth both in the beleeuer. And so when the Iewes asked him *who*  
*hee was*, hee answered them, *that hee was the ( a ) beginning*, which our flesh and  
 bloud beeing incumbred with sinfull corruption, can neuer conceiue, vnlesse he  
 by whome wee were, and were not, doe purifie vs. VVee were men, but iust  
 wee were not. But in his incarnation our nature was, and that iust, not sinfull:  
 This is the mediation that helpeth vp those that are falne , and downe : This is  
 the seed that the Angels sowed, by dictating the law wherein the true worship  
 of one God was taught and this our Mediator truly promised.

1o. 1. 74.

1o. 6. 60.

1o. 8. 25.

L V I V E S.

The begin-  
 ning.

**T**He ( *a* ) beginning ] *αρχη*. *Augustine* will haue the *Sonne* to bee a *beginning*, but no  
 otherwise then the *father*, as no otherwise *GOD*. And this hee takes *αρχη* for, *Vallā*  
 and *Erasmus* say that *αρχη* can be no nowne here, but an aduerbe, as, *in the beginning*. I wil  
 speake my minde hereof briefly: though the phraze be obscure and perhaps an *Hebraisme*, as  
 many in the new Testament arc: *Christ* seemeth not to say hee is the beginning: but beeing  
 asked who hee was, he hauing no one word to expresse his full nature to all their capacities, left  
 it to each ones minde to thinke in his minde what he was, not by his sight but by his wordes:  
 and to ponder how one in that bodily habite, could speake such thinges. It was the Deity that  
 spake in the flesh, whence all those admirable actes proceeded. Therefore he said, *I am hee in*  
*the beginning, and I speake to you vsing a mortall body as an instrument, giuing you no more precepts*  
*by angels, but by my selfe*. This answer was not vnlike that, giuen to *Moyse*; *I am that I am*: but  
 that concerned Gods simple essence and maiefty, this was more later, and declared God in the  
 forme of man.

CHAP.

*That all the saints in the old law, and other ages before  
it, were iustified only by the mystery,  
and faith of Christ.*

CHAP. 25.

By the fayth of this mystery might the ancient Saints of God also bee iustified (together with godly life) not only before the law was giuen the hebrewes, (for they wanted not Gods instructions nor the Angels) but also in the very times of the law, though they seemed to haue carnall promises in the types of spiritual thinges, it being therefore called the old Testament. For there were Prophets then that taught the promise as wel as the Angels, and one of them was he whose sacred opinion of mans good, I related before: *It is good for me to adhere vnto God.* In which Psalme the two Testaments are distinguished. For first, hee (seeing those earthly promises abound so to the vngodly) saith his (b) feete slipped, and that he was almost downe, as if hee had serued God in vayne, seeing that felicity that hee hoped of God was bestowed vpon the impious: and that hee laboured fore to know the reason of this, and was much troubled vntill hee entred into the sanctuary of God, and there beheld their endes whome hee, (in error) thought happy. But then (c) as hee saith, hee saw them cast downe in their exaltation, and destroyed for their iniquity, and that all their pompe of temporall felicity was become as a dreame, leauing a man when hee is awake, frustrate of the fayned ioyes hee dreamed off. And because they shewed great here vpon earth, *Lord (saith hee) In thy City thou shalt make their Image bee held as nothing.* But how good it was for him to seek those temporalties at none but Gods hands hee sheweth saying, *I was as a beast before thee, yet was I alwaies with thee as a beast not vnderstanding.* For I should haue desired such goodes as the wicked could not share with mee: but seeing them abound with goods, I thought I had serued thee to no end, when as they that hated thee inioyed such felicity. *Yet was I alwaies with thee.* I sought no other goddes to begge these thinges vpon. And then it followeth. *Thou hast holden me by my right hand, thou hast guided me by thy will, and hast assumed me into glory.* As if all that which he saw the wicked inioy were belonging to the left hand, though seeing it, he had almost falne. *What haue I in heauen but thee? (saith hee?) And would I haue vpon earth but thee?* Then hee doth checke himselfe iustly, for hauing so great a good in Heauen (as afterwards hee vnderstood) and yet begging so transitory, frayle and earthen a thing of God here below: (d) *Mine heart faileth, and my flesh, but God is the God of mine heart.* A good fayling, to leaue the lower and elect the loftyer. So that in another Psalme he sayth: *My soule longeth and fainteth for the Courtes of the Lord.* And in another: *My heart fainteth for thy sauing health.* But hauing sayd both heart and flesh fainteth: hee reioyned not, *The God of mine heart and flesh, but the God of my heart:* for it is by the heart that the flesh is cleansed, (as the Lord sayth) *Cleane that which is within, and then that which is without shall be cleane:* Then he calleth God his portion, not any thing of goddes, but him-selfe. *God is the God of my heart, and my portion for euer.* Because amongst mens manifold choyces, he chose him only. For (e) behold (saith he) *they that withdraw them-selues from thee, shall perishe:* (f) *thou destroyest al them that go a whoring from thee, that is, that make them-selues prostitute vnto many gods:* and then followes that which is the cause I haue spoken al this of the Psalme: *As for me, it is good for mee to adhere vnto GOD, not to withdraw my selfe, nor to goe a whoring*

Pl. 73. 28.

Pl. 83.

The flesh is  
cleansed by  
the heart.

whoring. And then is our adherence to God perfect, when all is freed that should bee freed. But as wee are now, the hold is, *I put my trust in the Lord God, for hope that is seene, is no hope, how can a man hope for that which he seeth,* sayth the Apostle. But when we see not our hope, then we expect with patience: wherein lette vs do that which followeth, each one according to his talent becomming an Angell, a messenger of God, to declare his will, and praise his gracious glory. *That I may declare all thy workes (saith hee) in the gates of the daughter of Sion:* This is that gloryous City of God, knowing and honouring him alone: This the Angells declared, inuited vs to inhabite it, and become their fellow Cittizens in it, They like not that wee should worship them as our elected Gods, but with them him that is God to vs both: Nor to sacrifice to them: but with them, be a sacrifice to him. Doubtlesse then, (if malice giue men leaue to see the doubt cleared) al the blessed immortalls that enuy vs not (and if they did, they were not blessed) but rather loue vs, to haue vs partners in their happinesse, are farre more fauourable and beneficiall to vs, when wee ioyne with them in sacrificing our selues to the adoration of the *Father*, the *Sonne* and the holy *Spirit*.

## L. VIVES.

**W**Hich (a) *Psal. 73.* diuinely soluing of this question of the Phylosophers: Why (one God ruling all) haue the good so often hurt, and the bad so much good? Or *Epicurus* his *Dilemma*: If there be a God, whence is euill? If none, whence is good? *Augustine* recites some verses, and we will breesely interpose here and there a word. (b) *Feete slipped* ] or moued by the vnworthy euent, to take another way, it seeming to him to haue done so little good in this. (c) *Then* ] All things (saith the wise man) are secret vntil the end, but then the good life helps, and the bad, hurts: the one rewarded and the other plagued: for then all appeareth in truth. (d) *My heart.* ] A sanctified man in all his troubles and faintings of strength and counsell, still keepe s heart-hold of God, making him his portion for euer: loose he all thinges, God he will neuer loose. *Augustine* (me thinks) applyeth this to the defect of spirit, through the vehement desire of celestially comfortes. For the soule will languish into much loue, and lose all the selfe in entyre speculation of that it affecteth. Or he may meane, that although all bodily meanes of strength or state, do faile a good man, yet his minde will stil sticke firmly vnto God, and entertaine a contempt of all worldly wealth, and all gifts of wit, or fortune, in respect of this God, this onely riches, and heritage. (e) *Behold* ] Therefore is it good to adhere to him from whom who-soeuer departeth, perisheth. (f) *Thou destroyest* ] Wee ought to keepe our soule chaste, as the spouse of God: which if it go a whoring, after the desires and lusts of the world, neglecting God, hee casteth it off as a man doth his dishonest wife, and diuorceth it from him, And this is the death of the soule, to leaue the true life thereof.

*Of Porphyry his wauering betweene confessing of  
the true God, and adoration of the diuels,*

## CHAP. 26.

**M**e thinks *Porphyry* (I know not how) is ashamed of his *Theurgicall* acquaintance. Hee had some knowledge of good, but he durst not defend the worshippe of one God, against the adoration of many. Hee sayd there were some Angels, that came downe and taught *Theurgike* practisers thinges to come: and others that declared the will of the *Father* vpon earth, and his altitude and immensity. Now whether would hee haue vs subiect to those Angels that declare the will of the *Father* vyon earth, or vnto him whose wil they declare. T'is plain, hee biddeth vs rather imitate them then inuocate them: why then wee need not feare to giue no sacrifices to these blessed immortalls, but referre it all freely vnto God

God. For questionlesse that which they know to bee due to that God onely in whose participation they are blessed, they will neuer ascribe to them-selues either by figures or significations. This is arrogance proper to the proud and miserable diuels, from which the zeale of Gods subiects and such as are blessed by coherence with him, ought to be farre seperate. To which blessed coherence it behoeth the Angels to fauour our attaynement, not arrogating our subiection to them, but declaring God the meane of both our coherences vnto vs. Why fearest thou now (Philosopher) to censure these aduerse powers, enemies both to the true God and true vertue? Thou saidst but (a) now that the true Angels that reueale Gods will, do differ from them that descend vnto men that vse *Theurgicall* coniurations. Why dost thou honour them so much as to say they teach diuine things? How can that be, teaching not the will of the *Father*? (a) Those now are they whom the malicious *Theurgike* bound from purging the soule of the good one: VVhome hee could not loose, for all that they desired to be lette loose, and to do him some good. Doubtest thou yet that those are wicked diuels? Or dost but dissemble for feare of offending the *Theurgikes*, whose curiosity inueigled thee so, that they made thee beleue they did thee a great pleasure in teaching thee this damnable cunning? Darest thou extoll that malicious plague (no power) that is a slaue, and no regent ouer the enuious, aboue the ayre, into Heauen, and doe the starry goddes, or the starres them-selues such, foule disgrace as to place it amongst them.

## L. VIVES.

Saydest (a) but now ] The old copies read *Distinxisti* for *Dixisti*: but the sense is not altered in a tittle. (b) *Those now* ] Hee had sayd before that the euill *Demon* hinders the good, that the first must depart ere the latter could come to worke effect. And of the *Chaldean* whome another malicious fellow hindered from being purged in soule.

## Of Porphyry his exceeding Apuleius in impiety.

## CHAP. 27.

How much more tollerable was the error of *Apuleius* thy fellow sectary who confessed (spite of his teeth, for all his honouring of them) that the diuels vnder the Moone onely were subiect to perturbation! quitting the Gods *aethereall*, both visible as the *Sun, Moone, &c.* And inuisible also from these affects, by all the arguments hee could deuise. *Plato* taught thee not this thine impiety, but thy *Chaldee* maisters, to thrust vp mortall vices amongst the *aethereall* powers, that the gods might instruct your *Theurgike* in diuinity: which notwithstanding thou in thine intellectual life makest thy selfe excel: putting art *Theurgike* as not necessary for thee, but for others that will be no phylosophers, yet thou teachest it, to repay thy maisters, in seducing those to it that affect not Phylosophy, yet holding it of no vse for a Phylosopher as thou thy selfe art: So that all that fancy, not *Phylosophatson*, (which being hard to attayne is affected by few) might by thine authority, inquire out *Theurgikes*, and of them attaine (no intellectuall but) a spirituall purification. And because the multitude of those, do farre exceed the Phylosophers, therefore more are drawne to thy vnlawfull Magicall maisters, then to *Plato's* schooles, for this the vncleane Diuell (those counterfeyt *aethereall* goddes whose messenger thou art become) promised thee, that such as were purged

Christ took  
vpon him  
whole man.

purged by *Theurgy* should neuer returne to the father, but inhabite about the ayre amongst the *athereall* goddes. But those whome Christ came to free from those diuelish powers, indure not this doctrine. For in him haue they most mercyfull purification of body, soule and spirit. For therefore put hee on whole man without sinne, to cleanse whole man from sinne: I wish thou hadst known but him, and laid the cure of thy selfe vpon him rather then vpon thine owne fraile, weake vertue, or thy pernicious curiosity. For hee which your owne (a) Oracles (as thou writest) acknowledged for holy and immortall, would neuer haue deceiued thee. Of whome also that famous Poet saith (Poetically indeed) as vnder another person, but with a true reference to him,

(b) *Te duce si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri  
Irrita perpetua soluent formidine terras.*

Thy conduct all finnes markes from man shall cleare,  
And quit the world of their eternall feare.

Speaking of those steppes of sinne (if not finnes) which by reason of our infirmity may haue residence in the great proficients of righteousnesse, and are cured by none but Christ, of whome the verse speaketh. For *Virgill* (c) spoke it not of himselfe, as he sheweth about the fourth verse of his *Eglogue*, where hee saith

*Vltima Cumæi venit iam carminis ætas:*

Time, and *Sybilla's* verse are now new met.

Virgil. Ed.

4

Playnly shewing hee had it from *Sybilla Cumæa*. But those *Theurgikes* (or rather fiendes in the shapes of goddes) doe rather putrifie the purifie mens hearts by their false aparitions, and deceiptfull illusion in change of formes. For how should they cleanse another, beeing vn-cleane them-selues? Otherwise could they not be bound by the charmes of the enuious, eyther to feare to infect, or to enuy to bestow the good they seemingly were about to doe. But it sufficeth that thou confessest that neyther the soules intellectuall part is made pure, nor the spiritual, (that is vnder the other part) eternall by art *theurgike*. But Christ promiseth this eternity, and therefore (to thy owne great admiration, and deepe greefe) the World flocketh to him (d). VVhat of that that thou canst not deny that the *Theurgikes* doe often erre and draw others into the same blindnesse, and that it is a most playne error to become supplyant to those Angelicall poweres? And then (as though thou hadst not lost thy labour in the former assertion) thou sendest such as liue not intellectuallly to the *Theurgikes* to bee purged in the mindes spirituall part.

The *Theurgikes* can-  
not purge  
or cleane  
humaine  
spirits.

## L. VIVES.

**Y**our (a) Oracles ] Of this in the 20. booke. (b) *Te duce* ] *Seruius* refers all this eglogue to the ciuill wars in *Assinius Pollio's* Consulship, that in his time they should end, and all the feare bee extinct. But they out-lasted him. Hee was Consul with *Domitius Enobarbus*, the fourth yeare of his Triumvirship. (c) *Spoke it not* ] The whole eglogue is nothing but *Sybils* verses, which being Enygmatically spoken of *Christ*, and the time touched in certaine mysticall tokens, *Virgill* obseruing it to bee neere hand, thought they meant some of the *Romaine* Princes, and so attributes them to *Saloninus Pollio's* son. (d) *What of* ] Or, which because thou canst not deny, thou dost so falter in thy doctrine, and contrary thy selfe, that first thou teachest that the *Theurgikes* &c. And this is the better reading of the two.

what

*What persuasions blinded Porphiry from knowing Christ the true  
wisdome. CHAP. 28.*

**T**HUS drawest thou men into most certaine error, and (a) art not ashamed of it being a professor of vertue and wisdome, which if thou truely respected, thou woldest haue knowne Christ the vertue, and wisdome, of god the father, and not (b) haue left his sauing humility for the pride of vaine knowledg. Yet thou confessest that the vertue of (c) continence onely, without *Theurgy*, and with those *Teleta* (thy frutlesse studies) is sufficient to purge the soule spiritually. And once thou saidst that the *Teleta* eleuate not the soule after death as they do now, nor benefit the spirituall part of the soule after this life: and this (d) thou tossest, and tumblest, onely (I thinke) to shew thy selfe skilfull in those matters, and to please curious eares, or to make others curious. But thou dost well to say this art is dangerous both (e) for the lawes against it, and for the (f) performance of it. I would to God that wretched men would heare thee in this, and leaue the gulfe, or neuer come neare it, for feare of being swallowed vp therein. Ignorance (thou saist) and many vices annexed therevnto, are not purged away by any *Teleta* but only by the fathers intellectuall, his *Mens*, that knoweth his will. But that this is Christ thou beleueest not: contemning him for assuming flesh of a woman; for being crucified like a fellow, because thou thinkest it was fit that the eternall wisdome should contemne those base things, and be imbodied in a most eleuated substance. I but he fulfills that of the prophet, *I will destroy the wisdome of the wise, and cast away the understanding of the prudent.* Hee doth not destroy his wisdome in such as hee hath giuen it vnto, but, that which others ascribe to themselues, who haue none of his, and therefore the Apostle followes the propheticall testimony, thus, *where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the (g) disputer of the world? hath not God made the wisdome of this world foolishnesse?* for seeing the world by wisdome knew not God in the wisdome of God, it pleased God by the foolishnesse of preaching to saue them that beleue. Seeing also that the Iewes require a signe, and the Grecians seeke after wisdome. But we preach Christ crucified, a stumbling blocke vnto the Iewes, and foolishnesse vnto the Grecians. *But vnto them that (h) are called both Iewes and Grecians we preach Christ, the power, and wisdome of God: for the (i) foolishnesse of God is wiser then men, and the weaknesse of God is stronger then men.* This now the wise and strong in their owne conceit do account as foolish, and weake. But this is the grace that cures the weake, and such as boast not proudly of their false happinesse, but humbly confesse their true misery.

1. Cor.  
Abd. 1.  
Eia. 33.

The wis-  
dome of the  
word foo-  
lishnesse.

## L. VIVES.

**A**Rt not (a) ashamed. An old phrase in the latine, *malum non te pudet.* (b) *Haue left.* ] For he was first of our religion, and afterwards fell from it, and railed at it like a mad man. (c) *Continenca.* ] *De abst. animal.* Continence and frugality eleuate the soule and adioyne it vnto God. But *Pluto* is farre more learned and elegant vpon this poynt in his *Charmides*: shewing that temperance purgeth the mind, and is the onely cure of an infected conscience, that no other enchantments can cleanse the soule from corruption. (d) *Tossest.* ] *Porphyry* is most absurd in his *Tautologies*, as wee may see in that common booke of his *de predicabilibus.* (e) *For the lawes.* ] *Plato* forbad it, and the ciuill lawes do so also, *sub pana.* (f) *Performanco.* ] Being dangerous if it be failed in: for the Devils will be angry, and doe the vnperfect magitian much

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mischiefe

mischiefe, as many horrible examples haue testified : for they loue perfect impiety, from which there is no regresse vnto piety. Therefore they terrifie men there vnto. (g) *Disputer* ] *Philosopher*, and naturalist, *σοφιστης*, and is referred to the Philosophers immoderate ianglings. (h) *Called* ] To godlinesse and piety, and made Citizens of God, (i) *Foolishnesse* ] *Vulgaris* calles the crosse foolish, because it seemed so : yet is it wiser then men ; for the Philosophers kept a stirre about trifles and superfluities, whilst the crosse produced the worlds redemption. And the deity seemed weake in beeing nailed to the crosse : yet is it farre more strong then men : not onely because the more wee seeke to suppress it, the more it mounteth and spreadeth, but also because the strongest deuill was bound and crushed downe by *CHRIST* in that weake forme.

*Of the Incarnation of our Lord Iesus Christ, which the impious Platonists shame to acknowledge.*

CHAP. 29.

**T**Hou teachest the *Father* and his *Sonne*, calling him his intellectuall, and their meane (by which wee thinke thou meanest the *holy spirit*) calling them after your manner, three Gods. Wherein though your words bee extrauagant, yet you haue a little glympse of that we must all relye vpon. But the incarnation of the vnchangeable *Sonne*, that saueth vs all, and bringeth vs all to that other which we beleue and relie vpon, that you shame to confesse. You see your true country (though a long, long way off) and yet you will not see which way to get thether. Thou confessest that the grace to vnderstand the deity, is giuen to a very few. Thou saiest not, few like it, or few desire it ; but, is giuen to a few : fully confessing the guist of it to lye in Gods bountie, and not in mans sufficiencie. Now thou playest the true (a) *Platonist* and speakest plainer, saying, *That no man in this life can come to perfection of wisdom* : yet that Gods grace and prouidence doth fulfill all that the vnderstanding lacketh, in the life to come. O hadst thou knowne Gods grace resident in *Iesus Christ* our Lord ! O that thou couldst haue discerned his assuming of body and soule to bee the greatest example of grace that euer was ! But what ? in vaine doe I speake to the dead : But as for those that esteeme thee for that wisdom or curiositie in artes, vnlawfull for thee to learne : perhaps this shall not be in vaine. Gods grace could neuer bee more gracefully extolled, then when the eternall sonne of God, came to put on man, and made man the meane to deriue his loue to all men : whereby all men might come to him, who was so farre aboue all men, beeing compared to them, immortall to mortall, vnchangeable to changeable, iust to vniust, and blessed to wretched. And because hee hath giuen vs a naturall desire to bee eternally blessed, hee remaining blessed, and putting on our nature, to giue vs what wee desired, taught vs by suffering to contemne what wee feared. But humility, humilitie a burthen vnacquainted with your stiffe neckes, must bee the meane to bring you to credence of this truth. For what, can it seeme incredible to you (that knowe such things, and ought to inioyne your selues to beleue it) can it seeme incredible to you, that *G O D* should assume mans nature and bodye ? you giue so much to the intellectuall part of the soule (beeing but humane) that you make it consubstantiall with the *Fathers* intellectuall, which you confesse is his *Sonne*. How then is it incredible for that *Sonne* to assume one intellectuall soule to saue a many of the rest by ? Now nature teacheth vs the coherence of the body and the soule to the making of a full  
man.

man. Which if it were not ordinary were more incredible then the other. For wee may the more easily beleue that a spirit may cohere with a spirit ( being both incorporeall, though the one humane, and the other diuine ) then a corporall body with an incorporeall spirit. But are you offended at the strange child-birth of a Virgin? This ought not to procure offence, but rather pious admiration, that he was so wonderfully borne. Or dislike you that hee changed his body after death and resurrection into a better, and so carried it vp into heauen being made incorruptible, and immortall? This perphappes you will not beleue, because *Porphyry* saith so often in his worke *De regressu anima*, ( whence I haue cited much ) *that the soule must leaue the body intirely, ere it can bee ioyned with God.* But that opinion of his ought to be retracted, seeing that both hee and you doe hold such incredible things of the worlds soule animating the huge masse of the bodily vniuersc. For *Plato* ( *b* ) teacheth you to call the world a creature, a blessed one, and you would haue it an eternall one. Well then how shall it be eternally happy, and yet neuer put off the body, if your former rule be true? Besides, the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, you all say, are creatures, which all men both see, and say also. But your skill ( you thinke ) goeth farther: calleth them blessed creatures, and eternally with their bodies. Why doe you then forget or dissemble this, when you are inuited to Christianity, which you otherwise teach and professe so openly? why will you not leaue your contradictory opinions ( subuerting them-selues ) for christianitie, but because *Christ* came humbly, and you are all pride? Of what qualitie the Saints bodies shall be after resurrection, may well bee a question amongst our greatest christian doctors, but wee all hold they shall be eternall, ( *c* ) and such as *Christ* shewed in his resurrection. But how-so-euer seeing they are taught to bee incorruptible, immortall, and no impediment to the soules contemplation of God, and you your selues say that they are celestially bodies immortally blessed with their soules; why should you thinke that wee cannot bee happy without leauing of our bodies, ( to pretend a reason for auoyding christianitie ) but onely as I said, because *Christ* was humble, and you are proud? Are you ashamed to bee corrected in your faults? a true character of a proud man. You that were *Plato's* ( *d* ) learned schollers, shame to become *Christs*, who by his spirit taught a fisher wisdom to say, *In the beginning was the worde, and the word was with God, and GOD was the word. The same was in the beginning with God: all things were made by it, and without it was made nothing ( e ) that was made. In it was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in the darknesse, and the darknesse comprehended it not. ( f )* Which beginning of Saint *Iohns* Gospell, a certaine *Platonist* ( as olde holy ( *g* ) *Simplicianus* afterwards Bishop of *Milaine*, tolde mee ) sayd was fitte to bee written in letters of golde, and set vp to bee read in the highest places of all Churches. But those proud fellowes scorne to haue *G G D* their Maister, because the word became flesh, and dwelt in vs. Such a thing of nothing it is for the wretched to be sicke and weake, but they must axalt them-selues in their sickest weaknesse, and shame to take the onely medicine that must cure them: nor doe they this to rise, but to take a more wretched fall.

## L. VIVES.

**T** *Rue* ( *a* ) *Platonist* ] *Plato* in *Phad.* & *Epinon*, hereof already, booke the 8. ( *b* ) *Teacheth* ] in his  
 M m 2 *Timaus.*



*Timans.* (c) *And such.* ] Sound, incorruptible, immortall, pertaking with the soule in happinesse. *Phillip. 3.* We looke for the saviour, euen the Lord Iesus Christ who shall change our vile body that it may be fashioned like vnto his glorious body. &c. ver. 21. (d) *Learned.* ] What an insolent thing is it to boast of wisdome? As if *Plato* were ashamed of his Maister *Socrates* that said, *hee knew nothing?* and did not glory in all his life that he was scholler to that stone cutters sonne, and that all his wisdome whatsoeuer was his Maisters? And as if *Socrates* him-selfe (in *Plato* and *Xenophon* chiefe founders of that discipline) did not referre, much of his knowledge to *Aspasia* and *Diotima* his two women instructers, (e) *That was made.* ] The point is so in the greeke as we haue left it: as if the world should become nothing but for the care of the creator, as the Philosophers held. The *Coleyn* copy also pointeth it so, but wee must let this alone, as now. (f) *Which beginning.* ] *Augustine Confess. lib. 8.* saith that hee had read the beginning of *Saint Johns* Gospell. *In the beginning was the word,* In *Plato*, but not in the same words. *Amelius* the *Platonist* saith. *And this was that word, by which all things were made, that were made, yet being eternal* (as *Heraclitus* saith) and disposed in their order and dignity with god (as the other *Barbarian* held) *that word was God, and with God, and by it was all things made, and it was the life and being of all things that were made,* thus saith *Amelius*, calling *Saint John* a barbarian. But we reach it out of *Plato*, that by the word of God were althings made, and out of *Plotine* that the Sonne of God is the creator: *Numerius* will not haue the first: God to be the creator, but the second. (g) *Simplicianus.* ] Bishop of Millaine, a friend of *Augustines* betweene whom e many letters were written. He being but as yet a Priest, exhorted *Augustine*, to vse his wit in the study of holy writ. *Genmad. Catolog. viror. illustr.*

*What opinions of Plato, Porphiry confuted, and corrected.*

CHAP. 30.

**I**F it be vnfit to correct ought after *Plato*, why doth *Porphiry* correct such, and so many of his doctrines? (a) Sure it is that *Plato* held a transmigration of mens soules into beasts: yet though (b) *Plato* the learned held thus, *Porphiry* his scholler iustly refuted him, holding that mens soules returned no more to the bodies they once left, but into other humane bodies. Hee was ashamed to beleue the other, least the mother, liuing in a mule, should cary her sonne; but neuer shamed to beleue the later, though the mother liuing in some other maid might become her sonnes wife. But how farre better were it to beleue the sanctified and true Angels, the holy inspired prophets; him that taught the comming of Christ, and the blessed Apostles, that spread the gospell through the world? how farre more honestly might we beleue that the soules returne but once into their own bodies: rather then so often into others? But as I said, *Porphiry* reclaimed this opinion much in subuerting those bestial transmigrations, and restraining them only to humane bodies. He saith also that God gaue the world a soule, that it learning the badnesse of the corporall substance by inhabiting it, might returne to the father, and desire no more to be ioyned to such contagion. Wherin though he erre something (for the soule is rather giuen to the body to do good by, nor should it learne any euill but that it doth euil,) yet herein he exceeds, corrects all the *Platonists*, in houlding that the soule being once purified and placed with the father, shal neuer more suffer worldly inconuenience. Wher he ouerthrowes one great *Platonisme: viz.* that the dead are continually made of the liuing & the liuing of the dead: prouing that (c) *Platonical* position of *Virgill* false, wher hee saith that the soules being purified, & sent vnto th' *Elisian* fields (vnder which fabulous name they

they figured the ioyes of the blessed) were brought to drinke of the riuer *Lethe* that is to forget things past.

*Scilicet immemores supera ut connexa renisent  
Rursus & incipiant in corpora velle reuerti.*

The thought of heauen is quite out of the brayne.  
Now gin the wish to liue on earth againe.

*Porphyry* iustly disliked this, because it were foolish to beleue that men being in that life which the onely assurance of eternity maketh most happy, should desire to see the corrupton of mortality, as if the end of purification were still to returne to new pollution, for if their perfect purification require a forgetfulnesse of all euills: and that forgetfulnesse produce a desire in them to be imbodyed againe, and consequently to bee againe corrupted, Truly the height of happynesse, shall be the cause of the greatest vnhappyneffe: the perfection of wisdom the cause of foolishnesse, and the fullnesse of purity, mother vnto impurity. Nor can the soule euer be blessed, being still deceiued in the blessednesse: to be blessed it must be secure: to be secure it must beleue it shalbe euer blessed, and that falsely, because it must sometimes be wretched: wherefore if this ioy must needs rise of a false cause, how can it be truly ioyfull? This *Prophiry* saw well, and therefore held that the soules once fully purified returned immediatly to the Father, least it should bee any more polluted with the contagion of earthly and corruptible affects.

### L. VIVES.

*S**Vre* (a) it is.] *Plato*, *Pythagorizing*, held that the soules after death passed into other bodies In his *Timæus*, and his last *de Repub.* and in his *Phædrus* also, in which last hee propounds the necessity of the *Adrastian* law, commanding euery soule, that hath had any true speculation of God to passe straight to the superior circle without impediment: and if it perseuer there, then is it to become blessed eternally, continuing the former course, but if it change that, and fall vnder the touch of punishment, then must it returne to a body. And if it haue come to those aforesaid degrees, then the knowledge maketh it a Philosopher, the next degree vnder it, a King, Emperour, or valiant man: the third, a magistrate, or the father of a family: the fourth, a Phisitian or chirurgian: the fift, a Priest or a Prophet, the sixth, a poet, the seauenth a tradesman, or an husband man: the eight, a Sophister, or guilder, the ninth a tyrant. Thus do soules passe vnto life and passing that well, are exalted, if not depressed, for it is 10000. yeares ere the soule returne to his first state: no soule recouereth his broken wings before that time, but hee that hath bene a true Philosopher; for he that passeth three courses so, shall bee reinstalled at 3000. yeares end: for the rest, some of them shall bee bound vnder the earth in paines, and others inuested with blisse in heauen, at the prefixed time of iudgment, but all shall returne to life after a 1000. yeares, and each one shall haue his choice, so that some that were men before, become beasts, and some that were beasts before, men, if so bee that they were euer men before: for that soule that neuer looked vpon truth, shall neuer haue mans forme. This is *Platonisme*. Now *Plato* speaking of these choices, in his last *de repub.* saith that their election still followeth the fashions of their former liues. So that *Orpheus* his soule chose a swan to liue in, nor would become a woman for his hate of them. *Thamiris* soule went into a nightingale, and a swans soule went into a man: *Ajax* into a lion, *Agamemnon* into an eagle, and *Thersites* into an ape. (b) *Plato*.] Some read, *Plotine*. *Prophiry* writes that in the tenth yeare of *Galliennus* his raigne hee came into Italy, *Plotine* being then fifty yeares of age, and that hee heard him fife yeares. And *Plotine* was a direct *Platonist* in this theame of transmigration of soules. So that both their names may well berecited in the text. (c) *Platonically*.] *Plato de Rep. li. 10.* saith, that the soules go into the *lethean* field, wherein groweth nothing, and there they all by downe and drinke of the riuer *Amelita*, and those that drinke largely, forget all things.

*Amelita.* (*Amelita* indeed is obliuion, or neglect of things past,) this done they fall a sleepe, and about mid-night, a great thunder awaketh them, and so they returne to life. *Anchises* in *Virgill* speaketh of these in this manner.

*Has omnes ubi mille rotam voluere per annos,  
Lethaum ad fluuium Deus euocat, agmine magno,  
Scilicet immemores, &c.* —————

And when the thousand yeares are come and gone,  
God calls them all to *Lethe*, euery one.

So they forget what is past, and respect not what is to come: and this they doe not willingly but of necessity.

*Against the Platonists holding the soule coeternall with God.*

CHAP. 31.

**B**Vt altogether erroneous was that opinion of some *Platonists* importing the continuall and (a) necessary reuolution of soules from this or that, and to it againe: which if it were true, what would it profit vs to know it? vnlesse the *Platonists* will preferre them-selues before vs, because we know not that they are to be made most wise in the next life, and blessed by their false beleefe? If it bee absurd and foolish to affirme this, then is *Porphyrus* to be preferred before all those transporters of soules from misery to blisse, and back againe: which if it be true, then here is a *Platonist*, refuseth *Plato* for the better: and seeth that which he saw not, not refusing correction after so great a maister, but preferring truth before man, and mans affection. Why then doe we not beleecue diuinity in things about our capacitie, which teacheth vs that the soule is not coeternall with God, but created by God? The *Platonists* refuse, vpon this (seeming sufficient) reason, that that which hath not beene for euer, cannot be for euer. I but *Plato* saith directly that both the world, and the gods, made by that great GOD in the world, had a beginning, but shall haue no end, but by the will of the creator, endure for euer. But they haue a (b) meaning for this, they say this beginning concerned not time, but substitution: for (c) euen as the foote (say they) if it had stood eternally in the dust, the foote-step should haue beene eternall also, yet no man but can say, some foote made this step; nor should the one be before the other, though one were made by the other: So the world, and the God there-in haue beene euer coeternall with the creators eternitie, though by him created. Well then, put case the soule bee and hath beene eternall; hath the soules misery beene so also? Truly if there be some-thing in the soule that had a temporall beginning, why might not the soule it selfe haue a beginning also? And then the beatitude, being firmer by triall of euill, and to endure for euer, questionlesse had a beginning, though it shall neuer haue end. So then the position that nothing can be endlesse that had a temporall beginning, is quite ouer-throwne. For the blessednesse of the soule hath a beginning but it shall neuer haue end. Let our weaknesse therefore yeeld vnto the diuine authoritie, and vs trust those holy immortalls in matter of religion, who desire no worship to them-selues, as knowing all is peculiar to their and our God: nor command vs to sacrifice but vnto him to whom (as I said often) and must so still) they and wee both are a sacrifice to be offered, by that priest that tooke our manhood, and in that this priesthood vpon him, and sacrificed himselfe euen to the death for vs.

L. VIVES.

## L. VIVES.

**A**nd (a) necessary] Plato subiects the soule both in the body, and without the body vnto the power of the fates, that after the reuolution of life, death must come: and after the purification of the soule, life againe: making our time in the body, vncertaine, but freeing vs from the body a 1000. years. This reuolution they held necessary, because God creating but a set number of soules in the beginning the world should otherwise want men to inhabite it, it being so eternal, and we so mortall. This, *Virgill* more expressly calls a wheele, which being once turned about, restores the life that it abridged: and another turning, taking it away againe, both bring things to one course. This from death to death, that, from life to life: but that worketh by death; and this by life. (b) *A meaning*] It is well knowne that *Plato* held that God created the world. But the question is, whether it began temporally, some yeares ago, or had no temporall beginning. *Plutarch*, *Atticus*, and *Senecus* held that *Plato's* world had a beginning temporall, but was neuer to haue end: But *Crantor*, *Plotine*, *Porphyry*, *Iamblichus*, *Proculus* and *Macrobius* (all *Platonists*) thought that it neuer beganne, nor neuer should haue end. So doth *Censorinus*, adioyning this and *Pythagoras* his opinion in one, for *Plato*, *Pythagorized* in all naturall questions. This *Cicero*, *Iustine Martir* and *Boetius* doe subscribe vnto also. *Plato* (saith *Apuleius de deo. Socrat.*) held all these gods to bee true, incorporeall liuing and eternall: hauing neither beginning nor end. Yet *Apuleius* in his *Dogma Platonis*, affirms that *Plato* taught vncertainely concerning the worlds beginning, saying one while, it had an originall, and another while, it had none. (c) *Euen as*] Our Philosophers disputing of an effect that is coequall in time and being with the cause, compare them to the Sunne and the Sunnes light.

Plato's opinion of the worlds creation.

*Of the vniuersall way of the soules freedome, which Porphyry sought amisse, and therefore found not: that onely Christ hath declared it. CHAP. 32.*

**T**his is the religion that contains the vniuersall way of the soules freedome: for no where els is it found but herein. This is the (a) Kings high way that leads to the eternall dangerlesse Kingdome, to no temporall or transitory one. And whereas *Porphyry* saith in the end of his first booke, *De regressu anime*, that there is no one sect yet, either truely Philosophicall, (b) Indian or Chaldæan that teacheth this vniuersall way: and that hee hath not had so much as any historicall reading of it, yet hee confesseth that such an one there is, but what it is hee knoweth not. (So insufficient was all that hee had learnt, to direct him to the soules true freedome and all that himselfe held, or others thought him hold: for he obserued the want of an authority fit for him to follow) But whereas hee saith that no sect of the true Philosophy euer had notice of the vniuersall way of the soules freedome, he shewes plaine that either his owne Philosophy was not true, or els that it wanted the knowledge of this way, and then, still, how could it be true? for what vniuersall way of freeing the soules is there but that which freeth all soules, and consequently without which none is freed? But whereas he addeth Indian or Chaldæan, he gives a cleare testimony, that neither of their doctrines contained this way of the soules freedome: yet could not he conceale, but is stil a telling vs that from the Chaldæans had hee the diuine oracles. What vniuersall way then doth hee meane, that is neither receiued in Philosophy nor into those Pagan disciplines that had such a stroke with him in matters of diuinity, (because indeed with them did the curious fond superstition; inuocation of all Angells) and which he neuer had so much as read of?

The Kings high way.

What is that vniuersall way, not peculiar to euery perticuler nation but common to (c) all the world and giuen to it by the power of God? Yet this witty Philosopher knew that some such way thers was. For hee beleeuces not that Gods prouidence would leaue man-kinde without a meane of the soules freedome. He saith not, there is no such, but that so great and good an helpe is not yet knowne to vs, nor vnto him: no meruell: for *Prophyry* was yet all (d) for the world, when that vniuersall way of the soules freedome, christianity, was suffered to be opposed, by the deuills and their seruants earthly powers, to make vp the holy number of Martires (e) that is, witnesses of the truth, who might shew that all corporall tortures were to be endured for aduancement of the truth of piety. This *Porphyry* saw, and thinking persecution would soone extinguish this way, therefore held not this the vniuersall, not conceiuing that that which he sticke at, and feared to endure in his choice, belonged to his greater commendation and confirmation. This therefore is that vniuersal way of the soules freedome, that is granted vnto all nations out of Gods mercy, the knowledge whereof commeth, and is to come vnto all men: wee may not, nor any hereafter, say, why (f) commeth it, so soone, or, why so late, for his wisdome that doth send it, is vnsearcheable vnto man. Which he well perceiued when he sayd, it was not yet receiued, or knowne vnto him: he denied not the truth thereof, because he as yet, had it not. This I say is the way that will free all beleeuers, wherein *Abraham* trusting, receiued that diuine promise, *In thy seede shall all the nations bee blessed.* *Abraham* was a Chaldæan, but for to receiue this promise, that the seede which was disposed by the Angels in the mediators power, to giue this vniuersall way of the soules freedome vnto all nations, he was commanded to leaue his owne land and kinred, and his fathers house. And then was hee first freed from the Chaldæan superstitions, and serued the true God, to whose promise he firmly trusted. This is the way recorded in the Prophet. *God bee mercifull vnto vs and blesse vs: and shew vs the light of his countenance and bee mercifull vnto vs. That thy way may be knowne vpon earth: thy sauing health among all nations.* And long after. *Abrahams seede beeing incarnate, Christ sayth of himselfe, I am the way, the truth and the life.* This is the vniuersall way, mentioned so long before by the Prophets. *It shalbe in the last daies that the (g) mountaine of the house of the Lord shalbe prepared in the toppe of the mountaines, and shalbe exalted aboue the hills and all nations shall flie vnto it. And many people shall goe and say, come let vs goe vpp to the mountaine of the Lord, to the house of the God of Iacob, and hee will teach vs his way, and wee will walke therein. For the lawe shall goe forth of Syon, and the word of the LORD from Ierusalem.* This way therefore is not peculiar to some one nation but common to all. Nor did the law, and word of God stay in Ierusalem, or Syon, but come from thence to ouerspread all the world. Therevpon the mediator being risen from death sayd vnto his amazed and amated disciples. *All things must be fulfilled which are written of mee in the law, the Prophets and the Psalmes.* Then opened hee their vnderstanding, that they might vnderstand the scriptures, saying, *thus it behooued CHRIST to suffer and to rise againe from the dead the thirde day: and that repentance and remission of sinnes should be preached in his name amongst all nations beginning at Ierusalem.* This then is the vniuersall way of the soules freedome, which the Saints and Prophets (beeing at first but a fewe as God gaue grace, and thõse all Hebrewes, for that estate was in a (h) manner consecrated) did both adumbrate in their temple, sacrifice and Priest-hood, and fore-told also in their prophecy, often mystically, and some-times plainly. And the *Mediator* himselfe and his *Apostles*, reuealing the  
grace

Genes. 22

Psalm. 60

Iohn 14  
Esay 2

Luk. 24

grace of the new testament, made plaine all those significations, that successe of precedent times had retained, as it pleased God, the miracles which I spoke of before euer more giuing confirmation to them. For they had not onely angelicall visions, and saw the ministers of heauen, but euen these simple men relying wholly vpon Gods word, cast out denills, cured diseases, (r) commanded wild-beasts, waters, birds, trees, elements, and starres, raised the dead. I except the miracles, peculiar to our Sauour, chiefly in his birth, and resurrection, shewing in the first, the mystery of (k) maternall virginity, and in the other the example of our renouation. This way cleanseth euery soule, and prepareth a mortall man in euery part of his, for immortality. For least that which *Prophyry* calls the intellect should haue one purgation, the spirital another, and the body another; therefore did our true and powerfull Sauour take all vpon him. Besides this way, (which hath neuer failed man-kinde, either (l) in prophecies, or in their (m) performances) no man hath euer had freedome, or euer hath or euer shall haue. And whereas *Porphyry* saith he neuer had any historicall notice of this way, what history can be more famous then this that lookes from such a towering authority, downe, vpon all the world? or more faithfull, since it so relateth things past, as it prophecyeth things to come: a great part whereof wee see already performed, which giueth vs assured hope of the fulfilling of the rest. *Porphyry*, nor euer a *Platonist* in the world can contemne the predictions of this way, (albee they concerne but temporall affaires) as they doe all other prophecies and diuinations of what sort soeuer: for them, they say they neither are spoken by worthy men, nor to any worthy purpose: true, for they are either drawne from inferiour causes, as phisike can preface much (n) concerning health, vpon such or such signes: or els the vnclane spirits fore-tell the artes that they haue already disposed of, (o) confirming the mindes of the guilty and wicked, with deedes fitting their words, or words fitting their deedes, to get themselues a domination in mans infirmity. But the holy men of this vniuersall way of ours neuer respect the prophecying of those things, holding them iustly, trifles: yet doe they both know them and often fore-tell them to confirme the faich in things beyond sence, and hard to present vnto plainnesse. But they were other, and greater matters which they, (as God inspired them) did prophecy: namely the incarnation of Christ, and all things thereto belonging, and fulfilled in his name, repentance and conuersion of the will vnto God, remission of sinnes, the grace of iustice, faith, and increase of beleeuers throughout all the world, destinction of Idolatry, temptation for triall, mundifying of the proficients, freedom from euill, the day of iudgement, resurrection, damnation of the wicked, and glorification of the City of GOD in an eternall Kingdome. These are the prophecies of them of this way: many are fulfilled, and the rest assuredly are to come. That this straight way, leading to the knowledge and coherence of GOD, lieth plaine in the holy scriptures, vpon whose truth it is grounded: they that beleue not (and therefore know not) may oppose this but can neuer ouerthrow it: And therefore in these ten bookes I haue spoken (by the good assistance of GOD) sufficient in sound iudgements, (though some expected more) against the impious contradictors, that preferre their gods before the founder of the holy city whereof wee are to dispute. The first five of the ten, opposed them that adored their gods for temporall respects: the five later, against those that adored them for the life to come. It remains now according as wee promised in the first booke, to proceede in our discourse of the two cities that are confused together in this world and distinct in the other,

*A recapitulation of the former ten bookes.*

other, of whose originall, progresse and consummation, I now enter to dispute, euermore inuoking the assistance of the almighty.

### L. VIVES.

Catholike  
faith.

**K**inges (a) *high*] or road: the *Kinges*, the *Prators*, and the *Soldiours* way the lawes held holy. (b) *Indian*] The *Gymnosophists*, and the *Brachmans*, much recorded for admirable deeds and doctrine. (c) *All the world*] Therefore is our sayth called *Catholike*, because it was not taught to any peculiar nation, as the *Iewes* was, but to all mankind excluding none: all may be saved by it, and none can without it: nor hath euery nation herein (as they haue in Paganisme) a seuerall religion. But for the other, the *Romaines* had those gods and this worship, and the *Grecians* others: the *French* others from theirs, *Spaine*, *Scythia*, *India*, *Persia*, all seuerall. But all that professe *CHRIST* haue one *GOD*, and one sacrifice (d) *All for the world*] Liuing vnder *Diocletian*, a sore persecutor of Christianity. (e) *Witnesses*] *μαρτυρες*, is a witnessse. (f) *Why commeth*] Why came it not ere now? or so. (g) *Mountaine*] Some bookes, leaue out, of the house, the 70. read it *τὸ ἕδος κυρίου*, &c. *the mount of the Lord and house of our God.* (h) *In a manner*] It was the beginning, or seminary of Gods Church. (i) *Communded*] Some adde, the deuills to depart: but it is needlesse. (k) *Maternall*] The mistery is that nothing that our Sauiour touched, is stained, or corrupted. (l) *In prophecies*] In *Moyse*s lawe. (m) *Performances*] In our law, by *Apostles*, and other holy *Preachers*. (n) *Concerning health*] Or, to befall the health, better. (o) *Confirming*] or, the rule of which they challenge to themselues, in: fitting wicked affections with correspondent effects. For they can vse their powers of nature farre more knowingly then we, in procuring health or sicknesse.

Finis lib 10.

THE

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30. The perfection of the number of sixe, the first is compleate in all the parts.
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32. Of their opinion that held Angells to be created before the world.
33. Of the two different societies of Angells, not vnfitly tearmed light, and darkenesse.
34. Of the opinion that some held, that the Angells were ment by the seuered waters, and of others that held waters vntcreated.

FINIS.

THE



# THE ELEVENTH BOOKE OF THE CITTIE OF GOD:

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishop of Hippo,  
vnto *Marcellinus*.

*Of that part of the worke wherein the demonstration of the beginings and ends of  
the two Citties, the heauenly and the earthly, are declared.*

## CHAP. I.



Pfal. 87. 2  
Pfal. 48. 1

Pfal. 46

WE giue the name of the City of GOD vnto that society wherof that scripture beareth wittnesse, which hath gotten the most excellent authority & preheminance of all other workes whatsoever, by the disposing of the diuine prouidence, not the affectation of mens iudgements. For there it is sayd: *Glorious things are spoken of thee, thou City of God:* and in an other place, *Great is the LORD, and greatly to be praised, in the City of our God euen vpon his holy mountaine, increasing the ioy of all the earth.* And by and by in the same Psalme: *As wee haue heard so haue wee seene in the City of the Lord of Hostes, in the City of our God: God hath established it for euer:* and in another. *The riuers streames shall make glad the Citie of God, the most high hath sanctified his tabernacle, God is in the midst of it, vnmoued.* These testimonies, and thousands more, teach vs that there is a City of God, wherof his inspired loue maketh vs desire to bee members. The earthly cittizens prefer their Gods before this heauenly Citties holy founder, knowing not that he is the God of gods, not of those false, wicked, and proud ones, (which wanting his light so vniuersall and vchangeable, and being thereby cast into an extreame needy power, each one followeth his owne state, as it were, and begs peculiar honors of his seruants) but of the Godly, and holy ones, who select their owne submission to him, rather then the worlds to them, and loue rather to worship him, their God, then to be worshipped for gods themselues. The foes of this holy City, our former ten bookes (by the helpe of our Lord & King) I hope haue fully affronted. And now, knowing what is next expected of mee, as my promise, *viz.* to dispute (as my poore talent stretcheth) of the originall, progresse, and consummation of the two Citties that in this world ly confusedly together: by the assistance of the same God, and King of ours, I set pen to paper: intending first to shew the beginning of these two, arising from the difference betweene the Angelical powers.

*Of the knowledge of God, which none can attaine but through the mediator betweene God and man, the Man Christ Iesus.* CHAP. 2.

IT is a great, and admirable thing for one to transcend all creatures corporall or incorporall, fraile and mutable, by speculation; and to attaine to the Deity it selfe, and learne of that, that it made all things that are not of the diuine essence. For so doth God teach a man, speaking not by any corporall creature vnto him,

him, nor reuerberating the ayre betweene the eare, and the speaker: nor by any spirituall creature, or apparition, as in dreames, or otherwise. For so hee doth speake as vnto bodily eares, and as by a body, and by breach of ayre and distance. For visions are very like bodies. But he speaketh by the truth, if the eares of the minde bee ready, and not the body. For hee speaketh vnto the best part of the whole man, and that wherein God onely doth excell him, and vnderstand a man in the best fashion, you cannot then but say, he is made after Gods Image, beeing neerer to God onely by that part wherein hee excelleth his others, which hee hath shared with him by beasts. But yet the minde (*a*) it selfe (wherein reason and vnderstanding are naturall in herents) is weakned, and darkened by the mist of inueterate error, and dis-enabled to inioy by inherence (*b*) nay euen to endure that immutable light, vntill it bee gradually purified, cured, and made fit for such an happinesse, therefore it must first bee purged, and instructed by faith, to set it the surer; wherein, truth it selfe, Gods Sonne, and God, taking on our man without wasting of god-head ordained that faith, to bee a passe (*c*) for man to God, by his meane that was both God and man. (*d*) for by his man-hood, is he mediator, and by man, is hee our way. For if the way lie betweene him that goeth, and the place to which he goeth, there is hope to attaine it. But if (*e*) one haue no way, nor know which way to goe, what booteth it to know whether to goe? And the onely sure, plaine, infallible high way is this mediator, God and Man: God, our iournies end, and Man our way vnto it.

How God  
speaketh  
vnto man.

No God-  
head of the  
sonnes was  
lost in his  
assumption  
of man.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He Minde (*a*) it selfe] We call the minde mans purest and most excellent part, by which wee doe vnderstand, argue, collect, discourses, apprehending things simply, or comparing them: producing all artes and disciplines, managing the whole course of life, and inuening all rarities, all by the minde. (*b*) Nay euen to endure] So is the best reading] (*c*) For by his] This is not *Augustine*, but all added by some other, vnto the chapters end.

*Of the authority of the canonical Scriptures, made by the spirit  
of God. CHAP. 3.*

**T**His God, hauing spoken what he held conuenient, first by his Prophets, then by himselfe, and afterwards by his Apostle, made that scripture also, which we call canonical, of most eminent authority, on which wee relie in things that befall our vnderstanding, and yet cannot bee attained by our selues. For if things (*a*) sensible either to our exterior or interior sence (wee call them things present) may bee knowne in our owne iudgements (*b*) wee see them before our eyes, and haue them as infallible objects of our sence: then truely in things that fall not in compasse of sence, because our owne iudgements doe faile vs, we must seeke out other authorities, to whom such things (wee thinke) haue bene more apparant, and then we are to trust. Wherefore, as in things visible, hauing not seene them our selues, we trust those that haue: (and so in all other objects of the senses:) euen so in things mentall, and intelligible, which procure a notice or sence, in man, (whereof comes the word, sentence:) that is (*c*) in things inuisible to our exterior sence, wee must needs trust them, (*d*) who haue learned then of that incorporeall light, or (*e*) behold them continually before him.

Faith con-  
cernes  
things in-  
uisible.

## L. VIVES.

Sense.

**T**Hings (a) *sensible*] That power in man or other creature whatsoever that discerneth any thing, is called sense. Five exterior senses there are, and one within, the minde, or soule, feeling sense of sorrow, or of ought that the exteriors present, ioy, praise, glory, vertue, vice, hope, feare: of the exteriors, as thus: wee say, what doe you thinke of this wine? this musicke? this vesture? & of such a mans iudgement or wisdom, Philosophy, diuinity, or policy? Thus much because our Philosophers will not endure the minde should bee called sense, directly against *Augustine*. But what hath a Philosopher of our time to do with the knowledge of speech, that is (as they interpret it) with grammar? (b) *Wee see them*] So it must be, *per sensibus*, before our senses, not *presentibus* (c) *In things inuisible*] Visible commeth of *Videre* to see, that that is common to all the senses. Saw you not what a vile speech hee made? saw you euer worse wine? and so the Greekes vse *idiv*. So doth *Augustine* vse inuisible here, for that which is no object to any exterior sense. (d) *Who haue learned*] The Saints, of God their Maister. (e) *Behold*] The holy Angells.

To see.

*That the state of the world is neither eternall, nor ordained by any new thought of gods, as if he meant that after, which he meant not before.* CHAP. 4.

**O**F things visible, the world is the greatest, of inuisible, God. But the first wee see, the second wee but beleue. That God made the world, whom shall wee beleue with more safety them himselfe? Where haue we heard him? neuer better then in the holy scriptures, where the Prophet saith. *In the beginning God created heauen and earth.* Was the Prophet there when he made it? no. But Gods wisdom, whereby hee made it, was there, and that doth infuse it selfe into holy soules, making Prophets and Saints, declaring his workes vnto them inwardly, without any noise. And the holy Angells that eternally behold the face of the Father, they come downe when they are appointed, and declare his will vnto them, of whom he was one that wrote, *In the beginning God created heauen and earth,* and who was so fit a witness to beleue God by, that by the same spirit that reuealed this vnto him, did hee prophecy the coming of our faith. But (a) what made God create heauen and earth, then, not sooner: (b) they that say this to import an eternity of the world, being not by God created, are damnably, and impiously deceiued and infected. For (to except all prophecy) the very (c) order, disposition, beauty and change of the worlde and all therein proclaimeth it selfe to haue beene made (and not possible to haue beene made, but) by God, that ineffable, inuisible great one, ineffably & inuisible beauteous. But they that say God made the world, and yet allow it no temporall, but onely a formall originall, being made after a manner almost incomprehensible, they seeme to say some-what in Gods defence from that chancefull rashnesse, to take a thing into his head that was not therein before, *viz.* to make the world, and to be subiect to change of will, he being wholly vnchangeable and for euer. But I see not how their reason can stand in other respects, chiefly (d) in that of the soule, which if they doe coeternize with God, they can neuer shew how that misery befalleth it anew, that was neuer accident to it before. (e) If they say that the happinesse & misery haue bin coeternal euer, then must they be so still, & then followes this absurdity, that the soule being called happy, shall not be happy in this, that it foreseeeth the misery to come. If it doe neither foresee their blisse nor their bale, thē is it happily a false vnderstanding: and that were a most fond assertion. But if they hold that the misery and the blisse haue succeeded each other frō al eternity, but that afterwards the soule being once blessed, returns no more to misery, yet doth not this saue thē from being couicted that ſoules was neuer truly happy before; but then begineth to enioy a new, & vncertaine happines: & so they cōfesse that this so strang & v unexpected a thing befalls the soule then, that neuer befel it before: which new changes cause if they deny ſ God eternally foreknew, they deny him also to be the author of that happinesse

happinesse: ( which were wicked to doe. ) And then if they should say that hee had newly resolued that the soule should nor become eternally blessed, how farre are they from quitting him from that mutability which they disallow? But if they acknowledge, that it had (f) a true temporall beginning, but shall neuer haue temporal end, & hauing once tried misery, and gotten cleare of it, shal neuer bee miserable more, this they may boldly affirme with preiudice to Gods immutability of will. And so they may beeleeue that the world had a temporall original, and yet that God did not alter his eternall resolution in creating of it.

## L. VIVES.

**W**Hat (a) made] *Epicurus* his question. (*Cic. de nat. deor.* 1. *Velleius* reasons of it. (b) They that] This is a maine doubt, mightily diuided and tossed into parts by great wittes, and tedious disputes. Some hold the world neuer made, nor euer ending, so doe the *Peripatetiques*, and many Latines (as *Pliny*, and *Manilius*) follow them: *Caro* the elder saith that of the *Egyptians* some said it was created, but must bee eternall, as they (in the other booke) said *Plato* held. Some said it was from eternity, but must haue an end. Some, that God made it corruptible, yet endlesse, as preserued by the diuine essence, and these are *Pythagoreans*. Some say it both had a beginning and must haue an end: the *Epicureans*, *Anaxagoras*, *Empedocles* and the *Stoikes* held this. Of these *Plut. de Plac. Philoso. Galen. Histor. Philosoph.* (if that booke bee his.) *Censorin. de die nat. Macrobius*, and others doe write. *Aphrodiseus* stands to *Aristotle*, because that opinion was the most battered at. *Galen* made the sences iudges of all the whole question, and because wee see the same world, all in the same fashion, therefore it was vncreated, and must bee eternall. For as *Manilius* saith. *The Father sees not one world; the Sonne another*. Some of them that make it eternall, say that God made it. Some giue it no cause of being, but make it cause of it selfe, and all besides. *Arist. de calo & mundo.* (c) Order] Chance could not make so singularly an ordered worke, nor any other reason or work-man, but beauty it selfe could produce so beauteous an obiekt. All the Philosophers schooles that smelt of any diuinity, held directly that nothing prooued the world to bee of Gods creating, so much as the naturall beauty thereof. *Plato*, the *Stoikes*, *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, and *Aristotle* were all thus perswaded. (*Cic. de nat. de. lib. 2.* (d) In that of the soule] *Plato* thrufts their eternal soules into bodies, as into prisons for sins comitted. (e) If they] They must needs say they were either euer blessed or euer wretched, or successiuelly, both: which if it be, the alteration of the soules nature must cause it, perforce. For what vicissitude of guilt and expiation could there bee for so many thousand yeares of eternity, so constant, as to make the soules now blessed and now miserable. (f) A true] Some read, a beginning as number hath; number begins at one, and so runs on infinitely: the great number may itil be increased, nor can you euer come to the end of number, for it hath no end, but is iustly called infinite.

Whether  
the world  
be created.

*That we ought not to seeke to comprehend the infinite spaces of time or place, ere the world was made.* CHAP. 5.

**A**ND then let vs see what wee must say to those that make God the worlds maker and yet examine the time: and what they wil say to vs, when wee examine them of the place. They aske why it was made then, and no sooner, as wee may aske, why was it made in this place and in no other? for if they imagine infinite spaces of time before the world, herein they cannot thinke that God did nothing, so likewise may they suppose infinite spaces of place besides the world, wherein if they doe not make the Deity to rest and not operate, they must fall to *Epicurus* (a) his dreame of innumerable worlds, onely this difference there wilbe, he makes all his worlds of the (b) casuall coagulation of *Atomes*, and so by their parting dissolues them: but they must make all theirs, Gods handiworkes, if the,

will not let him rest in all the inter-mirable space beyond the world, and have none of all them worlds (no more then this of ours) to bee subiect to dissolution, (c) for we now dispute with those that doe as wee doe, make God the incorporeall Creator of all things that are not of his owne essence. For those that stand for many gods, they are vnworthy to bee made disputants in this question of religion. The other Philosophers haue quite (d) out-stript all the rest in fame and credit because (though they were farre from the truth, yet) were they nearer then the rest. Perhaps they will neither make Gods essence dilatible, nor limmitable, but (as one should indeed hold) will affirme his incorporeall presence in all that spacious distance besides the world, imploied onely in this little place (in respect of his immensity) that the world is fixt in: I doe not thinke they will talke so idly. If they set God on worke in this one determinate (though greatly dilated) world: that reason that they gaue why God should not worke in all those infinite places beyond the world, let them giue the same why God wrought not in all the infinite times before the world. But as it is not consequent that God followed chance rather then reason in placing of the worlds frame where it now standeth, & in no other place, though this place had no merit to deserue it before the infinite others: (yet no mans reason can comprehend why the diuine will placed it so:) euen so no more is it consequent, that wee should thinke that it was any chance made God create this world than, rather then at any other time, whereas all times before had their equall course, and none was more meritorious of the creation then another: But if they say, men are fond to thinke there is any place besides that wherein the world is: so are they (say wee) to imagine any time for God to bee idle in, since there was no time before the worldes creation.

## L. VIVES.

Metrodorus.

**E**Picurus (a) his dreame] Who held not onely many worlds, but infinite: I shewed it elsewhere. Metrodorus saith it as absurd to imagine but one world, in that so infinite a space, as to say that but one care of corne grows in a huge field. This error Aristotle & the Stoikes beat quite downe, putting but that one for the world, which Plato, and the wisest Philosophers called *τὸ πᾶν*, the vniuersē. (b) Casuall] Great adoe the Philosophers keepe about natures principles: Democritus makes all things of little bodies that flie about in the voide places, hauing forme and magnitude, yet indiuisible, and therefore called *ἄτομα*, Atomes, Epicurus gaue them weight also, more then Democritus did: and made those indiuisible diuersly-formed things, to flie about (of diuers quantities and weights) vp and down casually in the voyd and shuffling together in diuers formes, thus produce infinite worlds, and thus infinite worlds do arise, continue and end, without any certaine cause at all: and seeking of a place, without the world, we may not take it as we do our places, circumscribing a body: but as a certaine continuance, before the world was made, wherein many things may possibly be produced and liue. So though their bee nothing without this world, yet the minde conceiueth a space wherein God may both place this, and infinite worlds more. (c) For wee] With the Platonists, he means. (d) Out stripe] The ancients held the Platonists and Stoikes in great respect and reuerence. Cicero.

Atomes.

*That the world and time had both one beginning, nor was the one before the other. CHAP. 6.*

**F**OR if eternity and time be wel considered, time (a) neuer to be extant without motion, and (b) eternity to admit no change, who would not see that time could not haue being before some mouable thing were created; whose motion, & successiue

successive alteration (necessarily following one part another) the time might run by? Seeing therefore that God whose eternity alters not, created the world, and time, how can he be said to have created the world in time, vnlesse you will say there was some-thing created before the world, whose course time did follow? And if the holy and most true scriptures say that: *In the beginning God created heauen and earth*, to wit, that there was nothing before then, because this was the Beginning, which the other should haue beene if ought had beene made before, the verily the world was made with Time, & not in Time, for that which is made in time, is made both before some Time, & after some. Before it is Time past, after it is Time to come: But no Time passed before the world, because no creature was made by whose course it might passe. But it was made with the Time if motion be Times condition, as that order of the first sixe or seauen daies went, wherein were counted morning & euening vntill the Lord fulfilled all the worke vpon the sixth day, and commended the seauenth to vs in the mystery of sanctification. Of what fashion those daies were, it is either exceeding hard, or altogether impossible to thinke, much more to speake.

## L. VIVES.

**T**ime (a) neuer] Aristotle defined time the measure of motion, making them vtterly inseparable. Some Philosophers define it, motion, so doe the Stoikes. (b) Eternity] So saith Augustine often, Boetius also, Nazianzene, and others all out of Plato, these are his wordes. *When the Father of this great mooneable and eternall vniuerse, beheld his worke, he was very well pleased, resolved to make it yet a little liker to the Archetype. And so, euen as this creature is immortal, so beganne hee to make the world eternall, as neare as the nature thereof would permit: but his nature is eternall, and square doth with this made worke. But hee conceiued a mooneable forme of eternity, and together with ornament of the heauenly structure, gave it this progressive eternall Image of eternity: which he named Time, diuiding it into daies, nights, monthes and yeares: all which came vp with heauen, and none of them were before heauen. Thus Plato in his Timæus: Time (saith Apuleius) is the Image of eternity: but time moueth, and eternity moueth not, being naturally fixed and immouable: towards it doth time passe, and endeth in the perfection thereof, and may be dissolved when the worlds creator will.* In dogm. Platon. Time.  
Eternity.

*Of the first sixe daies that had morning, and euening; ere the Sunne was made. CHAP. 7.*

**A**S for ordinary (a) daies, wee see they haue neither morning nor euening, but as the Sunne rises and sets. But the first three daies of all, had no Sunne, for that was made the fourth day. And first, God made the light, and seuered it from the darkenesse, calling it day, and darkenesse, night: but what that light was, and how it ranne a course to make morning and night, is out of our sence to iudge, nor can we vnderstand it, which neuerthelesse we must make no question but beleeue. (b) for the light was either a bodily thing placed in the worlds highest parts farre from our eye, or there where the Sunne was afterwards made: (c) or els the name of *light* signified that holy citty, with the Angells and spirits whereof the Apostle saith: *Jerusalem which is aboue is our eternall mother in heauen.* And in another place hee saith: *ye are all the children of light, and the sonnes of the day: we are not sonnes of night and darkenesse.* (d) Yet hath this day the morne and euening, because (e) the knowledge of the creature, compared to the Creators, is but a very twilight: And day breaketh with man, when he draweth neare the loue

Knowledge  
of a crea-  
ture.

and praise of the Creator. Nor is the creature euer be nighted, but when the loue of the Creator forsakes him. The scripture orderly reciting those daies, neuer mentions the night: nor saith, *night was*, but, *the euening and the morning were the first day*, so of the second, and soon. For the creatures knowledge, of it selfe, is as it were farre more discoloured, then when it ioynes with the Creators, as in the arte that framed it. Therefore, *euening*, is more congruently spoken then *night*, yet when all is referred to the loue, & praise of the Creator, night becomes morning: and when it comes to the knowledge of it selfe it is one full day. When it comes to the Firmament that seperateth the waters aboue and below, it is the second day. When vnto the knowledge of the earth, and all things that haue roote thereon, it is the third day. When vnto the knowledge of the two lights the greater and the lesse, the fourth: when it knowes all water-creatures, foules and fishes, it is the fifth, and when it knowes all earthly creatures, and man himselfe it is the sixth day.

### L. VIVES.

**O**Rdinary (a) daies] *Coleyns* copy reads not this place so well. (b) *For the* The schoole men *Sent. 2. dist. 24.* dispute much of this. But *Augustine* calleth not the light a body here: but saith God made it either some bright body, as the Sunne, or els the contraction of the incorporeall light, made night, and the extension, day, as *Basil* saith, moouing like the Sun, in the egress making morning, in the regress euening. *Hug. de. S. Victor. de Sacram. lib. 1. (c)* Or els] *Aug. de genes. ad lit. lib. 1. (d) Tet hath* A diuers teading, both to one purpose. (e) *The knowledge* *De genes. ad lit. lib. 4.* Where hee calleth it morning when the Angells by contemplating of the creation in themselues (where is deepe darkenesse) lift vp themselues to the knowledge of God: and if that in him they learne all things (which is more certaine then all habituall knowledge) then is it day: It growes towards euening when the Angels turne from God to contemplate of the creatures in themselues, but this euening neuer becommeth night for the Angells neuer preferre the worke before the worke man: that were most deepe, darke night. Thus much out of *Augustine*, the first mentioner of mornings & euening knowledge.

*What wee must thinke of Gods resting the seauenth day after his  
sixe daies worke. CHAP. 8.*

**B**Vt whereas God rested the seauenth day fro al his workes, & sanctified it, this is not to be childishly vnderstood, as if God had taken paines; he but spake the word, and (a) by that intelligible and eternal one (not vocall nor temporal) were all things created. But Gods rest signifieth theirs that rest in God, as the gladnesse of the house signifies those y are glad in the house, though some-thing else (and not the house) bee the cause thereof. How much more then if the beauty of the house make the inhabitants glad, so that wee may not onely call it glad vsing the continent for the contained, as, the whole Theater applauded, when it was the men: the whole medowes bellowed, for, the Oxen, but also vsing the efficient for the effect, as a merry epistle; that is, making the readers merry. Therefore the scripture affirming that God rested, meaneth the rest of all things in God, whom he by himself maketh to rest: for this the Prophet hath promised to all such as he speaketh vnto, and for whom he wrote, that after their good workes which God doth in them or by them, (if they first haue apprehended him in this life by faith) they shal in him haue rest eternal. This was prefigured in the sanctification of the Sabbath by Gods command in the old law, whereof, more at large in due season.

Gods rest  
not perso-  
nall but  
efficient.

L. VI-

## L. VIVES.

**BY** <sup>(a)</sup> *that intelligible*] *Basil* saith that this word is a moment of the will, by which wee conceiue better of things.

*What is to be thought of the qualities of Angels, according to scripture.* CHAP. 9.

**N**OW hauing resolved to relate this holy Citie's originall, & first of the angels who make a great part thereof so much the happier in that they neuer <sup>(a)</sup> were pilgrims, let vs see what testimonies of holy writt concerne this point. The scriptures speaking of the worlds creation speake not plainly of the Angels, when or in what order they were created, but that they were created; the word *heauen* includeth. *In the beginning God created heauen and earth*, or rather in the world Light, whereof I speake now, are there signified: that they were omitted, I cannot thinke, holy writ saying, that God rested in the seauenth day from all his workes, the same booke beginning with, *In the beginning God created heauen and earth*: to shew that nothing was made ere then. Beginning therefore with heauen & earth, and earth the first thing created, being as the scripture plainly saith, with-out forme and void, light being yet vn-made, and darknesse being vpon the deepe: (that is vpon a certaine confusion of earth and waters) for where light is not darknesse must needes be, then the creation proceeding; and all being accomplished in sixe dayes, how should the angels bee omitted, as though they were none of Gods workes, from which hee rested the seuenth day? This though it be not omitted, yet here is it not plaine: but else-where it is most euident. The three children sung in their himne, *O all yee workes of the Lord, blesse yee the Lord*, amongst which they reckon the angels. And the *Psalmist* saith: *O praise God in the heauens, praise him in the heights: praise him all yee his angells, praise him all his hoasts; praise him Sonne and Moone, praise him starres and light. Praise him yee heauens of heauens, and the waters that be aboue the heauens, praise the name of the Lord, for hee spake the word and they were made: he commanded & they were created*: here diuinity calls the angels Gods creature: most plainly: inserting them with the rest, & saying of all: *He spake the word and they were made*: who dares thinke that the *Angels* were made after the sixe daies: If any one bee so fond, hearken, this place of scripture confounds him vtterly, <sup>(c)</sup> *when the starres were made, all mine angels praised mee with a lowde voice*. Therefore they were made before the starres, and the stars were made the fourth day. what? they were made the third day, may wee say so? God forbid. That dayes worke is fully knowne, the earth was parted from the waters, and two elements tooke formes distinct, and earth produced all her plants. In the second day then? neither. Then was the firmament made betweene the waters aboue and below, and was called *Heauen*, in which firmament the starres were created the fourth day. <sup>(c)</sup> Wherefore if the *angels* belong vnto Gods fixe dayes worke, they are that light called day; to commend whose vnity, it was called, *one day*, not the first day, nor differs the second or third from this, all are but this one, doubled vnto 6 or 7. fixe of Gods workes, the 7. of his rest. For when God said: *Let there be light, & there was light*; if we vnderstand the *angels* creation aright herein, they are made partakers of that eternall light, the vnchangeable wisdom of God, all-creating, namely, the onely begotten *Sonne of God*, with whose light they in their creation were illuminate, and made light, & called day in the participation of the vnchangeable light & day, that *word* of God by which they & all things else were created. For the true light that lightneth every man that cometh into this world, this also lightneth euery pure *angell*, making it light, not in it selfe, but in God,

Iob. 38. 7.



from whom if an Angell fall, it becommeth impure, as all the vncleane spirits are, being no more a light in God, but a darknesse in it selfe, deprived of all participation of the eternall light: for *Euill* hath no nature; but the losse of good, that is euill.

## L. VIVES.

**N** *Ever were* (a) *pilgrims*] But alwayes in their country: seeing alwayes the face of the father. (b) *When the starres*] *Iob.* 38 7. So the *Septuagints* doe translate it, as it is in the text. (c) *Wherefore if*] The Greeke diuine put the creation of spirituals, before that of things corporall, making God vse them as ministers in the corporall worke: and so held *Plato*. *Hierome* following *Gregorie* and his other Greeke Maisters held so also. But of the Greekes, *Basil* and *Dionysius*, and almost all the Latines, *Ambrose*, *Bede*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Augustine* in this place holds, that God made althings together, which agreeth with that place of *Ecclesiasticus*, chap. 18. vers. 1. *He that liueth for ever, made althings together.*

*Of the uncomponded, vnchangeable Trinity, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Spirit, one God in substance and quality, euer one and the same.* CHAP. IO.

**G**ood therefore (which is God) is onely simple, and consequently vnchangeable. This good created all things, but not simple, therefore changeable. I say created, that is made, not begotte. For that which the simple good begot, is as simple as it is, and is the same that begot it. These two we call *Father* and *sonne* both which with their spirit, are one God: that spirit, being the *fathers* and the *sonnes*, is properly called in scriptures, *the holy spirit*, (a) it is neither *father* nor *sonne*, but personally distinct from both, but it is not really: for it is a simple and vnchangeable good with them, and coeternall. And this *trinity* is one God: not simple because a *trinity* (for we call not the nature of that good, simple, because the *father* is alone therein, or the *sonne*, or *holy ghost* alone, for that name of the *trinitie* is not alone with personall substance, as the (b) *Sabellians* held) but it is called simple, because it is *one* in essence & the same *one* in quality (excepting their personall relation: for therein the *father* hath a *sonne*, yet is no *sonne*, & the *sonne* a *father*, yet is no *father*. (c) But in consideration each of it selfe, the quality and essence is both one therein, as each liueth, that is, hath life, and is life it selfe. This is the reason of the natures simplicity, wherein nothing adheareth that can bee lost, nor is the continent one & the thing contained another, as vessels & liquors, bodies and colours, ayre and heate, or the soule and wisdom are: for those are not coessentiall with their qualities: the vessell is not the liquor, nor the body the colour, nor ayre heate, nor the soule wisdom: therefore may they all loose these adiuncts, and assume others: the vessel may be empty, the body discoloured, the ayre cold, the soule foolish. But (d) the body being one incorruptible (as the saints shall haue in the resurrection) that incorruption it shall neuer loose, yet is not that incorruption one essence with the bodily substance. For it is a like in all parts of the body, all are incorruptible. But the body is greater in whole then in part, and the parts are some larger, some lesser, yet neither enlarging or lessening the incorruptibility. So then (e) the body being not entire in it selfe, & incorruptibility being intire in it selfe, do differ: for all parts of the body haue inequality in themselues, but none in incorruptibility. The finger is lesse then the hand, but neither more nor lesse corruptible then the hand: being vnequall to themselues, their incorruptibility is equall. And therefore though incorruptibility be the bodies inseperable inherent, yet the substance making the body, & the quality making it incorruptible, are absolutely seuerall. And so it is in the adiunct aforesaid of  
the

Vnicie in  
trinitie.

the soule, though the soule be alwaies wise, ( as it shall bee when it is deliuered from misery to eternity) though it be from thence euermore wise yet it is by participation of the diuine wisdom, of whose substance the soule is not. For though the ayre be euer light, it followeth not that the light and the ayre should be all one. (I say not this *(f)* as though the ayre were a soule as some that *(g)* could not conceiue an vncorporal nature, did imagine. But there is a great similitude in this disparity : so that one may fitly say, as the corporeall ayre is lightned by the corporeall light, so is the incorporeall soule by gods wisdoms incorporeall light, & as the aire being depriued of that light, becomes darke, *(b)* corporeall darknesse being nothing but aire depriued of light, so doth the soule grow darkned, by want of the light of wisdom) According to this then, they are called simple things, that are truely and principally diuine, because their essence and *(i)* their quality are indistinct, nor do they partake of any deity, substance, wisdom, or beatitude, but are all entirely them-selues. The scripture indeed calls the Holy Ghost, the manifold spirit of wisdom, because the powers of it are many : but all one with the essence, and all included in one, for the wisdom thereof is not manyfold; but one, and therein are infinite and vnmeasurable *(k)* treasures of things intelligible, wherein are all the immutable and inscrutable causes of all things, both visible, and mutable, which are thereby created: for God did nothing vnwittingly, *(l)* it were disgrace to say so of any humane artificer. But if he made all knowing, then made hee but what hee knew. This now produceth a wonder, but yet a truth in our mindes : that the world could not be vnto vs, but that it is now extant : but it could not haue beene at all *(m)* but that God knew it.

### L. VIVES.

**I**t is *(a)* Neither.] Words I thinke ad little to religion, yet must we haue a care to keepe the old path and receiued doctrine of the Church, for diuinity being so farre aboue our reach, **Religion** how can wee giue it the proper explanation? All words, are mans inuention for humane vses, **phrases.** and no man may refuse the old approued words to bring in new of his owne inuention, for when as proprieties are not to be found out by mans wit, those are the fittest to declare things by, that ancient vse hath left vs, and they that haue recorded most part of our religion. This I say for that a sort of smattering rash fellowes impiouly presume to cast the old formes of speach at their heeles, and to set vp their own maisters-ships, being grossly ignorant both in the matters and their bare formes, and will haue it lawfull for them, at their fond likings to frame or fashion the phrases of the fathers in matter of religion, into what forme they list, like a nose of waxe. *(b)* Sabellians. Of them before. The held no persons in the Ternity. *(c)* But in consideration.] The Bruges copy reads it without the sentence precedent in the copy that Vines commented vpon, and so doth Paris, Louaines and Basills all. *(d)* The body. ] Prouing accidents both separable and inseparable to be distinct from the substance they do adhere vnto. *(e)* The body being not.] The body consists of parts: it cannot stand without them, combined and coagulate in one: the hand is not the body of his whole, nor the magnitude: yet the incorruptibility of the hand is no part of the bodies incorruptibility, for this is not diuisible, though it be in the whole body; but so indiuisible, that being all in all the body, it is also all in euery part: and so are all spirituall things, Angels, soules; and God; their natures possesse no place so that they may say, this is on my right hand, this on the left, or this aboue, and this below, but they are entirely whole in euery particle of their place, and yet faile not to fill the whole; whether this be easilier spoken or vnderstood, iudge you.

*(f)* As though. ] So Anaximenes of Miletus, and Diogenes of Apollonia held, Anaxagoras held the soule was like an ayre. Heraclitus, produced all soules out of respiration, therevpon calling it ψυχη, of ψύχω, to refrigerate. Plato in Cratyl. The ancients tooke our breath wee draw, for the soule. Where-vpon the Poet said, *uxoris anima Fecit. My uiuēt*

wiues breth stinkes. They called all ayre also the soule. *Virgil Semina terrarum animaque marisque fuissent.* As they had beene the seeds of earth, ayre, sea, &c. (g) *Could not.* Cic. *Tusc. quest. lib. 1.* They could not conceiue the soule that liues by it selfe, but sought a shape for it. (h) *Corporall darkenesse.* Arist. *de anima. lib. 2.* Darkenesse is the absence of light from a transparent body, by which we see. (i) *Their quality.* The Greekes call it *νοστήσιον.* Tully in his academies taketh this for a body. But *Augustine* here calleth all adherences to the substance (which Philosophers call accidents) qualities. *Quintil.* and others, shew the name of *Quality* to be generall, and both in the abstract, and conceite, applicable to all accidents. (k) *Treasuries.* Store-houses, or treasures themselues. (l) *It were.* All were hee a bungler, and had no skill, the word is; any, (m) *But that God.* Wofe care vpholds, or else would it stand but a while. But he cannot care for that hee knowes not: nor any workeman supports a worke he is ignorant in, or performeth any such.

*Whether the spirits that fell did euer partake with the Angells,  
in their blisse at their beginning.*

CHAP. II.

**W**Hich being so, the Angells were neuer darknesse at all, but as soone as euer they were made they were made light: yet not created onely to liue, and be as they list, but liue happily and wisely in their illumination, from which some of them turning away, were so farre from attaining that excellence of blessed wisdom which is eternall, with full security of the eternity that they (a) fell to a life, of bare foolish reason onely, which they cannot leaue although they would: how they were partakers of that wisdom, before their fall, who can define? How can wee say they were equally partakers with those that are really blessed by the assurance of their eternity, whome if they had beene therein equal, they had still continued in the same eternity, by the same assurance? for life indeed must haue an end, last it neuer so long, but this cannot be said of eternity, for it is life, because of lyuing; but it is eternity of neuer ending: wherefore though all eternity, be not blessed (for hel fire is eternal) yet if the true beatitude be not without eternity their beatitude was no such as hauing end, and therefore being not eternall, whether they knew it, or knew it not: feare keeping their knowlege, and error their ignorance from being blessed. But if their ignorance built not firmly vpon vncertainty, but on either side, wauering betweene the end, or the eternity of their beatitude; this protraction proues them not partakers of the blessed Angells happinesse, (b) We ty not this word, *beatitude*, vnto such strictnesse, as to hold it Gods onely peculiar: yet is hee so blessed as none can be more: In comparison of which (be the Angells as blessed of themselues as they can) what is all the beatitude of any thing, or what can it be?

God truly  
blest.

L. VIVES.

**T**hey fell (a) to a life.] The Deuills haue quicke, and suttile witts, yet are not wise, knowing nor them-selues nor their Father as they ought, but being blinded with pride and enuy, runne most fondly into all mischief. If they were wise, they should be good, for none is wicked in whome ignorance rules not, as *Plato* and *Aristotle* after him, teacheth. (b) *We tie not.* The ancients defined beatitude. *A numerically perfect state in all good, peculiar to God, in whose participation the Angells and Saints are blessed.*

Diuells sure  
ly but not  
wise.

*The happinesse of the iust that as yet haue not the reward of the diuine promise, compared with the first man of paradise, before sinnes originall.* CHAP. II.

**N**either do we onely call (a) them blessed, respecting all reasonable intellectuall creatures,

creatures, for who dares deny that the first man in Paradise was blessed before his sinne? though he knew not whether he should be so still or not. Hee had beene so eternally, had he not sinned: for we call them happy (*b*) whom we see liue well in this life, in hope of the immortalitie to come, without (*c*) terror of conscience, and with true attainment of pardon for the crimes of our naturall imperfection. These, though they be assured of reward for their perseuerance, yet they are not sure to perseuer. For what man knoweth that he shall continue to the end in action and encrease of iustice, vnlesse hee haue it by reuelation from him, that by his secret prouidence instructeth few (yet faileth none) herein? But as for present delight, our first father in Paradise was more blessed then any iust man of the world: but as for his hope, euery man in the miseries of his body, is more blessed: as one to whom truth (not opinion) hath said that he shall bee rid of all molestation, and partake with the Angels in that great God, whereas the man that liued in Paradise, in all that felicity was vncertaine of his fall or continuance therein.

### L. VIVES.

**C** *All (a) them blessed* ] This reading is best approoued. *Augustine* meanes that the *Angels* though they were vncertaine of their fall or continuance, yet were (in a sort) blessed, onely by their high glorious nature: as *Adam* was in those great gifts of God before his fall. (*b*) *Whom wee see* ] *Christ* calls them blessed. *Mat. 8.* (*c*) *Terror of conscience* ] The greatest blisse on earth is a pure conscience: as *Horace* saith, *to blush for guilt of nothing*, and the greatest torture is the guilty conscience. This was that the Poets called the furies. *Cic. contra Pisoneum & Pro Roscio.*

A pure  
conscience.

*Whether the Angels were created in such a state of happinesse, that neither those that fell, knew they should fall, nor those that perseuered, fore-knew they should perseuer.* CHAP. 13.

**VV** Herefore now it is plaine, that beatitude requires both conioyned: such beatitude I meane, as the intellectuall nature doth fitly desire: that is, to enioy God, the vnchangeable good, without any molestation, to remaine in him for euer with-out delay of doubt, or deceit of error. This wee faithfully belecue the holy *Angels* haue: but consequently that the *Angels* that offended, and thereby lost that light, had not, before their fall: some beatitude they had, but not fore-knowing: this wee may thinke, if they (*a*) were created any while before they sinned. But if it seeme hard to belecue some *Angels* to bee created without fore-knowledge of their perseuerance or fall, and other some to haue true prescience of their beatitude, but rather that all had knowledge alike in their creation, and continued so, vntill these that now are euill, left that light of goodnesse, then verily it is harder to thinke that the holy *Angels* now are in themselves vncertaine of that beatitude, whereof the scriptures affoord them so much certainty, and vs also that read them. What *Catholicke* Christian but knowes that no *Angell* that now is, shall euer become a deuill: nor any deuill an *Angell*, from hence-forth? The truth of the Gospell tells the faithfull, that they shall bee like the *Angels*, and that they shall goe to life eternall. But if wee bee sure neuer to fall from blisse, and they bee not sure, wee are aboue them, not like them: but the truth affirming (and neuer erring) that wee shall bee their like, and equalls, then are they sure of their blessed eternitie: whereof

whereof those other being vncertaine ( for it had beene eternall had they beene certaine of it ) it remaines that they were not the others equals, or if they were, these that stood firme, had not this certaintie of knowledge, vntill afterwards. Vnlesse we will say that which *Christ* saith of the *Deuill*: *Hee hath beene a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth*, is not onely to be vnderstood from the beginning of mankinde, that is since man was made, whom hee might kill by deceiuing; but euen from the beginning of his owne creation: and therefore because of his auersion from his creator, and (b) proud opposition (herein both erring and seducing) was debardeuen from his creation, from happinesse, because he could not delude the power of the Almighty. And he that would not in piety hold with the truth, in his pride counterfeits the truth, that the Apostle *Johns* saying, *The deuill sinneth from the beginning*, may be so vnderstood also: that is, euer since his creation, he reiected righteounesse: which none can haue, but a will subiect vnto God. Whoso euer holds thus, is not of the heretikes opinion, called the (c) *Manichees*, nor any such damnations as they, that hold that the *Deuill* had a wicked nature giuen him in the beginning: they do so doate that they conceiue not what *Christ* said, *He abode not in the truth*, but thinke he said, *He was madeemie to the truth*: But *Christ* did intimate his fall from the truth, wherein if he had remained, hee had perticipated it with the holy *Angels*, and beene eternally blessed with them.

## L. VIVES.

The Manichees.

*Were* (a) created | The time betweene their creation and rebellion, was so little, that it seemed none, (b) *Proud opposition*; So the approoued copyes do read. (c) *Manichees* | Hearing that the *Deuill* sinned from the beginning, they thought him created finfull and vicious by nature rather then will: for that is naturall and inuoluntary in one, which the creator inuesteth him with in his creation.

Iohn. 8. 44

*How this is meant of the Deuill*, He abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. CHAP. 14.

**B**UT *Christ* set downe the reason, as if wee had asked why hee staid not in the truth? because, *there is no truth in him*. Had he stood in it, truth had beene in him. The phrase is improper: it saith, *He abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him*, whereas it should renuerse it, & say, *there is no truth in him because he abode not therein*. But the *Psalmist* vseth it so also. *I haue cryed, because thou hast heard me o God*: whereas properly it is: *Thou hast heard me o God because I haue cried*. But he, hauing said, *I haue cryed*: as if he had beene asked the reason, adioyned the cause of his crie in the effect of gods hearing: as if he said. *I shew that I cryed, because thou hast heard mee, o God*.

Psal. 17. 16.

*The meaning of this place*, The *Deuill* sinneth from the beginning. CHA. 15.

**A**ND that that *John* saith of the *Deuill*, *The* (a) *deuill sinneth from the beginning*, if they (b) make it naturall to him, it can be no sinne. But how then will they answer the Prophets, as *Esayes* prefiguring the Prince of Babilon saith: *How art thou fallen from heauen, O Lucifer, sonne of the morning?* and *Ezechiel*: *Thou hast bin in Eden in Gods garden, euery precious stowe was in thy raiment?* This prooues him once sinlesse: and so doth that which followes more plainly: *Thou wast perfect in thy wayes from the day thou wast created, &c.* Which places if they haue none other fitter meaning, do prooue that he was in the truth, but abode not therein: & that *Johns* place, *He abode not in the truth*, prooues him once in the truth, but not persevering, and that also; *He sinneth from the beginning*, meaneth the beginning of sin, arising

Isa. 14. 12

Eze. 28. 13

verse. 15.

arising from his pride, but not from his creation. Now must the place of *Job*, concerning the deuill, (*He (c) is the beginning of Gods works, to be deluded by the Angels:* *Iob. 40.* or that of the Psalme, *this dragon whom thou hast made to scorne him:*) are to be taken as if God had made the deuill at first, fit for the Angells to deride, but y<sup>e</sup> that was ordained for his punishment after his sin. *Hee is the beginning of Gods workes,* for there is no nature in the smallest beast, which God made not, from him is all forme, subsistence and order: wherefore much more must the creature that is angelicall, by the natural dignity haue their preheminance of al Gods other works, *Psal. 104*

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) deuill Wee may not drawe (nay wrest) the gos, ell to those *grammaticismes*. A moment or two breakes no square in this phrase from the beginning. So we say, *Envy in brothers was from the beginning*: a little time doth not prooue this false. (b) They] The *Manichies*, *Aquinas*, and those that say the Angells could not sin in the moment of their creation, prooue it, because otherwise the author of their worke should beare the blame rather then (they) the worke. And so *Origen* seemes to hold saying. *The serpent opposed not the truth, nor was bound to go upon his belly, euer from the point of his creation* But as *Adam* and *Eue* were, a while sinlesse, so was the serpent no serpent, one while of his beeing in the *Paradise* of delight, for God made not malice. In *Ezechiel*. So *Augustine* thought, that the first parents offended not as soone as they were created. (c) He is] *Iob. 44.* the words, *to be deluded by the Angells*, are from the *Septuagints*.

*Of the different degrees of creatures, wherein profitable vse and reasons order doe differ.* CHAP. 16.

**F**OR in all things that God made, and are not of his essence, the liuing is before the dead: the productiue before these that want generation, & in their liuing, the sensitiue before the sencelesse, as beasts &c. before trees, & in things sensitiue, the reasonable before the vnreasonable, as Man before beasts: & in things reasonable, immortalls before mortalls, as Angels before men, but this is by natures order. Now the esteeme of these, is peculiar and different, as the diuers vses are: whereby some sencelesse things are preferred before some sensitiue, so farre, that if we had power, we would roote the later out of nature, or (whether we know or know not what place therein they haue) put them all after our profit. For who had not rather haue his pantry ful of meate thē mice, or possesse pence then fleas. No maruell: for mans esteeme (whose nature is so worthy) will giue more oftentimes for a horse then for a seruant, for a ring then a maide. So that in choice, the reason of him that respects the worth often controllis him that respects his owne neede or pleasure, nature pondering euery thing simply in it selfe, and vse euery thing respectiuelly for another: the one valuing them by the light of the minde, the other by the pleasure, or vse of the sense: And indeede a certaine will, and loue, hath gotten such predominance in reasonable natures, that although generally, all Angells excell men in natures order, yet by the lawe of righteousnesse good men haue gotten place of preferment before the euill Angells. Good men better then bad Angells.

*That the vice of malice is not naturall, but against nature, following the will, not the creation in sinne.* CHAP. 17.

**W**herefore in respect of the deuills nature, not his will, wee doe vnderstand this place aright, *He was the beginning of Gods workes.* For where the vice of malice came in, the nature was not corrupted before: (a) vice is so contrary to nature that it cannot but hurt it. (b) therefore were it no vice, for that nature that leaueth God, to doe so, but that it is more naturall to it to desire adherence with God Iob. 40

God (c) The euill wil then is a great prooffe that the nature was good. But as God is the best Creator of good natures, so is hee the iust disposer of euill wills: that when they vse good natures euill, hee may vse the euill wills, well. Therevpon hee caused that the deuills good nature, and euill will, should bee cast downe, and derided by his Angells, that is that his temptations might confirme his Saints, whom the other, sought to iniure. And because God in the creating of him, foresaw both his euill will, and what good, God meant to effect thereby; therefore the Psalmist saith: this Dragon whom thou hast made for a scorne: that, in that very creation that it were good by Gods goodnesse, yet had God foreknowledge how to make vse of it in the bad state.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) vice] Socrates and the Stoicks held vertue, naturall, vice vnnaturall. For, follow the conduct of the true purity of our nature, seperated fró depraued opinion, & we shall neuer sin. (b) Therefore] If it did the nature, that offendeth, more real good to offend, then forbear, it were no offence, nor error, but rather a wise election, and a iust performance. (c) The euill will] Thence arise all finnes, and because they oppose nature, nature resisteth them: whereby offending pleases their will but hurts the nature, the will being voluntarily euill, their nature forced to it: which were it left free, would follow the best (for that it loues) and goe the direct way to the maker, whose sight at length it would attaine.

*Of the beauty of this vniuerse, augmented, by Gods ordinance, out of contraries.* CHAP. 18.

**F**OR God would neuer haue fore-knowne vice in any worke of his, Angell, or Man, but that hee knew in like manner, what good vse to put it vnto, so making the worldes course, like a faire poeme, more gracious by *Antithetiq.* figures. *Antitheta*, (a) called in Latine, *opposites*, are the most decent figures of all elocution: some, more expressly call them *Contra-posites*. But wee haue no vse of this word, though for the figure, the latine, and all the tongues of the world vse it. (b) *S. Paul* vseth it rarely vpon that place to the *Corynthes* where he saith. *By the armor of righteousness on the right hand, and the left: by honor and dishonor, by euill report and good, as deceiuers, and yet true, as vnkowne and yet knowne, as dying, and behold we liue, as chastned, and yet not killed, as sorrowing and yet euer glad, as poore, and yet make many rich, as hauing nothing, yet possessing althings.* Thus as these contraries opposed doe giue the saying an excellent grace, so is the worlds beauty composed of contrarieties, not in figure, but in nature. This is plaine in *Ecclesiasticus*, in this verse? *Against euill, is good, and against death is life, so is the Godly against the sinner: so looke for in all the workes of the highest, two and two, one against one.*

## L. VIVES.

Antitheta.

Lou-vaine comments lib. 9. pie defectiue.]

**A**Ntitheta (a) are] *Contra-positos*, in word, and sentence. *Cic. ad Heren. lib. 4.* calleth it *Con-senti*, *Contra-position* (saith *Quintilian*) *contention*, or *Antitheton*, is diuersly vsed. First in opposition of one to one: as, feare yeelded to boldnesse, shame to lust: it is not out witte but your helpe. Secondly of sentence to sentence: as, *He may rule in orations, but must yeeld in iudgements.* lib. 9. There also is more to this purpose, so as I see no reason why *Augustine* should say the word is out of vse with vs. (b) *S. Paul*] *Augustine* makes *Paul* a Rhetorician. [Well it is tollerable, *Augustine* saith it Had one of vs said so, our eares should ring of heresie presently, heresies are so ready at some mens tongue ends, because indeed they are so full of it themselves.]

The

*The meaning of that place, God seperated the light from darkenesse.*

CHAP. 19.

**V**Wherefore though the hardnesse of the Scriptures be of good vse in producing many truths to the light of knowledge, one taking it thus and another thus: (yet so as that which is obscure in one place bee explained by some other playner, or by manifest proofes: Whether it be that in their multitude of opinions, one light on the authos meaning, or that it bee too obscure to bee attained and yet other truths, vpon this occasion, be admitted) yet verily I thinke it no absurdity in Gods worke to beleue the creation of the *Angels*, and the seperation of the cleane ones from the vnclane, then, when the first light (*Lux*) was made: Vppon this ground: *And God seperated the light from the darkenesse: And God called the light day, and the darkenesse he called night.* For hee onely was able to discerne them, who could fore-nov their fall ere they fell, their deprivation of light, and their eternall bondage in darkenesse of pride. As for the dayes that wee see, viz: this our naturall light and darkenesse, hee made the two knowne lights, the *Sunne* and the *Moone* to seperate them. *Let there be lights* (saith he) *in the firmament of the Heauen, to seperate the day from the night.* And by and by: *Then God made two great lights, the (a) greater light to rule the day, and the lesser to rule the night:* Hee made both them and the starres: And God sette them in the firmament of heauen (b) to shine vppon the earth, and to rule in the day and night, and to seperate the light from darkenesse, but betweene that light which is the holy society of Angells, shining in the lustre of intelligible truth, and their opposite darkenesse: the wicked *Angels*, peruersly false from that light of iustice: hee onely could make seperation, who fore-knoweth, and cannot but fore-know all the future euils of their wils, not their natures. Gen. I. 4-5.

L. VIVES.

*The (a) greater*] The greater light to rule or to begin y day. [*αὐτὸς ὁ ἡμέρας*] So the *Septuagints* translate it. *αὐτὸς* is both rule & beginning: & *principium* is vsed sometimes for rule, as in *Pf. 110. v. 3.* (b) *To shine* or, that they might shine *ὡς αἱ σὴναι*: Some of the Latines haue vsed the infinitiue alone, & forbore the coniunction. *Pestis acerba boum, pecorumque aspergere virus.* saith *Virgil.*

*Of that place of scripture spoken after the seperation of the light and darkenes.* And God saw the light that it was good. CHAP. 20.

**N**Or may we ouerslip y these words of God; *Let there be light, & there was light,* were immediatly seconded by these: *And God saw the light that it was good:* not after he had seperated the light and darknes, and named them day and night, least he should haue seemed to haue shewne his liking of the darknes as well as y light. For wheras the darknes, which the conspicuous lights of heauen diuide from the light is inculpable: therefore it was said after it was, & not before. *And God saw that it was good.* And God (saith he) *Set them in the firmament of heauen to shine vpon the earth, and to rule in the day and night, and to seperate the light from the darknes; and God saw that it was good:* Both those he liked, for both were sin-les: but hauing sayd *Let there be light, and there was so,* hee adioines immediatly, *And God saw the light that it was good.* And then followeth: *God seperated the light from the darknes, and God called the light day, and the darknesse, night:* but heere he addeth not, *And God saw that it was good:* least hee should seeme to allow well of both, the one beeing (not naturally but) voluntary euill. Therefore the light onely pleased the Creator:



the Angelicall darkneses, though they were to bee ordained, were not to bee approved.

## L. VIVES.

**Darknes.** **I**mmediately (a) seconded ] The Scripture speaking of the spirituall light, the *Angels*, before y<sup>e</sup> part of this light, that is part of the *Angels* became dark, *God approved the light*, that is all the *Angels* whom he had made good, & light: but speaking of our visible light, made the fourth day: *God* approueth both light and darknes: for y<sup>e</sup> darknes *God* created, and it was not euil as y<sup>e</sup> *Angels* that became dark were, & therefore were not approved, as the fourth daies darknesse was.

*Of Gods eternal vncchanging will and knowledge wherein he pleased to create al things in forme as they were created.* CHAP. 21.

**Gen. 1.**

**W**Hat meanes that saying that goeth through all, and *God saw that it was good*, but the approbation of the worke made according to the work-mans art, *Gods* wisdom: *God* doth not see it is good, beeing made, as if he saw it not fore it was made: But in seeing that it is good being made, which could not haue beene made so but that hee fore-saw it, hee teacheth (but learneth not) that it is good. *Plato* (a) durst go further: and say *That God had great ioy in the beauty of the Vniuerse*. He was not so fond to thinke the newnesse of the worke increased *Gods* ioy: but hee shewed that that pleased him beeing effected which had pleased his wisdom to fore-know should be so effected, not that *Gods* knowledge varyeth, or apprehends diuersly of things past, present and future. He doth not foresee things to come as we do, nor beholds things present, or remembers things past as wee doe: But in a maner farre different from our imagination. Hee seeth them not by change in thought, but immutably, bee they past or not past, to come or not to come, all these hath he eternall present, nor thus in his eye and thus in his minde (he consisteth not of body and soule) nor thus now, and otherwise hereafter, or heretofore: his knowledge is not as our is, admitting alteration by circumstance of time, but (b) exempted from all change, and all variation of moments: For his intention runnes not from thought to thought; all things hee knowes are in his vnbodyly presence. Hee hath no temporall notions of the time, nor moued he the time by any temporall motions in him-selfe. Therefore hee saw that which hee had made was good, because he fore-saw that he should make it good. Nor doubted his knowledge in seeing it made, or augmented it, as if it had beene lesse ere he made it: he could not do his works in such absolute perfection, but out of his most perfect knowledge. **W**herfore if one vrgevs with, *who made this light?* It sufficeth to answer, *God*: if wee be asked, by what meanes; sufficeth this, *God said let there be light and there was light*: *God* making it by his very word. But because there are three necessary questions of euery creature, who made it how hee made it, and wherefore hee made it? *God* sayd (quoth *Moyse*) *let there be light, and there was light, and God saw the light that it was good*. Who made it? *God*. How? *God* sayd but *let it be, and it was*: wherefore? *It was good*. No better author can there bee then *God*, no better art then his *word*, no better cause why, then that a good *God* should make a good creature. And this (c) *Plato* prayesed as the iustest cause of the worlds creation: whether he had read it, or heard it, or got it by speculation of the creatures, or learned it of those that had this speculation.

**Plato.**

L. VIVES.

## L. VIVES.

**P**Lato (a) *durst not* ] In his *Timæus*. The father of the vniuerse, seeing the beauty of it, and the formes of the eternall goddes, approued it, and reioyced. (b) *Expelled from all* ] *Iames*, 1. 17. in whom is no variableness, nor shadowing by turning. *Hierome* (*contra Iouin*) reads it, in whome is no difference or shadowing by moment. *Augustine* vseth moment also whether referring it to time, or quality, I know not. For neyther retyres at all from his light to a shadow, nor is any the least shadow intermixt with his light. *Momentum* is also a turning, a conuersion or a changeable motion, comming of *moveo* to move : it is also an inclination, as in balances. This place may meane that God entertaines no vicissitude or passe from contrary to contrary, as we doe. (c) *Plato* ] *Let vs seee* (saith hee) *What made the Worldes Creator go about so huge a worke: Truly hee excelled in honesty, and honesty enuyeth not any man*, and therefore hee made all things like him-selfe, being the iustest cause of their originall.

The iust  
cause of the  
worlds crea-  
tion.

*Concerning those that disliked some of the good Creators  
creatures, and thought some things naturally euil.*

## CHAP. 22.

**Y**ET this good cause of the creation, Gods goodnesse: this iust, fit cause, which being well considered would giue end to all further inuestigation in this kind, some heretikes could not discern, because many thinges, by not agreeing with this poore frayle mortall flesh (being now our iust punishment) doe offend, and hurt it, as fire, cold, wilde beastes, &c. These do not obserue in what place of nature they liue, and are placed, nor how much they grace the vniuerse (like a sayre state) with their stations, nor what commodity redounds to vs frō them, if we can know how to vse them: in so much that poyson (a thing one way pernicious) being conueniently ministred, proctureth health: and contrarywise, our meat, drinke, nay the very light, immoderately vsed, is hurtfull. Hence doth Gods prouidence aduize vs not to dispraise any thing rashly, but to seeke out the vse of it warily, and where our wittte and weakenesse failes, there to beleue the rest that is hidden, as wee doe in other thinges past our reach: for the obscurity of the vse, eyther exerciseth the humility, or beates downe the pride, nothing (a) at all in nature being euill, (euill being but a priuation of good) but euery thing from earth to heauen ascending in a degree of goodnesse, and so from the visible vnto the inuisible, vnto which all are vnequall. And in the greatest is God the great workeman, yet (b) no lesse in the lesse: which little thinges are not to be measured to their owne greatnesse being neare to nothing, but by their makers wisdom: as in a mans shape, haue his eye-brow, a very nothing to the body, yet how much doth it deforme him, his beauty consistng more of proportion and parityty of parts, then magnitude. Nor is it a wonder that (c) those that hold some nature bad, and produced from a bad beginning, do not receiue GODS goodnesse for the cause of the creation, but rather thinke that hee was compelled by this rebellious euill of meere necessity to fall a creating, and mixing of his owne good nature with euill in the suppression and reforming thereof, by which it was so foyled, and so toyled, that he had much adoe to re-create and mundifie it: nor can yet cleanse it all, but that which hee could cleanse, serues as the future prison of the captiued enemy. This was not the *Maniches* foolishnes, but their madnesse: which they should abandon, would they like Christians beleue that Gods nature is vnchangeable, incorruptible, impassible, and that the soule (which may be changed by the will, vnto worse, and by the corruption of sinne be deprived of that vnchangeable light) is no part of God nor Gods nature, but by him created of a farre inferiour mould.

## L VIVES.

Nothing  
naturally  
euill.

**N**othing (a) at all] This *Augustine* repeats often, and herein do al writers of our religion, (besides *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Tully*, and many other Philosophers) agree with him. *Plato* in his *Timæus*, holds it wicked to imagine any thing that *God* made euill, hee beeing so good a *God* him-selfe: for his honesty enuied nothing, but made al like him-selfe. And in his 2. de. *Rep.* hee saith: *The good was author of no euill, but only of things good*: blaming *Hesiod* and *Homer* for making *Ioue* the author of mitchiefe; confessing *God* to be the Creator of this vniuerse, and thereby shewing nothing to be euill in nature. I wil say breefly what I think: That is good (as *Aristotle* saith in his *Rhetorike*) which wee desire either for it selfe, or for another vse. And the iust contrary is euill: wherfore in the world, some things are vsful and good: some auoidable and bad. Some neuters and indifferent, and to some men one thing is good, and to others, bad: yea vnto one man, at seueral times, seueral, good, bad, or neuter, vpon seuerall causes. This opinion the weakenesse of our iudgements and respects of profit doe produce. But only y is the diuine iudgement which so disposeth all things that each one is of vse in the worlds gouernment. And he knoweth al without error, that seeth all things to bee good, and vsfull in their due seasons, which the wise man intimates, when hee sayth *That God made all things good, each in the due time*. Therefore did hee blesse all with increase and multiplication. If any thing were alwayes vnprofitable, it should bee rooted out of the creation. (b) *No lesse*] Nature is in the least creatures, pismires, gnats, bees & spiders, as potent, as in horses, oxen, whales, or elephants, and as admirable. *Pliny*, lib. 11. (c) *Those*] This heresie of the *Manichees*, *Augustine* declarcth. *De heres. ad Quod vult deum. Contra Faust. Manich. De Genes. ad liter.*

## Of the error that Origen incurreth.

## CHAP. 23.

**B**ut the great wonder is that some hold one beginning with vs, of all things, and that *God* created all things that are not of his essence, otherwise they could neuer haue had being: And yet will not hold that playne and good beleefe of the Worldes simple and good course of creation, that the good *God* made all things good. They hold that all that is not *GOD*, is after him, and yet that all is not good which none but *God* could make. But the (a) soules they say (not parts, but creatures of *God*) sinned in falling from the maker: and beeing cast according to their deserts, into diuers degrees, downe from heauen, got certayne bodies, for their prisons. And ther-vpon the world was made (say they) not for increase of good, but restraint of bad, and this is the *VV*orld. Herein is *Origen* iustly culpable, for in his *Periarchion*, or booke of beginnings, he affirms this; wherin I haue much maruaile, that a man so read in diuine scriptures, should not obserue, first how contrary this was to the testimony of Scripture, that confirmeth all *Gods* workes with this, *And God saw that it was good*: And at the conclusion, *God saw all that he had made, and lo, it was very good*: Auerring no cause for this creation, but onely, that the good *God* should produce good things: where if no man had sinned, the world should haue bene adorned and filled (b) only with good natures. But sin being committed, it did not follow that all should be filled with badnes, the farre greater part remaying still good, keeping the course of their nature in heauen: nor could the euill willers, in breaking the lawes of nature, auoid the iust lawes of the al-disposing *God*. For as a picture sheweth wel though it haue blacke coulors in diuerse places, so the *Vniuerse* is most fayre, for al these staines of finnes, which notwithstanding beeing waighed by them-selues do disgrace the lustre of it. Besides, *Origen* should haue seene (and all wise men with him) that if the world were made onely for a penall prison for the transgressing powers

powers to bee imbodyed in, each one according to the guilt, the lesse offenders the higher and lighter, and the greater ones the baser and heavier: that then the Diuels (the worst prevaricators) should rather haue beene thrust into the basest, that is earthly bodies, then the worst men. But that we might know that the spirits merits are not repaid by the bodies qualities: the worst diuell hath an (c) any body, and man (though hee be bad,) yet of farre lesse malice, and guilt, hath an earthly body, yea and had ere his fall. And what can be more fond, then to thinke that the *Sunne* was rather made for a soule to bee punished in as a prison, rather then by the prouidence of God, to bee one, in one world as a light to the beauty, and a comfort to the creatures? Otherwise, two, tenne or an hundred soules sinning all alike, the world should haue so many *Sunnnes*: To auoyd which wee must rather belecue that there was but one soule sinned in that kinde, deseruing such a body rather then that the Makers miraculous prouidence did so dispose of the *Sunne*, for the light and comfort of thinges created: It is not the soules whereof speake they knowe not what, but it is their owne soules that are so farre from truth that they must needs bee attaynted and restrayned. Therefore these three I commended before, as fitte questions of euery creature, *viz: who made it, how, and why*, the answer to which is, *GOD by his word*, because hee is good: whether the holy *Trinity*, the *Father*, the *Sonne* and *Holy Ghost* doe intimate this vnto vs from their mysticall body, or there bee some place of Scripture that doth prohibite vs to answer thus, is a great question, and not fitte to bee opened in one volume.

Questions  
in the con-  
sideration  
of nature.

### L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) soules] *Origen* in his first booke *Periarchion*, holdes that *GOD* first created all thinges incorporeal, and that they were called by the names of heauen and earth, which afterward were giuen vnto bodies. Amongst which spirituales, or soules (*Mentes*) were created, who declining (to vse *Ruffinus* his translation) from the state and dignity, became soules as their name  $\psi\chi$  declareth, by waxing cold in their higher state of being *mentes*. The mind sayling of the diuine heate, takes the name and state of a soule, which if it arise and ascend vnto againe, it gaynes the former state, of a minde. Which were it true, I should thinke that the mindes of men, vnequally from God, some more and some lesse, some should rather be soules then other some: some reteyning much of their mentall vigor, and some little or none. But these soules (sayth he) beeing for their soule fals to be put into greater bodies, the world was made, as a place large ynough to exercise them all in, as was appoynted: And from the diuersity, and in-equality of their fal from him, did God collect the diuersity of thinges here created. This is *Origens* opinion. *Hierome* reciteth it *ad auitum*. (b) Which good] Wee should haue beene Gods freely without any trouble. (c) Any any body] Of this hereafter.

*Of the diuine Trinity, notifying it selfe (in some part) in all the workes thereof*

### CHAP. 24.

**V**VE belecue (a) hold, & faithfully affirme, that *God* the *Father* begot the world, his wisdome by which all was made, his only *Son*, one with one, coeternall, most good, and most equall: And that the *Holy Spirit* is both of the *Father* and the *Son*, consubstantiall, and coeternally with them both: & this is both a *Trinity* in respect of the persons, and but one *God* in the inseperable diuinity and one omni-

The holy  
spirit, third  
person in  
unity.

potent in the vnseperable power, yet so, as euery one of the three be held to bee *God* omnipotent: and yet altogether are not three *Gods* omnipotents, but one *God* omnipotent: such is the inseperable unity of three persons, and so must it be taught off. But whether the spirit, beeing the good *Fathers*, and the good *Sonnes* may bee sayd to be both their goodnesse, (c) heere I dare not rashly determine: I durst rather call it the sanctity of them both: not as their quality, but their substance and the third person in *Trinity*. For to that, this probability leadeth mee, that the *Father* is holy, and the *Son* holy, and yet the *Spirit* is properly called holy, as beeing the substantiall, and consubstantiall holynesse of them both. But if the diuine goodnesse be nothing else but holynesse, then is it but diligent reason, and no bold presumption to thinke (for exercise of our intentions sake) that in these three questions of each worke of God, who made it, how, and why the holy *Trinity* is secretly intimated vnto vs: for it was the *Father* of the word that sayd, *Let it be made*; and that which was made when hee spake, doubtlesse was made by the word: and in that, where it is sayd, *And God saw that it was good*, it is playne that neyther necessity nor vse, but onely his meere will moued *God* to make what was made, that is, *Because it was good*: which was sayd after it was done, to shew the correspondance of the good creature to the Creator, by reason of whose goodnesse it was made. If this goodnes be now the holy spirit, then is al the whole *Trinity* intimate to vs in euery creature: & hence is the originall, forme, and perfection of that holy Citty wherof the *Angells* are inhabitants. Aske whence it is; *God* made it: how hath it wisdome. *God* enlightned it. How is it happy? *God* whom it enioyes hath framed the existence, and illustrated the contemplation, and sweetned the inherence thereof in him-selfe, that is, it seeth, loueth, reioyceth in *Gods* eternity, shines in his truth, and ioyeth in his goodnesse.

### L. VIVES.

[Louaine copy defective] **V***V*e (a) *belceue* ] Lette vs beleeue them and bee silent, hold, and not inquire, preach faithfully, and not dispute contentiously. (b) *Begotte* ] What can I do heere but fall to adoration? What can I say but recite that saying of *Paul*, in admiration: *O the deepnesse of the riches both of the wisdome and knowledge of God!* (c) *Heere I dare not* ] [Nor I though many diuines call the spirit the *Fathers* goodnesse, and the *Sonne* his wisdome. Who dare affirme ought directly, in thote deepe misteries. ] (d) *Because it* ] or, because it was equally good.

### *Of the tripartite diuision of All Phylosophicall discipline.*

#### CHAP. 25.

**H**ence was it (as far as we conceiue) that Phylosophy got three parts: or rather that the Phylosophers obserued the three parts. They did not inuent them, but they obserued the naturall, rationall and morrall, from hence. These are the *Latine* names, ordinarily vsed, as wee shewed in our eighth booke: not that it followeth that herein they conceiued a whit of the *Trinity*: though *Plato* were the first that is sayd to finde out and record this diuision: and that vnto him none but *God* seemed the author of all nature, or the giuer of reason, or the inspirer of honesty. But whereas in these poynts of nature, inquisition of truth, and the finall good, there are many diuers opinions, yet al their controuersie lieth in those three great, and generall questions: euery one maketh a discrepant opinion from another in all three, and yet all doe hold, that nature hath some cause, knowledge,

some forme, and life some direction and summe. For three things are sought out in euery artist, nature, skill and practise, his nature to bee iudged off by witte, his skill by knowledge, and his practise (a) by the vse. (b) I know well that fruite belongs to fruition properly, and vse to the vsf: (And that they seeme to be differently vsed, fruition of a thing which beeing desired for it selfe onely, delighteth vs: and vse of that which we seeke for another respect: in which fence we must rather vse, then inioy temporalities, to deserue the fruition of eternity: not as the wicked inioyes moncy, and vsfeth G O D, spending not money for him, But honouring him for money) Yet in common phraze of speech wee both vse fruition, and inioy vse. For frutes properly are the fieldes increase, where-vppon wee liue: So then thus I take vse in three obseruations of an artist, his nature, skill and vse. From which the Phylosophers inuented the seuerall disciplines, tending all to beatitude: The naturall for nature, the rationall for doctrine, the morall for vse. So that if our nature were of it selfe, wee should know our owne wisdome, and neuer go about to know it by learning, *ab externo*: and if our loue had originall of it selfe, and returned vppon it selfe; it would suffice vs vnto beatitude, exempting vs from need of any other good. But seeing our nature hath beeing from G O D our author, doubtlesse wee must both haue him to teach vs true wisdome, and to inspire vs with the meanes to bee truly blessed, by his high sweetnesse.

## L. VIVES.

**P**ractise (a) by the vse ] [*vfnus*, I translate, practise, *fructus vse*: otherwise] Here seemes to bee an abuse of the word vse, for whereas he sayth, workmanships stands on three grounds, nature, skil, and vse, vse is here practise. But he wrested it to his meaning, namely the practise of e-*fruit*: uery art is referred to vse or profit, & therby iudged. (b) *I Know*] we haue fruition of y wee desire for another end: therefore saith *Aug*. We only inioy God, and vse al things else. Of this read him: *De doct. Christ. In 80. quest. De trinit*: where he ties fruition, to eternal felicity, vse to the world. [Frō him had *Peter Lumbard* inough; *Sent.* l. 1. & the schoolmē, euen more then inough.

*Of the Image of the Trinity which is in some sort in euery mans nature, euen before his glorification. CHAP. 26.*

**A**nd we haue in our selues an image of that holy *Trinity* which shal be perfected by reformation, and made very like it: though it be far vnequall, and farre distant from it, briefly neither coeternall with God, nor of his substance, yet is it the nearest it of any creature, for we both haue a being, know it, and loue both our being and knowledge. And in these three no false apparance euer can deceiue vs. For doe not discern them as thinges visible, by sence as wee see colours, heare sounds, scent smels, taste sauors, and touch things hard and soft: the (a) abstracts of which sensibles we conceiue, remember & desire in incorporeal formes most like to these other: in those three it is not so; I know (b) without al phantastical imagination that I am my selfe, that this I know and loue. I feare not the (c) *Academike* arguments in these truths, y say, *what if you er?* (d) if I er, I am. For he that hath no being cannot er: and therefore mine error proues my being: which being so, how can I er in holding my being? for though I be one that may er, yet doubtles in that I know my being, I er not: & consequently, if I know that I know my being: & louing these two, I adioyne this loue as a third of equall esteeme with the two. For I doe not erre in that I loue, knowing the two thinges I loue, without error: if they were false, it were true that I loued false thinges. For how could

I bee iustly checked for louing of false thinges if it were false that I loued them? But seeing the thinges loued, are true, and sure, how can the loue of them bee but true and sure? And there is no man that desireth not to bee, as there is none desires not to be happy: for how can he haue happinesse, and haue no beeing?

## L. VIVES.

Senses exterior.

Academicks.

**T**He (a) *abstracts*] For shutte our eyes, and tast, our thought tells vs what a thing whitenesse and sweetnesse is, wher-vpon our dreames are fraught with such thinges, and we are able to iudge of them without their presence. But these are in our exterior senses, our imagination, our common sence, and our memory, all which beasts haue as well as wee, and in these many thinges are rashly obserued, which if wee assent vnto, wee erre: for the senses are their weake, dull and vn Timer teachers, teaching those other to apprehend thinges often false, for true. But the reasonable mind, being proper only to man, that ponders al, and vseth all dilligence to auoyd falsehoods for truth, warning vs to obserue well ere we iudge. (b) *Phantasticall*] Of fancy, already. (c) *Academickes*] These took away the trust of the senses, and held that nothing was known. If you said, *I know this stone to moue, because I see it, or touch it:* they replied: *What if you erre?* Did you neuer thinke you saw some-what moue, that stood still, (as in sayling, or riding?) Did you neuer thinke some-what moued that moued not, vnder your touch? There you were deceiued, so may you bee now. Restrayne your assent, nothing offends wisedome more then consent before full knowledge. (d) *If Terre*] Therefore our Phylosophers vpon *Aristotles Posteriora*, say, that this proposition is of the greatest euidence.

*Of essence, knowledge of essence, and loue of both.*

## CHAP. 27.

**S**O (a) naturally doth this delight, that very wretches, for nothing else but this, would rather leaue their misery, then the World, knowing them-selues wretches tho, yet would they not dye. And the most wretched of all, eyther in wise iudgements (for (b) their foolishnesse;) or in theirs that hold them-selues blessed (for their defect hereof:) If one should profer them an immortality of misery, and tell them if they refused it, they should become iust nothing, and loose all beeing, verily they would reioyce and choose an eternall misery before a millity of beeing. This our common sence testifieth. For why doe they feare to end their misery by death rather then continue it, but that nature still wisheth to hold a beeing? And therefore seeing they know they must dye, they do make such great account of a long life in their misery, ere they dye: Wherein doubtlesse they shew how thankfull they will bee for immortality, though it had not end of their misery. And what of brute beasts that vnderstand not this, from the Dragon to the worme? Do they not shew their loue of being, by auoyding death al waies possible? The trees and plants that haue no sence of death nor meanes to auoyd it, do they not put forth one sprig into the aire, & another (c) deeper into the earth, whereby to attract nutriment and preserue their beeing? Nay, the very bodyes that haue neyther sence nor vegetation, by their very motion vpwardes, downewardes, or middle suspension, moue to the conseruation of their essence and nature. Now then may bee gathered how much mans nature is beloued, and loth to bee deceiued, from hence, that man had rather (d) lament in a sound minde, then reioice in folly. Which power is in no mortal creature but man: others haue sharper sights then wee, yet not any can behold the incorporeall light, which in somefort lightneth our mindes, producing a true iudgement of all these thinges,

(c) as

(e) as farre as wee are capable of it. But though the vnreasonable creatures senses containe no knowledge, yet some similitude of knowledge there is in them. But all other corporall creatures, hauing no sence in themselues, are but the objects of others senses, therefore called sensible: and the growth and power whereby the trees drawe nutriment, this is like their sence. But these and all other corporall bodies causes, are hid in nature, marry their formes in the diuersitie (the parts of the worlds structure) are apparant to vs, seemingly professing a desire to be knowne since they could not know themselues: but our bodily senses iudge not of them though they apprehend them. That is left vnto a farre more excellent interior sence, discerning iust and vniust, (f) iust, by the intelligible forme, vniust, by the priuation thereof. The office of this sence, neither the eye, the care, the smell, the taste, nor the touche can performe. By this I know my beeing, and I know this knowledge, and I loue them both, and know that I loue them both.

## L. VIVES.

SO (a) naturally ] A Stoicall and Academicall disputation handled by Tully, (*Offic. i. & de fin. 3. Stoically*, and (*De fin. 5. Academically*). (b) For their ] Foolishnesse is the greatest misery, and wisdom the good. So held the Stoikes. (c) Deeper ] A diuerse reading: the text supplieth both. (d) Antisthenes the first Cynicks choise. His reason was because to reioyce in an vnfound minde, was base, and cast downe the minde from the true state. Socrates in Plato tells Alcibiades, that possessions without wisdom, are not onely fruitlesse, but hurtfull. (e) As farre ] It is not then our witte or toyle, but GODS bountie that instructs vs in the great course of nature, and sharpens the iudgement: which bounty the good man attaining about the bad, must needs bee wiser, though lesse learned, or popularly acute. Therefore saith Wisdom: Into an euill soule, wisdom will not come. The same that Socrates said, Onely good men are wise. (f) Iust, by ] By a forme, left in my minde by seeing iustice done, and the due congruence fitting thereto: which, be it absent, I conceiue what iniustice is, by seeing the faire and congruent harmony subuerted; I build not vpon hurts, violence, injuries, or reproches, which are no priuations, but may be iustly done vpon due command of the magistrate, or with a good intent: but vpon this, I see the vertues *decorum* broken. Forme is neither to bee taken for the shapes or abstracts of things, reserued in the soule, and called motions, say some: Well, I thinke they either want witte or knowledge: And because they cannot make themselves admired by things really extant: they must fetch their audiences cares vp to them by pursuing Chymaræ's, & *non entia*: this is our schoole-mens best trade now a dayes.]

Whether we draw nearer to the image of the holy trinity, in louing of that loue by which we loue to be, and to know our being. CHAP. 28.

BT wee haue spoken as much as needeth here, of the essence and knowledge, how much we ought to respect them in our selues, and in other creatures vnder vs, though we finde a different similitude in them. But whether the loue that we loue them in, be loued, that is to declare. It is loued: wee prooue it, because it is loued in all things that are iustly loued. For hee is not worthily called a good man, that knowes good, but hee that loues it. Why then may wee not loue that loue in our selues, whereby wee loue that which is to bee loued. They may both bee in one man: and it is good for a man that his goodnesse increasing, his euill should decrease, euen to the perfection of his cure, and full change into goodnesse: for if wee were beasts, wee should loue a carnall sensitiue life: and this good would suffice our nature (b) without any further trouble: if wee were trees, wee should not indeede loue any thing by motion of sence: yet



yet should we seeme to affect fruitfulness and growth, if wee were stones, water, winde, fire, or so, we should want sence, and life, yet should we have a naturall appetite vnto our due (c) places, for the (d) motions of weights are like the bodies loues: go they vpward or downwards; for weight is to the body, as loue is to the soule. But because we are men, made after our creators image, whose eternity is true, truth eternall: charity, true and eternall; neither confounded nor seuered, we runne through all things vnder vs, (which could not be created, formed, nor ordered without the hand of the most essentiall, wise, and good God) & so through all the workes of the creation: gathering from this (e) more playne, and from that lesse apparant markes of his essence: and beholding his image in our selues (f) like the prodigall childe, wee recall our thoughts home, and returne to him from whom we fell. There our being shall haue no end, our knowledge no error, our loue no offence. But as now, though wee see these three sure, trusting not to others, but obseruing it our selues, with our certaine interior sight, yet because of our selues we cannot know how long they shall last, when they shall end, whether they shall goe, doing well or euill, therefore here we take other witnessses, of the infallibility of whose credit wee will not dispute here, but hereafter. In this booke of the *Citty of God*, that was neuer pilgrim, but alwayes immortall in heauen, being compounded of the *Angels* eternally coherent with God, and neuer ceasing this coherence: betweene whom and their darknesse, namely those that forsooke him, a seperation was made as we said at first by God, now will wee (by his grace) proceede in our discourse already begun.

### L. VIVES.

**F**Or that (a) is loue] There is a will in vs arising from the corruption of the body, which reason ruleth, not as it doth the better will, but it haleth it and traileth it to good: it flies all good properly, and seeketh euills, bodily delights and pleasures: These two Paul calleth *the law of the flesh, the law of the spirit, some-times flesh and spirit*. The first, brutish, soule, hated of good men, who when they can cannot expell it, they compell and force it vnto Gods obedience: otherwise it produceth a loue of things vnmeet. (b) Without] Either in this life, or vnto our bodies. (c) Places] Or orders, and formes of one nature: the preservation of which each thing desires for it selfe, helping it selfe against externall violence, if it bee not hindered. (d) Motions] of this before: the Latine word is, *momenta*. (e) More plaine] Our reason placeth an Image rather then a marke of God in vs. Man hath the sight of heauen and the knowledge of God bestowed vpon him, whereas all other creatures are chained to the earth. Wherefore the spirit ouer-looking the creation, left his image in our erected nature, in the rest, whome hee did as it were put vnder foote, hee left onely his markes. Take this now as a figuratiue speech. (f) Prodigall] *Luc. 15.*

*Of the Angels knowledge of the Trinity in the Deity, and consequently, of the causes of things in the Archetype, ere they come to be effected in workes.*

CHAP. 29.

**T**Hese holy *Angels* learne not of God by sounds, but by being present with that *unchangeable truth, his onely begotten word, himselfe, and his holy spirit, that vndivided trinity, of substantiall persons*: yet hold they not three Gods, but one, and this they (a) know plainer then we know our selues. (b) The creatures also doe they know better in the wisdom of God, the worke-mans draught, then in the things produced: and consequently them-selues in that, better then in them-selues, though hauing their knowledge in both: for they were made, & are not of his

his substance that made them. Therefore in him their knowledge is day, in themselves, (as we sayd) twy-light. But the knowledges of a thing, by the means it is made, and the thing it selfe made, are farre different. (c) The vnderstanding of a line or a figure doth produce a perfecter knowledge of it, then the draught of it in (d) dust: and iustice is one in the changelesse truth, and another in the iust mans soule. And so of the rest, as the firmament betweene the waters aboue and below, called heauen, the gathering of the waters, the apparence of land, growth of plants, creation of soules and fishes, of the water, and foure footed beasts of the earth, and last, of man the most excellling creature of all. All these the *Angels* discerned in the *Word of God*, where they had their causes of their production immouable and fixed, otherwise, then in them selues: clearer in him, but cloudier in them-selues: yet referring all those workes to the *Creators* praise, it shines like morning in the mindes of these contemplators.

## L. VIVES.

**T**hey know (a) plainer ] They haue both sharper wittes then we, and the sight whereby they know the *Trinity* is farre brighter then that by which wee know our selues. (b) *The creatures* ] Knowing the effect better in the cause, then in it selfe, (c) *The vnderstanding* ] Mathematicall principles giue better knowledge of times and figures, then draughts, which can neuer be so exact as to present the thing to the eye, truly, as it is: and better conceiue wee by *Euclide*, that a straight line is the shortest draught from point to point, and that all lines drawne from the center to the cyrcle are equal, by the precepts of *Geometry*, rather then by all the draughts (of dust? nay) of *Parrhasius* or *Apelles*. (d) *Dust* ] The old *Mathematicians* drew their proportions in dust, with a compasse, the better to put out or in what they would. This *Archimedes* was a dooing when *Syracusa* was taken. *Lin. Tully* calleth it, *learned dust. De nat. deor. 2.* --- *Et secto in puluere metas*, saith *Persius*, *Lines in diuided dust. Satyr. 1.*

*The perfection of the number of sixe, the first is complete in all the parts.*

## CHAP. 30.

**A**nd these were performed in sixe dayes because of the perfection of the (a) number of six, one being six times repeated: not that *God* was tied vnto time, and could not haue created all at once, and afterwards haue bound the motions to times congruence, but because that number signified the perfection of the worke: for six is (b) the first number that is filled by coniunction of the parts, the sixt the third and the halfe: which is one, two, and three; all which conioyned are sixe. Parts in numbers are those that may be described of how (c) many they are, as an halfe, a third, a fourth, and so forth. But foure being in nine, yet is no iust part of it: one is the ninth part, and three the third part. But these two parts, one and three, are farre from making nine the whole. So foure is a part of ten, but no iust part: one is the tenth part, two the fift, & fiue the second: yet these three parts one, two, & 5, make not vp full ten, but eight onely. As for the number of twelue, the parts exceed it. For there is one the twelue part, six the second, foure the third, three the fourth, and two the sixt. But one, two, three, foure and sixe, make aboue twelue, namely sixtene. This by the way now to prooue the perfection of the number of sixe, the first, (as I said) that is made of the coniunction of the parts: and in this did *God* make perfect all his workes. Wherefore this number is not to be despised, but hath the esteeme apparantly confirmed by many places of scripture. Nor was it laid in vaine of *Gods* workes, *Thou madest all things in number, weight and measure.* WIL. R.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) number ] Pythagoras, and Plato after him, held all things to be disposed by numbers, teaching them so mysteriously, that it seemed they sought to conceale them from the expresse professors, not onely the prophane vulgar. Our diuines both Greeke & Latine put many mysteries in numbers. But Hierome the most of all, affirming that the *Euangelist* omitted some of Christs progenie, to make the rest fall in a fit number. (b) For sixe ] The perfection of a number is to consist of all the parts : such are scarce in Arithmetique, and such is fixe onely with in ten, and twenty seauen within a hundred : for this latter consists of 1.2.4.7. and 14. The mystery of the creation is contained in the number of sixe *Hier. in Ezach.* (c) Of how many ] as an halfe, a fourth, a fift, sixth, &c. foure in nine, is neither halfe, three nor foure, and so vp to the ninth, as farre as nine goeth. For the least quantitatie part, nameth the number, as the twelfth of twelue : the twentieth in twentie, and that is alwayes an vnite. This kinde of part we call an *aliquote*. *Euclide* calleth an *aliquote* onely, a part, the rest parts. For his two definitions, (his third and his fourth) are these. *A part is a lesse number diuiding a greater. Parts, are they that diuide not.* And so the old writers vsed these words.

The number of sixe.

*Of the seauenth day, the day of rest and complete perfection.*

## CHAP. 31.

**B**Vt in the seauenth day, that is, the (a) seuenth repetition of the first day (which number hath perfection also in another kinde) God rested, and gaue the first rule of sanctification therein. The day that had no euen, God would not sanctifie in his workes but in rest. For there is none of his workes, but being considered first in God, and then in it selfe, will produce a day knowledge, and an euens. Of the perfection of seauen, I could say much, but this volume groweth bigge, and I feare I shall be held rather to take occasion to shew my small skill, then to respect others edification. Therefore we must haue a care of grauitie and moderation, least running all vpon number, (b) wee bee thought neglecters of weight and measure. (c) Let this bee a sufficient admonition, (d) that three is the first number, wholly, odde, and foure wholly euen, and these two make seauen, which is therefore often-times put for (e) all : as here ; *The iust shall fall seauen times a day, and arise againe*, that is, *how oft soeuer hee fall, hee shall rise againe.* (This is not meant of iniquitie, but of tribulation, drawing him to humility.) *Againe, Seauen times a day will I praise thee* : the same hee had sayd before : *His praise shall bee alwayes in my mouth.* Many such places as these the Scripture hath, to prooue the number of seauen to bee often vsed for all, vniuersally. Therefore is the holy spirit called often-times (f) by this number, of whom *Christ* said, *Hee shall teach vs all truth.* There is Gods rest, wherein wee rest in God : In this whole, in this perfection is rest, in the part of it was labour : Therefore wee labour, because wee know as yet but in part, but when perfection is come, that which is in part shall be abolished. This makes vs search the scriptures so labouriously. But the holy *Angels*, (vnto whose glorious congregation our toyle some pilgrimage casts a long looke) as they haue eternall permanence, so haue they easie knowledge, and happy rest in God, helping vs without trouble, because their spirituall, pure and free motions are without labour.

Pro. 24. 16.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) seuenth ] Signifying all things created at once. (b) *Wee be thought* ] alluding to the *prec edent*, saying, *God made althings in number, weight & measure* : that if he should say too much

much of number, hee should seeme both to neglect his owne grauity and measure, and the wife-mans. (c) *Let this*] The *Iewes* in the religious keeping of their *Sabbath*, shew that 7. was a number of much mystery. *Hierome* in *Esay*. *Gellius*. lib. 3. and his emulator *Macrobius* (in *Sonn. Scip.* lib. 1.) record the power of it in Heauen, the Sea, and in Men. The *Pythagorists*, as *Chalcidius* writeth, included all perfection, nature & sufficiency herein. And wee Christians hold it sacred in many of our religious mysteries. (d) *That 3. is*] An euen number (sayth *Euclid*) is that which is diuisible by two: the odde is the contrary. Three, is not diuisible into two, nor any: for one is no number: Foure is diuided into two, and by vnites: and this foure was the first number that gotte to halfes, as *Macrobius* sayth, who therefore commendeth 7. by the same reason that *Aug.* vseth here. (e) *For all*] *Aug.* in *Epist. ad Galat.* (f) *By this number*] *Serm. de verb. dom. in monte.* This appellation ariseth from the giftes, shewne in *Esay*, Chap. 32.

Of their opinion that held Angels to be created before the world-

CHAP. 32.

**B**Vt if some oppose, and say that that place, *Let there be light and there was light*, was not meant of the *Angels* creation, but of some (a) other corporall light, and teach that the *Angels* wer made not only before the firmament diuiding the waters, and called heauen, but euen before these words were spoken: *In the beginning God made heauen and earth*: Taking not this place as if nothing had bene made before, but because God made all by his *Wisedome* and *Worde*, whome the Scripture also calleth a (a) *beginning*, as answered also to the *Iewes* when they inquired what he was: I will not contend, because I delight so in the intimation of the *Trinity* in the first chapter of *Genesis*. For hauing said: *In the beginning God made heauen and earth*: that is the *Father* created it in the *Son*, as the *Psalme* saith: *O Lord how manyfold are thy workes! In thy wisedome madest thou them all*: presently after he mentioneth the *Holy Spirit*. For hauing shewed the fashion of earth, and what a huge masse of the future creation God called heauen and earth: *The earth was without forme & void, and darknesse was upon the deepe*: to perfect his mention of the *Trinity* he added, (c) *And the spirit of the Lord moued upon the waters*. Let each one take it as he liketh: it is so profound that learning may produce diuers opinions herein, all faithfull and true ones: so that none doubt that the *Angels* are placed in the high heauens, not as coeternals with God, but as sure of eternall felicity: To whose society *Christ* did not onely teach that his little ones belonged, saying: *They shall be equal vwith the Angels of God*: but shewes further, the very contemplation of the *Angels*, saying: *Se that you despise not one of these little ones, for I say vnto you, that in heauen, their Angels alway behold the face of my Father which is in Heauen*.

L. VIVES.

**S**ome (a) other corporeall] Adhering to some body. (b) *Beginning*] I reprove not the diuines in calling *Christ* a *beginning*. For he is the meane of the worlds creation, and cheefe of all that the *Father* begotte. But I hold it no fit collection from his answer to the *Iewes*. It were better to say so because it was true, then because *Iohn* wrote so, who thought not so. The heretikes make vs such arguments, to scorne vs with, at all occasion offered. But what that wisely and freely religious Father *Hierome*, held of the first verse of *Genesis*, I will now relate. Many (as *Iason* in *Papisc.* *Tertull. contra Praxeam*, and *Hillar. in Psalm.*) Hold that the Hebrew text hath, *In the Sonne God made Heauen and earth*. which is directly false. For the 70. *Symachus*, and *Theodotion* translate it, *In the beginning*: The Hebrew is *Beresith*, which *Aquila* translates in *Capitulo*, not *Ba-ben*, in the *Son*. So then the sence, rather then the translation giueth it vnto *Christ*, who is called the *Creator of Heauen and earth*, as well in the front of

John, 13. *Genesis* (the head of all bookes) as in *S. Johns* Ghospell. So the *Psalmist* saith in his persons: *In the head of the booke it is written of me, viz. of Genesis, and of Iohn: All things were made by it, & without it was made nothing, &c. But we must know, that this booke is called Bereſub, the Hebrewes vsing to put their bookes names in their beginnings* Thus much word for word out of *Hierome*. (c) *And the spirit*] That which wee translate *Ferebatur*, moued (sayth *Hierome*) the *Hebrewes* read *Marabefet*, for which we may fitly interpret, *incubabat*, brooded, or cherished as the hen doth her egges with heate. Therefore was it not the spirit of the world, as some thinke, but the *holy spirite* that is called *the quickner of all things from the beginning*: If the *Quickner*, then the *maker*, if the *Maker* then the *God*: *If thou send forth thy word (saith he) they are created.*

PC. 104. 30.

*Of the two different societies of Angels, not vnfitly  
scarmed light and darkenesse.*

CHAP. 33.

THAT some *Angels* offended, and therefore were thrust into prisons in the worlds lowest parts vntill the day of their last iudiciall damnation, *S. Peter* testifieth playnely, saying *That God spared not the Angels that had sinned, but cast them downe into hell and deliuered them into (a) chaynes of darkenesse to be kept vnto damnation.* Now whether Gods prescience seperated these from the other, who doubteth? that he called the other *light*, worthily, who denyeth? Are not we heare on earth, by faith, and hope of equality with them, already ere wee haue it, called *light* by the *Apostle*? *Ye were once darkenesse, (saith he) but are now light in the Lord.* And well doe these perceiue the other *Apostaticall* powers are called *darkenesse*, who consider them rightly, or beleue them to bee worse then the worst vnbeleuer. Wherefore though that *light*, which *GOD* sayd should bee, and it was, bee one thing and the *darkenesse* from which *GOD* seperated the *light* bee another: yet the obscurity of this opinion of these two societies; the one inioying *GOD*, the other swelling in (b) *pride*: the one to whome it sayd: *Praise GOD all yee his Angels*, the other whose Prince said: *All these will I giue thee if thou wilt fall downe and worship mee*: the one inflamed with *GODS* loue, the other, blowne bigge with selfe-loue (whereas it is sayd) *God resisteth the proud and giueth grace to the lowly*: the one in the highest heauens, the other in the obscurest ayre: the one, piously quiet, the other madly turbulent: the one punishing or releeuing according to Gods (c) *iustice and mercy*: the other raging with the ouer vnreasonable desire to hurt and subdue: the one allowed *GODS* Minister to all good; the other restrayned by *GOD* from doing (d) the desired hurt: the one scorning the other for doing good against their wills by temptations: the other enuying this, the recollection of the faithfull pilgrims: the obscurity (I say) of the opinion of these two so contrary societies (the one good in nature and wil, the other good in nature also, but bad by wil) since it is not explained by other places of scripture, that this place in *Genesis* of the *light* and *darknes*, may bee applyed as *Denominatiue* vnto them both (though the author hadde no such intent) yet hath not bene vnprofitably handled: because though wee could not knowe the authors will, yet wee kept the rule of faith, which many other places make manifest. For though Gods corporall workes bee heere recited, yet haue some similitude with the spiritual, as the *Apostle* sayth: *you are all the children of the light, and the children of the day: wee are no sannes of the night nor darknes.* But if this were the authors mind, the other disputation hath attained perfection: that *so wise a man of God, say the spirit in him,*

Eph. 5. 8.

James. 4.

in

in reciting the workes of God, all perfected in fixe dayes, might by no meanes bee held to leaue out the *Angels*, eyther *in the beginning*, that is because hee had made them first, or (as wee may better vnderstand, *In the beginning*) because hee made them in his onely begotten *word*, in which *beginning* God made heauen and earth: Which two names eyther include all the creation spirituall and temporall, which is more credible: Or the two great partes onely as continents of the lesser, beeing first proposed in whole, and then the parts performed orderly according to the mistery of the fixe dayes.

## L. VIVE S.

**I**N *to (a) cheynes*] This is playne in *Saint Peters* second Epistle and *Saint Iudas*, also. The *Angels* (sayth the later) which kept not their first estate, but left their owne habitation hath hee referued in euerlasting cheynes, vnder *Darkenesse*, vnto the iudgement of the great day. *Augustine* vseth prisons, for places whence they cannot passe, as the horses were inclosed and could not passe out of the circuit vntill they had run. (b) *Pride*] *Typhus*, τῦφος, *is Pride*, and the Greeks vse *Typhon* (of τὸ ὕψος, *to bee proud* and τυφῶναι, *to burne*) for the fiery diuell: So sayth *Plutarch* of *Typhon*, *Osiris* his brother, that he was a diuell that troubled all the world with acts of malice, and torment. *Augustine* rather vseth it then the Latine, for it is of more force, and was of much vse in those dayes: *Philip* the Priest vseth it in his Commentaries vpon *Iob*. (c) *Iustice*] For God doth iustly reuenge, by his good Ministers. He maketh the spirits his messengers, & flaming fire his Ministers. Ps. 103. (d) *The desired*] There is no power on the earth like the diuels, *Iob*. 40. Which might they practise as they desire, they would burne, drowne, waste, poyson, torture and vterly destroy man and beast: And though we know not the diuels power directly, where it is limited, and how farr extended: yet are wee sure they can do vs more hurt then we can euer repaire. Of the power of *Angels* read *Augustine de Trinit. lib. 3.*

*Of the opinion that some held, that the Angels wee meant by the several waters, and of others that held the waters vncreated.*

## CHAP. 34.

**Y**ET some there (a) were that thought that the (b) company of *Angels* were meant by the waters: and that these wordes; *Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it seperate the waters from the waters*, meant by the vpper waters the *Angels*, and by the lower, eyther the nations, or the diuels. But if this bee so, there is no mention of the *Angels* creation, but onely of their seperation. (c) Though some most vainely, and impiously deny, that God made the waters, because hee neuer said, *Let there be waters*. So they may say of earth: for he neuer said *Let there be earth*. I but say they: it is written God *created both heauen and earth*, Did he so? Then is water included therein also, for one name serues both: for the *Psalms* sayth: *The sea is his, and he made it, and his hands prepared the dry land*: but the (d) elementary weights do moue these men: to take the waters aboue, for the *Angels*, because so an element cannot remaine aboue the heauens. No more would these men, if they could make a man after their principles, put fleame, being (e) in stead of water in mans body, in the head: (f) but there is the seate of fleame, most fitly appointed by God: but so absurdly in these mens conceits, that if wee know not (though this booke told vs playne) that God had placed this fluid, cold and consequently heauy humor in the vppermost part of mans body,

these world-weighers would neuer belecue it. And if they were subiect to the scriptures authority, they would yet haue some meaning to shift by. But seeing that the consideration of all thinges that the *Booke of God* containeth concerning the creation, would draw vs farre from our resolued purpose, lette vs now (together with the conclusion of this booke) giue end to this disputation of the two contrary societyes of *Angells*, wherein are also some groundes of the two societies of mankinde, vnto whome we intend now to proceed, in a fitting discourse.

## L. VIVES.

**S**ome (a) there were ] as *Origen* for one, who held that the waters about the heauens were no waters but *Angelicall* powers, and the waters vnder the heauens, their contraries, diuels. *Epiph. ad Ioan. Hierosol. Episc.* (b) *Companies* ] *Apocal.* The people are like many waters, and here-vpon, some thought the *Pialme* meant, saying: You waters that bee about the heauens, praise the name of the Lord: for that belongs only to reasonable creatures to do. (c) *Though some* ] *Augustine* reckoneth this for an heresie to hold the waters coeternall with God: but names no author. I belecue *Hesiods Chaos* and *Homers all producing waters* were his originals. (d) *Elementary* ] I see all this growes into question, whether there be waters about the heauens, and whether they be elementary as ours are. Of the first there is lesse doubt. For if (as some hold) the firmament be the ayre, then the seperation of waters from waters was but the parting of the cloudes from the sea. But the holy men, that affirme the waters of *Genesis* to be about the starry firmament, preuaile. I gesse now in this great question, that a thicke clowd, commix: with ayre was placed betwixt heauen and earth, to darken the space betweene heauen and vs: And that part of it, beeing thickned into that sea we see, was drawne by the *Creator*, from the face of the earth, to the place where it is, & that other part was borne vp by an vknowne power, to the vttermost parts of the world. And hence it came that the vpper still including the lower, heauen the fire, fire the ayre, ayre the water, this water includeth not the earth, because the whole element thereof is not vnder the *Moone*, as fire and ayre is. Now for the nature of those waters, *Origen*, (to begin with the eldest) holds them resolued into most pure ayre: which *S. Thomas* dislikes, for such bodies could neuer penetrate the fire, nor the heauens. But he is too *Aristoteliqve*, thinking to binde incomprehensible effectes to the lawes of nature, as if this were a worke of nature strictly taken, and not at the liberty of *GODS* omnipotent power, or that they had forced through fire and heauen by their condensed violence: Some disliked the placing of an element about heauen, and therefore held the *Christalline* heauens composed of waters, of the same shew; but of a farre other nature then the *Elementary*. Both of them are transparent, both cold, but that is light and ours heavy. *Basil* sayth those waters doe coole the heate of the heauens. Our *Astronomicall* diuines, say, that *Saturnes* frigiditie proceedeth from those waters: ridiculous as though all the starres of the eighth spere are not cooler then *Saturne*! These waters (sayth *Pede*) are lower then the *spirituall* heauens, but higher then all corporeall creature: septe (as some say) to threaten a second deluge: But (as others hold better) to coole the heate of the starres. *De nat. rer.* But this is a weake coniecture. Let vs conclude as *Augustine* doth, vpon *Genesis*: How, or what they are we know not: there they are we are sure, for the scriptures authority weigheth downe mans wite. (e) *In stead of* ] Another question tossed like the first: How the elements are in our bodies. In parcels and *Atomes* peculiar to each of the foure, saith *Anaxagoras*, *Democritus*, *Empedocles*, *Plato*, *Cicero*, and most of the *Peripatetiques*, *Arabians* *Auerroes*, and *Auicen*: parcels enter not the bodies composition, sayth another, but natures only. This is the schoole opinion, with the leaders, *Scorus* and *Occam*, *Aristotele* is doubtfull (as hee is generally) yet holdes the ingresse of elements into compounds. Of the *Atomists*, some confound all, making bodies of coherent remaynders, Others destroy all substances. Howsoeuer it is, wee feele the *Elementary* powers, heate and drought in our gall, or choller of the fire: heate and moysture, ayry, in the blood:

Waters a-  
bout hea-  
uen.

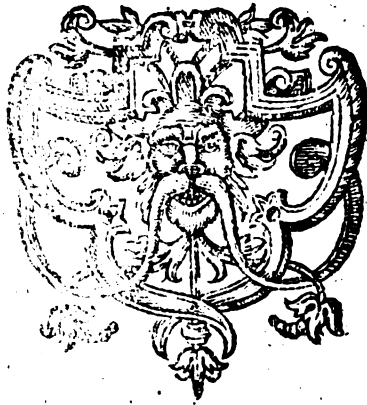
Elements  
how com-  
mixtures.

cold

colde and moyft, watery in the fleame : Colde and dry , earthly , in the melancholy : and in our bones folidity is earth , in our brayne and marrow water , in our blood, ayre : in our fpirits cheefely of the heart , fire. And though wee haue leffe of one then another , yet haue fome of each. (*f*) *But there* ] And thence is all our troublefome fleame deriued : Fitly it is feated in the brayne , whether all the heate aspyreth. For were it belowe , whither heate descendeth not fo , it would quickly growe dull , and congeale : Whereas now the heate keeps it in continuall acte , vigor and vegetation.

The feat of  
the brayne.

Finis. lib. II.



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THE



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FINIS.

THE

# THE TWELFTH BOOKE: OF THE CITTIE OF GOD

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishop of *Hippo*,  
vnto *Marcellinus*.

*Of the nature of good and euill Angels.*

CHAP. I.



**B**Efore I speake of the creation of man, wherein (in respect of mortal reasonable creatures) the two *Citties* had their originall, as we shewed in the last booke of the *Angels*: (to shew as well as we can) the congruity and conuenience of the society of *Men* with *Angels*: and that there are not foure, but rather two societies of *Men* and *Angels* qualited alike, and combined in eyther, the one consisting both of good *Angels* and *Men*, and the other of euill: that the contrariety of desires betweene the *Angels* good and euill arose from their diuers natures and beginnings, wee may at no hand beleue: *God* hauing bene alike good in both their creations, and in all things beside them. But this diuersity ariseth from their wils: some of them persisting in *God*, their common good, and in his truth, loue and eternity: and other some delighting more in their owne power, as though it were from them-selues, fell from that common al-blessing good to dote vppon their owne: and taking pride for eternity, vayne deceit for firme truth, and factious enuy for perfect loue, became proud; deceptfull and enuious. The cause of their beatitude was their adherence with *GOD*; then must their miseries cause bee the direct contrary, namely, their not adherence with *GOD*. Wherefore if when wee are asked *why they are blessed*, and wee answer well, *because they stucke fast vnto GOD*, and being asked *why they are wretched*, wee answer well, *because they stucke not vnto GOD*: Then is there no beatitude for any reasonable or vnderstanding creature to attaine, but in *God*. So then though all creatures cannot bee blessed, for beastes, trees, stones, &c. are incapable hereof; yet those that are, are not so of them-selues, being created of nothing, but they haue it from the Creator. Attayning him they are happy, loosing him, vnhappy: But hee him-selue is good onely of him-selue, and therefore cannot loose his good, because hee cannot loose him-selue. Therefore the one, true blessed *God*, wee say is the onely immutable good: and those things hee made, are good also, because they are from him, but they are mutable because they were made of nothing. Wherefore though they bee not the cheefe goods, *God* being about them, yet are they great, in being able to adhere vnto the cheefe good, and so bee happy, without which adherence, they cannot but bewrteched Nor are other parcels of the creation better, in that they cannot bee wretched: For wee cannot say our other members are better the our eies in that they cannot be blind: but euen as sensitiue nature in the worst plight, is better then the insensible stone: so is the reasonable (albeit miserable) about the brutish, that cannot therefore bee miserable. This being so, then this nature created in such excellence, that though it bee mutable yet by inherence with *God* that vchangeable good, it may become blessed: Nor satisfieth the own neede without blessednesse, nor hath any meanes to attayne this blessednesse

*God the onely immutable good.*

but

To adhere  
vnto God.

but *God*, truly committeth a great error and enormity in not adhering vnto him. And all sinne is against nature and hurtfull there-vnto. Wherefore that nature differeth not in *Nature*, from that which adhereth vnto *God*, but in *Vice*: And yet in that *Vice* is the *Nature* it selfe laudable still. For the *Vice* beeing iustly discommended, commendeth the *Nature*: The true dispraise of *Vice* being, *that it disgraceth an honest nature*: So therefore euen as when wee call blindnesse a fault of the eyes, wee shew that sight belongeth to the eye: And in calling the fault of the eares deafenesse, that hearing belongeth to the eare: So likewise when wee say it was the *Angels* fault not to adhere vnto *God*, we shew that that adherence belonged to their natures. And how great a praise it is to continue in this adherence, fruition & liuing in so great a good without death, error or trouble, who can sufficiently declare or imagine? Wherefore since it was the euill *Angells* fault not to adhere vnto *GOD* (all vice beeing against nature:) It is manifest that *GOD* created their natures good: since it is hurt only by their departure from him.

*That no essence is contrary to GOD, though all the worlds frailty seeme to be opposite to his immutable eternity.*

CHAP. 2.

Excd. 3.

Essence

**T**His I haue said least some should thinke that the *Apostaticall* (a) powers whereof wee speake, had a different nature from the rest, as hauing another beginning; and (b) not *GOD* to their author. VVhich one shall the sooner auoyd by considering what *GOD* sayd vnto *Moyse* by his *Angells*, when hee sent him to the children of *Israell*: *I am that I am*. For *God* beeing the highest essence, that is eternall and vnchangeable: gaue essence to his creatures, but not such as his owne: (d) to some more and to some lesse: ordering natures existence by degrees; for as wisdom is deriued from being wise, so is essence *ab ipso esse*, of hauing being: the word is new not vsed of the old Latinists, but taken of late into the tongue, to serue for to explyne the Greeke *ειμι* which it expresse: h word for word. Wherefore vnto that especiall, high essence, that created all the rest, there's no nature contrary, but that which hath no essence: (f) For that which hath being is not contrary vnto that which hath also being. Therefore no essence at all is contrary to *GOD* the cheefe essence, and caule of essence in all.

## L VIVES.

Apostata.

**A** *Postaticall* (a) powers ] *αποστατης*, *A forsaker*, of *αριστου*; The diuels are such that fall from *GOD*. *Theodore* writing of *Goddes* and *Angells*, sayth the Hebrew word is *Satan*, the Greeke *αποστατω*. *Hierome* interpreteth it an aduerfary, or transgressor. (b) *Not GOD* ] Least some should thinke *GOD* created not their nature. (c) *I am* ] Of this already in the eight booke. (d) *To some* ] *Arist de mundo*. The nearest vnto *GOD* (sayth *Apuleius*) doe gayne from his power the most celestia:ll bodies, and euery thing the nearer him, the more Diuine, and the farther, the lesser. Thus is *GODS* goodnesse, deriued gradually from Heauen vnto vs. And our beleefe of this extension of *GODS* power, wee must thinke that the nearer, or farder off that hee is, the more, or lesse benefite nature feeleth. Which the *Phylosopher* gaue him to vnderstand when hee sayd *That Gods essence is communicated to some more, and to some lesse*. For in his predicaments, he directly affirmeth that essence admitteth neither intention nor remission, more nor lesse. *A stone* hath essence as well as an *Angell*. This therefore is referred to the excellence and qualities adherent or infused into the essence, which admitte augmentation, and diminution. (e) *The word*  
is

is.] Not so new but that *Flavius Sergius* vsed it before *Quintilian*, but indeed it was not in generall vse till of late, when Philosophy grew into the latine tongue. (f) *For that.*] Nothing (saith *Aristotle*) is contrary to substance; taking contrary, for two opposites of one kinde: as blacke and white, both colours, for he reckneth not priuations, nor contradictories, for contraries, as he sheweth in his diuision of opposites into foure species.

*Of Gods enemies, not by nature, but will, which hurting them, hurteth their good nature: because their is no vice but hurteth nature.*

### CHAP. 3.

**T**He scripture calleth them Gods enemies, because they oppose his soueraignty not by nature but wil, hauing no power to hurt him, but them selues. Their wil to resist, not their power to hurt, maketh them his foes, for he is vnchangeable and wholly incorruptible: wherefore the vice that maketh them oppose God, is their owne hurt, and no way Gods; onely, because it corrupteth their good nature. Their nature it is not, but there vice that contrarieth God: euill onely being contrary to good. And who denies that God is the best good? so then vice is contrary vnto God, as euill is vnto good. The nature also which it corrupteth is Good, and therefore opposed by it: but it stands against God as euill onely against good; but against this nature, as euill and hurt also, for euill cannot hurt GOD, but incorruptible natures onely, which are good by the testimony of the hurt that euill doth them, for if they were not good, vice could not hurt them, for what doth it in hurting them but a bolish their integrity, lustre, vertue, safety, and what euer vice can diminish or roote out of a good nature? which if it bee not therein, vice taketh it not away, and therefore hurteth not: for it cannot be both a vice, and hurtlesse, whence wee gather that though vice, cannot hurt that vnchangeable good, yet it can hurt nothing but good: because it is not, but where it hurteth. And so we may say that vice cannot bee in the highest good, nor cannot bee but in some good. Good therefore may be alone, but so cannot euill: because the natures that an euill will hath corrupted, though as they be polluted they are euill, yet as they are natures, they are good. And when this vicious nature is punished, there is this good besides the nature, that it is not vnpunished, for this is iust, and what is iust is questionlesse good, and no (a) man is punished for the faults of his nature, but of his will, for that vice that hath gotten from a custome into an habit, and seemeth naturall, had the originall from corruption of will: for now wee speake of the vices of that nature wherein is a foule capable of the intellectuall light, whereby wee discern betweene iust and vniust.

Gods enemies.

### L. VIVES.

**N**O (a) man.] Vice or a fault, generally, is a declining from the right. So that there are of them naturall, as if wee haue gotten any custome of any act against the *Decorum* of that kinde, or haue it by nature: as to haue more, or fewer members then we should: stammering of speech, blindnesse, deafnesse, or any thing against perfection: bee it in men, beasts, trees, stones or whatsoeuer. Then there is fault of manners, and fault of art, when the worke-man hath erred from his science. (b) *Naturall.*] So that is dominereth, and playeth the tyrant in a man, seeking to compell him to do thus: wherevpon many say in excuse of sinnes, that they cannot do withall; whereas their owne will notifes it vp in them, and they may oppose it if they list: Though it be not so easily expelled as admitted, yet the expulsion is not impossible, and whilke you expell it, you shall not be acquit of the guilt.

Of

*Of linelesse and reasonlesse natures, whose order differeth not from the decorum held in the whole Vniuerse. CHAP. 4.*

**B**Vt it were a sottishnesse to thinke that the faults of beasts, trees, and other vnreasonable, sencelesse, or liuelesse creatures, whereby their corruptible nature is damnified, are damnable: for the creators will hath disposed of those, thus, to perfect the inferior beauty of this vniuerse by this (a) successiue alteration of them. For earthly things are not comparable to heauenly: yet might not the world waite those, because the other are more glorious. Wherefore, in the succession of those things one to another in their due places, and in the (b) change of the meaner into qualities of the better, the order of things transitory consisteth. Which orders glorie wee delight not in, because wee are annexed to it, as partes of mortality, wee cannot discerne the whole Vniuerse, though wee obserue how conueniently those parcells wee see, are combined: wherevpon in things out of our contemplations reach, we must beleue the prouidence of the Creator, rather then be so rash as to condemne any part of the worlds *Fabrique*, of any imperfection. Though if wee marke well, by the same reason, those vnvoluntary, and unpunishable faults to those creatures, commend their natures vnto vs: none of whome hath any other maker but GOD: because wee our selues dislike that that nature of theirs which wee like should bee defaced by that fault: vnlesse men will dislike the natures of things that hurt them, not consider their natures, but their owne profit as (c) of those creatures that plagued the pride of Egypt. But so they might dispraise the Sunne, for some offenders, or vniust detainers of others right, are by the Iudges condemned (d) to bee set in the hot Sunne. Wherefore it is not the consideration of nature in respect of our profit, but in it selfe that glorifieth the Creator. The nature of the eternall fire is assuredly laudable, though the wicked shalbe therein euerlastingly tormented. For what is more faire then the bright, pure and flaming fire? what more vsfull to heate, cure, or boile withall? though not so hurtfull in burning. Thus that (e) being penally applied, is pernicious, which being orderly vsed, is, conuenient: (f) for who can explaine the thousand vses of it in the world? Heare them not (g) that praise the fires light and dispraise the heate: respecting not the nature of it but their own profite and disprofite: they would see, but they would not burne. But they consider not that this light they like so, beeing immoderately vsed, hurteth a tender eye: and that in this heate which they dislike so, many (h) creatures do very conueniently keepe, and liue.

Exod. 8

Natures  
absolute  
excellence  
seen in  
things that  
punish  
man.

Punishment  
of  
malefact-  
ors in the  
sunne.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) *successiue* ] One decaying, and another succeeding. (b) *Change of substance* ] He toucheth the perpetual alteration of elements and elementary bodies, where some are transmuted into the more powerfull *agent*, and sometimes the *agent* puts on the nature of the *passiue*. Ayre continually taketh from water, and water from ayre: So doth fire from ayre and ayre from fire, but in diuers places. (c) *Of substance* ] The frogs, and gnats. (d) *To bee set* ] A kinde of punishment, especially infamous, yet, not without paine. The bawdes in Spaine are thus punished: set in the stocks, and anointed al with hony, which drawes all the Bees, Flies and Wasps in a Country, vnto them. (e) *Beeing penally* ] So wee reade it for the best. (f) *For who* ] Thence is the common prouerbe of a thing of common vse: *Wee haue as much vse of it, as of fire or water:*

as

as *Tully* saith of friendship. *Lal.* And to forbid one fire and water, (mans two chiefe necessities) is as it were to expell him of all humaine societie. *Vitruuius* saith that the comming together vnto the fire brought men first to talke together, and so produced commerce, societies and cities *lib. 2.* *Lactantius* prouoeth man a diuine creature, because hee onely of all creatures vseth the fire. (g.) *That praise* ] Taught by *Plutarchs* Satyre that laued *Promethews* his new found fire, so that hee fell a kissing of it, and burning his lippes threw it downe, and ran away. Such a tale tells *Mela* of the sea-bordering *Affricans*, to whome *Eudaxus* caried fire. (h.) *Creatures* ] In *Cyprus* in the brasse furnaces, where they burne redd *Vitrioll* many dayes together, are produced winged creatures, a litle bigger then the greatest flies; and those liue in the fire, *Arist.* *Hist. animal. lib. 5.* The *Salamander* they say not onely liues in the fire vnburned, but also putteth it out, with his very touch.

The good-  
netie of fire.

Salamander.

*That the Creator hath deserued praise in euery forme and kinde of nature.*

## CHAP. 5.

**W**herefore all natures are good, because they haue their forme, kinde, and a certaine rest withall in them-selues. And when they are in their true posture of nature, they preserue the essence in the full manner as they receiued it: and that, whose essence is not eternall, followeth the lawes of the creator that swayerh it, and changeth into better, or worse, tending (by Gods disposition) still to that end which the order of the vniuerse requireth: so that that corruption which bringeth all natures mortall vnto dissolution, cannot so dissolue that which was, but it may become that afterwards which it was before, or that which it should be: which being so, then God, the highest being, who made all things that are not him-selie, (no creature being fitte for that equalitie, being made of nothing) and consequently being not able to haue beene, but by him) is not to be discommended through the taking offence at some faults, but to bee honored vpon the due consideration of the perfection of all natures.

## L. VIVES.

**A** (*a*) *certaine* ] Every thing keeping harmonious agreement both with it selfe and others, without corrupting discorde: which made some ancient writers affirme, *that the world consisted all vpon loue.*

*The cause of the good Angells blisse, and the euills misery.*

## CHAP. 6.

**T**HE true cause therefore of the good Angells blisse, is their adherence to that most high essence: and the iust cause of the bad Angells misery, is their departure from that high essence, to reside vpon them-selues, that were not such: which vice what is it else but (*a*) pride? *For pride is the roote of all sinne.* These would not therefore sticke vnto him, their strength, and hauing power to bee more (*b*) perfect by adherence to this highest good, they preferred them-selues that were his inferiours, before him. This was the first fall, misery and vice of this nature, which all were it not created to haue the highest being, yet might it haue beatitude by fruition of the highest being: but falling from him, not bee made nothing, but yet lesse then it was, and consequently miserable. Seeke the cause of this euill will, and you shall finde iust none. For what can cause the wills quill, the will being sole cause of all euill? The euill will therefore causeth euill

Ecc. 100

Qq

workes

workes, but nothing causeth the *euill will*. If there be, then either it hath a *will* or none. If it haue, it is either a good one or a bad: if good, what foole will say, a *good will* is cause of an *euill will*? It should if it caused sinne: but this were extreme absurditie to affirme. But if that it haue an *euill will*, then I aske what caused this *euill will* in it? and to limite my questions, I aske the cause of the first *euill will*. For not that which an other *euill will* hath caused, is the first *euill will*, but that which none hath caused: for still that which causeth is before the other caused. If I bee answered, that nothing caused it, but it was from the *beginning*, I aske then whether it were in any nature: If it were in none, it had no being: if it were in any, it corrupted it, hurt it, and deprived it of all good: and therefore this Vice could not be in an euill nature, but in a good, where it might doe hurt: for if it could not hurt, it was no *vice*, and therefore no *bad will*: and if it did hurt, it was by priuation of good, or diminishing of it. Therefore a *bad will* could be from eternity in that wherein a *good nature* had bene before, which the euill will destroyed by hurt. Well if it were not eternall, who made it? It must be answered, something that had no *euill will*: what was this inferior, superior, or equall vnto it? If it were the superior, it was better, and why then had it not a *will*, nay, a *better will*?

This may also bee said of the equall: for two *good wills* neuer make the one the other bad: It remains then that some inferior thing that had *no will* was cause of that *vicious will* in the *Angels*. I but all things below them, euen to the lowest earth, being naturall, is also good, and hath the goodnesse of forme and kinde in all order: how then can a *good thing* produce an *euill will*? how can *good* be cause of *euill*? for the will turning from the superior to the inferior, becomes bad, not because the thing where-vnto it turneth is bad, but because the diuision is bad, and peruerse. No inferior thing then doth deprauate the *will*, but the *will* deprauates it selfe by following inferior things inordinately. For if two of like affect in body and minde should beholde one beautilous personage, and the one of them be stirred with a lustfull desire towards it, and the others thoughts stand chaste, what shall wee thinke was cause of the *euill will* in the one and not in the other? Not the scene beauty: for it transformed not the *will* in both, and yet both saw it alike: not the flesh of the beholders face, why not both? nor the minde we presupposed them both alike before, in body and minde. Shall we say the deuill secretly suggested it into one of them, as though hee consented not to it in his owne proper will?

This consent therefore, the cause of this assent of the will to vicious desire, is that wee seeke. For, to take away one let more in the question, if both were tempted, and the one yeilded, and the other did not, why was this, but because the one would continue chaste, and the other would not? whence then was this secret fall but from the proper will, where there was such parity in body and minde, a like sight, and a like temptation? So then hee that desires to know the cause of the *vicious will* in the one of them, if hee marke it well shall finde nothing. For if wee say that hee caused it, what was hee ere his *vicious will*, but a creature of a *good nature*, the worke of G O D, that vnchangeable good? Wherefore hee that saith that hee that consented to this lustfull desire which the other withstood, (both being before alike affected, and beholding the beautilfull obiekt alike) was cause of his owne *euill will*, whereas he was good before this vice of will;

Let

Let him aske why he caused this? whether from his nature, or for that hee was made of nothing; and he shall finde that his *euill will* arose not from his nature; but from his nothing: for if wee shall make his *nature* the effecter of his *vicious will*, what shall wee doe but affirme that *good* is the efficient cause of *euill*? But how can it bee that *nature* (though it bee mutable) before it haue a *vicious will*, should doe viciously, namely in making the *will*, *vicious*?

## L. VIVES.

**B**Y the (a) *pride*] *Scotus* holds that the *Angels* offence was not pride, I thinke onely because hee will oppose *Saint Thomas*, who held (with the *Fathers*) the contrary. (b) *Perfect*] in essence and excellence.

*That we ought not to seeke out the cause of the vicious will.*

## CHAP. 7.

**L**ET none therefore seeke the efficient cause of an *euill will*: for it is not *efficient* but *deficient*, nor is there *effect* but *defect*: namely falling from that highest essence, vnto a lower, this is to haue an *euill will*. The causes whereof (beeing not *efficient* but *deficient*) if one endeuour to seeke, it is as if hee should seeke to see the darknesse, or to heare silence: wee know them both, this by (a) the eare, and that by the eye: but not by any formes of theirs, but priuation of formes. Let none then seeke to know that of mee which I know not my selfe: vnlesse hee will learne not to know what hee must know that hee cannot know: for the things that we know by priuation and not by forme, are rather (if you can conceit mee) knowne by not knowing: and in knowing them, are still vnknowne. For the bodyes eye coursing ouer bodyly obiects, sees no darknesse, but when it ceaseth to see. And so it belongs to the eare, and to no other sense to know silence, which notwithstanding is not knowne but by not hearing. So our intellectu doth speculate the intelligible formes, but where they faile it learneth by not learning: for who can vnderstand his faults? This I know, that *Gods nature* can neuer faile in time, nor in part: but all things that are made of nothing may decay: which doe not-with-standing more good, as they are more essentiall: for then doe they some-thing when they haue efficient causes: but in that they faile, and fall off, and doe euill, they haue *deficient* causes: and what doe they then but vanity?

Psal. 19.  
The diuine  
essence ne-  
uer can  
faile.

## L. VIVES.

**B**Y the (a) *eare*] Contraries are knowne both by one methode, say the Philosophers, and the *primatiue* is knowne onely by seperation of the knowledge of the *Positiue*.

*Of the peruerse loue, whereby the soule goeth from the vntchangeable to the changeable good.* CHAP. 8.

**I** Know besides that wherein the *vicious will* is resident, therein is that done, which if the *will* would not, should not bee done: and therefore the punishment falls iustly vpon those acts which are *wills* and not *necessities*. It is not the (a) thing to which wee fall, but our fall that is euill: that is: wee fall to no euill

Qq 2

natures



The inordinate loue of things bad, not the things themselves.

natures, but against nature's order, from the highest to the lower: and therefore euill. Couetise is no vice in the gold, but in him that peruerfly leaueth iustice to loue gold, whereas iustice ought alwayes to bee preferred before riches. Nor is lust the fault of sweete bawtyous bodies, but the soules that runnes peruerfly to bodily delights, neglecting temperance, which scornes all company with those, & prepares vs vnto far more excellent and spirituall pleasures. Vaine-glory is not a vice proper to humane praise, but the soules, that peruerfly affecteth praise of men, not respecting the consciences testimonie. Nor is pride his vice that giueth the power, but the soules, peruerfly louing that power, contemning the iustice of the most mighty. By this then, he that peruerfly affected a good of nature, though he attaine it, is euill himselfe in this good; and wretched, being deprived of a better.

## L. VIVES.

**T**HE (*a*) thing ] It is not the action, but the quality and manner thereof that is vicious, said Plato.

*Whether he that made the Angels natures, made their wills good also, by the infusion of his loue into them through his holy spirit.* CHAP. 9.

**S**EEING therefore there is no naturall nor (*a*) essentiall cause, effecting the euill of will, but that euill of mutability of spirit, which depraueth the good of nature, ariseth from it selfe: being effected no way but by falling from God, which falling also hath no cause: If we say also that good wills haue no efficient cause we must beware least they bee not held vncreated and coeternall with God. But seeing that the Angels them-selues were created, how can their wills but bee so also? Besides being created, whether were they created with them, or without them first? if with them, then doubtlesse hee that made one, made both: and (*b*) as soone as they were created, they were ioyned to him in that loue wherein they were created. And therein were they seuered from the other, because they kept their good-wills still, and the other were changed by falling in their euill will, from that which was good, whence they needed not haue fallen vnlesse they had list. But if the good Angels were at first without good wills, and made those wills in them-selues without Gods working, were they therefore made better of them-selues then by his creation? God forbid. For what were they without good wills, but euill. Or, if they were not euill because they had no euill wills neither, nor fell from that which they had not, how-so-euer they were not as yet so good, as when they had gotten good wills. But now if they could not make them-selues better then God (the best workeman of the world) had made them: then verily could they neuer haue had good wills but by the operation of the creator in them. And these good wills, effecting their conuersion (not to them-selues who were inferiours, but) to the supreme God, to adhere vnto him, and bee blessed by fruition of him, what doe they else but shew, that the best will should haue remained poore, in desire onely, but that he who made a good nature of nothing capable of himselfe, (*c*) made it better by perfecting it of himselfe, first hauing made it more desirous of perfection? for this must bee examined: whether the good Angels created good will in them-selues, by a good will or a badde, or none: if by none, then none they created. If by a badde, how can a badde will produce a good? if by a good, then had they good wills already.

And

And who gaue them those, but he that created them by a *good will*, that is in that chaste loue of their adherencē to him; both forming them nature, and giuing them grace? Beleeue it therefore the *Angelles* were neuer without *good will*, that is *Gods loue*: But those that were created *good*, and yet became *euill* by their proper *will*, (which no good nature can do but in a voluntary defect from good, that, and not *the good* being the cause of *euill*) either (d) receiued lesse grace from the diuine loue, then they that persisted therein, or if the had equall *good* at their creation, the one fell by the *euill wills*, and the other hauing further helpe attained that blisse, from which they were sure neuer to fal, as we shewed in our last booke. Therefore, to gods due praise wee must confesse that the diffusion of *Gods loue* is bestowed as well vpon the *Angells*, as the *Saints*, by his *holy spirit* bestowed vpon them: and that that Scripture: *It is good for me to adhere vnto God*, was peculiar at first to the holy *Angells*; before man was made. This *good* they all participate with him to whome they adhere, and are a *holy city*, a liuing sacrifice, and a liuing temple vnto that *God*. Part whereof, namely that which the *Angells* shall gather and take vp from this earthly pilgrimage vnto that society, being now in the flesh, vpon earth, or dead, and resting in the (e) secret receptacles of soules, how it had first original, must I now explaine, as I did before of the *Angells*. For of Gods worke, *The first man*, came all *man kind*, as the scripture saith, whose authority is iustly admired throughout the earth and those natures, whome (amongst other things) it prophesied should beleeue it.

The fall from good the cause of euill.

Psal. 73:

### L. VIVES.

OR (a) *Essentiall.*] As hauing *essence*. (b) *As soone.*] Hee plainly confesseth that the *Angells* were all created in grace. *De corrupt. et grat.* Before they fell they had grace. *Hierome* also vpon *Osea* affirms that the *Deuills* were created with great fulnesse of the *holy spirit*. But *Augustine De genes. ad lit.* seemes of another mind, saying the *angelicall nature* was first created *in-formall*. The Diuines herevpon are diuided: some following *Lombard Sent. 2. dist. 4. Ales.* and *Bonauenture* deny that the *Angells* were created in grace. *Saint Thomas* holds the contrary. I dare not, nor haue not where withal to decide a matter so mightily disputed and of such moment. *Augustine* in most plaine words, and many places, holds that they were created in grace as that of *Exechiel* seemes also to import: *Thou sealest vp the sunne, and art full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty.* (c) *Made it.*] Shewing that *God* gaue them more grace when they shewed their obedience (of this I see no question made:) in such measure, as hee assured them of eternity of blisse. (d) *Receiued lesse.*] If all the *Angells* had grace giuen them, it then should haue bin distributed with respect of persons, to some more, and to some of the same order lesse. But it was giuen *gradually* to the orders not to each particular *Angell*: where-vpon some of the same order fell, and some stood, though both had grace giuen them alike. (e) *Secret.*] Hee doubts not of the glory, but of the glories place before the iudgement; for they may be blessed any where, *God*, in whose fruition they are blessed being euery where.

The creation of the Angells.

Eze. 28, 12

The degrees of grace.

*Of the falsenesse of that History that saith the world hath continued many thousand yeares. CHAP. 10.*

LET the coniectures therefore of those men that fable of mans and the worlds originall they knowe not what passe for vs: for some thinke that men haue beene alwaies, as of the world; as *Apuleis* writeth of men: *Seuerally mortall, but generally, eternall,* (b) And when we say to them: why if the world hath alwaies beene, how can your histories speake true in relation of who inuented this or that

that, who brought vp artes and learning, and who first inhabited this or that region? they answered vs: the world hath at certaine times beene so wasted by fires, and deluges, that the men were brought to a very few: whose progenie multiplied againe: and so seemed this as mans first originall, whereas indeed it was but a reparation of those whome the fires and flouds had destroyed: but that man cannot haue production but from man. They speake now what they thinke, but not what they know: being deceived by a sort of most false writings, that say the world hath continued a many thousand yeares, where as the holy scriptures giue vs not accompt of (c) full sixe thousand yeares since man was made. To shew the falsenesse of these writings briefly, and that their authority is not worth a rush herein, (d) that Epistle of *Great Alexander* to his mother, conteining a narration of things by an *Egyptian* Priest vnto him, made out of their religious mysteries; containeth also the Monarchies, that the Greeke histories recorde also: In this Epistle (e) the *Assyrian* monarchie lasteth five thousand yeares and aboue. But in the Greeke historie, from *Belus* the first King, it continueth but one thousand three hundred yeares. And with *Belus* doth the *Egyptian* storie begin also. The *Persian* Monarchie (saith that Epistle) vntill *Alexanders* conquest (to whom this Priest spake thus) lasted aboue eight thousand yeares: whereas the *Macedonians* vntill *Alexanders* death lasted but foure hundred foure score and five yeares, and the *Persians* vntill his victory two hundred thirty & three yeares, by the Greeke story. So farre are these computations short of the *Egyptians*, being not equall with them though they were trebled. For (f) the *Egyptians* are said once to haue had their (g) yeares but foure moneths long: so that one full yeare of the *Greekes* or ours, is iust three of their old ones. But all this will not make the Greeke and *Egyptian* computations meete: and therefore wee must rather trust the *Greeke*, as not exceeding our holy scriptures accompt. But if this Epistle of *Alexander* being so famous, differ so farre from the most probable accompt, how much lesse faith then ought we to giue to those their fabulous antiquities, fraught with leasings, against our diuine bookes, that fore-told that the whole world should beleue them, and the whole world hath done so: and which prouue that they wrote truth in things past, by the true occurrences of things to come, by them presaged.

## L. V I V E S.

**S** Euerally (a) morsall ] *Apuleius Florid. l. 2. cunctim*, generally, or vniuersally, of *cunctis, all*, (b) And when ] *Macrobius* handleth this argument at large. *De somn. scip.* and thinkes he puts it off with that that *Augustine* here reciteth. *Plato* seemes the author of this shift in his *Timaeus*, where *Critias* relating the conference of the *Egyptian* Priest and *Solon*, saith, that we know not what men haue done of many yeares before; because they change their countrie, or are expelled it by flouds, fires, or so, and the rest hereby destroyed. Which answer is easily confuted, fore-seeing that all the world can neither bee burned nor drowned (*Arist. Meteor.*) the remainders of one ancient sort of men might be preferred by another, and so deriued downe to vs, which *Aristotle* seeing (as one witty, and mindfull of what he saith) affirmeth that we haue the reliques of the most ancient Philosophy left vs. *Metaphys. l. 2.* Why then is there no memory of things three thousand yeares before thy memory. (c) Full six thousand ] *Eusebius* whose account *Augustine* followeth, reckoneth from the creation vnto the sack of *Rome* by the *Gothes* 5611. yeares: following the *Septuagints*. For *Bede* out of the *Hebrew* referueth vnto the time of *Honorius* and *Theodosius* the yonger (when the *Gothes* tooke *Rome*) but 4377. of this different computation here-after. (d) That Epistle ] Of this before, booke eight. (e) The *Assyrian* ] Hereof in the 18. booke more fitly. Much liberty do the old chroniclers vse in their accompt of time. *Plin. lib. 11.* out of *Eudoxus*, saith that *Zoroaster* liued 6000. yeares before *Plato's* death.

The liberty that the old writers vse in computation of time.

So

So saith *Aristotle*. *Herimippus* saith he was 5000. yeares before the Troian warre. *Tully* writes that the Chaldees had accounts of 470000. yeares in their chronicles. *De diuinat. 1.* *Diodorus* saith also that they reckned from their first astronomer vntill great *Alexander* 43000. yeares. (f) *The Egyptians*] Extreame liers in their yeares. *Plato* writes that the Citty Sais in Egipt had chronicles of the countries deedes for 8000. yeares space. And Athens was built 1000. yeares before Sais. *Laertius* writes that *Vulcan* was the sonne of *Nilus*, and reckneth 48863. yeares betwene him and Great *Alexander*: : in which time there fell 373. eclipses of the Sunne, and 832. of the Moone. *Mela* lieth alittle lower: saying that the Egiptians reckon 730. Kings before *Amasis*, and aboute 13000. yeares. But the lie wanted this sublequent, that since they were Egiptians, Heauen hath had foure changes of reuolutions, and the Sunne hath set twise where it riseth now. *Diodorus* also writteth that from *Osyris* vnto *Alexander* that built Alexandria, some reckon 10000. and some 13000. yeares: and some fable that the Gods had the Kingdome of *Isis*; and then that men reigned afterward very neare 15000. yeares, vntill the 180. *Olympiad*, when *Protony* beganne to reigne. Incredible was this absurd vinity of the Egiptians who to make themselues the first of the creation, lied so many thousand yeares. Which was the cause that many were deceiued, and deceiued others also as concerning the worlds originall. *Tully* followes *Plato* and maketh Egipt infinitely old, and so doth *Aristotle*. *Polie. 7.* (g) *Yeares but*] *Pliny* lib. 7. saith the Nations diuided their yeares some by the Sommer, some by the Winter, some by the quarters as the Archadians whose yeare was three monethes, some by the age of the Moone, as the Egiptians. So that some of them haue liued a thousand of their yeares. *Censorinus* saith that the Egiptians most ancient yeares was two moneths. Then King *Piso* made it foure, at last it came to thirteene moneths and fide daies. *Diodorus* saith that it being reported that some of the ancient Kings had reigned 1200. yeares, beeing to much to beleue, they found for certaine that the course of the Sunne beeing not yet knowne, they counted their yeares by the Moones. So then the wonder of old fables ceaseth, some diuiding our yeare into foure as diuers of the Greekes did. *Diodorus* saith also that the Chaldees had monethes to their yeares. But to shew what my coniecture is of these numbers of yeares amongst the nations, I hold that men beeing so much giuen to the starres, counted the course of euery starre for a yeare. So that in 30. yeares of the Sunne, are one of *Saturne*, fide of *Iupiter*, sixe of *Mars*, more then 30. of *Venus* and *Mercury*, and almost 400. of the *Moone*. So they are in all neare 500.

The month  
by yeares.

*Of those that hold not the eternity of the world, but either a dissolution and generation of innumerable worlds, or of this one at the expiration of certaine yeares.* CHAP. II:

**B**UT others there are, that doe not thinke the World eternall, and yet either imagine it, not to be one (a) world but many: or (b) one onely, dissolued and regenerate at the date of certaine yeares. Now these must needs confesse, that there were first men of themselues, ere any men were begotten. (c) For they cannot thinke that the whole world perishing, any man could remaine, as they may doe in those burnings, & inuadations which left still some men to repaire mankinde: but as they hold the world to bee re-edified out of the owne ruines, so must they beleue that mankinde first was produced out of the elements, and from these first, as mans following propagation, as other creatures, by generation of their like.

### L. VIVES.

**N**OT to bee one (a) world] Which *Democritus* and *Epicurus* held. (b) One onely] *Heraclitus*, *Hippasus* and the *Stoicks* held that the world should be consumed by fire, and then be re-edified. (c) For they cannot] *Plato* and *Aristotle* hold that there cannot be an vniuersall deluge, or burning.

But the *Stoicks* (as *Tully* saith) beleueed that the World at length should become all on fire, and the moisture so dried, as neither the earth could nourish the plants, nor the ayre be drawn in bredth, nor produced, all the water being consumed. So that *Plato* and *Aristotle* still referued some men for propagation: these, none, but destroyed *All*, to re-edifie *All*.

*Of such as held Mans Creation too lately effected.* CHAP. 12.

Wherefore our answer to those that held the world to haue beene *ab aeterno*, against *Plato's* expresse confession, though some say hee spake not as hee thought, the same shalbe our answer still to those that thinke *Mans Creation* too lately effected, hauing letten those innumerable spaces of time passe, and by the scriptures authority beene made but so late, as within this fixe thousand yeares. If the breuity of time be offensiue, and that the yeares since Man was made seeme so few, let them consider that (a) nothing that hath an extreame, is continuall: and that all the definite spaces of the World being compared to the interminate Trinity, are as (a very little: Nay as) iust nothing. And therefore though wee should reckon fife or sixe, or sixty, or six hundred thousand yeares, and multiply them so often till the number wanted a name, and say then GOD made man, yet may we aske why he made him no sooner? For GODS pause before *Mans Creation* beeing from all eternity was so great, that compare a definite number with it, of neuer so vnspeakeable a quantity, and it is not so much, as one halfe drop of water being counterpoised with the whole Ocean: for in these, though the one be so exceeding small, and the other so incomparably great, yet (b) both are definite. But that time which hath any originall, runne it on to neuer so huge a quantity, being compared vnto that which hath no beginning, I know not whether to call it small, or nothing. For, with-draw but moments from the end of the first, and be the number neuer so great, it will (as if one should diminish the number of a mans daies from the time he liues in, to his birth day) decrease, vntill we come to the very beginning. But from the later abstract (not moments, nor daies, nor monethes nor years, but as much time as the other whole number contained, (lie it out of the compasse of all computation) and that as often as you please, preuaile you when you can neuer attaine the Beginning, it hauing none at all? Wherefore that which we aske now after fife thousand yeares and the *ouerplus*, our posterity may as well aske after sixe hundred thousand years, if our mortality should succede, and our infirmity endure so long. And our forefathers, presently vpon the first mans time might haue called this in question. Nay the first man himselve, that very day that he was made, or the next might haue asked why he was made no sooner? But whensoever hee had beene made, this controuerisie of his originall and the worlds (should haue no better foundation then it hath now.

Nothing  
continuall  
that hath  
an ex-  
treame.

L. VIVES.

Nothing (a) that] *Cic. de senect.* When the extreame comes, then that which is past, is gone  
(b) Both are.] Therefore is there some proportion betweene them, whereas betweene definite, and indefinite there is none.

*Of the reuolution of Times at whose expiration some Philosophers held that the Vniuerse should returne to the state it was in at first.* CHAP. 13.

Now these Philosophers beleueed that this world had no other dissolution, but

but a renewing of it continually at certaine (a) reuolutions of time, wherein the nature of things was repaired : and so passed on a continuall (b) rotation of ages past and comming : whether this fell out in the continuance of one world, or the world arising, and falling gaue this succession, and date of things by the owne renouation, from which ridiculous mocking they cannot free the immortal nor the wisest soule, but it must stil be tossed vnto false blisse, & beaten backe into true misery. For how is that blisse true, whose eternity is euer vncertaine, the soule either being ignorat of the returne vnto misery, or fearing it in the midst of felicity? But if it go from misery to happinesse neuer to returne, then is some thing begun in time which time shall neuer giue end vnto, and why not then the world? and why not man made therein; (to auoide al the false tracts that deceiued wittes haue deuised to distract men from the truth) : for (c) some wil haue that place of Ecclesiastes? *What is it that hath beene that (which shalbe : what is it that hath beene made? that which shalbe made. (d) And there is no new thing vnder the sunne : nor any thing whereof one may say, behold this is new : it hath beene already in the time that was before vs.)* to be vnderstood of these recipro call reuolutions, whereas he meant either of the things hee spoke of before, viz, the successiue generations; the sunnes motions, the torrents falls; or else generally of all transitory creatures; for there were men before vs, there are with vs, and there shalbe after vs, so it is of trees, and beasts. Nay euen monsters, though they be vnusuall, and diuers, and some haue fallen out but once, yet as they are generally wonders, and miracles, they are both past and to come: nor is it newes to see a monster vnder the Sunne. Though some will haue the wise man to speake of Gods predestination that fore-framed all, and therefore that now there is nothing new vnder the Sunne. But farre be our faith from beleeuing that these words of Salomon should meane those reuolutions that they do dispose the worlds course and renouation by : as Plato the Athenian Philosopher taught in the Academy that in a certeyne vnbounded space, yet definit, Plato himselte, his schollers, the city and schoole should after infinite ages meete all in that place againe and bee as they were when hee taught this. God forbid I say that wee should beleue this. *For Christ once died for our sinnes and rising againe, dieth no more, nor hath death any future dominion ouer him, and wee after our resurrection shalbe alwaies with the Lord, to whome now we say with the Psalme : Thou wilt keepe vs O Lord and preferue vs from this generation for euer.* The following place I thinke fittes them best: The wicked walke in a circuit: not because their life (as they thinke) is to run circularly, but because their false doctrine runs round in a circular maze.

Ecc. 1. 9. 16

Rom 6.  
1. Theff. 4.  
Psal. 12. 7.

## L. VIVES.

**R**euolutions (a) Of. ] *Platonisme* holding a continuall progression and succession of causes and effects, and when heauen hath reuolued it selfe fully, and come to the point whence it moued first, then is the great yeare perfect, and all shall be as they were at first. (b) *Rotation.* ] *Volumen*, a fit word of *Voluo* to roule. (c) *Some.* ] *Origen, Periarch. Lib. 2.* I will follow *Hierome* rather then *Ruffinus* in citing *Origen's* Dogmaticall doctrines, and that for good reasons: we hold (saith *Origen*) that there was a world ere this, & shalbe another after it: wil you heare our reason for the later? Here *Esfay* saying I will create new heauens, and a new earth; to remaine in my sight: for the first *Ecclesiastes* : *What is it that hath bin? that which shalbe. &c.* for al things haue bin, as they are in the old ages before vs. Thus *Origen*; yet hee doubts whether these words shalbe alike, or somewhat different. (d) *And there is no.* ] *Simmachus* hath translated this better then *Hierome*, referring it vnto *Gods prescience*, that al things of this world were first

Rotation  
of times.

Ila. 65. 17.

first in the *Creators* knowledge, though *Augustine* a little before, take it as ment of the generality of things, and toucheth *Hieromes* exposition.

*Of Mans temporall estate, made by God, out of no newnesse or change of will.* CHAP. 14.

God eternall.

Psal. 11.

**B**Vt what wonder if these men runne in their circular error, and finde no way forth, seeing they neither know mankindes originall nor his end? beeing not able to pearce into Gods depths: who being eternall, and without beginning yet gaue time a beginning, and made Man in time whom hee had not made before, yet not now maketh he him by any suddaine motion, but as hee had eternally decreed. Who can penetrate this (a) inscrutable depth, wherein GOD gaue Man a temporall beginning and had none before: and this out of his eternall, vnchangeable will; multiplying all mankind from one? for when the Psal mist had sayd, *Thou shalt keepe vs O LORD, and preferue vs from this generation for euer*, then hee reprehendeth those whose fond and false doctrine reserue no eternity for the soules blessed freedome, in adioyning, *The wicked walke in a Cyrquite*: as who should say, *what dost thou thinke or beleue?* Should we say that God suddainely determined to make Man, whom he had not made in all eternity before, and yet that God is euer immutable, and cannot change his will, least this should draw vs into doubt, he answereth God presently, saying: *In thy deepe wisdom didst thou multiply the sonnes of men.* Let men thinke, talke or dispute, as they will (saith he) and argue as they thinke, *In thy deepe wisdom, which none can discouer, didst thou multiply mankind.* For it is most deepe, that GOD should bee from eternity, and yet decree that Man should bee made at this time, and not before, without alteration of will.

### L. VIVES.

**T***His inscrutable*] The text is *inuestigabilem*, put for the iust contrary *minime inuestigabilem* vnsearchable, as *indolere* and *inuocare* in latine is vsed both for affirmatiue and negatiue.

*Whether (to preferue Gods eternall domination) wee must suppose that he hath alwaies had creatures to rule ouer, and how that may be held alwaies created, which is not coeternall with God.* CHAP. 15.

Rom. 11. 14

Will. 3.

**B**Vt I, as I dare not deny Gods domination (a) eternall from euer, so may I not doubt but that Man had a temporall beginning before which he was not. But when I thinke, what God should bee Lord ouer from eternity, here doe I feare to affirme any thing, because I looke into my selfe, and know that it is sayd, *who can know the Lords counsells? or who can thinke what God intendeth?* Our cogitations are fearefull, and our fore-casts are vncertaine. The corruptible body suppresseth the soule, and the earthly mansion keepeth down the minde that is much occupied. Therefore of these which I reuolue in this earthly mansion, they are many, because out of them all I cannot finde that one of them or besides them which perhaps I thinke not vpon, and yet is true. If I say there hath beene creatures euer for God to bee Lord off who hath beene euer, and euer Lord: but that they were now those, and then others by successe of time (least wee should make some

some of them coeternall with the Creator, which faith and reason reprooueth) Then must wee looke that it bee not absurd for a mortall creature to haue beene successiuelly from the beginning, and the immortall creature to haue had a temporall originall in this our time, and not before; wherein the Angells were created, (whether they bee ment by the name of light, or, heauen, of whom it is sayd, *In the beginning God created heauen and earth.*) and that they were not from the beginning, vntill the time that they were created: for otherwise they should be coeternall with God. If I say they were not created in time, but before it, that God might bee their Lord, who hath beene a Lord for euer. Then am I demaunded, whether they were before all time, or how could they that were created be from eternity? And here I might perhaps answeere how that which hath beene for the space of all time, may not bee vnfitly sayd to haue beene alwaies, and they haue bin so far in all time, that they were before all time, if Time began with heauens motion, and they were before heauen. But if time beganne not so, but were before heauen not in houres, daies, moneths or years (for sure it is that these dimen-  
Times.sions, properly called times, beganne from the starres courses, as God said when he made them: *Let them be for signes, and seasons and daies, and yeares*) but in some other wondrous morion whole former part did passe by, and whose later, succeeded, it being impossible for them to goe both together: If there were such a heauen in the Angells motions, and that as soone as they were made, they began to mooue thus, euen in this respect haue they beene from the beginning of all Time: Time, and they hauing originall both at once. And who will not say that what hath beene for all Time, hath beene alwaies? But if I answeere thus; some will say to me, why are they not then coeternall with the Creator if both he and they haue beene alwaies? What shall I say to this? That they haue bin alwaies, seeing that time & they had originall both together, and yet they were created? for we deny not that time was created, though it hath beene for all times continuance; otherwise, there should haue beene a time that had beene no time, but what foole will say so? wee may say, there was a time when Rome was not: when Ierusalem was not: *Abraham*, or Man himselfe, or so, when they all were not. Nay the world it selfe being not made at times: beginning but afterwarde, wee may say, *there was a time when the world was not.* But to say, there was a time when time was not, is as improper, as to say there was a Man when there was no Man, or a worlde, when the world was not. If wee meane of diuers particulars, wee may say, this Man was when that was not: and so this Time was when that was not; true. But to say Time was, when no Time was, who is so sottish? So then as we say Time was created, and yet hath beene alwaies, because it hath beene whilest Time hath beene, so is it no consequent then that the Angells that haue beene alwaies, should yet bee vncreated, seeing they haue beene alwaies, onely in that they haue beene since Time hath beene: and that because Time could not haue beene without them. For where no creature is whose motion may proportion Time forth, there can bee no Time: and therefore though they haue beene alwaies they are created, and not coeternall with the Creator: (b) For hee hath beene vnchangeable from all eternity, but they were created, and yet are sayd to haue beene alwaies, because they haue beene all Time, that could not bee without them. But Time, being transitory, and mutable, cannot be coeternall with vnchanging eternity? And therefore though Angells haue no bodily transmutation, nor is this part past in them and the other to come, yet their motion; measuring Time; admitteth the differences of past and to come: And  
therefore



Rom. 12

therefore they can neuer be coeternal with their Creator, whose motion admitteth neither past, present, nor future. Wherefore GOD hauing beene alwaies a Lord, hath alwaies had a creature to be Lord ouer, not begotten by him, but created out of nothing by him, and not coeternall with him, for hee was before it, though in no time before it: nor foregoing it in any space, but in perpetuity. But if I answere this to those that aske me, how the Creator should be alwaies Lord, and yet haue no creature to be Lord ouer: or how hath hee a creature that is not coeternall with him, if it hath beene alwaies: I feare to bee thought rather to affirme what I know not, then teach what I know? So that I returne to the Creators reuealed will; what hee allowes to wiser knowledges, in this life, or reserueth for all vnto the next, I professe my selfe vnable to attaine to. But this I thought to handle without affirming, that my readers, may see what questions to forbear as dangerous: and not to hold them fit for farther inquirie: rather following the Apostles wholesome counsell, saying: *I say tthrough the grace that is giuen me, vnto euery one amongst you, presume not to vnderstand more then is meete to vnderstand, but vnderstand according to sobriety, as God hath dealt vnto euery man (c) the measure of faith, for (d) if an infant bee nourished according to his strength, hee will grow vp, but if he bee strained aboue his nature, he will rather fade then increase in growth and strength.*

## L. VIVES.

**D**omination (a) eternall] He had no seruants to rule, in respect of whom he might be called a Lord: for Lord is a relatiue: and it fitted not the Sonne and the Holy Ghost to call him Lord. (b) *Hee hath beene*] His continuance, is, but wee abuse the words: and say hee was, and shalbe: not being able in our circumscribed thoughts to comprehend the eternity. (c) *The measure*] *μτρον νικου*. The Greekes vse the *Accusatine* often of our *ablative*, or rather for the seauenth case *Pant* meaneth the proportionating of wisdom to the measure of faith. (d) *If an infant*] *Quintilian* hath such another simily: poure water easily into a narrow mouthed glasse, and it wilbe filled: but powre to fast, and it will runne by, and not go in. *Institut. lib. 1.*

*How wee must vnderstand that God promised Man life eternall, before all eternity.* CHAP. I 6.

Tit. 1, 2

**W**hat reuolution passed ere mans creation, I confesse I know not: but sure I am, no creature is coeternall with the Creator. The Apostle speaketh of eternall times, not to come, but (which is more wondrous) past. For thus he saith, *under the hope of eternall life, which God that cannot lie, hath promised before all eternity (a) of time: but his word he hath manifested in time.* Behold hee talketh of Times eternality past, yet maketh it not coeternall with GOD. For he was not only himselfe before all eternity, but promised eternall life before it, which he manifested in his due Time: that was, *his word*: for that is *eternall life*. But how did he promise it vnto men that were not before eternity, but that in his eternity and coeternall world, he had predestinated what was in Time to be manifested.

## L. VIVES.

The eter:  
nall times  
what they  
are.

**B**efore (a) all eternity.] *Tit. 1. 2. Hierome* expoundes it thus. *Wee may not omit to declare how GOD that cannot lie, promised life; before eternity. Euen since the world (as it is in Genesis)*

*Genesis* was made, and time ordeined to passe in daies, months & years, in this course the times passe and come, being past or future. Whervpon some Philosophers held no time present, but all either past or to come: because all that we doe, speake, or thinke, either passeth as it is a doing, or is to come if it bee not done. We must therefore beleue an eternity of continuance, before these worldly times: in which, the Father was, with the Sonne and the Holy Ghost, and if I may say so, all eternity is one Time of Gods: nay innumerable Times, for he being infinite was before Time, and shall exceede all Time: our world is not yet 6000. yeares old: what eternities what huge Times and originalls of ages may we imagine was before it, wherein the Angells, Thrones, Dominations and other hoasts serued God, and subsisted by Gods command, without measure or courses of Times? So then, before all these Times, which neither the tongue can declare, the minde comprize, or the secret thought once touch at, did GOD the Father of wisdome promise his Word and Wisdome, and Life to such as would beleue vpon this promise: Thus far *Hierome*. *Peter Lumbard* obiecing this against him-selfe, maketh *Hierome* speake it as confuting others, not affirming him-selfe. *Sent. lib. 2.* So doth he with *Augustine* also in many places: an easie matter, when great authors oppose ought that wee approoue. *Augustine* against the *Priscillianists* saith that *them times were called eternall, before which there was no time*, as if one should say, from the creation, our common reading is: before the world began, the greeke is  $\alpha\rho\delta\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau\omega\nu\ \delta\iota\omicron\nu\iota\omega\nu$ .

*The defence of Gods vnchanging will against those that fetch Gods workes about from eternity, in circles, from state to state.* CHAP. 17.

**N**Or doe I doubt that there was no man before the first mans creation: but deny the (I cannot tell what) reuolution of the same man I know not how often, or of others like him in nature, nor can the Philosophers driue mee from this, by obiecing (acutely they thinke) that *nullum (a) infinitum est scibile*, infinite things are beyond reach of knowledge. And therefore God (say they) hath definite formes in himselfe of all the definite creatures that hee made: nor must his goodnesse be euer held idle, nor his workes temporall, as if he had had such an eternity of leasure before, and then repented him of it and so fell to worke: therefore, say they, is this reuolution necessary: the world either remayning in change (which though it hath beene alwaies yet was created) or else being dissolved, and re-edified in this circular course: otherwise giuing Gods workes a temporall beginning wee seeme to make him disallow and condemne that leasure that he rested in from all eternity before as sloathfull, and vselesse. But if hee did create from eternity, now this and then that, and came to make man in time, that was not made before, then shall hee seeme not to haue made him by knowledge (which they say containes nothing infinite) but at the present time, by chance as it came into his minde. But admit those reuolutions (say they) either with the worlds continuance in change, or circular reuolution, and then wee acquit GOD both of this (so long and idle seeming) cessation, and from all operation in rashnesse and chance. For if the same things bee not renewed, the variation of things infinite are too incomprehensible for his knowledge or prescience.

Arguments against the creation of things, in time.

These batteries the vngodly doe plant against our faith, to winne vs into their circle: but if reason will not refute them, faith must deride them. But by Gods grace reason will lay those circularities flat inough. For here is these mens error: running rather in a maze then stepping into the right way, that they proportionate the diuine vnchangeable power, vnto they humaine fraile

Rr

and

and weake spirit, in mutability and apprehension. But as the Apostle saith: (b) *1. Cor. 10. 12.* Comparing themselves to themselves, they know not themselves. For because their actions that are suddainely done, proceede all from new intents, their mindes beeing mutable, they doe imagine (not GOD, for him they cannot comprehend, but) themselves for GOD, and compare not him to himselfe, but themselves (in his stead) vnto themselves. But wee may not thinke that GODS rest affects him one way, and his worke another, hee is neuer affected, nor doth his nature admit any thing that hath not bene euer in him. That which is affected, suffereth, and that which suffers, is mutable. For his vacation is not idle, sloathfull nor sluggish, nor is his worke painefull, busie, or industrious. Hee can rest working, and worke resting. Hee can apply an eternall will to a new worke, and begins not to worke now because he repenteth that hee wrought not before. But if hee rested first and wrought after (which I see not how man can conceiue) this first and after were in things that first had no beeing, and afterwards had. But there was neither precedence nor subsequence in him, to alter or abolish his will, but all that euer hee created, was in his vnchanged fixed will eternally one and the same: first willing that they should not be, and afterwards willing that they should be, and so they were not, during his pleasure, and began to be, at his pleasure. Wonderously shewing to such as can conceiue it, that hee needed none of these creatures, (but created them of his pure goodnesse) hauing continued no lesse blessed without them, from all vn-begunne eternity.

## L. VIVES.

Infinitem.

*N*ullum infinitum (a) Arist. metaphys. 2. and in his first of his posterior *Analitikes*, he saith that then know we a thing perfectly, when we know the end; and that singularities are infinite but vniuersalities most simple. So as things are infinite they cannot bee knowne, but as they are definite, they may. And Plato hauing diuided a thing vnto singularities, forbiddes further progresse for they are infinite and incomprehensible. (b) *Comparing* 1. Cor. 2. 10. This place, *Erasmus* saith, *Augustine* vieth often in this fence.

Against such as say that things infinite are aboue Gods knowledge. CHAP. 18.

Number Infinite.

*B*Vt such as say that things infinite are past Gods knowledge, may euen aswell leape head-long into this pit of impiety, and say that God knoweth not all numbers. That numbers are infinite, it is sure, for take what number you can, and thinke to end with it let it bee neuer so great and immense, I will ad vnto it, not one, nor two, but by the law of number, multiply it vnto ten times the summe it was. And so is euery number composed, that one (a) cannot be equal to another, but all are different, euery perticular being definite, and all in generall, infinite. (b) Doth not GOD then know these numbers because they are infinite, and can his knowledge attaine one sum of numbers, & not the rest? what madman would say so? nay they dare not exclude numbers from Gods knowledge, *Plato* hauing so commended God for vsing them in the worlds creation: and our Scripture saith of God. *Thou hast ordered al things in measure, number, and weight:* and the Prophet saith. *He numbred the world:* and the Gospell saith: *All the heires of your heads are numbered.*

God forbid the that we should think y he knoweth not number: whose wisdom and

and vnderstanding is in numerably infinite as *David* saith: for the infinitenesse of number though it bee beyond number is not vnknowne to him whose knowledge is infinite. Therefore if whatsoeuer bee knowne be comprehended in the bound of that knowledge, then is all infinitenesse bounded in the knowledge of GOD, because his knowledge is infinite, and because it is not vncomprehensible vnto his knowledge. Wherefore if numbers infinitenesse, bee not infinite vnto Gods knowledge, nor cannot bee, what are wee meane wretches that dare presume to limmit his knowledge, or say that if this reuolution bee not admitted in the worlds renewing, God cannot either fore-know althings ere hee made them, or know them when hee made them? whereas his wisdom being simply and vniformely manifold, can comprehend, all incomprehensibility, by his incomprehensible comprehension, so that whatsoeuer thing that is new and vnlike to all other hee should please to make, it could not bee new, nor strange vnto him, nor should he fore-see it a little before, but containe it in his eternall prescience.

### L. VIVES.

**O**ne cannot ] Two men, two horses or whatsoeuer, make both one number. I inquire not here whether the number and the thing numbred bee one or no: the schooles ring of that loud inough. (b) *Doth not*] The best reading.

*Of the worlds without end, or ages of ages.*

#### CHAP. 19.

**T**Hat he doth so, and that there is a continual connexion of those times which are called *Secula* (a) *seculorum*, ages of ages, or worlds without end: running on in a predestinate difference: onely the soules that are freed from misery, remayning eternally blessed, or that these words, *Secula seculorum* doe import the worlds *idea* remayning firme in Gods wisdom and being the efficient cause of this transitory world, I dare not affirme. The singular may bee an explication of the plural, as if wee should say, Heauen of heauen, for the Heauens of heauens. For GOD calls the firmament aboue which the waters are, Heauen, in the singular number, and yet the Psalme saith, *and you waters that bee aboue the Heauens, praise the name of the LORD.* Which of those two it be, or whether *Secula seculorum* haue another meaning, is a deepe question. We may let it passe, it belongs not to our proposed theame: but whether wee could define, or but obserue more by the discourse, let vs not aduenture to affirme ought rashly in so obscure a controuersie. Now are wee in hand with the circulary persons that turne al things round about till they become repaired. But which of these opinions soeuer be true concerning these *Secula seculorum*, it is nothing to these reuolutions, because whether the worlds of worlds bee not the same revolved, but others successiue depending on the former (the freed soules remayning still in their endlesse blisse) or whether the Worldes of worldes, bee the formes of these transitorie ages, and ruling them as their subiects: yet the circularities haue no place heere how-soeuer: The Saints (b) eternall life ouerthroweth them vtterlie;

*Secula seculorum.*

*Genes. 1. 148*

## L. VIVES.

Secula se-  
culorum.

Exod. 22.

**S***ecula* (a) ] The scriptures often vse these two words both together. *Hierome* (in epe ad Gal. *Seculum* expounds them thus, *we must see*; (saith he) *the difference betweene Seculum, Seculum Seculi, and secula seculorum. Seculum* is some-times a space of time: some-times eternity, the hebrew is עוֹלָם. and when it is written with the letter *vau* before it, it is eternity: when otherwise, it is 50. yeares or, a *Iubily*. And therefore the Hebrew seruant that loued his Maister for his wife and children, had his care bored, and was commanded to serue an age, *Seculum*, 50. yeares. And the *Moabites* and *Amonites* enter not into the Church of God vntill the 15. generation, and not vntill an age: for the yeare of *Iubily* quit all hard conditions. Some say that *Seculum seculorum* hath the same respect that *Sanctū Sanctorum, & Calum Calorum*, the Heauens of heauens had, or as the Works of workes, or Song of songs. That difference that the heauens had to those whose heauens they were, and so the rest, the holy about all holy, the song excellling all songs &c. So was *secula seculorum*: the ages excellling all ages. So they say that this present age includeth all from the worlds beginning vnto the iudgement: And then they goe further, and begin to graduate the ages past, before and to come after it, whether they were or shalbe good or ill, falling into such a Forrest of questions, as whole volumes haue bene written, onely of this kinde. (b) *Eternall* ] Returning no more to misery: nor were that happy without certeyaty of eternity: nor eternall if death should end it.

*Of that impious assertion that soules truly blessed, shall haue diuers revolutions into misery againe.*

CHAP. 20.

**F**OR what (a) Godly eares can endure to heare, that after the passage of this life in such misery, (if I may call it a life, (b) being rather so offensiuē a death, and yet (c) we loue it rather than that death that frees vs from it) after so many intolerable mischieues, ended all at length by true zeale and piety, wee should be admitted to the sight of God, and bee placed in the fruition and perticipation of that incorporeall light and vnchangeable immortall essence with loue of which we burne, all vpon this condition, to leaue it againe at length, and bee re-inked in mortall misery amongst the hellish immortalls, where GOD is lost, where *truth* is sought by hate, where *blessednesse* is sought by vncleanesse, and bee cast from all enioying of eternity, truth, or felicity: and this not once but often, being eternally reuolued by the course of the times from the first to the later: and all this, because by meanes of these circularities, transforming vs and our false beatitudes in true miseries, (successiuely, but yet eternally) GOD might come to know his owne workes. Whereas otherwise hee should neither bee able to rest from working, nor know ought that is infinite? Who can heare or endure this? Which were it true, there were not onely more wit in concealing it, but also (to speake my minde as I can) more learning in not knowing it: (d) for if wee shalbee blessed in not remembring them there, (e) why doe wee agrauate our misery in knowing them here? But if wee must needs know them there, yet let vs keepe our selues ignorant of them here, to haue the happier expectation, then the good is that wee shall attaine: here expecting blessed eternity, and there attayning onely blisse, but with assurance that it is but transitory. But if they say that no man can attaine this blisse vnlesse hee know the transitory reuolutions thereof, ere hee leaue this life, how then doe they confesse that the more one loues GOD, the easilier shall hee attaine blisse, and yet teach the way how to dull this louing affe?

For

For who will not but loue him lightly whome hee knowes hee must leaue, and hold against his truth and wisdom, and that when by the perfection of his blisse, hee comes to the full knowledge of him? (f) one can neuer loue his friend faithfully, if hee know that hee shall become his enemy. But God forbid that this threatning of theirs that our misery should neuer bee ended, but onely interrupted now and then by false happinesse, should bee true. For what is falser then that blisse, wherein wee shalbe either wholly ignorant, in such light or otherwise continually afraide of the losse of it, being on the toppe of felicity? If wee know not that wee shall become wretched, our misery here is wiser then happinesse there. But if wee shall know it, (g) then, the wretched soule had better liue in miserable state and goe from thence to eternitie; then in a blessed to fall from thence to misery. And so (h) our hope of happinesse is vnhappy, and of misery, happy: and consequently, we suffering miseries here, and expecting them there, are rather wretched then blessed in truth. But piety crieth out, and truth convinceth this to be false. The felicitie promised vs is true, eternall, and wholly vn-interrupted by any reuolution to worse. True felicity.

Let vs follow Christ, our right way, & leaue this circular maze of the impious. For if *Porphyrus* the *Platonist* refused his Maisters opinion in this circumrotation of soules, being moued heereto either by the vanity of the thing, or by feare of the Christians arguments; and had rather affirme (as I said in the tenth booke) that the soule was sent into the world to know euill, that being purged from it, it might returne to the Father, and neuer more suffer any such pollution: how much more then ought wee to detest this impiety, this enemy of true faith and christianity? These circles now being broken; there is nothing vrgeth vs to thinke that man had no beginning, because (I know not what) reuolutions haue kept althings in such a continuall course of vpper and downe, that nothing can bee new in the world. For if the soule bee freed, and shall no more returne to miserie, it being neuer freed before, there is an act and that a great one, new begunne, namely the soules possession of eternall blisse.

And if this fall out in an immortal nature without any circumuolution, why is it not as possible in mortall things? If they say that blisse is no new thing to the soule, because it returneth but vnto that which it enioyed alwaies before: yet is the freedome new then, for it was neuer freed before, being neuer miserable, and the misery is new vnto it, that was neuer miserable before. Now if this newnesse happen, not in the order that Gods prouidence allotted, but by chance, where are our reuolutions that admit nothing new, but keepe all in one course? But if this nouelty bee within the compasse of Gods prouidence, bee the soule (s) giuen from heauen, or fallen from thence, there may bee new accidents that were not before, and yet in the order of nature. And if the soule by follie procure it selfe new misery (which the diuine prouidence foresaw and included in the order of things, freeing it from thence also by this prouident power) how dare flesh and bloud then bee so rash as to denie that the diuinity may produce things new vnto the world (though not to himselfe) which though hee foresaw, yet were neuer made before? If they say it is no newes that the freed soules returne no more to miserie, because there are some daillie and daily freed from thence, why then they confesse that there is still new soules created, to bee new freed from new miseries. For if they say they are not new soules, but haue benee from eternitie, which are daily put into

new bodies, and living wisely, are freed, neuer to returne: then they make the soules of eternity, infinite: for imagine a number of soules neuer so large, they could not suffice for all the men of these infinite ages past, if each soule as soone as it was quit, flew vppe, and returned no more. Nor can they shew how there may bee an infinite (*k*) sort of soules in the world, and yet debarre GOD from knowing of things infinite. Wherefore seeing their reuolutions of blisse and misery are casheered, what remains but to averre that GOD can when his good pleasure is create what new thing hee will, and yet because of his eternall fore-knowledge neuer change his will? And whether the number of those freed, and not returning soules may bee increased, looke they to that, who will keepe infinitenesse out of the world: wee shut vppe our disputation on both sides. If it may bee increased, why denie they that that may bee made now, that had no being before, if that number of freed soules that was before, bee not onely increased now, but shalbe for euer? But if there bee but a certaine number of soules to bee freed, and neuer to returne, and that number bee not increased, whosoeuer it shalbee, it is not the same yet that it must bee, nor can it increase, to the consumation but from a beginning, which being not before man, that man was made to beginne, before whom was no other.

### L. VIVES.

**W**Hat (*a*) Godly] The Platonists haue a great stirre amongst themselves whether the soule shall returne to her starre whence she was taken, or follow the reuolutions, from body to body. Plato in his *Phadrus*, and his *Resp.* maketh it eternally happy: Thence doe Porphiry and Iamblichus deny the returne of it after purgation. Proclus and Plotine, take Plato's eternity but for a great space of time, and submit the purest soule to the period of reuolution. (*b*) *Being*] Cic. *De repub.* lib. 6. saith (after Plato) that our life being inuolued in such killing misery, is rather to bee called a death. (*c*) *Wee loue it*] This is a chiefe one in this bodies inconueniences, it blindes our reason so farre that it allures vs all to loue it, and maketh vs hate and abhorre all that oppose it, whereas were our reason and iudgement sound, and not ouer-borne by the bodie, they would desire to leaue this liuing death, and sighing, say with the Apostle, *Wretched man that I am, who shall deliuer mee from the bodie of this death.* (*d*) *For if*] Wee shall all drinke of *Lethe* they say. (*e*) *Why doe*] Feare of euill is a great torture, and one had better die secure then liue in feare. (*f*) *One can*] Scipio in Tullies *Lalius*, demes that there can bee a saying so preiudiciall to amitie, as to say that *I loue him now but I shall hate him*: nor will hee beleue that *Bias* euer said such a word (as it was said) being one of the seauen sages. But some ambitious vnhoneest fellow that desired to haue all in his owne power might say so. For how can hee bee friend to him whom hee thinkes hee can bee foe to? This rule who soeuer gaue it tends to the abolishment of friendship: but in deed wee had more neede obserue this in our friendshipes, not to beginne to loue him whome wee could euer hate. Thus Cicero. (*g*) *Then the wretched*] For happinesse is farre better after misery then misery after happinesse. For the feeling of misery is lessened by hope of happinesse, and happinesse is asmuch lessened by feare of misery. *My mother Blanche, a modest matron (or piety deceiues mee) had wont to sell me when I was a childe, that the Sirens sung sweetly in a tempest, and lamented in faire wether: hoping the later in the first, and fearing the first in the later.* (*h*) *Our hope*] Not of vnappinesse, but vnhappy, of the happinesse to come. (*i*) *Giuen from*] Hee toucheth the Platonists controuersie: some holding the soules giuen of GOD, and others that they were cast downe for their guilt, and for their punishment, imprisoned in bodies. (*k*) *Sortes of soules*] A diuersity of reading but let vs make good one sence.

Our life  
more like  
to death.

Rom. 7.

Blanche,  
mother vn-  
to L. Vives.

of

*Of the state of the first man, and man-kinde in him.*

CHAP. 21.

**T**His hard question of *Gods* power to create new things without change of will, because of his eternitie, being (I hope) sufficiently handled, wee may plainly see that he did farre better in producing man-kinde from one man onely, then if he had made many: for whereas he created some creatures that loue to be alone, and in deserts, as Eagles, Kites, Lyons, Wolves, and such like: and others, that had rather liue in flockes and companies, as Doues, Stares, Stagges, (a) Hindes, and such like: yet neither of those sorts did hee produce of one alone, but of many together. But *man*, whose nature he made as meane betweene *Angels* and *beasts*, that if hee obeyed the *Lord* his true creator, and kept his helts, hee might be transported to the *Angels* society: but if hee became peruerse in will, and offended his *Lord God* by pride of heart, then that hee might bee cast vnto death like a beast, and liuing the slaue of his lusts after death bee destinate vnto eternall paines, him did hee create one alone, but meant not to leaue him alone with-out another humaine fellow: thereby the more zealously commending true concord vnto vs, men being not onely of one kinde in nature, but also of one kindred in affect: creating not the woman hee meant to ioyne with man, as hee did man, of earth, but of man, and man whom hee ioynd with her, not of her, but of himselfe, that all man-kinde might haue their propagation from one.

The good-  
nesse of  
obedience.

L. VIVES.

**H**Indes (a) *Damila* in the diminutiue, because it is a timorous creature, neither wilde, nor tame.

*That God fore-knew that the first Man should sinne, and how many people hee was to translate, out of his kinde into the Angels society.*

CHAP. 122.

**G**OD was not ignorant that *Man* would sinne, and so incurre mortallitye both for him-selfe and his progenie: nor that mortalls should runne on in that height of iniquitie that brute (a) *beasts* should liue at more attonement and peace betweene them-selues; whose originall was out of water and earth, then men whose kinde came all out of one, in honor of concord: for Lyons neuer warre among them-selues, nor Dragons, as men haue done. But *God* fore-saw with-all, that his grace should adopt the godly, iustifie them by the holy spirit, pardon their sinnes, and ranke them in eternall peace with the *Angels*, the last and most dangerous death being destroyed: and those should make vse of *Gods* producing all man-kinde from one, in learning how well *God* respected vnity in man-kinde.

L. VIVES.

**B**ruite (a) *beasts*] Any place will holde brute-beasts without contention, sooner then men. For man is Woolle to man as the Greeke Prouerbe saith. *Plin. lib. 7.* and all other creatures agree among them-selues, and oppose strangers. The sterne Lion fights not with the Lion: nor doth the Serpent sting the Serpent: the beasts and fishes of the sea agree still with their owne kinde. But man doth man the most mischief. *Dicaearchus*

Discorde  
amongst  
men worst

Rr 4

(saith



(saith *Tully*) wrote a booke of the death of men : (He is a free and copious *Peripatetique*) and herein hauing reckned vp inondations, plagues, burning, exceeding abundance of beasts and other externall causes, he compares then with the warres and seditions wherewith man hath destroyed man : and finds the later farre exceeding the former. This warre amongst men did Christ desire to haue abolished, and for the fury of wrath to haue grafted the heate of zeale and charity. This should bee preached, and taught, that Christians ought not to bee at wars, but at loue one with another, and to beare one with another: mens minds are already to forward to shed blood, and do wickedly : they neede not be set on.

*Of the nature of mans soule, being created according to the image of God.*

CHAP. 23.

Gen. 2.

Breathing  
in his face.

Therefore God made man according to his (a) image and likenesse, giuing him a soule whereby in reason and vnderstanding hee excelled all the other creatures, that had no such soule. And when hee had made man thus of earth, and either (b) breathed the soule which he had made, into him, or rather made that breath one which he breathed into him (for to breath, is but to make a breath) then (c) out of his side did hee take a bone, whereof he made him a wife, and an helpe, as he was God, for we are not to conceiue this carnally, as wee see an artificer worke vp any thing into the shape of a man, by art : Gods hand is his power working visible things inuisibly. Such as measure Gods vertue and power that can make seedes of seeds by those daily and vsuall workes, hold this rather for a fable then a truth: But they know not this creation, and therefore thinke vnfaithfully thereof as though the workes of ordinary conception, and production, are not strange to those that know them not, though they assigne them rather to naturall causes, then account them the deities workes.

L. VIVES.

1. Cor. 11. His (a) Image.] *Origen* thinks that man is Christs image and therefore the scripture calls man Gods image, for the Sonne is the fathers image, some thinke the Holy Ghost is ment in the simly. But truely the simly consists in nothing but man, and the likenesse of God. A man (saith *Paul*) is Gods image. It may be referred to his nature and in that he is Gods likenesse, may be referred to his gifts, immortality, and such, wherein he is like God. (b) Breathed.] It is a doubt whether the soule were made before, & infused after, or created with the body. *Aug. de genf. ad lit. li. 7.* saith that  $\text{f}$  soule was made with the other spiritual substances, & infused afterwards, and so interpreteth this place, *Hee breathed into his face the breath of life.* Others take it as though the soule were but then made, and so doth *Augustine* here. (c) Out of his.] Why the woman was made after the man, why of his ribbe when he was a sleepe, and how of his rib, read *Magister sentent. lib. 2. Dist. 18.*

*whether the Angels may be called creators, of any, the least creature.*

CHAP. 24.

But here wee haue nothing to doe with (a) them that hold the diuine essence not to medle with those things at all. But (b) those that follow *Plato* in affirming that all mortall creatures, of which man is the chiefe, were made by the lesfer created Gods, through the permission or command of the creator, and not by

by him-selfe that framed the world, let them but abiure the superstition wherein they seeke to giue those inferiors iust honors, and sacrifices, and they shall quickly avoid the error of this opinion, for it is not lawfull to hold any creature, be it neuer so small, to haue any other Creator then God, euen before it could be vnderstood. But the Angells (whome they had rather call Gods) though (c) at his command they worke in things of the world, yet wee no more call them creators of liuing things, then we call husband-men the creators of fruites and trees.

Angells the  
creators of  
nothing.

## L. VIVES.

**W**ith (a) them.] With the *Epicurists*, that held althings from chance, or from meere nature without GOD (althings I meane in this sublunary world:) which opinion some say was *Aristotles*; or with the heretikes, some of whome held the diuills creators of al things corporal. (b) Those that.] *Plato* in his *Timaeus* brings in God the Father commanding the lesser Gods to make the lesser liuing creatures: for they are creatures also: and so they tooke the immortal beginning of a creature the soule, from the starres: imitating the Father, and Creator: and borrowing parcells of earth, water and ayre from the world, knit them together in one: not as they were knit, but yet in an insensible connexion, because of the combination of each small parts, whereof the whole body was framed. One *Menander* a Scholler of *Symon Magus*, said the Angells made the world: *Saturninus* said that 7. Angells made it beyond the Fathers knowledge. (c) Though.] The Angells as *Paul* saith, are Gods ministers, and deputies, and do many things vpon earth at his command: for as *Augustine* saith, every visible thing on earth is vnder an Angelicall power, and *Gregory* saith that nothing in the visible world but is ordered by a visible creature. I will except Miracles, if any one contend. But *Plato*, as he followeth *Moses* in the worlds creation, had this place also of the creation of liuing things from the Scriptures, for hauing read that God this great architect of so new a worke, said: *Let vs make man after our owne Image*, thought he had spoken to the Angells, to whose ministry he supposed mans creation committed: But it seemed vnworthy to him that God should vse them in making of man the noblest creature and make all the rest, with his own hands: and therefore he thought the Angells made all, whose words if one consider the in *Tullies* translation (which I vse) he shal find that *Plato* held none made the soule but God, and that of the stars, which *Tully de legib.* 1. confirms out of *Plato*, saying that the soule is created by God within the elementary body which he made also: and the lesser Gods did nothing, but as ministers, conioine those which hee had first created: and forme it into the essence of a liuing creature. *Seneca* explaines *Plato* more plainly saying, That when God had laid the first foundation of this rare and excellent frame of nature, and begun it, he ordayned that each peculiar should haue a peculiar gouernor, and though him-selfe had modelled, and dilated the whole vniuerse, yet created he the lesser gods, to be his ministers, or vice-gerents in this his kingdome.

Angells  
Gods deputies  
and  
ministers.

Gen. 1.

*That no nature or forme of any thing liuing hath any other  
Creator but God. CHAP. 25.*

**W**Hereas there is one forme giuen externally to all corporall substances according to the which Potters, Carpenters and other shape antiques, and figures of creatures: and another that containeth the efficient causes hereof in the secret power of the vnitng and vnderstanding nature, which maketh not onely the natural formes, but euen the liuing soules, when they are not extant. The first, each artificer hath in his brayne, but the later belongs to none but God, who formed the world and the Angells without either world or Angells, for from that (a) all diuiding, and all effectiue diuine power, which cannot be made, but makes, and which in the beginning gaue rotundity both to the Heauens & Sunne, from the

the same, had the eye the apple, and all other round figures that wee see in nature their rotundity not from any externall effectiue, but from the depth of that creators power that said, *I fill heauen and earth* : and whose wisdome reacheth from end to end, ordering all in a delicate *Decorum* : wherefore what vse he made of the Angels in the creation, making all himselfe, I know not. I dare neither ascribe them more then their power, nor detract any thing from that. But with their fauours, I attribute the estate of althings as they are natures vnto God, onely of whome they thankfully acknowledge their being : we do not then call husbandmen the creators of trees or plants, or any thing else: for we read, *Neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth, but God, that giueth the increase.* No, nor the earth neither, though it seemes the fruitful mother of al things that grow: for wee read also. *God giueth bodies vnto what hee will, euen to euery seed his owne body.* Nor call wee a woman the creatrix of her child, but him that said to a seruant of his, *Before I formed thee in the wombe I knew thee:* & although the womans soule being thus or thus affected, may put some quality vpon her burthen (*b*) as we read that *Iacob* coloured his sheepe diuersly by spotted sticke: yet shee can no more make the nature that is produced, then shee could make her selfe : what seminall causes then soeuer that Angells, or men do vse in producing of things liuing or dead, or (*c*) proceed from the copulation of male and female, (*d*) or what affection soeuer of the mother dispose thus or thus of the coullour or feature of her conception, the natures, thus or thus affected in each of their kindes are the workes of none but God : whose secret power passeth through all, giuing all being to all what soeuer, in that it hath being: (*e*) because without that hee made it, it should not bee thus, nor thus, but haue no being at all, wherefore if in those formes externall, imposed vpon things corporall, we say that (not workemen, but) *Kings*, *Romulus* was the builder of Rome, and *Alexander* of (*f*) *Alexandria*, because by their direction these citties were built : how much the rather ought we to call God the builder of nature, who neither makes any thing of any substance but what hee had made before, nor by any other ministers but those hee had made before: and if hee withdraw his (*g*) efficient power from things, they shall haue no more being then they had ere they were created: Ere they were, I mean in eternity, not in time : for who created time, but he that made them creatures, whose motions time followeth.

## L. VIVES.

Plin. lib. 8.

**T**hat (*a*) all-diuiding. ] All diuiding may be some addition, the sence is good without it. (*b*) *As we.* ] *Pliny*, saith that looke in the Rammes mouth, and the collour of the veines vnder his tongue, shalbe the colour of the lambe he getteth : if diuers, diuers: and change of waters varieth it. Their shephards then may haue sheep of what collour they will: which *Iacob* knew well inough, for he liking the particoulours cast white straked rods into the watring places, at Ramming time, that the sight of them might forme the Images of such collours in the conception, and so it did. *Gen. 30. (c) Proceed.* ] The same *Pliny. lib. 7.* saith that the mind hath a recollection of similitudes in it, wherein a chance of sight, hearing or remembrance is of much effect, the images taken into the conceit at the time of conception are held to be powerfull in framing the thing conceiued : and so is the cogitation of either party, how swift soeuer it be: wherevpon is more difference in man then in any other creature, but the swiftnes of thoughts, and variety of conceites formeth vs so diuersly : the thoughts of other creatures being immoueable and like themselues in all kinds. Thus much *Pliny*. The Philosophers stand wholly vpon imagination in conception. At *Hertzogenbosch* in *Brabant* on a certaine day of the yeare where-

whereon they say there chiefe Church was dedicated ) they haue publike playes vnto the honor of the Saints as they haue in other places also of that country, some act Saints and some devils, one of these diuels spying a pretty wench, grew hot, & in al haste, danceth home, & casting his wife vpon a bed, told her he would beget a yong diuel vpon her, & to lay with her, the woman conceiued, & the child was no sooner borne, but it began to dance, & was iust of the shape that we paynt our deuills in. This *Margueret* of Austria *Maximilians* Daughter, *Charles* the fifts aunt, told *John Lamuza*, King *Ferdinands* graue ambassador, and now *Charles* his lieutenant in Aragon, a man as able to discharge the place of a Prince as of a Lieutenant (d) *What affections.* Child-bearing women do often long for many euill things, as coales, and ashes. I saw one long for a bit of a young mans necke, and had lost her birth but that shee bitte of his necke vntill he was almost dead, shee tooke such hold. The Phisicians write much hereof, and the Philosophers somewhat. *Arist. de animall.* They all ascribe it to the vicious humors in the stomake, which if they happen in men, procure the like distemper. (e) *Because.* So read the old bookes. (f) *Alexandria.* Asia, Sogdia, Troas, Cilicia, India, and Egipt hatie al cities called *Alexandria*, built by *Alexander* the great, this that *Augustine* meanes of, is that of Egipt, the most famous of all: sytuate vpon the Mediterrane sea, neare Bicchieri, the mouth of Nile: called now *Scandaria*, or *Scandaroun*. (g) *Efficient.* *Fabricatinam*: pertayning to composition and diuision of matter: in things created by it selfe, for these are not the workes of creation. Angells men, beasts, and liuelesse things, can effect them.

A child like  
a deuill.

John Lamuza.  
Womens  
longing  
that are  
with child.

Alexandria

*The Platonists opinion that held the Angells Gods creatures,  
and man the Angells.*

CHAP. 26.

AND *Plato* would haue the lesser Gods (made by the highest) to create all other things, by taking their immortall part from him, and framing the mortall themselues: herein making them not the creators of our selues but our bodies onely. And therefore *Porphiry* in holding that the body must be avoyded ere the soule be purged, and thinking with *Plato*, and his sect, that the foules of bad liuers were for punishment thrust into bodies (into beasts also saith *Plato* but into mans onely saith *Porphiry*) affirmeth directly that these gods whom they wil haue vs to worship as our parents & creators, are but the forgers of our prisons, and not our formers, but only our iaylors, locking vs in those dolorous grates, and wretched fetters: wherefore the *Platonists* must either giue vs no punishmēt in our bodies: or else make not those gods our creators, whose worke they exhort vs by all meanes to avoid & to escape: though both these positions be most false, for the soules are neither put into bodies to be thereby punished; nor hath any thing in heauen or earth any creator but the maker of heauen and earth. For if there be no cause of our life, but our punishment, how (a) is it that *Plato* saith the world could neuer haue beene made most beautifull, but that it was filled with all kind of creatures? But if our creation (albe it mortall) be the worke of God; how is it punishment then to enter into Gods benefites, that is our bodies? (b) and if God (as *Plato* saith often) had all the creatures of the world in his prescience, why then did not hee make them all? would he not make some, and yet in his vnbounded knowledge, knew how to make all? wherefore our true religion rightly affirms him the maker both of the world, and all creatures therein, bodies, and soules, of which, in earth man, the chiefe Piece was made alone, after his Image, for the reason shewed before, if not for a greater: yet was he not left alone, for there is nothing in the world so sociable by nature, and so iarring by vice, as man is; nor can mans nature speake better either to the keeping of discord whilst it is out, or expelling it

it when it is entred; then in recording our first *Father*, whom *God* created single, (from him to propagate all the rest) to giue vs a true admonition to preferue an vnion ouer greatest multitudes. And in that the woman was made of his ribbe, was a plaine intimation of the concord that should bee betweene *man* and *wife*. These were the strange workes of *God* for they were the first. Hee that beleeueth them not, must vtterly deny all wonders: for if they had followed the vsuall course of nature, they had bene no wonders. But what is there in all this whole worke of the diuine prouidence, that is not of vse, though wee know it not? The holy *Psalme* saith: *Come and behold the workes of the Lord, what wonders hee hath wrought vpon the earth.* Wherefore, why the *woman* was made of *Mans* ribbe, and what this first seeming wonder prefigured, if *God* vouchsafe I will shew in another place.

## L. VIVES.

In Timzo. **H**ow (a) is it that Plato ] His words are these. *GOD* speaketh to the lesser Gods. *Marke what I say vnto you: we haue three kindes remaining: all mortall: which if wee omit, the creation will not bee perfect: for wee shall not comprehend all kindes of creatures in it, which wee must needs doe to haue it fully absolute. (b) And if GOD* ] There also hee saith, that *God* hath the *Ideas* of all creatures, mortall and immortal in him-selfe, which he looked vpon: the immortal ones when hee made the things that should neuer perish; the mortall, in the rest. I aske not here whether that *God* be those *Idea*, or whether they bee some-thing else: the *Platonists* know not them-selues. (c) *The concord that should* ] Because the *woman* was not made of any externall parts, but of mans selfe, as his daughter, that there might bee a fatherly loue of his wife in him, and a filiall duty towards him in the wife: shee was taken out of his side, as his fellow: not out of his head as his Lady, nor out of his feete as his seruant.

Marriage  
commen-  
ded in the  
creation

*That the fulnesse of man-kinde was created in the first man, in whom God fore-saw both who should be saued, and who should be damned.*

## CHAP. 27.

**B**Vt now because we must end this booke; let this bee our position: that in the first man, the fore-said two societies or cities, had originall; yet not euidentlie, but vnto *Gods* prescience: for from him were the rest of men to come: some to be made fellow citizens with the *Angels* in ioy: and some with the *Devils* in torment, by the secret, but iust iudgment of *God*. For seeing that it is written: *All the wayes of the Lord bee mercy and truth*, his grace can neither bee vniust, nor his iustice cruell.

Finis, lib. 12.

## THE CONTENTS OF THE thirteenth booke of the City of God.

1. Of the first Mans fall, and the procurement of mortality.

2. Of the death that may befall the immortall soule, and of the bodies death.

3. Whether death propagated vnto all men from the first, bee punishment of sinne to the Saints.

4. Why the first death is not with-held from the regenerate from sinne by grace.

5. As the wicked vse the good law euill, so the good vse death, which is euill, well.

6. The generall euill of that death, that seuereth soule and body.

7. Of the death that such as are not regenerate doe suffer for Chrillt.

8. That the Saints in suffering the first death for the truth are quit from the second.

9. Whether a man at the honre of his death, may be said to be among the dead, or the dying.

10. Whether this mortall life be rather to be called death then life.

11. Whether one may bee living and dead both together.

12. Of the death that God sbreathned to punish the first man withall if he transgressed.

13. What punishment was first laid on mans preuarication.

14. In what state God made Man, and into what state he fell by his voluntary choyce.

15. That Adam forsooke God ere God for-

sooke him, and that the soules first death was the departure from God.

16. Of the Philosophers that held corporall death, not to bee penall, whereas Plato brings in the Creator, promising the lesser Gods that they should neuer leaue their bodies.

17. Against the opinion, that earthly bodies cannot be corruptible, nor eternall.

18. Of the terrene bodies, which the Philosophers hold cannot bee in heauen, but must fall to earth by their naturall weight.

19. Against those that hold that Man should not haue bene immortall, if hee had not sinned.

20. That the bodies of the Saints now resting in hope, shall become better then our first fathers was.

21. Of the Paradise when our first parents were placed, and that it may be taken spirituallly also, with-out any wrong to the truth of the historie as touching the reall place.

22. That the Saints bodies after resurrection shall bee spirituall and yet not changed into spirits.

23. Of bodies animato and spirituall, those dying in Adam, and those beeing quickned in Chrillt.

24. How Gods breathing a life into Adam, and Chrills breathing vpon his Apostles when hee said: Receiue the holy spirit, are to bee understood.

### FINIS.

### S I THE

THE  
THIRTEENTH BOOKE  
OF THE CITTIE OF GOD

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishop of *Hippo*,  
vnto *Marcellinus*.

*Of the first Mans fall, and the procurement of mortalitie.*

CHAP. I.



Having gotten through the intricate questions of the worlds originall, and man-kindes; our methode now calleth vs to discourse of the first mans fall, nay the first fall of both in that kind, and consequently of the originall and propagation of our mortality; for God made not man as he did Angels, that though they sinned, yet could not dye: but so, as hauing (a) performed their course in obedience, death could not prevent them from partaking for euer of blessed and Angelicall immortality: but hauing left this course, death should take them into iust damnation, as we said in the last booke.

L. VIVES.

[The Lom-  
waynists  
are deafe  
on this  
side, but  
not blind,  
they can  
see to  
leauē out  
all this.]

Having (a) performed] Euery man should haue liued a set time vpon earth, and then being confirmed in nature by tasting of the tree of life, haue bene immortally translated into heauen. Here are many questions made: first by *Augustine*, and then by *Lombard dist. 2*. What mans estate should haue bene, had he not sinned: but these are modest and timorous inquirers, professing they cannot finde what they seeke [But our later coments vpon *Lombard*, flie directly to affirmatiue positions, vpon very coniectures, or grounds of nature. I heare them reason, but I see them grauelled and in darknesse: where yet they will not seele before them ere they goe, but rush on despite of all break-neck play. What man hath now, wee all know to our cost: what he should haue had, it is a question whether *Adam* knew, and what shall we then seeke? why should we vse coniectures in a things so transcendent, that it seemes miraculous to the heauens? as if this must follow natures lawes, which would haue amazed nature, had it had existence then.] What light *Augustine* giues, I will take, and as my power and duty is, explaine: the rest I will not meddle with.

*Of the death that may befall the immortall soule, and of the bodyes death.*

CHAP. 2.

The forsak-  
ing of God  
the death  
of the soule  
Mat. 10. 28

But I see I must open this kinde of death a little plainer. For mans soule (though it be immortall) dyeth a kinde of death. (a) It is called immortall, because it can neuer leaue to bee liuing, and sensitiue: and the body is mortall, because it may be destitute of life, and left quite dead in it selfe. But the death of the soule is, when God leaueth it: & the death of the body is when the soule leaueth it: so that the death of both, is when the soule being left of God, leaueth the body. And this death is seconded by that which the Scripture calles the (b) second death. This our *Sauour* signified, when hee said, *fear him which is able to destroy both body and soule in hell*: which comming not to passe before the body is ioyned to the soule, neuer to be seperated, it is strange that the body can be sayd to die by that death, which

which seuereth not the soule from it, but torments them both together. For that eternall paine (of which wee will speake here-after) is fitly called the soules death, because it liueth not with God: but how is it the bodies which liueth with the soule? for otherwise it could not feele the corporall paines that expect it after the resurrection: is it because all life how-so-euer is good, and all paine euill, that the body is said to dye, wherein the soule is cause of sorrow rather then life? Therefore the soule liueth by *God*, when it liueth well: (for it can not liue without *God*, working good in it:) and the body liueth by the soule, when the soule liueth in the body, whether it liue by *God* or no. For the wicked haue life of body, but none of soule: their soules being dead (that is, forsaken of *God*) hauing power as long as their immortall proper life failes not, to afforde them this. But in the last damnation, though man bee not insensitiue, yet this sence of his being neither pleasing nor peacefull, but sore and painfull, is iustly termed rather death then life: and therefore is it called the second death, because it followeth the first breach of nature, either betweene *God* and the soule, or this and the body: of the first death therefore wee may say, that it is good to the good, and bad to the bad. But the second is bad in all badnesse, vnto all, & good to none.

## L. VIVES.

*T* (a) is called } *Bruges* copy differs not much: all is one in substance. (b) *Second death* }  
*Apo. 2. 11. and 21 8.*

*whether death propagated vnto all men from the first, be punishment of sinne to the Saints. CHAP. 3.*

**B**ut here's a question not to be omitted: whether the first death bee good to the good? If it be so, how can it be the punishment of sinne? for had not our first parents sinned, they had neuer tasted it: how then can it bee good to the vpright that cannot happen but vnto offenders? and if it happen but vnto offenders it should not be good, for it should not be at all vnto the vpright: for why should they haue punishment that haue no guilt? Wee must confesse then, that had not our first parents sinned, they had not dyed: but sinning; the punishment of death was inflicted vpon them and all their posteritie: for they should not produce any thing but what them-selues were, and the greatnesse of their crime depraued their nature: so that that which was penall in the first mans offending, was made naturall in the birth of all the rest: for they came not of *man*, as *man* came of the dust. The dust was *mans* materiall: but *man* is *mans* parent. That which is earth is not flesh, though flesh be made of earth: but that which *man the father is, man the sonne is also*. For all *man-kinde* was in the first *man*, to bee deriued from him by the *woman*, when this couple receiued their sentence of condemnation. And that which *man* was made, not in his creation, but in his fall and condemnation, that he begot, in respect (I meane) of sinne, and death. For his sinne (a) was not cause of mans weaknesse in infancie, or whitenesse of body, as we see in infants: those *God* would haue as the originall of the yonglings, whose parents he had cast downe to bestiall mortality, as it is written: *Man was in honor and vnderstood not but became like to the beasts that perish*, vnlesse that infants bee weaker in motion and appetite then all other creatures, to shew mans mounting excellence aboue them all, comparable to a shaft that flieth the stronger when it is drawne farthest back in the bow. Therefore mans presumption and iust sentence, adiudged him not to those imbecilities of nature: but his nature was depraued vnto the admission of concupiscenciall in-obediencē in his members against his will: & thereby was bound

Death by sinne.

Psal. 49. 10.  
 Infantes  
 weaker  
 then the  
 young of  
 any other  
 creature.



to death by necessity, and to produce his progeny vnder the same conditions that his crime deserued. From which band of sin, if infants by the mediators grace be freed; they shall onely bee to suffer the first death, of body, but from the eternall, penall second death, their freedome from sinne shall quit them absolutely.

## L. VIVES.

**H**is sinne (a) was not. ] Here is another question, in what state men should haue bene borne, had they not sinned: *Augustine* propounds it in his booke. *De baptis. paruul.* Some thinke they should haue bene borne little, and presently become perfect men. Others, borne little, but in perfect strength onely not groweth; and that they should presently haue followed the mother as we see chickens, and lambes. The former giue them immedieate vse of sence, and reason: the later, not so, but to come by degrees, as ours do. *Augustine* leaues the doubt as hee findes it: seeming to suppose no other kinde of birth, but what we now haue.

*Why the first death is not withheld from the regenerat from sinne by grace. CHAP. 4.*

Why death  
remaineth  
after bap-  
tisme.

**I**F any thinke they should not suffer this, being the punishment of guilt, and there guilt cleared by grace, he may be resolued in our booke called *De baptis. mo paruulorum.* There we say that the seperation of soule and body remaineth to succeed (though after sinne) because if the sacrament of regeneration should be immediately seconded by immortality of body, our faith were disanulled, being an expectation of a thing vnseene. But by the strength and vigor of faith was this feare of death to be formerly conquered, as the *Martires* did: whose conflicts had had no victory, nor no glory, nay had bin no conflicts if they had bene deified and freed from corporall death immediatly vpon their regeneration: for if it were so who would not run vnto Christ to haue his child baptised, least hee should die? should his faith be approued by this visible reward? no, it should be no faith, because he receiued his reward immediatly. But now the wonderfull grace of our Sauiour hath turned the punishment of sinne, vnto the greater good of righteousnesse. Then it was said to man, *thou shalt die if thou sinne*, now it is said to the *Martir*, *die, so auoid sin.* Then, *if you breake my lawes, you shall dy*, now, *if you refuse to die, you breake my lawes.* That which we feared then if we offended, we must now choose, not to offend. Thus by Gods ineffable mercy the punishment of sin is become the instrument of vertue, and the paine due to the sinners guilt, is the iust mans merit. Then did sinne purchase death, and now death purchaseth righteousnesse: I meane, in the *Martires* whome their persecutors bad either renounce their faith or their life, and those iust men chose rather to suffer that for beleeuing which the first sinners suffred for not beleeuing: for vnlesse they had sinned they had not dyed, and *Martires* had sinned if they had not died. They dyed for sinne, these sinne not because they die. The others crime made death good, which before was euill, but God hath giuen such grace to faith that death which is lifes contrary, is here made the ladder whereby to ascend to life.

Gen. 2.

*As the wicked vse the good law, euill, so the good vse death, which is euill, well. CHAP. 5.*

**F**OR the *Apostle* desiring to shew the hurt of sin being vnprevented by grace, doubted not to say that the law which forbids sinne, is the strength of sinne. *The sting of*

of death (saith he) is sinne, and the strength of sinne is the lawe. Most true: for (a) forbidding of vnlawfull desires, increase them in him, where righteousnesse is not of power to suppress all such affects to sinne. And righteousnesse can neuer be loued without gods grace procure this loue. But yet to shew that the law is not euill, though hee calls it the strength of sinne, hee saith in another place, in the same question: *The law is holy, and the commandement holy and iust, and good.* Was that then which is good (saith he) made death to me? GOD forbid: but sinne that it might appeare sinne, wrought death in mee, by that which is good, (b) that sinne might be out of measure sinfull by the commandement. Out of measure, saith hee because preuarication is added, (c) the lawe beeing also contemned through the lust of sinne. Why doe wee recite this? Because as the law is not euill when it exciteth concupiscence in the bad, so earth is not good when it increased the glory of the good: neither the law when it is forsaken by sinners and maketh them *Preuaricators*: nor death when it is vnder-taken for truth, and maketh them *Martyrs*. Consequently, the law forbidding sinne is good, and death being the rewarde of sinne, euill. But as the wicked vse all things, good and euill, badly, so the iust vse all things, euill and good well. Therefore the wicked vse the law, that is good, badly, and the vse death that is bad, well.

1. Cor. 15.  
56.

Rom. 7.

## L. VIVES.

**F**orbidden (a) of ] It is naturall vnto exorbitant mindes, the more a thing is forbidden them the more to affect it: as women (whose mindes are most vnstayed) desire that onely that they are prohibited. So that whereas men knew not what it was to goe to the stewes, nor thought not vpon it, in comes the law, and saith, *Thou shalt not goe*, and so taught them all what it was to goe, setting their depraued natures vpon pursuite of those vnlawfull aetes. I knew not (saith *Paul*) what concupiscence was, vntill the law told me, *Thou shalt not conuer.* Tully saith, that *Solon* set downe no lawe against parricide: which being vnknowne, hee was more afraide to declare then punish. *Pro Rosc. Amerin.* (b) *That sinne* ] The old bookes read, that the sinner. *Augustine ad Simplician. lib. 1.* quotes it thus: that the sinner might bee out of measure a sinner, &c. but his quotations are both false: For thus it should be read indeed: *That the sinner might bee out of measure sinfull, &c.* Sinner, being referred to sinne. *αμαρτωλος η αμαρτια*, saith the Greeke: vnlesse you will make sinfull; a nowne, and no participle, as *Salust* vseth *Appetens*, and *Terence, Fugitans.* (c) *The law* ] all the terrors of the law being contemned by such as haue turned their custome of sinne into their nature.

We follow  
things fore-  
bidden.

*The generall euill of that death that seuereth soule and body.*

## CHAP. 6.

**W**herefore, as for the death that diuides soule and body, when they suffer it whome wee say are a dying, it is good vnto none. For it hath a sharpe (a) vnnaturall sence, by which nature is wrung this way and that in the composition of the liuing creature, vntill it bee dead, and vntill all the sence be gone wherein the soule and body was combined. Which great trouble, one stroake of the bodie, or one rapture of the soule often-times preuenteth, and out-runneeth sence, in swiftnesse. But what-so-euer it is in death, that takes away (b) our sence with so grieuous a sence, being faithfully indured, it augmenteth the merite of patience, but taketh not away the name of paine. It is sure the death of the first man, duly propagate, though if it be endured for faith and iustice, it bee the glory of the regenerate. Thus death being the rewarde of sinne, some-time quitteth sinne from all rewarde.

Sf 3

L. VIVES.

## L. VIVES.

**V**Nnaturall (a) sence,] Sence, for passion. (b) Our sence with so greenous a sence, ] The first actiue, the second passiue, the great passion, taketh away our power of sence.

*Of the death that such as are not regenerate do suffer for Christ.*

## CHAP. 7.

Marci dom  
to the vn-  
bapnzed in  
the freed of  
baptisme,  
Ioh. 3.  
Math. 16.  
Iohn. 12  
Plal. 116.

**F**OR whosoever hee is that being not yet regenerate, dyeth for confessing of *Christ*, it freeth him of his sinne, as well as it he had receiued the sacrament of Baptisme. For he that said, *Vnlesse a man bee borne againe of water, and of the holy spirit, hee shall not enter into the kingdome of God*, excepteth these else-where, in as generall a saying: *Whosoever confesseth mee before men, him will I confesse before my father which is in heauen*: And againe. *Hee that looseth his soule for mee, shall finde it*. Herevpon it is that, *Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of the Saints*. For what is more deare, then that death wherein all a mans badnesse is abolished, and his good augmented? Those that dye baptized, because they could liue no longer, are not of that merite that those that dye willingly, where-as they might haue liued longer, because these had rather dye in confessing of *Christ*, then denie him, and so come to baptisme: (a) Which if they had done, this sacrament would haue forgiuen it, because they denied him for feare of death. For in it euen their (b) villanie was forgiuen that murdered *Christ*. (c) But how could they loue *Christ* so dearely, as to contemne life for him, but by abounding in the grace of that spirit, that inspireth where it pleaseth? Pretious therefore is the death of those Saints, who tooke such gracious hold of the death of *Christ*, that they stuck not to engage their owne soules in the quest of him, and whose death shewed that they made vse of that which before was the punishment of sinne to the producing of a greater haruest of glory. But death ought not to seeme good, because it is gods helpe, and not the owne power that hath made it of such good vse, that being once propounded as a penaltie laide vpon sinne, it is now elected, as a deliuerance from sinne, and an expiation of sinne, to the crowning of iustice with glorious victorie.

## L. VIVES.

**W**Hich (a) if] Intimating that no guilt is so great but Baptisme will purge it. (b) *Their villanie*] It is like he meanes of some that had holpen to crucifie *Christ*, and were afterwards conuerted. (c) *But how*] It could not bee but out of great aboundance of grace that they should loue *Christ*, as well as those that were baptized already in him.

*That the Saints in suffering the first death for the truth, are quit from the second.* CHAP. 8.

**F**OR if wee marke well, in dying well and lawdably for the truth, is a (worfe) death auoyded, and therefore wee take part of it, least the whole should fall vpon vs, and a second, that should neuer haue end. Wee vnder-take the seperation of the body from the soule, least wee should come to haue the soule severed from *God*, and then from the body: and so mans first death being past, the

the second, that endlesse one, should fall presently vpon him. Wherefore the death as I say that wee suffer (a) when wee die, and causeth vs die, is good vnto no man, but it is well tolerated, for attayning of good. But when men once are in death, and called, death, then we may say that it is good to the good, and bad to the bad. For the good soules, being seuered from their body, are in rest, and the euill, in torment, vntill the bodies of the first rise to life eternall, and the later vnto the eternall, or second death.

Death,  
good to the  
good and  
bad to the  
bad.

L. VIVES.

**S**uffer (a) When] The dead, and the dying are said both to be in death: death being both in their departure and after, in the first as a passion, in the second as a priuation. Both are of use in the authors. *Virg.*

*Priamus quanquam media iam morte tenetur,*

*Priam* lies now in midst of death. ——— that is a dying: and the

*Morte Neoptolemi regnorum reddita cessit.* ——— *pars Heleno.*

By *Pyrrhus* death got *Helenus*, that part that now he holds. ——— that is, after his death.

*Whether a man at the houre of his death may be sayd to be amongst the dead, or the dying. CHAP. 9.*

**B**ut now for the time of the soules seperation from the body (bee it good or bad) whether we say it is in death, or after it? if it be after death, it is not death then being past and gone, but rather the present life of the soule, good or bad. For the death was euill to them whilest it was death, that is, whilest they, dying, suffered it, because it was a greuous passion (though the good vse this euill well): How then can death being past, bee either good or bad? Again if wee marke well, we shall finde that that greuous passion in man is not death. For (a) as long as we feele, we liue: and as long as we liue, we are before death, and not in it: for when death comes, it taketh away all sence, yea euen that which is greued by deaths approach. And therefore how we may call those that are not dead, but in the pangues of deadly affliction, dying, is hard to explaine, though they may bee called ordinarily so: for when death is come, they are no more in dying, but in death, or, death: Therefore is none dying but the liuing: because when one is in the greatest extremitie, or (b) passage, as wee say, if his soule bee not gone, hee is yet aliuie then. Thus is hee both liuing and dying: going to death and from life, yet liuing as long as the soule is in the body: and not yet in death, because the soule is vndeparted. And when it is departed, then is hee not in death, but rather after death: who then can say who is in death? no man dying is, if no man can be both liuing and dying at once: for as long as the soule is in the body wee cannot deny that he liues. (c) But if it be sayd that he is dying who is drawing towardes death, and yet that the dying and the liuing cannot bee both in one at once, then know not I who is liuing.

Who may  
be said to  
be dying;

L. VIVES.

**A**s (a) long] But death is a temporally effected seperation of soule and body, and as soone as ones members beginne to grow cold, hee beginnes to die, the departure of the soule is the admittance of death, the one is no sooner gone but the other is there. (b) Passage] *Mart. Si desit quod agas, At tale agas animam. ago to doe, agere animam, to die: because the ancient held that the soule was but a breath: and so beeing breathed out, death followed.*

Death  
what it is,

(c) *But if*] If hee bee said to die that drawes towards death, then all our life is death: for as soone as euer wee are borne the bodie beginnes to seeke how to thrust out the soule, and the life, and by little doe expell it. Which made some Philosophers say that wee died in our birth, and that that was the end of death which we call the end of life, either because then wee beganne to liue, or because death was then ended, and had done his worst.

*Whether this mortall life be rather to be called death  
then life. CHAP. IO.*

The time  
of life is  
a course vn-  
to death.

**F**OR as soone as euer man enters this mortall bodie, hee beginnes a perpetuall journey vnto death. For that this changeable life enioynes him to, if I may call the course vnto death, a life. For there is none but is nearer death at the yeares end then hee was at the beginning: to morrow; then to day: to day then yesterday, by & by then iust now, & now then a little before; (a) each part of time that wee passe, cuts off so much from our life: and the remainder still decreaseth: so that our whole life is nothing but a course vnto death, wherein one can neither stay nor slacke his pace: but all runne in one manner, and with one speed. For the short liuer, ranne his course no faster then the long: both had a like passage of time, but the first had not so farre to runne as the later, both making speede alike. It is one thing to liue longer, and another to runne faster. Hee that liues longer, runneth farther but not a moment faster. And if each one beginne to bee in death as soone as his life beginnes to shorten, (because when it is ended hee is not then in death but after it) then is euery man in death as soone as euer hee is conceiued. For what else doe all his daies, houres and minutes declare, but that they beeing done, the death wherein hee liued, is come to an end: and that his time is now no more in death (hee being dead,) but after death? Therefore if man cannot be in life and death both at once, hee is neuer in life as long as hee is in that dying rather then liuing bodie. Or is he in both? in life that is still diminished, and in death because hee dies, whose life diminisheth? for if hee bee not in life, what is it that is diminished, vntill it bee ended, and if hee bee not in death, what is it that diminisheth the life? for life being taken from the body vntill it be ended, could not be sayd now to be after death, but that death ended it and that it was death whilest it diminished. And if man be not in death, but after it, when his life is ended, where is he but in death whilest it is a diminishing?

L. VIVES.

**Each (a) part**] All our life flowes off by vnspied courses, and dieth euery moment of this hastening times *Quintilian* Time still cuts part of vs off: a common prouerbe. Poets & Philosophers all say this, and *Seneca* especially, from whome *Augustine* hath much of that hee releteth heere.

*Whether one may be liuing and dead, both together.*

CHAP. II.

**But** if it be absurd to say a man is in death before he came at it (for what is it that his course runnes vnto, if hee bee ther already?) chiefly because it is (a) too late to say one is both liuing and dying, sith wee cannot say one is both sleeping

sleeping and waking, wee must finde when a man is dying. Dying before death come, hee is not, then is hee liuing: dying when death is come, is hee not, for then is hee dead. This is after death, and that is before it. (b) When is hee in death then? for then is hee dying, to proportionate three things, *liuing, dying,* and *dead,* vnto three times, *before death, in death,* and *after.* Therefore when hee is in death, that is neither liuing, or before death, nor dead, or after death, is hard to bee defined. For whilest the soule is in the body (especially with sence) man liues assured, as yet being soule and bodie, and therefore is before death, and not in it. But when the soule and sence is gone, then is hee dead, and after death. These two then take away his meanes of being in death, or dying, for if hee liue hee is before death, and if he cease to liue, hee is after death. Therefore hee is neuer dying nor in death. For this is sought as present in the change of the times, and is found the one passing into the other without the least interposed space. Doe we not see then that by this reason the death of the bodie is nothing? If it bee, how is it any thing, being in nothin, and whereing nothing can be? for if we liue, it is not any thing yet, because wee are before it, not in it: if we liue not, it is nothing still, for now wee are after it and not in it. But now, if death bee nothing before nor after, what sence is there in saying, before, or after death? I would to God wee had liued well in Paradise that death might haue bin nothing indeede. But now, there is not onely such a thing, but it is so greuous vnto vs, as neither tongue can tell, nor reason avoid. Let vs therefore speake according to (c) custome: for so wee should, and call the time ere death come, before death: as it is written (d) *Judge none blessed before his death.* Let vs call the time when it is already come, after death: this or that was after his death: and let vs speake of the present time, as wee can: hee dying, gaue such a legacy, hee dying left thus much, or thus much, though no man could do this but the liuing, and rather before his death, then at, or in his death. And let vs speake as the holy scripture speaketh of the dead, saying they were not after death but in death *For in death there is no remembrance of thee:* for vntill they rise againe they are iustly said to bee in death as one is in sleepe vntill hee awake. Though such as are in sleepe wee say are sleeping, then may wee not say that such as are dead, are dying. For they that are once seperate wholly frō their bodies, are past dying the bodily death, (whereof we speake) any more. But this that I say, one cannot declare, how the dying man may be sayd to liue, or how the dead man can be sayd to bee in death: for how can hee bee after death, if hee bee in death, since wee cannot call him, dying, as we may doe hee that is in sleepe, sleeping, or hee that is in languor, languishing, or hee that is in sorrow, sorrowing, or in life, liuing? But the dead vntill they arise are said to bee in death, yet wee cannot say they are dying. And therefore I thinke it was not for no cause (perhaps God decreed it) that *morior,* the latine word for to die, could not by any meanes bee brought by (e) grammarians vnto the forme of other verbes. (f) *Orior,* to arise, hath *ortus* in the preterperfect tense, and so haue other verbes that are declined by the participle of the pretertense. But *Morior* must haue *mortuus* for the preterperfect tense, doubling the letter V. for *Mortuus* endes like *fatuus; arduus conspicuus;* and such like that are no preterperfect tenses, but nownes, declined without tenses, or times: and this as if it were a nowne declinable, that cannot be declined, is put for the participle of the present tense. So that it is conuenient, that as it cannot effect the signification by act, no more should the name be to bee (g) declined by arte. Yet by the grace of *Our Redeemer,* we may decline (that is, avoid) the second death. For this is the fore one, and the worst of euills, being no separation

Eccl. 11.  
 28.

Psal. 6. 5

but

The fe-  
cond death.

but rather a combination of body and soule vnto eternall torture. Therein shall none bee a fore death nor after death, but eternally in death: neuer liuing, neuer dead, but euer dying. For man can neuer be in worfe death, then when the death he is in, is endiesse.

### L. VIVES.

[Lou-  
vaine co-  
pie de-  
fectiue, as  
I doe  
thinke it  
may very  
lawfully  
in this:]

Compari-  
son, or a-  
nalogy.

**T**Oo (a) *strange* ] *Insolens* for *insolitum*, vn-accustomed. *Salusts* worde (that antiquary) and *Gellius*, his ape. (b) *When is he* ] [Oh *Saint Augustine*, by your fauor, your witts edge is too blunt! here you not our rare schoole diuines? the first is, the first is not, the last is, the last is not: death is not in this instant for now it is done: conceiue you not? Why thus: It was but now, and now it is not: not yet? then thus ----- but you must into the schooles, and learne of the boies: for those bables are fitter for them then for men. But you and I will haue a great deale of good talke of this, in some other place.] (c) *Custom* ] The mistresse of speech, whom all artes ought to obserue. (d) *Judge none* ] Like *Solons* saying. No man can bee called blessed, and he be dead: because hee knowes not what may befall him. (e) *Grammarians* ] You are too icle in this chapter, *Saint Augustine*: First in commanding vs to apply our speech to the common sence: and secondly, in naming gramarians in a matters of diuinity: how much more in drawing any argument pertayning to this question from them. If any smatterer of our diuines had done it, hee should haue beene hissed out of our schooles: but you follow the old discipline, and keepe the artes combined: mixing each others ornament and no way disioyning them. (f) *Orior* ] That comparison holdes in grammar it is a great question, and much tossed. *Aristarchus*, a great grammarian defended it, and *Crates* building vpon *Chrisippus* his *Perianomalia*, did oppose it. *Varro's* fragments herevpon, lay downe both their reasons: and *Quintilian* disputes of it. *Cains Caesar* wrote also to *Cicero* concerning *Analogie*. Doubtlesse it must be allowed in many things but not in all: otherwise, that art cannot stand, nor hardly worldly discourse. (g) *Declined* ] Alluding to the ambiguity of the worde, *declinari*: it cannot bee declined, that is avoided, nor declined, that is varied by cases.

### *Of the death that God threatned to promise the first man withall if he transgressed.* CHAP. 12.

**I**F therefore it bee asked what death GOD threatned man with all vpon his transgression and breach of obedience, whether it were bodily or spirituall, or that second death: we answere, it was, all: the first consisteth of two, and the second entirely of all: for as the whole earth consists of many lands, and the whole Church of many Churches, so doth the vniuersall death consist of all the first consisting of two, the bodies, and the soules, beeing the death wherein the soule beeing foresaken of GOD, forsaketh the bodie, and endureth paines for the time: but the second beeing that wherein the soule being forsaken of GOD endureth paines for euer. Therefore when GOD sayd to the first man that hee placed in Paradise, as concerning the forbidden fruite. *Whensoever thou eatest thereof thou shalt die the death*, he comprehends therein, not onely the first part of the first death, wherfoeuer the soule looseth God, nor the later onely, wherein the soule leaneth the body, and is punished after that seperation, but also that last part, or the second which is the last of deaths, eternall, and following after all: all this is comprehended in that commination.

*What*

*What punishment was first layd on mans preuarication.*

CHAP. 13.

**F**OR after mankinde had broken the précept, hee was first, forsaken of Gods grace and confounded with his owne nakednesse: and so with the figge leaues Genes. 3: (the first perhaps that came to hand,) they couered their nakednesse and shame: their members were before as they were then, but they were not (a) shamefull before, whereas now they felt a new motion of their disobedient flesh, as the reciprocal (b) punishment of their disobedience, for the soule being now delighted with peruerse liberty and scorning to serue GOD, could not haue the body at the former command: & hauing willingly forsaken GOD the superior, it could not haue the inferior so seruiceable as it desired, nor had the flesh subiect as it might haue had alwaies, had it selfe remained Gods subiect. For then the flesh beganne to couet, and contend against the spirit, and (c) with this contention are wee all borne, (d) drawing death from our originall, and bearing natures corruption, and Rom. 8: contention, or victory in our members.

L. VIVES.

**N**O (a) *shamefull*] Not filthy nor procuring shame, they had not beene offensive, had wee not sinned, but had had the same vse that or seete, our hands now, but hauing offended, there was an obscene pleasure put in them, which maketh them to bee ashamed of, and couered. (b) *Reciprocall*] Which disobedience reflected vpon them: as they obéied not GOD, to whom nature subiected them, so should they finde a rebell, one of the members, against the rule of reason. (c) *With this*] Some bookes ad some-thing here, but it is needlesse. (d) *Drawing death*] That is, vpon the first sinne, arose this contention betweene the minde and their affects which is perpetually in vs; wherein the minde is some-times victor, and some-times not: some read *without victory*, implying that the affects cannot be so suppressed, but then they will still rebell against reason, and disturbe it: This is the more subtile sence, and seemeth best to mee.

*In what state GOD made Man, and into what state hee fell by his voluntary choice.* CHAP. 14.

**F**OR GOD (the Creator of nature, and not of vice) made man vp right: who being willingly depraued and iustly condemned, begot all his progeny vnder the same deprauation and condemnation: for in him were we all, when as, he beeing seduced by the woman, corrupted (a) vs all: by her that before sinne was made of himselfe. Wee had not our perticular formes yet, but there was the seede of our naturall propagation, which beeing corrupted by sinne, must needs produce man of that same nature, the slaue to death, & the obiect of iust condénation: and therefore this came from the bad vsing of (b) free will, thence arose all this teame of calamity, drawing al men on into misery (excepting Gods Saints) frõ their corrupted originall, euen to the beginning of the second death which hath no end.

L. VIVES.

**C**orrupted (a) *vs all*] A diuersity of reading. *Augustines* meaning is that we being all potentially



tially in him, and hee beeing corrupted by sinne, therefore wee, arising all from him as our first fountaine, draw the corruption along with vs also. (b) *Free will* ] For our first parents abused the freedome of it, hauing power aswell to keepe Gods hefts eternally, as to breake them.

*That Adam forsooke GOD ere GOD forsooke him, and that the soules first death was the departure from GOD. CHAP. 15.*

Genes. 2,  
17.

**V**Wherefore in that it was sayd *Thou shalt die the death*, because it was not sayd, the deaths, if we vnderstand that death, wherein the soule leaueth the life, that is GOD (for it was not forsaken ere it forsooke him, but contrary, the owne will being their first leader to euill, but the Creators will being the first leader to good, both in the creation of it, before it had being, and the restoring of it when it had falne : ) wherefore if we doe vnderstand that God meant but of this death, where hee saith, *whensoever thou eatest thereof thou shalt die the death* : as if hee had sayd : whensoever you forsake mee in disobedience, I will forsake you in iustice : yet verily doe all the other deaths follow the denunciation of this death. For in that the soule felt a disobedient motion of the flesh, and therevpon covered the bodies secret partes, in this was the first death felt, that is the departure of the soule from God. Which was signified in that, that when the man in mad feare had gone and hid himselfe, God said to him, *Adam where art thou?* not ignorantly seeking him, but watchfully warning him to looke well where hee was, seeing God was not with him. But when the soule forsaketh the body decayed with age, then is the other death felt, whereof God said in imposing mans future punishment, *earth thou wast, and to earth thou shalt returne* : That by these two, the first death which is of whole man, might be accomplisshed, which the second should second, if Gods grace procure not mans freedome from it: for the body which is earth, returnes not to earth but by the owne death, that is the departure of the soule from it. Wherefore all christians (b) holding the Catholike faith, belecue, that the bodily death lieth vpon mankind by no lawe of nature, as if GOD had made man for to die, but as a (c) due punishment for sin : because God in scourging this sinne, sayd vnto man, of whom we all are descended, *Earth thou wast and to earth thou shalt returne*.

#### L. VIVES.

If man had  
not sinned,  
he had not  
died.

**E**arth (a) *thou wast* ] γῆ ἡ γαίη τῆς γῆς ἀπαύωσι, say the Septuagints, by the later article, implying the element of earth, the graue of althings dying. (b) *Holding the* ] Augustine often auereth directly, that man had not died, had he not sinned: nor had had a body subiect to death or disease: the tree of life should haue made him immortall. And S. Thomas Aquinas, the best schoole diuine holds so also. But Scotus, either for faction, or will, denies it al, making men in his first state subiect to diseases, yet that he should be taken vp to heauen ere he died: but if he were left on earth, he should die at length: for that the tree of life could not eternize him but onely prolong his life. (c) *A due* ] deserued by his guilt.

*Of the Philosophers that held corporall death not to be penall, whereas Plato brings in the Creator promising the lesser gods that they should neuer leaue their bodies. CHAP. 16.*

**B**Vt the Philosophers against whose callumnies we defed this *City of God*, that is,

is, his church, thinke they giue vs a witty scoffe for saying that the soules seperation from the body is to be held as part of the punishment, when as they affirme that then (a) is the soule perfectly blessed when it leaueth the body, and goeth vp pure and naked vnto God. If I should finde no battery against this opinion out of their owne booke I should haue a great adoe to prooue not the body, but the corruptibility of the body to be the soules burden: wherevpon is that which we cited in our last booke, *A corruptible body is heauy, vnto the soule*. In adding, corruptible, he sheweth that this being inflicted as finnes punishment, vpon the body, and not the body it selfe, is heauy to the soule: and if hee had not added it, yet must we haue vnderstood it so. But *Plato* affirming plainely that the gods that the Creator made, haue incorruptible bodies, & bringing in their maker, promising them (as a great benefit) to remaine therein eternally, and neuer to bee seperated from them, why then do those neuer (b) dissemble their owne knowledge, to procure christianity trouble: and contradi& themselves in seeking to oppose against vs? *Plato's* words (c) *Tully* translateth thus: bringing in the great GOD, speaking thus to the gods hee had made: (d) *You that are of the gods originall, whom I haue Created, attend: (e) these your bodies, by my will, are indissoluble: although euery compound may bee dissolued. But (f) it is euill, to desire to dissolue a thing (g) compounded by reason, but seeing that you are created, you are neither immortall, nor indissoluble: yet shall you neuer be dissolued, nor die: these shall not preuaile, against my will, which is a greater assurance of your eternity, then all your formes, and compositions are*. Behold, *Plato* saith that their gods, by their creation and combination of body and soule are mortall, and yet immortall, by the decree and will of him that made them. If therfore it be paine to the soule, to be bound in anybody, why should God seeme to take away their feare of death, by promising them eternall immortality? not because of their nature, which is compounded, & not simple, but because of his holy wil, which can eternize creatures, and preferue compounds immortally, frō dissolution: whether *Plato* hold this true of the stars, is another question. For (h) we may not consequently grant him that those globous illuminate bodies, shining night & day vpon earth, haue each one a peculiar soule whereby it liues, being blessed and intellectuall, as he affirmeth directly of the world also. But this, as I said, is no question for this place. This I held fit to recite against those that affecting the name of *Platonists*, are proudly ashamed of the name of christians, least the communication of this name with the vulgar, should debase the proud (because small) number of the (i) Palliate. These seeking holes in the coate of christianity, barke at the eternity of the body, as if the desire of the soules eternity, and the continuance of it in the fraile body, were contraries, whereas their Maister *Plato* holds it as a gift giuen by the great G O D to the lesser, that they should not die, that is, be teured from the bodies he gaue them.

## L. VIVES.

**T**Hen (a) is] *Philolaus* the *Pythagorean* held that man hauing left his body, became an immortall God, and *Plato* sayth our body depresseth our thoughts, and calls it away from superior contemplations: that therefore we must leaue it, that in this life also as well as we can, & in another life where we shalbe free, we may see the truth & loue the good. Herevpon *Porphyry* saith a man cannot bee happy without he leaue the body, and be ioynd vnto God. (d) *Dissemble*] An imitation of *Terence*, *tu si sapias quod scis, nescias*. (a) *Tully* translateth] *Tullies* booke de. *uirtute*, is a peece of *Plato's Timæus*, the whole worke is very faty in *Tully*. He that

will read *Plato* himselfe, the words begin thus : *Θεοιδωμ* &c. *Plato* had it out of *Timæus* of *Lo-*  
*cris* his booke, after whom he named his dialogue : for thus saith *Timæus* : God desyring to doe  
 an excellent worke, created or begot this God, who shall neuer die, unlesse it please that God that  
 made him, to dissolve him. But it is euill to desire the dissolution of so rare a worke (d) You that are  
 of] *Deorum* [atu orti. (e) These your] *Tully* hath this sentence : a depraued sence by reason of  
 the want of a negatiue. (f) It is euill] Or, an euill mans part. (g) *Componnded* | Or, combined.  
 (h) *We may not*] *Augustine* durst neuer decide this question. *Origen* it seemes followed *Pla-*  
 to, and got a many of the learned vnto his side. (i) *Palliate*] The Romanes *Toga*, or gowne,  
 was the Greekes *Pallium*: and they that would seeme absolute Grecians, went in these *allia*,  
 or clokes : and such were obserued much for their *Gracisme* in life and learning. For as wee  
 teach all our arts in latine, now, so did they in greeke then. They were but few, and therefore  
 more admired.

*Palliat.*

*Against the opinion, that earthly bodies cannot be corruptible, nor  
 eternall.* CHAP. 17.

They stand in this also, that earthly bodies cannot bee eternall, and yet hold  
 the whole earth which they hold but as a part of their great God (though  
 not of their highest) the world to be eternall. Seeng then their greatest GOD,  
 made another God, greater then all the rest beneath him, that is, the world, and  
 seeing they hold this is a creature hauing an intellectuall soule included in it by  
 which it liues, hauing the parts consisting of 4. elements, whose connexion that  
 great GOD (least this other should euer perish) made indissoluble, and eternall:  
 why should the earth then, being but a meane member of a greater creature, bee  
 eternall, and yet the bodies of earthly creatures (God willing the one as well as  
 the other) may not bee eternall? I but say they, earth (a) must bee returned vnto  
 earth, whence the bodies of earthly creatures are shapen, & therefore (say they)  
 these must of force be dissolved, and die, to be restored to the eternall earth from  
 whence they were taken. Wel if one should affirme the same of the fire, & say that  
 all the bodies taken thence, should be restored vnto it againe, as the heauenly bo-  
 dies, thereof consisting, were not that promise of immortality, that *Plato* sayd  
 God made vnto those gods, vtterly broken by this position? Or can it not be so,  
 because it pleaseth not God, whose will as *Plato* sayth is beyond all other assu-  
 rance? why may not God then haue so resolved of the terrene bodies, that being  
 brought forth, they should perish no more; once composed, they should bee dis-  
 solved no more, nor that which is once taken from the elements should euer bee  
 restored? and that the soules being once placed, the bodies should neuer forsake  
 them, but inioy eternall happinesse in this combination? why doth not *Plato*  
 confesse that God can do this? why cannot he preserue earthly things from cor-  
 ruption? Is his power as the *Platonists*, or rather as the christians auouch. A like-  
 ly matter! the Philosophers know Gods counsells, but not the Prophets! nay  
 rather it was thus, their spirit of truth reuealed what God permitted vnto the  
 Prophets: but the weakenesse of coniecture in these questions, wholly deluded the  
 Philosophers. But they should not haue bin so far besotted in obstinate igno-  
 rance as to contradict themselues in publike assertions, saying first that the soule  
 cannot be blessed without it abādon al body, whatsoever, & by & by after (b) that  
 the gods haue blessed soules, & yet are continually tied vnto celestiaall & fiery bo-  
 dies: & as for *Iupiters* (the worlds) soule, that is eternally inherēt in the 4. elements  
 composing this vniuerse. For *Plato* holds it to bee diffused, frō the midst of earth,  
 geometrically called the (c) center, vnto the extreamest parts of heauē through all  
 the parts of the world by (d) mysticall numbers: making the world, a blessed crea-  
 ture, whose soule enioyeth ful happines of wisdom & yet leaueth not the body, &  
 whole

Coniecture  
 deceiveth  
 the Philo-  
 sophers.

whose bodie liueth eternally by it, and as though it consist of so many different parts, yet can neither dull it nor hinder it. Seeing then that they giue their coniectures this scope, why will they not beleue that God hath power to eternize mortall bodies, wherein the soules without being parted from them by death, or being burdened by them at all in life may liue most in blessed eternity, as they say their gods doe in fiery bodies, and their *Jupiter* in all the foure elements? If the soules cannot be blessed without the bodies bee quite forsaken, why then let their gods get them out of the starres, let *Jupiter* pack out of the elements: if they cannot goe, then are they wretched. But they will allow neither of these: they dare not auerre that the Gods may leaue their bodies, least they should seeme to worship mortalls: neither dare they barre them of blisse, least they should confesse them wretches. Wherefore all bodies are not impediments to beatitude, but onely the corruptible, transitory and mortall ones: not such as God made man at first, but such as his sinne procured him afterwards.

## L. VIVES.

**E**arth (a) must] This is scripture, that the body is earth, and must become earth. *Homere* Gen. 3. taught it the Grecians: for he calls *Hectors* carcasse, earth. *Phocylides*, an ancient writer hath it thus.

Σῶμα γὰρ ἔσθ' ἔρῃ.

Our body is of earth, and dying must,  
Returne to earth: for Man is made of dust.

*Euripides* hath also the like, recited by *Tully*, *Tuse. qu. 1.* wherein the words that *Augustine* citeth, are extant.

*Mors est finitas omnibus qua generi humano angorem,  
Nec quicquam afferunt: reddenda est terra terra.  
Of all the paines wherein Mans soule sojournes,  
Death is the end: all earth to earth. returnes.*

(b) That the gods] Some bookes read, terrene gods: falsly, *Augustine* hath nothing to doe with terrene gods in this place. (c) Center] A center is that point in the midst of a sphericall body from whence all lines drawne to the circumference are equall. It is an indiuisible point, for if it had parts, neither should it bee all in the midst, nor the lines drawne from it to the circumference equall, as not beeing all drawne from one part. *Plato* placeth the worldes soule in the center, and so distends it circularly throughout the whole vniuerse: and then conuerting his position, makes the diuine power about, diffuse it selfe downe-ward, euen to the center. (d) Muscull numbers] Hereof see *Macrobius*, *Chalcidius*, and *Marsilius Ficinus*, in his breuiat of *Plato's Timæus*, which he either translated, or reformed from the hand of another. These numbers for their obscurity are growne into a prouerbe.

*Of the terrene bodies which the Philosophers hold, cannot be in heauen,  
but must fall to earth by their naturall weight.*

## CHAP. 18.

**O**H but (say they) an earthly body is either kept on earth, or caried to earth by the naturall weight, and therefore cannot bee in heauen. The first men indeede were in a wooddie, and fruitfull land, which was called *Paradise*. But because we must resolue this doubt, seeing that both *Christis* body is already ascended, and that the *Saints* at the resurrection shall doe so also, let vs ponder these

these earthly weights a little. If mans arte, of a mettall that being put into the water, sinketh, can yet frame a vessell, that shall swim, how much more credible is it for Gods secret power, whose omnipotent will, as *Plato* saith, can both keepe things produced, from perishing, and parts combined from dissolving, (whereas the combination of corporall and vncorporall is a stranger and harder operation then that of corporalls with corporalls) to take (a) all weight from earthly things, whereby they are carried downe-wards, and to qualifie the bodies of the blessed soules so, as though they bee terrene, yet they may bee incorruptible, and apt to ascend, descend, or vse what motion they will, with all celerity. Or, (b) if the Angells can transport bodily weights whether they please, must we thinke they doe it with toile, and feeling of the burden? Why then may we not beleue that the perfect spirits of the blessed can carry their bodies whither they please, and place them where they please? for whereas in our bodily carriage of earthly things, we feele, that the (c) more bigge it is, the heauier it is, and the heauier, the more toile-some to beare: it is not so with the soule: the soule carrieth the bodily members better when they are big, and strong, then when they are small, and meagre, and whereas a big sound man is heauier to others shoulders, then a leane sicke man, yet will he mooue his healthfull heauinesse with farre more agility then the other can doe his crasie lightnesse, or then he can himselfe if famine or sicknesse haue shaken off his flesh. This power hath good temperature more then great weight in our mortal, earthly & corruptible bodies. And who can describe the infinite difference betweene our present health, and our future immortality? Let not the Philosophers therefore oppose vs with any corporall weight or earthly ponderosity. I will not aske them why an earthly body may not bee in heauen as well as (d) the whole earth may hang alone without any supportation: for perhaps they will retire their disputation to the center of the world vnto which all heavy things doe tend. But this I say, that if the lesser Gods (whose worke *Plato* maketh Man & all other liuing things with him) could take away the quality of burning from the fire, and leaue it the light, (e) which the eye transsueth: shall wee then doubt that that GOD, vnto whose will hee ascribes their immortality, the eternall coherence and indissolubility of those strange and diuers combinations of corporealls and incorporealls, can giue man a nature that shall make him liue incorruptible, and immortal, keeping the forme of him, and auoyding the weight? But of the faith of the resurrection, and the quality of the immortal bodies, more exactly (God willing) in the end of the worke.

1. Cor. 15

## L. VIVES.

**A**LL (a) weights] These are Gods admirable workes, and it is the merit of our faith that we owe vnto God to beleue them. I wonder the schoolemen will inquire of these things, & define them by the rules of nature. (b) *If the Angells*] To omit the schooles, and naturall reasons, herein is the power of an Angell scene, that in one night God smote 180000. men of the Assyrians campe by the hand of an Angel 4. Kings 19. Now let Man go brag of his weaknesse. (c) *The world big*. Here is no need of predicamentall distinctions: hee vseth big, for the massy weight, not for the quantity. (d) *The whole earth*] It hangs not in nothing for it hangs in the ayre: yet would ayre giue it way, but that it hath gotten the middlemost place of the world, and keepe there in the owne nature, immouable. The Philosophers maruelled that the earth fell not, seeing it hung in the ayre: but that which they thought a fall, should then bee no fall but an ascending, for which way soeuer earth should goe, it should goe towards the heauen: and as it is no maruell that our Hemisphere ascendeth not, no more is it of any else, for the motion should be all one, about and beneath being all alike in a globe: But is a thing to be admired

admired and adored, that the earth should hang so in the ayre, beeing so huge a masse, as *Onid* saith.

*Terra pila similis nullo fulcimine nixa,  
Aere suspensa, tam graue pendet onus.*  
Earths massy globe in figure of a ball,  
Hangs in the ayre; vpheld by nought at all.

(e) *With the eye* *Plato* in his *Timaeus*, speaking of mans fabrick saith, that the eyes were endow- ed with part of that light that shines & burnes nor: meaning the suns: for the Gods commanded this pure fire (brother to that of heauen) to flow from forth the apple of the eye: and there- fore when that, and the daies light do meete, the coniunction of those two so well acquainted natures, produceth sight: And least that the sight should seeme effected by any other thing then fire in the same worke, hee defineth collours to bee nothing but *fulgores e corporibus man- nantes*: fulgors, flowing out of the bodies wherein they are. The question whether one seeth How man seeth. by emission, or reception, that is whether the eye send any beame to the obiect, or receiue any from it, is not heere to bee argued. *Plato* holds the first. *Aristotle* confureth him in his booke *De sensorijs*, and yet seemes to approue him, in his *Problemes*. The *Stoickes* held the first also, whom *Augustine* (*De Trinitate*) and many of the *Peripatetiques*, follow. *Aphrodiseus* held that the eye sends forth spirits: *Pliny* saith it receiueth them. *Haly* the Arabian maketh the *Species* to goe from the eye and returne suddainely, all in a moment: the later *Peripatetiques* following *Occam*, and *Durandus*, admit no *Species* on either side. But of this in another place. *Plato* both would haue the eye send some-thing forth, and receiue some-thing in.

*Against those that hold that man should not haue beene immortall  
if he had not sinned. CHAP. 19.*

**B**Vt now let vs proceed with the bodies of the first men, who if they had not sinned, had neuer tasted of that death which we say is good only to the good: being, as all men know, a seperation of soule and body, wherein the body of the creature that had euident life, hath euident end. For although we may not doubt, that the soules of the faithfull that are dead, are in rest: yet (a) it were so much better for them to liue with their bodies in good state, that they that hold it most blessed to want a bodie, may see themselues conuincd herein directly. For no man dare compare those wise men, that haue either left their bodies, or are to leaue them, vnto the *immortall gods* to whom the great GOD promised perpetuity of blisse, and inherence in their bodies. And *Plato* thought it the greatest blessing man could haue, to bee taken out of the body (after a course vertuously runne) and placed in the bosomes of those gods, that are neuer to leaue their bodies.

*Stilicet immemores supra ut connexa reuisant,  
Rursus & incipiant in corpora velle reuerti.*

*Virg Aeneas  
ad. 6.*

The thought of Heauen is quite out of their braine,  
Now gan they wish to liue on earth againe.

Which *Virgil* is commended for, speaking after *Plato*. So that hee holds, that the soules of men can neither bee alwaies in their bodies, but must of force bee loosed from them: nor can they bee alwaies without their bodies, but must bee forced successiuelly, now to liue, and now to die, putting (b) this difference that wise men when they die are caried vp to the stars, and euery one staies a while in a starre fit for him, thence to returne againe to misery, in time: and to follow the desire of being imbodied againe, & so to liue againe in earthly calamity, but your fooles, are bestowed after their deaths in other bodies, of men or beasts, according to their merits. In this hard and wretched case placeth hee the wisest

soules, who haue no other bodies giuen them, to bee happy in; but such as they can neither bee eternally within, nor eternally abandon. Of this *Platonisme*, *Porphyry* (as I said else-where) was ashamed because of the christian times, excluding the soules not onely from the bodies of beasts, and from that reuolution, but affirming them (if they liued wisely) to bee set free from their bodies, so as they should neuer more bee incorporate, but liue in eternall blisse with the Father. Wherefore least he should seeme in this point to be exceeded by the Christians that promised the Saints eternall life, the same doth hee giue to the purified soules: and yet, to contradict Christ, hee denies the resurrection of their bodies in incorruptibility; and placeth the soule in blisse without any body at all. Yet did hee neuer teach that these soules should bee subiect vnto the incorporated gods in matter of religion. Why so? because he did not thinke them better then the Gods, though they had no bodies. Wherefore if they dare not (as I think they dare not) preferre humane soules before their most blessed though corporeall gods, why doe they thinke it absurd for christianity to teach that our first parents had they not sinned, had benee immortall, this beeing the reward of their true obedience? and that the Saints at the resurrection shall haue the same bodies that they laboured in here, but so, that they shalbe light, and incorruptible as their blisse shalbe perfect and vchangeable.

#### L. VIVES.

**Y** Et (a) were it ] If the following opinion of *Plato* concerning them were true. (b) *This difference* ] *Plato* saith that some creatures follow God well, are like him, and are reuolued with the sphere of heauen vntill they come belowe and then they fall: Some get vp againe: some are ouerwhelmed: these are the foolish, and those the wise: the meane, haue a middle place. So the wise soule is eleuated to heauen, and sits there, vntill the reuolution bring it downe againe; from seeing of truth, others voluntarily breake their wings and fall ere the time bee expired. The Philosophers soules at the end of 3000. yeares, returne to the starre whence they came: the rest must stay 10000. yeares ere they ascend.

*That the bodies of the Saints now resting in hope, shal become better then our first Fathers was.* CHAP. 20.

**T**He death that seuereth the soules of the Saints from their bodies is not troublesome vnto them, because their bodies doe rest in hope, and therefore they seemed sencelesse of all reproach here vpon earth. For they do not (as *Plato* will haue men to do) desire to forget their bodies, but rather, remembering what the truth that deceiueth none, said vnto them (a) *that they should not loose an haire of their head*, they desire and waite for the resurrection of their bodies wherein they suffered such paines and are neuer to suffer more. (b) For if they hated not their flesh when they were faine to bind it from rebelling by the law of the spirit, how much shall they loue it, becomming wholly spirituall? for if wee may iustly call the spirit seruing the flesh, carnall, then so may we call the flesh seruing the spirit, spirituall, (c) not because it shalbe turned into the spirit (as some thinke, *1. Cor. 15* because it is written: *It is sowne a naturall bodie but it ariseth a spirituall bodie*): but because it shall serue the spirit in all wonderfull, and ready obeifance, to the fulfilling of most secure will of indissoluble immortality, all sence of trouble, heauynesse, and corruptibility beeing quike taken from it. For it shall

shall not bee so bad, as it is now in our best health: nor as it was in our first parents before sinne; for they (though they had not dyed but that they sinned) were faine to eate corporall meate as men do now: hauing earthly, and not spiritual bodies: and though they should neuer haue growne old and so haue died (the tree of life that stood in the midst of Paradise, vnlawfull for them to tast of, affording them this estate by GODS wonderfull grace) yet they eate of more trees then that one: (which was forbidden them, because it was bad but for their instruction in pure and simple obedience, which is a great vertue in a reasonable creature placed vnder God the creator, for though a man touched no euill, yet in touching that which was forbidden him, the very act was the sinne of disobedience,) they liued therefore of other fruites, and eate, least their carnall bodies should haue beene troubled by hunger, or thirst: but the tast of the tree of life was giuen them, to confirme them against death, and weakenesse by age, the rest seruing them for nutriment, and this one for a sacrament: the tree of life in the earthly paradise, being as the wisdom of God is in the heauenly, whereof it is written: *it is a tree of life to them that imbrace it.*

What bo-  
dies our  
first parents  
had.

Pro. 2. 18.

## L. VIVES.

**V** Neo them. (a) That [Luc. 22. 7. (b) For if.] Ephes. 5. 29 no man ever yet hated his owne flesh. (c) Not because Saint Origen saith that all our corporall nature shall become spirituall, and all our substance shal become a body purer and clearer then the light, and such an one as man cannot imagine: God shall be all, in all, so that euery creature shall be transfured into that which is better then all, namely into the diuine substance, for that is the best. *Periarch.*

*Of the Paradise wherein our first parents were placed, and that it may be taken spirituallly also without any wrong to the truth of the history as touching the reall place.*

## CHAP. 21.

**V** Herevpon some referred that (a) Paradise wherein the first man was placed as the scripture recordeth, al vnto a spiritual meaning taking the trees, to be vertues, as if there were (b) no such visible things, but onely that they were writ to signifie things intelligible. As if there were not a reall Paradise, because we may vnderstand a spiritual one: as if there were not two such women as *Agar* and *Sara*, and two sonnes of *Abraham* by them, the one being a bond-woman and the other free, because the Apostle saith that they signified the two Testaments: or as if the Rocke gushed not forth in water, when *Moyes* smot it, because that rocke may prefigure Christ, the same Apostle saying *the rocke was Christ!* No man denies that the Paradise may be vnderstood, the blisse of the Saints the (c) foure foulds, foure vertues; prudence, fortitude, temperance and iustice: the trees, all good disciplines: the tree of life, wisdom the mother of the rest: the tree of the knowledge of good and euill, the triall of transgression, for God decreed a punishment for sinne, iustly, and well, if man could haue made vse of it to his owne good. These things may also be vnderstood of the Church, and that in a better manner, as propheticque tokens of things to come, Paradise may be taken for the



Church, as wee (*d*) read in the canicles thereof. The foure fouds are the foure Ghospels: the frutefull trees, the Saints: their fruits, their workes: the tree of life, the holy of holies, Christ: the tree of the knowledge of good and euill, free election of will, for if man once forsake Gods will, he cannot vse him-selfe, but to his owne destruction: and therefore hee learneth either to adhere vnto the good of all goods, or to affect his owne onely, for louing himselfe, he is giuen to himselfe, that being in troubles, sorrowes, and feares (and feeling them withall) hee may

*Pfal. 42.6. sing with the Psalmist, My soule is cast downe within me: and being reformed? I will*  
*Pfal. 59.9. waite vpon thee O God, my defence.* These and such like, may be lawfully vnderstood by Paradise, taken in a spirituall sence, so that the history of the true and locall one be as firmly beleued.

## L. VIVES.

Paradise.

**P**aradise. (*a*) *Augustine super Genes. ad. lit. lib. 8.* recites three opinions of Paradiſe: 1. Spirituall onely: 2. locall onely: third spirituall and locall both: and this he approues for the likeſt. But where Paradiſe was, is a maine doubt in authors. *Iosephus* placeth it in the east, and so doth *Bede*, adding withall that it is a region, seuered by seas from all the world, and lying so high that it toucheth the moone, *Plato* in his *Phedo* placeth it aboute the cloudes, which others disallow as vnlikely. *Albertus Grotus* herein followeth *Auicen*, and the elder writers also as *Polibius*, and *Eratosthenes*, imagining a delicate and most temperate region vnder the equinoctiall, gainst the old Position, that the climate vnder the equinoctiall was inhabitable. The equinoctiall diuides the torrid Zone in two parts, touching the Zodiacke in two points, *Aries*, and *Libra*. There did hee thinke the most temperate clime hauing twelue howers day, and twelue night, all the yeare long, and there placed hee his Paradiſe. So did *Scotus*: nor doth this controull them that place it in the east, for there is east and west vnder the equinoctiall line. Some say that the sword of fire signifieth that burning clymate, wherein as *Arrianus* saith, there is such lightning and so many fiery apparitions, where Paradiſe was, *Hierome* thinketh that the Scriptures doth shew, and though the *Septuagintes* translate in *Eden*, from the east: *Oriens* is a large signification. *Hierome* saith thus for Paradiſe there is *Ortus*: *Gan. Eden* is also *Delicia*, pleasures, for which *Symmachus* translateth *Paradisus florens*. That also which followeth *Contra Orientem*, in *Hebrew* *Mikkedem*. *Aquila* translateth *απο δεξις*: we may read it, from the beginning *Symmachus* hath in *αρις*, and *Theodotion*, in *αρις* both which signifie beginning, and not the east, whereby it is plaine that God had made Paradiſe before he made heauen and earth, as we read also in the *Hebrew*. *God had planted the Paradiſe Eden from the beginning*. This out of *Hierome*. (*b*) *No such*.] No man denieth that Paradiſe may be spirituall vnderstood, excepting *Ambrose* in his booke *De Paradiſo*. But all the Fathers professe that Paradiſe was a reall pleasant place, full of trees, (as *Damascene* saith) and like to the Poets imaginary *Elizium*. Away with their foolery (saith *Hierome* vpon *Daniel*) that seeke for figures in truthe, and would ouerthrow the reall existence of trees, and riuers in Paradiſe, by drawing all into an Allegory. This did *Origen*, making a spirituall meaning of the whole history, and placing the true Paradiſe in the third heauen, whither the Apostle *Paul* was rapt. (*c*) *Foure*

Eden.

The riuers  
of Paradiſe.

*riuers.*] *Nile* of *Egypt*. *Euphrates* and *Tigris* of *Syria*; and *Ganges* of *India*. There heads are vnknowne, and they run vnder the Ocean into our sea: and therefore the *Egyptian* priests called *Nile*, the Ocean. *Herodot.* (*d*) *Read in the.*] *Cant. 4. 12. 1. 7* sister, my spouse is as a garden inclosed as a spring shut vp, and a fountaine sealed vp, their plants are as an orchard of pomegranates with sweete frutes. &c.

*That the Saints bodies after resurrection shalbe spirituall, and yet not changed into spirits.* CHAP. 22.

**T**He bodies of the Saints in the resurrection shall need none of the tree of life to preferue them in life, health or strength, nor any meate to keepe away hunger

hunger and thirst: They shall haue such an euery way absolute immortality, that they shall neuer need to eate: power they shall haue to doe it if they will, but no necessity. For so the *Angels* did appearing visibly and sensibly, not of necessity, Genes. 18. but of power and will to afford their ministerie vnto man in more congruence. For we may not thinke that when (a) they lodged in mens houses, they did but eate (b) seemingly: though they seemed to eate with the same appetite that the men did, who knew them not to be *Angels*: And therefore the *Angell* saith in *Tobias*: *You saw mee eate, but you saw it but in vision*: that is, you thought I had eaten as you did, to refresh my body. But if the other side may bee probably held of the *Angels*, yet verily wee doubt it not to bee true (c) of Christ, that hee in his spirituall flesh after his resurrection (yet was it his true flesh) eate and dranke with his disciples: The neede onely, not the power, is taken from those glorified Tob. 12. bodies which are spirituall, not because they cease to bee bodies, but because they subsist by the quickning of the spirit. Luc. 23.

## L. VIVES.

**T**hey (a) lodged ] In the houses of *Abraham, Lot, and Tobias*. (b) *Eate seemingly* ] They did not eate as we doe, passing the meate from the mouth to the stomach through the throate, and so decoct it, and disperse the iuice through the veines, for nutriment, nor yet did they de-  
 clude mens eyes, by seeming to moue that which they had for their chaps, and yet mouing them not, or seeming to chew bread, or flesh, and yet leauing it whole. They did eate really, but were not nourished by eating. (c) *Of Christ* ] *Luke the 23*. The *earth* (saith *Beale* vpon this place) drinketh vp water one way, and the sunne another: the *earth* for neede: the *sunne* by his power. And so our Saviour did eate, but not as we eate: that glorious body of his tooke the meate, but turned it not into nutriment, as ours doe.

*Of bodies animate and spirituall, these dying in Adam, and those beeing quickned in Christ. CHAP. 23.*

**F**OR as the bodies that haue a liuing soule (though as yet vnquickned by the spirit) are called animate, yet are our soules but bodies: so are the other called spirituall: yet *God* forbid we should beleue them to bee spirit, or other then substantiall fleshly bodies, yet vncorruptible, and without weight, by the quickning of the spirit. For man shall not then be earthly but celestially, not that he shall leaue his earthly body, but because he shall be so endowed from heauen, that he may inhabite it with loss: of his nature, onely by attaining a celestially quality. The first man was made earth of earth, into (a) a liuing creature, but not into (b) a quickning spirit: as hee should haue bene, had hee perseuered in obedience. Doubtlesse therefore, his body needing meate and drinke against hunger and thirst, and being not kept in youth, & from death by indissoluble immortality, but onely by the *Tree of life*, was not spirituall, but onely animate: yet should it not haue died, but that it incurred *Gods* heavy sentence by offending. And though he might take of other meates out of *Paradise*, yet had he bin (c) forbidden to touch the *tree of life*, he should haue bin liable to time & corruption, in that life onely; which had he continued in spirituall obedience, though it were but meere animate, might haue bene eternall in *Paradise*. Wherefore though by these words of *God*, (d) *When soeuer you eate thereof you shall dye the death*; wee vnderstand by death, the seperation of soule and body, yet ought it not seeme absurd, in that they dyed not the very day that they tooke this deadly meate, for that very day their nature was depraued; and by their iust exclusion from the *Tree of life*, the necessitie of death entred vpon them; wherein wee all are brought

brought forth. And therefore the *Apostle* saith not : The body shall dye for sinne, but *The body is dead because of sinne, and the spirit is life for iustice sake.* And then he addeth : *But if the spirit of him that raised up Iesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead, shall also quicken your mortall bodyes by his spirit dwelling in you.* Therefore then as the *Apostle* saith shall be in quickning of the spirit, which is now in the life of soule, and yet dead, because it must necessarily dye. But in the first man, it was in life of soule, and not in quickning of spirit, yet could it not be called dead, because had not he broken the precept, hee had not beene bound to death. But whereas *God* signified the death of the soule in leauing of him, saying : *Adam where art thou?* and in saying, *Earth thou art, and to earth thou shalt goe,* signified the death of the body in leauing of the soule, therefore wee must thinke he spoake not of the second death, reseruing that secret because of his new testament, where it is plainly discovered : that the first which is common to all, might bee shewen to proceed from that sinne, which one mans acte made common to all : but that the second death is not common to all, because of thole holy onely whom hee hath fore-knowne and predestinated (as the *Apostle* saith) *to bee made like the image of his sonne, that he might be the first borne of many brethren, whom the grace of God by this mediator had saued from the second death.*

Therefore the first mans body was but animate, as the *Apostle* witnesseth, who desiring our animate bodies now, from those spirituall ones, that they shall become in the resurrection : *It is sowne in corruption (saith he) but shall rise againe incorruptible : it is sowne in reproche, but it is raised in glory : it is sowne in weaknesse, but raised in powre : it is sowne an animated body, but shall arise a spirituall body.* And then to prooue this, hee proceedes : *for if there be a naturall (or animated) bodye, there is also a spirituall body.* And to shew what a naturall body is, hee saith : *The first man Adam was made a liuing soule.* Thus then shewed he what a naturall body is, though the scripture doe not say of the first man *Adam*, when *God* breathed in his face, the breath of life, that man became a liuing body, but man became a liuing soule. The first man was made a liuing soule, saith the *Apostle*, meaning a naturall body. But how the spirituall body is to be taken, hee sheweth also, adding, but the last man, a quickning spirit : meaning *Christ* assuredly, who rose from death to dye no more. Then hee proceedeth saying : *That was not first made which is spirituall, but that which is naturall, and that which is spirituall after-wards.* Here hee sheweth most plainly that he did meane by the liuing soule, the naturall body, and the spirituall, by the quickning spirit. For the naturall body that *Adam* had, was first, (though it had not dyed but for that he sinned) and such haue wee now, one nature drawing corruption and necessity of death, from him and from his sinne : such also did *Christ* take vpon him for vs : not needfully, but in his power : but the spirituall body is afterwards : and such had *Christ* our head in his resurrection, such also shall wee his members haue in ours. Then doth the *Apostle* describe the difference of these two, thus. *The first man is of the earth earthly ; the second is of heauen, heauenly ; as the earthly one was so are all the earthly : and as the heauenly one is, such shall all the heauenly ones bee. As wee haue borne the Image of the earthly, so shall wee beare the image of the heauenly.* This the *Apostle* inferres vpon the sacrament of regeneration, as hee saith else-where : *All yee that are baptized into Christ haue put on Christ :* which shall then be really performed, when that which is naturall in our birth, shall become spirituall in our resurrection, that I may vse his owne wordes : *for wee are saued by hope. Wee put on the image*

image of the earthly man, by the propagation of sinne and corruption, adherent vnto our first birth; but wee put on that of Heauenly man by grace, pardon and promise of life eternall, which regeneration assureth vs by the mercy onely of the mediator betweene *God and man, the man Christ Iesus*, whome the Angell calles the Heauenly man because hee came from Heauen to take vpon him the shape of earthly mortality, and to shape it into heauenly immortality. Hee calleth the rest, heauenly also, because they are made members of Christ by grace they and Christ being one, as the members and the head is own body. This he auerreth plainly in the chapter aforesaid, *by a man came death, and by a man came the resurrection from the dead: for as in Adam all die, euen so in Christ shall all bee made alieue*: and that into a quickning spirit, that is a spirituall body: not that all that die in *Adam* shall become members of Christ, for many more of them shall fall into the eternall second death: but it is said, all, and all, because as none dy naturall, but in *Adam*, so none shall reuiue spirituall but in Christ, wee may not then thinke that our bodies at the resurrection shall be such as *Adams* was at the creation, nor that this place, *As the earthly one was, so are all the earthly*, is meant of that which was effected by the transgression: for we may not thinke that *Adam* had a spiritual body ere he fell, and in his fall was made a naturall one: he that conceiueth it so, giues but little regard to that great teacher, that saith. *If ther be a natural body, then is there also a spiritual*, as it is also written, *the first man Adam was made: a liuing soule*, was this done after sinne, being the first estate of man, from whence the blessed Apostle tooke this testimony of the lawe, to shew what a naturall body was.

## L. VIVES.

**A** *Liuing (a)*. Or with a liuing soule, but the first is more vsual in holy writ. *(b) A quickning*] Blessed and ioyned with God: bt which coniunction it imparteth integrity and immortality vnto the body. *(c) Forbidden.*] Out of much diuersity of reading I hold this the best: for, it is the soule that liueth and the quickning spirit that giueth life. *(d) When soeucr.*] *Symmachus* (saith *Hierome*) expounds this place better, *thou shalt be mortall*. But indeed we die as soone as we are borne as *Manilius* saith.

*Nascentes morimur. finisque, ab origine pendet.*

Being borne we die: our ends hangs at our birth:

*How Gods breathing life into Adam, and Christs breathing vpon his Apostles when he said, receive the holy spirit, are to be understood. CHAP. 24.*

**S**omewherefore do vnaduisedly thinke that God, when he breathed in his face the breath of life and man became a liuing soule, did *(a)* not then giue him a soule but by the holy spirit onely quickned a soule that was in him before. They ground vpon Christs breathing vpon his Apostles after his resurrection and saying, *receiue the Holy spirit*: thinke that this was such another breathing, so that the Euangelist might haue sayd, *they became liuing soules*, which if hee had done it would haue caused vs to imagine all reasonable soules dead that are not quickned by Gods spirit, though their bodies seeme to bee alieue. But it was not so when man was made, as the Scripture sheweth plaine, in these words *(b)* *And GOD formed man being dust of the Earth*: which some thinking to explaine, translate. *(c)* *And GOD framed man of the Lome of the Earth* because

Man for-  
med.

because it was said before, a mist went vp from the earth and watred all the earth: that lome should seeme to be produced by this mixture of earth and water for immediatly followeth. *And God framed man being dust of the earth*, as the Greeke translations (*d*) whence our latine is, do read it: but whether the Greeke *ἠλάσθη*, be formed, or framed, it maketh no matter: (*e*) framed, is the more proper word, but they that vsed formed thought they avoyded ambiguity, because that *fringo*, in the latine is vsed (*f*) commonly for to feygne, by lying or illuding. This man therefore being framed of dust, or lome, (for lome is moystned dust) that this dust of the earth (to speake with the scripture more expressly) when it receiued a soule was made an animate body, the Apostle affirmeth saying, *the man was made a liuing soule*: that is, this dust being formed was made a liuing soule. I (say they) but hee had a soule, now, already, other-wise hee could not haue beene man being neither soule only, nor body only, but consisting of both. Tis true, the soule is not whole man, but the better part onely, nor the body whole man but the worse part only, and both conioyned make man, yet when we speake of them disioyned, they loose not that name; for who may not follow custome, and say, such a man is dead? such a man is now in ioy, or in paine, and speake but of the soule onely? or such a man is in his graue, and meane but the body onely? will they say the scripture vseth no such phrase? yes, it both calles the body and soule conioyned by the name of man and also diuiding them, calles the soule the inward man, and the body the outward, as if they were two men, and not both composing one.

Man how  
created.

Isa. 57. 16.

And marke in what respect man is called Gods image, and man of earth, returning to earth, the first is in respect of the reasonable soule which God breathed, or inspired into man, that is, into mans body: and the later is in respect of the body which God made of the dust, and gaue it a soule, whereby it became a liuing body, that is, man became a liuing soule: and therefore whereas Christ breathing vpon his Apostles, said, *receue the holy spirit*: this was to shew that the spirit was his, as well as the Fathers, for the spirit is the Fathers, and the Sonnes, making vp the Trinity of Father, Sonne, and Holy Spirit, being no creature, but a creator? That breath which was carnally breathed, was not the substantiall nature of the Holy Spirit, but rather a signification (as I said) of the Sonnes communication of the spirit with his Father, it being not particular to either, but common to both. The scriptures in Greeke calleth it alwaies *πνευμα*, as the Lord called it here, when by signifying it with his breath, hee gaue it to his disciples: and I neuer read it otherwise called in any place of Gods booke. But here, whereas it is sayd that God formed man being dust of the earth, and breathed in his face the spirit (or breath) of life: the Greeke is (*g*) not *πνευμα*, but *πνοή*: which word is read oftener for the creature then the creator: and therefore some latinists (for difference sake) do not interpret this word *πνοή*, spirit, but breath, for so it is in *Esay*, where God saith (*h*) *I haue made all breath*: meaning doubtlesse, euery soule. Therefore that which the Greekes call *πνοή*, wee do sometimes call breath, some-time spirit, some-time inspiration, and aspiration, and some-times (*i*) soule: but *πνευμα* neuer, but spirit, either of man, as the Apostle saith, *what man knoweth the things of a man but the spirit of a man which is in him*: or of a beast as wee read in the *preacher*: *who knoweth whether the spirit of man ascendeth upwardes, and the spirit of the beast downwardes to the earth? or that bodily spirit which wee call wind, as the Psalme saith, fire, hayle, snow, ice, and the spirit of tempests*: or of no creature, but the

I Cor. 2. 11  
Ecclij. 21.  
Pla. 148. 8.

the creator himselfe : whereof our Saviour said in the Gospell : *Receive the holy spirit* : signifying it in his bodily breath : and there also where hee saith , *Goe, and baptise all nations in the name of the father, the sonne, and the holy spirit*, plainly and excellently intimating the full Trinity unto vs : and there also where wee read ; *God is a spirit*, and in many other places of scripture. In all those places of Scripture, the Greeke wee see hath *πνευμα*, and not *πνοη*, and the Latine, *flatus*, and not *spiritus*. And therefore if in that place, *Hee breathed into his face the breath of life*, the Greeke had not *πνοη* (as it hath) but *πνευμα*, yet were it no consequent that wee should take it for the *holy spirit*, the third person in Trinity, because *πνευμα* is vsed for a creature, as well as the creator, and as ordinarily. O but (say they) hee would not haue added *vita*, of life, but that hee meant that spirit : and whereas hee said ; *Man became a soule*, hee would not haue added *living*, but that he meant the soules life, which is giuen from above by the *spirit of God* : for the soule hauing a proper life by it selfe, why should hee adde *living*, but to intimate the life giuen by the *holy spirit* ? But what is this but folly to respect coniecture, and wholly to neglect scripture ? for what need we goe further then a chapter, and behold : *let the earth bring forth the living soule* : speaking of the creation of all earthly creatures : and besides for five or sixe Chapters onely after, why might they not obserue this : *Euerything in whose nostrills the spirit of life did breath*, *whatsoeuer they were in the drye land, dyed* ; relating the destruction of euery liuing thing vpon earth, by the deluge ? If then wee finde a liuing soule, and a spirit of life in beasts, as the Scripture saith plainly, vsing *πνοη* and not *πνευμα*, in this very last place : why may wee not as well say, why added hee *living* there, seeing that a soule cannot bee vnlesse it liue ? and why added hee, *Of life*, here, hauing named *spirit* ? But wee vnderstand the Scriptures ordinary vsage of the liuing soule, and the spirit of life, for animated bodyes, naturall, and sensitiue : and yet forget this vsuall phrase of Scripture, when it commeth to bee vsed concerning the state of man : Whereas it implieth that man receiued a reasonable soule of God, created by his breath, ( *k* ) not as the other were, produced out of water and earth, and yet so, that it was made in that body to liue therein, and make it an animate body, and a liuing soule, as the other creatures were, whereof the Scripture sayd : *Let the earth bring a forth living soule* : and that *in whose nostrills was the spirit of life*, which the Greeke text calleth not *πνευμα*, but *πνοη*, meaning not the holy spirit, but their life. But wee (say they) doe conceiue Gods breath to come from the mouth of God, now if that bee a soule, ( *l* ) wee must holde it equall, and consubstantiall with that wisdom, or *word* of GOD, which saith, *I am come out of the mouth of the most high* : Well : it saith not, that it was breathed from his mouth, but came out of it And as wee men ( not out of our owne nature, but ) of the ayre about vs, can make a contraction into our selues, and giue it out againe in a breath, so Almighty GOD ( not onely out of his owne nature, or of any inferiour creature, but ) euen of nothing can make a breath, which hee may bee most fitly said to breath or inspire into man, it being as hee is, incorporeall, but not as hee is, immutable, because it is created, as he is not.

But to let those men see that will talke of Scriptures, and yet marke not what they doe intend, that some-thing may bee sayd to come forth of GOD S mouth besides that which is equall and consubstantiall with him, let them read or heare Gods owne words : *Because thou art luke warme, and neither colde nor hotte, it will come to passe that I shall spew thee out of my mouth*. Therefore wee haue to contradict the *Apostles* plainenesse in distinguishing the naturall body wherein wee

now are, from the spirituall wherein wee shall bee: where he saith; *It is sown a naturall body, but ariseth a spirituall body*: as it is also written: *The first man Adam was made a lining soule, and the last Adam, a quickning spirit. The first was of earth, earthly, the second of heauen, heavenly: as is the earthly, such are all the earthly, and as the heavenly is, such are the heavenly. And as wee haue borne the Image of the earthly, so shall wee beare the Image of the heavenly.* Of all which words, wee spake before. Therefore the naturall body wherein man was first made, was not made immortall: but yet was made so that it should not haue dyed, vnlesse man had offended. But the body that shall bee spirituall and immortall, shall neuer haue power to dye, as the soule is created immortall; who though it doe in a manner lose the life, by loosing the spirit of God, which should aduance it vnto beatitude, yet it reserueth the proper life, that is, it liueth in misery for euer, for it cannot dye wholly. The *Apostaticall Angels*, after a sort, are dead by sinning: because they forsooke God, the fountaine of life, whereat they might haue drunke eternall felicity: yet could they not dye so, that their proper life and sence should leaue them, because they were made immortall; and at the last iudgement they shal be thrown headlong into the second death, yet so as they shal liue therein for euer, in perpetuall sence of torture. But the *Saints* (the *Angels* fellow-cittizens) belonging to the grace of God, shall be so inuested in spiritual bodies, that from thence-forth they shall neither sinne nor die: becomming so immortall (as the *Angels* are) that sinne can neuer subuert their eternity, the nature of flesh shall still be theirs, but quite extracted from all corruption, vnweeldynesse and ponderosity. Now followeth another question, which (by the true Gods helpe) we meane to decide; and that is this; If the motion of concupiscence arose in the rebelling members of our first parents, immediately vpon their transgression, where-vpon they saw, that is, they did more curiously obserue their owne nakednesse, and because the vncleane motion resisted their wils, couered their priuie partes; how should they haue begotten children, had they remayned as they were created, without preuarication? But this booke being fit for an end, and this question not fit for a too succinct discussion, it is better to leaue it to the next volume.

The Apostaticall Angels.

The diuel at the iudgement shal be cast into the second death.

## L. VIVES.

**D**<sup>d</sup>id not (a) then } This the *Manichees* held. *Aug. de Genes. ad lit. lib. 2. Cap. 8.*  
 (b) And GOD formed } They doe translate it, *And God framed man of earth taken from the earth*: I thinke *Augustine* wanteth a word, *taken* or *taking*: *Laurinus* his copy readeth it as the *Septuagints* do. Yet the *Chaldee Thargum*, or paraphraze, reading it as *Augustine* hath it; and so it is in the Bible that *Cardinall Ximenes*, my patron, *Crois* his predecessor, published in foure languages being assisted by many learned men, but for the greeke especially by *John Vergara*, a deepe vprightly iudicious, and vnvulgar Scholler. Their Pentateuch, *Lewis Coronelli* lent me forbearing al the while that I was in hand with this worke, for the common good. (c) *And God framed* } *Hieromes* translation. (d) *Whence our* } Shewing that in his time, the Church vsed the Latine translation, from the seuentic, and not *Hieroms*. I wonder therefore that men should be excluded from sober vsing of diuerse translations. (e) *Framed is* } *πλαττω*, the Greeke is, we vse it of those that forme any thing out of claye: that is [ *singere* ] and great authors vse it concerning men. He made them [ *finxit* ] gree-die and gluttonous. *Salust*. He made thee [ *finxit* ] wise, temperate, &c. by nature. (sc. pro *Mur*. speaking of *Cato Maior*. To forme I thinke is nothing but to giue forme properly. (f) *Com-*

John Vergara.  
Lewis Coronelli.

(f) *Commonly*] [ If a moderne diuine had plaide the Gramarian thus, hee should haue heard of it. But *Augustine* may: but if he and *Paul* liued now adayes, hee should be held a Pedant, or a petty orator, and *Paul* a madde man, or an heretique. ] Not *πνευμα*.] The *Chaldees* read, a speaking spirit. Here *Augustine* shewes plainly how necessarie the true knowledge of the meanings of words is in art and discipline (b) *I haue made*] *Isay. 57. 16.* the 70. also read it *πνευμα*, all breath. Many of the Latinists *animus*, and *anima*, for ayre, and breath. *Virg.*

[The Louaine copy defective.]

*Semina terrarumq; animaque marisque fuissent.*

They had beene seeds of earth, of ayre and sea:

And *Tully* in his *Academikes* vseth it for breath: *Si vnus & simplex, vtrum sit ignis, an anima, an sanguis*: If it be simply one, whether is it fire, breath, or blood. *Terenc. Compressi animum*: I held my breath. *Plaut. Fetet anima uxoris tuae*. Your wiues breath stinckes, and *Pliny Anima Leonis virus graue*: A Lions breath is deadly poison. (i) *Soule*] I like this reading better then *Bruges* copies: it squares better with the following Scriptures. (k) *Not as the*] If we say that *Augustine* held mans soule created without the body, and then infused, as *Aristotle* seemes to auerre, *De generat. animal.*, *S. Thomas*, and a many more moderne authors goe downe the winde. But if wee say it is not created as the mortall ones are, that are produced out of the disposition of the substances wherein they are: but that it is created from aboue, within man, without all power of the materiall parts, to worke any such effect, this were the most common opinion, and *Aristotle* should be thus vnderstood: which seemes not to agree with this assertion, that it commeth *ab externo*: nor with his opinion that holdeth it immortal; and inborne, if I vnderstand his minde aright, whereof I see his interpreters are very vncertaine, (l) *We must hold*] There were not onely a many Pagans (as wee haue shewen) but some Christians also that held the soule to be of Gods substance: nor were these heretiques onely, as the *Prisillianists*, and some others, but euen that good Christian *Lactantius*: not that I, or any one wiser then I, will approue him in this, but in that hee seemeth to stand zealously affected vnto *Christ*. His words are these: *Having made the body, he breathed into it a soule, out of the liuing fountaine of his owne spirit, which is eternall. Institut. diuin. lib. 2.* wherein hee seemes to hold that mans soule was infused into him from the spirit of God.

*Lactantius*

Finis, lib. 13.

V v 2

THE



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FINIS.

THE  
FOURTEENTH BOOKE  
OF THE CITTIE OF GOD

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishop of *Hippo*,  
vnto *Marcellinus*.

*That the inobedience of the first man had drawne all mankinde into the perpetuity  
of the second death, but that Gods grace hath freed a many from it.*

CHAP. I.



WE said in our precedent bookes that it was Gods pleasure to propagate all men from one, both for the keeping of humane nature in one sociable similitude, and also for to make their vniry of originall be the meanes of their concord in heart. Nor should any of this kinde haue dyed but the first two (the one whereof was made of the other, and the other of nothing) had incurred this punishment by their disobedience: in committing so great a sinne, Death pro-  
pate by  
sinne. that their whole nature being hereby depraued, was so transfused through all their off-spring in the same degree of corruption, and necessity of death; whose kingdome here-vpon became so great in man, that all should haue beene cast headlong in the second death, that hath no end, by this due punishment, but the vndue (a) grace of God acquitted some from it: whereby it comes to passe, that whereas man-kinde is diuided into so many nations, distinct in language, discipline, habite, and fashion: ye: is there but two sorts of men that doe properly make the two citties wee speake of: the one is, of men that liue according to the flesh, and the other of those that liue according to the spirit, either in his kinde: and when they haue attained their desire, either doe liue in their peculiar peace.

L. VIVES.

**V**Ndue (a) grace] For God owes no man any thing, and therefore it is called grace, because it comes *gratis*, freely, and because it maketh the receiuer *gratum*, thankfull. *Who hath giuen vnto him first and hee shall be recompensed?* Rom. 11. 35. If it were due, he should not then giue, but restore it. *Not by the workes of righteousnesse which wee haue done, but according to his mercy hee saued vs.* Tit. 3. 5. Grace.

*Of the carnall life, apparant in the soues viciousnesse as well as the bodies.*

CHAP. 2.

WE must first then see what it is to liue according to the flesh, and what, according to the spirit. The raw and inconsiderate considerer hereof, not attending well to the scriptures, may thinke that the *Epicureans* were those that liued according to the flesh, because they made bodily pleasure that *summum bonum*, and all such as any way held corporall delight to be mans chiefest good: as the vulgar also, which not out of Philosophy, but out of their owne pronensse to lust, can delight in no pleasures, but such as are bodily and sensible: but that

the *Stoicks* that placed this *summum bonum* in the minde, liue according to the spirit: (for what is mans minde but his spirit?) But the Scriptures proue them both to follow the courses of the flesh, calling the flesh not onely an earthly animate body, as it doth saying. *All flesh is not the same flesh; for there is one flesh of men, and another flesh of beasts, and another of fishes, and another of birds:* but it vseth the worde in farre other significations, amongst which one is, that it calleth whole man, that is, his intire nature, flesh, vsing the part for the whole: as

**I. Cor. 15. 39** *Flesh vsed for man.*

**Rom 3. 20** *By the workes of the lawe shall no flesh be iustified.* What meanes hee by no flesh, but no man? hee explaineth him-selfe immediatly: *a man is iustified by faith without the workes of the lawe.* And in another place: *No man is iustified by the lawe.*

**Iohn. 1. 13** *The word was made flesh.* What is that but man? Some misconceiuing this place, held that Christ had no humaine soule. For as the part is taken for the whole in these words of *Mary Magdalene.* *They haue taken away my Lord, and I know not where they haue laide him:* Meaning onely the flesh of Christ, which shee thought they had taken out of the Sepulchre: so is the part taken for the whole, when wee say *flesh*, for *Man*, as in the quotations before. Seeing therefore that the Scripture vseth flesh in so many significations (too tedious heere to collect.)

To finde what it is to liue according to the flesh (the course being euill when the flesh is not euill,) let vs looke a little diligently into that place of the Apostle Paul to the Galathians, where hee saith, *The workes of the flesh are manifest, which are adultery, fornication vncleannesse, wantonnesse, Idolatry, witch-craft, hatred, debate, emulation, (b) wrath, contentions, seditions, heresies, enuie, drunkennesse, gluttonie, and such like, whereof I tell you now, as I told you before, that they which do those things shall not inherit the Kingdome of God.* The due consideration of this place of the Apostle, will presently giue vs sufficient demonstration (as farre as here needeth) what it is to liue according to the flesh, for in the workes of the flesh which hee saith are manifest, rehearsing and condemning them, we finde not onely such as appertaine to bodily and luxurious delight, as fornications, vncleannesse, luxurie, and drunkennesse, but such also as discouer the viciousnesse of the minde, truly distinct from fleshly pleasures. For who conceiueth not that Idolatry, Witch-craft, emnity, contention, emulation, wrath, enuy, sedition, and heresie, are rather mentall vices then corporall? A man may for very reuerence, of some Idolatrous or hereticall error, abstaine from the lusts of the body, and yet though hee doe so, by the Apostles wordes, *hee liues according to the flesh:* and in auoyding the workes thereof, committeth most damnable workes thereof. Who hath not enmitie in his heart? or who saith to his enemy, or him that hee thinks his enemy, you haue an euill flesh against mee? none; you haue an euill minde against mee. Lastly, as all men that should heare those carnall vices recited, would affirme they were meant of the flesh, so none that heareth those mentall crimes, but referreth them all to the minde? why then doth this true and faithfull teacher of the Gentiles, call them *The workes of the flesh*, but in that hee taketh flesh for man, as the part for the whole?

### L. VIVES.

**SOME** (a) misconceiuing] Those were the *Apollinarists*. *Aug. in Ioan. Serm. in Arriū, 83. Quest.*  
**The Cerdonians** also, & the *Apollite* held so. *de her. ad quod vult Deū. (b) Wrath* *Hierom. Hierom. reads*

reads it, *ira*, but *animus* is vsed also for wrath. *S. Iust*, You saw last yeare how wrathfully [ *quantis animis* ] *Lucullus* opposed *L. Quintius*, hereof comes the word *animositas*, that *Augustine* vs-eth for wrath. *Virgil* calls them East windes *Animosi*, wrathfull. *Macrobius* in *Som. Scip.* 2. vseth it so too, That anger that the greekes call *ἡμῶς*, is momentarie and of no continuance. *Tully* calls it *excandescencia*, a fury now beginning, and presently ceasing, there is in this text of *Paul*, *rix*, scoldings, or altercations, *ipibual*, which *Augustine* addeth not.

Animosity

That sinne came from the seale, and not the flesh: and that the corruption  
which sinne hath proovred, is not sin, but the punishment of sinne.

## CHAP. 3.

**I**F any man say that the flesh is cause of the viciousnesse of the soule, he is ignorant in mans nature, for the corruptible body doth but burden the soule: therefore the Apostle speaking of this corruptible body whereof hee had sayd before, although our outward man be corrupted, we know (quoth he) that if our earthly house of habitation bee destroyed, we have a building given of God, an house not made with hands, but an eternall one in heauen, therefore wee sigh, desyring to be cloathed with that habitation which we have in heauen: notwithstanding if we bee cloathed wee shall not bee found naked. For wee that are in this habitacle, sigh, and are burdened, because we would not be uncloathed, but cloathed vpon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life. Wee are therefore burdened with this corruptible body, and yet knowing that it is not the bodies nature, but corruption, that causeth this burden, wee would not bee despoiled of it, but bee cloathed vpon it, with the immortality thereof. It shall then bee a body still, but burdensome to vs no more, because it is become incorruptible: so then, as yet the corruptible bodie is heavy vnto the soule and the earthly mansion keepeth down the comprehensue minde. But yet such as thinke that the euils of the minde arise from the body, doe erre. For though that *Virgill* doe seeme to expresse a plaine (a) *Platonisme* in these verses.

1. Cor. 5. 2  
1, 3, 4

Wk 9. 15

*Ignis est ollis vigor & celestis origo,  
Seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant,  
Terreniq; bebetant artus, moribundaq; membra.*  
Those seedes haue fiery vigor, heauenly spring,  
So farre as bodies hinder not with fullnesse,  
Or earthly dying members clog with dullnesse.

Seeming to deriue the foure knowne passions of the minde, (b) *Desire, Feare, Ioy and Sorrow*, as the originalls of all guilt, wholly from the bodie, by these verses following.

*Hinc metunt, cupimusq; dolent, gaudentq; nec auras  
Suscipiunt, clausa tenebris & carcere caco.*

Heare-hence they feare, desire, displeas'd, content,  
Nor lookt to heauen, in darke-blinde prison pent.

Yet our faith teacheth vs otherwise. For this corruption that is so burdensome to the soule, is the punishment of the first sin, not the cause: the corruptible flesh made not the soule to sin, but the sinning soule made the flesh corruptible: frō which corruption although there do arise some incitements vnto sin, & some vicious desires, yet are not all the sins of an euill life to bee laid vpon the flesh, otherwise, we shal make the diuill, that hath no flesh, sin-lesse; for though we cannot (c) call him a fornicator, a drunkard, or by any one of those carnally vicious names,

The deuills  
haue no  
flesh yet  
haue they  
fleshly  
workes.

(though he bee a secret prouoker of man vnto all those) yet is he truly stiled most proude and enuious, which vices haue possessed him so farre, as therefore is hee destinate vnto eternall torment in the prisons of this obscure ayre. Now those vices that domineere in him the Apostle calleth the workes of the flesh, though sure it is that hee hath no flesh. For hee saith that enmity, contention, emulation, wrath, and enuie are the workes of the flesh: to all which, pride giueth being, yet rules pride in the flesh-lesse deuill. For who hates the Saints more then hee? who is more enuious, contentious, emulating, and wrathfull against them then hee? Doing all this without the flesh, how are these the workes of the flesh, but because they are the workes of man, whom as I sayd before, the Apostle meaneth by flesh? for man became like the deuill not in beeing in the flesh (for so was not the deuill) but in liuing according to his owne lust, that is according to the fleshly man: for so chose the deuill to doe, when hee left the truth, to become a lier, not through GOD, but through himselfe, who is both a lier, and the father of lying. For hee lied first, and from him, sinning and lying had their beginning.

Io. 3. 20.

### L. VIVES.

The  
minde  
four  
affects.

**P** *Laine (a) Platonisme*] No more then *Pythagorisme*, both alike: but of this in the 8. booke. *(b) Desire*] There are foure chiefe affects of the minde, two, delightfull, and two sorrowfull. Of the first, the one belongs to things present: *ioy*, and is, an opinion of a present good: the other, desire, vnto future: and is, an opinion of a future good. Of the two sad ones, *sorrow*, is an opinion of a present euill, and feare, of a future, and of these affects, come all the rest, *Enuy*, *Emulation*, *Detraction*, *Pitty*, *Vexation*, *Mourning*, *Sadnesse*, *Lamentation*, *Care*, *Doubt*, *Trouble*, *solmesse*, *Affliction*, *Desperation*: all these come of sorrow: and *Sloth*, *Shame*, *Error*, *Timorousnesse*, *Amazement*, *Disturbance*, and *Anxiety*, from feare. And then, *Exultation*, *Delight* and *Boasting* of *ioy*, with *Wrath*, *Fury*, *Hatred*, *Emnity*, *Discorde*, *Need*, and *Affectation*, all of *Desire*. *Cic. Tuscul. quest. lib. 4. (c) Cannot call him*] O. this hereafter.

### What it is to liue according to Man, and to liue according to God. CHAP. 4.

Rom 3. 7

**T** Herefore a man liuing according to man, and not according to God, is like the deuill: because an Angell indeed should not liue according to an Angel, but according to God: to remaine in the truth, and speake truth from him, and not lies from himselfe. For the Apostle speakes thus of man. *If the truth of GOD hath abounded through my lying: calling lying his, & the truth of God.* Therefore he that liues according to the truth, liues according vnto God, not according to himselfe. For God said, *I am the truth*: But he y liueth not so, but according to himselfe, liueth according to lying: not that man (whom God that neuer created lie, did create) is the author of lying, but because man was created vpright, to liue according to his creator and not himselfe, that is, to doe his will rather then his owne. But not to liue, as hee was made to liue, this is a lie. For hee (a) would bee blessed, and yet will not liue in a course possible to attaine it: (b) What can there bee more lying then such a will? And therefore it is not vntruly sayd euery sinne, is a lie. For wee neuer sinne but with a will to doe our selues good, or not to doe our selues hurt.

Therefore

Therefore is it a lie when as that we thinke shall doe vs good turnes vnto our hurt: or that which we thinke to better our selues by, makes vs worse, whence is this, but because that man can haue his good but onely from God, whome hee forsaketh in sinning: and none from himselfe in liuing according to whom, hee sinneth? Whereas therefore wee sayd that the contrariety of the two citties arose herevpon, because some liued according to the flesh, and others according to the spirit we may likewise say it is because some liue according vnto Man, and other some vnto God. For *Paul* saith plainely to the *Corinthians*, *Seeing there is emulation, and contention amongst you, are you not carnall, and walke accordng to man.* 1. Cor. 3, 3

To walke therefore according to man, is carnall, man beeing vnderstood in his, inferior part, flesh. For those which hee calles carnall here, he calleth naturall before, saying: (c) *What man knoweth the things of a man but the spirit of a man, which is in him? euen so, no man knoweth the things of God but the spirit of God. Now we haue not receiued the spirit of the word, but the Spirit which is of God, that wee might know the things that God hath giuen vs, which things also we speake, not in the words which mans wisdom teacheth, but (d) being taught by the spirit comparing spirituall things with spirituall things. But the naturall man perceiweth not the things of the spirit of God: (e) for they are fool: shresse vnto him.* Vnto those naturall men hee spake this a little afterwards: *I could not speake vnto you brethren as vnto spirituall men, but as vnto carnall.* And here is that figure in speech that vseth the patt for the whole to bee vnderstood: for the whole man may either bee ment by the soule, or by the flesh: both which are his parts: and so a naturall man and a carnall man, are not feuerall, but all one, namely one that liueth according to man: according as those places afore-cited doe intend. *By the workes of the law (f) shall no flesh bee iustified:* and that where it is said that (g) *Seventy five soules went downe vwith Iacob into Egypt*, in the former by flesh, is ment, man, and in the later, by 75. soules, are meant 75. persons. And in this, not in the words which mans wisdom teacheth, he might haue sayd: which carnall wisdom reacheth: as also, according to the flesh, for according vnto man, if hee had pleased. And it was more apparant in the subsequence: for when one saith, *I am Pauls*, and another, *I am Apollōs*, are you not men? That which he had called naturall, and carnall before, he now more expressly, calleth man: meaning, you liue according to Man, and not according to God, whom if you followed in your liues, you should bee made gods of men.

1. Cor. 3, 3

1. Cor. 2,  
11, 12, 13,  
14Rom. 3. 10  
Gen. 46,  
27.

1. Cor. 3, 4

## L. VIVES.

**H**EE (a) would] No man liueth so wickedly, but hee desireth beatitude: though his course lead him quite another way, directly vnto misery. (b) *What can*] There is nothing more deceitfull then the wicked. For it deludeth him extremely in whom it ruleth. (c) *What man*] This place is cited otherwise, & more expressly in the latine text of the first booke. (d) *Taught by the spirit*] *or d'auxlois &c.* But some reade, *by the Doctrine of the spirit* (e) *For they are*] The spirituall things of GOD seeme fooleries vnto carnall and vssettled men: as the Pagans wisdom and vertues were scorned of the rich gnosfes that held shades for substances, and vertues for meere vanities. Thence hath *Plato* his caue wherein men were vsed to shapes and appearing shadowes that they thought their had beene no other bodies. *De rep. lib. 7.* (f) *Shall no flesh*] Some read it in the present tense, but erroneously: the greeke is *δικαιωσεται* *iustificabitur.* (g) *Seventy five soules*] Soule, for man, is an Hebraicall phrase: for life, a greeke phrase: vsed also by the latine. *Nonius Marcellus* saith *Virgil* vseth it for bodies; there where he saith.

Soule, for  
man.

Interred

*Interea socios, inhumataque corpora terre,  
Mandemus, qui solus honos vischeronte sub imo est:  
Ite ait egregias animas qua sanguine nobis,  
Hanc patriam peperere suo.—*  
Meane while th' vnburied bodies of our mates,  
Giue wie to Graue, sole honor after Fates,  
Goe honor those braue soules with their last dues.  
Who with their blood purchas'd this land for vs.

Whether it be so or no, let him looke to it: ¶ indeed in the Greeke is sometimes vsed for the whole creature.

*That the Platonists teach the natures of soule and body better then the  
Manichees, yet they erre in ascribing sinne vnto the nature  
of the flesh. C H A P. 5.*

WE should not therfore iniure our creator in imputing our vices to our flesh: the flesh is good, but to leaue the creator and liue according to this created good, is the mischief: whether a man do choose to liue according to the body or the soule or both, which make full man, who therfore may be called by either of them? For he that maketh the soules nature, the greatest good, and the bodies the greatest euill, doth both carnally affect the soule, and carnally auoid the flesh: conceiuing of both as humaine vanity, not as diuine verity teacheth: him indeed the (a) *Platonists* are not so mad as the *Manichees*, that hate the carnal body, as the naturall cause of all mischief, and yet make God the creator of all the elements, parts and qualities that this visible world is composed of. Yet the *Platonists* hold that these our mortall members, do produce the affects of feare, desire, ioy, and sorrow in our bodies: from which foure perturbations (as *Tully* calles them) or passions (as other translators giue them) the whole inundation of mans enormities haue their source and spring. If this be so, why doth *Aeneas* in *Virgill* hearing by his father that the soules were to returne backe into bodies, wonder at this opinion, and cry out.

*O pater anne aliquas ad calum hinc ire putandum est,  
Sublimes animas, iterumque ad tarda reuerti  
Corpora? que lucis miseris tam dira cupido?*  
What father do you thinke the soules are taine  
To heauen, and thence, to this dull flesh returne.  
What dire affect should vrge them to their paine.

Is this same dire affect as yet remayning in the soule, being now quit from the carnall burden in such a commended purity! doth hee not say they are purged from all bodily infection, when as they desire to returne into the body againe, if it were so then (as it is most vaine to hold so) that there were an eternall reuolution of the pollution, and the purgation, then can it not bee truly said that all vicious affects are the effects of the flesh: for as this (b) noble speaker saith, *that dire affect which doth compell the soule being purged from all earthly (c) contagion to desire the body againe*, is not of the body. And therefore they confesse that all the soules ill affects arise not from the flesh: as desire, feare, ioy, and (d) sorrow: but it may haue those passions of it selfe.

L. VIVES

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) *Maniches* ] They held all flesh the worke of the deuill, not of GOD, and therefore they forbad their hearers to kill any creatures, least they should offend the Princes of darkenesse from whom they sayd all flesh had originall: and if they vsed their wiuces, yet must they auoide generation, least the diuine substance which goeth into them by their nourishment should bebound in the fleshly bonds of the child begotten. *Aug. ad Quod vult deum.* The *Priscillianists* held thus also. (b) *Noble speaker* ] So he called *Tully* before, and *Virgil* now. (c) *Contagion* ] Or, habitacle. (d) *Sorrow* ] *Tullie* calls it *egritudo*, *Tusc.* 3.

*Of the quality of mans will, vnto with all affections, good, and bad,  
are subiect. CHAP. 6.*

**B**Ut the quality of mans will, is of some moment, for if it be bad, so are all those motions, if good, they are both blamelesse, and praise-worthy: for there is (a) a will in them all: nay they are all direct wills: what is desire, and ioy, but a will (b) consenting to that which wee affect: and what is feare, and sorrow, but a will contrary vnto what we like? But when we consent to the desire of any thing, that is desire, and when wee consent in enioying any thing, this is delight: So, when wee dislike a thing, and would not haue it come to passe, this will, is feare: when we dislike it being come to passe, this is grieue or sorrow. And this according to the variety of the things desired and avoided, as the will consents, or dislikes so are our diuersity of passions. Whereof a Man that maketh GOD and not Man the steeres-man of his life, ought to loue good: and consequently, to hate euill: and because none is euill by nature, but all by vice: hee that liueth after Gods loue, oweth his (c) full hate vnto the Euill: not to hate the man for his vice, nor to loue the vice for the man, but hate the vice and loue the man: for the vice being cured, hee shall finde no object of his hate, but all for his loue. Lawfull  
hate.

## L. VIVES.

(a) **A Will** ] The *Stoickes* hold that onely to bee *Canon* (which *Tully* translates *will*) when a thing is firmly and constantly desired, therefore it is defined, a desire of any thing **Will** with reason which is in a wise man only: but that which is against reason, is called a lust, or an inordinase desire being resident in all fooles. The *Peripatetiques* call both these wills, the one good and the other badde: the controuersie (as I said else-where) is but verball. For the *Stoickes* call *affects* wills also, nor skilleth it whether Will, follow Nature or Reason: for it is euer-more Will, though that be properly called Will, wherein is that freedome of election, and is harbour to Vice, or Vettue. (b) *Consenting* ] To beleue a thing to bee, or not to bee, is no consent, or dissent, but Knowledge, Faith, or Opinion, (*Arist. in Analyt. Posterior.*) but to will, or not to will in any thing that belongs to the will, which pertaineth to the minde, and as it were, appoints and decrees what is to be done or not done. (c) *Full hate* ] Explaining that of the *Psalme* 139.22. *I hate them with a perfect hatred.*

*That amor, and dilectio, are of indifferent use in the scriptures, both  
for good and euill. CHAP. 7.*

**F**OR hee that is resolved to loue GOD, and his neighbor according vnto  
GOD



God and not Man : for this loue, is called a Man of a good will, and this is called more commonly, *charity*, in the scriptures, though some-times it bee called loue therein also. For the Apostle will haue his magistrate to bee a *louer of good*. And our LORD asking *Peter* thus: *Symon the sonne of Ionah, louest thou me (a) more then these*, hee answered, Lord, *(b)* thou knowest that *I loue thee*: hee asked him so againe, and hee answered so againe, then they asked him the third time, by *amor*, whereas he had vsed *amare*, *diligo*, in the other two, onely to shew, that *diligere*, and *amare* were both one, to loue, as *Peter* had vsed the one, in all the three questions. This I thought, worth recitall, but some say *(c)* *dilectio*, charity, is one thing, and *amor*, loue, another: and that the first is *(d)* vsed in the good, and the latter in the badde: But sure it is that the profane authors neuer vsed them so. But let the Philosophers looke to their distinctions. For their bookes vse *amor* loue, in good senses, and in reference to GOD, most frequently. But wee were to *(e)* shew that our scriptures whome wee place farre about their authorities, doe not vse *amor* and *dilectio* with any such distinct difference: for wee haue shewne that they vse *amor* in a good sence: If any one thinke, it is vsed both in good respect and bad, and *dilectio*, onely in the good, let him looke in that of the Psalme: *Hee that loueth [diligit] iniquity hateth his owne soule*: here is *diligo*, vpon a badde subiect. And here the Apostle *John*: *If any man loue [Dilexerit] the world, the loue [delectio] of Father is not in him*. Behold here *dilectio* in one place, in both the respects. But if any one seeke to know whether *amor* bee vsed in euill

Pla. 11  
1 Io. 2

2. Tim. 3, 2  
4.

(wee haue shewne it in good,) let him reade this: *Men shalbe louers of themselves, &c.* Louers of pleasures more then louers of GOD. For, an vpright will is good loue, and a peruerse will is badde loue. Loue then desyring too enioy that it loueth is desire: and enjoying it, is ioy: flying what it hateth it is feare, feeling it, it is sorrow.

Phil. 1  
Pla. 119, 20

These are euills if the loue bee euill: and good if it bee good. What wee say let vs proue by scripture. The Apostle *desires to bee dissolued, and to bee with Christ*: And, *My heart breaketh for the continuall desire I haue vnto thy iudgements.*

Wit. 6, 20

*(f)* Or if this bee better: *My soule hath coveted to desire thy iudgements?* And, *desire of wisdom leadeth to the Kingdome*: yet custome hath made it a law, that where

Pla. 31

*concupiscentia*, or *cupiditas* is vsed without addition of the obiect, it is euer taken in a badde sence. But Ioy, or Gladnesse the Psalme vseth well: *Bee glad in the LORD, and reioyce you righteous, and thou hast giuen gladnesse to mine heart, and,*

Pla. 4

*In thy presence is the fulnesse of ioye*. Feare, is also vsed by the Apostle in a good sence: *worke out your saluation with feare, and trembling*: and, *Be not high minded,*

Pla. 18, 11

*but feare*: and, *But I feare least as the serpent beguiled Eue through his subtlety, so that your mindes should be corrupted from the chastity that is in Christ*. But as for that sorrow (which *Tully* had rather call *(g)* *egritude*) and *Virgill*, *dolour*, where hee saith, *dolent q̄, gaudent q̄*, yet *(h)* I had rather call it *tristitia*, sadnesse, because

Rom. 11.  
20

*egritude*, and *dolour*, are oftner vsed for bodily affects: the question whether it be vsed in a good sence or no, is fit to bee more curiously examined.

## L. VIVES.

**M**ore *(a)* than these] Then these doe: to auoide ambiguity. *(b)* *Thou knowest*] *May*, is here translated *diligo*, and *quidam*, both to loue. *(c)* *Sonne*] *Orig. hom. 1. in Cantic.*

*Castig.* The scripture (I thinke) being carefull (saith he) to keepe the readers in the tract of true vnderstanding it, for the capacity of the weaker, called that Charity, or *Dilectio*, which they thinke wise men called loue. (*d*) *Is vsed.*] The Latinists vse these two words farre other-wise: vsing *Diliga* for a light loue, and *amo* for a feruent one. *Dol obellam antea diligebam, nunc amo*, saith Tully, and elsewher, more plainly *Cloctus Tribu. Pleb. valde me diligit, seu ut impetrans* *περον addam, valde me amat.* I grant that *amor* is the meaner word, and oftener vsed in obscenity then *dilectio*. The same difference that the latines put betweene *amo* and *diligo*, the same do the Greekes put between *φιλο* & *αγαπα* (*e*) *To shew.*] The places here cited prooue nothing vnlesse that *φιλο* & *αγαπα* be both vsed in a good or an euil sence: for *ϕ* latine translation is the minde of the interpreter not of the author: But perhaps he desired to shew it, because he delt against a Grecian, namely, *Origen.* (*f*) *Or, if.*] For so the 70. translated it, Here begins he to shew that none of the foure affects are bad of them-selues. (*g*) *Egritudo.*] *Tusc. quest. 3. and 4. (h) I had rather.*] Tully (*a*) *Tusc. qu. 2.* calleth bodily vexation, *dolor*, and (*Tusc. 4.*) defendeth *egritudo*, to be in the mind, as *egrotatio* is in the body: and affirmeth (*lib. 3.*) that it hath not any distinct name from sorrow.

*Amo and Dilectio, different.*

*Of the three passions that the Stoickes allow a wiseman, excluding sadnesse, as foe to a vertuous minde.*

CHAP. 8.

**T**Hose which the Greekes call (*a*) *επιθυμια*, and Tully, *Constantia*, the Stoickes make to be three, according to the three perturbations in a wisemans mind, taking will for desire, (*b*) *ioy* for exultation, and warinesse for feare: but instead of that egritudo or dolour which wee to avoyd amphibology call sadnesse, they deny that a wise mind can intertaine any thing: for the will, (*say they*) affecteth good: which a wiseman effecteth: *ioy*, concerneth the good hee hath attayned, and warinesse avoideth that hee is to auoyd: but seeing sadnesse ariseth from an euill cause, already fallen out, (and no euill happineth to a wiseman) therefore wisdom admits nothing in place thereof. Therefore (*say they*) none but wisemen can will, reioyce, and beware, and none but fooles can couet, exult, feare and bee sad. The first are the three constancies (*saith Tully,*) and the later the foure perturbations. The Greekes, as I said call the three, *υπαρανημι*, and these foure, *παρανημι*. In (*c*) seeking the correspondency of this, with the phrase of holy writ, I found this of the prophet. *There is no (c) ioy (saith the Lord) vnto the wicked*, as if the wicked might rather exult, then haue ioy, in their mischieses, for *ioy* is properly peculiar to the good and Godly: That also in the gospell: *what soeuer yee would that men should doe vnto you, euen so do yce to them*: this seemes to intimate that a man cannot will any euill thing but couer it: by reason of which custome of interpretation, some translators added good, *what good soeuer. &c.* for they thought it fit for man to desire that men should do them no dishonesty, and therefore put in this, least some should thinke that in their luxurious banquets (to be silent in more obscene matters) they should fulfil this precept, in doing to others as others did vnto them. But (*e*) good, is not in the originall the greeke, but only, as we read before: *what soeuer yee would. &c.* for in saying yee would, he meaneth good. Hee sayd not, whatsoeuer you couet, yet must wee not alway tye our phrases to this strictnesse, but take leaue at needfull occasions, and when wee reade those that wee may not resist, wee must conceiue them so, as the true sence haue no other passage, as for example sake, in the sayd places of the Prophet and

*Egy. 57. 12*

*Mat. 7. 12.*

the Apostle who knoweth not that the wicked exult in pleasure? and yet there is no ioye (saith the LORD) to the wicked. Why? because ioye is properlie and strickly vsed in this place. So may some say that precept, *whatsoever you would &c.* is not well deliuered: they may pollute one another with vncleanesse, or so: Notwithstanding, the commaunde is well giuen: and is a most true and healthfull one. Why? because will, which properly cannot bee vsed in euill, is put in the most proper signification in this place. But as for ordinary vsage of speech, wee would not say, *Haue no will to tell any lie*: but that there is a badde will also, distinct from that which the Angels praised saying: (f) *Peace in earth to men of good will*. Good were heere superfluous, if that there were no will but good, and howe coldlie had the Apostle praised charity, in saying *that it reioyceth not in iniquitie, but that enuy reioyceth therein*: For the Pagan authors doe vse these differences. (g) *I desire* (saith Tully) *Fathers conscript, I desire to bee mercifull*. Heere hee vseth *Cupio* in a good sence, and who is so peruerse to say hee should haue vsed *Volo* rather? And Terence his lasciuious youth: (h) *I would haue none but Philumena* saith hee. That this will was lust, his (i) ancient seruantes answere declareth, saying to his Maister: *How much better were it for you, to cast this loue out of your heart, rather then seeke to inflame it more therein?* That they vsed ioy in an euill sence, *Virgills* verse of the foure perturbations doth record.

Luc. 2, 14

1 Cor. 13, 6

Andr. a. 2, 2  
Sec. 1

*Hinc metuant, cupiunt q̄, dolent, gaudent q̄,*  
Heere-hence they feare, desire, dislike, content.

And the same author in another place saith:

*Mala mentis gaudia.*  
The mindes badde ioyes.

So then both good and euill doe will, beware, and take ioye, and to reherse them in other tearmes, the good and badde, doe desire, feare, and reioyce: mary, those doe it well, and these badly according as their wills are. And that sadnesse, for which the *Stoickes* can afforde a wise man iust nothing, is apparent in good men, especiall of our profession. For the Apostle praiseth the Corinthians for that they were Godly sorrowfull. I but (may some say) the Apostle congratulateth their sorrowe in repentance, and that is proper to none but sinners: for his words run thus.

Sadnesse  
according  
to God.2 Cor. 7, 8  
9, 10, 11

*I perceiue well that the same Epistle made you sorrie though it were but for a season, but I now reioyce not that you were sorrie but that you sorrowed vnto repentance: for you sorrowed Godlie, so that in nothing you were hurt by vs. For Godlie sorrow causeth (k) repentance vnto saluation, not to bee repented of: but the worldly sorrow causeth death: for behold this Godlie sorrow, what great care it hath wrought in you.* Verelie the *Stoickes* may answere for themselues, that this sorrowe seemed vsfull vnto their repentance, but it cannot bee in a wise man because hee cannot doe an act sinne-full or worthie of repentance, nor can admit any thing that should procure sadnesse in him. For they say that (l) *Alcibiades* (if I haue not forgotten the mans name) thinking himselfe happie, and (m) *Socrates* disputing against it and proouing him miserable, because he was not wise, fell a weeping. So here was his want of wisdom cause of this good sorrow,

Alcibiades  
his sad.  
nesse.

whereby

whereby hee greued that hee was as hee should not bee, but a wise man (say the *Stoickes*) can neuer haue this sorrow.

## L. VIVES.

**E**uendat (a) and ] *Tusc. lib. 4. vanitas*, is a good affect, and may be vnderstood two waies Erapathia.  
 either arising of pleasure, whose contrary is sorrow: or it may deriue from that purified  
 will which the *Stoickes* held: for I said before that the *Stoickes* held that wills were onely  
 good, as *Tully* plainly relateth. (b) *Ioy for exultation*] It is need to ioye, but not to exult, wa-  
 rinesse also is a iudicious avoidance of euill: feare, an amazed and reason-lesse deteccion. (c)  
*Seeking the*] I see not vnto what so long a discourse of words onely out of the translation can  
 tend: if hee produced them out of their originall there were some reason for it. (d) *Ioy*] Peace,  
 saith the vulgar, but the 70. *Ioy*. (e) *Good is not*] *τάρτα ε* &c. It were too idle to vse many  
 wordes in perswading all men in what doubts soeuer, to haue recourse to the scriptures: This  
*Hierome* vtgeth, and *Augustine* heere warneth, confirming it by his example. Wee haue  
 opposers that say it is farre more sure in the latine then in the originall: but I will neuer trou-  
 ble my selfe to answere them, they are few, and those are fooles and time will either stop their  
 mouthes (seeing their breth is vainely spent) or the consent of the learned, will silence their  
 harsh clamours. (f) *Peace in earth*] The greeke is, and good will vnto men. *εὐδαιμονισμός*,  
 but all is to one purpose.

(g) *I desire*] In *Catili. 1.* and *Tully* vseth *Cupio* sixe hundred times in this sence: And this  
 Argument of *Augustines* out of the latine writers is fitter to his purpose then all those out of  
 the scriptures: and that not so much against the Greekes *Stoickes*, as *Tully* the Latinist. (h) *Philumena*,  
*I would*] *Charinus* his wordes in *Terences Andria*, *Philumena*, quasi beloued of *πρω*, she was  
 supposed the daughter of *Chremes*. [My commentator hath held his peace a great many  
 bookes through, but here hee hath got his tongue againe. *Philumena* (saith hee) was a The Lo-  
uaine co-  
pies de-  
fectiue.  
 Whore. Troth, this is no honest mans part, to make a chaste Virgin, an Whore: oh but hee  
 thinketh as many of our times doe also, that there is no man speakes in the Poets, but *Theues*  
 and *Pandars*: nor any woman but *Whores* and *Bawdes*. And *Philumena*: beeing found in a  
 bawdic-houise, what could this doue-eyed innocent Preaching Friar do lesse then take her for  
 a Whore?] (i) *Ancient*] Or, miser? For *Charinus* was not wise enough in his loue. This was  
 his man *Birrhia*. (k) *Repentance vnto*] So wee reade commonly, The olde copies, and *Bruges*  
 bookes reade, vnto the impenitent, for saluation: falsely, the *Coleyne* readeth it the best [as wee  
 haue translated it] For the greeke is *μετανοω* &c. (l) *Alcibiades*] Kinsman to *Pericles*  
 Prince of Athens, to whose tuition hee was left. Hee was the most beautifull personage of Alcibiades.  
 the world, of wondrous witte, and most industrious in art military, hee was the Athenians ge-  
 nerall in their warres against *Lacedæmon* and *Sicylie*. No man had euer a more flexible wit  
 to the two greatest diuersities; hight of vertue, and hight of vice: of his life, *Plutarch*, *Emilius*  
*Probus*, and *Iustine*, (knowne authors) doe write. (m) *Socrates*] Who taught him, and made  
 shewe of loue to him, to keepe him from the vnchast loue of others. *Plato* mentions him of-  
 ten. *Socrates* would some-times cherish him, when hee obeied him; and some-times, chide  
 him sharply, when he brake out into exorbitances. As yee may reade in *Plato's*, *Alcibiades*  
 of the nature of man. *Socrates* (saith *Tully*) hauing perswaded him that hee had nothing that  
 was man in him, and that high borne *Alcibiades* differed nothing from a common porter, hee  
 grew into great grieffe, and beseeched *Socrates* to teach him vertue, and abolish this his base-  
 nesse. *Tusc. 4.*

*Of the perturbations of minde which the iust doe mode-  
rate, and rule aright.*

## CHAP. 9.

**B**Vt concerning these questions of perturbations, the Philosophers are already  
 answered

answered in the 9. booke, in which we shew that their contention is rather verbal than reall. But according to our religion and scriptures, the cittyzens of GOD, as long as they are pilgrimes, and in the way of GOD, doe feare, desire, reioyce and sorrow. But their loue beeing right, streighteth all those affects. They feare eternall paine, and desire eternall ioy: They sorrow for the present, because as yet they sigh in themselues, wayting for their adoption, euen the redemption of their bodie: they reioyce in hope, because that shal be fulfilled which is writen: *Death is swallow'd uppe into victory.* They feare to offend, and desire to perseuer: they sorrow for sinne, and reioyce in doing good, they feare to sinne, because; *for that iniquity shalbe increased, the loue of many shalbee cold,* they desire to perseuer, because: *He that endureth to the end shalbe saved:* they sorrow for sin, because *If we say that we haue no sin, we deceiue our selues and there is no truth in vs:* they reioyce in good workes, for *GOD loueth a cheerefull giuer.* And as they are strong or weake, to doe they desire, or feare to bee tempted: reioycing, or sorrowing in temptations: they feare to bee tempted, for *If any man fall into a falt by any occasion, yee which are spirituell, restore such an one with the spirit of meekenesse, considering thy selfe also, lest thou bee tempted:* they desire to bee tempted, for, *Prooue mee O LORD and trie mee, examine my reins and mine heart said Dauid:* They sorrow in temptations, for they heare how *Peter wept:* they reioyce in them, for *Brethren, count it exceeding ioye when yee fall into diuers temptations,* saith *James.*

And they doe not feele affects for themselues onely, but for others also, whom they desire should bee freed, and feare lest they perish, sorrowing at their fall and reioycing at their deliuerance: for if wee that are come from (a) Paganisme to Christianity may giue an especiall instance in that worthy and dauntlesse man that boasted of his infirmities, that teacher of fayth and truth to the nations, that toyler about all his fellow Apostles, that edifier of Gods people by sermons, beeing present, and by more Epistles then they all, beeing absent, that blessed Man *Paul* (I meane) *CHRISTS Champion,* (b) taught by him, (c) anointed from him, (d) crucified with him (e) glorified in him, (f) in the Theater of this World where hee was made a spectacle, to GOD, Angells and Men, fighting a (g) lawfull, and (h) great fight, and following hard towards the (i) marke for the (k) prize of the high calling: How gladlie doe wee with the eyes of fayth behold him, weepe with them that weepe, and reioyce with them that reioyce, (l) fightings without, and retrours within, desyring to bee dissolued and so be vvith *CHRIST,* desyring to see: the Romaines, and to receiue fruite from them as well as the others, beeing ieaalous ouer the Corinthians, and fearing least their mindes should be corrupted; *from the chastity vvith is in CHRIST,* hauing great sadnesse, and continuall sorrow of heart for *Israell* that beeing ignorant in *GODS* iustice, would erect one of their owne, and not bee subiect vnto gods: and denouncing his lamentation for diuers that had not repented them of their fornication and vnclenesse. If these affects, arising from the loue of good, bee vicious, then let true vices bee called vertues: But seeing their vse is leuelled by the rule of reason, who dare call them fraile or imperfect passions of the minde? Our *LORD* himselve, lyuing in the forme of a seruant (yet without sinne) vsed them when hee thought it requisite: for wee may not thinke that hauing mans essentiall bodie, and soule, hee had but seeming affects.

And

And therefore his sorrow for *Ierusalem's hardnesse of heart*, his ioy for the *be-leeuers*, his teares for *Lazarus*, his desire to eate the *Passenger* with his disciples, and his deadly heauinesse of soule vpon the approach of his passion, these are no fained narrations.

Mat. 3  
Iohn 11  
Luk 22  
Mat. 26

But these affects of man hee felt when it pleased him; as hee was made man when it pleased him. Wherefore wee confesse that those affects, in their best kinde are but perrinent to this present life, not vnto that which wee hope for heereafter: and that wee are often ouer-pressed by them: a laudable desire or charity may moue vs: (m) yet shall wee weepe whether wee will or no. For wee haue them by our humane infirmity, but so had not CHRIST (n) for hee had his very infirmity it selfe, from his owne power. But as long as wee liue in this infirmity, wee shall liue worse if wee want those affects. For the Apostle dispraiseth and detests (o) such as want naturall affect. And so doth the Psalme, saying, *I look d for some to pittie mee, and there was none*. For to want the sence of sorrow in this mortall life (as a (p) grear scholler held) neuer be-falls, a man without great stupidity of bodie, and barbarisme of minde. (q) Therefore the greeke *ἀπάθεια*, or impassibility beeing meant of the minde, and not the bodie, if it bee vnderstood as a want of those perturbations onely which disturbe the minde, and resist reason, it is to bee defended, and desired. For the Godly wise and holy men (not ordinary rangers) say all directly, *if wee say that wee haue no sinne, wee deceiue our selues, and there is no truth in vs*. But if a man had this same *ἀπάθεια*, (meant as before) *hee had no sinne indeed in him*. But it is well if wee can liue heere without (r) crime: but hee that thinks hee liues without sinne doth not auoide sinne but rather excludes all pardon. But now if *ἀπάθεια*, bee an vtter abandoning of all mentall affects whatsoever, who will not say such a stupidity is not worse then sinne? Wee may fitly say indeede that true happinesse shalbe vtterly voide of feare and sorrow: but who can say it shalbe voide of loue, and ioy, but hee that professeth to oppose the truth? but if this *ἀπάθεια*, bee a freedome from feare, and sorrow, wee must not ayme at it in this life, if wee meane to liue after the lawe of GOD. But in the other promised life of eternity (s) all feare shalbee excluded from vs. For that feare whereof the Apostle *Iohn* saith. *There is no feare in loue, but perfect loue casteth out feare, and hee that feareth is not perfect in loue*, is not that kinde of feare whereof the Apostle *Paul* feared the fall of the Corinthians, for loue hath this feare in it, and nothing hath it but loue: but the other feare is not in loue, whereof the same Apostle *Paul* saith, *for yee haue not receiued the spirit of bondage to feare againe*. But that chaste feare, remayning world without ende, if it bee in the world to come (and howe else can it remaine worlde without ende?) shal bee no feare terrifying vs from euill, but a feare keeping vs in an inseperable good. For where the good attained is vnchangeably loued, there is the feare to loose it inseperably cheined. For by this chaste feare is meant the will that wee must necessarily haue, to auoide sinne: not with an vngrounded carefulnesse least wee should sinne, but beeing founded in the peace of loue, to beware of sinne. But if that firme and eternall security be acquit of all feare, and conceiue onely the fulness of ioy, then the feare of Lorde is pure, and indureth for euer, is meant as that other place is: *The p. sience of the afflicted shall not perish for euer*.

Rom. 1, 30  
Psal 69, 20

1. Ioh. 4, 18

Psal 9, 9

Psal 9, 10

Their patience shall not be eternal, such needeth onely where miseries are to

be eternally endured. But that which their pacience shall attaine, shall be eternal. So it may be that this pure feare is said to remaine for euer, because the scope whereat it ayms is euerlasting: which beeing so, and a good course onely leading to beatitude, then hath a badde life badde affects, and a good life good ones. And the eternall beatitude shall haue both ioye and loue, not onely right, but firme, and vnmoouing: but shalbee vtterly quit of feare, and sorrow. Hence is it apparant what courses GODS Citties ought to runne, in this earthly pilgrimage, making the spirit, not the flesh, GOD, and not humanity the lanterne to their pathes: and here also wee see their estate in their immortall future in-statement. But the Cittie of the impious that faile after the compasse of carnalitie, and in their most diuine matters, reiect the truth of GOD, and relie vpon the (t) instructions of men, is shaken with these affects, as with earthquakes, and infected with them as with pestilent contagions. And if any of the cittizens sceme to curbe themselues from these courses, (u) they growe so impiouly proude and vaine-glorious, that the lesse their trouble is by these passions the bigger their tumour. And if any of them bee so rarely vaine, and barbarous, as to embrace a direct stupidity, becomming insensible of all affect, they doe rather abiure true man-hood then attaine true peace. Roughnesse doth not prooue a thing right, nor (x) can dulnesse produce solid soundnesse.

## L. VIVES.

**F**rom (a) *Paganisme*] So did not Paul, for hee was an Israelitic of the tribe of *Beniamin*, and therefore some bookes doe falsly read, *He that came from paganisme &c.* (b) *Taught*] There were maisters of fence that taught these champions. *Aug.* alludeth to them. (c) *Anoynted from*] Some reade, bound vnto in, as Paul himselfe saith: and this is more proper: though his allusion run through the anoynting, exercise and fashions of the champions. (d) *Crucified*] For they had certaine bounds that they might not passe in any exercise. (e) *Glorified*] Victorious. (f) *In the Theater*] Before a full and honorable viewe. (g) *Lawfull*] The champions had their lawes, each might not play that would. (h) *Great fight*] They had their lesser fights and their greater, as had the runners, and the wrastrlers. (i) *The marke*] That beeing perfect and hauing past daily more and more contentions, hee might at length become Maister of the five exercises, and haue his full degree. Pauls wordes are in the Epistle to the Philippians. 3. 13. 14.

(l) *Fighting*] Hee reckneth Pauls affects beeing all good. (m) *Yet shall wee weepe*] Either suddainely, or forcibly, for ioye, or sorrow. (n) *For he*] He was God and Man, and therefore had his affects in his power to extend or repress at pleasure: ours are violent, and whirle vs with them through all obstacles, by reason of our owne impotent infirmity: and therefore wee say our minde is impotent in yeelding herevnto. (o) *Such as want*] *Sen. 301.* such as are sencelesse of misery, or happinesse in themselues or friends: and those stupidities much like the Greekes *αἰσθησιμα*, of whom reade *Pliny* lib. 7. *Socrates* they say was neuer seene to change his countenance: this continuall fixation of minde some-times turneth into a rigid sownesse of nature, abolishing all affects from the soule, and such men the Greekes call *ἄσθητοι*. (p) *A great scholler*] *Crantors* opinion the Academike in *Tully, Tuscul. quest. 3.* (q) *Therefore she*] *Sen. Epist. lib. 1.* Explaine *ἀσθησιμα*, with one worde, and call it impacience wee cannot, without ambiguity. For so wee may come to haue our meaning to bee thought iust contrary to what it is. Wee meane one that is sencelesse of all euill, and wee may bee thought to meane one that is too sensible of the least, thinke then whether wee may better say invulnerable, or impatient. This is that difference betweene vs and the *Epicureans*. Our wise-man sceles passions but subdues them all; theirs are acquit from feeling them. Thus *Seneca*.

Apathia.

(r) *Crime*]

(r) *Crime.* The difference betweene crime, and sinne he declareth. *Tract. 41. sup. Ioan.* thus a crime (saith hee) is an act worthy of accusation and condemnation. And therefore the Apostle giuing order for the election of Priests, Deacons, or other Church-men, saith not, if any of you be without sinne, for so he should exclude all Man-kind from beinge elected; but if any bee without crime: as man slaughter, whoredome, some kind of enuy, adultery, theft, fraud, sacriledge, and such like. Thus to explaine this place. (s) *All feare.* Or, this *arabum* is to be expected, (t) *In-structions.* Some arts the deuills taught men, as Magike, Astrology, and all diuination excepting Prophecy. *Plato* saith that a diuell called *Theut* inuented Arithmetik, Geometry, Astro-  
nomy and Dicyng, and taught them to *Thamus*, King of Egypt. I doubt not but that Logike was the deuills inuention also, it teacheth the truths opposition, and obstinacy in falsenesse, so cunningly, delighting to put verity to the worse, by decepte. (u) *They grow so.* Pride was the common vice almost of all the Philosophers. (x) *Stupidity; or dulnesse.* The Phisitians when they cannot cure an hurt member, do apply their *Supes*, to avoyd the sence of paine onely but not the disease of the part which they are often fayne to cut of.

*whether man had those perturbations in Paradise, before his fall.*

CHAP. IO.

**B**Ut it is a good question whether our first parent, or parents (for they were two in marriage) had those naturall affects ere they sinned, which wee shalbee acquitted of when wee are perfectly purified. If they had them, how had they that memorable blisse of Paradise? who can be directly happy that either feares or sorrowes? & how could they either feare or grieue in that copious affluence of blisse, where they were out of the danger of death and sicknesse hauing althings that a good will desired, and wanting althings that might giue their happinesse iust cause of offence? Their loue to God was vnmoued, their vnion sincere, and therevpon exceeding delightfull hauing power to inioy at full what they loued. They were in a peaceable avoydance of sinne, which tranquility kept out all externall annoyance. Did they desire (thinke yee) to tast the forbidden frute, and yet feared to die? God forbid we should thinke this to be where there was no sinne, for it were a sinneto desire to breake Gods command, and to forbeare it rather for feare of punishment then loue of iustice. God forbid I say that ere that sinne was, that shold beverified of the forbiddē fruit which *Christ* saith of a womā: *whosoener looketh after a woman to lust after her hath already committed adultery with her in his heart.* How happy were our first parents, being troubled with no perturbations of mind nor no sicknesse of body! euen so happy should all man-kind haue bin if they had not transfused that misery which their sinne incurred, into their posterity: nor any of their seed had committed an act worthy of codemination. And this blisse remayning, vntill, by the words increase and multiply, the number of the predestinat were fulfilled, then should a better haue beene giuen vs, namely that which the Angells haue, wherein there is an eternall security from sinne and death: and so should the Saints haue liued then after no tast of labour, sorrow and death, as they shall do now in the resurrection, after they haue endured them all.

The state  
of our first  
parents.

L. VIVES.

**I**T (a) *were.* The desire is a sinne aswell as the act not onely by the Scriptures, but by the more exact discipline of humanity also. *Cic. Philippic. 2.* Though there be no law against it, for the lawe saith not, if this man desire thus much land, let him be fined, as *Cato* the elder pleaded for the Rhodians.



*The fall of the first man, wherein nature was made good, and cannot be repaired but by the maker.*

## CHAP. II.

**B**Vt God, foreknowing althings, could not but know that man would fall: therefore wee must ground our City vpon his prescience and ordinance, not vpon that which we know not, and God hath vnreuealed For mans sinne, could not disturb Gods decree, nor force him to change his resolute: God fore-knew and preuented both, that is, how bad man (whome hee had made) should become and what good hee meant to deriue from him, for all his badnesse. For though God bee said to change his resolution (as the scriptures (a) tropically say that hee repented, &c.) Yet this is in respect of mans hope, or natures order, not according to his own prescience. So then God made man, vpright, and consequently well-willed: otherwise he could not haue bene vpright. So that this good will, was Gods worke, man being there-with created. But the euill will, which was in man before his euill worke, was rather a fayling from the worke of God to the owne workes, then any worke at all. And therefore were the workes euill, because they were according to them-selues, and not to God, this euill will being as a tree bearing such bad fruite, or man himselve, in respect of his euill will. Now this euill will, though it do not follow, but oppose nature, being a falt: yet is it of the same nature that vice is, which cannot but bee in some nature: but it must bee in that nature which God made of nothing, not in that which he begot of himselve, as his word is, whereby althings were made: for although God made man of dust, yet hee made dust of nothing, and hee made the soule of nothing, which he ioyned with the body, making full man. But euills are so farre vnder that which is good, that though they be permitted to bee for to shew what good vse Gods prouident iustice can make of them, yet may that which is good, consist without them, as that true and glorious God him selfe, and all the visible resplendent heauens do, about this darkned & misty aire of ours: but euills cannot consist but in that which is good, for all the natures wherein they abide being considered as meere natures, are good. And euill is drawne from nature, not by abscission of any nature contrary to this or any part of this, but by purifying of that onely, which was thus depraued. Then (b) therefore is the will truly free, when it serueth neither vice nor sin. Such God gaue vs, such we lost, and cannot recover but by him that gaue it: as the truth saith: *If the sonne free you, you shalbe truly freed*, it is all one as if hee should say: *If the sonne saue you, you shalbe truly saued*, (c) for hee is the freer, that is the Sauour. Wherefore (d) in Paradise both locall, and spirituall man made God his rule to liue by, for it was not a Paradise locall, for the bodies good, and not spirituall for the spirits: nor was it a spirituall for the spirits good, and no locall one for the bodies: Noe, it was both for both. But after that (e) that proud, and therefore enuious Angell, falling through that pride from God vnto him-selfe, and choosing in a tiranicall vain glory rather to rule then to be ruled, fell from the spirituall paradise, (of whose fall, and his fellowes, that therevpon of good Angells became his, I disputed in my ninth booke as God gaue grace and meanes) hee desiring to creepe into mans minde by his ill-perswading suttley, and enuying mans constancy in his owne fall chose the serpent, one of the creatures that as then liued hurtlesse with the man  
and

Gen. 2.

Ioh. 8.

and woman in the earthly paradise, a beast slippery, and moueable, wretched in knots, and fit (*f*) for his worke, this hee chose to speake through: abusing it, as (*g*) subiect vnto the greater excellency of his angelicall nature, and making it the instrument of his spirituall wickednesse, through it he began to speake deceitfully vnto the woman: beginning at the meaner part of man-kind, to inuade the whole by degrees: thinking the man was not so credulous, nor so loone deluded as he would be, seing another so serued before him, for as *Aaron* consented not by perswasion, but yeelded by compulsion vnto the Hebrewes idolatry, to make them an Idol, nor *Salomon* (as it is credible) yeelded worship to idols of his owne erroneous beleefe, but was brought vnto that sacriledge by his wifes perswasions: So is it to bee thought, that the first man did not yee'd to his wife in this transgression of Gods precept, as if hee thought shee said two; but onely being compelled to it by this sociall loue to her, being but one with one, and both of one nature and kind, for it is not in vaine that the Apostle saith: *Adam was not not deceiued: but the woman was deceiued*: but it sheweth that the woman did thinke the serpens words true, but *Adam* onely would not breake company with his fellow, were it in sinne, and so sinned wittingly: wherefore the Apostle saith not, *He sinned not*: but, *He was not seduced*, for hee sheweth that hee sinned saying: *by one man sinne entred into the world*; and a little after more plainly: *after the manner of the transgression of Adam*. And those he meanes are seduced, that thinke the first to be no sinn, which he knew to bee a sinne, other wise why should hee say, *Adam was not seduced*? But he that is not acquainted with the diuine seuerity might therein be deceiued to conceiue that his sinne was but veniall. And therefore in that the woman was seduced he was not, but this was it that (*i*) deceiued him, that hee was to bee iudged, for all that he had this excuse. *The woman that thou gauest me to be with me, she gaue me of the tree, and I did eat*, what need we any more then? though they were not both seduced, they were both taken in sin and made the diuells captiues.

Exod. 32.  
Kin. 11.

2 Tim. 14.

Rom. 5. 12.  
14.

Gen. 3. 12.

## L. VIVES.

**T***Ropically.* (*a*) *Say.* Figuratiuely. A trope (saith *Quintilian*, is the translation of one word into the fit signification of another, from the owne: that God repented, is a Metaphor, which is a figure that who so knowes not and yet would learne, for the vnderstanding of scriptures, must not go vnto *Tully*, or *Quintilian*, but vnto our great declamers, who knowing not the difference betweene Grammar and Rhetorike, call it all by the name of grammer. (*b*) *Then therefore.* Not that it is otherwise not free: for suppose it had not sinned: but because then it is loosed from the burden of all crimes, from all euill customes, and is no more molested by the tiranicall invasions of vice. (*c*) *He is she.* They are both onely from God. (*d*) *In Paradise.* Paradise is pleasure and delight. Man being placed in earthly Paradise had great ioy corporally, but farre greater spirituall: for without this, the bodies were painefull rather then pleasing: The mind is the fountaine of delight, which being sad, what ioy hath man in any thing. (*e*) *Proud and.* Enuy immediately succedeth pride, by nature, for a proud man so loueth himselfe that he greeues that any one should excell him, nay equalize him, which when he cannot auoid then he enuiet them: whence it comes that enuy sits chiefly amongst the highest honors, when as the peoples fauor doth not alwaies grace the Prince alone. *Swetonius* saith that *Caligula* enuiet euen the meaneft, some for that the people fauored them, others for their forme or birth. So did the diuell enuy mans holding of so high a place, and this enuy brought death into the world, (*f*) *Fit for.* Hee saith *super genes. ad. lit.* that the deuill was not permitted to tempt in any other creature but this: that the woman might learne that from a poisonous creature can come nothing but poyson, *Phereides* the Syrian saith the diuells were cast from heauen by *Ioue*, and that their chiefe was *Ophioneus*, that is, *Serpentine*.

a Trope

Paradise

(g) Subiect

(g) *Subiect*] The diuell tooke the serpents body, and therefore was the serpent held the most subtle creature of all, as *Augustine* saith vpon *Genesis*. (b) *Sociall loue*] *Necessitudo*, is oftner taken for loue and kinred then for need or necessity. (i) *Deceiued him*] *Adam* was deceiued in this, that he thought hee had a good excuse to appease Gods wrath withal, in saying that he did it to gratifie his fellow, and such an one as God *God* had ordayned to dwell with him.

*Of the quality of mans first offence.*

CHAP. 12.

It was not  
the fruit  
but d to be-  
dience that  
ouerthrew  
Adam.

**B**Vt if the difference of motion to sinne, that others haue from the first man, do trouble any one, and that other sinnes doe not alter mans nature, as that first transgression did: making him lyable to that death, torture of affect, and corruption which we all feele now, and he felt not at al, nor should haue felt, but that he sinned: If this (I say) moue any one, hee must not thinke therefore, that it was a light fault that hee committed in eating of that fruite which was not (a) hurtfull at all, but onely as it was forbidden. For God would not haue planted any hurtfull thing in that delicate Paradise. But vpon this precept was grounded obedience, (b) the mother and guardian of al the other vertues of the soule: to which it is good to be subiect, & pernicious to leaue (leauing with it the Creators wil) and to follow ones own. This command then of forbearing one fruit when there were so many besides it, beeing so easy to obserue; and so short to remember (cheefely when the affect opposed not the wil) which followed vpon the transgression) was the more vniustly broken, by how much it was the easier to keepe.

L. VIVES.

Obedience  
the mother  
of all ver-  
tue.

**N**ot (a) *hurtfull*] Of it selfe. (b) *The mother*] GOD layes nothing vpon his creatures, men or angels, as if hee needed their helpe in any thing, but onely desireth to haue them in obedience to him. Thence is the rule: *Obedience is better then sacrifice*. *Hierome* vpon the eleuenth Chapter of *Jeremy*, Verse, 3. *Cursed is the man that heareth not the wordes of this contract: Not for the priuilege of the nation (sayth hee) nor the wrong of circumcision, nor the leasure of the Saboth, but for obedience. It is that God is Israels God, and they his people*. Likewise in *Isai*. Chap. 44. *Augustine* wrote a work called *De obedientia & humilitate*. What he hath said here he repeateth often. *Contra aduers. leg. & Proph. l. 1. & de bono coniugali*.

*That in Adams offence his euill will was before his euill worke.*

CHAP. 13.

Pride.  
Eccles. 10.

**B**Vt euil began within them secretly at first, to draw them into open disobedience after wardes. For there had beene no euill worke, but there was an euill will before it: and what could begin this euill will but pride, that is the beginning of all sinne? And whats pride but a peruerse desire of height, in forsaking him to whome the soule ought soly to adhere, as the beginning therof, to make the selfe seeme the owne beginning. This is when it likes it selfe too well, or when it affectes it selfe so, as it will abandon that vnchangeable good which ought to be more delightfull to it then it selfe. This defect now is voluntary: For if the will remained firme in the loue of that superior firmest good which gaue it light to see it, and zeale to loue it, it would not haue turned from that, to take delight in it

it selfe, and therevpon haue bee come so (a) blinde of sight, and so (b) could of zeale that either (c) hee should haue beleued the serpens words as true, or that (d) hee should haue dared to prefer his wiuers will before Gods command, and to thinke that he offended but (e) venially, if hee bare the fellow of his life company, in her offence. The euill therefore, that is, this transgression, was not done but by such as were euill before; such eate the forbidden fruit: there could be no euill fruit, but from an euill tree, the tree was made euill against nature, for it had not become euill but by the vnnatural viciousness of the wil: & no nature can be depraued by vice, but such as is created of nothing. And therefore in that it is nature it hath it from God: but it falleth from God in that it was made of nothing. Yet man was not made nothing vpon his fall, but he was lessened in excellence by inclining to himselfe, being most excellling, in his adherence to God: whome hee leauing, to adhere to, and delight in himselfe, hee grew (not to bee nothing, but) towards nothing. Therefore the scripture called proud men, otherwise, (f) pleaseres of them-selues. It is good to haue the heart aloft, but not vnto ones selfe: that is pride: but vnto God, that is obedience, inherent onely in the humble.

Euill  
workes  
done by  
none but  
euill per-  
sons.

Humility.

In humility therfore there is this to be admired, that it eleuates the heart: and in pride this, that it deiecteth it. This seemes strangely contrary, that eleuation shold be below, and deiection aloft. But Godly humility subiects one to his superior: and God is aboue all; therefore humility exalteth one, in making him Gods subiect. But pride the vice, refusing this subiection, falles from him that is aboue all, and so becomes more base by farre (then those that stand) fulfilling this place of the *Psalme: Thou hast cast them downe in their exaltation.* He saith not when they were exalted, they were deiected afterwards: but, in their very exaltation were they cast downe, their eleuation was their ruine. And therefore in that humility is so approued in, and commended to the *Citty of God* that is yet pilgrime vpon earth, and so highly extolled by (g) Christ, the King thereof; and pride, the iust contrary, shewen by holy writ, to be so predominant in his aduersaries the deuill and his Angells: in this very thing the great difference of the *two citties* the Godly, and the vngodly, with both their Angells accordingly, lieth most apparant: Gods loue swaying in the one, and selfe-loue in the other. So that the deuill had not seduced mankind to such a palpable transgression of Gods expresse charge, but that (euill will and) selfe-loue had gotten place in them before, for hee delighted in that which was sayd (h) *you shall be as Gods:* which they might sooner haue beene by obedience and coherence with their creator then by proud opinion that they were their owne beginners, for the created Gods, are not Gods of them selues but by participation of the God that made them, but man desiring more became lesse, and chose to bee sufficient in him selfe, fell from that all-sufficient God.

Psal. 73.

Gen. 3. 5.

This then is the mischief, man liking him-selfe as if hee were his owne light turned away from the true light, which if hee had pleased him-selfe with all, hee might haue beene like: this mischief (say I) was first in his soule, and thence was drawne on to the following mischieuous act, for the scripture is true that sayth, *Pride goeth before destruction, and an high minde before the fall:* the fall which was in secret, fore runneth the fall which was in publike, the first being taken for no fall at all, for who taketh exaltation to bee ruine, though the defect proued in the place of height.

Pro. 16. 18.

But

Pf. 83.

But who seeth not that ruine lyeth in the expresse breach of Gods precepts? For therefore did GOD forbid it, that beeing done, (z) all excuse and auoydance of iustice might bee excluded. And therefore I dare say it is good that the proud should fall into some broad and disgracefull sinne thereby to take a dislike of them-selues, who fell by to much liking them-selues: for *Peters* sorrowfull dislike of him selfe, when he wept, was more healthfull to his soule then his vnfound pleasure that he tooke in him-selfe when hee presumed. Therefore saith the *Psalme*: fill their faces with shame, that they may seeke thy name O Lord: that is that they may delight in thee and seeke thy name, who before, delighted in them-selues, and sought their owne.

## L. VIVES.

SO (a) blinde ] I ofing their light. (b) Cold ] Losing their heate. (c) She should ] Here shee slackt her light, was blinde and saw not. (d) He should ] Here he wanted his heate, and was cold, in neglecting Gods command for his wifes pleasure. But indeed, they both want both: the woman had no zeale, preferring an apple before God: the man had no light, in casting himselfe and vs headlong he knew not whether. (e) Venially ] I doe not meane to dispute heere whether *Adams* sinne were veniall or no: As *Bonaventure* and *Scotus* doe. I know his sinne was cappitall, and I am thereby wretched. (f) Pleasures of ] *Pet. 2. 2. 10.* (The Greekes call them *Vanities*, but it is not so in *Peter*: I onely name it from the latine.) *Wis. 6.* This vice therefore is called *Vanitas* or sel'e-loue; *Socrates* calls it the roote of all enormity: It is the head of all pride, and the base of all ignorance. (g) Christ ] Who was made obedient to his father euen vnto death, to which he was led like a sheepe to the slaughter, and like a lamb when it is clipped, he was silent, neither threatning the f: that smote him, nor reproching those that reproched him: All haile thou example of obedience, gentlenesse, mansuetude and modestly, imposed by thy father vnto our barbarous, brutish, irgratefull, impious mankind. (h) You shall bee ] Fulfill thy minde (proud woman) aduance thy selfe to the height: What is the vternost scope of all ambitious desire? To bee a God: why eate, and thou shalt be one. O thou fond: it of thy sexe, hopest thou to be deified by an apple? (z) All excuse ] No pretence, no shew, no imaginary reason of iustice would serue the turne. For the eye of Gods iustice cannot bee blinded, but the more coullor that one layes vpon guilt before him, the fouler hee makes his owne soule and the more inexcusable.

Excuses in  
sin accuse  
man fur-  
ther.

*Of the pride of the transgression, which was worse  
then the transgression it selfe. CHAP. 14.*

BUt pride that makes man lecke to coullor his guilt, is farre more damnable then the guilt it selfe is, as it was in the first of mankind. She could say, *the serpent beguilde me, and I did eate.* He could say: *The woman thou gauest me. she gaue me of the tree, and I did eat:* Here is no sound of asking mercy, no breath of desiring helpe: for though they doe not deny their guilt, as *Caine* did, yet their pride seekes to lay their owne euill vpon another, the mans vpon the woman, and hers vpon the Serpent. But this indeed doth rather accuse them of worse then acquit them of this, so plaine and palpable a transgression of Gods command. For the womans perswading of the man, and the serpents seducing of the woman to this, doth no way acquit them of the guilt: as if there (a) were any thing to be beleueed, or obeyed before God, or rather then the highest.

## L. VIVES.

A Sift there (a) were ] There is nothing to be beleueed rather then God, or to be esteemed before

before God: but the woman beleeued the Serpent rather then God, and the man preferred his wife before God.

*Of the iust reward that our first parents received for their sinne.*

CHAP. 15.

**T**herefore because God, (that had made man, according to his image, placed him in Paradise, aboue all creatures, giuen him plenty of althings, and layd no hard nor long lawes vpon him, but onely that one breefe command of obedience, to shew that himselfe was Lord of that creature whome free (*a*) seruice best befitted) was thus contemned: therevpon followed that iust condemnation being such, that man, who might haue kept the command, and beene spirituall in body, became now carnall in mind: and because, hee had before delighted in his owne pride, now hee tasted of Gods iustice: (*b*) becomming not as he desired, tolly in his owne power, but falling euen from him-selfe, became his slaue that taught him sinne, changing his sweete liberty into wretched bondage, being willingly dead in spirit, and vnwilling to die in the flesh, forsaking eternall life; and condemned to eternall death, but that Gods good grace deliuered him. He that holds this sentence too seuer, cannot proportionate, the guilt incurring it, and (*c*) the easinesse of auoyding it: for as *Abrahams* obedience is highly extolled, because the killing of his sonne (an hard matter) was commaunded him, so was their disobedience in Paradise, so much the more extreame, as the precept was easy to performe. And as the obedience of the second was the more rarely excellent, in that he kept it vnto the death: so was that disobedience of the first man, the more truly detestable, because he brake his obedience to incurre death: For where the punishment of the breach of obedience is so great, and the precept so easily kept, who can at full relate the guilt of that sinne that breaketh it, standing neither in awe of the commanders maiesty; nor in feare of the terrible affliction following the breach?

*Abrahams obedience.*

*The punishment of disobedience.*

And to speake in a word, what reward, what punishment is layd vpon disobedience; but disobedience? What is mans misery, other then his owne disobedience to himselfe: that seeing (*e*) he would not what he might, now he cannot what he would? for although that in Paradise, all was not in his power during his obedience, yet then he desired nothing but what was in his power, and so did what hee would.

*Pla. 144. 4*

But now, as the Scripture saith, *and wee see by experience, man is like to vanity,* for who can recount his innumerable desires of impossibilites, the flesh, and the (*f*) mind, that is himselfe, disobeying the will, that is himselfe also, for his minde is troubled, his flesh payned, age and death approcheth, and a thousand other affects seaze on vs against our wills, which they could not do, if our nature were wholly obedient vnto our will. And the flesh suffereth (*g*) some-thing, that hinders the seruice of the soule, what skilleth it whence, as long as it is Gods almighty iustice. to whome we would not bee subiect, that our flesh should not be subiect to the soule, but trouble it whereas it was subiect wholly vnto it before, though we in not seruing God, do trouble our selues and not him? for hee needeth not our seruice, as wee neede our bodies: and therefore it is our paine to haue a body, not any hurt to him in that wee haue made it such a body. Besides, those that wee call fleshly paines, are the soules paines, in, and from the

Y y

flesh

Paines of  
the flesh, &  
the soule.

flesh, for what can the flesh either feele, or desire without the soule? But when wee say the flesh doth eyther, wee meane either the man (as I sayd before) or some part of the soule that the fleshly passion affecteth, either by sharpnesse, procuring paine and griefe, or by sweetnes producing pleasure. But fleshly paine is onely an offence, giuen to the soule by the flesh, and a (b) dislike of that passion that the flesh produceth: as that which we call sadnesse, is a distast of things befalling vs against our wills: But feare commonly forerunneth sadnesse, & that is wholly in the soule, and not in the flesh: But whereas the paine of the flesh is not fore-run by any fleshly feare, felt in the flesh before y<sup>e</sup> paine: (i) pleasure indeed is vsher'd in by certaine appetites felt in the flesh, as the desires therof: such is hunger & thirst and the venereall affect vsually called lust: whereas (k) lust is a general name to all affects that are desirous: for (l) wrath is nothing but a lust of reuenge, as y<sup>e</sup> ancient writers defined it: although a mā somtimes without sence of reuenge will be angry at sencelesse things, as to gag his pen in anger when it writes badly, or so: But euen this is a certaine desire of reuenge, though it be reasonlesse, it is a certaine shadow of returning euill to them that doe euill. So then wrath is a lust of reuenge, auarice a lust of hauing money, obstinacy a lust of getting victory, boasting a lust of vaine glory; and many such lusts there are: some peculiarly named, and some namelesse: for who can giue a fit name to the lust of soueraignty, which notwithstanding the tyrants shew by their intestine warres, that they stand well affected vnto?

Lust a general name  
on all vices  
and effects.

### L. VIVES.

Nicholas  
Valdarna.

**F**ree (a) *seruice*] For to be Gods seruant is to be free, nay to be a King. (b) *Becoming not*] The best reading. (c) *the easinesse*] my friend Nicholas Valdarna told me that he had read in an author (I know not whome) that the fruit that Adam eate was hurtfull to the body; but this was rather an aggrauation of Adams sinne, then any likelihood of truth. (d) *Second man*] Christ called by Paule, the second man, of heauen, heauenly, as Adam the first was of earth, earthly. (e) *He would not*] Terences saying in *Andria*: since you cannot haue that you desire, desire that which you may haue. (f) *Mind*] There is in the soule (*Mens*) belonging to the reasonable part, and *animus*, belonging to the sensuall, wherein all this tempest of affects doth rage. (g) *Something*] Wearinesse and slownesse of motion, whereby it cannot go cheerfully to worke, nor continue long in action. (h) *A dislike*] Or a dislike of the euill procured by the passion. (i) *Pleasure*] Herevpon saith *Epicurus*, Desire censureth pleasure, pleasures are best being; but seldome vsed; saith *Imuenall*; *voluptates commendat rarior usus*. (k) *Lust is a generall*] We shewed this out of *Tully*, it comes of *libet*, that extended it selfe vnto all desires that are not bounded by reason. (l) *Wrath is*] *Tusc. quest. 4.* Wrath is a desire to punish those by whome one thinketh he is wronged. It is a greecuing appetite of seeming reuenge, saith *Aristotle. Rhet. lib 2.*

*Of the euill of lust: how the name is generall to many vices, but proper vnto venereall concupisence.*

### CHAP. 16.

**A**lthough therefore there be many lusts, yet when we read the word *lust*, alone, without mention of the obiect, we cōmonly take it for the vnclane motion

motion of the generatiue parts. For this doth sway in the whole body, mouing the whole man, without, and within, with such a commixtion of mentall affect, and carnall appetite, that hence is the highest bodily pleasure of all produced: So that in the very (a) moment of the consummation, it ouer-whelmeth almost all the light, and power of cogitation. And what wise and godly man is there, who beeing marryed, and knowing (as the Apostle sayth) *how to possesse his vessell in holynesse and honour, and not in the lust of concupiscence, as the gentiles doe which know not God*, had not rather (if hee could) begette his children without this lust: that his members might obey his minde in this acte of propagation, as well as in the lust, and be ruled by his will, not compelled by concupiscence? But the louers of these carnall delightes them-selues cannot haue this affect at their wills, eyther in nuptiall coniunctions, or vicked impurities: The motion wilbe sometimes importunate, agaynst the will, and some-times immouable when it is desired: And beeing feruent in the minde, yet wilbe frozen in the bodye: Thus wondrously doth this lust sayle man, both in honest desire of generation, and in lasciuious concupiscence: Some-times resisting the restraynt of the whole minde, and some-time opposing it selfe, which beeing wholly in the minde, and no way in the body at the same time.

I Theff. 4.  
4-5.

### L. VIVES.

**T**He very (a) moment] Therefore Hippocrates sayd that carnal copulation was a little *Epilepsy*, or falling sicknes. Architas the Tarentine to shew the plague of pleasure, bad one to imagine some man in the greatest height of pleasure that might be: and auerred that none would doubt him to bee voyd of all the functions of soule, and reason as long as delight lasted.

carnal copulation.

#### *Of the nakednesse that our first parents discovered in themselves after their sinne.* CHAP. 17.

**I**ustly is man ashamed of this lust, and iustly are those members (which lust moues or supresses against our wils, as it lusteth) called shamefull: before man sinned they were not so. For it is written, *they were both naked and were not ashamed*, not that they saw not the nakednesse, but because their nakednesse was not yet shamefull: for lust did not as yet moue these partes against their wils: nor was the disobedience of the flesh as yet made a testimony of the disobedience of man. They were not made blind as (a) the rude vulgar thinke, for the man saw the creatures whom he named, & the woeman saw, *that the tree was good for meate and pleasing to the eyes*. Their eyes therefore were open, but they were not yet opened, that is, occupyed, in beholding what good the garment of grace bestowed vpon them, in keeping the knowledge of the members rebellion against the will from them: which grace beeing gone, that disobedience might bee punished by disobedience, there entred a new shame vpon those bodily motions that made their nakednesse seeme vndecent: This they obserued, and this they were ashamed off. Thence it is, that after that they had broken the commaund, it was written of them, *Then the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked, and they sowed fig-tree leaues together and made them-selues breeches*. Their eyes were opened, not

Gen. 2. 25.

Gen. 3. 6.

Gen. 3. 7.



What was  
ment by  
the tree of  
the know-  
ledge of  
good and  
euill.

Campestra

to see, for they saw before: but to discern between the good that they had lost and the euill that they had incurred. And therefore the tree was called *the tree of the knowledge of good and euill*, because if it were tasted of against the precept by them, it should let them see this difference, for the paine of the disease being knowne, the pleasure of health is the sweeter. So, they knew that they were naked: naked of that grace that made their bodily nakednesse innocent, and vnresting the wil of their minds. This knowledge they got, happy they if they had kept Gods precepts, and beleued him, and neuer come to know the hurt of faithlesse disobedience. But then being ashamed of this fleshly disobedience that vpbroyded theirs vnto God, they sowed fig-tree-leaues together, and made them breeches, or couers for their priuities. The latine word is (*b*) *Campestris*, taken from the vestures wherewith the youthes that wrestled, or exerceed themselues naked in the field (*in campo*) did couer their genitories withall, being therefore called by the vulgar, *campestrati*. Thus their shamefastnesse wisely couered that which lust disobediently incited as a memory of their disobedient wills iustly herein punished: And from hence, all mankind, arising from one originall, haue it naturally in them to keepe their priuities couered; that euen some of the (*c*) Barbarians will not bath with them bare, but wash them in their couertures. And whereas there are some philosphers called *Gymnosophists* because the liue naked in the (*d*) close deserts of India; yet do they couer their genitalls, whereas all the rest of their bodies, are bare.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (*a*) *rude vulgar.*] Because it is writt en *He did eate: and then the eyes of them both were opened.* Gen. 3. (*b*) *Campestris.*] So learned writers call breeches. *Horace in Epist.*

*Penula solstitio, campestre niualibus auris.*  
A cloke for heat, and breeches for the cold.

*Acron* vpon this place saith it couereth nothing but the priuities. *Cato* sat in iudgement (saith one) without a coate, onely hauing on a payre of breeches vnder his gowne, because it was sommer: and so went hee downe into the court, and pleaded. *Ascon. in Orat. pro M. Scaur.* Some take *Capistrum* for *campestre*, being nothing neare it. Nor can I see why *Petrus de natalibus* in his *Historia Scholastica* should say that breeches were not inuented in *Noar* time. (*c*) *Barbarian.*] It was a foule shame for a Lydian or any other Barbarian to bee seene naked by his fellowes. *Herodot.* in *Clio*. The Romaines neuer washed the father with the sonne in law nor the father with his owne sonne if hee were not aboue fiftene yeares of age. This was an old custome (*Cic. Offi. li. 1. (d).* *Close deserts.*] Close and deserts, both, to comend their shamefastnes, for nothing neede bee ashamed of the sonnes sight, much lesse of a darke and shady desert. But how come these *Gymnosophists* in India. *Philostratus* placing them in *Ethiopia*, neare to *Nilus*. (*In vita Appollonii Elianei.*) And *Hierome* also follows him saying. *Returning to Alexandria, he went into Ethiopia, to see the Gymnosophists, and that famous table of the sunne, in the sands.* But *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Strabo*, *Apuleius*, *Prophiry* and others, place the *Gymnosophists* in India neare vnto the riuer *Indus*, in the region called *Indoscythica*, yet *Philostratus* is not deceived, for their originall is from India, wherein *Strabo* saith there were two sorts of *Philosophers*.

The Gym-  
nosophists.

The ciuill, or such as vsed the cities, called *Brachmans*, (and those wore linnen, and beasts skins: they bathed with *Apolonius*, as *Phylostratus* saith, and one of them tooke a letter out of his cappe and gaue it to a woman whose sonne was troubled with an euill spirit: ) The other

other were such as liued in the woods, naked, or sometimes clothed with leaues, and barks of trees: they called them *Hermans*, or *Gymnosophists*, and from those came they of Ethiopia. For the inhabitants vpon *Indus* are reported to haue come vpon Ethiopia with an huge power, & there to haue taken vp dwellings vpon *Nilus* bankes: and this they named India also, and brought their *Hermans* or *Gymnosophists* thether: so that the name grew common to both parts. *Diodorus* lib. 4. relating the Ethiopians customes, sayth that some went all naked, some couered their priuities with Foxe tayles, and some had breeches made of hayre: And *Strabo* rehearseth a story of eight slaues that the Ambassadors of those countries gaue vnto *Cesar*, all naked but for their priuities, which they couered with breeches.

*Of the shame that accompanyeth copulation, as well  
in common as in marriage.*

CHAP. 18.

**B**ut the act of lust, not onely in punishnable adulteries, but euen in the vse of Harlots which the (a) earthly citiy alloweth, is ashamed of the publike view, although the deed be lyable vnto no payne of law: and the stewes themselves haue their secret prouisions for it, euen because of naturall shame: Thus was it easier for vnchastnesse to obayne permission, then for impudence to giue it publike practise. Yet such as filthy themselves, will call this filchynesse, and though they loue it, yet (b) dare not professe it. But now for copulation in marriage, which according to the lawes of matrimony, must bee vsed for propagation sake: doth it not seeke a corner for performance, though it bee honest, and lawfull? Doth not the Bridegroome turne all the feast-maisters, the attendants, the musique, and all other out of his chamber, before he begin to meddle with his wife. And as (c) that great author of Romaine eloquence sayd, whereas all honest deeds desire the light, that is loue to bee knowne: This onely desireth so to bee knowne, that it shameth to bee seene. For who knoweth not what the man must do to the woman to haue a child begotten, (seeing the wife is sollemnly married for this end? But when this is done, the children themselves, if they haue any before, shall not knowe. For this acte doth desire the (d) sight of the minde, yet so as it flyeth the view of the eye: why, but onely because that this lawfull act of nature, is (from our first parents) accompanied with our penall shame?

L V I V E S.

**T**he earthly (a) Citiy ] For it was lawfull to haue an whore, or a concubine. *De Concup.* *Digest.* lib. 25. *Augustine* sheweth plainly that Romes old ciuill law allowed much that Gods law prohibited. This they gain-say that seeke to adapt Heathenisme to Christianity, and wil do it so long, that corrupting both, and disliking cyther, they wil proue neyther good Pagans nor good Christians. (b) Dare not professe ] This is *Ciceroes* prooffe, that pleasures are not good, for all good loues to be published, and he that hath it may glory in it: but none dare glory in bodily pleasures. (c) That great author ] [ Our *Passauantius* hath sayd nothing along time; here he speaks: who this was (sayth he) mine expositor settes not downe: not can I tel. Swear sir, or I'le not beleue ye: yet, faith, who can be so hard hearted as not to beleue him without swearing, when hee confesseth plainly hee knowes not, cheefely in that which wee would verily beleue hee knew not indeed, though he should swear neuer so fast that hee he did? In troth mine honest *Passauant*, thou mightst do better to haue followed thy names in french counsell, and haue made no stand at all here. ] But *Lucan* lib. 7. calls *Tully* thus, and the is go on- words quoted by *Augustine* are his. *Tusc.* q. l. 3. (d) Sight ] That the mindes but not the eies might behold and iudge of the effect.

*That the motions of wrath and lust are so violent that they do necessarily require to be suppressed by wisdom: and that they were not in our nature, before our fall depraved it.*

## CHAP. 19.

**H**Eere-vpon the most accute and iudicious Philosophers held wrath, and lust to be two vicious partes of the minde: because they moued man without all order and measure to actes vncondemned by wisdom, and therefore needed to be ouer-swayed by iudgement and reason: which (a) third part of the soule, they placed as in a tower, to bee soueraigne ouer the rest, that this commanding, and they obeying, the harmony of iustice might bee fully kept in man. These partes which they confesse to bee vicious in the most wise, and temperate man, so that the minde had neede still to tye them from exorbitance to order: & allowe them that liberty only which wisdom prescribeth, as (b) wrath in a iust repulse of wrong, and lust in propagation of ones offspring: these I say were not vicious at all in man whilest hee liued sinlesse in Paradise. For they neuer aymed at any thing besides rectitude, reason directing them without raynes. But now when-focuer they moue the iust and temperate man they must bee hamperd downe by restraynt, which some do easily, and others with great difficulty: They are now no partes of a sound, but paynes of a sicke nature. And whereas shamefastnesse couereth not wrath, nor other affects, in their immoderate actes, as it doth lusts: what is the reason but that it is not the affect but the assuming will that moues the other members, performing those affectionate actes, because it ruleth as cheefe in their vse? For hee that beeing angry, rayles, or strikes, could not doe it but that the tongue and the hand are appointed to doe so by the will, which moues them also when anger is absent; but in the members of generation, lust is so peculiarly enfeoffed, that they cannot moue, if it be away, nor stirre vnlesse it (beeing eyther voluntary, or forcibly excited) doe mooue them. This is the cause of shame and auoydance of beholders in this acte: and the reason why a man beeing in vnlawfull anger with his neighbour, had rather haue a thousand looke vpon him, then one when hee is in carnall copulation with his wife.

## L. VIVES.

**V**V *Hich (a) third part] Plato in his Timæus following Timæus the Locriā, & other Pythagorists diuides the soule into three parts: and in his De Rep. He places anger in the heart, concupiscence in the liuer and spleene, and reason the Lady and gouerneffe of the worke (as Claudian sayth) in the brayne, (b) Wrath in a iust] It was called the whetstone of valor, & the rayser of iust and vehement affects against the foe, or a wicked Cittizen. Cicero. Seneca de Ira.*

*Of the vaine obscenity of the Cynikes.* CHAP. 20.

**T**HIS the dogged Phylosophers, that is, the *Cynikes* obserued not, auerring, that truly dogged, vnpure and impudent sentence against mans shamefastnesse, that the matrimoniall acte beeing lawfull, is not shame, but ought, if one lust, to bee done in the streete. Euen very naturall shame subuerted this soule error. For though *Diogenes* is sayd to doe thus once, glorying that his impudence would make his secte the more famous: Yet afterwards the *Cynikes* left it, and shame preuailed more with them, as they were men

men, then that absurd error to become like dogges. And therefore I thinke that hee, or those that did so, did rather shewe the motions of persons in copulation vnto the beholders that saw not what was done vnder the cloake, then that they performed the venereall act in their viewe indeed. For the Philosophers were not ashamed to make shew of copulation there, where lust was ashamed to prouoake them. Wee see there are *Cynikes* to this daie, (b) weareinge cloakes, and bearing clubbes, yet none of them dare doe this: if they should, they would haue all the streete vpon their backes: either with stones, or spittle. Questionlesse therefore mans nature is iustlie ashamed of this act: for that disobedience, whereby the genitall members are taken from the wills rule and giuen to lusts, is a plaine demonstration of the reward that our first Father had for his sinne: and that ought to bee most apparant in those partes, because thence is our nature deriued which was so depraued by that his first offence: from which band none is freed, vnlesse that which was committed for the ruine of vs all (wee beeing then all in one) and is now punished by Gods iustice, beeing expiated in euery one by the same Gods grace.

Naturall shame.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) *Cynikes* ] Of *κλυθ*, a Dogge. *Antisthenes*, *Socrates* his scholler was their author. Their fashions were to reuile, and barke at all men, to bee obscene in publike, without blushing, and to beget all the children they could: finally, what euer we are ashamed to doe euen in secret, that would they doe openly: yet were they great scorers of pleasures, and of worldly matters, yea euen of life. Of this sect were (as I said) *Antisthenes*, the author, *Diogenes* of Synope, *Crates* of Thebes, and *Menippus* of Phænice. *Tully* saith their manners were impudent, vnciuill and abhominable. In offic. (b) *Wearing cloakes* ] The cloake was the Greekes vpper garment, as the gowne was the Romanes. The *Cynikes* wore old tattered cloakes, and carried staues in their hands: *Augustine* calls them clubbes. Herein they boast that they are like *Hercules*, their tattered robe being like his Lyons-skin, their staffe like his club, and their enemies, pleasures, as his were monsters. *Lucian*, *κινικισμός*. There are Epistles vnder *Diogenes* his name, that say these garments are vnto him in the same stead that a Kings are to him: his cloake is his mantle, and his staffe, his scepter. The *Donatists*, and the *Circumcelliones* (beeing indeed both of one stampe) in *Augustines* time went so cloaked, and bare clubbes, to destroy the true Christians withall.

Cynikes.

The cloake.

The donatians and Circumcelliones.

*Of the blessing of multiplication before sinne, which the transgression did not abolish but onely lincked to lust.* CHAP. 21.

**G**OD forbid then that we should beleue, that our parents in Paradise should haue full-filled that blessing. *Increase and multiply, and fill the earth*: in that lust that made them blush and hide their priuities: this lust was not in them vntill after sinne: and then, their shame-fast nature, hauing the power and rule of the bodie, perceiued it, blushed at it, and couered it. But that blessing of marriage, for increase, multiplication, and peopling of the earth; though it remained in them after sin, yet was it giuen them before sin to know, that procreation of children belonged to the glory of mariage, & not to the punishment of sin. But the men that are now on earth, knowing not that happinesse of Paradise, doe thinke that children cannot be gotten, but by this lust which they haue tried, this is that maketh honest mariage ashamed to act it.

Genes 1.

Lust growng vpon sin.

Others (a) reiecting & impiouly deriding the holy scriptures that say they were ashamed of their nakednesse after they had sinned, & couered their priuities, and

Y y 4

(b) others

(b) others though they receiue the scriptures, yet hold that this blessing, *Increase and multiply*, is meant of a spirituall, and not a corporall fæcundity: because the Psalme saith, *thou shalt multiply vertue in my soule*, and interprete the following words of Genesis, *And fill the earth and rule ouer it*, thus: earth, that is the flesh which the soule filleth with the presence, and ruleth ouer it, when it is multiplied in vertue: but that the carnall propagation cannot bee performed without that lust which arose in man, was discovered by him, shamed him, and made him couer it, after sinne: and that his progeny were not to liue in Paradise, but without it, as they did: for they begot no children vntill they were put forth of Paradise, and then they did first conioyne, and beget them.

## L. VIVES.

The Adamites.

**O**thers (a) reiecting] The *Manichees*, that reiected all the olde Testament, as I sayd elsewhere. (b) Others though] The *Adamites* that held that if *Adam* had not sinned there should haue beene no marrying. (c) *Thou shalt multiply*] The old bookes reade, *Thou shalt multiply me in soule, by thy vertue*. And this later is the truer reading, I thinke, for *Aug.* followed the 70. and they translate it so.

*That God first instituted, and blessed the band of  
Mariage. CHAP. 22.*

The distinction of sexes in the creation.

**B**Vt wee doubt not at all, that this increase, multiplying and filling of the earth, was by Gods goodnesse bestowed vpon the marriage which hee ordeined in the beginning, ere man sinned, when hee made them male and female; sexes euident in the flesh. This worke was no sooner done, but it was blessed: for the scripture hauing said, *He created them male, and female, addeth presently: And God blessed them, saying, Increase and multiply &c.* (a) All which though they may not vnfitly be applied spirituallly, yet male and female can in no wise be appropriate to any spirituall thing in man: not vnto that which ruleth, and that which is ruled: but as it is euident in the reall distinction of sexe, they were made male and female, to bring forth fruite by generation, to multiply and to fill the earth. This plaine truth none but fooles will oppose. It cannot bee ment of the spirit ruling, and the flesh obeying, of the reason gouerning and the affect working: of the contemplatiue part excellling, and the actiue seruing, nor of the mindes vnderstanding and the bodjes sence: but directly, of the band of marriage, combining both the sexes in one: *Christ* being asked, whether one might put away his wife for any cause, because *Moses* by reason of the hardnesse of their hearts suffred them to giue her a bill of diuorce, answered saying, *Haue you not read, that he which made them at the beginning, made them male and female? and sayd for this cause shall a man leaue father and mother and cleaue vnto his wife, and they twovaine shall be one flesh?* So that now they are no more two but one. Let no man therefore sunder what God hath coupled together. Sure it ts therefore that male and female were ordeined at the beginng in the same forme, and difference that mankinde is now in. And they are called one, either because of their coniunction, or the womans originall, who came of the side, of man: for the *Apostle* warnes all married men by this example, to loue their wiuues.

Mat. 19. 4

L. VI.

## L. VIVES.

**A**LL (*a*) which] There is nothing in the scripture but may bee spiritually applied: yet must we keepe the true, and real sence, otherwise we should make a great confusion in religion: for the Heretiques, as they please, wrest all vnto their positions. But if God, in saying *Increase*, &c had no corporall meaning, but onely spirituall, what remaines but that we allow this spirituall increase vnto beasts, vpon whom also this blessing was laide?

*Whether if man had not sinned, he should haue begotten children in Paradise, and whether there should there haue beene any contention betweene chastity and lust.* CHAP. 23.

**B**Ut he that saith that there should haue beene neither copulation nor propagation but for sinne, what doth he els, but make sinne the originall of the holy number of Saints? for if they two should haue liued alone, not sinning, seeing sinne (as these say) was their onely meane of generation, then verily was sinne necessary, to make the number of Saints more then two. But if it bee absurd to hold this, it is fit to hold that, that the number of Gods cittizens should haue beene as great, then, if no man had sinned, as now shalbe gathered by Gods grace out of the multitude of sinners, as long (*a*) as this worldly multiplication of the sonnes of the world (men) shal endure. And therefore that marriage that was held fit to bee in Paradise, should haue had increase, but no lust, had not sinne beene. How this might be, here is no fit place to discusse: but it neede not seeme incredible that one member might serue the will without lust then, so many seruing it now. (*b*) Do wee now mooue our hands and feete so lastly when wee will vnto their offices, without resistance, as wee see in our selues, and others, chiefly handicraftsmen, where industry hath made dull nature nimble; and may wee not beleeue that those members might haue serued our first father vnto procreation, if they had not beene seized with lust, the reward of his disobedience, as well as all his other serued him to other acts? doth not *Tully*, disputing of the difference of gouernments (in his bookes of the Common-weale) and drawing a simyly from mans nature, say, that they (*c*) command our bodily members as sonnes, they are so obedient, and that wee must keepe an harder forme of rule ouer our mindes vicious partes, as our slaues? In order of nature the soule is aboue the body, yet is it harder to rule then the body. But this lust whereof we speake is the more shamefull in this, that the soule doth neither rule it selfe therein, so that it may not lust; nor the body neither, so that the will rather then lust might mooue these parts, which if it were so were not to bee ashamed of. But now, it shameth not in other rebellious affects, because when it is conquered of it selfe, it conquereth it selfe, (although it bee inordinately and vitiously) for although these parts be reasonlesse, that conquere it, yet are their parts of it selfe, and so as I say, it is conquered of it selfe. For when it conquereth it selfe orderly, and brings al the parts vnder reason, this is a laudable and vertuous conquest, if the soule bee Gods subiect. But it is lesse ashamed when it obeyeth not the vicious partes of it selfe, then when the body obeyeth not it, because it is vnder it, dependeth of it, and cannot liue without it. But the other members beeing all vnder the will, without which members nothing can bee performed against the will, the chastity is kept vniolated: but the delight in sin is not permitted. (*d*) This contention,

The soules  
power ouer  
the body.

fight,

fight, and alteration of lust and will, this neede of lust to the sufficiency of the will, had not bene layd vpon the wed-locke in Paradise, but that disobedience should bee the plague to the sinne of disobedience: otherwise these members had obeyed their wills as well as the rest. (e) the seede of generation should haue bene sowne in the vessell, as corne is now in the field. What I would say more in this kinde, modesty bids me forbear a little, and first aske (f) pardon of chaste eares: I neede not doe it, but might proceed in any discourse pertinent to this theame, freely, and without any feare to bee obscene, or imputation of impurity to the words, being as honestly spoken of these as others are of any other bodily members. Therefore he that readeth this with vnchaste suggestions, let him accuse his owne guilt, not the nature of the question: and obserue hee the effect of turpitude in him-selfe, not that of necessity in vs: which the chaste and religious reader will easily allow vs, to vse in confuting of our experienced (not our credulous) aduersary, who drawes his arguments from prooffe not from beleefe. For hee that abhorreth not the Apostles reprehension of the horrible beastlinesse of women, who peruerted the naturall vse, and did against nature, will reade this without offence, especially seeing wee neither rehearse nor reprehend that damnable bestiality, that hee condemnes, but are vpon discouery of the affects of humane generation, yet with avoydance of obscene termes, as well as hee doth a-void them.

## L. VIVES.

**A**S long (a) as ] In this world, the sonnes thereof beget, and the sonnes thereof are begotten: but by Christs mercy they become the sonnes of the Kingdome, they are generate, by sinne, and regenerate by grace. (b) *Do wee not* ] This is the common opinion of the schooles. *Sent. lib. 2. dist. 20.* But some of the Greekes doe hold, that generation should haue bene both without sinne and copulation: which is not likely. For to what end then was the difference of sexe, and the members of generation giuen. (c) *Command* ] For wee doe farre more easily rule our body then the rebellious affects of the soule, which warre perpetually with reason, so that the soule rules the body with more ease then it doth the inferior part of it selfe. (d) *This contention* ] *Aquinas* doth not depriue the marriage in Paradise of all pleasure, but alloweth it that which is pure, and chaste, and farre vnlike to our obscene and filthy delight in copulation. (e) *Vessell* ] or generatiue field: put for the place of conception: as *Virgil* doth.

The generatiue field.

*Hoc faciunt, nimio ne luxu obtusior usus,  
Sic genitali aruo.*

(f) *Pardon* ] So we doe being to speake of obscene matters: with such words as these, sauing your reuerence, or, sauing your presense. So doth *Pliny* in his preface, being to insert words of barbarisme, rusticity, and bluntnesse, into his worke.

*That our first Parents, had they liued without sinne, should haue had their members of generation as subiect vnto their wills, as any of the rest.* CHAP. 24.

**M**An therefore should haue sowne the seede, and woman haue receiued it, as neede required, without all lust, and as their wills desired: for as now wee are, our articulate members doe not onely obey our will, our hands, or feete, or so, but euen those also that we moue, but by small sinewes, and *Tendones*, we contract and turne them as wee list: as you see in the voluntary motions of the mouth and face. And the (a) lungs, the softest of all the intrailles but for the marrow,

marrow, and therefore placed in the arches of the breast far more safely to take in and giue out the breath, and to proportionate the voice, doe serue a mans will entirely, like a paire of Smiths, or Organs bellowes : to breath, to speake, to cry, or to sing. I omit that it is naturall in some creatures if they feele any thing bite them, to moue the skin there where it bites, and no where else : shaking off not onely flies, but euen dartes or shaftes by this motion of the skinne. Man cannot doe this : what then ? could not God giue it vnto what creatures hee listed ? Euen so might man haue had the obedience of his lower parts, which his owne disobedience debarred. For GOD could easily haue made him withall his members subiected to his will, euen that which now is not moued but by lust : for we see some mens natures farre different from other some : acting those things strangely in their bodies, which others can neither do nor hardly will belecue. (c) There are that can moue their eares, one or both, as they please : there are that can moue all their haire towards their fore-head, and back againe, and neuer moue their heads. There are that can swallow yee twenty things whole, and contracting but their guts a little, giue you euery thing vp as whole as if they had but put it into a bagge. (d) There are that can counterfeite the voices of birds & other men, so cunningly, that vnlesse you see them you cannot discerne them for your hearts. (e) There are that can breake winde back-ward so artificially, that you would thinke they sung. (f) I haue seene one sweat when hee listed, and it is sure that (g) some can weepe when they list ; and shed teares, plentifully. But it is wonderfull that diuers of the brethren (h) tried of late in a Priest called *Resistinus*, of the (i) village of (k) Calamon, who when he pleased (and they requested him to shew them this rare experiment) (l) at the sayning of a lamentable sound drew himselfe into such an extasie, that hee lay as dead, fencles of all punishing, pricking, nay euen of burning, but that he felt it sore after his awaking. And this rapture was found to be true, and (m) not counterfeite in him, in that he lay still without any breathing : yet hee said afterward, that if one spake aloude, hee thought he heard him, as if hee were a farrre off. Seeing therefore that in this fraile state of ours, the body serueth the will in such extraordinary affects ; why should we not belecue that before his disobedience, the first man might haue had his meanes and members of generation without lust ? But hee taking delight in himselfe, was left by God vnto himselfe, and therefore could not obey himselfe, because hee would not obey GOD. And this prooues his misery the plainer, in that he cannot liue as he would : for if he would doe so, he might thinke himselfe happy : (n) yet liuing, in obscenity, he should not be so indeed.

Extraordi-  
naries poe-  
wers of  
motion in  
some per-  
sons.

*Resistinus*  
his ex-  
tase.

### L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) *lungs*] The marrowe is not vsually taken for any part of the intrailes. It is obserued that *Tully*, and the most learned *Latinists*, vse *Pulmo* continually in the plurall number : I thinke it is because it is parted into two fillets or lappets : but *Celsus*, *Perisus* and *Lactantius* vse it in the singular. (b) *To take in*] For there goeth a pipe from the lungs into the mouth, called *Aspera arteria* by *Celsus*, and *Gurgulio* by *Lactantius* [the weasand-pipe] and through this the breath goeth in and out : for that is the proper function thereof. *Arist.* *Histor. animall. lib. 1.* (c) *There are*] *Aristotle* saith that man only of all creatures cannot moue his eares, that is, he cannot moue them voluntarily, as horses, &c. do. (d) *There are that*] *Plutarch* talks of one *Parmeno* that could imitate the voices of all creatures rarely, whence the prouerb, *Nihil ad Parmenonis aurē*, came. (e) *There are that can break*] There was such an one, a Germane, about *Maximilians* court, and his son *Phillips*, that would haue rehearsed any verse whatsoever with his taile. (f) *I haue seene*]

The lungs.

And



Hermiti-  
mus, of Clazomene.

And when I was sicke of a Tertian, at Bruges, as often as the Phisitian told me that it was good to sweate, I would but hold my breath a little and couer my selfe ouer head in the bedde, and I sweat presently. They that saw it, wondred at my strange constitution, but they would haue wondred more had they seene *Augustines* sweater, that sweat as easily as I can spit. (g) *Some* The hired mourners in Italy, and almost all women kinde. (h) *Tried of late* ] Such like hath *Pliny* of one *Hermotimus* of Clazomene, whose soule would leaue his bodie and goe into farre countries, and then come backe and tell what hee had seene. (i) *Village* ] *capua*, is a neighborhood, a dwelling together. They that dwell in diuers hemispheres vnder one paralell, are called *Paraci*. But *Parochia*, is an other matter, and vsed now for a parish. *Augustine* meant of the other. (l) *Calamian* ] *Calamius*, was a towne in Italy: *Calamo* was in Phœnicia, and that I thinke *Augustine* meant of: vnlesse there were some village in Africa called so: as being buile by the Phenicians, who once possessed almost all Africa. (l) *At the seigned* ] Some seigned mourning, wherevpon his phantasie tooke the conceite, and produced the rapture, or he fained such a sound himselfe, and so put of his externall senses thereby. (m) *Nor counterfeite* ] Hee did not oppose himselfe wittingly to those punishings and burnings, but was senselesse of them indeed. (n) *Yet liuing* ] Felicity is not in opinion, but really solid: not in shade, or imagination, but in esse, and truth. Nor was that noble Argiue happy, who as *Horace* saith, thought he had seene fivie tragedies acted.

*In vacuo solus sessor, plausorq; Teatro.*

Aplauding loud when none were on the stage.

*Of the true beatitude: unattainable in this life.*

CHAP. 25.

**B**Vt if wee obserue aright: none liues as hee list, but hee is happy, and none is happy, but he is iust, yet the iust, liueth not as he list, vntil he attaine, that sure, eternall, hurtlesse, vndeceiuing state. That he naturally desireth, nor can hee bee perfect, vntill he haue his desire. But what man herevpon earth can say hee liues as he list, when his life is not in his owne hand? he would liue faine, and hee must die. How then liueth he as he list, that liueth not as long as he list? But if he list to die, how can he liue as he list that will not liue at all? and if he desire to die, not forgoe all life, but to change it for a better, then liueth hee not yet as he list, but attaineth that by dying. But admit this, he liueth as he list, because hee hath forced himselfe, and brought himselfe to this, to desire nothing but what is in his power, as *Terence* saith: (a) *Since you cannot haue what you would haue, desire that which you may haue*: Yet is he not blessed, because hee is a patient wretch. For beatitude is not attained vnlesse it be affected. And if it be both attained and affected, then must this affect needs surmount all other, because all other things are affected for this. And if this be loued as it ought to be (for he that loues not beatitude as it ought to bee loued cannot bee happy) then cannot it choose but bee desired to be eternall. So that the blessed life must needs be ioyned with eternity.

L. VIVES.

**S**ince (a) you ] This was an old saying. *Plato, de rep.*

*That our first parents in Paradise might haue produced man-kinde, without any shamefull appetite.* CHAP. 26.

**T**herefore man liued in Paradise as hee desired, whilst he desired but what God

God commanded, hee inioyed God, from whence was his good: hee liued without need, and had life eternall in his power, hee had meat for hunger, drinke for thirst, the tree of life to keepe off age, hee was free of all bodily corruption and sensible molestation: hee feared neither disease within nor violence without: Hight of health was in his flesh, and fulnesse of peace in his soule, and as Paradise was neither fiery nor frosty, no more was the inhabitants good will offended either with desire, or feare: there was no true sorrow, nor vaine ioye, their ioy continued by Gods mercy, whom they loued with a pure good conscience and an vnfaigned faith: their wedlock loue was holy and honest, their vigilance and custody of the precept without all toile or trouble. They were neither weary of leisure, nor vnwillingly sleepy. And can wee not in all this happinesse suppose that they might beget their children without lust, and mooue those members without concupiscentiall affect, the man (a) beeing laid in his wiues lap (b) without corruption of integrity? God forbid. Want of experience need not driue vs from beleeuing that their generatiue parts might be mooued by will onely, without exorbitance of hotter affect: & that the sperme of the man might be conueid into the place of conception without corruption of the instrument: receiuing, as well as a virgine now doth giue forth her (c) menstruous fluxe without breach of virginity. That might be cast in as this is cast forth. For as their child birth should not haue beene fore-run by paine, but by (d) maturity, which should open a way for the childe without torment: so should their copulation haue beene performed without lust full appetite, onely by voluntary vse. This theame is immodest, and therefore, let vs coniecture as wee can, how the first Parents of man were, ere they were ashamed: needes mult our discourse herevpon, rather yeeld to shamefastnesse then trust to eloquence: the one restraines vs much, and the other helpes vs little. For seeing they that might haue tried, did not trie this that I haue sayd, deseruing by sinne to bee expelled Parradise, ere they had vsed their meanes of propagating man. how can man now conceiue it should be done, but by the meanes of that head-long lust, not by any quiet will? This is that which stops my mouth, though I behold the reason in mine heart. But howsoeuer; Almighty God, the Creator of all nature, the helper and rewarder of all good wills, the iust condemner of the badde, and the ordainer of both, wanted not a pfectience how to fulfill the number of those whom he had destinate to bee of his cittie, euén out of the condemned progeny of man, distinguishing them not by their merrits, (for the whole fruite was condemned in the corrupted stock) but by his owne grace, freeing them both from themselves, and the slavish world, and showing them what hee bestowed on them: for each one now acknowledgeth that it is not his owne deserts, but Gods goodnesse that hath freed him from euill, and from their society with whom hee should haue shared a iust condemnation. Why then might not God create such as he knew would sinne, thereby to shew in them and their progeny both what sinne deserued, and what his mercy bestowed? and that the peruerse inordinate offence of them, vnder him, could not peruert the right order which he had resolued?

The first mans felicity ere hee sinned.

### L. VIVES.

Being (a) laid] So saith Virgil of Vulcan and Venus, *Æneid.* 8.

*Optatos dedit amplexus, placidusq; petiuit,  
Coniugis effusus gremio per membra soporem.*  
Embracing me, soft slumber on him crept,  
And in her lap he laid him downe and slept.

(b) *Without corruption* ] Therefore should the place of conception bee opened, saith *Thomas*, and *Bonaventure*, for that must needs haue beene opened in child-birth: for bodies doe not penetrate one another. And this were no breach of integrity no more then opening of the mouth. For the integrity depends vpon the minde. Some hold that the matrix should haue opened at birth but keepe shut at copulation as it doth in the effusion of the menstruall blood: and these hold with *Augustine*. (c) *Menstruous* ] It beginnes in them when their breasts begin to grow bigge: about the twelfth yeare of their age, it is like the blood of a beast new killed, and happeneth once a month, more or lesse, in some much, and in some small. *Arist. Hist. animal. lib. 7.* (d) *Maturity* ] Which as yet, at child-birth, extendeth and openeth the bones of the lower part of the belly, which at any other time can hardly bee cleft open with an hatchet: but then it should haue beene opened without paine, where as now the paine is extreame.

The  
monthly  
flowers in  
women.

*That the Sinners, Angells and Men, cannot wish their peruerse-  
nesse disturbe Gods providence. CHAP. 27.*

**A**ND therefore the offending Angells and Men no way hindred the great workes of God, who is absolute in all that hee willeth; his omnipotency distributeth all vnto all, and knoweth how to make vse both of good and bad: and therefore why might not God vsing the euill angell (whom hee had deseruedly condemned for his euill will, and cast from all good) vnto a good end, permit him to tempt the first man in whom hee had placed an vpright will? and who was so estated, that if he would build vpon Gods helpe, a good man should conquer an euill angell; but if he fell proudly from God, to delight in himselfe, hee should be conquered, hauing a reward laid vp for his vprightnesse of will assisted by God, and a punishment for his peruersnesse of will in forsaking of God. Trust vpon Gods helpe he could not vnlesse God helped him: yet followeth it not, that hee had no power of himselfe, to leaue this diuine helpe in relying wholly vpon himselfe: for all wee cannot liue in the flesh without nourishment, yet may wee leaue the flesh when we list: as they doe that kill themselues: euen so, man being in Paradise could not liue well without Gods helpe: but yet it was in his power to liue badly, and to select a false beatitude, and a sure misery. Why then might not God that knew this before hand, permit him to bee tempted by the malicious wicked spirit? Not being ignorant that hee would fall, but knowing withall, how doubly the deuill should bee ouerthrowne by those that his grace should select out of mans posterity. Thus God neither was ignorant of the future euent, neither compelled he any one to offend: but shewed by succeeding experience both to Men and Angells, what difference there was betweene presuming of ones selfe, and trusting vnto him. For who dare say, or think that God could not haue kept both Men and Angells from falling? But he would not take it out of their powers, but shewed thereby the badnesse of their pride and the goodnes of his owne grace.

Man hath  
no power  
of himselfe  
to auoide  
sine.

*The state of the Two Citties, the Heauenly and the  
Earthly. CHAP. 28.*

**T**WO loves therefore, haue giuen originall to these *two Citties*: selfe loue in contempt

contempt of God vnto the earthly, loue of God in contempt of ones selfe to the heauenly, the first seeketh the glory of men, and the later desireth God onely as the testimony of the conscience; the greatest glory. That glories in it selfe, and this in God. That exalteth it self in the own glory: this saith to God: *My glory and the lifter up of my head.* That boasteth of the ambitious conquerours, led by the lust of souereinty: in this euery one serueth other in charity, both the (a) rulers in counselling and the subiects in obeying. That loueth worldly vertue in the potentates: this saith vnto God, *I will loue thee, O LORD, my strength.* And the wise men of that, follow either the goods of the body, or minde, or both: liuing according to the flesh: and such as might know God, honored him not as GOD, nor were thankfull but became vaine in their owne imaginations and their foolish heart was darkened: for holding themselues wise, that is extolling themselves proudly in their wisdome, they became fooles: changing the glory of the incorruptible God to the likenesse of the image of a corruptible Man, and of birds and foure-footed beasts and serpents: for (b) they were the peoples guides, or followers vnto all those Idolatries, and serued the creature rather then the Creator who is blessed for euer. But in this other; this *heauenly Cittie*, (c) there is no wisdome of man, but only the piety that serueth the true God and expecteth a reward in the society of the holy Angells, and Men, that God may become all in all.

Psal. 3.3

Psal. 18.1

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) rulers] Into how excellent a breuiat hath he drawne the great discourses of a good commonweale, namely that the ruler thereof doe not compell, nor command, but standing a loft like centinells, onely giue warnings, and counsells, (thence were Romes old Magistrates called Confulls;) and that the subiects doe not repine nor resist, but obey with alacrity. (b) They were] Some of the Poets and Philosophers drew the people into great errors: and some followed them with the people. (c) There is no] No Philosophy, Rethorike, or other arte: the only art here is to know and worship God, the other are left to the world, to be admired by worldings.

Augustines  
Eusebia.

Finis, lib. 14.

Z z z

THE

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4. Of the conflicts & peace of the earthly city.

5. Of that murderer of his brother, that was the first founder of the earthly City, whose act the builder of Rome parallell'd in murdering his brother also.

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they begot children.

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26. That Noah his Arke, signifieth, Christ and his Church in all things.

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## FINIS.

THE  
FIFTEENTH BOOKE:  
OF THE CITTIE OF GOD

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishop of Hippo,  
vnto *Marcellinus*.

*Of the two contrary courses taken by mans progeny, from  
the beginning.* CHAP. I.



**P**F the place, and felicity of the locall Paradise together with mans life and fall therein, there are many opinions, many assertions and many bookes, as severall men, thought, spake, and wrote. What we held hercof, or could gather out of holy scriptures, correspondent vnto their truth and authority, we related in some of our precedent bookes: If they be farther looked into, they will giue birth to more questions, and longer disputations then this place can permit vs to proceed in: our time is not so large as to permit vs to sticke scrupulously vpon euery question that may bee asked by busie heads that are more curious of inquiry then capable of vnderstanding. I think we haue sufficiently discussed the doubts concerning the beginning of the world, the soule, and man-kinde: which last is diuided into two sorts: such as liue according to Man, and such as liue according to God. These, we mystically call, *two Citties* or societies, the one predestinate to reigne eternally with GOD: the other condemned to perpetuall torment with the deuill. This is their end: of which hereafter. Now seeing we haue sayd sufficient concerning their originall, both in the Angells whose number wee know not, and in the two first Parents of man-kinde: I thinke it fit to passe on to their progression, from mans first offspring vntill hee cease to beget any more. Betweene which two points all the time included, wherein the liuers euer succeed the diers, is the progression of these *two Citties*. *Caine* therefore was the first begotten of those two that were man-kinds Parents: and hee belongs to the City of man: *Abell* was the later, and hee belongs to the City of GOD. For as we see that in that one man (as the Apostle saith) that which is spirituall was not first, but that which is naturall first, and then the spiritual, (wherevpon all that commeth of *Adams* corrupted nature must needs be euill and carnall at first, and then if he be regenerate by Christ, becometh good and spirituall afterward:) so in the first propagation of man, and progression of the *two Citties* of which we dispute, the carnall citizen was borne first, and the Pilgrim on earth, or heauenly citizen afterwards, being by grace predestinate, and by grace elected, by grace a pilgrim vpon earth, and by grace a citizen in heauen. For as for his birth, it was out of the same corrupted masse that was condemned from the beginning: but God like a potter (for this finely the Apostle himselve vseth) out of the same lumpe, made, *one vessell to honor and another to reproach*. The vessell of reproach was made first, and the vessell of honor afterwards. For in that one man, as I sayd, first was reprobation, whence wee must needs begin (and wherein we need not remaine) and afterwards, goodnesse, to which we come by profiting and comming thither, therein making our abode.

The two  
Citties.

Rom. 9. 21.

Wherevpon it followes that none can bee good that hath not first beene euill, though all that be euill, became not good: but the sooner a man betters himselfe, the quicker doth this name follow him, abolishing the memory of the other. Therefore it is recorded of *Caine* that he built a Citty, but *Abell* was a pilgrim, and built none. For the Citty of the Saints is aboue, though it haue citizens here vpon earth, wherein it liueth as a pilgrim vntill the time of the Kingdome come, and then it gathereth all the citizens together in the resurrection of the body and giueth them a Kingdome to reigne in with their King, for euer and euer.

*Of the Sonnes of the flesh, and the Sonnes of promise.*

CHAP. 2.

**T**He shadow, and propheticall image of this Citty (not presenting it but signifying it) serued here vpon earth, at the time when it was to bee discovered, and was called *the holy Citty*, of the significant image; but not of the expresse truth, wherein it was afterwards to bee stated. Of this image seruing, and of the *free Citty* herein prefigured the Apostle speaketh thus vnto the Galatians: *Tell me you that wilbe vnder the law haue yee not (a) heard the law?* for it is written that *Abraham had two Sonnes, one by a bond-woman, and the other by a free*: But the sonne of the bond-woman was borne of the flesh, and the sonne of the free-woman by promise. This is (b) allegoricall: for these are the two Testaments, the one giuen (c) from Mount Syna, begetting man in seruitude, which is *Agar*: for (d) Syna is a mountaine in Arabia, ioyned to the Ierusalem on earth, for it serueth with her children. But our mother, the celestiall Ierusalem, is free. For it is written, *Reioyce thou barren that bearest not: breake forth into ioye, and criee out, thou that trauelest not without Child, for the desolate hath more Children then the married wife, but wee, brethren, are the sonnes of promise according to Isaac*. But as then he that was borne of the flesh, (e) persecuted him that was borne after the spirit, euen so it is now. But what saith the scripture. *Cast out the bond-woman and her sonne; for the (f) bond-womans sonne shall not bee heire with the free womans*. Then brethren are not we the children of the bond-woman, but of the free. Thus the Apostle authorizeth vs to conceiue of the olde and new Testament. For a part of the earthlie Citty was made an image of the heauenly, not signifying it selfe, but another, and therefore seruing: for it was not ordeined to signify it selfe, but another, and it selfe was signified by another precedent signification: for *Agar*, *Saras* seruant, and hir sonne were a type hereof. And because when the light comes, the shadowes must auidoie, *Sara* the free-woman, signifying the free Citty (which that shadowe signified in another manner) sayd, *cast out the bond-woman and her sonne: for the bond-womans sonne shall not bee heire with my sonne Isaac*: whom the Apostle calls the free womans sonne. Thus then wee finde this earthlie Citty in two formes: the one presenting it selfe, and the other prefiguring the Citty celestiall, and seruing it. Our nature, corrupted by sin produceth citizens of earth: and grace freeing vs from the sinne of nature, maketh vs celestiall inhabitants: the first are called the vessells of wrath: the last, of mercie. And this was signified in the two sonnes of *Abraham*: the one of which beeing borne of the bond-woman, was called *Ismael*, beeing the sonne of the flesh: the other, the free-womans, *Isaac*, the sonne of promise.

Both

both were *Abrahams* sonnes : but naturall custome begot the first, and gracious promise the later. In the first was a demonstration of mans vse, in the second was a commendation of *Gods* goodnesse.

## L. VIVES.

**N**ot (*a*) heard ] Not read faith the *Grecke* better, and so doth *Hierome* translate it. (*b*) Allegoricall ] An allegorie (saith *Quintilian*) sheweth one thing in worde and another in sense; some times the direct contrary. *Hierome* saith, that that which *Paul* calleth allegoricall here, he calleth spirituall else where. (*c*) From mount ] So doe *Ambrose* and *Hierome* read it (*d*) *Synay* ] I thinke it is that which *Mela* calles *Cassius*, in *Arabia*. For *Pliny* talkes of a mount *Cassus* in *Syria*. That of *Arabia* is famous for that, *Iupiter* had a temple there, but more for *Peregrines* tombe. Some thinke that *Sina* is called *Agar* in the *Arabian* tongue. (*e*) Persecuted ] In *Genesis* is onely mention of the childrens playing together, but of no persecution, as *Hierome* noteth; for the two brethren *Ismael* and *Isaac*, playing together at the feast of *Isaacs* weaning, *Sara* could not endure it, but intreated her husband to cast out the bond-woman & her sonne. It is thought she would not haue done this, but that *Ismael* being the elder offered the yonger wrong. *Hierome* saith, that for our word playing, the *Hebrewes* say, making of Idols, or vsurping the first place in iust. The scriptures vse it for fighting, as *Kim. 2*. Come, let the children arise, and play before vs: whether it be meant of imaginary fight, or military exercise, or of a true fight in deed. (*f*) Bond-womans sonne ] *Genesis* readeth, with my sonne *Isaac*, and so doe the 70. but *Augustine* citeth it from *Pauli Galat. 4. 25*.

Of *Saraes* barrennesse, which God turned into fruitfulnessse.

## CHAP. 3.

**F**OR *Sara* was barren and despaired of hauing any child: and desiring to haue a childe, though it were from her slaue, gaue her to *Abraham* to bring him children, seeing shee could bring him none her selfe. Thus exacted she her (*a*) due of her husband, although it were by the wombe of another: so was *Ismael* borne being begotten by the vsuall commixtion of both sexes in the law of nature: and there-vpon said to be borne after the flesh: not that such births are not *Gods* benefits or workes, (for his working wisdom as the scripture saith, reacheth from end to end mightily, and disposeth all things in comely order: ) but in that, that for the signification of that free grace that God meant to giue vnto man, such a sonne should be borne, as the lawes and order of nature did not require: for nature denieth children vnto all such copulations as *Abrahams* and *Saras* were, (*b*) age and barrennesse both swaying in her then: whereas she could haue no childe in her yonger daies, when her age seemed not to want fruitfulnessse, though fruitfulnessse wanted in that youthfull age. Therefore in that her nature being thus affected could not exact the birth of a sonne, is signified this, that mans nature being corrupted and consequently condemned for siene; had no claime afterward vnto any part of felicity. But *Isaac* being borne by promise, is a true type of the sonnes of grace, of those free citzizens, of those dwellers in eternall peace, where no priuate or selfe-loue shall be predominant, but all shall ioy in that vniuersall good, and (*c*) many hearts shall meete in one, composing a perfect modell of charity and obedience.

## L. VIVES.

**H**er (*a*) due ] by law of mariage. (*b*) Age and ] For she was both aged, and naturally barren. So some both men and women as *Aristotle* saith, are borne so. (*c*) Many hearts ] that is the true concord of the *Apostles*, of whom it is said: *The multitude of the beleeuers were of one heart.* *Acts. 4. 32*.



*Of the conflicts, and peace of the earthly City.*

## CHAP. 4.

**B**Vt the temporall, earthly citty (temporall, for when it is condemned to perpetuall paines it shall be no more a citty) hath all the good, here vpon earth, and therein taketh that ioy that such an obiect can afford. But because it is not a good that acquits the possessors of all troubles, therefore this citty is diuided in it selfe, into warres, altercations, and appetites of bloody and deadly victories. For any part of it that warreth against another, desires to bee the worlds conqueror, whereas indeed it is vices slaue. And if it conquer, it extolls it selfe and so becomes the owne destruction: but if wee consider the condition of worldly affaires, and greue at mans opennesse to aduersity, rather then delight in the euents of prosperitie, thus is the victory deadly: for it cannot keepe a soueraigntie for euer where it got a victory for once. Nor can wee call the obiects of this citties desires, good, it being in the owne humaine nature, farre surmounting them. It desires an earthly peace, for most base respects, and seeketh it by warre, where if it subdue all resistance, it attaineth peace: which notwithstanding the aduerse part, that fought so vnfortunately for those respects, do want. This peace they seeke by laborious warre, and obtaine (they thinke) by a glorious victory. And when they conquer that had the right cause, who will not gratefully their victory, and be glad of their peace? Doubtlesse those are good, and Gods good gifts. But if the things appertaining to that celestially and supernall citty where the victory shall be euerlasting, be neglected for those goods, and those goods desired as the onely goods, or loued as if they were better then the other, misery must needs follow and increase that which is inherent before.

Earthly  
peace a  
false good  
obtained  
by warre.

*Of that murderer of his brother, that was the first founder of the earthly citty, whose act the builder of Rome paralleld, in murdering his brother also.*

## CHAP. 5.

**T**herefore this earthly Citties foundation was laide by a murderer of his owne brother, whom he slew through enuie, being a pilgrim vpon earth, of the heauenly citty. Wherevpon it is no wonder if the founder of that Citty which was to become the worlds chiefe, and the Queene of the nation, followed this his first example or (a) archetype in the same fashion. One of their Poets records the fact in these words:

(b) *Fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri.*

The first walles steamed with a brothers blood.

Such was Romes foundation, and such was *Romulus* his murder of his brother *Remus*, as their histories relate: onely this difference there is, these bretheren were both citizens of the earthly citty and propagators of the glory of Rome, for whose institution they contended. But they both could not haue that glory, that if they had beene but one, they might haue had. For he that glories in dominion, must needs see his glory diminished when hee hath a fellow to share with him. Therefore the one to haue all, killed his fellow, and by villanie grew vnto bad greatnesse, whereas innocencie would haue installed him in honest meannesse. But those two brethren, *Caine* and *Abel*, stood not both alike affected to earthly matters: nor did this procure enuie in them, that if they both should reigne, hee  
that

that could kill the other, should arise to a greater pitch of glory, for *Abel* sought no dominion in that city which his brother built; but that diuell enuy did all the mischief, which the bad beare vnto the good; onely because they are good: for the possession of goodnesse is not lessned by being shared: nay it is increased when it hath many possessing it in one linke and league of charity. Nor shall hee euer haue it, that will not haue it common: and he that loues a fellow in it, shall haue it the more abundant. The strife therefore of *Romulus* & *Remus*; sheweth the diuision of the earthly city in it selfe: and that of *Caine* & *Abel* shew the opposition of the city of men & the city of God: The wicked oppose the good. But the good they be perfect, cannot contend amongst them-selues: but whilst they are vnperfect they may contend one against another in that manner that each contends against him-selfe, for in euery man the flesh is against the spirit & the spirit against the flesh. So then the spirituall desire in one may fight against the carnall in another, or contrary wise, the carnall against the spirituall, as the euill do against the good, or the two carnal desires of two good men, that are imperfect may contend as the bad do against the bad, vntil their diseases be cured, & themselues brought to euerlasting health of victory.

The good contend not one against another.

## L. VIVES.

**A**rchetype. (a) It is the first pattent, or copy of any worke; the booke written by the authors owne hand, is called the Archetype. *Inuenall*,

An archetype.

*Et iubet archetypis iterum seruare Cleanthas.*  
And bids him keepe *(Leantes)*, archetypes.

(b) *Fraterno*.] *Lucan* lib. 8. The historie is knowne. (c) *His brother built*.] Did *Caine* build a city then, or meanes hee the earthly city which vice and seperation from God built? the latter I thinke. (d) *The wicked*.] This is that I say, vice neither agrees with vertue, nor it selfe: for amity is only amongst the good, the bad can neither bee friends with the good, nor with themselues.

*Of the langours of Gods Cittizens endure in earth as the punishments of sinne, during their pilgrimage, and of the grace of God curing them. CHAP. 6.*

**B**Vt the langour or disobedience (spoken of in the last booke) is the first punishment of disobedience, and therefore it is no nature, but a corruption: for which it is said vnto those earthly pilgrimes and God proficients: *Beare (a) yee one anothers burdens, and so yee shall fulfill the Law of Christ: and againe: admonish the unruly, comfort the feble, be patient towards all, ouer-come euill with goodnesse, see that none do hurt for hurt: and againe, if a man be fallen by occasion into any sinne, you that are spirituall restore such an one with the spirit of meekenesse considering thy selfe least thou also be tempted: and besides, let not the sunne go downe vpon your wrath: and in the Gospell: if thy brother trespass against thee, take him and tell him his fault betwene thee and him alone.*

Gal 6.2.  
1. Th. 5. 14  
Gal. 6. 1.  
Mat 18. 15.  
1. Ti. 5. 20

And concerning the scandalous offenders, the Apostle saith: *Them that sin, rebuke openly that the rest may feare: and in this respect many things are taught concerning pardoning. And a great charge is laid vpon vs to keep that peace there, where that terror is of the (c) seruants, being commanded to pay the ten thousand talents hee ought,*

ought, because hee forcibly exacted his fellowes debt of an hundred pence. Vnto which simily the *Lord Iesus* addeth this cloze. *So shall mine heavenly father doe vnto you, except you forgieue each one his brothers trespasses from your hearts.* Thus are Gods cittizens vpon earth cured of their diseases, whilest they are longing for the celestiall habitation. But the *Holy spirit* worketh within to make the salue worke that is outwardly applied, otherwise though God should speake to mankinde out of any creature, either sensibly or in dreames, and not dispose of our hearts with his inward grace, the preaching of the truth would not further mans conuersion a whitte. But this doth God in his secret and iust prouidence, diuiding the vessells of wrath and mercy. And it is his admirable and secret worke, that sinne (e) being in vs rather the punishment of sinne as the Apostle saith, and dwelling in our members, when it doth not reigne in our mortall body, obeying the desires of it, and when wee doe not giue vp our members as instruments of iniquity to serue it, it is conuerted into a minde consenting not vnto it in any euill, by Gods government, and man that hath it some-what quietly here, shall haue it afterwards most perfectly fetled, sinlesse, and in eternall peace.

## L. VIVES.

**B**Eare (a) yee ] The Greeke is ἀλλήλων τὰς αἰσυχὰς καταλιπεῖν. (b) *The spirit of meekenesse* ] Because of that which followeth: *Considering thy selfe least thou also bee tempted.* it is fitte that one that corrects sinne, should consider that hee might sinne him-selfe: least if hee growe proud because hee is more perfect then his brother, reuenge bee at hand, and make him fall worse. (c) *The seruants* ] Our *Sauionr* treating of brotherly remission, reciteth this Parable. *Math. 18.* (d) *Not disposing* ] *Ecclesiastes* the 7. 15. *Behold the worke of God: who can make streight that which hee hath made crooked.* And hence it is that a few rules serue to guide some in honestie, and none, other-some. If the minde bee not inwardly moued to good, the outward words doe but little good. (e) *Being in vs* ] for the pronenesse to badnesse that is in vs all, is the punishment of the first mans sinne, by which without great resistance, wee are harried into all enormity. Besides there is no sinne but vexeth him in whome it is. The first reuenge (saith *Iuuenall*) is, that no guilty man is quitte by his owne conscience. But this place is diuerly read. But the true sence is, If that originall promise to sinne which wee haue all from *Adam* bee not predominant ouer the whole man, nor reigne not (as the Apostle saith) in our members, but bee subiected to the minde, and the minde vnto *God* the gouernour, not consenting to that wicked procliuitie, but rather peaceably restraining it, and comming vnto the curing of *G O D* that good Phisitian, then that crazed affect becommeth sound perfection, and with the whole man attaineth immortality. For this aptnesse or inclination to sinne, which the schoole-diuiues call *fomes*, is sinne in vs.

*Of the cause and obstinacie of Cains wickednesse, which was not repressed by Gods owne words.* CHAP. 7.

**B**Vt that same speaking of *God* vnto *Caine* in the forme of some of his creatures (as wee haue shewed that hee vsed to doe with the first men) what good did it doe him? did hee not fulfill his wicked intent to murder his brother, after *G O D* had warned him? who hauing distinguished both their sacrifices, reiecting the one and receiuing the other (no (b) doubt by some visible signe) and that because the one wrought euill and the other good, *Caine* grew exceeding wroth and his looke was delected. And *God* said vnto him: *why is thy looke delected?* (c) *If thou offer well, and diuident not well,* (d) *hast thou not sinned: be quiet* (e) *vnto thee shall his desire be subiect and thou shalt rule ouer him.* In this admonition of *God* vnto *Caine*, because the first words. *If thou offer well and diuident not well*

well, *hast thou not sinned*, are of doubtfull vnderstanding, the translators haue drawne it vnto diuers senses, each one seeking to lay it downe by the line of faith. A sacrifice that is offered to the true God, to whome onely such are due is well offered. But the diuision may be euill made vpon a bad distinction of the times, place, offering, offerers or of him to whome it is offered, or of them to whome the offering is distributed: meaning here by diuision, a discerning betweene offering at due times, in due places, due offerings, due distributions and the contraries of all these: As if we offer, where, when and what wee should not: or reserue better to our selues then we offer to God: or distribute the offering to the vnsanctified, herein prophaning the sacrifice. In which of these *Caine* offended God we cannot easily finde. But as the Apostle *John* said of these two bretheren; *Not as Caine who was of the wicked, and slew his brother, and wherefore slew he him? because his owne workes were euill and his brothers good.* This proueth that God respected not his gifts; for that hee diuided euill, (f) giuing God onely some of his cattell, and giuing him-selfe to him-selfe, as all do that leaue Gods will to follow their owne, and liuing in peruerfnesse of heart; offer gifts vnto God as it were to buy him, not to cure their vicious affects but to fulfill them. This is the property of the earthly Citty to worshipp one, or many Gods for victory, and terrestriall peace, neuer for charitable instruction, but all for lust of soueraignty. The good vse this world to the-enioying of God, but the wicked iust contrary-wise, would vse God to enioy the world, (g) such I meane as hold God to be or to haue to doe in humanity: for there are that are farre worse and beleue not this. So then *Caine* knowing that God respected his brothers sacrifice and not his, ought to haue changed him-selfe and fallen to imitation of his good brother; not to haue swollen vp in enuy against him. But because hee was sad, and his lookes cast downe, this greefe at anothers good, chiefly his brothers, God doth finde great falt with, for there-vpon hee asked him saying: *Why art thou sad and why is thy countenance cast downe?* His enuy to his brother, God saw, and reprehended. Man, that knoweth not the heart, might well haue doubted whether hee was sad for his owne badnesse that displeaed God, or for his brothers goodnesse, for which God accepted his sacrifice. But God giuing a reason why hee would not accept his, that hee might haue iuster cause to dislike him-selfe then his brother, hauing not diuided, that is, not liued well, and being not worthy to haue his sacrifice accepted, doth shew that hee was farre more vniust, in this, that he hated his iust brother for no cause: yet hee sendeth him not away without a good and holy command: *Bee quiet quoth hee: for vnto thee shall his desire bee subiect and thou shalt rule ouer him.* What ouer his brother? God forbid, no, but ouer sinne: for hee had said before, *hast thou not sinned?* and now hee addeth, *bee quiet for vnto thee.* &c. Some may take it thus, that sinne shall bee turned vpon man, so that hee that sinneth, shall haue none to blame for it but him-selfe: for this is the wholesome medicine of repentance, and the fit plea for pardon, that these words of God be vnsterstood as a percept, and not as a prophecy: for then shall euery man rule ouer sin, when he doth not support it by defence, but subdue it by repentance: otherwise hee that becomes the protector of it, shall sure become prisoner to it. But if wee vnderstand this sinne to bee that carnall concupiscense whereof the Apostle saith: *The flesh conueth against the spirit*, amongst whose workes, enuy is reckened for one, which incited *Caine* to his brothers murder, then wee may well take these words thus: *It shall bee turned vnto thee, and thou shalt rule ouer it*; for the carnall

part

part being moued ( which the Apostle calls sinne, saying, *I do not this but the sinne which dwelleth in mee:* ) which part the Philosophers call the vicious part of the soule, that ought not to rule but to serue the minde, and bee thereby curbed from vnreasonable acts: when this moueth vs to any mischiefe, if wee follow the Apostles counsel, saying, *giue not your members as weapons of vnrighteousnesse vnto sinne,* then is this part conquered and brought vnder the minde and reason. This rule God gaue him that maliced his brother, and desired to kill him whome hee ought to follow: be quiet quoth he, & is, keepe thine hands out of mischiefe, let not sinne get predominance in thy body, to effect what it desireth, nor giue thou thy members vp as weapons of vnrighteousnesse there-vnto, for vnto thee shall the desires thereof become subiect, if thou restraine it by suppression and increase it not by giuing it scope. And thou shalt rule ouer it: Permit it not to performe any externall act, and thy goodnesse of will shall exclude it from all internall motion. Such a saying there is also of the woman, when God had examined and condemned our first parents after their sinne, the deuill in the serpent, and man and woman in them-selues: *I will greatly increase thy sorrowes and thy conceptions* ( saith he ): *in sorrow shalt thou bring forth children:* and then he addeth, *And thy desire shall be subiect to thine husband and hee shall rule over thee:* thus what was to *Caine* concerning sinne or concupifence, the same was said here to the offending woman: where wee must learne, that the man must gouerne the woman, as the soule should gouerne the body. Where-vpon the Apostle said, *hee that loueth his wife loueth himselfe, for no man euer hated his owne flesh.* These wee must cure, as our owne, not cast away, as strangers. But *Caine*, conceived of Gods eommand like a malevolent reprobate, and yeelding to his height of enuy, lay in waite for his brother and slew him. This was the founder of the fleshly City. How hee further-more was a Type of the Iewes, that killed Christ the true shepherd prefigured in the shepherd *Abel* I spare to relate, because it is a propheticall Allegory, and I remember that I sayd some-what hereof in my worke against *Fausus* the Manichee.

## L. VIVES.

**H**E ( a ) used. ] *Sup. Gen. ad ltr. lib. 8.* He inquireth how God spake to *Adam*, spiritually, or corporally? and hee answereth that hee spake to him as he did to *Abraham*, *Moses*, &c. in a corporall shape, thus they heard him walking in Paradise in the shade. ( q ) *No doubt.* How could *Caine* know ( sayth *Hierome* ) that God accepted his brothers sacrifice and refused his, but that it is true that *Theodotion* doth say: *the Lord set Abels sacrifice on fire, but Caines he did not, that fire had wont to come downe from heauen vpon the sacrifice, Salomons offering at the dedication of the temple, and Elias his vpon mount Carmel do testifie. Thus saith Hierom. ( e ) If thou.* So do the seauenty read it: our common translation is: *If thou do well shalt thou not be accepted, and if thou do not well, sinne lieth at the doore.* *Hierome* rehearseth the translation of the seauenty and saith thus: the Hebrew and the Sepruagintes do differ much in this place. But the Hebrew read it as our vulgar translations haue it: and the seauenty haue it as *Augustine* readeth it. ( d ) *Be quiet.* Runne not headlong on, neither be desperate of pardon; sinnes originall is adherent vnto all men, but, it is in mans choice to yeeld to it or no. ( e ) *Vnto thee shall.* *Septuaginta*, say th: seauenty. *Aquila* hath *Societas*, and *Symmachus* *Appetitus*, or *Impetus*. The meaning may be either that sin shall be our fellow, or that sinnes violence shall be in our power to suppress, as the sequel declareth, and this later is the likelier to be the true meaning. ( f ) *Giuing God.* God respecteth not the guilt but the giuer, and therefore the sacrifices of the wicked are

are vaine, and neither acceptable to God nor good men, as *Plato* saith. (g) *Such I meane.*] For there be some Atheists; but such wicked as beleue a God, thinke that they can meane God by gifts to returne them the same againe, ten-fold, be it gold or siluer. As *Sylla* and *Crassus* offered *Hercules* the tenth part of their good; that they might be hereby enriched.

*The reason why Caine was the first of mankind that euer built a city.*

CHAP. 8.

**B**Vt now must I defend the authority of the diuine history that saith, that this one man built a city, when there were but three or foure men vpon earth; after hee had killed his brother, there were but *Adam*, the first father, *Caine* himselfe and his sonne *Enoch*, whose name was giuen to the citty. But they that sticke at this, consider not that the Scriptures (a) neede not name all the men that were vpon earth at that time: but onely those that were pertinent to the purpose. The purpose of the Holy Ghost in *Moyse*s was to draw a pedigree, and genealogy from *Adam*, through certaine men, vnto *Abraham*, and so by his seed vnto the people of God: which being distinct from all other rations, might containe all the types and prefigurations of the eternall *City of Heauen* and *Christ* the king and founder: all which were spirituall and to come: yet so, as the men of the *Earthly citty*, had mention made of them also; as farre as was necessary to shew the aduersaries of the said *glorious citty of God*. Therefore when the Scriptures reckon vp a mans time, and conclude, hee liued thus long, and had sonnes or daughters, must we imagine that because hee names not those sons and daughters, there might bee in so many yeares as one man liued in those times, as many children gotten and borne, as would serue to people diuers cities? But it belonged to God, who inspired the spirit by which the scriptures were penned, to distinguish these two states, by severall generations, as first, that the severall genealogies of the carnall Cittizens, and of the spirituall vnto the deluge, might bee collected by them-selues where they are both recited: their distinction, in that the one is recited downe from the *murderer Caine*, and the other from the *righteous Seth*, whom *Adam* had giuen for (b) him whom *Caine* had murdered; and their coniunction, in that all men grew from bad to worse, so that they deserved to bee all ouerwhelmed with the floud, excepting one iust man called *Noe*, his wife, his three sonnes and their wiues: onely these eight persons did God vouchsafe to deliuer in the Arke, of all the whole generation of mankind, whereas therefore it is written. *And Caine knew his wife which conceived and bare Henoeh (c) and hee built a citty and called it by his sonnes name, Henoeh*: this pro- ueth not that hee was his (d) first sonne; for wee may not thinke that because it is said here, *that he knew his wife*, that he had not knowne her before, for this is sayd of *Adam* also, not onely when *Caine* was begotten, who was his first sonne, but when *Seth*, his younger sonne was borne also. *Adam* knew his wife and shee conceived and bare a son and called his name *Seth*. Plaine it is then that the Scripture vseth this phrase in all copulations, and not onely in those wherein the first begotten are borne. Nor is it necessary that *Henoeh* should be *Caines* first sonne, because the citty bore his name, there might bee some other reason why his father loued him about the rest (e); For *Iudas*, of whome the name of *Iuda*, and *Iewes* came, was not *Israels* first borne: but admit *Henoeh*, was this builders first sonne; it is no consequent that his father named the citty after him as soone

What a City is. as hee was borne, for then could not he haue founded a city, which is nothing else but a multitude of men combined in one band of society. Therefore when this mans children & family grew populous, then he might sort them into a city, and call it after his first sonne, for the men liued so long in those dayes, that of all that are recorded together with their yeares, he that liued the least time (f) liued 753. yeares. And some exceeded 900. yet all were short of a 1000. (g) Who maketh any doubt now that in one mans time, man-kinde might increase to a number able to replenish many cities more then one? It is a good prooffe hereof, that of *Abrahams* scede onely, the Hebrew people in lesse then 500. yeares grew to such a number that their went 600000. persons of them, out of Egypt, and those all warlike youthes: to omit the progeny of the *Idumeans* that *Esau* begot, and the (b) nations that came of *Abrahams* other sonne, nor by *Sara*: for these belong not to *Israel*.

## L. VIVES.

**Ionius.** Needed (a) not. Nae they say, had a sonne called *Ionius*, a great astronomer: *Moses* nameth him not. (b) For him. Therevpon was he called *Seth*. *Gen. 4. 25.* (c) And he built. The humanists cannot agree about the first city-founder. Some (with *Pliny*) say *Cecrops*, who built that which was first called *Arx Cecropia*, and afterwards *Acropolis*: *Strabo* sayth *Phoroneus* built *Argos* (which *Homer* calls *Pelagicon*) first. The Egyptians clayme all them-selues, and make their *Diospolis*, or *Thebes* the eldest city of all. But this *Henochia* as *Ioseph* noteth which *Cayne* built is the eldest of all, *Cayne* being plagued with terror of conscience for the death of his brother, built it, and walled it about. It was a tipe of this world, and the society of deuills. *Hieron. ad Marcellam.* (d) First son. *Iosephus* saith he was, but he taketh the scriptures at the first sight. (e) For *Judas*. He was *Jacobs* fourth soone by *Lea*. *Juda* was first called *Canaan* of *Chamis* sonne, and afterwards *Juda* of *Judas Jacobs* sonne. *Iosephus*. So saith *Iustine. lib. 36.* who reckneth but ten sonnes of *Israel*, but hee erres in this, as he doth there where he saith that, the whole nation were called *Iewes* by *Israel* him-selue after his sonne *Judas*, who died after the diuision, but before his father. *Lactantius* saith that they tooke this name in a certaine desert of *Syria* where they rested, because *Judas* had bin the captaine of that company, & the land where they had dwelt, had bin called *Judea. lib. 4.* But I thinke that both the nation got the name, and the tribe of *Judah* the Kingdome, for that in passing of the read sea, all the tribes stopping, *Judah* made first way out after *Moses*, which the Hebrewes say is ment by that of *Jacob* vnto *Judas*. *Gen. 49. 9.* Thou hast come up from captiuitie my sonne, for so do they read it, (f) Lined 753. I thinke this was *Lamech*, *Noes* father, who as the Hebrew saith liued 757. yeares, and the Septuagints 753. (g) Who maketh. In my fathers time their was a towne in Spaine, euery dweller whereof was descended from the children of one man who was then a liue: yet were there an hundred houses in the towne, so that the youngest knew not by what name of kinred to call the old man, for our language hath names no higher then the great grandfather. (h) The nations. From *Ismael Abrahams* sonne by *Agar*.

Of the length of life, and bignesse of body that men had before the deluge. CHAP. 9.

Therefore no wise-man neede doubt that *Cayne* might build a City, and that a large one, men living so long in those daies: vnles some faithlesse will take occasion of incredulity from the number of yeares which our authours recite men to haue liued, and say it is impossible: And so also they may deny the bignesse of mens bodies in those daies to haue far exceeded ours; whereof

whereof their famous Poet (a) *Virgil* giues a testimonie of a bounder stone, that a valiant man caught vp in fight, and running vpon his foe, threw this at him.

*Vix illud lecti bis sex cernice tulissent,  
Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus.*

It past the power of twelue strong men to raise,  
That stone from ground :as men go now adayes.

(b) Intimating that men of elder times were of farre larger bodyes : How much more then before that famous deluge in the worlds infancie? This difference of growth is conuincid out of old Sepulchres which either ruines, or ruiners, or some chance haue opened, and wherein haue beene found bones of an incredible bignesse. Vpon the shore of *Vtica*, I my selfe and many with mee, saw a mans (c) axle-tooth of that bignesse, that if it had beene cut into peeces, would haue made an hundred of ours. But I thinke it was some Giants tooth: for though the ancients bodies exceeds ours, the Giants exceeded all them: and our times haue seene some (though very few) that haue ouer-growne the ordinary stature exceedingly. (d) *Pliny* the second, that great scholler, affirms that the longer the world lasteth, the lesser bodies shall nature produce: as *Homer* (hee faith) doth often complaine: not deriding it as a fiction, but recording it as a writer of the myracles of nature. But as I sayd, the bones of the entombed ancients haue left great proofes of this vnto posteritie: but as for the continuance of their times, that cannot bee prooued by any of those testimonies: yet may wee not derogate from the credite of holy Scriptures, nor bee so impudent in being incredulous of what they relate, seeing wee see those things haue such certaine euent, that they fore-tell. *Pliny* (e) faith that there is as yet a countrie wherein men liue two hundred yeares. If then wee belecue that this length of life which wee haue not knowne, is yet extant in some vn-knowne countries, why may wee not belecue that it hath beene generall in ancient times? Is it possible that that which is not here may be in another place, and is it impossible that that which is not now, might haue come at some other time?

## L. VIVES.

*Virgil* (a) giues } *Aeneid.* 12. of *Turnus*. Alluding to that fight of *Diomedes* and *Aeneas* in *Homer*, where *Diomedes* takes vp a stone which foureteene such men as the world hath now (saith hee) could not lift, and threw it at *Aeneas*, who being striken downe with it, his mother couered him with a miste and so saued him. *Iuuenall* toucheth them both, at that of *Virgil* and *Homer*. *Sat.* 15.

*Saxa inclinatus per humum quaesita lacertis  
Incipiunt torquere domestica seditione  
Tela, nec hunc lapidem qualis se Turnus & Aiax,  
Et quo Tydides percussit pondere coxam  
Aeneas, sed quam valeant emittere dextra  
Illis dissimiles, & nostro tempore nata.  
Nam genus hoc vix iam decrescerat Homero.  
Terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos,  
Ergo deus quicumque aspexit, ridet & edit, &c.*

They stoopt for stones to cast, and kept a coyle  
With those fixe weapons for a scambling broyle:

Aaa 2

No:



Not such as *Turnus* threw, nor *Ajax* tall,  
 Nor that *Aeneas* haunch was hurt withall,  
 But such as our weake armes to weald were able:  
 Farre short of those: those worthies memorable  
 Began to faile ere *Homer* fail'd his pen:  
 And earth brings nothing forth but *Pygmees*-men,  
 The Gods beheld our growth with ieausting scorne, &c.

(b) *Intimating*] And in his *Georgikes*, lib. 1.

*Grandiaque effossis mirabitur esse sepulchris.*  
 And gaze on those huge bones within the tombe.

Hierome  
Burgarino.

Pliny the  
second.

(c) *Axle-tooth*] Vpon Saint *Christophers* day wee went to visite the chiefe Church of our citty, and there was a tooth shewen vs as bigge as my fist, which they say was Saint *Christophers*. There was with mee *Hierom Burgarino*, a man of a most modest and sober carriage, and an insatigable student: which he hath both from nature and also from the example of his father: who though hee were old, and had a great charge of family, yet gaue him-selfe to his booke that his children might see him and imitate him. (d) *Plinie*] His naturall history wee hate. I need neither stand to commend this worke, nor the authors learned diligence. This which *Augustine* citeth is in his seauenth booke: where also hee saith, that in *Crete* there was a mountaine rent by an earth-quake, and in it, a body of fortie sixe cubites long was found. Some sayd it was *Otus* his body, and some *Orions*. *Orestes* his body was digged vp by oracle, and found to be seauen cubites long. Now *Homer* complained of the decrease of stature, very neare a thousand yeares agoe. Thus farre *Pliny*: *Cyprian* writes hereof also to *Demetrianus*, and *Vriell Gods Angell* spake it also vnto *Esdra*s. Besides *Gellius* (lib. 3.) saith, that the ordinary stature of man was neuer aboue seauen foote, which I had rather beleue, then *Herodotus* that fabulous Historiographer, who saith that *Orestes* his body was found to be seauen cubites, which is twelue foote and  $\frac{1}{2}$ . vlesse as *Homer* thinke, the bodies of the ancients were larger then those of later times, who decline with the worlds declining age: But *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and their followers, that held the world to bee eternall, affirme that it neither diminisheth nor declineth. (e) *Saith*] Lib. 7. chap. 48. *Hellanicus* saith, that there is a race of the *Epirotes* in *Etolia* that liue two hundred yeares, and *Damastes* holdeth so also, naming one *Priforeus* a chiefe man amongst them in strength, who liued three hundred yeares.

*Of the difference that seemes to bee betweene the Hebrewes  
 computation and ours.* CHAP. IO.

VVherefore though there seeme to be some difference betweene the Hebrewes computation and ours, I know not vpon what cause, yet it doth not disprove that those men liued as long as we say they did. For *Adam* ere he begot *Seth*, is sayd by our (a) bookes, to haue liued two hundred and thirty yeares, by the Hebrewes, but one hundred and thirty. But after hee had begotten *Seth*, hee liued seauen hundred yeares by our account, and eight hundred by the Hebrewes. Thus both agree in the maine summe. And so in the following generations, the Hebrewes are still at such or such an ones birth, an hundred yeares behinde vs in this fathers age, but in his yeares after his sonnes birth, they still come vp vnto our generall summe, and both agree in one. But in the sixt generation they differ not a letter. In the seauenth generation wherein *Henoch* was (not hee that dyed, but hee that pleased GOD and was translated) there is the same difference of the one hundred yeares before hee begotte his sonne: but all come to one end still: both the bookes making him liue three hundred sixtie and five yeares ere his translation.

The eight generation hath some difference, but of lesse moment, and not like

like to this. For *Mathusalem* hauing begotten *Enoch*, before hee had his next sonne whome the Scriptures name, is said by the Hebrewes to haue liued twentie yeares longer then wee say hee liued: but in the account of his yeares after this sonne, wee added the twenty, and both doe iumpe in one iust summe. Onely in the ninth generation, that is in the yeares of *Lamech* the sonne of *Mathusalem* and the father of *Noah*, wee differ in the whole summe, but it is but foure and twenty yeares, and that they haue more then we: for his age, ere he begot *Noah*, in the *Hebrew* is six yeares lesse then in ours: and their summe of his yeares afterwards is thirty more then ours: which sixe taken from thirty, leaues foure and twenty, as I said before.

### L. VIVES:

**O**ur (a) bookes ] Meaning the Latine translations that the Church vsed then, out of the 70. ere *Hieroms* was either published or receiued. And by the *Hebrew* bookes he means the originall scriptures, and the *Hebrew* authors thereto agreeing. *Adam* (saith *Hierome*) liued 230. yeares, and begot a sonne like him-selfe and called his name *Seth*. Where wee are to conceiue that from *Adam* to the flood; where wee read two hundred yeares and the *ouerplus*, the *Hebrews* read onely one hundred and the *ouer-plus*. And the dayes of *Adam* after he had begotten *Seth*, were seauen hundred yeares, because the translators had erred an hundred before, heere he puts but seauen hundred, where the *Hebrew* hath eight hundred. Thus farre *Hierome*, who excepts not at all at this manner of computation. *Augustine* omittes *Iareds* begetting of *Henoch* in the sixt generation, but this indeed goeth not about two hundred yeares.

#### *Of Mathusalems yeares, who seemeth to haue liued foureteene yeeres after the deluge.* CHAP. II.

**B**ut here is a (a) notable question arising vpon this difference betweene vs and the Hebrewes, where *Mathusalem* is reckoned to haue liued foureteene yeares after the deluge: whereas the Scripture accompteth but eight persons that were saued therein of all man-kinde, whereof *Mathusalem* was none. For in our bookes, *Mathusalem* liued ere hee begot *Lamech*, one hundred sixty seauen yeares, and *Lamech* vntill he begot *Noah*, one hundred foure score & eight yeares, which ioyned, make three hundred fifty and five yeares, vnto which adde *Noahs* sixe hundred yeares (for then begun the deluge) and so the time betweene *Mathusalems* birth and the deluge is nine hundred fiftie and five yeares. Now *Mathusalems* dayes are reckoned to bee nine hundred sixty and nine yeares: for being one hundred sixtie and seauen yeares of age ere hee begot *Lamech*, hee liued eight hundred and two yeares after, which make in all nine hundred sixtie and nine, from whence take nine hundred fiftie five (the time from his birth to the deluge) and there remaines fourteene, which hee is thought to liue after the deluge. Where-vpon some thinke that hee liued this time (not vpon earth, for there was not a soule of those escaped, but) in the place to which his sonne was translated, with him vntill the deluge were come and gone: because they will not call the authoritie of these trutthes into question, seeing the Church hath allowed them, nor belecue that the Iewes haue the truth rather then we: nor allow that this should rather bee an error in vs, then in those out of whome wee haue it by the Greeke. But say they, it is incredible that the seventy interpreters, who translated all at one time, and in one sence, could erre, or

Would falsifie in a thing impertinent vnto them: but that the Iewes, enuying our translations of their lawe and their Prophets, altered diuerse things in their bookes, to subuert the authoritie of ours. This opinionatiue suspicion, euery one may take as hee please: but this is once sure, *Mathusalem* liued not after the deluge, but dyed in the same year, if the Hebrewes account be true. Concerning the Septuagints translation, I will speake my minde here-after, when I come (by Gods helpe) to the times them-selues, as the methode of the worke shall exact. Sufficeth it for this present question to haue shewen by both bookes, that the Fathers of old liued so long, that one man might see a number of his owne propagation sufficient to build a cittie.

## L. VIVES.

**N**Orable (a) question ] *Hierome* saith it was famous in all the Churches. *Hierom* affirms that the 70. erred in their account, as they did in many things else: and gathers out of the Iewes and Samaritanes bookes, that *Mathusalem* dyed in that year wherein the deluge began. Wherevpon *Augustine* doth iustly decide those that will rather trust the translation then the originall.

*Of such as beleue not that men of old time liued so long as is recorded.*

## CHAP. 12.

**N**Or is any care to bee giuen vnto those that thinke that one of our ordinary yeares would make tenne of the yeares of those times, they were so short: And therefore say they, nine hundred yeares of theirs, that is to say, ninetic of ours: their ten is our one, and their hundred, our tenne. Thus thinke they that *Adam* was but twenty and three yeares olde when hee begot *Seth*: and *Seth* but twentie and an halfe when hee begatte *Enos*, which the Scriptures calles two hundred and five yeares. For as these men hold, the Scripture diuided one yeare into ten parts, calling each part a yeare: and each (a) part hath a sixe-folde quadrate, because that in sixe dayes God made the world to rest vpon the seauenth, (whereof I haue already disputed in the eleuenth booke.) Now sixe times sixe, (for sixe maketh the sixe-fold quadrate) is thirty sixe: and ten times thirtie sixe is three hundred and sixtie, that is twelue moneths of the Moone. The five dayes remaining and that quarter of a day, which (b) foure times doubled is added to the leape yeare, those were added by the ancients afterwards to make vp the number of other yeares, and the Romaines called them *Dies intercalares*: dayes enterposed. So *Enos* was nineteene yeares of age when hee begot *Caynan*, the Scriptures saying hee was one hundred foure-score and ten yeares. And so downe through all generations to the deluge, there is not one in all our bookes that begot any sonne at an hundred, or an hundred and twenty yeares, or thereabouts, but he that was the yongest father was one hundred and three score yeares of age: because (say they) none can beget a childe at ten yeares of age, which that number of an hundred maketh: but at sixteene yeares they are of ability to generate, and that is as the Scriptures say, when they are one hundred and three-score yeere old. And to prooue this diuersitie of yeares likely, they fetch the Egyptian yeares of foure moneths, the Acarnanis of sixe moneths, and the Latines of thirteene moneths. (c) *Pliny* hauing recorded that some liued one hundred

hundred and fifty yeares, some ten more, some two hundred yeares, some three hundred, some five hundred, some six hundred, nay some eight hundred, held that all this grew vpon ignorance in computation. For some (saith he) made two yeares of summer and winter: some made foure yeares of the foure quarters, as the Arcadians did with their yeare of three monthes. And the Egiptians (saith he) besides these little yeares of 4. monthes (as we said before) made the course of the Moone to conclude a yeare, euery month. Thus amongst them (saith he) are some recorded to haue liued a thousand yeares. These probabilities haue some brought, not to subuert the authority of holy writ, but to prooue it credible that the Patriarches might liue so long, and perswaded themselues (thinking it no folly neither to perswade others so in like manner) that their yeares in those daies were so little, that ten of them made but one of ours, & a hundred of theirs, ten of ours. But I wil lay open the eminent falsenesse of this, immediately. Yet ere I do it, I must first touch at a more credible suspicion. Wee might ouerthrow this assertion out of the Hebrew bookes, who say that *Adam* was not two hundred & thirty, but a hundred and thirty yeares old when hee begot his third son, which if they make but thirteen yeares, then he begot his first son, at the eleauenth, or twelfth yeare of his age. And who can in natures ordinary course now, beget a child so yong? But let vs except *Adam*, perhaps he might haue begotten one as soone as he was created: for we may not thinke that he was created a little one, as our children are borne. But now his son *Seth*, was not two hundred yeares old (as wee read) but a hundred and fifty, when hee begot *Enos*, and by their account but eleauen yeares of age. What shall I say of *Canaan* who begot *Malalehel* at seauenty, not at a hundred and seauenty yeares of age, say the Hebrewes? If those were but seauen yeares, what man can beget a child then?

## L. VIVES.

**E**ach (*a*) part hath a] A number quadrate is that which is formed by multiplication of it self, as three times three, foure times foure, and six times six. The yeare hath 365. daies and sixe Quadrates in numbers houres: those computators did exclude the five daies and sixe houres, and diuiding the three hundred & sixty into ten partes, the quotient was, thirty sixe. (*b*) *Foure times*] Of this read *Sueton. in Caesar. Censorin. Macrob. and Beda.* Before *Caesar's* time the yeare had three hundred fifty five daies. And obseruing that the true yeare required ten daies and six houres more, it was put to the priests, at the end of February to interpose two and twenty daies, and because that these six houres euery fourth yeare became a day, then it was added, and this month was called nothing but the *intercalatory* month. In the *intercalary* month saith *Asconius, Tully* Intercalation of daies. pleaded for *Milo*. Now this confused interposition, *Caesar* beeing dictator tooke away, commanding them to keepe a yeare of three hundred sixty five daies, and euery fourth yeare interposed a day into the Calends of March, which was called *Bissextile*, because the sixth of the Calends of March was twice set downe in such yeares: for the better adapting of these to the time, he made a yeare of fifteene monthes interposing two monthes betweene Nouember and December, with the intercalary month for that yeare: and this was to bring the month and daies to the course of the Sun: for the accounts made by winter and sommer, they called the yeare of confusion, for it contained 443. daies. (*c*) *Pliny*] *Lib. 7. cap. 48.*

*Whether we ought to follow the Hebrew computation, or the  
Septuagints. CHAP. 13.*

**B**V T if I say thus, or thus, presently I must bee answered, it is one of the  
Aaa 4 Jewes

Iewes lies : of which before : for it is incredible that such (a) laudable and honorable fathers as the Septuagints were, would record an vntruth . Now if I should aske them whether it be likely that a nation so large, and so farre dispersed as the Iewes should all lay their heads together to forge this lie, and through their malice others credites, subuert their owne truthe, or that the seauenty beeing Iewes also, and all shut vp in one place (for *Ptolomy* had gotten them together for that purpose) should enuy that the gentiles should enioy their scriptures, and put in those errors by a common consent, who seeth not which is easier to effect? But (b) God forbid that any wise man should thinke that the Iewes (how forward soeuer) could haue such power, or so many and so farre dispersed bookes, or that the seauenty had any such common intent to conceale their histories truth from the Gentiles . One might easier belecue that the error was committed in the transcription of the copy from *Ptolomies* library, and so that it had a successiue propagation through all the copies dispersed . This may welbe suspected indeed in *Mathusalems* life, and in that other, where there is foure and twenty yeares difference in the whole-sum . But in those where the falt is continued, so that an hundreded yeares in the one are still *ouerplus* before the generations, and wanting after it, and in the other, still wanting before, and *ouerplus* after, still agreeing in the maine : and this continued through the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and seauenth generation : this professeth a constancy in error, and intimateth rather industrious endeouour to make it so, then any negligent omission to let it passe so . So that this disparity in the greeke and latine, from the hebrew where these yeares are first wanting, and then added, to procure the consent of both, is neither to be said the Iewes malice nor the Septuagints diligence, but vpon the transcribers error that copied it first from *Ptolomies* library : for vnto this very daie, numbers, where they are either hard to bee vnderstood, or seeme to denote a thing not very needfull, they are negligently transcribed, and more negligently corrected: for thinketh he that he need learne how many thousand there was in euery Tribe of Israell? it is held vselesse : how few is there that can discerne what vse to make hereof? But here, where in all these generations, here wants an hundred yeares, and heere is an hundred too many: wanting, afterwards when they exceeded before the birth of such or such a sonne, and exceeding afterwards when they wanted before : he that did this, desiring to perswade vs, that the fathers were to liue so long because the yeares were so short : and desiring to shew that by their maturity, when they were fit to generate : and hereby thinking to perswade the incredulous, that a hundred of those yeares were but ten of ours : this made him where he found an age which his account would disable for generation, to adde an hundred yeares, and after the generation was past, to take it from the maine summe of his daies of life . For thus desired hee to proue these ages conuenient for generation (by his account) and yet not to diminish from the true computation of their whole yeares . Which because hee did not in the sixth generation, this is that that perswades vs the rather to thinke that he did it where it needed, because where it needeth not, hee addeth not nor altereth any thing . For there in the hebrew he found that *Iared* liued a hundred sixty and two yeares before hee begot *Henoeh*, which time comes to fixteene yeares, two monthes, and some od daies by his account, and that age is fit for generation, and therefore hee would not adde an hundred here, to make them vp twenty six of our yeares by his reckning : nor would hee detract any thing from the time of *Iared* after *Henoehs* birth . This was that made the summes of both

bookes

bookes agree. Another perswasion is (c) because in the eight generation before that *Mathusalem* had begot *Lamech*, the Hebrews reading one hundred eightie two, our bookes haue twenty yeares lesse, where-as ordinarily wee vse to finde a hundred more: and after *Lamech* his birth they are added againe to make vp the summe, which is one in both the bookes. For if he would take a hundred and seuentie yeares to be seauenteene, because of the abilitie to gette children: hee should neither haue added nor subtracted any thing from thence: for hee found a time full inough here, for want of which hee was faine to adde a hundred yeares else-where. Wherefore wee should verily thinke that this error of the twenty yeares were occasioned by some fault in transcription, but that the summe of 10. is added to the grand-summe againe, to make both bookes agree. Shall wee thinke it was subtletie in him? to couer his addition and subtraction of those yeares when need was, by practising it also (not with hundreds, but with lesse summes) where hee needed not? whether we thinke it was thus or no, or that the right is this or that, I make no question, the rightest course of all in all those controuersies concerning computations, if the two bookes differ (seeing both cannot be true) yet (d) beleue the originall rather then the translation. For some of the Greeke copies, besides a Latine one, and a Syrian one, affirme that *Mathusalem* died sixe yeares before the deluge.

### L. VIVES.

**L**audable (a) and] A diuersitie of reading: but of no moment. (b) God forbid] Thus may we answer those that say the Iewes haue corrupted the old Testament, and the Greekes the new, least we should go to drinke at truths spring-head. (c) Because in the.] I conceiue not his meaning here: *Hierom* and the seauentie, read both that *Mathusalem* was a hundred eightie and seauen when hee begot *Lamech*: vnlesse *Augustine* had read it otherwise in some other. (d) Beleue] This *Hierom* admireth and reason inuiceth vs to: no man of wit will gaine-say it: but in vaine doe good iudgements defend this; for blockishnesse lyes against it like a rock, nor that they onely are ignorant in those tongues, for *Augustine* had no Hebrew, and very little Greeke, but they want his modesty: hee would euer learne, and they would neuer learne, but would teach that wherein they are as skillfull as a sort of *Cumane* Asses.

*Of the parity of yeares, measured by the same spaces, of old, and of late.*

### CHAP. 14.

**N**OW let vs see how plaine wee can shew that ten of their yeares is not one of ours, but one of their yeares as long as one of ours: both finished by the course of the sunne, and all their ancestors long liues laide out by that reckoning. It is written that the floud happened the three score yeare of *Noahs* age. But why doe the Scriptures say: *In the sixe hundredth yeare of Noahs life, in the second moneth, and the twentie seauenth day of the moneth*, if the yeare were, but thirtie sixe dayes? for so little a yeare must eyther haue no moneths, or it must haue but three dayes in a moneth, to make twelue moneths in a yeare. How then can it be said, *the sixe hundredth yeare, the second moneth, & the twenty seauenth day of the moneth*, vnlesse their yeares and moneths were as ours is? How can it be otherwise sayd that the deluge happened the twenty seauen of the moneth? Againe at the end of the deluge it is written, *In the seauenth moneth*

and the twenty seauenth of the month, the Arke rested vpon the Mountaine Ararath; and the waters decreased vntill the eleauenth month: & in the eleauenth month, the first day, were the toppes of the mountaines scene. So then if they had such monthes; their yeares were like ours: for a three daied month cannot haue 27. daies: or if they diminish all proportionably, and make the thirteenth part of three daies, stand for one day, why then that great deluge that continued increasing forty daies, and forty nights, lasted not full 4. of our daies. Who can endure this absurdity? Cast by this error then that seekes to procure the scriptures credit in one thing, by falsifying it in many. The day without al question was as great then as it is now, begun and ended in the compasse of foure and twenty houres: the month as it is now, concluded in one performance of the Moones course: and the yeare as it is now, consummate in twelue lunny reuolutions; East-ward, (a) five daies and a quarter more, being added for the proportionating of it to the course of the Sunne: six hundred of such yeares had *Noah* liued, two such monthes and seauen and twenty such daies when the floud beganne, wherein the raine fell forty daies continually, not daies of two houres and a peece, but of foure and twenty houres with the night, and therefore those fathers liued some of them nine hundred such yeares, as *Abraham* liued but one hundred and eighty of; and his sonne *Isaac* neare a hundred and fifty, and such as *Moses* passed ouer to the number of a hundred and twenty, and such as our ordinary men now a daies do liue seauenty, or eighty of, or some few more, of which it is said, *their ouerplus is but labour and sorrow*. For the discrepance of account betweene vs and the Hebrewes concerns not the lenght of the Patriarches liues, and where there is a difference betweene them both, that truth cannot reconcile, wee must trust to the tongue whence wee haue our translation. Which euery man hauing power to doe, yet (b) it is not for naught no man dares not aduenture to correct that which the Seuenthy haue made different in their translation from the Hebrew: for this diuersity is no error, let no man thinke so: I doe not: but if there bee no falt of the transcriber, it is to bee thought that the Holy Spirit meant to alter some-things concerning the truth of the sence, and that by them, not according to the custome of interpreters, but the liberty of Prophets: and therefore, the Apostles are found not onely to follow the Hebrewes, but them also, in citing of holy Testimonies. But hereof (if GOD will) hereafter: now to our purpose. We may not therefore doubt, that the first child of *Adam* liuing so long, might haue issue enough to people a citty (an earthly one I meane not that of Gods) which is the principall ground wherevpon this whole worke intreateth.

Psal 90. 20

## L. VIVES.

The month of the moone.

**F**ine (a) daies and ] The Moones month may bee taken two waies: either for the moones departure, and returne to one and the same point, which is done in seauen and twenty daies: or for her following of the sunne vntill shee ioyne with him in the Zodiake: which is done in nine and twenty daies, twelue houres, and foure and forty minutes: for shee neuer findeth the sunne where she left him, for hee is gone on of his iourney, and therefore she hath two daies and an halfe to ouertake him; the Iewes allow hir thirty daies: and call this the full month. (b) It is ] Not without a cause.

*Whether the men of old abstained from women vntill that the scriptures say they begot children.* CHAP. 15.

**B**ut will some say, is it credible that a man should liue eighty, or ninty, nay more

more then a 100. yeares without a woman, and without purpose of continency, and then fall a begetting children as the Hebrewes record of them? or if they lived, could they not get children before? this question hath two answeres, for either they lived longer (a) immature then we do, according to the length of time exceeding ours, or else (which is more likely) their first borne are not reckened, but onely such as are requisite for the drawing of a pedegree downe from *Adam* vnto *Noah*, from whom we see a deriuation to *Abraham*: and so vntill a certaine period, as farre as those pedegrees were held fit to prefigure the course of Gods glorious Pilgrim-city, vntill it ascend to eternity. It cannot bee denied that *Caine* was the first that euer was borne of man and woman. For *Adam* would Gen. 4. 1 not haue sayd, *I haue (1) gotten a man by the Lord*, at his birth, but that hee was the first man borne before the other two. Him, *Abell* was next whom the first or elder killed, and herein was prefigured what persecutions *Gods glorious City* should endure at the hands of the wicked members of the terrestriall society, those sons of earth, I may call them. But how old *Adam* was at the begetting of these two, it is not euident: from thence is a passage made to the generations of *Caine*, and to his whom God gaue *Adam* in murdred *Abells* seede, called *Seth*: of whom it is written, *God hath appointed me another seed for Abell whom Caine slew*. Seeing therefore that these two generations, *Caines*, and *Seths*, do perfectly insinuate the two citties: the one celestially, and laboring vpon earth: the other earthly and following our terrestriall affects: there is not one of all *Caines* progeny, from *Adam* to the eighth generation, whose age is set downe when hee begot his next sonne: yet is his whole generation rehered: for the Spirit of God would not record, the times of the wicked before the deluge, but of the righteous onely, as onelie worthy. But when *Seth* was borne his fathers yeares were not forgotten though he had begotten others before, as *Caine* and *Abell*; and who dare say whether he had more besides them? for it is no consequent that they were all the sons he had, because they were onely named for the fit distinction of the two generations: for we read that hee had sonnes, and daughters, all which are vnnamed; who dare affirme how many they were, without incurision of rashnesse? *Adam* might by Gods instinct say at *Seths* birth, *God hath raised me up another seed for Abell*, in that *Seth* was to fulfill *Abells* sanctity; not that he was borne after him by course of time. And where as it is written, *Seth* liued 105. or 205. yeares, & begot *Enos*, who but one brainelesse would gather from hence that *Enos* was *Seths* first son, to giue vs cause of admiration that *Seth* could liue so long continent without purpose of continency, or without vse of the mariage bed, vnto generation? for it is writtē of him, *He begat sons and daughters and the daies of Seth were 912. yeeres, and he died*. And thus, the rest also that are named, are al recorded to haue had sons Gen. 5. 8: & daughters. But here is no prooffe that he that is named to be son to any of them, should be their first son: nor is it credible that their fathers liued al this while either immature, or vnmarrried, or ynchilled, nor that they were their fathers first borne. But the scripture intending to descend by a genealogicall scale from *Adam* vnto *Noah* to the deluge, recounted not the first borne of euery father, but only such as fell within the compasse of these two generations. Take this example, to cleare all further or future doubt: Saint *Mathew* the Euangelist intending to record the generation of the King, *CHRIST*, beginning at *Abraham*, and descending downe to *Dauid*, *Abraham* (saith hee,) begot *Isaac*: why not *Ismael*? he was his first sonne? *Isaac* begot *Jacob*: why not *Esau*? hee was his first sonne too.

The



The reason is, he could not descend by them vnto *Dauid*. It followeth: *Iacob* begat *Judas* and his brethren. Why? was *Judas* his first borne? *Judas* begat *Phares* and *Zara*. Why neither of these were *Judas* his first sonnes, he had three before either of them. So the Euangelist kept onely the genealogy that traacted directly downe to *Dauid*, and so to his purpose. Hence may wee therefore see plaine that the mens first borne before the deluge, were not respected in this account, but those onely through whose loines the propagation passed from *Adam* to *Noah* the Patriarche; And thus the fruitlesse and obscure question of their late maturity, is opened as farre as needeth: we will not tire our selues therein.

## L. VIVES.

Maturity.

**L**onger (a) *immature*] Maturity in man, is the time when he is fit to beget children; when as haire groweth vpon the immodest parts of nature in man or woman. (b)  *gotten*] Or possesse *in nuptiis*, say the seauenty. *Caine*, saith *Hierome* is *utris*, possession.

*Of the lawes of marriage, which the first women might haue different from the succeeding.* CHAP. 16.

Affinity  
the propa-  
gator of  
charity.

**T**herefore whereas mankinde (after the forming of the first man out of clay, and the first woman out of his side,) needed coniunction of male and female, for propagation sake, it beeing impossible for man to bee increased but by such meanes, the brethren married the sisters; : this was lawfull then, through the compulsion of necessity: but now it is as damnable, through the prohibition of it in religion: for there was (a) a iust care had of charity, that them to whom concord was most vsfull, might be combined together in diuers bonds of kinred and affinity: that one should haue many in one; but that euery peculiar should bee bestowed abroad, and so many, byas many, should bee conglutinate in honest coniugall society. As, father, and father in law, are two names of kinred: So if one haue both of them, there is a larger extent of charity. *Adam* is compelled to be both, vnto his sonnes, and his daughters, who were matched together beeing brothers and sisters. So was *Euah* both mother and step-mother to them both. But if there had bin two women for these two names, the loue of charity had extended further: The sister also here, that was made a wife, comprized two alliances in her selfe, which had they beene diuided and she sister to one, and wife to another the combination had taken in more persons then as now it could, beeing no mankinde vpon earth, but brothers and sisters; the progeny of the first created. But it was fit to be done as soone as it could, and that then wiues and sisters should be no more one: it being no neede, but great abomination to practise it any more. For if the first mens nephewes, that married their cousin-germaines, had married their sisters, there had beene three alliances (not two) included in one: which three ought for the extention of loue and charity to haue beene communicated vnto three seuerall persons: for one man should be father, stepfather, and vncler vnto his owne children; brother and sister, should they two marry together; and his wife should be mother, stepmother and aunte vnto them; and they themselues should bee not onely brother and sister, but (b) brother and sisters children also. Now those alliances that combine three men vnto one, should conioyne nine persons together in kinred & amity if they were seuered:

one

one may haue one his sister, another his wife, another his cousin, another his father, another his vncler, another his step-father, another his mother, another his aunte, and another his step-mother: thus were the sociall amity dilated, and not contracted all into two or three. And this vpon the worlds increase wee may obserue euen in Paynims and Infidels, that although (c) some of their bestiall lawes allowed the bretheren to marry their sister, yet better custome abhorred this badde liberty: and for all that in the worldes beginning it was lawfull, yet they auoide it so now as if it had neuer bene lawfull: for custome is a great matter to make a man hate or affect any thing: and custome herein suppressing the immoderate immodesty of concupiscence, hath iustly set a brand of ignominy vpon it, as an irreligious and vnhumaine acte: for if it be a vice to plow beyond your bounder, for greedinesse of more ground: how farre doth this exceed it, for lust of carnality to transgresse all bound, may subuert all ground of good manners? And wee haue obserued that the marriage of cousin-germaines, because of the degree it holdeth next vnto brother and sister, to haue bene wonderfull seldome in these later times of ours: and this now because of good custome otherwise, though the lawes allowed it, for the lawe of GOD hath not forbidden it, (d) nor as yet had the lawe of man. But this, although it were lawfull, is avoided, because it is so neare to that which is vnlawfull: and that which one doth with his cousin, hee almost thinketh that hee doth with his sister: for these because of their heere consanguinity, (e) are called brotheres and sisters, and are indeed very neare it. But the ancient fathers had a religious care to keepe the kindred with such limmites, lest it should spread vnto nothing: binding of it backe againe into it selfe, when it was a little diffused, and calling it still to a new combination in it selfe. And herevpon when the earth was well replenished with men, they desired no more to marry brother vnto sister, yet notwithstanding each one desired a wife in his owne kindred. But without all question the prohibition of cousin-germaines marriages is very honest: partly for the afore-said reasons, because one person therein shall haue two alliances, which two ought rather to haue, for the increase of affinity: and partly because there is a certaine laudable naturall instinct, in a mans shamefastnesse, to abstaine from vsing that lust (though it tend vnto propagation) vpon such as propinquity hath bound him chastly to respect, seeing that inculpable wed-locke is ashamed of this very acte. In respect of mankind therefore, the coupling of man and woman, is the seminary of a city: and the Earthly City needeth only this, marry the Heauenly City needeth a further matter, called regeneration, to auoide the corruption of the first generation. But whether there were any signe, or at least any corporall or visible signe of regeneration before the deluge, or vntill circumcision was commended vnto *Abraham*, the scripture doth not manifest. That these first men sacrificed vnto GOD, holy writ declareth, as in the two first brethren, and in *Noah*, after the deluge, when hee came out of the Arke he is said to offer vnto God. But of this wee haue spoken already, to shew that the deuills desire to be accounted Gods, and offred vnto, onely for this end, because they know that true sacrifice is due to none but the true GOD.

### L. VIVES.

**T**Here (a) was] That alliance might be augmented by matches abroad, and not kept continually within the walls of one parentage, but intermixt with bloods, and linages: thus

is vnion dilated, and loue sowne through mankinde. *Cic. de finib. lib. 5. (b) Brother* ] The sons of two brethren are called *Patruels*: of a brother and a sister, *Amitini*: of two sisters, *Con-*  
*The latines* *fratris*. [ generally, cousin germaines they are all. ] *Marcellus de propriet. sermon. (c) Some of*  
*haue three* *their*] The Gods vsed it, *Saturne* married his sister *Ops*, and *Iupiter, Iuno*. The Egyptians also,  
*words for* and the Athenians allowed it. But the Romans, neuer. *(d) Nor as yet*] There was a law against  
*cousin ger-* marrying of kindred (saith *Plutarch*) vntill at length it was permitted that father or vncler might  
*manes.* marry his brothers or sisters, daughter: which arose herevpon: A good poore man whom the  
 people loued very well, married his brothers daughter: and beeing accused, and brought be-  
 fore the Iudge, he pleaded for himselfe so well, that he was absolved, and this law decreed by an  
 vniuersall consent. *(e) Are called*] So *Abraham* called *Sarah*. And *Tully* calleth *Lucius Cicero*,  
 his vncler sonne, brother. *De finib. lib. 5.* Yet *Augustine* saith not, they are brothers &c. but  
 very neare it.

*Of the two heads and Princes of the Two citties, borne both of  
 one father. CHAP. 17.*

**A** *Dam* therefore beeing the Father of both the progenies, belonging to the  
 Earthly and Heauenly City, and *Abell* beeing slaine, and in his death a won-  
 derfull *(a)* mistery commended vnto vs; *Caine* and *Seth* became the heads of the  
 two parties: in whose sonnes such as are named, the Two Cities began to shew  
 themselues vpon earth, in mankinde: for *Caine* begot *Enoch*, and built an Earthly  
 Cittie after his name, no such City as should be a pilgrim in this earthly world,  
 but an enioyer of the terrestriall peace. *Caine*, is interpreted, Possession, wherevpon  
 either his father or his mother at his birth said, *I haue gotten a man by God*. *He-*  
*noe dedica-* *noeh* is interpreted, Dedication: for the earthly City is dedicated here below  
 where it is built: for here is the scope and end that it affects and aymes at. Now  
*(b) Seth* is called, Resurrection, and *Enos* his son is called, Man, not as *Adam* was  
*(for Adam* is man, but in the Hebrew it is common to male and femall: for it is  
 written: *Male and femall made he them, and calleth their name Adam*: so that *Euah*  
 doubtlesse was not so properly called *Euah* but that *Adam* was a name indifferent  
 to them both. ) But *(c) Enos* is so properly a man, that it excludes all womankind  
 (as the Hebrew linguists affirme) as importing the sonne of the resurrection  
 where they shall not marry, nor take no wife. For regeneration shall  
 exclude generation from thence. Therefore I hold this no idle note, that in the  
 whole generation drawne from *Seth* there is not one woman named as begotten  
 in this generation. For thus wee reade it, *Mathusaell* begot *Lamech*, and *Lamech*  
 tooke vnto him two wiues: *Adah*, and *Zillah*, and *Adah* bare *Iabell*, the father of  
 such as liued in tents and were keepers of cattell; and his brothers name was *Iu-*  
*ball*, who was the father of Musicians. And *Zillah* also bare *(d) Tobel*, who  
 wrought in brasse and iron: and the sister of *Tobel* was *Naamah*. Thus far is *Caines*  
 generations recited beeing eight from *Adam*, with *Adam* seauen to *Lamech* that  
 had these two wiues, and the eight in his sonnes, whose sisters are also reckned.  
 This is an elegant note, that the Earthly City shall haue carnall generations  
 vntill it ende: such I meane as proceede from copulation of male and female.  
 And therefore the wiues of him that is the last Father, heere, are named  
 by their proper names, and so is none besides them before the deluge, but  
*Euah*. But euen as *Caine* is interpreted Possession, of the Earthly Citties found-  
 er, and *Henoch* his son, interpreted, Dedication, who gaue the City his name, do  
 shew that it is to haue both an earthly beginning, & ending, in which there is no  
 hope but of things of this world: so likewise *Seth* is interpreted the Resurrection,  
 who

*Caine, pos-*  
*session He-*  
*noe dedica-*  
*tion.*  
*Seth resur-*  
*rection.*  
*Enos, man.*

Gen. 4, 19  
 20, 21, 22.

who being the father of the other generations, wee must see what holy writ deli-  
uereth concerning his sonne.

### L. VIVES.

**A** *Wonderfull (a) mystery* ] First of the death of Christ, and then of the martires, whom the  
worldly brother persecuteth. *(b) Seth is* ] *Hierome* putteth it, *posiſion: Poſuit*. The table  
at the end of the Bible conteyning the interpretation of the Hebrew names, ſaith that *Seth*, is  
put, or ſet. *(c) Enos* ] As *Adam* is (ſaith *Hierome*) ſo is *Enos*, a man. *(d) Tobel* ] *Auguſtine* fol-  
loweth the ſeauenty, who read *Ṭobal*: whereas the Hebrewes read it, *Tubalcain*: who was the  
ſonne of *Zillah* as *Iosephus* recordeth alſo.

*That the ſignification of Abel, Seth and Enos, are all pertinent vnto  
Chriſt and his body, the Church. CHAP. 18.*

**A** *Nd Seth* (ſaith the ſcripture) had a ſonne, and he called his name *Enos*. This Genel. 4.  
26.  
man hoped to call vpon the name of the Lord, for the ſon of the reſurrexion  
liueth in hope, ſaith the truth, it is true: all the while that hee continueth in his  
pilgrimage here below, together *with the Citty of God*, which ariſeth out of  
the faith of Chriſts reſurrexion: for by theſe two men, *Abel*, interpreted Sor-  
row, and *Seth*, Reſurrexion, is the death and riſing againe of Chriſt perfigured, of  
which ſaith *the Citty of God* hath originall, namely in theſe men that *(a)* hoped to  
call vpon the Lord God. For wee are ſaued by hope ſaith the Apoſtle. *But hope  
which is ſeene is no hope: for hopeth he for that he ſeeth? but if we hope for that which we* Rom. 8. 24  
*ſee not, then do we with patience abide it:* who can ſay that this doth not concerne the 25.  
depth of this miſtery? Did not *Abel* hope to call vpon the name of the Lord God  
when his ſacrifice was ſo acceptable vnto him? And did not *Seth* ſo alſo, of  
whom it is ſaid, *God hath appointed me another ſeed for Abell*? Why then is this  
peculiarly bound vnto *Seths* time in which is vnderſtood the time of all the God-  
ly, but that it behooued that in him who is firſt recorded to haue bene borne, to  
eleuate his ſpirit from his father that begot him, vnto a better father, the King  
of the celeftiall country, Man, that is, that ſociety of man, who liue in the hope  
of bleſſed eternity, not according to man, but GOD, be perfigured? It is not ſaid,  
*He hoped in God: nor he called vpon God: but he hoped to call vpon God.* Why hoped to  
call? but that it is a prophecy that from him ſhould ariſe a people who by the e-  
lection of grace ſhould call vpon the name of the Lord GOD. This is that which  
the Apoſtle hath from another prophet, & ſheweth it to pertaine vnto the grace  
of God, ſaying, *Whoſeuer ſhall call vpon the name of the Lord, ſhalbe ſaued.* This is Rom. 10.  
13.  
that which is ſaid, *He called his name Enos* (which is, man) and then is added, *This  
man hoped to call vpon the name of the Lord*: wherein is plainly ſhewne that man  
ought not to put his truſt in himſelfe. For *curſed is the man that truſteth in man*,  
as wee reade elſe-where, and conſequently in himſelfe: which if hee doe not,  
he may become a cittizen of that Citty which is founded aboue in the eternity of  
bliſſe, not of that which *Caine* built and named after his ſonne, being of this  
world, wauering, and tranſitory:

### L. VIVES.

**T** *His (a) hoped* ] Some reade it, *Then men beganne to call vpon the name of the LORD:*  
Bbb 2 referring

referring to the time, and not to *Seths* person. It is an ordinary phrase in authors. The Chaldee approoveth it, and so seemes *Hierome* to do. The Hebrewes thinke that, then they beganne to set vp Idols in the name of the LORD. *Hierome*. But *Augustine* followeth the seauenty *ἄτο: ἰλπίον ἐπισημασία*, *this man hoped to call upon &c.*

*What the translation of Enoch signified.*

CHAP. I 9.

**F**OR *Seths* progeny hath that name of dedication also for one of the sonnes, the seauenth from *Adam*, who was called (a) *Enoch*, and was the seauenth of that generation: but hee was translated, or taken vp because hee pleased God, and liued in that famous number of the generation wherevpon the Sabbath was sanctified, namely the seauenth, from *Adam*: and from the first distinctions of the generations in *Caine* and *Seth* the sixth: in which number man was made, and all Gods workes perfited. The translation of this *Enoch* is the prefiguration of our dedication which is already performed in *Christ*, who rose from death to die no more, and was assumed also. The other dedication of the whole house remaineth yet whereof *Christ* is the foundation, and this is deferred vntill the end, and finall resurrection of all flesh to die no more. Wee may call it the *house of God*, the *Church of God*, or the *Citty of God*: the phrase will be borne. *Virgill* calls *Rome* (b) *Assaracus* his house, because the Romanes descended from *Troy* and the *Troyans* from *Assaracus*: and he calls it *Aeneas* his house, because hee led the *Troians* in to *Italy*, and they built *Rome*: Thus the Poet immitated the scriptures, that calleth the populous nations of the Hebrewes, *the house of Iacob*.

L. VIVES.

Two Henoches.

**C**alled (a) *Enoch*] There were two *Henochs*, *Caine* begot one, *Iared* another, of the stock of *Seth*, of this he meaneth here. (b) *Assaracus*] Hee was sonne to *Capys* and father to *Anchises*, from whom *Aeneas* and the Romanes are deriued, (c) *Hee led*] *Salust*. *Coniur*. *Carilin*.

*Concerning Caines succession, being but eight from Adam, whereas Noah is the tenth.* CHAP. 20.

**I** But (say some) if the scripture meant onely to descend downe from *Adam* to *Noah* in the deluge, and from him to *Abraham*, where *Mathew* the Euangelist beganne the generation of the King of the *Heauenly Citty*, *Christ*, what meant it to medle with *Caines* succession? I answer it meant to descend downe to the deluge by *Caines* progeny, and then was the *Earthly Citty* vtterly consumed, though it were afterwards repaired by *Noahs* sonnes. For the society of these worldlings shall neuer bee a wanting vntill the worldes end: of whom the scripture saith. *The children of this world marry and are married*. But it is regeneration that takerh the *Citty of GOD* from the pilgrimage of this world, and placeth it in the other, where the sons neither may nor are married. Thus then generation is common to both the *Citties* here on earth: though the *Cittie of God* haue many thousands that abstaine from generation, & the other hath some citizens, that do imitate these, & yet go astray: for vnto this *Citty* do the authors of al heresies

Luc. 20. 34

heresies belong, as liuers according to the world, not after Gods prescription. The (*a*) *Gymnosophists* of India, liuing naked in the deserts, are of this society also: and yet abstaine from generation. For this abstinence is not good, vnlesse it be in the faith of God, that great good. Yet wee doe not finde any that professed it before the deluge, *Enoch* himselte the seauenth from *Adam* whom G O D tooke vp, and suffered not to die, had sonnes and daughters, of whom *Mathusalem* was the man through whom the generation passed downe-wards. But why then are so few of *Caines* progeny named, if they were to bee counted downe to the flood, and their length of yeares hindered not their maturity, which continued a hundreded or more yeares without children? for if the author intended not to draw downe this progeny vnto one man, as hee doth to *Noah* in *Seths*, and so to proceed, why omitted he the first borne to come vnto *Lamech*, in whose time there coniunction was made, in the eight generation from *Adam*, and the seauenth from *Caine*, as if there were some-what more to be added, for the descent downe, either vnto the Israelites, (whose terrestriall City *Ierusalem* was a type of the City of God,) or downe vnto Christes birth in the flesh, (who is that eternall G O D and blessed founder and ruler) when as all *Caines* posterity were abolished? Whereby wee may see that the first borne were reckned in this recitall of the progeny: why are they so few then? So few there could not bee, vnlesse the length of there fathers ages staid them from maturity an hundreded yeares at the least. For to admit that they begunne all alike to beget children at thirty yeares of age: eight times thirtie (for there are eight generations from *Adam* to *Lameches* children inclusiuely) is two hundred and forty: did they beget no children then, all the residue of the time before the deluge? what was the cause then that this author reciteth not the rest: for our bookes account from *Adam* to the deluge (*b*) two thousand two hundred sixty two yeares; and the Hebrewes, one thousand six hundred fifty six. To allow the lesser nuber for the truer, take two hundred and forty, from one thousand six hundred fifty six, and there remains one thousand foure hundred and sixteen yeares. Is it likely that *Caines* progeny had no children al this time? But let him whom this troubleth obserue what I sayd before, when the question was put, how it were credible that the first men could forbear generation so long: It was answered two waies: either because of their late maturity, proportioned to their length of life: or because that they which were reckned in the descents were not necessarily the first borne, but such onely as conueied the generation of *Seth* through themselues downe vnto *Noah*.

And therefore in *Caines* posterity if such an one wants as should bee the scope wherevnto the generation (omitting the first borne, and including onely such as were needefull, might descend) wee must impute it to the latelinese of maturity, whereby they were not enabled to generation vntill they were aboute one hundred yeares olde, that so the generation might still passe through the first borne, and so descending through these multitudes of yeares, meete with the flood: I cannot tell, there may bee some more (*c*) secret course why the *Earthly* Citties generation should bee (*d*) reiected vntill *Lamech* and his sonnes, and then the rest vnto the deluge wholly suppressed by the author. And (to auoide this late maturity) the reason why the pedegree descendeth not by the first borne may bee for that *Caine* might reigne long in his Cittie of *Henocho*: and begette many Kings who might each beget a sonne to reigne in his owne stead. Of these *Caine*, I say, might bee the first: *Henocho* his sonne

the next : (for whom the Citty was built that he might reigne , there : ) *Gaidad* the sonne of *Henoch* the third : (e) *Manichel* the sonne of *Gaidad* the fourth, (f) *Mathusael* the sonne of *Manichel* the fit : *Lamech* the sonne of *Mathusael* the sixt, and this man is the seauenth from *Adam* by *Caine* . Now it followeth not that each of these should bee their fathers first begotten, their merits , vertue, policy, chance , or indeed their fathers loue might easily enthrone them . And the deluge might befall in *Lamechs* reigne , and drowne both him and all on earth but for those in the Arke : for the diuersity of their ages might make it no wonder, that there should bee but seauen generations from *Adam* by *Caine* to the deluge, and ten , by *Seth* : *Lamech* as I said beeing the seauenth from *Adam* , and *Noah* the tenth , and therefore , *Lamech* is not said to haue one sonne, but many, because it is vncertaine who should haue succeeded him , had hee died before the deluge . But howsoeuer *Caines* progeny bee recorded , by Kings, or by eldest sonnes , this I may not omit , that *Lamech* , the seauenth from *Adam* , had as many children as made vppe eleauen , the number of preuarication . For hee had three sonnes and one daughter ( His wiues haue a reference to another thing not here to bee stood vpon . For heere wee speake of descents : but theirs is vnkowne . ) Wherefore seeing that the lawe lieth in the number of ten , as the tenne commandements testifie , eleauen ouer-going ten in one, signifieth the transgression of the law, or sinne . Hence it is that *there were cleauen haire-cloath vales made for the Tabernacle, or moouable Temple of GOD* during the Israelites trauels . For (g) in haire-cloath is the remembrance of sinne included , because of the (h) goates that shalbe set on the left hand : for in repentance wee prostrate our selues in hayre-cloath saying as it is in the Psalme, *My sinne is euer in thy sight* . So then the progeny of *Adam* by wicked *Caine*, endeth in the eleauenth , the number of sinne : and the last that consumateth the number, is a woman , in whome that sinne beganne, for which wee are all deaths slaues : and which was committed, that disobedience vnto the spirit , and carnall affects might take place in vs . For (i) *Naamah* *Lamechs* daughter , is interpreted *beautifull pleasure* . But from *Adam* to *Noah* by *Seth* , tenne , the number of the lawe , is consumate : vnto which *Noahs* three sonnes are added two their father blessed , and the third sell off : that the reprobate beeing reiected, and the elect added to the whole , (k) twelue , the number of the Patriarches and Apostles might herein bee intimate : which is glorious because of the multiplication of the partes of (l) seauen producing it : for foure times three, or three times foure is twelue . This beeing so, it remaineth to discusse how these two progenies distinctly intimating the two *two Citties*, of the reprobate and the regenerate, came to be so commixt and confused, that all mankinde but for eight persons, deserued to perish in the deluge .

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) *Gymnosophists* ] *Strab. lib. 15. (b) 2262.* ] *Eusebius* and *Bede* haue it from the Septuagints but 2242. it may bee *Augustine* saw the last number. LXII. in these characters, and they had it thus XLII. with the X. before. The transcriber might easilie commit such an error . (c) *Secret cause* ] I thinke it was because they onely of *Caines* generation should bee named that were to. bee plagued for his brothers murder : for *Iosephus* writeth hereof in these words : *Caine* offering vnto God , and praying him to bee appealed, got his great guilt of homicide

homicide some-what lightned : and remained cursed, and his off-spring vnto the seauenth generation, lyable vnto punishment for his desert. Besides *Caine* liued so long himselfe, and the author would not continue his generation farther then his death. (d) *Recided* ] Not commended, as some bookes read. (e) *Manichel* ] Some read *Maniab*. *Eusebius* hath *Maniel*: the 70:  $\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota$  (f) *Maibusael* ] *Eusebius*, *Mathusalem*, the seauentie,  $\mu\alpha\theta\upsilon\sigma\alpha\lambda\alpha$ . (g) *In hayre cloth* ] The Prophets wore haire-cloth to stirre the people to repentance. *Hier. sup. Zachar.* The Penitents also wore it. (h) *Goates* ] *Christ* saith, *Hee will gather the steepe*, that is the iust and simple men together, in the worlds end, and set them on his right hand : and the Goates, the luxurious persons, and the wicked, on his left. This hayre-cloth was made of Goates hayre, and called *Cilicium*, because (as *Varro* saith) the making of it was first inuented in *Cilicia*. (i) *Naamah* ] It is both pleasure and delicate comlineffe: *Hierome*. (k) *Twelue* ] *Naamah* Of this read *Hierome* vpon *Ezechiel. lib. 10*. (l) *Seauen* ] A number full of mysterious religion, as I said before.

Haire-cloth.

Naamah.

*Why the generation of Caine is continued downe along from the naming of his sonne Enoch, whereas the Scripture hauing named Enos, Seths sonne, goeth back againe to begin Seths generation at Adam.*

## CHAP. 21.

**B**Vt first we must see the reason why *Cains* generation is drawne out along to the deluge, from the naming of his sonne *Enoch*, who was named before all his other posterity, and yet when *Seths* sonne *Enos* is borne, the author doth not proceede downward to the floud, but goeth back to *Adam* in this manner: *This is the booke of the generation of Adam, in the day that God created Adam, in the likeness of God made he him, male and female created he them, and blessed them, and called their name Adam that day that they were created.* This I hold is interposed, to goe back to *Adam*, from him to reckon the times: which the author would not doe in his description of the Earthly Citie: as also God remembered that without respecting the accompt. But why returnes hee to this recapitulation after hee hath named the (a) righteous sonne of *Seth*, who hoped to call vpon the name of the Lord: but that hee will lay downe the two Citties in this manner: one by an homicide vntill hee come to an homicide (for *Lamech* confesseth vnto his two wiues that hee had beene an homicide) and the other by him that hoped to call vpon the name of the Lord. For the principall businesse that *Gods* Cittie hath in this pilgrimage vpon earth, is that which was commended in that one man, who was appointed a seede for him that was flaine. For in him onely, was the vnity of the *supernall* Cittie, not really complete, mystically comprized: wherefore the sonne of *Caine*, the sonne of possession, what shali hee haue but the name of the *Earthly* Cittie on earth, which was built in his name? Hereof sings the Psalmist: (b) *They haue called their lands by their names*: wherevpon that followeth which hee saith else-where: *Lord thou shalt desperse their image to nothing in thy Cittie*. But let the sonne of the resurrection, *Seths* sonne, hope to call vpon the *Lords* name, for hee is a type of that society that saith: *I shall bee like a fruitfull Oliue in the house of God, for I trusted in his mercy*. And let him not seeke vaine glorie vpon earth, for *Blessed is the man that maketh the Lord his trust: and regardeth not vanity, and false fondnesse*.

Gen. 5, 18.

Psal. 49, 11

Psal. 73, 20

Psal. 52, 8

Psal. 40, 4

Thus the two Citties are described to be seated: the one in worldly possession, the other in heauenly hope, both comming out at the common gate of mortality,



which was opened in *Adam*, out of whose condemned progenie, as out of a putrified lump, God cleccted some vessels of mercy and some of wrath: giuing due paines vnto the one, and vndue grace vnto the other, that the cittizens of God vpon earth may take this lesson from those vessels of wrath, neuer to (*d*) relie on their owne election, but hope to call vpon the name of the Lord: because the naturall will which God made (but yet heere the changelesse made it not changelesse) may both decline from him that is good, and from all good, to do euill, and that by freedom of will; and from euill also to doe good, but that not without Gods assistance.

## L. VIVES.

**T**hat (*a*) *righteous*] *Enos*, *Seiths* sonne, interpreted, man. (*b*) *They haue*] This is the truest reading and nearest to the Hebrew: though both the *seauenty*, and *Hierom* read it otherwise. (*c*) *Giuing*] To shew Gods iust punishment of the wicked, and his free sauing of the chosen. (*d*) *Relie on their*] As *Pelagius* would haue men to doe.

*Of the fall of the sonnes of God by louing strange women,  
whereby all (but eight) perished.*

## CHAP. 22.

**T**his freedom of will increasing and pertaking with iniquity, produced a confused comixtion of both Citties: and this mischiefe arose from woman also: but not as the first did For the women now did not seduce men to sinne, but the daughters that had beene of the Earthly Cittie from the beginning, and of euill conditions, were beloued of the cittizens of God for their bodily beauty: which is indeed a gift of God, but giuen to the euill also, least the good should imagine it of any such great worth. Thus was the greatest good onely perteyning to the good left, and a declination made vnto the least good, that is common to the bad also, and thus the sonnes of God were taken with the loue of the daughters of men, and for their sakes, fell into society of the earthly, leauing the piety that the holy society practised. And thus was carnall beauty (a gift of good indeed, but yet a temporall, base and transitory one) sinne-fully elected and loued before God, that eternall, internall, and sempiternall good: iust as the couetous man forsaketh iustice and loueth golde, the golde beeing not in fault but the man: euen so is it in all other creatures. They are all good, and may bee loued well, or badly: well, when our loue is moderate, badly when it is inordinate: as (*b*) one wrote in praise of the Creator:

*Hæc tua sunt, bona sunt, quia tu bonus ista creasti,  
Nil nostrum est in eis, nisi quod peccamus amantes,  
Ordine neglecto pro te quod conditur abs te.*

Those are thy goods, for thou (chiefe good) didst make them,  
Not ours, yet seeke we them in fied of thee:  
Peruerse affect in forcing vs mistake them.

But we loue the Creator truly, that is, if he be beloued for him-selfe, and nothing that is not of his essence beloued, for of him we can not loue any thing amisse. For that very loue, where-by we loue that is to be loued; is it selfe to be moderately  
loued

loued in our selues; as beeing a vertue directing vs in honest courses. And therefore I thinke that the best and briefest definition of vertue be this, It is (e) an order of loue: for which *Christis* spouse the *Citty of God* saith in the holy cantic: *Hee hath ordered his loue in mee.* This order of loue did the sonnes of God Cam. 2. 4 breake, neglecting him, and running after the daughters of men: in which two names both the *Citties* are fully distinguished: for they were the sonnes of men by nature; but grace had giuen them a new stile. For in the same Scripture, where it is sayd that, *The sonnes of God loued the daughters of men*, they are also called the *Angels of GOD*. Where-vpon some thought them to be Angels and not men that did thus.

## L. VIVES.

*Which* (a) is indeed] *Homer. Iliad. 3.* (b) *One wrote*] Some read: as I wrote once in praise of a taper. I know not which to approue. (c) *An order*] That nothing bee loued but that which ought to be loued, as it ought, and as much as it ought. So doth *Plato* graduate the reasonable and mentall loue. (d) *Hee hath ordered*] This saith *Origen* is that which our *Sauour* saith, *Thou shalt loue thy Lord with all thine heart, with all thy soule, with all thy munde, and with all thy strength: And thou shalt loue thy neighbor as thy selfe:* but not with all thine heart: and loue thine enemies; (he saith not, as thy selfe, nor withall thine heart; but holds it sufficient to loue them at all.) *In Cantic.*

*whether it be credible that the Angels being of an incorpore all nature,  
should lust after the women of earth, and marrying  
them, beget Gyants of them.*

## CHAP. 23.

**T**His question wee touched at in our third booke, but left it vndiscussed, whether the Angels, being spirits, could haue carnall knowledge of women: for it is written, *He maketh his Angels spirits:* that (a) is, those that are spirits, hee Psal. 103. maketh his Angels, by sending them on messages as hee please: for the Greeke (b) word ἀγγελος, which the Latines call (c) *Angelus*, is interpreted a messenger. But whether he meant of their bodies, when he addeth: *And his ministers a flaming fire,* or that he intimate that Gods ministers should burne with fiery zeale and charitie, it is doubtfull: yet doe the scriptures plainly auerre that the Angels haue appeared both in visible and palpable figures. (b) And seeing it is so generall a report, and so many auerre it eyther from their owne triall or from others, that are of indubitable honestie and credite, that the *Syluanes* and *Fawnes*, commonly called (e) *Incubrs*, haue often iniured women, desiring and adting carnally with them: and that certaine deuills whome the Frenchmen call *Dusies*, doe continually practise this vncleanness, and tempt others to it, which is affirmed by such persons, and with such confidence that it were impudence to denie it. I dare not venter to determine any thing heere: whether the Deuills beeing imbodied in ayre (for this ayre beeing violently mooued is to bee felt) can suffer this lust, or mooue it so as the women with whome they comixe, many feele it (f) yet do I firmly beleene that Gods Angels could neuer fall so at that time: nor that the Apostle *Peter* did meane of them when hee

he sayd: *If God spared not the Angels that had sinned, but cast them downe into hell, and deliuered them into chaines of darkenesse to be kept vnto damnation: but rather of those that turned apostata's with the diuell their prince at first, in him I meane that deceiued man-kinde in the serpent. That men were also called the Angels of God the scripture testifieth also, saying of Iohn: Behold, I send mine Angel before thy face which shall prepare the way before thee. And Malachie the prophet by a peculiar grace giuen him, was called an Angell. But some sticke at this, that in this commixtion of them that were called Gods Angels with the women of earth there were Gyants begotten and borne: as though that we haue no such extraordinary huge statured creatures euen in these our times. Was there not a woman of late at Rome, with her father and mother, a little before it was sacked by the Gothes, that was of a giantlike height in respect of all other? It was wonderfull to see the concourse of those that came to see her, and shee was the more admired, in that her parents exceeded not our tallest ordinary stature. Therefore there might bee giants borne before that the sonnes of God (called also his Angells) had any carnall confederacy with the daughters of men, such I meane, as liued in the fleshly course: that is ere the sonnes of Seth medled with the daughters of Caine, for the Scripture in Genesis saith thus, *So when men were multiplied vpon earth, and there were daughters borne vnto them, the sonnes of God saw the daughters of men that they were faire, and they tooke them wiues of all that they liked.* Therefore the Lord said *my spirit shall not alway stroue with man: because he is but flesh, and his daies shall be 120. yeares.* There were Gyants in the earth in those daies, yea and after that the sonnes of God came vnto the daughters of men, and they had borne them children, these were Gyants, and in old time were men of renoune. These words of holy writ shew plainly that there were Gyants vpon earth when the sonnes of God tooke the fayre daughters of men to bee their wiues, (g) for the scripture vseth to call that which is faire good. But there were Gyants, borne after this: for it saith. *There were Gyants vpon earth in those daies and after that the sonnes of God came vnto the daughters of men: so that there were Gyants both then and before: and whereas it saith. They begot vnto themselues, this sheweth that they had begotten children vnto God before, and not vnto themselues, that is not for lust, but for their duty of propagation, nor to make themselues vp, any flaunting family, but to increase the Cittizens of God, whome they (like Gods angels) iustified to ground their hope on him, as the sonne of the resurrection, Seths sonne did, who hoped to call vpon the name of the Lord: in which hope, he and all his sons might be sons and heires of life euerlasting. But we may not take them to bee such Angels as were no men: men they were without doubt, and so saith the Scripture: which hauing first sayd, *the Angels of God saw the daughters of men that they were good, and they tooke them wiues of all whome they liked: addeth presently: And the Lord said, my spirit shall not alway stroue with man: because hee is but flesh.* For his spirit made them his Angels, and sonnes, but they declined downewards, and therefore hee calleth them men, by nature, not by grace: and flesh, being the forsaken forsakers of the spirit. The 70. call them the Angels and sonnes of God: some bookes call them onely the sonnes of God, leauing out Angels: But (h) *Aquila* whome the Iewes prefer before all, calls them neither, but the sonnes of Gods: both is true, for they were both the sonnes of God, and by his patronage, the bretheren of their fathers: and they were the sonnes of the Gods: as borne of the Gods, and their equals, according to that**

Marke. I.  
Ma. 13. 7.

Gen. 6.

The sonnes  
of Seth cal-  
led Angells  
misticallly.

of

of the Psalme: *I haue said yee are Gods, and yee are all sonnes of the most high*, for wee do worthily beleue that the 70. had the spirit of prophecy, and that what soeuer they altered is set downe according to the truth of diuinity, not after the pleasure of translators, yet the Hebrew they say, is doubtfull and may be interpreted either the *sonnes of God*, or of *Gods*. Therefore let vs omit the scriptures that are called (i) *Apocripa*, because the old fathers of whome wee had the scriptures, knew not the authors of those workes, wherein though there bee some truths, yet their multitude of falshoods maketh them of no canonicall authority. Some Scriptures questionlesse were written by *Enoch* the seauenth from *Adam*. As the canonicall (k) Epistle of *Iude* recordeth: but it is not for nothing that they were left out of the Hebrew Canon which the Priests kept in the temple. The reason was, their antiquity procured a suspicion that they were not truly diuine, and an vncertainty whether *Henoch* were the author or no: seeing that such as should haue giuen them their credit vnto posterity neuer named them. And therefore those bookes that go in his name and contraine those stories of the giants that ther fathers were no men, are by good iudgements held to be none of his: but counterfeite, as the heretiques haue done many, vnder the names of the (b) Apostles and (m) Prophets, which were all after ward examined, and thrust from canonicall authority. But according to the Hebrew canonicall scriptures, there is no doubt but that there were Gyants vpon the earth before the deluge, and that they were the sonnes of the men of earth, and Cittizens of the carnall City, vnto which the sonnes of God, being *Seths* in the flesh, forsaking iustice adioyned them-selues. Nor is it strange if they begot Gyants. They were not all Giants, but there were farre more before the deluge, then haue beene since: whome it pleased the creator to make, that wee might learne that a wise-man should neither respect hugenessse of body nor fairenessse of face: but make vp his beatitude out of the vndecaying, spirituall and eternall goods that are peculiar to the good, and not that he shareth with the bad: which another commendeth to vs, saying: *There were the Gyants famous from the beginning that were of so great stature and so expert in war*. These did not the Lord choole neither gaue he the way of knowledge vnto them: but they were destroyed because they had no wisdome, and perished through there owne foolishnessse.

Baruch. 5.

## L. VIVES.

**T**hat (a) is those] That *Augustine* held that the Angells and Deuills had bodies, he that readeth this worke, and his bookes *de natura demon*, & *de genesi ad literam*; shall see plainly that hee held it himselfe, and spake it not as an other mans opinion, as *Peter Lumbard* saith some do thinke: It was his owne, nor followed hee any meane authors herein, hauing the *Platonists*, and then *Origen*, *Lactantius*, *Basil* and almost all the writers of that time on his side. It is neede (saith *Michael Psellus, de demonib.*) that the spirits that are made messengers, should haue bodies too (as *Saint Paul* sayth) whereby to mooue, to stay, and to appeare visibly. And whereas the Scripture may in some place call them incorporeall, I answer, that is in respect of our grosser, and more solid bodies, in comparison of which; the transparent insensible bodies are ordinarily called incorporeall. *Augustine* giues the Angells most subtiliate bodies, invisible, actiue, and not passiue and such the Deuills had ere they fell: but then, their bodies were condensate and passiue, as *Psellus* holds also: (b) αγγελοι. It is *Nuntius* in Latine: a messenger: αγγελος, is *Misso* to send, and therefore the Angell, saith *Hierom*, is no name of nature, but of ministry. And hereof comes *Euangelium*, called the good message.

Angels what is it,

Homer

*Homer and Tully vnto Atticus vsē it often. (c) Angels* ] Turning > into n : and @ into us. (d) *And seeing* ] *Psellus* affirmeth out of one *Marke* a great *Demonist*, that the deuills cast forth sperme, producing diuerse little creatures, and that they haue genitories (but not like mens) from whence the excrement passeth : but all deuills haue not such, but onely the warty

**Succubus and** *incubi* and the earthly, who are also nourished like sponges with attraction of humor. (e) *Incubi* ] Of **Succubus.** *incubi* to lye vpon : They are diuels that commix with women : those that put them-selues vnder men, as women, are called *succubi*. There are a people at this day that glory that their descent is from the deuills, who accompanied with women in mens shapes, and with men in womens : ( This in my conceite is viler, then to draw a mans pedegree from Pyrates, theeuers, or famous hacksters, as many doe.) The Egiptians say that the Diuells can onely accompanie carnally with women, and not with men. Yet the Greekes talke of many men that the Gods haue loued, as *Hiacinthus*, *Phorbas*, and *Hippolitus* of Sicione by *Apollo*, and *Cyparissus* by *Sylmanus*. (f) *Yet doe I firmly* ] *Lactantius lib. 2. cap. 15.* saith, that the Angels, whome God had appointed to preferue and garde man-kinde, being commanded by God to beware of loosing their celestiall and substantiall digniry by earthly pollution, not-with-standing were allured by their dayly conuersation with the women, to haue carnall action with them, and so sinning, were kept out of heauen and cast downe to earth : and those the deuill tooke vp to bee his agents and officers. But those whom they begot, being neither pure Angels nor pure men, but in a meane betweene both, were not cast downe to hell, as their parents were not taken vp into heauen : and thus became there two kindes of deuills : one celestiall and another earthly. And these are the authors of all mischiese, whose chieftaine the great Dragon is. Thus saith *Eusebius* also *lib. 5.* And *Plutarch* confirmeth it saying, *That the fables of the Gods, signified some-things that the deuills had done in the old times* : and that the fables of the Giants and Titans, were all acts of the deuills. This maketh mee some-times to doubt whether these wete those that were done before the deluge, of which the scripture saith : *And when the Angels of God saw the daughters of men, &c.* For some may suspect that those Giants, & their spirits are they whome ancient Paganisme tooke for their Gods, and that their warres were the subiect of those fables of the Gods. (g) *For the scriptures* ] Because *καλος* is both good and faire. *Terence, Phorm. Eunuch.* (h) *Aquila* ] In *Adrians* time hee turned the Scriptures out of Hebrew into Greeke. *Hierom* calles him a curious and diligent translator : and he was the first after the seauentie that came out in Greeke. *Eusebius* liketh him not : but to our purpose : hee readeth it, *the sonnes of the Gods* : meaning the holy Gods or Angels, for God standing in the congregation of the people, and he will iudge the Gods in the midst of it. And *Symachus* following this sence, said : *Ana when the sonnes of the mighties beheld the daughters of men, &c.*

**The Apo-** (i) *Apocrypha* ] *Secreta* : of *κρυψω*, to hide. They were such bookes as the Church vsed not **crypha.** openly : but had them in priuate to read at pleasure : as the Reuelation of the Apottle *Peter* : the booke of his *Actes*, &c. (k) *Epistle* ] *Hierom* vpon the first Chapter of *Paul* to *Timus*, saith that *Iude* citeth an Apocryphall booke of *Enochs*. *Iudes* words are these. *But Michael the Archangell when hee strove against the deuill, and disputed about the body of Moyses, durst not blame him with cursed speaking, but said onely : The Lord rebuke thee.* Which *Enoch* sayd these words, is vncertaine, for they doe not seeme to bee his that was the seuenth from *Adam*. For he was long before *Moses*, vnlesse hee spake propheticallly of things to come. And therefore *Hierome* intimateth that the booke onely whence this was, was entituled, *Enoch*. (l) *Prophets* ] As the *Nazarites* counterfeited a worke vnder *Hieremies* name. *Aug. in Matt. ap. 27.* (m) *Apostles* ] As *Thomas* his Gospel, *Peters* reuelation, and *Barnabas* his Gospell, which was brought vnto *Alexandria*, signed with his owne hand : in the time of the Emperour *Zeno*.

*How the words that God spake of those that were to perish in the deluge :  
and their dayes shall be an hundred and twenty yeares,  
are to bee vnderstood.* CHAP. 24.

**B**Vt whereas God said : *Their dayes shall be a hundred and twenty yeares*, wee must not take it as though that it were a forewarning, that (a) none after that should liue about that time, for many after the deluge liued five hundred yeares. But it is

is to bee vnderstood that God spake this about the end of *Noahs* five hundred yeares, that is when he was foure hundred and foure score yeares old, which the Scripture ordinarily calleth five hundred taking the greatest part for the whole: for in the sixe hundred yeare of *Noah*, and the second month, the flood began, and so the hundred and twenty yeares were passed, at the end of which mankind was to bee vniuersally destroyed by the deluge. Nor is it fruitlesse to beleeue that the deluge came thus, when there were none left on earth, that were not worthy of such a death: not that a good man dying such a death should be a ior the worse for it after it is past. But of all those of *Seths* progeny whome the Scripture nameth, there was not one that died by the deluge. This flood the Scripture saith grew vpon this: *The Lord saw that the wickednesse of man was great in the earth, and all the imaginations of his heart were onely and continually euill: and he (b) reuolued in his heart how he had made man in the earth, and sayd: I will destroy from the face of the earth the man whom I haue made, from man to beast, and, from the creeping things to the fowles of the ayre for I am angry that I haue made them.*

The cause  
of the  
de uge.  
Ge. 6. 5. 6. 7

## L. VIVES.

**T**hat (a) none. This *Lactantius* held lib. 2. His words are these. *The earth being dried, the Lord hating the iniquity of the former world, least their length of life should bee the mid-wife to more mischief, hee shortned the daies of man by degrees. untill they came to a hundred and twenty yeares and there hee fixt his bound: not to be ouerpassed. But Hierome goeth with Augustine, saying, they shall yet haue a hundred and twenty yeares to repent in, not, that the life of no man hereafter shall not exceed a hundred and twenty yeares, as many erroneously vnderstand it, for we find that Abraham, after the deluge, liued a hundred three-score and fiftene yeares; and diuers two hundred: nay some about three hundred yeares. Iosephus differs somewhat from *Lactantius* but not much: for hee sayth that after the flood mens dayes grew fewer, untill *Moses* time, and after him the bound of mans life was set vp at a hundred and twenty yeares, by Gods decree, and according to the number also that *Moses* liued. (b) *Reuolued.*] We read, repented, but the seauenth haue *inrobunqz recogitauit*: he reuolued in his thought.*

## Of Gods vnpassionate and vnaltering anger.

## CHAP. 25.

**G**ODS anger (a) is no disturbance of mind in him; but his iudgement assigning sinne the deserued punishment: and his reuoluing of thought is an vnchanged ordering of changeable things: for God repenteth not of any thing he doth, as man doth: but his knowledge of a thing ere it be done, and his thought of it when it is done are both alike firme and fixed. But the Scripture without these phrases cannot instil into our vnderstandings the meaning of Gods workes nor terrifie the proud, nor stirre vp the idle, nor exercise the inquirers, nor delight the vnderstanders. This it cannot do without declining to our low capacities. And whereas it relateth the future destruction of beasts, and birds, It sheweth vs the greatnesse of the dissolution, but doth not threaten it vnto the vnreasonable creatures as if they had sinned.

Gods pre-  
science and  
act alike  
firme and  
both vnal-  
terable.

## L. VIVES.

**G**ODS (a) anger. *Lactantius* wrote a booke of Gods Anger, we (with *Hierome*.) refer the reader vnto him, if he desire to know further.

Ccc

Thas

*That Noah his Arke signifieth Christ and his Church in all things.*

CHAP. 26.

**N**OW whereas *Noah* being (as the truth saith) a iust man in his time, and perfect (yet not as the Cittizens of God shall bee perfect in that immortality wherein they shall equalize the Angells, but perfect as a mortall pilgrime of God may bee vpon earth) was commanded by God to build an Arke, wherein he, his family, and the creatures which God commanded to come into the Arke vnto him, might bee saued from the waters: this verily is a figure of *Gods Citty* here vpon earth, that is, his Church which is saued by wood, that is, by that where-vpon Christ the mediator betweene God and man was crucified: For the dimensions of the length, deapth and bredth of the Arke, do signifie mans body, in which the Sauour was prophecyed to come, and did so: for (*a*) the length of mans body from head to foote, is sixe times his bredth from side to side: and tenne times his thickenesse measuring prependicularly from backe to belly: lay a man a long and measure him, and you shall finde his length from head to foote to containe his bredth from side to side sixe times, and his height from the earth whereon he lyeth, tenne times, where-vpon the Arke was made three hundred cubites long, fifty broad, and thirty deepe. And the dore in the side was the wound that the soldiers speare made in our Sauour, for by this do all men go in vnto him: for thence came the sacraments of the beleeuers: and the Arke being made all of square wood, signifieth the vnmoued constancy of the Saints: for cast a cube, or squared body which way you wil, it wil euer stand firme. So all the rest that concerned the building of this Arke, (*b*) were tipes of Ecclesiasticall matters. But here it is too long to stand vpon them: wee haue done it already, against *Faustus* the Manichee, who denied that the ould testament had any propheticall thing concerning Christ. It may bee one may take this one way, and another another way: so that all bee referred to the *Holy Citty* where-vpon wee discourse, which as I say often laboured here in this terrestriall pilgrimage: other-wise hee shall goe farre from his meaning that wrot it. As for example, if any one will not expound this place: make it with the (*c*) lowest, second, and third roomes: as I do in that worke against *Faustus*, namely that because the Church is gathered out of al nations, it had two roomes, for the two sorts of men circumcised and vncircumcised whome the Apostle other-wise calleth (*d*) Iewes and Greekes: and it had three roomes, because all the world had propagation from *Noah* his three sonnes, after the flood: if any one like not this exposition, let him follow his owne pleasure, so hee controll not the true rule of faith in it: for the Arke had roomes below and roomes aboue, and therefore was called double roomed: and it had roomes aboue those vpper roomes, and so was called triple-roomed, being three stories high. In these may bee ment the three things that the Apostles prayseth so: Faith, Hope and Charity: or (and that farre more fittly) the three euangelicall increases: thirty fold, sixty fold and an hundred fould: chaste marriage dwelling in the first: chaste widowhood in the second: and chaste virginity in the highest of all: thus, or otherwise may this bee vnderstood, euer respecting the reference it hath to this *Holy Citty*. And so I might say of the other things here to be expounded: which although they haue more then one exposition, yet all they haue must be lyable to one rule of concord in the Catholike faith.

L. VIVES.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) length [The same also hee hath against *Faustus lib. 12. Ambrose* also compares *Noahs Arke*, to mans body, but in another manner. *Lib. de Noe et Arca.* (b) Were types] The Apostle *Peter* taketh the Arke for a figure of the Church. *2. Pet. 3. 56.* Where *Hierome* prooueth the Arke to be the Church, *Contra Iouin. & contra Luciferianos* *Cyprian* doth the like also. *De spiritu sancto*, (if that worke bee his.) *Origen* also and many others say much of this Allegorie. (c) *Lowest second*; The Arke was thus built (saith *Origen.*) It was diuided into two lower roomes, and ouer these were three other roomes, each one immediatly aboute other. The lowest was the sinke or common lakes: and that next it was the graner, or place where meate was kept for all the creatures: then in the first of the other three, were the wilde beasts kept, in the second the tamer; and in the third were the men themselues. *Iosephus* writes but of foure roomes; whereas all else make fise. But hee might perchance omitt the lakes, as *Petrus de Natalibus* saith. (d) *Iewes and*] He distinguisheth them by their tongues: for *Paul* conueried with none but they spoake either Hebrew or Greeke: for at Rome they spoake Greeke as commonly then as we doe Latine at this day.

The Arke a type of the church.

*Of the Arke, and the deluge, that the meaning thereof is neither meeerely  
Historicall, nor meeerely allegoricall.*

## CHAP. 27.

**B**Ut let none thinke that these things were written onely to relate an hystoricall truth without any typicall reference to any thing else: or contrarywise, that there were no such things really acted, but that it is all allegoricall: or that what-soeuer it is, it is of no vse, nor includeth any propheticall meaning concerning the Church: for who but an Atheist will say, that these bookes are of no vse, who haue beene so religiously kept, and so carefully deliuered from one age to another, so many thousand yeares together? or that they are onely historicall, when as (to let all the rest passe) the bringing in of the vncleane creatures by paires, and the cleane by seauens, must needes haue some other meaning, for they might haue beene preserued had they beene but paires, as well as the others. Could not God, that taught this meanes of re-instauratiō, repaire them as hee had created them? And now for those that say that all this was but mysticall onely, first they imagine it impossible that any fliūd should become so huge as to exceede the height of any mountaine fiftene cubites, because of the (a) top of Mount *Olympus* which they say reacheth aboute the cloudes, and is as high as (b) heauen, so that the grosser ayre that engendreth windes and raïne cannot mount so high: neuer obseruing in the meane space, that the grossest element of all, the earth can lye so high: or will they say the top of this mountaine is not earth? no, why then doe those bad proportionators allow the earth to lye so high, and yet deny the water to mount higher, auerring not-with-standing that the water is higher and of a more ability to ascend then the earth? what reason can they shew why earth should holde so high a place in ayre, for thus many thousand yeares, and yet that water may not arise to the same height for a little space? They say also, that the Arke was too little to holde such a number of creatures, seauen of euery cleane one, and two of euery vncleane one. It seemes they make account onely of three hundred cubites in length, fiftie in breadth, and thirtie in depth, neuer marking that euery roome therein was of this size,

Ccc 2

making



making the whole Arke to be nine hundred cubites in length, one hundred and fiftie in breadth, and ninetie in deapth or height. And if that be true that *Origen* doth elegantly prooue, that *Moyſes* (being learned (as it is written) in all the wifdome of the Egipſians, who were great Geometricians) meant of a Geometricall cubite in this caſe, one of which make ſixe of ours, who ſeech not what an huge deale of roomes lyeth within this meaſure? for whereas they ſay that an Arke of ſuch greatneſſe could no way bee built, they talke idely; for huger cities then this Arke haue benee built: and they neuer conſider the hundred yeares that it was a building in, through-out: vnleſſe they will ſay that one ſtone may bee bound faſt vnto another by lime onely, and walles on this manner bee carryed out (d) ſo many miles in compaſſe, and yet timber cannot bee faſtened vnto timber by (e) mortayſes, (f) *epirs*, nayles and pitch, whereby an Arke might bee made, not with embowed ribbes, but in a ſtreight lineall forme, not to bee lanced into the ſea by the ſtrength of men, but liſted from earth by the ingruent force of the waters themſelues, hauing GODS prouidence, rather then mans-practiſe, both for ſteres-man and pilot. And for their ſcrupulous queſtion concerning the Vermine, Mice, (g) Stellions, Locuſts, Hornets, Flyes and Fleas, whether there were any more of them in the Arke then there ſhould bee by GODS command? they that mooue this queſtion ought firſt to conſider this: that ſuch things as might liue in the waters, needed not bee brought into the Arke: ſo might both the fiſhes that ſwamme in the water, and (h) diuers birds alſo that ſwamme about it.

And whereas it is ſaid, *They ſhall bee male and female*, that concerneth the reparation of kinde: and therefore ſuch creatures as doe not generate, but are produced them ſelues out of meere putrifaction, needed not bee there: if they were, it was as they are now in our houſes, with-out any knowne number, if the greatneſſe of this holy myſtery included in this true and reall acte, could not bee perſited with-out there were the ſame order of number kept in all thoſe creatures, which nature would not permit to liue with-in the waters; that care belonged not vnto man, but vnto GOD. For *Noah* did not take the creatures and turne them into the Arke, but GOD ſent them in all, hee onely ſuffered them to enter: for ſo ſaith the booke: *Two of euery ſorte ſhall come vnto thee*: not by his fetching, but by GODS bidding: yet may wee well holde that none of the creatures that wante ſexe, were there: for it is preciſely ſayd, *They ſhall bee male and female*. There are creatures that ariſing out of corruption, doe (i) afterwarde engender, as flyes: (k) and ſome alſo with-out ſexe, as Bees: ſome alſo that haue ſexe and yet engender not, as *Hee-mules* and *Shee-mules*: it is like that they were not in the Arke, but that their parents, the horſe and the Aſſe ſerued to produce them after-wards: and ſo like-wiſe of all other creatures (l) gotten betweene diuerſe kindes. But if this concerned the myſterie, there they were: for they were male and female.

Some alſo ſticke at the diuerſitie of meates that they had, and what they eate, that could eate nothing but fleſh: and whether there were any more creatures there then was in the command, that the reſt might feede vpon them: or (m) rather (which is more likely) that there were ſome other meates beſides fleſh, that contented them. For (n) wee ſee many creatures that eate fleſh, eate fruites alſo, and Apples, chieflye Figges and Cheſt-nuts:

what

what wonder then if God had taught this iust man to prepare a meate for euery creatures eating, and yet not flesh? what will not hunger make one eate? And what cannot God make wholesome, and delightfome to the taste, who might make them (if he pleased) to liue without any meate at al: but that it was befitting to the perfection of this mistery that they should bee fedde? And thus all men, but those that are obstinate, are bound to beleue that each of these manyfold circumstances, had a figuration concerning the Church: for the Gentiles haue now so filled the Church with cleane and vnclane, and shall do so vntill the end and now are al so inclosed in those ribbes, that it is vnlawful to make stop at those inferior (although obscurer) ceremonies, which being so, if no man may either thinke these things as written to no end: nor as bare and insignificant relations, nor as sole vnacted allegories, nor as discourses impertinent to the Church; but each ought rather to beleue that they are written in wisdom, and are both true histories, and misticall allegories, all concerning the prefiguration of the Church; then this booke is brought vnto an end: and from hence wee are to proceed with the progresse of both our citties, the one celestiall, and that is Gods, and the tother terrestriall, and that is mans, touching both which, wee must now obserue what fell out after the deluge.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He toppe (a) of.] The Geographers haue diuers *Olympi*: but this here, is in Theffaly ten <sup>Mount O.</sup> furlongs high, as *Plutarch* saith in the life of *Aemilius Paulus*. The toppe is aboute the <sup>lyn. pua.</sup> middle region of the aire as some hold, and proue it because the ashes of the Sacrifice would ly vnmoystned, and vnmoued al the yeare long. *Solin.* This is a fable saith *Francus Philelphus*, who went vp the hill him-selfe, to see the triall. And it is strange that the toppe of *Olympus*, or *Athos* in Macedon, or of any other mountaine should be so high aboute the circle of the earths globe, that it should exceed the halfe part of the ayre, and lying aboute all moysture, haue such continuall fountaines and riues flowing from it: for they are the mothers of windes and rayne. (b) *As Heauen.*] Intimating the vse of the Poets, who call Heauen *Olympus* because of this height. *Hom. Iliad.* 11. (c) *They say also.*] *Origen Homil. 2. in Genes.* hath these words. *As far as I can gather by descriptions, the Arke was built up in foure Angles, arising all from an equall base, and finished on the toppe in the bredth of one cubit, for it is said that it was built thirty cubites long, fifty broad, and thirty high, but yet was it so gradually contracted that the bredth and length met all in one cubit: and afterwards. But the fittest forme for to keepe of the rayne and weather, was to bee ridged downe a proportioned descent from the toppe downeward, so to shoot off the wet, and to haue a broad and spacious base in a square proportion, least the motion of the creatures within should either make it leane at one side or sinke it downe right. But for all this cunning fabrike, some questions there are made, and those chiefly by *Apelles*, a scholler of *Marcions* but an inuenter of another heresie: *how is it possible (sayth hee) to put but foure Elephants in the roome that the Scripture allowes for the Arke?* Which to answer, our fathers said that *Moyse* who (according to the Scriptures) was skilled in all the arts of Egipt did meane Geometrical cubytes in this place, (and Geometry is the Egyptians chiefe study.) And in Geometry, both in the measuring of solides and squares, one cubit is generally taken for fixe of our common cubits, or for three hundred minutary cubits. Which if it bee so, heare, the Arke had roome at large to containe al the creatures that were requisite for the restauration of the world. Thus far *Origen.* (d) *So many miles.*] As *Babilons*, *Romes*, and *Memphis*. But there is a city in *Thrace*, the Greekes called it *μακρόν τοίχος*, The long wall, for there was an incredible long wall began there, which reached vnto the *Melican Bay*, excluding *Cheronefus* from the rest of *Thrace*, *Miltiades* the Athenian captaine built it. There was such another from the lake *Lemannus* vnto mount *Jura*, diuiding *Burgogne* from *Switzerland*, built by *Cesar*, nineteene miles long, and sixteene foote high. *Seuerus* did the like in *England*, to keepe*

**Mortayfes,** the Scots and Piets from inuading the Brittaines. (e) *Mortayfes*] Let your posts (saith *Vir-*  
*truuus*) be as thicke as the maine body of your pillar vnder the wreath whence the arch ariseth,  
*Subsidues.* and let them be mortaised together, so that the hole of euery ioynt bee two fingers wide.  
**Stellions,** (f) *Epiri*] Either it is falsely written, or else wee may goe seeke what it is. (g) *Stellions*] A  
 kinde of Lizard that benummeth where he biteth. A kinde of Spider also *Plin. 8. & 9. Aristo.*  
 (h) *Diuerse birds*] Ducks, Swans, Cormorants, Sea-guls, Water-swallowes, Puffins, &c. (i) *Af-*  
*terwards engender*] Flyes are not generate, and yet doe engender. For the male and female  
 commixe, and produce a worme, which in time becommeth a flie. *Aristot. Hist. animal. lib. 5.*  
**Bees,** (k) *And some also*] How *Bees* are produced (saith *Aristotle, Hist. animal. lib. 5.* It is vncer-  
 taine: some thinke they doe not ingender, but fetch their issue else-where, but whence none  
 knoweth: some say from the Palme-flowre, others from the reedes, others from the Oliues.  
*Virgil* in his *Georgikes* held that they did not engender: his words are these:

**Virg. Geor.**  
 4.

*Illum adeo placuisse apibus mirabere morem,  
 Quod nec concubitu indulgent, nec corpora segnes  
 In venerem solunt, aut fetus nixibus adiunt:  
 Verum ipsa e foliis natos, & suauibus herbis  
 Ore legunt, &c.*

Would you not wonder at the golden Bees  
 They vse no venery, nor mixe no thighes:  
 Nor grone in bringing forth: but taking wing,  
 Flie to the flowres, and thence their yong they bring  
 Within their pretty mouths, bred there, &c.

Some there bee that say the *Bees* bee all females, and the *Drones* males, and so doe engender: and that one may haue them produced of the flesh of a Calfe. (l) *Gotten betweene diuerse*] as creatures begotten betweene *Wolues* and *Dogges*, or *Bears* and *Bitches*, &c. *Pliny* saith that such beasts are neuer like either parent, but of a third kinde, and that they neuer engender either with any kinde, or with their owne: and therefore *Mules* neuer haue yong ones. But by *Plinies* leaue, it is recorded that *Mules* haue brought forth young, and haue beene often-times bigge bellyed: and this is common in *Cappadocia* saith *Theophrastus*, and in *Syria* saith *Aristotle*. Indeed these are of another kinde then ours bee. (n) *Or rather*] *Origen* saith, they did eat flesh. (n) *Wee see many creatures*] *Dogges*, *Crowes*, and *Foxes*, when they want flesh, will eat fruites, *Figges* and *Chest-nuts* especially, and liue as well with them as with all the flesh in the world.

Finis lib. 15.

THE

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FINIS.

THE  
SIXTEENTH BOOKE  
OF THE CITTIE OF GOD:

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishop of *Hippo*,  
vnto *Marcellinus*.

*Whether there be any families of Gods cittizens named, betweene  
Noah and Abraham. CHAP. 1.*



O finde in the evidences of holy writ whether the Glorious City of GOD continued on in a good course after the deluged, or through the second inundation of impiety was so interrupted, as Gods religion lay wholly vnrespect- ed is a very difficult matter: because that in all the cano- nicall scriptures, after that *Noah* and his three sonnes with his and their wiues were saued by the *Arke* from their de- luge, we cannot finde any one person vntill *Abrahams* time, evidently commended for his piety: only *Noahs* propheticall blessing of his two sonnes *Sem* and *Iaphet*, wee doe see, and know that he knew what was to follow a- long time after. Wherevpon he cursed his middlemost sonne, (who had offend- ed him) not in himselfe, hee layd not I say the curse vpon himselfe, but vpon his grand-child saying, *Cursed be Canaan, a seruant of seruants shall hee be vnto his bre- thren*. This *Canaan* was *Chams* sonne, his that did not couer, but rather discover his fathers nakednesse. (a) And then did he second this, with a blessing vpon his eldest sonnes, saying: *blessed be the Lord God of Sem, and let Canaan be his seruant*. Gen. 9.25. *The Lord make Iaphet reioyce (b) that he may dwell in the tents of Sem*: all which, to- gether with *Noahs* planting a vine-yard, beeing drunken with the wine, and vn- covered in his sleepe, all those circumstances haue their propheticall interpre- tations and mysticall references. Gen. 9.26.

L. VIVES.

**A**Nd (a) then] A diuersity of reading: the best lies before you. (b) *That he may dwell*] *Hie- rome* saith it is meant of the Christians who expelling the Iewes doe dwell and inioye the light of the holy scriptures.

*What propheticque misteries were in the sonnes of  
Noah. CHAP. 2.*

**B**Vt their true euent hath now cleared their former obscurity: for what dili- gent obseruer sees them not all in Christ? *Sem*, of whose seed Christs huma- nity came, is interpreted, *Named*. And who is more named then Christ, whose name is now so fragrant that the propheticall Canticle compareth it to an *oynt- ment poured out*: in whose houses, that is, in whose churches, the diffused nations shall inhabite. For *Iaphet* is, *diffused*. But *Cham*, who is interpreted *hotte*, *Noahs* middle

middle sonne beeing as distinct from both, and remayning betweene both, beeing neither of the first fruites of Israell, nor of the fullnesse of the nations, what is hee but a type of our hotte heretiques, not hotte in the spirit of wisdom, but of (a) turne-coate subtletie, that burneth in their hearts to the disturbance of the Saints quiet? But this is vsfull to the good proficients in the church as the Apostle saith. *There must bee Heresies amongst you that they which are approved might bee knowne.* Wherevpon also it is written. *The learned sonne will bee wise, and vse the fooles as his minister.* For there are many things perteyning to the Catholike faith which the Heretiques turbulently tossing and turning, cause them that are to defend them against them both to obserue them the more fully, vnderstand them the more clearly, and avow them the more confidently. Thus the enemies question addeth the perfection of vnderstanding. Although not onely the professed Infidels, but euen the cloaked Heretikes also lurke vnder the name of christians, and yet liue wickedly, may bee iustly comprised in *Noahs* middle sonne: for in worde they declare, and in deede they dishonour the passion of CHRIST prefigured in *Noahs* nakednesse. Of thete it is saide, *Te shall know them by their fruites:* and therefore was *Cham* cursed in his sonne, as in his fruite, that is his worke: where-vpon *Chanaan*, is fitly interpreted, *their motion*, and what is that *but their worke*. But *Shem* and *Japhet* prefiguring circumcision and vncircumcision, or as the Apostle saith, the Iewes and the Greekes, (those I meane that are called and iustified) hearing of their fathers nakednesse (the Redeemers typicall passion) tooke a garment and putting it vpon their shoulders, went back-ward, and so couered their fathers nakednesse, not seeing what they couered. In like manner, wee, in Christs Passion doe reuerence that which was done for vs, yet abhorre we the Iewes villany herein. The garment, is the sacrament: their backs the remembrance of things past, because the church now celebrateth the passion of CHRIST, *Japhet* dwelling in the tents of *Sem*, and *Cham* betweene them both: it looketh now no more for a passion to come, but the euill brother is (b) seruant to his good brethren in his sonne, that is, his worke: because the good can make vse of the euill to their increase of wisdom: for there be some (saith the Apostle) *that preach not Christ purely, but how-soeuer Christ be preached sincerely, or colourably, I do ioy, and wil ioy therein.* For he had planted the vine-yard whereof the Prophet saith, *The vine-yard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israell &c.* and he drinketh of the wine thereof: whether it be of that cup whereof it is saide, *Are yee able to drinke of the cup that I shall drinke of?* And, *O my Father, if it bee possible let this cuppe passe from me:* wherein doubtlesse hee meant his passion. Or whether it were signified (seeing that wine is the fruite of the vine-yard) that hee tooke our flesh and blond out of the vine-yard, that is, the house of Israel, and was drunke, and vncouered, that is suffered the passion. For there was his nakednesse discovered that is his infirmite, whereof the Apostle saith. *Hee was crucified concerning his infirmite:* whereof also hee saith else-where. *The weaknesse of GOD is stronger then men, and the foolishnesse of GOD, is wiser then men.* But the Scripture hauing sayd. *Hee was vncouered,* and adding, *in the middest of his owne house,* makes vs an excellent demonstration that hee was to suffer death by the hands of his owne country men, fellowes and kinsmen in the flesh. This passion of CHRIST, the reprobate preach verbalie onely: for they know not what they preach. But the elect lay vppon this great mistery within, and there they honour it in their hearts beeing GODS infirmity, and foolishnesse, but

1. Cor. II,  
19

Mat. 7, 16

Phil. 1, 16  
18.

I. i. 5.

Mat. 20, 22  
Mat 26, 392. Cor. 13  
1. Cor. 13

25

farge

farre stronger and wiser then man in his best strength and wisdom. The type of this, is *Chams* going out and telling of his brethren what he had seene of his father, and *Sems* and *Iaphets* going in, that is, disposing themselues inwardly, for to couer and reuerence that which hee had seene and told them of. Thus as wee can wee search the sence of scripture, finding it more congruent to some applications then to others, yet doubting not, but that euery part of it hath a farther meaning then meereyly historicall, and that, to bee referred to none but CHRIST and his church the City of GOD: which was preached from mans first creation, as wee see the cuentes doe confirme. So then from these two blessed sonnes of *Noah*, and that cursed one betwixt them, downe vnto the daies of *Abraham*, is no mention made of any righteous man, which time continued more then one thousand yeares. I doe not thinke but there were iust men in this time, but that it would haue beene too tedious to haue rehearsed them all, and rather to haue concerned the diligence of an history, then the substance of a prophecy. The writer of these diuine bookes (or rather the spirit of GOD in him) goeth onely about such things as both declare the things past and prefigure the things to come, pertinent onely to the Cittie of GOD: for whatsoever is heerein spoaken concerning her opposites, it is all to make her glorie the more illustrious by entring comparison with their iniquity, or to procure her augmentation by teaching her to obserue their ruine, and bee warned thereby. Nor are all the historicall relations of these bookes, mysticall, but such as are not, are added for the more illustration of such as are. It is the plow-share onely that turneth vppe the earth: yet may not the plough lacke the (c) other instruments. The strings onely doe cause the sound in harpes and other such instruments: yet must that haue pinnes, and the other, frets, to make vppe the musicke, and the (d) organs haue other deuises lincked to the keys, which the organist toucheth not, but onely their keys, to make the sound proportionate, and harmonious. Euen so in those propheticque stories, some things are but bare relations, yet are they adherent vnto those that are significant, and in a manner linked to them.

### L. VIVES.

**T**Urne-coate (a) *suttlety*] Some reade, impatience, and for wisdom, before, patience: and for their hearts, their first beginning: but this is not so proper. (b) *Seruant*] The Latines vse *Puer*, either for a child or a seruant, and so the Greekes doe *παις*, as the Septuagints for example in this place. *παις οἰκίτης* &c. *an household seruant shall hee bee to his bretheren.* (*brisippus* is idle in his distinction of *δούλος* and *σάλο*: as if the first were a seruing man, and the later a slaue or bondman: *Ammonius* is of another minde, but this is nothing to our purpose. *δούλος* is an ordinary seruant in the house. (c) *Other instruments*] The culter, and coulter wedges, the teame, the handles or hailes, the beame, the plough-staffe, the mole-boord &c. (d) *Organs*] He meaneth of all the gins in instruments, it is too tedious to stand reckning of them here.

*Of the generations of the three sonnes of Noah.*

### CHAP. 3.

**N**OW must wee see what wee can finde concerning the generations of these sonnes, and lay that downe in the progresse, to shew the proceeding of both the

the Citties in their courses, heavenly and earthly. The generation of *Iaphet*, the yongest, is the first that is recorded, who had eight sonnes, two of which had seauen sonnes further, three the one, and foure the other: so that *Iaphet*, had in all, fiteene sons. Now *Cham*, the middle brother had foure sonnes, one of which had five more, and one of these had two, which in all, make eleauen. These being reckned, the scripture returneth as to the head, saying: *And Chush begat Nimrod, who was a Giant upon the earth: hee was a mighty hunter against the Lord, wherefore it is said, As Nemrod the mighty hunter against the Lord.* (a) And the beginning of his Kingdome was Babilon, and (b) Oreg, and (c) Archad, and Chalame in the Land of Seimar. Out of that Land came *Assur* and (d) builded Niniuy, and the citty (e) Robooth, and Chaleth, and Dasein, betweene Chalech and Niniuy: this is a great city. Now this *Chus*, the gyant *Nembrods* father, is the first of *Chams* generation that is named, five of whose sons, and two of his grand-children were reckned before: But he either begot this giant after all them, or else (and that I rather hold) the scripture nameth him for his eminent sake, because his Kingdome is named also, (whereof Babilon was the head citty) and so are the other citties, and regions that hee possessed. But whereas it is said that *Assur* came out of the Land of Semar, which belonged vnto *Nimrod*, and builded Niniue and the other three citties, this was long after, but named heere, because of the greatnesse of the Assyrian Kingdome, which (f) *Ninus*, *Belus* his sonne, enlarged wonderfully, he that was the founder of the great citty Niniue, which was called after his name: Niniue of *Ninus*. But *Assur*, the father of the Assyrians, was none of *Chams* sonnes, but of the progeny of *Sem*, *Noahs* eldest sonne. So that it is euident that some of *Sems* sonnes afterward attained the Kingdome of this great Giant, and went further then it, and builded other citties, the first of which was called Niniue of *Ninus*: from this, the scripture returneth to another sonne of *Chams*, *Mizraim*, and his generation is reckned vppe: not by perticular men, but by seauen nations: out of the sixt whereof, as from a sixth sonne, came the Philistiym which make vppe eight. Thence it returneth backe againe to *Chanaan* in whom *Cham* was cursed, and his generation is comprized in eleauen: and all their extents related, together with some citties. Thus casting all into one summe, of *Chams* progeny are one and thirty descended. Now it remaineth to recount the stocke of *Sem*, *Noahs* eldest sonne: for the generations, beganne to bee counted from the yongest, and so vppwards gradually vnto him. But it is some-what hard to finde where his race beginsne to bee recounted: yet must we explaine it some way: for it is chiefly pertayning to our purpose.

Thus we read it. (g) vnto *Sem* also the father of all the sonnes of *Heber*, and elder brother of *Iaphet* were children borne: the order of the wordes is this: *And Heber was borne vnto Sem, and all his children, euen vnto Sem, who was Iaphets elder brother*: Thus it maketh *Sem* the Patriarch vnto all that were borne; of his stocke whether they were his sonnes, or his grand-sonnes, or their sonnes, or their grand-sonnes; and so of the rest: for *Sem* begot not *Heber*, *Heber* is the first from him in lineall descent. For *Sem* (besides others) begot *Arphaxat*, hee *Canaan*, *Canaan Sala*, and *Sala* was *Hebers* father. It is not for nothing then that *Heber* is named the first of *Sems* progeny, and before all *Sems* sonnes, beeing but grand-childe to his grand-childe; vnlesse it bee that the (h) Hebrewes had their name from him, quasi *Heberewes*: as it may bee held that they were called Hebrewes quasi *Abrahewes*, of *Abraham*.

But



But true it is, they were called Hebrewes of *Heber*: and Israel onely attained that language, and was the people wherein Gods Citty was both prefigured, and made a pilgrim. So then *Sem* first hath his sixe sonnes reckned, and foure other sonnes, by one of them: and then another of *Sems* sonnes begot a sonne, and this sonne of this last son was father vnto *Heber*. And *Heber* had two sons, one called *Phalec*, that is, *diuision*: the scripture addeth this reason of his name: *for in his time the earth was diuided*: which shalbe manifested hereafter. *Hebers* other sonne had twelue sonnes, and so the linage of *Seth* were in all seauen and twenty. Thus then the grand summe of all the generations of *Noahs* three sonnes, is three score and thirteene. Fifteene from *Iaphet*, thirty and one from *Cham*, and seauena and twenty from *Shem*. Then the scripture proceedeth, saying: *These are the sonnes of Sem according to their families and their tongues, in their countries and Nations*. And then of them all: *These are the families of the sonnes of Noah after their generations amongst their people*: and out of these were the Nations of the earth diuided after the flood. Whence wee gather, that they were three score and thirteene, or rather (as wee will shewe hereafter) three score and twelue Nations; not seauenty two single persons: for when the sonnes of *Iaphet* were reckned, it concluded thus: (1) *Of these were the Islands of the gentiles diuided in their hands each one according to his tongue and families in their nations*. And the sonnes of *Cham* are plainly made the founders and storers of nations, as I shewed before. *Mizraim* begot all those that were called the *Ludicim*, and so of the other sixe. And hauing reckned *Chams* sonnes, it concludeth in like manner: *These are the sonnes of Cham according to their tongues and families in their countries and their nations*. Wherefore the Scripture could not reckon many of their sonnes, because they grew vpp, and went to dwell in other countries: and yet could not people whole lands themselues: for why are but two *Iaphets* eight sonnes progenies named: three of *Chams* foure: and two of *Sems* sixe? Had the other no children? Oh wee may not imagine that; but they did not growe vpp into Nations worthy recording, but as they were ioyned themselues with other people.

## L. VIVES.

**The plaine of Semar.** **Nisine.** **Antioche.** **Ninive.** **Roboath.** **Ninus.** **Belus.**  
**A** *Nd. (a) the*] What those places were in Greeke, *Eusebius Pamphilus*, and *Iosephus* relates: whom *Hierome* also agreeth with: what wee neede, wee will take thence: the Reader may finde the rest in themselues, for they are common bookes. The field of *Semar* was in *Chaldea*, in it was built the tower of *Babel*. *(b) Oreg*] The Hebrew is *Arach*: but thus the seauenty haue it. *(c) Archad*] The Hebrew is *Accad*, which they say is *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*. *Pliny* calleth it *Antioche*. *(d) Ninive*] That of *Assyria*, for there was another Iewish one in a corner of *Arabia*, corruptly called *Nineue* afterwards. That of *Assyria* *Pliny* calles *Ninus*, being whilom a goodly thing standing vpon *Tygris* and lying towards the west: so saith *Problemy* also, *Diodorus* calls it *Nina*, and saith that *Ninus*, *Belus* his sonne built it, and that there was neuer City since so large within the walls. Their height was one hundred foote: they bredth three chariots might haue gone side by side vpon, easily: their compasse was foure hundred and eighty furlongs, and their posture, in a quadrangle, there were on the walls one thousand five hundred towers eachone a hundred foote high. *(e) Roboath* *Hieromes* translation hath, the streetes of the City, for *Roboath*, but the seauenty Read onely, *Hee built Ninive, and Chalach in the midst which was a great City*. Vnlesse the copy bee faulty. The hebrew hath *Khoboath* for that which wee read streetes. *(f) Ninus*] *Sanchoniato* following the Phznician Theology maketh *Ninus* a sonne of *Saturne*, and calleth him *Impiter Belus*. Now there was another *Belus*,

*Belus*, sonne to *Epaphus* kinge of Egypt whome *Ioue* begot: vnto this *Belus*, *Isis* was mother. Though *Eusebius* make him the sonne of *Telegonus* who married *Isis* after *Apis* was dead: *Belus*. *Cecrops* reing as then in Athens. But *Belus* that was father to *Ninus*, was a quiet King of Assiria, and contented with a little Empire, yet had hee this warlike sonne, whereby he was reuerenced as a God, and called the Babilonian *Iupiter*. This was their *Belus* say the Egyptians father to *Egyptus*, whome they call the sonne of *Neptune* and *Lybia*, and granchild to *Epaphus*, *Lybias* father. Hee placed colonies in Babilon and seating him-selfe vpon the bankes of *Euphrates*, iustituted his Priests there after the Egyptian order. That *Belus* whom they worshipped so deuoutly in Assiria, and who had a temple at Babilon in *Plinies* time, was (as he saith) the inuencor of Astronomy, and the Assirians dedicated a iewell vnto him and called it *Belus* his eye. (g) *Vnto Sem also.*] The seauenty lay it downe most playnely. (h) *Hebrewes.*] *Paul*, The Bishoppe of Borgos, a great Hebraician sayth they were called Hebrewes, *quasi traouellers*, *brevues*. for so the word intends, traouellers they were indeed, both in Egypt and in the land of Canaan. (i) *Of these were.*] As llands are diuided from the continent by the sea, so were they amongst them selues by riuers, mountaines, woods, sands: deserts, and marishes.

*Of the confusion of tongues and the building of Babilon.*

CHAP. 4.

Whereas therefore the Scriptures reckneth those nations each according to his proper tongue, yet it returneth backe to the time when they had all but one tongue, and then sheweth the cause of the diuersity. *Then the whole earth* (saith it) *was of one language and one speach.* And as they went from the East, they found a plaine in the land of *Semar*, and there they aboade: and they sayd one to another, *come let vs make bricke and burne it in the fire.* so they had bricke for stone, and (a) *pitch for lime:* They sayd also, *come, let vs build vs a citty and (b) a tower whose toppe may reach to the heauen, that we (c) may get vs a name, least we bee scattred vpon the whole earth.* And the Lord came downe to see the citty and tower which the sonnes of men builded. And the Lord sayd: *behold the people is all one, and haue all one language,* and this they begun to do, neither can they now be stopped from whatloeuer they haue imagined to effect: come on let vs downe and confound *Babilone*, their language therethat each one of them vnderstand not his fellowes speach. *confusion.* So the Lord scattered them from thence ouer the whole earth and they (d) left off to build the citty and the tower. Therefore the name of it was called *confusion*, because there the Lord confounded the language of the whole earth: and from thence did the Lord scatter them vpon all the earth. This Citty now which was called *confusion* is that Babilon, whose wouderfull building is admired euen in prophane histories: for Babilon is interpreted *confusion*, whence we gather, that *Nembrod* the Giant was (as we laid before) the builder of it: the scripture saying: *the beginning of his kingdome was Babilon*, that is, this was the metropolitane citty of the realme, the kings chamber, and the chiefe of all the rest: though it were neuer brought to that strange perfection that the wicked and the proud would haue it to be, for it was built to heigh, which is sayd *was up to heauen*, whether this were the fault of some one Tower which they wrought more vpon then all the rest, or of them all vnder one, as wee will say, the soldiour, or enemy, when we meane of many thousands, and as the multitude of Frogges and Locusts that plagued Egypt were called onely in the singlar number, the Frogge and Locust: But what intended mans vaine presumption

The power  
of humili-  
ty.

presumption herein? admit, they could haue exceeded all the mountaines with their buildings height, could they euer haue gotten about the element of ayre? and what hurt can ellevation either of body or spirit do vnto God? Humility is the true tract vnto heauen, lifting vpp the spirit vnto GOD, but not against GOD, as that gyant was said to be *an hunter against the Lord*: which some not vnderstanding, were deceiued by the ambiguity of the greeke and translated, *before the Lord*, (f) *ἰναντιον* beeing both before, and against: for the Psalme vseth it so: *and kneele before the Lord our maker*. And it is also in *Iob*: *He hath stretched out his hand against God*. Thus then (g) is that hunter against the Lord to be vnderstood. But what is the worde, *Hunter*, but an entrapper, persecutor and murderer of earthly creatures? So rose this hunter and his people, and raised this tower against GOD, which was a type of the impiety of pride: and an euill intent, though neuer effected deserueth to be punished. But how was it punished? Because that (h) all soueraignty lieth in commaund, and all commaund in the tongue, thus pride was plagued, that the commauder of men should not be vnderstood, because he would not vnderstand the Lord, his commander. Thus was this conspiracy dissolued, each one departing from him whom hee vnderstood not, nor could he adapt himselfe to any but those that hee vnderstood, and thus these languages diuided, ~~then~~ into Nations and dispersed them ouer the whole earth, as God who wrought those strange effects, had resolved.

### L. VIVES.

**A**Nd (a) *pitch*] *Bitumen*, whereof there was great store in those places. (b) *A tower*] The like to this do the prophane writers talke of the Gyants wars against the Gods, laying mountaine vpon mountaine, to get foote-hold against heauen the nearer it.

*Ter sunt corati inponere Pelion Offe,*

*Ter pater extructos disiecit fulmine montes.*

Pelion on Offa three times they had throwne,

And thrice *Ioues* thunder struck the bul-warke downe.

Saith *Virgil*. The story is common: it might be wrested out of this of the confusion, as diuers other things are drawne from holy writ into heathenisme. (c) *We may get*] Let this bee a monument of vs all. (d) *Left off*] And the builders of the cittie ceased, say the seauenty. (e) *Wonderfull*] In *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Mela*, *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, all the geographers, and many of the Poets, of this else-where. (f) *ἰναντιον*.] So it is in latin also. (g) *Is that hunter*] *Iosephus* writeth that *Nimrod* first taught mankinde to iniure GOD, and to grow proud against him: for being wondrous valiant, he perswaded them that they might thanke themselues, and not God, for any good that befell them. And so ordeined he himselfe a soueraignty, and to prouide that God should not subuert it, fell a building of this tower, to resist a second deluge if God should be offended. And the multitude held it a lesse matter to serue man then God: and so obeying *Nimrod* willingly began to build this huge tower, which might stand all waters vncouered. Of this tower, *Sybilla* writeth saying. *When al men were of one language some fell to build an high tower as though they would passe through it vnto heauen. But God sent a winde, and ouerthrew it, and confounded their language with diuers, so that each one had a seuerall tongue*: and therefore that cittie was called *Babilon*. (h) *All soueraignty*] The Princes words are great attractiues of the subiects hearts: which if they bee not vnderstood, make all his people auidoie him. And therefore *Mithridates* euen when hee was vtterly ouerthrowne, had friends ready to succour him, because he could speake to any nation in their owne language.

*Of Gods comming downe to confound the language of those  
towre-builders. CHAP. 5.*

Gen. 11.

**F**OR whereas it is written: *The Lord came downe to see the citty and tower which the sons of men builded*, that is not the sons of God, but that earthly minded crue which

which we call the Terrestriall citie : we must thinke that God remooued from no place, for hee is alwaies all in all, but he is sayd to come downe, when he doth any thing in earth beyond the order of nature, wherein his omnipotency is as it were presented. Nor getteth he temporary knowledge by seeing, who can neuer be ignorant in any thing: but he is said to see and know that which he laies open to the sence, and knowledge of others. So then he did not see that city, as he made it bee seene, when he shewed how farre he was displeas'd with it. Wee may say GOD came downe to it, because his angells came downe, wherein hee dwelleth, as that also which followeth. The Lord said, *Behold, the people is one, and they haue all one language &c.* and then, *Come on, let vs goe downe, and there confound their language.* This is a recapitulation, shewing how the LORD came downe: for if he were come downe already, why should he say *Let vs go downe &c.* he spoke to the angells in whom hee came downe. And he saith not, *come, and goe you downe, and there confound their language, but come, let vs go &c.* shewing that they are his ministers, and yet hee co-operateth with them and they with him as the Apostle saith, *For we labour together with God.*

God moueth not from place to place.

1. Cor. 3

*The manner how GOD speaketh to his Angells.*

CHAP. 6.

THAT also where God saith, *Let vs (a) make man in our Image,* may be meant vnto the angells, because hee saith not, *I will make,* but adding, *in our Image,* it is wicked to thinke that God made man in the angells Image, or that Gods and theirs are all one. This therefore is an intimation of the *Trinity*: which *Trinity* being neuertheless, but one God, when hee had said, *let vs make,* he adioyneth, *thus God created the man in his Image,* hee doth not say, *the Gods created,* nor *in the image of the Gods*: and so here may the *Trinity* bee vnderstood, as if the Father had sayd to the Son and the Holy Spirit, *come on, let vs goe downe, and there confound there language*: this now, if there bee any reason excluding the Angells in this point: as those whom it rather befitted to come vnto God, in holy nations and Godly cogitations, hauing recourse vnto the vnchangeable truth, the eternall law of that vpper court: for they themselues are not the truth but pertakers of the truth, that created them, and draw to that, as the fountaine of their life; taking out of that, what wanteth in themselues, and this motion of theirs is firmitie, drawing to that whence they neuer depart. Nor doth GOD speake to his angells as wee doe one to another, or vnto GOD: or his angells to vs, or wee to them, or God by them to vs: but in an ineffable manner, shewne to vs after our manner: and his high speach to them before the effect, is the vnaltered order of the effect: not admitting sound, or verberation of ayre, but an eternall power in it selfe, working vpon a temporall object. Thus doth God speake to his angells, but vnto vs, being farre of him, in a farre other manner: and when we conceiue any thing by the first maner, wee come neare the angells: but I am not here to discourse of Gods waies opening his will to others: the vnchangeable truth, doth either speake ineffably from himselfe, vnto reasonable creatures, or by reasonable creatures, mutable, or spirituall, either vnto our imagination and spirit, or to our bodily sence: and whereas it is sayd: *And shall they not faue many things they go about?* this is no confirmation, but rather a question, as we vse in threatening, as in this verse *Virgill* declareth.

God speaketh three manner of waies.

D d d 2

(b) Non

Aenid. 3.

(b) *Non arma expedient, totâq; ex urbe sequentur*  
 And shall not all my powers take armes, and run?

We must therefore take it as a question. Otherwise it sheweth not as a threatening: we must needs therefore adde the interrogatiue point. Thus then the progenies of *Noahs* three sonnes were seauenty three or rather (as wee haue said) three score and twelue Nations, who filled the earth and the Islands thereof (c) and the number of nations was farre aboute the number of languages: for now in Africa wee haue many Barbarous countries that speake all one language: and who doubteth that mankinde increasing, diuers tooke shippes and went to inhabite the Islands abroad?

## L. VIVES.

**L** Et (a) *us make*] *Hierome* and *Augustine* doe both take this as an intimation of the *Trinity* (b) *Non arma*] *Dido's* words in *Virgil. Aenid. 3.* (c) *And the number*] But I thinke it is harder to shew any one language, then any one nation, but I doe not contend, but onely speake my minde.

*Whether the remote Iles were supplied with the beasts of all sorts that were saued in the Arke. CHAP. 7.*

**B** Vt now there is a question concerning those beasts, which man respects not, & yet are not produced by putrification, as frogs are, but only by copulation of male and female (as wolues &c.) how they after the deluge, wherein all perished but those in the Arke, could come into those Islands, vnlesse they were propagate from them that were preserued in the Arke, we may thinke that they might come to the nearest Iles: but there are some far in the maine, to which no beast could swim. If men desired to catch them and transport them thether, questionlesse they might doe it (a) by hunting; though we cannot deny but that the angells by Gods command might cary them thether: but if they were produced from the earth, as at first becaute God said, *let the earth bring forth the liuing soule*: then is it most apparant that the diuersity of beasts were preserued in the Arke rather for a figure of the diuers Nations, then for restauration, if the earth brought them forth in those Iles to which they could not otherwise come.

## L. VIVES.

**B** Y (a) *hunting*] In the Canaries and other new found Iles, there were none of many creatures that we haue in abundance in the continent: but were faine to be transported thether: and the like we vse in transportation of plants, and seeds, from nation to nation.

*Whether Adams, or Noahs sonnes begot any monstrous kinds of men. CHAP. 8.*

**I** T is further demanded whether *Noahs* sons, or rather *Adams* (of whom all man kinde came) begot any of those (a) monstrous men, that are mentioned in prophaine

phaine histories : as some that haue (*b*) but one eye in their mid fore-head : some with their heeles where their toes should be, some with both sexes in one, & their right pap a mans, & the left a womans, & both begetting and bearing children in one body : some without mouths, liuing only by ayre and smelling; some but a cubite high, called (*c*) pigmies, of the greeke word : some, where the women beare children at the fift yeare of their age : some that haue but one leg, and bend it not, and yet are of wonderfull swiftnesse, being called (*d*) *Sciopoda*, because they sleepe vnder the shade of this their foote : some neck-lesse, with the face of a man in their breasts : and such other as are wrought in (*e*) checker-wocke in the Sea-streete at Carthage, being taken out of their most curious and exact histories. What shall I speake of the (*f*) *Cynocephale*, that had dogs heads, and barked like dogs? Indeed we need not beleeu all the monstrous reports, that runne concerning this point. But what soeuer hee bee, that is Man, that is, a mortall reasonable creature, bee his forme, voice, or what euer, neuer so different from an ordinary mans, no faithfull person ought to doubt that hee is of *Adams* progeny : yet is the power of nature shewne, and strangely shewne in such : but the same reasons that wee can giue for this or that vnordinary shaped-birth amongst vs, the same may be giuen for those monstrous nations : for GOD made all, and when or how hee would forme this or that, hee knowes best, hauing the perfitt skill how to beautifie this vniuerse by opposition and diuersity of parts. But hee that cannot contemplate the beauty of their whole, stumbles at the deformity of the part : not knowing the congruence that it hath with the whole. We see many that haue about five fingers, or toes : and this farther from that, then the other is in proportion : yet God forbid that any one should bee so besotted as to thinke the maker erred in this mans fabrike, though wee know not why hee made him thus. Be the diuersity neuer so great, he knowes what hee doth : and none must reprehend him. (*g*) At *Hippon* we had one borne with feet like halfe moones, and hands likewise : with two fingers onely, and two toes. If there were a nation such now, (*h*) curious history would ring off it as of a wonder. But must wee therefore say that this creature came not from *Adam*? an age can feldome be without an (*i*) *Hermaphradite*, though they be not ordinary persons I meane that are so perfitt in both sexes that we know not what to terme them, man, or woman : though custome hath giuen the preheminence to the (*k*) chiefe, and call them still, men. For none speake of them in the female sense. In our time (some few yeares agoe) was one borne, that was two from the middle vp-wardes, and but one downe-ward. This was in the (*l*) East : hee had two heads, two breasts, foure hands, one belly and two feete : and liued so longe that a multitude of men were eie witnessse of this shape of his.

But who can reckon all the birthes extraordinary? Wherefore as wee may not say but those are really descended from the first man, so what Nations soeuer haue shapes different from that which is in most men, and seeme (*m*) to be exorbitant from the common forme, if they bee (*n*) definable to bee reasonable creatures, and mortall, they must bee acknowledged for *Adams* issue : (if it bee true that their bee such diuersity of shapes in whole Nations, varying so farr from ours.) For if we knew not that Apes (*o*) Monkeyes, and (*p*) Babiounes, were not men but beasts, those braue and curious historiographers would belieue them confidently to bee nations, and generations of men. But if they bee men of whome they write those wonders, what if GODS pleasure was to shew vs

in the creating of whole nations of such monsters, that his wisdom did not like an vnprofit caruer, faile in the framing of such shapes, but purposely formed them in this fashion? It is no absurdity therefore to beleue that there may bee such nations of monstrous men, as well as wee see our times are often witnesses of monstrous births here amongst our selues. Wherefore to close this question vpp with a sure locke: either the stories of such monsters are plaine lies, or if there be such, they are either no men, or if they be men, they are the progeny of *Adam*.

## L. VIVES.

The Pygmees,

**M**onstrous (a) men] *Pliny lib. 7.* (b) One eye] Such they say are in India. (c) *Pygmees*] I do not beleue that the *Pygmees* were but in one place, or that the writers concerning them, differ so as they seeme. *Pliny (lib. 4.)* saith they were in *Thrace*, neare the towne *Gerrania*, and called *Catixi*, and that the *Cranes* beate them away. For there are great store of *Cranes* there, wherevpon they are called the *Strymonian*, of *Strymon*, a riuer in *Thrace*. And *Gerrania* is drawne from the greeke: for *γίρα* is, a Crane. The same author reherfeth their opinion that said *Pygmees* dwelt by *Endon*, a riuer in *Caria*. *Lib. 5.* And (*lib. 6.*) hee followeth others, and placeth them in *India*, amongst the *Prasian* hilles: as *Philostratus* doth also. Some there bee (as *Pliny* saith there) that say they are about the marishes of *Nilus*: one of those is *Aristotle*, who saith they liue in *Ethiopia* amongst the *Troglodytes*, in caues; and therefore are called *Troglodyta*: and that their stature, and crane-battells are fables. Of these *Homer* sung, placing them in the South, where the *Cranes* liue in winter, as they doe in *Thrace* in summer, going and coming with the seasons. *Mela* puts the *Pygmees* into the in-most *Arabia*, little wretches they are saith hee, and fight for their corne agaiust the *Cranes*.

A cubite, A foote. Anhand-bredth.

Some hold their are no such creatures. *Arist. Pliny*, *κρυβ* in greeke, is a cubite, and thence, saith *Enstadius*, (*Homer*s interpretor) they had their name. This cubite is halfe a foote, that is foure and twenty fingers by their measure. For a foote, is twelue inches, that is, sixteene fingers and foure hand-bredths. But an hand-bredth is diuers: there is the lesser (of which wee doe meane) beeing three inches, the quarter of the foote: and there is the greater, beeing twelue fingers, called a spanne: beeing three partes of the foote, that is nine fingers. There are (saith *Pliny lib. 7.*) vpon those mountaines, the *Span-men*, as they say, or the *Pygmees*, beeing not about three spannes (that is two foote  $\frac{1}{2}$ ) high. So saith *Gellius* also that their highest stature is but two foote  $\frac{1}{2}$ . *lib. 9.* *Pliny* and *Gellius* doe both meane, sixe and thirtie fingers, *Iuuenal* to make them the more ridiculous, saith they were not about a foote high.

Sciopodes a people.

(d) *Sciopoda*] Or, foote-shadowed: *σκια* is a shadow. *πυς* a foote. (e) *Checker-worke*] *Musium opus*. *Spartian* vseth it, and *Pliny*. It is (saith *Hermulaus Barbarus* vpon *Plinies* sixth booke, and *Baptista Egnatius* vpon *Spartian*) wrought with stones of diuers colours, which beeing rightly laied together, are the portraytures of images: as is ordinary to bee seene in the pauementes at *Rome* and else-where in old workes, for of late it is neglected: Our in-laide workes in our chaires, and tables in *Spaine* haue some resemblance thereof.

Checker-workes.

Our in-laide workes in our chaires, and tables in *Spaine* haue some resemblance thereof. *Perottus*, saith it is corruptly called *Musicum*, but the true word is *Muscicum*, of *Muscum*, and alledgeth this place of *Pliny*: *Barbarus* seemes to bee of his minde also. The vulgar called it *musicum*, because it seemed to bee a worke of great wit and industry. (f) *Cynocephali*] Worde for worde, Dogges-heads. *Solinus* maketh them a kinde of Apes, and possible to bee turned from euer beeing wilde againe. *Diodorus* accountes them wilde beastes. (g) *At Hippon*] Some had added in the *Margent*, *Diarrhyum*, and *Zaricum*. It should bee *Diarrhyum*. *Mela*, *Strabo*, *Pliny* and *Protony* speake of two *Hippons* in *Affrica*, (hauing their names from Knights, or horse-men, for so is the Greeke *ιππης* interpreted:) the one called *Hippon Diarrhyus*, neare *Carthage*, a little on this side, and heere was *Augustine* Bishoppe: the other called *Hippon Rogius*, beeing farther East, and the Kings

Cynocephali, a people.

ancient seate, as *Silins* saith:

*Tum vaga & antiquis dilectus regibus Hippon.*

Vaga and Hippon, that old seate of Kings.

Touching at them both. (b) *Curious history*] Which he spake on before. (i) *Hermaphrodites*] Verballly from the Greeke is the word *Androgynas*, ἀνδρῆς, a man, γυνή, a woman: But they are called *Hermaphrotes*, because the sonne of *Hermes* and *Aphrodite*, that is, *Mercury* and *Venus*, was held to bee the first halfe-male. (k) *The chiefe*] The masculine: so saith the Latine, *Semi-mas*. When those were borne, they were counted prodigies, in olde times. *Linny. Lucane, &c.* (l) *The East.*] In the East part of Affricke, lying towards Nilus and Cyrene, for Nile parts Affricke on the East from Asia. (m) *Exorbitant*] out of *orbita*, the right path of nature. (n) *Definable*] It is knowne that the Philosophers defined man to bee a reasonable creature, and added mortall: because they held the most of their *Gods*, and the *Demonies* to be reasonable creatures, and yet immortall. (o) *Monkeyes*] *Cercopithecus*, tailed Apes, κίτρος, a *Monkeye*, a taile, κίτρος an Ape. *Martiall.*

Hermaphrodites.

*Callidus admissas eludere Simius hastas,  
Si mihi cauda foret, Cercopithecus eram.*

I mockt their darded staues withouten faile,  
Iust like a Monkey had I had a taile.

*Aristotle* calles those tailed Apes, κίτροι: *De animal. lib. 2.* But some beasts there are with Lyons faces, and Panthers bodies, as bigge as an Hinde, which hee calleth *Cepi. lib. 10.* There are also a people neare the Fennes of Meotis called *Cepi.* (p) *Babionis*] *Sphynxa*, a creature *Sphinxes*. not much vnlike an Ape, but bigger, with a face like a woman, and two dugges dangling before. *Solinus* saith they liue in *Ethiophe*, and are easily taught and tamed. The Poets giue the *Sphinx* a Virgins face, a Lyons pawes, and a Griffons wings.

*whether there bee any inhabitants of the earth,  
called the Antipodes.*

CHAP. 9.

**B**Vt whereas they fable of a (a) people that inhabite that land where the sunne riseth, when it setteth with vs, and goe with (b) their feete towards ours, it is incredible. They haue no authority for it, but onely (c) coniecture that such a thing may bee, because the earth hangeth within the orbes of heauen, and each (d) part of the world is aboue and below alike, and thence they gather that the other hemysphere cannot want inhabitants. Now they consider not that although that it bee globous as ours is, yet it may bee all couered with Sea: and if it bee bare, yet it followeth not, that it is inhabited, seeing that the Scripture (that prooueth all that it saith to be true, by the true euent that it presageth) neuer maketh mention of any such thing. And it were too absurd to say, that men might sayle ouer that huge Ocean, and goe inhabite there: that the progenie of the first man might people that part also. But let vs goe and seeke amongst those seauentie two nations and their languages, whether wee can finde that *Citty of G O D* which remained a continuall pilgrim on earth vntill the deluge, and is shewed to perseuere amongst the sonnes of *Noah* after their blessing, chiefly in *Sem*, *Noahs* eldest sonne, for *Iaphets* blessing was to dwell in the tents of his brother.



## L. VIVES.

The Anti-  
podes.

**P**EOPLE (a) that.] All Cosmographers diuide the heauen, and consequently the earth into five Zones, the vtmost whereof lying vnder the Poles, and farre from the Heauens motion, and the Sunnes heate are insufferably cold: the mid-most, being in the most violent motion of Heauen, and heate of the Sunne, is intolerably hot: the two being interposed betweene both extreames, are habitable: one temperate Zone lying towards the North and the other towards the South: the inhabitants of both, are called *Antichthonos*. Now *Cleomedes* bids vs diuide those two Zones into foure equall parts: those that dwell in the parts that lye in the same Zone, are called *Periaci*, circumferentiall inhabitants, those that dwell in diuers, or in an vnequall distance from the Poles, and equall from the equinoctiall, are called *Antoeci*, or opposites: they that dwell in equall distances from both, are called *Antipodes*. The *Periaci*, differ in their day and night, but not in seasons of the yeare; the *Antoeci* iust contrary: the *Antipodes* in both.

De rep. li. 6. It was an old opinion which *Tully*, *Mela*, and other chiefe men followed, that neuer man had any knowledge of the South. *Tully* puts the great ocean betweene it and vs, which no man euer passed: *Macrobius* discourseth at large herevpon. I do but glance at this for feare of clogging my reader. This was a great perswasion to *Augustine* to follow *Lactantius*, and deny the *Antipodes*, for the learned men saw well, that grant men no passage ouer that great sea vnto the temperate Southerne Clymate, (as *Tully* and other great authors vtterly denied them) and then they that dwell there could not possibly be of *Adams* stocke: so that he had rather deny them habitation there, then contend in argument against so many learned opposits: But it is most sure once, that *Antipodes* there are, and that we haue found away vnto them, not onely in old times, but euen by late sea maisters: for of old, diuers flying into the Persian gulfe for feare of *Augustus*, sayled by the coast of Ethiopia and the Atlantike sea vnto *Hercules* pillars. And in the prime of Carthages height, some sayled from thence through *Hercules* his straytes, into the red sea of Arabia, and then were not the Bayes of Persia, India, the Easterne sea, Taproban, and the Iles thereabouts all found out by the power of *Alexanders* nauy? and those you shall find *Antipodes* to vs, if you marke the posture of the Globe diligently, for they haue the same eleuation of their South pole, and bee in the same distance from the occidentall point, that some of the countries in our climat haue, of our North poynt. (b) *Their feete.*] As *Tully* saith in *Scipios* dreame. (c) *Coniecture.*] For the temperature of the Southerne Zone is iust like to ours. (d) *Each part.*] The world is round, and Heauen is euery where a like about it.

Of the generation of Sem, in which the Citty of God  
lyeth downe vnto Abraham.

## CHAP. IO.

**S**E M S generation it is then that wee must follow to find the Citty of God after the deulge, as *Seth* deriued it along before. Therefore the Scripture hauing shewen the *Earthly Citty* to bee in Babilon, that is, in confusion, returnes to the Patriarch *Sem*, and carieth his generation downe vntill *Abraham*, counting euery mans yeares, when he had his sonne, and how long hee liued: where by the way I thinke of my promise, of explayning, why one of *Hebers* sonns was called *Phalech*, because in his dayes the earth was diuided: how was it diuided? by the confusion of tongues.

So then the sonnes of *Sem* that concerne not this purpose, being letten passe, the Scripture reciteth those that conuey his seed downe vnto *Abraham*: as it did  
with

with those that conueyed *Seths* seede before the deluge, downe vnto *Noah*. It beginneth therefore thus. *These are the generations of Sem: Sem was an hundred yeares old and begat (a) Arphaxad, two yeares after the flood. And Sem liued after hee begat Arphaxad five hundred yeares, and begat sonnes and daughters, and dyed: And thus of the rest, shewing when euery one begot his sonne, that belonged to this generation that descendeth to Abraham, and how long euery one liued after hee had begotten his sonne, and begot more sonnes and daughters, to shew vs what a great multitude might come of one, least wee should make any childish doubt at the few that it nameth: Sems seede beeing sufficient to replenish so many kingdomes, chiefly for the Assyrian Monarchie, where Ninus the subduer of all the East reigned in maiesty; and left a mighty Empire to bee possessed many yeares after by his posterity: But let vs not stand vpon trifles longer then needs must: wee will not reckon the number of euery mans yeares till he dyed, but onely vntill hee begat the sonne who is enranked in this genealogicall rolle. And gathering these from the deluge to Abraham, we will briefly touch at other accidents as occasion shall necessarily import. In the second yeare therefore after the deluge, Sem being two hundred yeares old begat Arphaxad: Arphaxad being a hundred thirty five yeares old begat Canaan: hee beeing a hundred and thirty yeares old begat Sala, and so old was Sala when hee begot Heber: Heber was a hundred thirty and foure yeares old when he begat Phalec: Phalec a hundred and thitty and begat Ragau: hee one hundred thirty and two, and begat Seruch, Seruch one hundred and thirty and begot Nachor: Nachor seauenty and nine and begot Thara: (b) Thara seauenty, and begot Abram whom God after ward called Abraham. So then from the deluge to Abraham are one thousand seauenty and two yeares, according to the vulgar translation, that is the Septuagints. But in the Hebrew the yeares are farre fewer; whereof wee can heare little or no reason shewen.*

Now therefore in this quest of the *City of God*, wee cannot say in this time wherein those men were not all of one language, (those seauenty and two nations I meane wherein wee seeke it) that all man-kinde was fallen from GODS true seruice: but that it remained onely in *Sems* generation, descending to *Abraham* by *Arphaxad*. But the earthly *City* was visible enough in that presumption of building the tower vp to heauen (the true type of deuillish exaltation): therein was it apparant, and euer after that. But whether this other were not before, or lay hid, or rather both remained in *Noahs* sonnes, the godly in the two blessed ones, and the wicked in that one accursed, from whom that great giant-hunter against the Lord descended, it is hard to discern, for it may be (and that most likely) that before the building of Babilon, GOD might haue seruants of some of *Chams* children, and the deuil, of some of *Sems* and *Iaphets*. For wee may not beleue that the earth wanted of eyther sort. For that, saying: *They are all gone out of the way, they are all corrupt, there is not one that doth good, no* Pla. 14. 3. 4. *not one, euen in both the Psalmes that haue this saying, this followeth; Doe not* Pla. 52. 3. 4. *all that worke iniquity know that they eat up my people as it were bread? so that God had his people then: And therefore that same, No not one, is meant restrictiuelly of the sonnes of men, and not the sonnes of GOD; for hee sayd before, The Lord looked downe from heauen vpon the sonnes of men, to see if there were any that would understand and seeke GOD? and then the addition that followeth, sheweth that it was those, that liued after the lawe of the flesh; and not of the spirit, whome hee speaketh of:*

L. VIVES.

## L. VIVES.

**A***Rphaxad* (a) ] From him (saith *Hierome*.) the Chaldeans descended. (b) *Thara* ] The 70. call him *Thappai* : the Hebrew, *Terah*.

*This the Hebrew tongue (so called afterward of Heber) was the first language upon the earth, and remained in his family when that great confusion was.* CHAP. II.

The Hebrew tongue.

**W**herefore euen as sinne wanted not sonnes when they had all but one language, (for so it was before the deluge, and yet all deserued to perish therein but *Noah* and his family) so when mans presumption was punished with his languages confusion, whence the Citty Babilon, their proud worke, had the name, *Hebers* (a) house failed not but kept the old language still. Where-vpon as I said, *Heber* was reckoned the first of all the sonnes of *Sem*, who begot each of them an whole nation : yet was hee the fift from *Seth* in descent. So then because this language remained in his house, that was confounded in all the rest, (being credibly held the onely language vpon earth before this) hence it had the name of the Hebrew tongue, for then it was to bee nominally distinct from the other tongues, as other tongues had their proper names. But when it was the tongue of all, it had no name, but the tongue or language of man-kinde, wherein all men spake. Some may say : if that the earth was diuided by the languages in *Phalechs* time, *Hebers* sonne, it should rather haue beene called his name then *Hebers* : O but wee must vnderstand that (b) *Heber* did therefore giue his sonne *Phalec* such a name, that is, *diuision*, because hee was borne vnto him iust at the time when the earth was diuided, so meanes the Scripture when it saith, *in his dayes the earth was decuded*. For if *Heber* were not liuing when the confusion befell, the tongue that was to remaine in his family should not haue had the name from him; and there wee must thinke that it was first vniuersall, because the confusion of tongues was a punishment, which Gods people were not to cast off: Nor was it for nothing that *Abraham* could not communicate this his language vnto all his generation, but onely to those that were propagate by *Jacob*, and arising into an eident people of God, were to receiue his Testament, and the Sauiour in the flesh. Nor did *Hebers* whole progenie beare away this language, but onely that from whence *Abraham* descended. Wherefore though there be no godly men eidently named, that liued at the time when the wicked built *Babylon* : yet this concealement ought not to dull, but rather to incite one to inquire further. For whereas we read that at first, men had all one language, and that *Heber* is first reckoned of all the sonnes of *Sem*, beeing but the fift of his house downward, and that language which the Patriarches and Prophets vsed in all their words and writings, was the Hebrew : Verily when wee seeke where that tongue was preserued in the confusion (being to bee kept amongst them to whom the confusion could be no punishment) what can wee say but that it was preserued vnto this mans family of whome it had the name? and that this is a great signe of righteousness in him, that where as the rest were afflicted with the confusion of their tongues, hee onely and his family was acquit of that affliction. But yet there is another doubt : How could *Heber* and his sonne *Phalec* become two seuerall nations, hauing both but one language? And truly the Hebrew tongue descended to *Abraham* from *Heber*, and so downe from him vntill **Israell**

Israell became a great people. How then could euery sonne of *Noahs* sonnes progenies become a particular nation when as *Heber* and *Phalec* had both but one language? The greatest probability is, that (c) *Nembroth* became a nation also, and yet was reckned, for the eminence of his dignity, and corporall strength, to keepe the number of seauenty two nations inuiolate: but *Phalec* was not named for growing into a nation, but that that strange accident of the earths diuision fel out in his daies: for of the nation and language of *Heber*, was *Phalec* also. We need not sticke at this, how *Nembroth* might liue iust with that time when Babilon was built, and the confusion of tongues befell, for there is no reason, because *Heber* was the sixt from *Noah*, and hee but the fourth, but that they might both liue vnto one time & in one time, for this fel out so before, where they that had the least progeny liued the longest, that they that had the more, died sooner: or they that had few sonnes had them later then those that had many, for wee must conceiue this, that when the earth was builded, *Noahs* sonnes had not onely all their issue (who were called the fathers of those nations) but that these also had great and numerous families, worthy the name of nations. Nor may wee thinke then that they were borne as they are reckned. Otherwise, how could *Ioktans* twelue sonnes (another sonne of *Hebers*) become of those nations, if hee were borne after *Phalec*, as hee is reckned? for in *Phalecs* daies was the earth diuided.

Wee must take it thus then, *Phalec* is first named, but was borne long after his brother *Ioktan*, whose twelue sonnes had all their families so great that each might be sufficient to share one tongue in the confusion, for so might he that was last borne, be first reckned, as *Noahs* youngest sonne is first named, namely *Japhet*: *Cham* the second the next, and *Shem*, the eldest, the last. Now some of these nations names continued, so that we may know to this day whence they are deriued, as, the Assirians of *Assur*; the Hebrewes of *Heber*, (d) and some continuance of time hath abolished, in so much that the most learned men can scarcely finde any memory of them in antiquity. For some say that the Egyptians were they that came of *Mizraim* (e) *Chams* sonne: here is no similitude of names at all: nor in the Aethliopians which they say came of *Chus*, another sonne of *Chams*. And if wee consider all, wee shall finde farré more names lost then remaying.

## L. VIVES.

**H** *Ebers* (a) *house*.] Some thinke they consented not vnto the building of the Tower and therefore had the first language left onely to them. *Herodotus* writeth that *Psameticon*, an Egyptian king, caused two children to be brought vp in the woods, without hearing word of any mans mouth, thinking that that language which they would speake of themselues onely, would bee that which man spake at first: after three yeares, they were brought vnto him, and they said nothing but *Bec*, diuers times. Now *Bec* is bread in Phrygian, wherevpon hee thought the Phrygian tongue to bee the first: but it was no maruaile if they cryed *Bec*, being continually brought vp amongst the goates, that could cry nothing else. (b) *Heber* did.] Prophecyng of what was to come, saith *Hierom*. (c) *Nembroth* became,] what nation, it is vncertaine: where hee raigned is playne, *Gen. 2. In Babilon*, and *Arach* that is (saith *Hierom*) *Edessa*, and *Accad*, that is now called *Nisibis*, and in *Chalah*, that was after-ward called *Seleucia of Selencus*, or else that which is now called *Ctesiphon*.  
Perhaps

Perhaps hee was the father ( but doubtlesse the great increaser ) of those nations. ( *d* ) *And some* ] So saith *Hierome* of all *Ioflans* sonnes. And no maruell, since that all the mountaines, hilles, and riuers of Italy, France and Spaine, changed their names quite into barbarous ones within the compasse of two hundred yeares. ( *e* ) *Chams sonne* ] Nay *Egypt* ( saith *Hierome* ) bare *Chams* owne name: for the seauenty put the letter X. for the Hebrew *He*, continually, to teach vs the aspiration dew to the word, and here they translate *Cham*, for that which in the Hebrew is *Ham*, by which name *Egypt* in the countries proper language is called vnto this day. Thus farre *Hierome*. But it might bee that *Egypt* was called *Mizraim* of him that first peopled it, as *Hierome* saith the Hebrews call it continually. *Egypt* was also called afterwards *Aeria*, because as *Stephanns* saith, the ayre was thicke therein: it was called further-more *Neptapolis* of the seauen citties therein. And lastly *Egypt* of *Egyptus*, *Belus* his sonne. *Homer* calles the riuer *Nilus*, *Egypt*. ( *f* ) *Ethiopiens* ] The Hebrews call *Ethiopia*, *Chus*. *Hieron*. It was called *Atlantia* of *Atilas*, and *Ethiopia* afterwards of *Ethiops*, *Vulcans* sonne, as some say. But I thinke rather of the burnt hew of the inhabitants: for *athio* in Greeke, is black: *Homer* that old Poet saith, there are two *Ethiopa's*. *Odyss*. 1.

ἢ ἢ δυσσεμῶν ὑπεριον, &c.

This lyes vpon the East, that on the West.

There is also a part of the Ile *Eubæa* called *Ethiophon*.

Of that point of time wherein the citty of God began a new order  
of succession in Abraham. CHAP. 12.

**N**OW let vs see how the *Citty of God* proceeded from that minute wherein it began to bee more eminent and euident in promises vnto *Abraham* (which now wee see fulfilled in *Christ*.) Thus the holy Scripture teacheth vs then, that *Abraham* was borne in a part of *Chaldæa*, which belonged ( *a* ) vnto the Empire of the *Assyrians*. And now had superstition got great head in *Chaldæa*, as it had all ouer else: so there was but onely the house of *Thara*, *Abrahams* father, that serued *God* truly, and ( by all likelyhood ) kept the Hebrew tongue pure, though that ( as *Iofuah* telleth the Hebrewes ) as they were *Gods* euident people in *Egypt*, so in *Mesopotamia* they fell to *Idolatry*; all *Hebers* other sonnes becomming other nations, or beeing commixt with others. Therefore euen as in the deluge of waters *Noahs* house remained alone to repaire man-kinde, so in this deluge of sinne and superstition, *Thares* house onely remained as the place wherein *G O D S* *Cittie* was planted and kept. And euen as before the deluge, the generations of all from *Adam*, the number of yeares, and the reason of the deluge being all reckoned vp, before *God* began to speake of building the *Arke*, the Scripture saith of *Noah*: *These are the generations of Noah*: euen so here, hauing reckoned all from *Sem*, the sonne of *Noah*, downe vnto *Abraham*, hee putteth this to the conclusion, as a point of much moment, *These are the generations of Thara*. *Thara* begot *Abraham*, *Nachor*, and *Aram*: And *Aram* dyed before ( *b* ) his father *Thara* in the land wherein hee was borne, being a part of *Chaldæa*. And *Abraham* and *Nachor* tooke them wiues: the name of *Abrahams* wife was *Sarah*, and the name of *Nachors* wife was *Melca*, the daughter of *Aram*: who was father both to *Melca* and *Iesca*, whome some hold also to be *Sara*, *Abrams* wife.

### L. VIVES.

**W**Hich ( *a* ) belonged ] For *Mela*, *Pliny*, *Strabo* and others, place *Chaldæa* in *Assyria*: And that

that it is not onely a part of that Assyria which the ancient writers called by the name of *Syria*, that great countrie, but of that Assyria also which *Sirabo* calles the *Babylonian Assyria*. *Xenophon* maketh a difference betweene *Syria* and *Assyria*. (*Cyropad.* 1. (b) *Before*) In his fathers presence. So all interpretours take it: *Augustine* might perhaps vnderstand it, before his father came to *Charra*, which is part of *Chaldæa*. *Charrah* was a city in *Mesopotamia*, where the *Parthians* killed *Crassus* the *Romaine* generall.

*Why there is no mention of Nachor, Tharas sonne, in his departure from Chaldæa to Mesopotamia.* CHAP. 13.

**T**hen the Scripture proceedeth, and declareth how *Thara* and his family left *Chaldæa*, and came (a) into *Mesopotamia*, and dwelt in *Charra*. But of his sonne *Nachor* there is no mention, as if he had not gone with him. Thus saith the Scripture. Thus *Thara* tooke *Abraham* his sonne, and *Lot* his grand-child, *Abrahams* sonne, and *Sara* his daughter in law, his sonne *Abrahams* wife, and hee led them out of the countrey of *Chaldæa*, into the land of *Canaan*, and hee came to *Charra* and dwelt there. Here is no word of *Nachor*, nor his wife *Meicha*. But afterward, when *Abraham* sent his seruant to seeke a wife for his sonne *Isaac*, wee finde it written thus: So the seruant tooke ten of his maisters Camels, and of his Maisters goods with him, and departed and went into *Mesopotamia* into the city of *Nachor*. This place, and others beside, doe prooue, that *Nachor* went out of *Chaldæa* also, and settled him-selfe in *Mesopotamia* where *Abraham* and his father had dwelt. Why did not the Scriptures then remember him, when *Thara* went thence to dwell else-where, when it maketh mention both of *Abraham* and *Lot*, that was but his grand-childe, and *Sara* his daughter in lawe, in this transmigration? what should we thinke but that hee had forsaken his father and brothers religion, and receiued the *Chaldees* superstition, and afterward, either repenting for his fact, or being persecuted by the countrey, suspecting him to bee hollow-hearted, departed thence him-selfe also? for *Holophernes* *Israels* enemy in the booke of *Iudith*, inquiring what nation they were, and whether hee ought to fight against them, was thus answered by *Achior* captaine of the *Ammonites*: Let my Lord heare the word of the mouth of his seruant, and I will shew thee the truth concerning this people that inhabite these mountaines, and there shall no lye come out of thy seruants mouth. This people come out of the stock of the *Chaldæans*, and they dwelt before in *Mesopotamia*, because they would not follow the Gods of their fathers, that were glorious in the land of *Chaldæa*: but they left the way of their ancestors & worshipped the God of heauen, whom they knew: so that they cast them out from the face of their gods, and they fled into *Mesopotamia*, and dwelt there many dayes. Then their God commanded them to depart from the place where they dwelt, and to goe into the land of *Canaan* where they dwelt, and so forth, as *Achior* the *Ammonite* relateth. Hence it is plaine that *Thara* his family were persecuted by the *Chaldæans* for their religion, because they worshipped the true and onely God.

## L. VIVES.

**I**n (a) *Mesopotamia* *Mesopotamia* quasi *inter duas* betweene two seas, for it lay all betweene *Tigris* and *Euphrates*.

Ecc

of

*Of the age of Thara, who liued in Charra vntill his dying day.*

CHAP. 14.

**T**hara dyed in Mesopotamia, where it is said hee liued two hundred and five yeares, and after his death the promises that God made to Abraham began to be manifested: Of Thara, it is thus recorded: *The dayes of Thara were two hundred and five yeares, and hee dyed in Charra.* Hee liued not there all this time, you must thinke, but because he ended his time (which amounted vnto two hundred and five yeares) in that place, it is said so. Otherwise wee could not tell how many yeares he liued, because we haue not the time recorded when he came to Charra: and it were fondnesse to imagine that in that Catalogue where all their ages are recorded, his onely should bee left out: for whereas the Scripture names some, and yet names not their yeares, it is to bee vnderstood, that they belong not to that generation that is so lineally drawne downe from man to man. For the stem that is deriued from Adam vnto Noah, and from him vnto Abraham, names no man without recording the number of his yeares also.

*Of the time wherein Abraham received the promise from God, and departed from Charra.* CHAP. 15.

**B**Vt whereas wee read, that after Thara's death the Lord said vnto Abraham, *Gette thee out of thy countrey, and from thy kindred, and from thy fathers house, &c.* Wee must not thinke that this followed immediately in the times, though it follow immediately in the scriptures, for so wee shall fall into an (b) inextricable doubt: for after these words vnto Abraham, the Scripture followeth thus: *So Abraham departed, as the Lord spake vnto him, and Lot vvent with him: and Abraham was seauentie five yeares old when hee vvent out of Charra.* How can this be true now, if Abraham went not out of Charra vntill after the death of his father? for Thara begot him, as wee said before, at the seauentith yeare of his age: vnto which adde seauentie five yeares, (the age of Abraham at this his departure from Charra) and it maketh a hundred forty five yeares. So old therefore was Thara when Abraham departed from Charra, that city of Mesopotamia: for Abraham was then but seauentie two yeares of age, and his father begetting him when he was seauentie yeares old, must needs bee a hundred fortie five yeares old (and no more) at his departure. Therefore hee went not after his fathers death, who liued two hundred and five yeares, but before, at the seauenty two yeares of his owne age, and consequently the hundred forty five of his fathers. And thus the Scripture (in an vsuall course) returneth to the time which the former relation had gone beyond: as it did before saying, *That the sonnes of Noahs sonnes were diuided into nations and languages, &c.* and yet afterwards adioyneth: *Then the vvhole earth vvas of one language, &c.* as though this had really followed.

How then had euery man his nation and his tongue, but that the Scriptures returne back againe vnto the times ouer-passed. Euen so here, whereas it is said, *the daies of Thara were two hundred & five yeares, and he died in Charra.* & then the scriptures returning to that which ouer-passed to finish the discourse of Thara first: then the Lord laid vnto Abraham: *get thee out of thy country, &c.* after which is added,

So

So Abraham departed as the Lord spake vnto him, and Lot went with him: and Abraham was seauenty yeares old when he went from Charra. This therefore was, when his father was a hundred forty and five yeares of age; for then was Abraham seauenty five. This doubt is also otherwise dissolued by counting *Abrahams* seauenty yeares when he went to Charra, from the time when he was freed from the fire of the Chaldaens and not from his birth, as if he had rather be borne then. But *Saint Stephen* in the *Actes* discoursing hereof, saith thus: *The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charra, and said vnto him, get thee out of thy country from thy kindred and come into the land which I will giue thee.* According to these words of *Stephen* it was not after *Tharas* death that God spake to *Abraham* (for *Thara* died in Charra) but it was before he dwelt in Charra, yet was in Mesopotamia. But he was gone out of Chaldaea first. And whereas *Stephen* saith, *Then came hee out of the land of the Chaldaens and dwelt in Charra*: this is relation of a thing done after those words of God: for hee went out of Chaldaea after God had spoken to him (for hee saith, *God spake to him in Mesopotamia*) but that word, *Then*, compriseth all the time from *Abrahams* departure vntill the Lord spake to him. And that which followeth. *After that his father was dead God placed him in this land wheresh he now dwelleth.* The meaning of the place is. *And God brought him from thence, wher his father dyed afterwards, and placed him here.* So then we iust vnderstand, that God spake vnto *Abraham* being in Mesopotamia, yet not as yet dwelling in Charra: but that he came in to Charra with his father, holding Gods commandement fast, and in the seauenty five yeare of his age departed thence: which was in his fathers a hundred forty five yere. Now hee saith that he was placed in Chanaan (not he came out of Charra) after his fathers death, for when hee was dead, he began to buy land there, and became rich in possessions. But whereas God spake thus to him after hee came from Chaldaea and was in Mesopotamia, *Get thee out of thy country, from thy kindred and from thy fathers house*: this concerned not his bodily remouall (for that hee had done before) but the seperation of his soule from them, for his mind was not departed from them if he euer had any hope to returne, or desired it: this hope and desire by Gods command was to be cut of. It is not incredible that afterwards when as *Nachor* followed his father *Abraham* then fulfilled the command of God, and tooke *Sara* his wife and *Lot* his brothers sonne, and so went out of Charra.

## L. VIVES.

**A**N (*a*) inextricable doubt. ] So *Hierome* calles it and dissolueth it somewhat diuersly from *Augustine*, although hee vse three coniectures. (*b*) *Other-wise dissolued.* ] Thus *Hierome* dissolueth it out of an Hebrew history: for that which we read the country of Chaldaea, the Hebrew hath עיר שדום *Ur Shadim*, that is, the fire of the Chaldaens: herevpon the Hebrewes haue the story: *Abraham* was taken by the Chaldaens, and because he would not worshippe their Idols, namely their fire, he was put into it: from whence God deliuered him by miracle, and the like story they haue of *Thara* also his father, that hee, because he would not adore their images was so serued, and so escaped also: as whereas it is read that *Aram* dyed before his father in the land where hee was borne in the country of the Chaldaens, they say it is, in his fathers presence in the fire of the Chaldaens, wherein because he would not worship it, he was burned to death. And likewise in other places of *Scripture*. *Hierom*, when he comes to this point, saith: *the Hebrew tradition is true, that saith that Thara & his sons came out of the fire of the Chaldaes, & that Abraham being hedged round about in Babidon with the fire which he would not worshippe, was by Gods power deliuered, & from*

The Chaldaens worshippe the fire,



thence are the number of his yeares accounted, because then hee first confessed the *Lord God*, and contemned the Chaldee Idols: Thus saith *Hierome*, without whose relation this place of *Augustine* is not to be understood. *Iosephus* writeth that *Thara* hating *Chaldea*, departed thence for the griefe of his sonne *Arams* death, and came to dwell in *Charra*: and that *Arams* tombe was to be seene in *Vr* of the Chaldees.

*The order and quality of Gods promises made vnto Abraham.*

CHAP. I 6.

**N**OW must we examine the promises made vnto *Abraham*: for in them began the oracles presaging our *Lord Iesus Christ* the true *God*, to appeare: who was to come of that godly people, that the propheties promised. The first of them is this: *The Lord said vnto Abraham: get thee out of thy countrey, and from thy kinned, and from thy fathers house vnto the land that I will shew thee. And I will make of thee a great nation, and will blesse thee, & make thy name great, and thou shalt be blessed, I will also blesse them that blesse thee, and curse them that curse thee, and in them shall all the families of the earth be blessed.* Here wee must obserue a double promise made vnto *Abraham*: the first that his seede should possesse the land of *Canaan*, in these words; *Goe vnto the land that I will shew thee, and I will make thee a great nation*: the second of farre more worth and moment, concerning his spirituall seede, whereby hee is not onely the father of *Israel*, but of all the nations that follow his faith: and that is in these words: *And in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.* This promise was made in *Abrahams* seuentie five yeare, as *Eusebius* (a) thinketh: as if that *Abraham* did presently there-vpon depart out of *Charra*, because the Scripture may not be controuled, that giueth him this many yeares at the time of his departure. But if it were made then, then was *Abraham* with his father in *Charra*: for hee could not depart from thence, vnlesse hee had first inhabited there. Doth not this then contradict *Steuens* saying; *That God appeared vnto him in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charra?* But we must conceiue that this was in one yeare, *Gods* promise to *Abraham* first; *Abrahams* dwelling in *Charra* next, and lastly his departure: not onely because *Eusebius* his computation is thus, accounting foure hundred thirty yeares from this yeare vnto the *Israelites* freedom out of *Egypt*, but also because the Apostle (b) *Paul* mentioneth it like-wise.

L. VIVES.

*Eusebius* (a) thinketh] These are his words: *Arius* the fourth raiging in *Assyria*, and *Thalassion* in *Sycionia*, *Abraham* being seuentie five yeares old, was spoken vnto by *God*, and receiued the promise. (b) *Paul*] *Galat. 3. 17*. The law which was giuen foure hundred and thirty yeares after the promise made vnto *Abraham*.

*Of the three most eminent kingdomes of the world, the chiefe of which in Abrahams time was most excellent of all.* CHAP. I 7.

**A**T this time there were diuers famous kingdoms vpon earth, that is, society of men liuing carnally, & in the seruice of the apostaticall powers, three of which were most illustrious, the (a) *Sycionians*, the (b) *Egyptians* & the *Assyrians*, which was the greatest of all. For *Ninus* the sonne of *Belus*, conquered all *Asia*, excepting *India* only. I do not meane by *Asia* (c) which is now but one prouince of the greater *Asia*, but that which contained it all, which some make the third part of the world, diuiding the whole earth into *Asia*, *Europe* & *Africa*, & some (d) make it the halfe

halfe, diuiding the whole into two onely. Others diuide all into three (*e*) equall parts. Asia in the East, from the North to the South: Europe (*f*) from the North to the West, and (*g*) Africa from the West vnto the South: so that Europe and Africke are but the halfe of the world, and Asia the other halfe: but the two first were made two parts, because (*b*) all the water that commeth from the Ocean, runs in betwixt them two, making (*i*) our great sea. So that diuide but the world into two, and Asia shall be one halfe, and Europe and Africk the other. Therefore Sicyonia, one of the three eminent kingdomes, was not vnder the Assyrian monarchie, for it lay in Europe. But (*k*) Egypt must needs be inferior vnto Assyria, seeing that the Assyrians were Lords of all Asia, excepting India. So then the city of the wicked kept the chiefe court in Assyria: whose chiefe city was Babylon, most fitly called so, that is, *confusion*: and there *Ninus* succeeded his father *Belus*, who had held that souerainty three score and five yeares: and his sonne *Ninus* liued fiftie two yeares, and had reigned fortie and five yeares when *Abraham* was borne, which was about a thousand two hundred yeares before Rome was built, that other Babylon of the West.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (*a*) *Sicyonians*] Sicyon is an ancient city on the left hand as you come into Peloponesus. *Agiatus* (as *Pausanias* and *Eusebius* say) was the first King thereof. Sicyonia is a little country in Achaia, but the kings of it ruled Achaia, and Sycion was their place of abode: It was called Achaia, and *Aegialia* of the Kings thereof in old time. *Pliny*. And all Peloponesus was called there-after. *Euseb.* Afterwards it was called *Apia* of king *Apis* the fourth, and then, *Poloponesus* of *Pelops*, *quasi πηλοποννησος*, *Pelops Ile*, for it is an halfe Iland. *Pausanias* saith that all Peloponesus was not called *Aegialia*, but onely that part towards the sea, *quasi αἰγιαλλῶν, marisimall, or sea-coasting*: and afterwards Sicyonia of King *Sicyon*: of him hereafter. (*b*) *Egyptians*] The *Thebæans* ruled here in those daies, a country in Delta, named so by the rich and mighty city of Thebes. (*c*) *That which*] Of *Asia minor*, hereafter. (*d*) *Some make it*] Some (saith *Salust*) diuided the world but into two parts, Asia and Europe, making Africa a part of Europe. *In Bello Jugurth.* There-vpon *Sylus* saith of Lybia, that it was either a great part of Asia, or the third part of the world: Those that diuide not Africa from Europe doe ground vpon the temperature of the windes, and vpon the heauens: as *Lucane* saith, *lib. 9.*

*Tertia pars rerum Lybie si credere fama,  
Cuncta velis: at si ventos, calumq, sequaris  
Pars erit Europa: nec enim plus littora Nili  
Quam Scythicus Tanais primus à Gadibus absunt.*

Lybia's the worlds third part, or authors lye:  
But if you ground vpon the windes and skie,  
'Tis part of Europe: Tanais shores and Niles,  
Lie a like distant from the Gades Iles.

And so forward vpon this question. (*e*) *Equall*] Some read *vnequall*: better. For Africke is greater then Europe, and Asia greater then both: which lieth in a larger quantity to the East, then Europe, Africa, and the sea betweene them both containeth, as *Mela* saith: but hec followed the olde tradition: for wee haue now discouered a great part of Africa towards the south, vnknowne before. (*f*) *Europe from the North*] On the North side, Europe is bounded with the frozen sea, and the Brittain Ocean. On the West with the Atlantike Ocean: on the South with the Mediterrane sea, and on the East with Hellepont, the two Bosphori, the fennes of Meotis, and the riuer of Tanais. (*g*) *Africa*] *Africa* is bounded on the East with Nilus, on the West with the Atlantike sea, on the North with our sea, and on the south with the Ethiopian Ocean. But thus the old writers vnperfectly limited it, the Portugalles haue discouered it farre more fully.

(b) *All the water*] The *Bruges* copy readeth, because our sea comes from the Ocean betweene them both. The sea that the Greekes and Latines call the Mediterranean sea, is ours, for no other sea comes neare them. It stretcheth (according to *Mela*) from *Hercules* his pillars to the Bay of *Iffus* on the East, to *Meotis* and *Tanais* on the North, lying betweene Europe and Africa in one place, and betweene Europe and Asia in another. (i) *Our great sea*] That which floweth from the Ocean, vpon the coasts of Europe and Africa, and is broadest betweene the bayes of *Liguria* and *Hippon*, where *Augustine* dwelt: who therefore calleth it, *great*. (k) *Egypt must*] *Egypt* was not all Asia, but a part of it, lying from *Nilus* to the East: yet did it not obey the *Assyrians*, but was a mighty kingdome of it selfe, and made great warres vpon *Assyria*, and ouer-ran much of it, if we may giue credence to their bookes.

Egypt

*Of Gods second promise to Abraham, that hee and his seede  
should possesse the land of Canaan.*

CHAP. 18.

**S**O *Abraham* at the seuentie fye yeare of his owne age: and the hundred forty fye of his fathers, left *Charra*, and tooke *Lot* his brothers sonne with him, and *Sara* his wife, and came into the land of *Canaan*, euen vnto (a) *Sichem*, where he receiued this second promise: *The Lord appeared vnto Abraham and said vnto thy seede will I giue this land.* This promise concerned not that seed of his, whereby hee was to become the father of all the nations, but the progenie of his body onely, by *Isaac* and *Israel*: for their seed possessed this land.

Genes. 12.

L. VIVES.

**V**Nto (a) *Sichem*] This lay in the tribe of *Ephraims* part, and *Abimelech* afterwards destroyed it. *Iudg.* 9. 45. It was called *Sicima* in Greeke and Latine, and there remained some memorie of it in *Hieromes* time, in the suburbes of *Neapolis* neare vnto *Iosephs* Sepulcher: there was another *Sichem* also vpon mount *Ephraim*, a citty of the fugitiues. *Hier. de loc. Hebrac.*

Sichem.

*How God preserued Saras chastity in Egypt, when Abraham would not be  
knowne that shee was his wife but his sister.*

CHAP. 19.

**T**HERE *Abraham* built an altar, and then departed and dwelt in a wildernesse, and from thence was driuen by famine, to goe into *Egypt*, where he called his wife his sister, and yet (a) lyed not. For she was his cousin germaine, and *Lot* being his brothers sonne, was called his brother. So that he did onely conceale, and not deny that she was his wife: commending the custody of hir chastitie vnto God, and auoyding mans deceits, as man: for if hee should not haue endeouored to eschew danger as much as in him laye, hee should rather haue become a (b) tempter of GOD, then a truster in him, whereof wee haue disputed against *Fausstus* the *Manichee* his callumnyes. And as *Abraham* trusted vpon God, so came it to passe: for *Pharao* the King of *Egypt*, seeking to haue her to wife, was sore afflicted, and forced to restore her to her husband. Where (c) God forbid that wee should thinke her defiled by him any way: his great plagues that hee suffered would no way permit him to commit any such out-rage.

L. VIVES.

## L. VIVES.

**Y**Et (a) *lied not*] For cousin-germaines are called brethren and sisters, as wee shewed out of Tully. (b) *A temple*] God would be trusted vnto firmly, but no way tempted. *Thou shalt not tempt thy Lord thy God*, saith *Moses* in Deuteronomy, which saying our Saviour Christ made holy vse of *Mat. 4.* (c) *God forbid*] *Hierome* sheweth by the example *Hester*, that the women were kept a full yeare, to be prepared fit for the Kings bed, ere hee touched them: so that *Pharao* might be plagued, and forced to returne *Sara* to her husband in the meane time. God will not be tempted.

*Of the separation of Lot and Abraham without breach of charity or loue betweene them.*

## CHAP. 20.

**S**O *Abraham* departing out of *Egypt* to the place whence hee came, *Lot* (without any breach of loue betweene them) departed to dwell in *Sodome*. For being both very rich, their sheppards and heard-men could not agree, and so to avoide that inconuenience, they parted. For amongst such (as all men are vnperfect) there might no doubt bee some contentions now and then arising: which euill to avoide, *Abraham* said thus vnto *Lot*: *Let there be no strife I pray thee, between thee and me, nor betweene my heardsmen and thine, for we be brethren. Is (a) not the whole land before thee? I pray thee depart from me: if thou wilt take the left hand, I will goe to the right, or if thou wilt goe to the right hand, then I will take the left.* Gen. 13: 8, 9 and hence (b) it may be the world got vppe an honest quiet custome, that the elder should euer-more diuide the land, and the yonger should choose.

## L. VIVES.

**I**S (a) *not*] *Abraham* puttes him to his choice to take where hee would, and hee would take the other. (b) *Hence it may bee*] This was a custome of old, as the declamers lawes confirme, whereof this was one. *Sen. lib. declam. 6.*

*Of Gods third promise, of the land of Canaan to Abraham and his seed for euer* CHAP. 21.

**B**Vt when *Abraham* and *Lot* were parted, & dwelt seuerall, (for necessities sake and not for discord) *Abraham* in *Canaan*, *Lot* in *Sodome*, God spake the third time to *Abraham*, saying: *Lift up thine eyes now, and looke from the place where thou art; North-ward and South-ward, and East-ward, and to (a) the sea, for all the land thou seest will I giue to thee and thy seed for euer: and I will make thy seed as the sands of the earth: so that if a man may number the sands of the earth, then shall thy seed be numbred also: arise walke through the land in the length and breadth thereof, for I will giue it vnto thee.* Gen. 13: Whether these promise concerne his beeing the father of all the nations, it is not euidently apparant. These words, *I will make thy seede as the sands of the sea*, may haue some reference to that: beeing a tropicall phrase of speech which the greekes call (b) *Hyperbole*. But how (c) the scripture vseth this, and the rest: not that hath reade them, but vnderstandeth.

This trope now, is when the wordes doe farre exceede the meaning. For who seeth not that the number of the sands is more then all *Adams* seede can make, from the beginning to the end of the world? how much more then *Abrahams*, though it include both the Israelites, and the beleevues of all other nations? compare this later with the number of the wicked, *(d)* and it is but an handful: though *(e)* this handfull bee such a multitude as holy writ thought to signifie hyperbolically, by the sands of the earth. And indeede the seed promised *Abraham* is innumerable vnto men, but not vnto GOD, *(f)* nor the sands neither: and therefore because not onely the Israelites, but all *Abrahams* seede besides, which hee shall propagate in the spirit, are fitly compared with the sands; therefore this promise includeth both. But this, wee say is not apparant, because his bodily progeny alone, in time amounted to such a number that it filled almost all the world, and so might (by an hyperbole) bee comparable to the sands of the earth, because this multitude is onely innumerable vnto man. But that the land hee spoke of, was onely *Canaan*, no man maketh question. But some may sticke vpon this, *I will giue it to thee and thy seed for ever*: whether hee meane, eternally, here or no. But if we vnderstand this, *Euer*, to be meant vntill the worlds end, as wee doe firmly beleeuue it is, then the doubt is cleared. For though the Israelites bee chased out of *Ierusalem*, yet doe they possesse other citties in *Canaan*, and shall doe vntill the end, and were all the land inhabited with christians, there were *Abrahams* seed, in them.

## L VIVES.

Hyperbole,  
a figure in  
Rhetorike.

[The Lo-  
uainists  
defec-  
tiue.]

**T**O the *(a)* sea] Of Syria, wherein *Abraham* was, our sea is vpon the West, so that hauing named the three quarters of the world before, hee must needs meane that for the westerne sea which *Pliny* calls the Phœnician sea. *(b)* Hyperbole] When our words exceed our meaning. *Quintil. lib. 9. (c)* The scriptures] As in *Hieremy* the twentieth, an Hyperbole of many verses, saith *Hierome* also. *Dan. 4. and Ecclesiastes, 10. The soules of the heauen shall carry thy voice. O-rigen* saith that that place *Rom. 1. 8. your faith is published through all the world*; is an hyperbole. This figure is ordinary in the Ghospell also, and vsed most, to moue the hearers. *Aug. contra Iulian. lib. 5.* [I wonder of some, that had rather haue the scriptures speake rustically then learnedly] *(d)* It is but] *Narrow is the way that leadeth vnto life: and many are called but few are chosen. Mat. 7. 14. (e)* This handfull] So *Iohn* saith that he saw a multitude which no man could number. *Apoc. 7. 9. (f)* Nor the sands] This the oraculous deuill of *Delpho's* (amongst other perticulars of God) ascribed to himselfe: for the *Lydians*, whom *Cresus* sent hether comming into the temple, the *Pythia* spake thus to them from *Apollo*.

*Noni ego arenarum numerum, spaciumq, profundi.*  
My power can count the sands, and found the sea.

*How Abraham ouerthrew the enemies of the Sodomites, freed Lot from captiuitie, and was blessed by Melchisedech the Priest.* CHAP. 22.

**A***brahim* hauing receiued this promise, departed and remained in another place, by the wood of *Mambra*, which was in *Chebron*. And then *Sodome* being spoiled, and *Lot* taken prisoner by five Kings that came against them, *Abraham* went to fetch him backe with three hundred and eightene of those that were

were borne and bred in his house, and ouer-threw those Kings, and set *Lot* at liberty, and yet would take nothing of the spoile though the (a) King for whome he warred proffered it him. But then was hee blessed of *Melchisedech*, who was priest of the high God; of whome there is written in the Epistle to the Hebrews (which (b) the most affirme to bee *Pauls* though some deny it) many and great things. For there the sacrifice that the whole church offereth now vnto GOD, was first apparant, and that was prefigured which was long after fulfilled in *Christ*, of whom the Prophet said, before he came in the flesh: *Thou art a Priest for euer, after the order of Melchisedech*: not after the order of *Aaron*, for that was to be remooued, when the true things came to effect, wherof those were figures

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) King] *Basa* King of Sodome, whose quarrell *Abraham* reuenged, *Gen. 14.* (b) [Which the most] *Hierome*, *Origen*, and *Augustine* do doubt of this Epistle, and so doe others. The (This the Latine Church before *Hierome* held it not canonicall. *Erasmus* disputeth largely and learnedly in the end of his notes vpon it. This bread and wine, was type of the body and bloud of *Christ* that are now offered in those formes. ] out as erroneous.]

*Of Gods promise to Abraham that hee would make his seede as the starres of heauen, and that he was iustified by faith, before his circumcision.*

## CHAP. 23.

**T**Hen the word of the Lord came vnto *Abraham* in a vision, who hauing many great promises made, and yet doubting of posteritie, hee said that *Eliezer* his Steward should be his heyre: but presently hee had an heyre promised him, not *Eliezer*, but one of his owne body: and beside that his seede should bee innumerable, not as the sands of earth now, but as the starres of heauen: wherein the celestiall glory of his posteritie seemes to bee plainly intimated. But as for their number, who seeth not that the sands doe farre exceede the starres? herein you may say they are comparable, in that they are both innumerable. For wee cannot thinke that one can see all the starres, but the earnestest he beholds them, the more hee seeth: so that we may well suppose that there (a) are some that deceiue the sharpest eye, besides those that arise in other (b) horizons out of our sight. Lastly, such as hold and recorde one certaine and definite number of the starres, as (c) *Aratus*, or (d) *Endoxus*, or others, this booke ouer-throweth them wholly. And here is that recorded that the Apostle reciteth in commendation of Gods grace: *Abraham* beleued the Lord, and that was counted vnto him for righteousness, least circumcision should exalte it selfe, and deny the vncircumcised nations accesse vnto *Christ*: for *Abraham* was vncircumcised as yet, when he beleued thus, and it was imputed vnto him for righteousness.

## L. VIVES.

**T**Here are (a) some] In the white circle of heauen, called the milken way, there are a many stars that no eye can distinguish, *Arist.* and others. (b) [Other horizons] There are some stars that are invisible vnto our eyes, that

that neuer appeare vnto vs, as those about the South-pole, *Proclus* and others. Nor doe the Antipodes euer see our *Charles waine*, nor our pole starre, nor the lesse beare, &c. (*c*) *Aratus*] Two famous men there were of this name: one a captaine, who freed his country Sycione from the tyranny of *Nicoles*, the other a Poet of Pompeiopolis a citry of Cilicia, nere vnto which is this *Aratus* his tombe, vpon which if you throw a stone, it will leape off. The reason is vnknowne. He liued in the time of *Antigonus*, King of Macedon, and wrote diuers poemes which *Suidas* reckneth, & amongst others, his *Phanomena*, which *Tully* when he was a youth, translated into latine verses, a fragment of which is yet extant. *Iulius Caesar* (saith *Firmicus*, but the common opinion, and the more true, is, *Germanicus*) put all *Aratus* his workes into a poem; but perhaps *Firmicus* calleth *Germanicus*, *Iulius*. *Anienus*, *Ruffus* in *Hieromes* time made a latine Paraphrase of it. It is strange that *Tully* saith he was no Astronomer in the world, and yet wrote excellent well of the starres, his eloquence was so powerfull. *De Oratore lib. 1.* (*d*) *Eudoxus*] A Carian, borne at Gnidus, an excellent philosopher, and deeply scene in physick and the Mathematiques, he wrote verses of Astrology. *Suidas*. *Plutarch* saith that *Archibias* and he were the first practical Geometricians. *Laertius* saith he first deuised crooked lines. Hee went (saith *Strabo*) with *Plato* into Egypt, and there learnt Astronomic, and taught in a Rocke that bare his name afterwards. *Lucane* signifieth that he wrote calenders, making *Caesar* boast thus at *Cleopatra's* table.

*Nec mens Eudoxi vincetur fastibus annus.*

Nor can *Eudoxus* counts excell my yeare.

Because he had brought the yeare to a reformed course.

*Of the signification of the sacrifice which Abraham was commanded to offer when he desired to be confirmed in the things he beleued.*

CHAP. 24.

**G**OD sayd also vnto him in the same vision: *I am the Lord that brought thee out of the country of the Chaldeans, to giue thee this land to inherite it.* Then said *Abraham*, Lord, how shall I know that I shall inherite it? and God said vnto him, *Take me an heifer of three yeares olde, a shee Goate of three yeares old, a Ramme of three yeares old, a Turtle-dove, and a Pidgeon.* So hee did, and diuided them in the middest, and laid one peece against another, but the birds hee did not diuide. Then came foules, as the booke saith, and fell on the carcasses, and fare therevpon, and *Abraham* (*a*) sate by them: and about sunne-set there fell an heauy sleepe vpon *Abraham*, and loe a very fearefull darkenesse fel vpon him: & God said vnto *Abraham*, *Know this assuredly that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, foure hundred yeares, and they shall serue there, and shall be euill intreated. But the nation whom they shall serue will I iudge, and afterwards they shall come out with great substance. But thou shalt go vnto thy fathers in peace, and shalt die in a good age: and in the fourth generation they shall come hether againe, for the wickednesse of the Ammorites is not yet at full: and when the Sunne went downe there was a darkenesse, and behold a smoking furnace, and a fire-brand went betweene those peeces. In that same day the LORD made a conenant with *Abraham* saying, vnto thy seed haue I giuen this lande from the riuer of Egypt vnto the great riuer of Euphrates, the Chenites, and the Chenezites, and the Cadmonites, the Hittites, the Perezites, the Kephaims, the Ammorites, the Chanaanites, the Gergefites, and the Iebusites: all this did *Abraham* heare and see in his vision: to stand vpon each perticular were tedious, and from our purpose. Sufficeth it, that wee must know that whereas *Abraham* beleued before, and that was counted vnto him for righteoufnesse, he*

he fell not from his faith now, in saying, *LORD, how shall I know that I shall inherit it*: namely that land which GOD had promised him, hee saith not, from whence shall I know? but how, or where by shall I know, by what similitude shall I bee further instructed in my beleefe? Nor did the Virgin *Mary* distrust, saying: *How shall this bee, seeing I know no man?* Shee knew it would bee, but shee LUC. 1. 34. inquired of the manner, and was answered thus, *The Holy Ghost shall descend upon thee, and the power of the most high shall over shadow thee.*

And in this manner had *Abraham* his simylie in his three beasts, his Heifer, his Goate, and Ramme; and the two birdes, the Turtle-doue and the Pidgeon: to leaue that that was to come to passe thus, which hee was firmly perswaded should come to passe some way. Wherefore either the heifer signified the peoples yoake vnder the law, the (b) goate their offending, and the (c) Ramme their dominion ( which three creatures were all three yeares olde, because the three spaces of time beeing so famous which lay from *Adam* to *Noah* from *Noah* to *Abraham*, and from *Abraham* to *Dauid*, who was the first elected King of *Israell* (*Saule* beeing a reprobate) of these three, this third, from *Abraham* to *Dauid* contained *Israells* full growth to glorie): or else they may signify some other thing more conueniently, but without all doubt, the Turtle-doue and the Pidgeon are types of his spirituall seede, and therefore it is sayd, *them hee diuided not*: for the carnall are diuided betweene themselves, but the spirituall neuer: whether they retire themselves from conuersing with the busineses of man, like the (d) Turtle-doue, or liue amongst them (e) like the Pidgeon.

Both these birds are simple, and hurtlesse, signifying that euen in *Israell* who should possesse that land, there should bee indiuiduall sonnes of promise, and heires of the Kingdome of eternity. (f) The birds that fell vpon the sacrifice signified nothing but the ayry powets, that feede vpon the contentions and diuisions of carnall men. But whereas *Abraham* fate by them, that signified that there should bee of the faithfull amongst these contentions, euen vnto the end of the world: and the (g) heauinesse that fell vpon *Abraham* towards *Sunne*-setting: and that fearefull darkenesse, signifieth the sore trouble that the faithfull shall endure towards the end of this world, whereof *CHRIST* sayd in the Gospell: *Then shall be a great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning &c.* And whereas it was sayd to *Abraham*, *know assuredly that thy seede shall bee a stranger &c.* Mat. 24. 21  
Gen. 15 This was a plaine prophecy of *Israells* seruitude in *Egypt*. Not that they were to serue foure hundreded yeares in this slauish affliction; but that within foure hundreded yeares this was to befall them. For as there where it is written of *Thara* the father of *Abraham*, that hee liued in *Charra*, two hundreded and five yeares: Wee must note that hee liued not there all this while, but that there hee ended these his daies, so is it heere sayd, *They shall bee strangers in a Land that is not theirs, foure hundreded yeares*, not that their bondage lasted all this time, but that it was ended at this time: and it is sayd foure hundreded yeares for the fulnesse of the number, although there were some more yeares in the account, whether you reckon from *Abrahams* first receiuing of the promise, or from the birth of his son *Isaac*, the first of the seed vnto whom this was promised; for from *Abrahams* seauenth yeare, wherein as I sayd before he first received the promise, vnto the departure of *Israell* out of *Egypt*, foure hundred & thirty yeares, which the

Apostle



Galat. 3. 17  
 Apostle mentioneth in these words. *This I say, that the law which was foure hundred and thirty years after, cannot disanul the conemant which was confirmed of God before, or make the promise of none effect.* Now these foure hundred and thirty years might haue beene called foure hundred because, they are not much more: especially some of them being past when *Abraham* had this vision, or when *Isaac* was borne vnto his father being then one hundred years old: It being five and twenty years after the promise, so that there remained foure hundred & five years of the foure hundred and thirty that were to come, and those it pleased God to call foure hundred. So likewise in the other words of God, there is no man doubteth but that they belong vnto the people of Israell. But that which followeth: *when the Sunne went downe there was a darkenesse, and behold, a smoking furnace and a firebrand went betweene the peeces*: this signifieth, that in the end, the carnall are to be iudged by the fire: for as the great and exceeding affliction of the *Citty of God*, was signified by the heauinesse that fell vpon *Abraham* towards Sunne-set, that is towards this worlds end: euen so, at Sun-set, that is, at the worlds end, doth this fire signify that fire, that shall purge the righteous and deuoure the wicked: and then the promise made vnto *Abraham*, is a plaine mention of the Land of *Canaan*, naming the eleauen nations thereof from the riuer of *Egypt* vnto the great riuer *Euphrates*. Not from *Nile*, the great riuer of *Egypt*, but from that little one which diuideth *Egypt* and *Palestina*, on whose banke the citty (*h*) *Rhinocorura* standeth.

## L VIVES.

**A** *Brabam* (*a*) [*sate by them*] The vulgar readeth, and *Abraham* droue them away and so hath the Hebrew: *Hier*. But the Seauenty read it *o. v. u. s. i. o. n. s. a. t. e. b. y. t. h. e. m.* (*b*) *The goate their*] This creature is in a perpetuall feuer. *Arist. ex Almaone.* (*c*) *The ramme*] This is the leader of the flock or rather that Kingly ram. *Dan. 8.* (*d*) *The Turtle-dove*] Those (saith *Pliny*) doe hide themselues when they cast their fethers. Neither the Turtle nor the Pigeon (saith *Aelian*) will haue to doe with any but their owne cocke. (*e*) *The Pigeon*] That liueth tamely with vs. (*f*) *The fowles*] This is a type saith *Iosephus* of his cuill neighbours of *Egypt*. (*g*) *Heauinesse*] Some read it sleepe, some an extasie and so the seauenty doe. (*h*) *Rhinocorura*] This word (saith *Hierome*) is not in the Hebrew, but added by the Seauenty to make knowne the place. *Pliny* (*lib. 5.*) calleth it *Rhinocolura*, and placeth it in *Idumæa*, *Strabo*, in *Phznicia*. But without al question the Iewes and the Egyptians claimed it to themselues, and peopled it with the Ethiopians whom they conquered and cut off their noses. *Actisanes* the King of *Ethiopia* (saith *Diodorus Siculus. lib. 2.*) hauing conquered all *Egypt* partly by force, and part by condition, set vp a new lawe for theeues, neither acquitting them, nor punishing them with death, but getting them altogether hee punished them thus: first he cut off their noses, and then forced them to goe into the farthest parts of the deserts, and there he built a citty for them called *Rhinocorura* of there want of noses: and this standeth in the confines of *Egypt* and *Arabia*, voide of all things fit for the life of man, for all the water of the country is salt: and there is but one fountaine wtihin the walls, and that is most bitter, and vnprofitable. Thus saith *Diodorus*.

Rhinocorura,

Of *Agar*, *Sara* her bond-woman, vvhom she gaue as concubine vnto *Abraham*. CHAP. 25.

Gen. 16.

**N**OW follow the times of *Abrahams* sonnes, one of *Agar* the bond-woman, the other of *Sara* the free-woman, of whom we spake also in the last booke: but now for this act, *Abraham* offended not in vsing of this woman *Agar* as a concubine.

concubine: for hee did it for progeny sake, and not for lust, nor as insulting but obeying his wife: who held that it would bee a comfort vnto her barrenesse if she got children from her bond-woman by will, seeing shee could get none of her selfe by nature: vsing that law that the Apostle speaketh of: *The husband hath not power of his owne bodie but the wife*. The woman may procure her selfe children from the wombe of another if shee cannot beare none her selfe. There is neither luxury nor vncleannesse in such an act. The maide was therefore giuen by the wife to the husband, for Issues sake, and for that end hee tooke her: neither of them desire the effects of lust, but the fruites of nature: and when as the bond-woman being now with child beganne to despise her barren mistresse, and Sara suspected her husband for bearing with her in her pride, Abraham shewed, that he was not a captiued loue, but a free father in this, and that it was not his pleasure, but her will that hee had fulfilled, and that by her owne seeking: that he medled with Agar, but yet was no way entangled in affect vnto her: and sowed the seed of future fruite in her, but yet without yeelding to any exorbitant affection to her: for he told his wife: *Thy maide is in thine hand: vse her as it pleaseth thee*. Oh worthy man that could vse his wife with temperance and his seruant with obedience, and both without all touch of vncleannesse!

*Of Gods promise vnto Abraham, that Sara (though she were old) should haue a sonne that should be the father of the nation, and how this promise was sealed in the mystery of circumcision.*

CHAP. 26.

**A**fter this *Ismael* was borne of *Agar* in whome it might bee thought that GODS promise to *Abraham* was fulfilled, who when hee talked of making his Steward his heire, GOD sayd, *Nay, but thou shalt haue an heire of thine owne bodie*. But least hee should build vpon this, in the foure score and nineteene year of his age GOD appeared vnto him saying: *I am the all-sufficient GOD, walke before mee, and bee thou upright: and I will make my couenant betweene mee, and thee, and will multiply thee exceedingly*. Then *Abraham* fell on his face and GOD talked with him saying: *Behold I make my couenant with thee thou shalt bee a father of many nations. Nor shall thy name bee called Abram any more, but Abraham: for a father of many Nations haue I made thee. I will make thee exceeding fruitfull, and many Nations, yea euen Kings shall proceed of thee: And I will establish my couenant, betweene mee and thee, and thy seed after thee in their generations; for an euerlasting couenant to be GOD to thee and thy seed after thee. And I will giue thee and thy seede after thee a Land wherein thou art a stranger, euen all the Land of Canaan for an euerlasting possession, and I wil bee their GOD: and GOD said further vnto Abraham: thou shalt keepe my couenant thou and thy seed after thee in their generations, this is my couenant which thou shalt keepe betweene thee and me, and thy seed after thee: let euery man-child of you bee circumcised: that is, you shall circumcise the fore-skinne of your flesh, and it shalbe a signe of the couenant betweene mee and you. Euery man child of eight daies old amongst you shalbe circumcised in your generation, as well, hee that is borne in thine house, or he that is bought of any stranger which is not of thy seed: both must bee circumcised, so my couenant shalbe eternally in you. But the vncircumcised man-child, and he in whose flesh the fore-skinne is not circumcised, shalbe cut off from his people, because he hath broken my*

fff

couenant.

covenant. And God sayd more vnto Abraham. Sarai thy wife shall bee no more called Sarai, but Sarah, and I will blesse her, and will giue thee a sonne of her, and I will blesse her and she shall be the mother of nations, yea euen of Kings. Then Abraham fell vpon his face and laughed in his heart, saying: Shall he that is an hundred yeares old haue a child? and shall Sarah that is ninety yeares old, beare? and Abraham said vnto God, Oh let Ismael liue in thy sight: and GOD said vnto Abraham: Sarah thy wife shall beare a sonne indeed, and thou shalt call his name Isaac, I will establish my covenant with him as an euerlasting covenant, and I (a) wilbe his GOD, and the GOD of his seed after him: as concerning Ismael I haue heard thee: for I haue blessed him, and will multiply and increase him exceedingly: twelue Princes shall hee beget, and I will make him a great Nation. But my covenant will I establish with Isaac, whom Sarah shall beare vnto the next yeare by this time. Here now is the calling of the Nations plainly promised in Isaac, that is in the son of promise signifying grace, and not nature, for a sonne is promised vnto an old man, by a barren old woman, and although God worketh according to the course of nature, yet where that nature is withered and wasted, there such an effect as this is Gods eident worke, denouncing grace the more apparantly: and because this was not to come by generation, but regeneration afterwards, therefore was circumcision commanded now, when this sonne was promised vnto Sarah: and whereas all children, seruants vnborne, & strangers, are commanded to be circumcised, this sheweth that grace belongeth vnto all the world: for what doth circumcision signifie but the putting off corruption, and the renouation of nature? and what doth the eight day signifie but Christ that rose againe in the end of the weeke, the sabboth being fulfilled? (b) The very names of these parents beeing changed, all signifieth that newnesse, which is shadowed in the types of the old Testament, in which the New one lieth prefigured: for why is it called the Old Testament, but for that it shadoweth the New? and what is the New Testament but the opening of the Old one? Now Abraham is sayd to laugh, but this was the extremitie of his ioy, not any signe of his deriding this promise vpon distrust: and his thoughts beeing these: Shall he that is an hundred yeares old &c. Are not doubts of the euent, but admirations caused by so strange an euent. Now if some stop at that where God saith, he will giue him all the Land of Canaan for an eternall possession, how this may be fulfilled, seeing that no mans progeny can inherite the earth euerlastingly; he must know, that eternall is here taken as the Greekes take *αιωνιος*, which is deriued of (c) *αιων*, that is *seculum*, an age: but the latine translation durst not say *seculare*, here, leaft it should haue beene taken in an other sence: for *seculare* and *transitorium* are both alike vsed for things that last but for a litle space: but *αιωνιος*, is that which is either endlesse at all, or endeth not vntill the worlds end: and in this latter sence is, *eternall*, vsed here.

Circumcision a type of regeneration,

## L. VIVES.

[Wilbe (a) his God] Or, to be his GOD. *δυναστωθεις*. a grecisme, hardly expressed in your latine. (b) The *vey*] The gentiles had also their eight day wherevpon the distinguished the childs name from the fathers. *αιων*] It is *Seculum, etas, annus, & eternitas* in latine. Tully and other great authors translate it all those waies from the grecke.

of

*Of the man-child, that if it were not circumcised the eight day,  
it perished for breaking of Gods couenant.*

CHAP. 27.

**S**OME also may sticke vpon the vnderstanding of these words. *The man child in whose flesh the fore-skinne is not circumcised, that person shalbe cut off from his people, because he had broken my couenant.* Here is no fault of the childes who is here exposed to destruction: he brake no couenant of Gods but his parents, that looked not to his circumcision, vnlesse you say that the yongest child hath broken Gods command and couenant as well as the rest, in the first man, in whom all man-kinde sinned. For there are (a) many Testaments or Couenants of God, besides the old and new, those two so great ones, that euery one may read and know. The first couenant was this, vnto *Adam: Whensoever thou eatest thereof thou shalt die the death*: wherevpon it is written in *Ecclesiasticus: All flesh waxeth old as a garment and it is a couenant from the beginning that all sinners shall die the death*, for whereas the law was afterwards giuen, and that brought the more light to mans iudgement in sinne: as the Apostle saith, *where no law is there is no transgression*: how is that true that the Psalmist said: *I accounted all the sinners of the earth transgressors*, (b) but that euery man is guilty in his owne conscience of some-what that hee hath done against some law? and therefore seeing that little children (as the true faith teacheth) be guilty of originall sinne, though not of actuall, wherevpon wee confesse that they must necessarily haue the grace of the remission of their finnes; then verily in this, they are breakers of Gods couenant, made with *Adam* in paradise: so that both the Psalmists saying, and the Apostles is true: and consequently, seeing that circumcision was a type of regeneration, iustly shall the childes originall sinne (breaking the first couenant that euer was made betweene God and man) cut him off from his people, vnlesse that regeneration engraffe him into the body of the true religion. This then we must conceiue that **GOD** spake: *Hee that is not regenerate, shall perissh from amongst his people, because he hath broke my couenant, in offending me in Adam*. For if he had sayd, *he hath broke this my couenant*, it could haue bene meant of nothing but the circumcision onely: but seeing hee saith not what couenant the child breaketh, we must needes vnderstand him to meane of a couenant liable vnto the transgression of the child. But if any one will tie it vnto circumcision, and say that that is the couenant which the vncircumcised child hath broken, let him beware of absurdity in saying that hee breaketh their couenant which is not broken by him but in him onely. But howsoeuer we shall finde the childes condemnation to come onely from his originall sinne, and not from any negligence of his owne iucurring this breach of the couenant.

Gen. 2, 17  
Eccl. 14, 17

Rom. 4, 15  
Psal. 119

L. VIVES.

**T**HERE (a) are many) *Hierome* hath noted that wheresoeuer the Greekes read *testament*, the Hebrewes read *couenant*: *Berith* is the Hebrew word. (b) *But that*] There is no man so barbarous, but nature hath giuen him some formes of goodnesse in his heart whereby to liue an honest life if he follow them, and if he refuse them, to turne wicked.

*Of the changing of Abram and Sara's names, who being the one too barren, and both too old to have children, yet by Gods bounty were both made fruitfull. CHAP. 28.*

Gen. 17.6, 7. **T**HUS this great and eident promise beeing made vnto *Abraham* in these words: *A father of many nations haue I made thee, and I will make thee exceeding fruitfull: and nations, yea euen Kings shall proceed of thee:* ( which promise wee see most eidently fulfilled in *Christ* ) from that time the man and wife are called no more *Abram* and *Sarai*, but as wee called them before, and all the world calleth them: *Abraham*, and *Sarah*. But why was *Abrahams* name changed? the reason followeth immediately, vpon the change, for, *a father of many nations haue I made thee*. This is signified by *Abraham*: now *Abram* ( his former (a) name ) is interpreted, an high father. But (b) for the change of *Sara's* name, there is no reason giuen: but as they say that haue interpreted those Hebrew names, *Sarai* is my Princeesse: and *Sarah*, strength: wherevpon it is written in the Epistle to the Hebrewes, *By faith Sarah receiued strength to conceiue seed &c.* Now they were both old as the scripture saith, but (c) shee was barren also, and past the age (d) wherein the menstruall bloud floweth in women, which wanting she could neuer haue conceiued although she had not beene barren. And if a woman be well in years, and yet haue that menstruall humour remayning, she may conceiue with a yongman, but neuer by an old: as the old man may beget children, but it must be vpon a young woman, as *Abraham* after *Sarabs* death did vpon *Keturah* because shee was of a youthfull age as yet.

This therefore is that which the Apostle so highly admireth, and herevpon he saith that *Abrahams body was dead*, because hee was not able to beget a child vpon any woman that was not wholly past her age of child-bearing: but onely of those that were in the prime and flowre thereof. For his bodie was not simply dead, but respectiuelly; otherwise it should haue beene a carcasse fit for a graue, not an ancient father vpon earth. Besides the gift of begetting children that *GOD* gaue him, lasted after *Sarabs* death, and he begot diuers vpon *Keturah*, and this cleareth the doubt that his body was not simply dead; I meane vnto generation. But I like the other answer better because a man in those daies was not in his weakest age at an hundred yeares, although the men of our times be so, and cannot beget a child of any woman: they might, for they liued far longer, and had abler bodies then we haue.

### L. VIVES.

**H**is former (a) name] Some Hebrewes say that God put a letter of his name  $\text{m}$  into *Abrahams* name, to wit, the letter  $\text{n}$ . Hierome. (b) For the change] Hierome out of most of the Hebrewes, interpreteth *Sarai*, my Princeesse or Ladie: and *Sarah* a Princeesse or Ladie, for she was first *Abrahams* Lady, and then the Lady of the nations: and *Virtus*, or strength is often taken by diuines for dominion, or principality. Hiero. in *Genes.* Augustine vseth the word in another sence. (c) She was barren] The phisitions hold womens barrennesse to proceede of the defects of the matrix, as if it be too hard, or brawny, or too loose and spongeous, or too fat, or fleshly: *Plutarch.* De phisoph. decret. lib. 5. I omit the simples that beeing taken inwardly procure barrennesse, as the berries of blacke luy, *Cetarach*, or hearts tongue as *Pliny* saith &c.

Sarai.  
Sarah.

Causes of  
barren-  
nesse.

The

The Stoickes say that it is often effected by the contrariety of qualities in the agent & patient at copulation: which being coupled with others of more concordance, do easily become fruitfull, which we may not vnfitly imagine in *Abraham* and *Sarah*, because afterwards hee begot children vpon *Keturah*, vnlesse you winde vp all these matters with a more diuine interpretation. For *Paul* calleth *Abraham*, *νεκροποιος, a dead body, exhaust, and fruitlesse. (d)* *Wherein the menstruall*] Of the menstrues *Pliny* saith thus: Some women neuer haue them: and those are barren. For they are the substance wherein the spermes congeale and ripen: and thereof if they flow from women that are with child, the child borne wilbe either weake and sickly, or els it will not liue long, as *Nigidius* saith. Thus much out of *Pliny. lib. 7.* *Aristotle* saith that all that want these menstruall fluxes are not barren: for they may retaine as much in their places of conception as they doe that haue these purgatiue courses so often. *Histor. animal. lib. 7.*

*Of the three men, or angells wherein GOD appeared to Abraham in the plaine of Mambra. CHAP. 29.*

**G**OD appeared vnto *Abraham* in the plaine of Mambra in three men, who doubtlesse were angells, though some thinke that one of them was *Christ*, and that he was visible before his incarnation. It is indeed in the power of the vnchangeable, vncorporall, and inuisible deity to appeare vnto man visible whensoever it pleaseth, without any alteration of it selfe: not in the owne but in some creature subiect vnto it; as what is it that it ruleth not ouer? But if they ground that one of these three was *Christ*, vpon this, that *Abraham* when hee saw three men, saluted the Lord peculiarly, bowing to the ground at the dore of his *Tabernacle*, and saying, *LORD if I haue found fauour in thy sight &c.* Why doe they not obserue that when two came to destroy *Sodome*, *Abraham* spake yet but vnto one of them that remained (calling him *Lord*, and intreating him not to destroy the righteous with the wicked) and those two were intertained by *Lot*, who notwithstanding called either of them by the name of *Lord*? For speaking to them both, *My Lords* (saith hee) *I pray you turne in vnto your seruants house &c.* Gen. 19 and yet afterwards we reade: and the angells tooke him, and his wife, and his two daughters by the hands, the *Lord* being mercifull vnto him: and they brought him forth, and set him without the citty, and when they had so done, the angells said, *Escape for thy selfe, looke not behind thee, neither tarry in all the plaines, but escape to the mountaines lest thou bee destroyed,* and he sayd, *not so I pray thee my Lord &c.* and afterward, the *Lord* being in these two angells, answered him as in one, saying: *Behold, I haue (a) receiued thy request &c.* and therefore it is far more likely that *Abraham* knew the *Lord* to bee in them all three, and *Lot* in the two, vnto whom, they continually spoke in the singular number, euen then when they thought them to bee men, then otherwise. For they intertained them at first only to giue them meate and lodging in charity, as vnto poore men: but yet there was some excellent marke in them whereby their hoasts might bee assured, that the *Lord* was in them, as he vsed to be in the *Prophets*: and therefore they sometimes called them *Lords* in the plurall number, as speaking to themselues, and sometimes *Lord*, in the singular, as speaking to *God* in them. But the scriptures themselues testifie that they were angells, not onely in this place of *Genesis*, but in the *Epistle to the Hebrewes* where the *Apostle* commending hospitality: (b) *therby some (saith he) haue receiued angells into their houses vnwares:* these three men therefore confirmed the promise of *Isaac* the second time, and said vnto *Abraham*. Heb. 13<sup>2</sup> *He shall be a great and mighty nation, and in him shall the nations of the world be blessed.* Here is a plaine prophecy both of the bodily nation of the *Israelites*, and Gen. 18. 18. the spirituall nations of the righteous.

## L VIVES.

[*Haue (a) receined*] So readeth the vulgar, but not the seauenty. (*b) Thereby some*] I wonder how *Placuerunt* came into the latine vulgar edition: I think the translators made it *Latuerunt* rather, from the greeke *ιαδορ*, but *Augustine* hath translated it the best of all, putting vna-wares for it *ιαδορ*, as the Greekes doe often vse to speake so.

Lots deliuerance : Sodomes destruction : Abimelechs lust,  
Sarahs chastity. CHAP. 30.

**A**fter this promise was *Lot* deliuered out of *Sodome*, and the whole territory of that wicked city consumed by a shower (*a*) of fire from heauen : and all those parts where masculine bestiality was as allowable by custome as any other act is by other lawes . Besides, this punishment of theirs was a type of the day of iudgement : and what doth the angells forbidding them to looke backe, signifie, but that the regenerate must neuer returne to his old courses, if hee meane to escape the terror of the last iudgment? *Lots* wife, where she looked back, there was she fixed, and beeing turned into (*b*) a pillar of salt, serueth to season the hearts of the faithful, to take heed by such example. After this, *Abraham* did with his wife *Sarah* at *Geraris*, in King *Abimelechs* court, as hee had done before in *Egipt*, and her chastity was in like maner preferued, & she returned to her husband. Where *Abraham* when the King chideth him for concealing that shee was his wife, opened his feare, and withal, told him, saying, *she is my sister indeed for she is my fathers daughter but not my mothers, and she is my wife* : and so sice was indeed both these, and withall of such beauty, that she was amiable euen at those years.

## L. VIVES.

**A** Shower (*a*) of fire] Of this combustion many prophane authors make mention. *Strabo* saith that cities were consumed by that fire as the inhabitats thereabout report: the poole that remaineth where *Sodome* stood (the chiefe city) is fixty furlongs about. Many of the also mention the lake *Asphalts* where the *bitumen* groweth. (*b*) *A pillar*] *Iosephus* saith he did see it.

Of *Isaac*, borne at the time prefixed, and named so, because of his  
parents laughter. CHAP. 31.

**A**fter this *Abraham* according to Gods promise, had a son by *Sarah*, and called him *Isaac*, that is, *Laughter*: for his father laughed for ioy and admiration when he was first promised : and his mother when the three men confirmed this promise againe laughed also, betweene ioye, and doubt : the Angell shewing her that her laughter was not faithfull, though it were ioyfull . Hence had the child his name : for this laughter belonged not to the recording of reproach, but to the celebration of gladnesse, as *Sarah* shewed when *Isaac* was borne and called by this name : for she said, *God hath made me to laugh, and all that heare me will reioyce with me* : and soone after the bond-woman and her son is cast out of the house in signification of the old Testament, as *Sarah* was of the new (as the Apostle saith) and of that glorious *City of God*, the Heauenly *Ierusalem*.

Abrahams

Abrahams faith and obedience prooued in his intent to offer his sonne:  
Sarahs death. CHAP. 32.

**T**O omit many accidents for breuities sake, *Abraham* ( for a triall ) was commanded to goe and sacrifice his dearest sonne *Isaac*, that his true obedience might shew it selfe to all the world in that shape, which *GOD* knew already that it bare. This now was an inculpable temptation ( and some such there bee ) and was to bee taken thankfully, as one of *Gods* trialls of man. And generally mans minde can neuer know it selfe well, but putting forth it selfe vpon trialls, and experimentall hazards, and by their euent it learneth the owne state, wherein if it acknowledge *Gods* enabling it, it is godly, and confirmed in solidity of grace, against all the bladder-like humors of vaine-glory. *Abraham* would neuer beleue that *God* could take delight in sacrifices of mans flesh; though *Gods* thundring commands are to bee obeyed, not questioned vpon, yet is *Abraham* commended for hauing a firme faith and beleefe, that his sonne *Isaac* should rise againe after hee were sacrificed. For when he would not obey his wife in casting out the bond-woman and hir sonne, *God* said vnto him: *In Isaac shall thy seede* Rom. 9. *bee called:* and addeth: *Of the bond-womans sonne will I make a great nation also, because hee is thy seede:* How then is *Isaac* onely called *Abrahams* seede, when *God* calleth *Ismael* so likewise? The Apostle expoundeth it in these words: 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.* And thus are the sonnes of promise called to be *Abrahams* seede in *Isaac*, that is gathered into the Church by *Christ* his free grace and mercy. This promise the father holding fast, seeing that it must bee fulfilled in him whom *God* commanded to kill, doubted not but that that *God* could restore him after sacrificing, who had giuen him at first beyond all hope. So the Scripture taketh his beleefe to haue beene, and deliuereth it. *By faith (a)* Hebr. 11. *Abraham offered vp Isaac when hee was tryed: and hee that had receiued the promises offered his onely sonne:* to whom it was said, *in Isaac shall thy seede bee called:* for hee considered that *God* was able to raise him from the dead: and then followeth, *for when hee receiued him also in a sort:* in what sort but as hee receiued his sonne, of whom it is said; *who spared not his owne sonne, but gaue him to dye for vs all:* Rom. 8. And so did *Isaac* carry the wood of sacrifice to the place, euen as *Christ* carried the crosse: Lastly, seeing *Isaac* was not to be slain indeed, and his father commanded to hold his hand, who was that Ram that was offered as a full ( and typicall ) sacrifice? Namely that which *Abraham* first of all espied entangled (b) in the bushes by the hornes. What was this but a type of *Iesus Christ*, crowned with thornes ere hee was crucified? But marke the Angels words, *Abraham* (saith the Scriptures) *lift vp his hand and tooke the knife to kill his sonne:* But the Angell of the *Lord* called vnto him from heauen saying, *Abraham?* and he answered, *Here Lord:* then he said: *Lay not thy hand vpon thy sonne, nor doe any thing vnto him, for now I know thou fearest God, seeing that for my sake thou hast not spared thine onely sonne.* Now I know, that is, now I haue made knowne: for *God* knew it ere now. And then *Abraham* hauing offered the Ram for his sonne *Isaac*, called the place (c) *the Lord hath seene:* as it is said vnto this day: *in the mount hath the Lord appeared,* & the Angels of the *Lord* called vnto *Abraham* againe out of heauen, saying: *By my selfe haue I sworne (saith the Lord) because thou hast done this thing & hast not spared thine onely sonne for me: surely I will blesse thee & multiply thy seed*

as



as the starres of heauen or the sands of the sea, and thy seed shall possesse the gate of his enemies: and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because thou hast (d) obeyed my voyce. This is that promise sworne vnto by God concerning the calling of the Gentiles after the offering of the Ram, the type of Christ. God had often promised before, but neuer sworne. And what is Gods oth but a confirmation of his promise and a reprehension of the faithlesse? after this died Sara being a hundred twenty seauen yeares old, in the hundred thirty seauen yeare of her husbands age, for hee was ten yeares elder then she: as he shewed when Isaac was first promised, saying, shall I that am a hundred yeares old haue a child? and shall Sarah that is foure score and tenne yeares old, beare? and then did Abraham buy a peece of ground and buried his wife in it: and then (as Stephen sayth) was hee seated in that land: for then began hee to be a possessor, namely after the death of his father who was dead some two yeares before.

## L. VIVES.

God will see in the Mountan Hebrew prouerbe.

**B**R (a) faith.] A diuersty of reading in the text of Scripture [therefore haue wee followed the vulgar.] (b) in the bushes.] This is after the seauenty, and Theodotion, whose translation Hierome approues before that of Aquila, and Symachus. (c) The Lord hath seene.] The Hebrew (saith Hierome) is shall see. And it was a prouerbe vsed by the Hebrewes in all their extremitics, wishing Gods helpe to say, In the mount, the Lord shall see: that is, as hee pitied Abraham, so will hee pittie vs. And in signe of that Ramme that God sent him, they vse vnto this day to blow an horne, thus much Hierome. In Spaine this Prouerbe remaineth still, but not as Augustine taketh it; The Lord wilbe altogether seene, but in a manner, that is, his helpe shall bee seene. (d) Obeyed.] Ob-audisti, and so the old writers vsed to say in steed of obedisti.

## Of Rebecca Nachors neece whome Isaac married.

## CHAP. 33.

**T**HEN Isaac being forty yeares old married Rebecca, neece to his vnclc Nachor three yeares after his mothers death, his father being a hundred and forty yeares old. And when Abraham sent his seruant into Mesopotamia to fetch her, and said vnto him, Put thine hand vnder my thigh, and I will sweare thee by the Lord God of heauen and the Lord of earth that thou shalt not take my sonne Isaac a wife of the daughters of Canaan: what is meant by this, but the Lord God of Heauen and the Lord of Earth that was to proceed of those loynes? are these meane prophesies and presages of that which wee see now fulfilled in Christ.

## Of Abraham marrying Kethurah after Sarahs death, and the meaning therefore. CHAP. 34.

**B**Vt what is ment by Abrahams marrying Kethurah after Sarahs death? God defend vs from suspect of incontinency in him, being so old, and so holy and faithfull: desired he more sonnes, God hauing promised to make the seed of Isaac as the stars of Heauen and the sandes of the Earth? But if Agar and Hismaell did signifie the

the mortalls to the Old-testament (as the Apostle teacheth) why may not *Kethurah* and her sonnes, signifie the mortalls belonging to the New. testament. They both were called *Abrahams* wiues, & his concubines. But *Sarah* was neuer called his concubine, but his wife only for it is thus written of *Sarabs* giuing *Agar* vnto *Abrahā*. Then *Sarah*, *Abrahams* wife tooke *Agar* the *Egyptian* her maide, after *Abraham* had dwelled tenne yeares in the land of *Canaan*, and gaue her to her husband *Abraham* for his wife. And of *Kethurah* wee read thus of his taking her after *Sarabs* death: Now *Abraham* had taken him another wife called *Kethurah*: Here now you heare them both called his wiues: but the Scripture calleth them both his concubines also, saying afterwards, *Abraham* gaue all his goods vnto *Isaac*, but vnto the sonnes of his concubines he gaue guiftes, and sent them away from *Isaac* his sonne (while he yet liued) Eastward, into the East country. Thus the concubines sonnes haue some guifts but none of them attayne the promised kingdome, neither the carnall Iewes, nor the heretiques, for none are heyres but *Isaac*: nor are the sonnes of the flesh the Sonnes of God, but those of the promise; of whome it is said: *In Isaac shall be called thy seede*: for I cannot see how *Kethurah* whome hee married after *Sarabs* death should bee called his concubine but in this respect. But hee that will not vnderstand these things thus, let him not slander *Abraham*: for what if this were appointed by God, to shew (a) those future heretiques that deny second mariage in this great father of so many nations, that it is no sinne to marry after the first wife be dead: now *Abraham* died, being a hundred seauenty five yeares old, and *Isaac* (whome hee begat when hee was a hundred:) was seauenty five yeares of age at his death.

Gen. 25. 1

## L. VIVES:

**T**hose (a) future. ] The *Cataphrygians*, that held second mariage to bee fornication. *Aug* [The lo-  
*ad quod vult* [ *Hierome* against *Iovinian*, doth not onely abhorre second mariage but euen  
 disliketh of the first: for he was a single man, and bare mariage no good will, ]

Second  
 mariage.  
 [The lo-  
 uaine co-  
 py defe-  
 ctive.]

*The appointment of God concerning the two twins in Rebeccas womb.*

## CHAP. 33:

**N**OW let vs see the proceedings of the *Citty of God* after *Abrahams* death. So then from *Isaacs* birth to the sixtith yere of his age (wherin he had children) there is this one thing to be noted, that when as he had prayed for her frutesfulness (who was barren) and that God had heard him, and opened her wombe, and shee conceiued, the two twins (a) played in her wombe: where-with she being troubled, asked the Lords pleasure, and was answered thus: *Two nations are in thy wombe, and two manner of people shall be diuided out of thy bowells, and the one shall bee mightier then the other, and the elder shall serue the younger.* Wherin *Peter* the Apostle vnderstandeth the great mystery of grace: in that ere they were borne, and either done euill or good, the one was elected and the other reiected: and doubtlesse as concerning originall sin, both were alike, and guilty, and as concerning actuall, both alike and cleare. But myne intent in this worke

Gen. 25.

worke, curbeth mee from further discourse of this point: wee haue handled it in other volumes. But that saying; *The elder shall serue the yonger*: all men interpret of the Iewes seruing the Christians, and though it seeme fulfilled in (b) *Idumaea*, which came of the elder, *Esau* or *Edom*, (for hee had two names) because it was afterward subdued by the Israelites that came of the yonger, yet notwithstanding that prophecy must needs haue a greater intent then so: and what is that but to be fulfilled in the Iewes and the Christians?

## L. VIVES.

**T**He two twinnes (a) played ] So say the seauentie, *ἐκίπουν* or *kicked*. Hierome saith *mooned; mouebantur*. Aquila saith, *were crushed: confringebantur*. And *Symmachus* compareth their motion to an emptie ship at sea: *ἐπιπλεον*. (b) *Idumaea* ] *Stephanus* deriueth their nation from *Idumeas*, *Semiramis* her sonne, as *Iudaea* from *Iudae*, another of her sonnes: but he is deceiued.

*Of a promise and blessing receiued by Isaac, in the manner that Abraham had receiued his.* CHAP. 36.

**N**OW Isaac receiued such an instruction from God, as his father had done diuerse times before. It is recorded thus: *There was a famine in the land besides the first famine that was in Abrahams time: and Isaac went to Abymelech, king of the Philistines in Gerara. And the Lord appeared vnto him and said: Goe not downe into Egypt, but abside in the land which I shall shew thee: dwell in this land, and I will bee with thee and blesse thee: for to thee and to thy seed will I giue this land, and I will establish mine oath which I sware to Abraham thy father: and will multiply thy seede as the starres of heauen, and giue all this land vnto thy seede: and in thy seede shall all the nations of the earth bee blessed, because thy father Abraham obeyed my voyce, and kept my ordinances, my commandments, my statutes, and my lawes*: Now this Patriarch had no wife nor concubine more then his first, but rested content with the two sonnes that God sent him at one birth. And hee also feared his wiues beautie, amongst those strangers, and did as his father had done before him, with her, calling her sister onely, and not wife. She was indeed his kinswoman both by father and mother: but when the strangers knew that she was his wife, they let her quietly alone with him. Wee not preferre him before his father tho, in that hee had but one wife: with-out all doubt his fathers obedience was of the greater merite, so that for his sake God saith that hee will doe Isaac that good that he did him. *In thy seede shall all the nations of the world bee blessed*, saith he, *because thy father Abraham obeyed my voyce, &c.* Againe: (saith he) *the God of thy father Abraham, feare not: for I am with thee, and haue blessed thee, and will multiply thy seede, for Abraham thy Fathers sake.* To shew all those carnally minded men that thinke it was lust that made Abraham doe as it is recorded, that hee did it with no lust at all, but a chaste intent: teaching vs besides that wee ought not compare mens worths by singularitie, but to take them with all their qualities together. For a man may excell another in this or that vertue, who excelleth him as farre in another as good. And al-be-it it be true that continence is better then marriage: yet the faithfull married man is better then the continent Infidell: for such an one (a) is not onely not to be praised for his continencie since he beleeueth not, but rather highly to bee dispraised for not beleeuing, seeing hee is continent.

But

But to grant them both good, a married man of great faith and obedience in Iesus Christ is better then a continent man with lesse: but if they be equall, who maketh any question that the continent man is the more excellent.

## L. VIVES.

**S**uch an (a) One is not.] Herein is apparant how fruitlesse externall workes are without the dew of grace do ripen them in the heart. the *Bruges* copy readeth not this place so well in my iudgement.

Of Esau and Iacob, and the misteries included in them both.

## CHAP. 27.

**S**O Isaacs two sonnes, *Esau* and *Iacob*, were brought vp together: now the yonger got the birth-right of the elder by a bargaine, made for (a) lentiles and potage which *Iacob* had prepared, & *Esau* longed for exceedingly, & so sold him his birth-right for some of them, and confirmed the bargaine with an oth. Here now may we learne that it is (b) not the kind of meate, but the gluttonous affect that hurts. To proceed? *Isaac* growes old, and his sight fayled him, he would willingly blesse his elder sonne, and not knowing, he blessed the yonger, who had counterfeited his brothers roughnesse of body by putting goats skins vpon his necke and hands and so let his father feele him. Now least some should thinke that this were (c) fraudulent deceit in *Iacob*; the Scripture saith before: *Esau was a cunning hunter, and liued in the fieles, but Iacob was a simple playne man, and kept at home.* (d), ἀπλῆστος, deceptlesse, one without counterfeyting: what was the deceit then of this plaine dealing man in getting of this blessing? what can the guile of a guiltlesse, true-hearted soule be in this case, but a deepe mistery of the truth? what was the blessing? Behold (saith he) *the smell of my sonne is as the smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed; God giue thee therefore of the dew of heauen and the fatnesse of earth and plenty of wheate and wine: let the nations bee thy seruants, and Princes bow downe vnto thee, bee Lord ouer thy bretheren, and let thy mothers children honor thee: cursed be he that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee.* Thus this blessing of *Iacob*, is the preaching of Christ vnto all the nations. This is the whole scope, in *Isaac* is the law and the prophets, and by the mouths of the Iewes is Christ blessed, vnknown to them because hee knoweth not them. The odour of his name fills the world like a field, the dew of heauen, is his diuine doctrine, the fertile earth is the faithfull Church, the plenty of wheat and wine is the multitude ingrafted in Christ by the sacraments of his body and blood. Him do nations serue and Princes adore. Hee is Lord ouer his brother, for his people rule over the Iewes. The sonnes of his father that is *Abrahams* sonnes in the faith, doe honour him. For hee is *Abrahams* sonne in the flesh, *cursed bee hee that curseth him, and blessed be he that blesseth him.* Christ I meane, our Sauour, blessed. That is truely taught by the Prophets of the wondrous Iewes: and is still blessed by others of them that as yet erroneously expect his comming. And now comes the elder for the blessing promised: then is *Isaac* afraid, and knowes hee had

blessed

blesed the one for the other. Hee wonders, and asketh who he was, yet complaineth hee not of the deceit, but hauing the mysterie thereof opened in his heart, hee forbeares fretning and confirmeth the blessing. *Who was hee then (saith he) that hunted and tooke venison for me, and I haue eaten of it all before thou camest, and I haue blessed him, and hee shall bee blessed? Who would not haue here expected a curse rather, but that his minde was altered by a diuine inspiration? O true done deedes, but yet all propheticall: on earth but all by heauen! by men, but all for God! whole volumes would not hold all the mysteries that they conceiue: but wee must restraîne our selues. The processe of the worke calleth vs on vnto other matters.*

### L. VIVES.

*Lenticula,*  
what it is.

**F**Or (a) *lenticilæ*] There is *lenticula*, a vessell of oyle, and *lenticula* of *lens*, a little fitchie kinde out of the mouth, it is so strait. But the scriptures say, that they were onely read potage that *Esau* solde his birth-right for: and therefore hee was called *Edom*, redde. (b) *Not the kinde of*] This is a true precept of the Euangelicall lawe. Heere I might inscribe much, not allow the commons any licentiousnesse, but to teach the rulers diuerse things which I must let alone for once. (c) *Fraudulent decept*] For decept may be either good or bad.

*Of Iacobs iourney into Mesopotamia for a wife, his vision in the night, as hee went: his returne with foure women, whereas he went but for one.*

### C H A P. 38.

**I**acobs parents sent him into Mesopotamia, there to get a wife. His father dismissed him with these words. *Thou shalt take thee no wife of the daughters of Canaan: Arise get thee to Mesopotamia to the house of Bathuel, thy mothers father, and thence take thee a wife of the daughters of Laban thy mothers brother. My GOD blesse thee, and increase thee, and multiply thee, that thou maist bee a multitude of people: and giue the blessing of Abraham to thee and to thy seede after thee, that thou maiest inherite the land (wherein thou art a stranger) which God gaue Abraham.* Heere wee see *Iacob*, the one halfe of *Isaacs* seede, seuered from *Esau* the other halfe. For when it was said: in *Isaac* shall thy seed bee called, that is, the seed pertaining to Gods holy Cittie, then was *Abrahams* other seede, (the bond-womans sonne) seuered from this other, as *Kethurahs* was also to bee done with afterwards. But now there was this doubt risen about *Isaacs* two sonnes, whether the blessing belong but vnto one, or vnto both: if vnto one onely, vnto which of them? This was resolued when *Isaac* said; *That thou maist bee a multitude of people, and God giue the blessing of Abraham vnto thee: namely to Iacob.* Forward: *Iacob* going into Mesopotamia, had a vision in a dreame, recorded thus: *And Iacob departed from Beerseba, and came to Charra: and he came to a certaine place and tarried there all the night, because the sunne was downe, and he tooke of the stones of the place, and laide under his head, and slept. And he dreamed, and behold a ladder, and the top of it reached up to heauen, and loe the Angels of God went up and downe by it, and the Lord stood aboue it and said: I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and of Isaac, feare not: the land on which thou sleepest, will I giue thee and thy seede, and thy seede shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt spread (b) over the sea, the East, the North,*

North, and the South. And lo I am with thee and will keepe thee where soeuer thou goest, and will bring thee againe into this land, for I will not forsake thee, vntill that I haue performed that I promised vnto thee. And Iacob arose from his sleepe, and said: Surely the Lord is in this place and I was not a ware, and he was afraid and said. O how terrible is this place! surely this is none other but the house of God and the gate of heauen. And he arose vp and tooke the stone that he had layd vnder his head and set it vp like a (c) Title and powred oyle vpon the tope of it, and called the name of that place (d) the house of God. This now was propheticall: he did not Idolatrize in powring oyle on the stone, nor made it a God, nor adored it, nor sacrificed vnto it, but because the (e) name of Christ was to come of *Chrisma*, that is vnction, of that was this a very significant mistery. Now for the ladder, our Sauour himselfe mentioneth it in the gospel, for hauing sayd of *Nathanael*, behold a true *Israélite*, wherein there is no guile (because Israel, that is, Iacob saw this sight) he addeth, *Verrily, verely I say vnto you hereafter you shall see heauen open and the Angelis of God ascending and descending vpon the sonne of man*, But forward. Iacob went into Mesopotamia to seeke a wife; where he happened to haue foure women giuen him, of whome he begat twelue sonnes and one daughter, without affecting any of them lustfully as the scripture sheweth, for he came but for one, and being deceiued by one for another, he would not turn her away whom he (f) had vnwittingly knowne, least he should seeme to make her a mocking stocke, and so because the law at that time did not prohibite plurality of wiues for increase sake, hee tooke the other also whome he had promised to marry before: who being barren, gaue him her maid to beget her children vpon, as her sister had done, who was not baren and yet did so to haue the more children. But Iacob neuer desired but one: nor vsed any but to the augmentation of his posterity and that by law of marriage nor would he haue done this, but that his wiues vrged it vpon him, who had lawfull power of his body because he was their husband.

## L. VIVES.

**B**Esheba, (a) and. ] The seauenty read it *the well of the swearing*: the Hebrew interpreted it, *well of the fulnesse* and *Aquila* and *Symmachus* do both follow the last: *Hierome*. But the *well of fulnesse* that *Isaacs* seruants digged is not the same with the *well of swearing* that *Abraham* digged, and named *the well of the othe*, or couenant which he made with *Abymilech*, giuing him seauen lambes: for *Sheba* is either an oth or seauen: yet both these wells were in one city. (b) *Ouer the sea.* ] This is no signification of power ouer the sea by nauy or so: but it signifieth the West (as I said before) or Syrian sea, next vnto ours, to shew the foure parts of the world. (c) *A title.* ] The seauenty read, *στύλη*, a pillar, and that is better then a title. (d) *The house of God.* ] The next village was called *Bethel*, being before called *Luz*, now the house of God, before a *nütte*. It was in the portion of *Beniamine*, betweene *Bethau*, and *Gai*. (e) *The name of Christ.* ] *χριστος* in Greeke is *unctus* in Latine: [anoynted in English] and *χρισμα* is, *vnction*. (f) *One for an other.* ] *Lea* the eldest daughter for *Rachel* the yonger. Gen. 29.

Iacob enstiled Israell. The reason of this change.

## CHAP. 39.

**O**F these foure women Iacob begot twelue sonnes and one daughter. And then came the entrance into Egypt by his sonne *Ioseph*, whome his brethren enuied, and sold therher, who was preferred there vnto great dignity. Iacob was

Ggg

also

also called *Israel* (as I said before) which name his progenie bore after him. This name, the Angell that wrestled with him as hee returned from Mesopotamia, gaue him, being an euident type of *Christ*. For whereas *Jacob* preuailed against him, by (a) his owne consent, to forme this mysterie, is signified the passion of *Christ*, wherein the Iewes seemed to preuaile against him. And yet *Jacob* gotte a blessing from him whom he had ouer-come: and the changing of his name was that blessing: for (b) *Israel* is as much as, *seeing God*, which shall come to passe in the end of the world. Now the Angell touched him (preuailing) vpon the breadth of his thigh, and so he became lame: So the blessed and the lame was all but one

*Jacob* blef-  
sed & lame.  
Psal. II.

*Jacob*: blessed in his faithfull progenie, and lame in the vnfaithfull. For the breadth of his thigh is the multitude of his issue: of which the greatest part (as the Prophet saith) haue halted in their wayes.

### L. VIVES.

*Israel*.

By his (a) owne consent ] For otherwise, the Angel could not onely haue conquered him, but euen haue killed him. (b) *Israel* is as much ] *Hierome* liketh not this interpretation, nor to call him the Prince of God, nor the direct of God, but rather the most iust man of God. *Iosephus* taketh it to be vnderstood of his preuailing against the Angel. *De Antiquit. Iudaic.*

*Jacobs departure into Egypt with seauentie five soules, how to be taken, seeing some of them were borne afterwards.* CHAP. 40.

IT is said there went with *Jacob* into Egypt seauentie five soules, counting himselfe and his sonnes, his daughter and his neece. But if you marke well, you shall finde that hee had not so numerous a progenie at his entrance into Egypt. For in this number are *Iosephs* grand-children reckoned, who could not then bee with him. For *Jacob* was then a hundred and forty yeares old, and *Ioseph* thirty nine, who marrying (as it is recorded) but at thirty yeares old, how could his sonnes in nine yeares haue any sonnes to increase this number by? Seeing then that *Ephraim* and *Manasses*, *Iosephs* sonnes, had no children, being but nine yeares of age at this remooue of *Jacobs* stock, how can their sonnes sonnes, or their sonnes be accompted amongst the seauentie five that went in this company vnto Egypt? for there is *Machir* reckoned, *Manasses* his sonne, and *Galaad*, *Machirs* sonne, and there is *Ytalaam*, *Ephraims* sonne reckoned, & *Bareth*, *Ytalaams* sonne: Now these could not be there, *Jacob* finding at his comming that *Iosephs* children, the fathers and grand-fathers of those foure last named, were but children of nine yeares old at that time. But this departure of *Jacob* thether with seauentie five soules, conteineth not one day, nor a yeare, but all the time that *Ioseph* liued afterwards, by whose meanes they were placed there: of whome the Scripture saith; *Ioseph dwelt in Egypt, and his brethren with him a hundred yeares, and Ioseph saw Ephraims children euen vnto the third generation*: that was vntill hee was borne who was *Ephraims* grand-child: vnto him was he great grand-father. The scripture then proceedeth: *Machirs* sonnes (the sonne of *Manasses*) were brought vp on *Iosephs* knees. This was *Galaad*, *Manasses* his grand-child: but the scripture speaketh in the plurall, as it doth of *Jacobs* one daughter, calling her daughters, as the (a) Latines vse to call a mans onely child if hee haue no more, *liberi*, children. Now *Iosephs* felicitie being so great as to see the fourth from him in discent, wee may not imagine that they were all borne when hee was but thirty nine yeares old, at which time his father came into Egypt: & this is that that deceiued the ignorant because

because it is written; *These are the names of the children of Israel which came into Egypt with Iacob their father.* For this is said because the seauentie fiue are reckoned with him, not that they all entred Egypt with him. But in this transmigration and setling in Egypt, is included all the time of *Iosephs* life, who was the meanes of his placing here.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) *Latinos* ] *Sempronius Asellio* called *Sempronius Gracchus* his onely sonne, *liberi*: *Liberi*, how vled by the Latines, and it was an vsuall phrase of old. *Gell. & Herenn. Digest. lib. 50.*

*Iacobs blessing vnto his sonne Iudah.*

## CHAP. 41.

**S**O then if wee seeke the fleshy descent of *Christ* from *Abraham* first ( for the good of the *Citty of God*, that is still a pilgrim vpon earth ) *Isaac* is the next: and from *Isaac*, *Iacob* or *Israel*, *Esau* or *Edom* being reiected: from *Israel*, *Iudah* (all the rest being debarred) for of his tribe came *Christ*. And therefore *Israel* at his death blessing his sonnes in Egypt, gaue *Iudah* this propheticall blessing: *Iudah* Gen. 49:  
 (a) *thy bretheren shall praise thee: thine hand shall bee on the neck of thine enemies: thy fathers sonnes shall adore thee. As a Lyons whelp (Iudah) shalt thou come vp (b) from the spoile, my sonne. Hee shall lye downe and sleepe as a Lyon, or a Lyons whelp, who shall rouse him? The scepter shall not depart from Iudah, nor a law-giuer from betweene his feete, vntill Shiloe come, and the people bee gathered vnto him. Hee shall binde his Asses sole vnto the Vine, and his Asses colt (c) with a rope of hayre: he shall wash his stole in wine, and his garment in the bloud of the grape, his eyes shall be redde with wine, and his teeth white with milke.* These I haue explained against *Faustus* the Manichee, as farre, I thinke, as the Prophecie requireth. Where *Christs* death is presaged in the worde *sleepe*, as not of necessitie, but of his power to dye, as the Lion had to lye downe and sleepe: which power him-selfe auoweth in the Gospell; *I haue* Ioh. 10. 17.  
*power to lay downe my life, and power to take it againe: no man taketh it from mee but* 18.  
*I lay it downe of my selfe, &c.* So the Lion raged, so fulfilled what was spoken: for that same, *who shall rouse him?* belongeth to the resurrection: for none could raise him againe, but he himselfe that said of his body: *Destroy this temple and in* Ioh. 2. 19.  
*three dayes I will raise it up againe.* Now his manner of death vpon the high crosse, is intimated in this: *shalt thou come vp:* and these words, *Hee shall lye downe and* Ioh. 19. 30  
*sleepe,* are euen these: *Hee bowed downe his head and gaue vp the ghost.* Or it may meane the graue wherein hee slept, and from whence none could raise him vp, as the Prophets and he him-selfe had raised others, but him-selfe raised him-selfe as from a sleepe. Now his stole which hee washeth in wine, that is, cleanseth from sinne, in his bloud ( intimating the sacrament of baptisme, as that addition, *And his garment in the bloud of the grape,* expresseth ) what is it but the Church? and *eyes being redde with wine:* are his spirituall sonnes that are drunke with her cup, as the Psalmist saith: *My cup runneth ouer;* and his teeth whiter then the milke, are his nourishing wordes where-with hee feedeth his little weaklings as with milke. This is he in whome the promises to *Iudah* were laide vp, which vntill they came, there neuer wanted kings of Israell of the stock of *Iudah*. And vnto him shall the people bee gathered: this is plainer to the sight to conceiue, then the tongue to vtter.



## L. VIVES.

**Iudab.** **I**uda (a) thy brethren] *Iudab* is praise or confession. (b) From the spoile] From captiuitie saith the Hebrew: all this is meant of *Christs* leading the people captiue, his high and sacred ascension, and the taking of captiuitie captiue. *Hierome.* (c) With a rope of hayre] With a rope onely say some: and his asses colte vnto the best wine, saith *Hierome* from the Hebrew. And for this Asses colte (saith he) may be read the *City of God*, (whereof we now speake) the seuentie read it *iluu*: to the vine branch, *uē* is the twift of the Vine as *Theophrastus* saith: and thence haue the two kindes of luy their names. *Dioscor. Plin.* so might *cilicium* come into the Latine text that *Augustine* vsed, if the Greeke were translated *Helicium*, otherwise I cannot tell how.

*Of Jacobs changing of his hands from the heads of Iosephs sonnes,  
when he blessed them. . C H A P. 42.*

**Gen. 25.** **B**Vt as *Esau* and *Jacob*, *Isaacs* two sonnes, prefigured the two peoples of Iewes and Christians ( although that in the flesh the Idumæans, and not the Iewes came of *Esau*, nor the Christians of *Jacob*, but rather the Iewes, for thus must the words, *The elder shall serue the yonger*, be vnderstood) euen so was it in *Iosephs* two sonnes, the elder prefiguring the Iewes, and the yonger the Christians. Which two, *Jacob* in blessing laide his right hand vpon the yonger, who was on his left side, and his left vpon the elder, who was on his right side. This displeased their father, who told his father of it, to get him to reforme the supposed mistaking, and shewed him which was the elder. But *Jacob* would not change his hands, but said, *I know sonne, I know very well: hee shall bee a great people also: but his yonger brother shall be greater then hee, and his seede shall fill the nations.* Here is two promises now, a people to the one, and a fulnesse of nations to the other. What greater prooffe need wee then this, to confirme, that the Israelites, and all the world besides, are contained in *Abrahams* seed: the first in the flesh, and the later in the spirit.

*Of Moyles his times, Iosuah, the Iudges, the Kings, Saul the first,  
Dauid the chiefe, both in merite and in mysticall reference.*

C H A P. 43.

**Exod. 2.** **I***acob* and *Ioseph* being dead, the Israelites in the other hundred fortie foure yeares ( at the end of which they left Egypt ) increased wonderfully, though the Egyptians oppressed them sore, and once killed all their male children for feare of their wonderfull multiplication. But *Moses* was saued from those butchers, and brought vp in the court by *Pharaohs* daughter ( the (a) name of the Egyptian Kings ) *God* intending great things by him, and he grew vp to that worth that he was held fit to lead the nation out of this extreame slauery, or rather *God* did it by him, according to his promise to *Abraham*. First, hee fled into *Madian*, for killing an Egyptian in defence of an Israelite: and afterwards returning full of *Gods* spirit, hee foyled the enchanter (b) of *Pharao* in all their opposition: and laide the ten sore plagues vpon the Egyptians, because they would not let *Israel* depart, namely the changing of the water into bloud, Frogges, (c) Lyce, (d) Gnattes, morren of Cattell, botches and sores, Haile, Grathoppers, darkenesse, and death of all the first borne: and lastly the Israelites being permitted after all the plagues that Egypt had groned vnder, to depart, and yet beeing pursued afterwards by them againe, passed ouer the redde Sea dry-foote, and

and left all the hoast of Egypt drowned in the middest: the sea opened before the Israelites, and shut after them, returning vpon the pursuers and ouer-whelming them. And then forty yeares after was Israell in the deserts with *Moyfes*, and there had they the tabernacle of the testimonie, where *God* was serued with sacrifices, that were all figures of future euent: the law being now giuen with terror vpon mount Syna: for the terrible voyces and thunders were full proofes that *God* was there: And this was presently after their departure from Egypt in the wildernesse, and there they celebrated their *Passe-ouer* fiftie dayes after, by offering of a Lambe, the true type of *Christ*s passing vnto his father by his passion Exod. 12. in this world. For *Pascha* in Hebrew, is a passing ouer: and so the fiftith day after the opening of the new Testament, and the offering of *Christ* our *Passe-ouer*, the Luc. 11. holy spirit descended downe from heauen (he whom the scriptures call the finger of God) to renew the memory of the first miraculous prefiguration in our hearts, because the law in the tables is said to be written by the finger of *GOD*. *Moyfes* being dead, *Iosuab* ruled the people, and lead them into the land of pro- Exod. 31. mise, diuiding it amongst them, And by these two glorious captaines, were Ios. 1. strange battels wonne, and they were ended with happy successe: *God* himselte a-uouching that the losers sinnes, and not the winners merits were causes of those conquests. After these two, the land of promise was ruled by *Iudges*, that *Abrahams* seede might see the first promise fulfilled, concerning the land of Canaan, though not as yet concerning the nations of all the earth: for that was to be fulfilled by the comming of *Christ* in the flesh, and the faith of the Gospell, not the precepts of the law, which was insinuated in this, that it was not *Moyfes* that receiued the law, but *Iosuab* (*h*) (whose name *God* also changed) that lead the people into the promised land. But in the *Iudges* times, as the people offended or obeyed *God*, so varied their fortunes in warre. On vnto the *Kings*. *Saul* was the first King of Israel, who being a reprobate, and dead in the field, and all his race re- 1. Sam. 16. iected from ability of succession, *Dauid* was enthroned (*i*) whose sonne our *Sal-  
uour* is especially called: *In him is as it were a point, from whence the people of God* Math. 1.  
Mar. 15.  
Mat. 10.  
Luc. 18 *doe flowe*, whose original (as then being in the youthfull time thereof) is drawne from *Abraham* vnto this *Dauid*. For it is not out of neglect that *Mathew* the Euangelist reckoneth the descents so, that hee putteth foureteene generations betweene *Abraham* and *Dauid*. For a man may be able to beget in his youth, and therefore he begins his genealogies from *Abraham*, who vpon the changing of his name, was made the father of many nations. So that before him, the Church of *God* was in the infancie, as it were: from *Noah* I mean, vnto him, and therefore the first language, the Hebrew as then was inuented for to speake by. For from the terme of ones infancie, hee begins to speake, beeing called an infant, (*k*) *à non fando*, of not speaking, which age of himselte, euery man forgetteth as fully as the world was destroyed by the deluge. For who can remember his infancie? Wherefore in this progresse of the Cittie of *God*, as the last booke contained the first age thereof, so let this containe the second and the third, when the yoake of the law was laide on their necks, the aboundance of sinne appeared, and the earthly kingdome had beginning, &c. intimated by the *Heifer*, the *Goate*, and the *Ramme of three yeares old*: in which there wanted not some faithfull persons, as the *turtle-doe* and the *Pidgeon* portended.

## L. VIVES.

The (*a*) name of ] To auoyde the supposition that *Pharao* that reigned in *Iacob* and *Iosephs* Pharao  
time,

Ggg 3

time, was all one *Pharao* with this here named *Pharao* was a name of kingly dignity in Egypt. *Hieron. in Exechiel. lib. 9.* So was *Ptolomy* after *Alexander, Cesar* and *Augustus* after the two braue Romaines, and *Abimelech* in Palestina. *Herodotus* speaketh of one *Pharao* that was blinde. They were called *Pharao* of *Pharos*, an Ile ouer-against *Alexandria*, called *Carpathos* of old: *Proteus* reigned in it. The daughter of this *Pharao*, *Iosephus* calleth *Thermuth.* (b) Of *Pharao* ] Which *Pharao* this was, it is doubtfull. *Amasis* (saith *Apion Polyhistor*, as *Eusebius* citeth him) reigned in Egypt when the Iewes went thence. But this cannot be, for *Amasis* was long after, viz. in *Tythagoras* his time, vnto whom he was commended by *Polycrates* king of *Samos*. But *Iosephus* saith out of *Manethon*, that this was *Techmosis*, and yet sheweth him to vary from him-selfe, and to put *Amenophis* in another place also. *Eusebius* saith that it was *Pharao Cenchres.* In *Chron.* and that the Magicians names were *Iannes* and *Iambres.* *Prep. euangel. ex Numenio.* (c) *Lyce* ] So doth *Iosephus* say, if *Ruffinus* haue well translated him: that this third plague was the disease called *Phthiriasis*, or the lousie euill, naming no gnattes.

**Cyniphes.** *Peter de natalibus* and *Albertus Grotus* saith, that the *Cyniphes* are a kinde of flye. So saith *Origen.* *Albertus* saith that they had the body of a worme, the wings and head of a flye, with a sting in their mouth where-with they prick and draw bloud, and are commonly bred in fens and marishes, troubling all creatures, but man especially. *Origen* calleth them *Snipes.* They do flie (saith he) but are so small that hee that discerneth them as they flie must haue a sharpe eye; but when they alight vpon the body, they will soone make them-selues knowne to his feeling, though his sight discerneth them not. *Super Exod.* By this creature *Origen* vnderstands logick which enters the mind with such stings of vndiscerned subtlety, that the party deceiued neuer perceiueeth till he be fetched ouer. But the Latines, nor the Greekes euer vsed either *Cynipes* or *Snipes*, nor is it in the seauentie eyther, but *owirus*, *Gnat-like creatures*, (saith *Suidas*) and such as eate holes in wood. *Psal. 104.* The Hebrew, and Chaldee Paraphrase read lice, for this word, as *Iosephus* doth also. (d) *Horse-flyes* ] Or Dogge-flies, the vulgar readeth flies, onely. (e) *Grathoppers* ] The fields plague, much endamaging that part of Africa that bordereth vpon Egypt. *Pliny* saith they are held notes of Gods wrath, where they exceed thus. (f) *Groned vnder* ] *Perfracti, perfractus*, is, thoroughly tamed, *prefractus*, obstinate. (g) *Passer-ouer* ] *Phase* is a passing ouer: because the Angel of death passed ouer the Israelites houses, & smote them not: hence arose the paschall feast. *Hieron. in Mich. lib. 2.* not of *uirgini*, to suffer, as if it had beene from the passion. In *Matth.* (h) *Whose name* ] In Hebrew *Iosuah* and *Iesus* seemes all one: both are *saluation*, and *Iesus* the sonne of *Iosedech* in *Esdras* is called *Iosuah.* (i) *Whose sonne* ] *Mat. 1.* and in all the course of the Gospell; *Christ* is especially called the sonne of two, *Abraham* or *David*: for to them was hee chiefly promised. (k) *anon fando* ] And therefore great fellows that cannot speake, are some-times called infants: and such also as stammer in their language: [ and such like-wise as being expresse dolts and sortes in matter of learning,

**Dog-flies,  
Grathoppers,**

**Iosuah and  
Iesus.**

**Infants:**

**[The Louaine  
copy defective.]**

will challenge the names of great Artists, Philoophers and Diuines.]

Finis lib. 16.

THE

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FINIS.

THE

# THE SEVENTEENTH BOOKE OF THE CITTIE OF GOD:

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishop of *Hippo*,  
vnto *Marcellinus*.

*Of the times of the Prophets.*

CHAP. I.



Hier. 25  
Gen. 7

Gen. 20  
Dent. 4

1 Sam. 10  
2 Sam. 16

Hus haue we attained the vnderstanding of Gods promises made vnto *Abraham*, and due vnto *Israel* his seed in the flesh, and to all the Nations of earth as his seed in the spirit: how they were fulfilled the progresse of the *Cittie of God* in those times, did manifest. Now because our last booke ended at the reigne of *Dauid*, let vs in this booke, proceed with the same reigne, as farre as is requisite. All the time therefore betweene *Samuels* first prophecy, and the returning of *Israel* from seauenty yeares captiuitie in *Babilon*, to reparaire the Temple (as *Hieremy* had prophesied) all this is called the time of the Prophets. For although that the Patriarch *Noah* in whose time the vniuersall deluge befel, and diuers others liuing before there were Kings in *Israel*, for some holy and heauenly predictions of theirs, may not vnderferuedly be called (a) Prophets: especially seeing wee see *Abraham* and *Moses* chiefly called by those names, and more expressly then the rest: yet the daies wherein *Samuel* beganne to prophesy, were called peculiarly, *the Prophets times*. *Samuel* anoynted *Saul* first, and afterwards (he beeing reiecte) hee anoynted *Dauid* for King, by Gods expresse command, and from *Dauids* loines was all the bloud royall to descend, during that Kingdomes continuance. But if I should rehearse all that the Prophets (each in his time) successiuey presaged of *Christ* during all this time that the *Cittie of God* continued in those times, and members of his, I should neuer make an end. First, because the scriptures (though they seeme but a bare relation of the successiue deeds of each King in his time, yet) being considered, with the assistance of Gods spirit, will prooue either more, or as fully, prophecies of things to come, as histories of things past. And how laborious it were to stand vpon each peculiar hereof, and how huge a worke it would amount vnto, who knoweth not that hath any insight herein: Secondly, because the prophecies concerning *Christ* and his Kingdome (*the Cittie of God*) are so many in multitude, that the disputations arising hereof would not be contained in a farre bigger volume then is necessary for mine intent. So that as I will restraime my penne as neare as I can from all superfluous relations in this worke, so will I not omit any thing that shall be really pertinent vnto our purpose.

L. VIVES.

**C**alled (a) *Prophets*] The Hebrewes called them *Seers*, because they saw the Lord (in his predictions or prefigurations of any thing :) with the eyes of the spirit, though not of the

the dull flesh, hence it is that scriptures call a prophēcy, a *vision*, and *Nathan* is called the *Seer*. *1. Kings*. The Greekes some-times vse the name of *Prophet* for their priests, poets, or teachers. *Adam* was the first man and the first *Prophet*, who saw the mystery of *Christ* and his church in his sleepe. Then followeth, *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob* and his children, *Moyse* &c. Yet are not these reckned amongst the prophets, for none of them left any bookes of the visions but *Moyse*, whose bookes concerned ceremonies, sacrifices and ciuill orders also. But these were all figures of future things, nor were those the propheticall times, as those from *Samuel* were, wherein there neuer were prophets wanting, whereas before God spake but seldome, and his visions were not so manifest as they were from the first King vnto the captiuitie: wherein were foure great bookes of prophesies written, and twelue of the small.

*At what time Gods promise concerning the Land of Canaan was fulfilled, and Israell receiued it to dwell in and possesse.*

CHAP. 2.

**W**EE said in the last booke that God promised two things vnto *Abraham*, one was the possession of the Land of Canaan, for his seed: in these words: *Goe into the Land that I will shew thee, and I will make thee a great nation &c.* The other of farre more excellence, not concerning the carnall, but the spirituall seed: nor Israell onely, but all the beleeuing nations of the world: in these words *In thee shall all nations of the earth be blessed &c.* This we confirmed by many testi- Gen. 12. monies. Now therefore was *Abrahams* carnall seed (that is, the *Israelites*) in the land of promise: now had they townes, citties, yea and Kings therein, and Gods promises were performed vnto them in great measure: not onely those that hee made by signes, or by word of mouth vnto *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*: but euen those also that *Moyse* who brought them out of the Egyptian bondage, or any other after him vnto this instant had promised them from God. But the promise concerning the land of Canaan, that *Israel* should reigne ouer it from the riuier of *Egypt* vnto the great *Euphrates*, was neither fulfilled by *Iosuah* that worthy leader of them into the Land of promise, and hee that diuided the whole amongst the twelue tribes, nor by any other of the *Iudges* in all the time after him: nor was there any more prophesies that it was to come, but at this instant it was expected. And by (*a*) *Dauid*, and his son *Salomon*, it was fulfilled indeed, and their Kingdome enlarged as farre as was promised: for these two, made all those Nations their seruants and tributaries. Thus then was *Abrahams* seed in the flesh so settled in this land of Canaan by these Kings, that now no part of the earthly promise was left vnfulfilled: but that the Hebrewes, obeying Gods commandements, might continue their dominion therein, without all disturbance, and in all security and happinesse of estate. But God knowing they would not doe it, vsed some temporall afflictions to exercise the few faithfull therein that he had left, and by them to giue warning to all his seruants that the nations were afterwards to containe, who were to bee warned by those, as in whom hee was to fullfill his other promise, by opening the New Testament in the death of *Christ*.

L. VIVES.

**B**T (*a*) *Dauid*] *Hierome* (*epist. ad Dardan.*) sheweth that the Iewes possessed not all the lands that was promised the: for in the booke of *Numbers*, it is sayd to be bounded on the South  
by

by the salt sea and the wildernesse of sinne, vnto that riuer of Egypt that ranne into the sea by Rhinocorura : on the west, by the sea of Palestina, Phœnicia, Cœle, Syria, and Cylicia, on the North, by Mount Taurus, and Zephyrius, as farre as Emath, or Epiphania in Syria ; on the East by Antioch and the Lake Genefareth, called now, Tabarie, and by Iordan, that runneth into the salt sea, called now, *The dead sea*. Beyond Iordan halfe of the land of the tribes of *Ruben & Gad*, lay, and halfe of the tribe of *Manasses*. Thus much *Hierome*. But *Dauid* possessed not all these but onely that within the bounds of Rhinocorura and Euphrates, wherein the Israelites still kept themselues.

*The Prophets three meanings: of earthly Ierusalem, of heauenly Ierusalem, and of both.* CHAP. 3.

WHEREFORE, as those prophecies spoken to *Abraham, Isaac, Iacob*, or any other in the times before the Kings, so likewise all that the Prophets spoke afterwards, had their double referēce: partly to *Abrahams* seed in the flesh, & partly to that wherein all the nations of the earth are blessed in him, being made Co-heires with Christ in the glory and kingdome of heauen, by this New Testament. So then they concerne partly the bond-woman, bringing forth vnto bondage, that is the earthly Ierusalem, which serueth with her sonnes, and partly to the free *Citty of God*, the true Ierusalem, eternall and heauenly, whose children are pilgrims vpon earth in the way of Gods word. And there are some that belong vnto both, properly, to the bond-woman, and figuratiuely vnto the free woman: for the Prophets haue a triple meaning in their prophecies: some concerning the earthly Ierusalem, some the heauenly, and some, both: as for example. The Prophet (a) *Nathan* was sent to tell *Dauid* of his sinne, and to fortell him the euills that should ensue thereof. Now who doubteth that these words concerned the

2.Sam.12 *temporall City*, whether they were spoken publikely for the peoples generall good, or priuately for some mans knowledge, for some temporall vse in the life present? But now whereas wee read. *Behold the daies come (saith the LORD) that I will make a new couenant with the house of Israell, and the house of Iudah: not according to the couenant that I made with their fathers when I toke them by the hand to bring them out of the Land of Egypt, which couenant they brake, although I was an husband vnto them, saith the Lord: but this is the couenant that I will make with the house of Israel, after those daies (saith the LORD) I will put my law in their mindes, and write it in their hearts, and I wil be their GOD, and they shalbe my people.* This without all doubt, is a prophecy of the celestiaall Ierusalem, to whom God himselfe stands as a reward, and vnto which the enioying of him is the perfection of good. Yet belongeth it vnto them both in that the earthly Ierusalem was called *Gods Citty*, and his house promised to bee therein, which seemed to be fulfilled in *Salomons* building of that magnificent temple. These things were both relations of things acted on earth, and figures of things concerning heauen, which kinde of prophecy compounded of both, is of great efficacy in the canonicall scriptures of the Old Testament, and doth exercise the readers of scripture very laudably in seeking how the things that are spoken of *Abrahams* carnall seed are allegorically fulfilled in his seed by faith: In (b) so much that some held that there was nothing in the scriptures fore-told and effected, or effected without being fore-told, that intimated not some-thing belonging vnto the *Citty of God*, and to bee referred vnto the holy pilgrims thereof vpon earth. But if this be so, we shall tie the Prophets words vnto two meanings onely, and exclude the third: and not onely

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the Prophets but euen all the Old Testament. For therein must be nothing peculiar to the earthly Ierusalem, if all that be spoken or fulfilled of that, haue a farther reference to the heauenly Ierusalem: so that the Prophets must needs speake but in two sorts; either in respect of the heauenly Ierusalem, or els of both. But as I thinke it a great error in some, to hold no relation of things done, in the scriptures more then meere historicall: so doe I hold it a (c) great boldnesse in them that binde all the relations of Scripture vnto allegoricall reference, and therefore I auouch the meanings in the Scriptures, to be triple, and not two-fold onely. This I hold, yet blame I not those that can picke a good spirituall sense out of any thing they reade, so they doe not contradict the truth of the history. But what faithfull man will not say that those are vaine sayings that can belong neither to diuinity nor humanity? and who will not avow that these of which we did speake, are to haue a spiritual interpretation also, or leaue them vnto those that can interpret them in that manner?

### L. VIVES.

**T**He Prophet (a) Nathan] After David had sent *Vriah* to be slaine in the front of the battell, and married his widow *Bersabe*. (b) *In so much*] Herevpon they say that so much is left out concerning the acts of the Iewish Kings, because they seemed not to concerne the *City of God*: but that whatsoeuer the Old Testament containeth or the New either, hath all a sure *Origen* reference vnto Christ and his Church, at which they are both leuelled. (c) *Great boldnesse*] [As *The Lo-Origen* did with great rarity of spirit, yet keepeth he the truth of the history vniuolate: for otherwise all these relations were vanities: and each one would scruen an allegory out of the scriptures to liue and beleue as he list, and so our faith and discipline should bee utterly con-*defectiue* founded. Wherein I wonder at their mad folly that will fetch all our forme of life and religion in al this] out of allegories, entangling them in ceremonious vanity, and proclayming all that contradict them, heretiques]

*The change of the Kingdome and priest-hood of Israell. Anna, Samuels mother a prophetesse: and a type of the Church: what she prophesied.*

#### CHAP. 4.

**T**He progresse therefore of the *City of God* in the Kings time, when *Saul* was reprooued, and *Dauid* chosen in his place to possesse the Kingdome of Ierusalem for him and his posterity successiue, signifieth and prefigureth, that which wee may not omit, namely the future change concerning the two Testaments, the Old and the New, where the Old Kingdome and priest-hood was changed by that New and eternall King and Priest, Christ Iesus; for *Heli* being reiected, *Samuel* was made both the priest and the Iudge of God: and *Saul* being reiected, *Dauid* was chosen for the King, and these two being thus seated, signified the change that I spake of. And *Samuels* mother, *Anna*, being first barren, and afterwards by Gods goodnes made fruitfull, seemeth to prophecy nothing but this in her song of reioycing, when hauing brought vp her son she dedicated him vnto God as she had vowed, saying: *My heart reioyceth in the LORD, my horne is exalted in the LORD: my mouth is enlarged on mine enemies, because I reioyced in thy saluation. There is none holy as the Lord: there is no God like our God, nor any holie besides thee, speake no more presumptiously, let no arrogancie come out of your mouth, for the Lord is a GOD of knowledge, and by him are enterprises established: the bowe of the mighty men hath bee broken, and guided the weake with strength, they that were full are hired*

1 Sam. 3.

1 Sam. 2.



hired forth for hunger: and the hungry haue passed the land: for the barren hath borne seauen, and (a) shee that had many children is enseebled, the Lord killeth, and quickneth: bringeth downe to the graue, and raiseth vp, the Lord impouerieth, and enricheth: humbleth and exaltech, he raiseth the poore out of the dust, and listeth the begger from the dunghil, so set them amongst Princes, & make them inherite the seat of glory, he giueth vowes, vnto those that vow vnto him, and blesteth the yeares of the iust: for in his owne might shall no man bee strorge: the Lord, the holy Lord shall weaken his aduersaries, let not the wise boast of his wisdom, nor the rich in his riches, nor the mighty in his might, but let their glory bee to know the Lord, and to execute his iudgement and iustice vpon the earth: the Lord from heauen hath thundered: he shall iudge the ends of the world, and shall giue the power vnto our Kings, and shall exalt the horne of his annointed. Are these the words of a woman giuing thanks for her sonne? are mens mindes so benighted, that they cannot discern a greater spirit herein then meereely humane? and if any one bee moued at the euent that now began to fall out in this earthly processe, doth he not discern, and acknowledge the very true religion and *City of God* whose King and founder is *Iesus Christ*, in the words of his *Anna*, who is fitly interpreted, *His grace*? and that it was the spirit of grace (from which the proud decline, and fall, and therewith the humble adhere and are aduanced as this hymne saith) which spake those propheticall words? If any one will say that the woman did not prophecy, but onely commended and extolled Gods goodnesse for giuing her praier a sonne, why then what is the meaning of this? *The bow of the mighty hath bee broken, and guided the weake with strength? they that were full are hired forth for hunger, and the hungry haue passed ouer the land? for the barren hath borne seauen, and shee that had many children, is enseebled?* Had shee (being barren) borne seauen? she had borne but one when she sayd thus, (b nor had shee seauen after ward, or sixe either (for *Samuel* to make vp seauen) but only three sones and two daughters. Againe, there being no King in Israel at that time, to what end did she conclude thus: *Hee shall giue the power vnto our Kings, and exalt the horne of his anoynted?* did shee not prophecy in this? Let the church of God therefore, that fruitful Mother, that gracious *City* of that great King, bee bold to say that which this propheticall mother spake in her person so long before: *My heart reioyceth in the Lord (c) and my horne is exalted in the Lord.* True ioy, and as true exaltation, both beeing in the Lord, and not in her selfe! my mouth is enlarged ouer mine enemies, because Gods word is not pent vppe in straites, (d) nor in preachers that are taught what to speake. *I haue reioyced (saith she) in thy saluation.* That was, in *Christ Iesus* whom old *Simeon* (in the Gospell) had in his armes, and knew his greatnesse in his infancy, saying, *Lord now lettest thou thy seruant depart in peace: for mine eyes haue seene thy saluation.* Let the church then say. *I haue reioyced in thy saluation: there is none holy, as the Lord is: no God like to our GOD, for hee is holy, and maketh holy: iust himselfe, and iustifying others: none is holy besides thee, for none is holy but from thee.* Finally it followeth: speake no more presumptuously, let not arragance come out of your mouth, for the Lord is a God of knowledge, and by him are all enterprises established: (e) none knoweth what he knoweth: for he that thinketh himselfe to be some thing, seduceth himselfe, and is nothing at all. This now is against the presumptuous Babilonian enemies vnto Gods *Cittie*, glorying in themselves and not in God, as also against the carnall Israelites, who (as the Apostle saith) *being ignorant of the righteousnesse of God, (that is, that which he being onely righteous, and iustifying, giueth man) and going about to establish their owne righteousnesse,* (that

Hier. 9

Anna.

Luc. 2.

Rom. 10. 3

(that is as if they had gotten such themselves, and had none of his bestowing) *submitted not themselves vnto the righteousness of God: but thinking proudly, to please God by a iustice of their owne, and none of his,* (who is the God of knowledge, and the Arbitrer of consciences, and the discerner of all mans thoughts, which beeing vaine, deriue not from him) *So they fell into reprobation.* And by him (saith the said *Hymne*) *are all enterpryses established,* and what are they but the suppression of the proud, and the aduancement of the humble? These are Gods intents, as it followeth: *the bow of the mighty hath he broken, and girded the weake with strength: their bow,* that is, their proud opinions that then could sanctifie themselues without his inspirations: and they are girded with strength that say in their hearts, *Haue mercy on mee, O Lord, for I am weake. They that were full, are (f) hired out for hunger,* that is, they are made lesser then they were, for in their very bread, that is the diuine words, which Israel as then had alone from all the world, that fauour nothing but the tast of earth. But the hungry nations, that had not the law, comming to those holy words by the New Testament, they passed ouer the earth, and found, because they relished an heauenly tast in those holy doctrines, and not, a fauour of earth. And this followeth as the reason: *for the barren hath brought forth seauen, and she that had many children is enfeebled.* Here is the whole prophecy opened to such as knowe the number of the Iewes what it is, to wit, the number of the churches perfection, and therefore *John* the Apostle writeth vnto the seauen churches, implying in that, the fulnesse of one onely: and so it is figuratiuely spoken in *Salomon. wisdome hath built her an house and hewen out* Pro. 9, 1 *her seauen pillers:* For the *Citty of God* was barren in all the nations, vntill shee obtained that fruite whereby now we see her a fruitfull mother: and the earthly *Ierusalem* that had so many sonnes, wee now behold to bee weake and enfeebled. Because all the free-womans sonnes were her vertues: but now seeing shee hath the letter onely without the spirit, shee hath lost her vertue and is become weake. *The Lord killeth, and the Lord quickneth,* hee killeth her that had so many sonnes, hee quickneth her wombe was dead before, and hath made her bring forth seauen, although properly his quickning be to be implied vpon those whom he hath killed, for she doth as it were repeate it saying: *hee bringeth downe to the graue, and raiseth vp,* for they, vnto whom the Apostle saith: *if yee bee dead with Christ, seeke the things that are aboue, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God:* Coloss. 3, 1 *are killed vnto saluation by the LORD,* vnto which purpose he addeth. *Set your affections vpon things aboue, and not on things that are on the earth. For you are dead* (quoth hee) *behold here how healthfull the Lord killeth:* and then followeth: *And your life is hid with Christ in God.* Behold here how God quickneth. I but doth he bring them to the graue and backe againe? Yes without doubt, all we that are faithfull see that fulfilled in our head, with whom our life is hidde in God. For he that spared not his owne sonne but gaue him for vs all, hee killed him in this manner, and in raysing him from death, hee quickned him againe. And because we heare him say in the psalme, *thou shalt not leaue my soule in the graue,* therefore he brought him vnto the graue, and backe againe. By his pouerty are we enritchted: for the Lord maketh poore, and enritcheth, that is nothing else but, the Lord humbleth, and exalteth, humbling the proud and exalting the humble. For that same place: *God resisteth the proud and giueth grace vnto the humble,* is the text wherevpon all this propheteesses words haue dependance. Now that which followeth. *He raiseth the poore out of the dust and listeth the begger from the dunghill,* is the fittliest vnderstood of him who became poore for vs,

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whereas he was ritch, by his pouerty (as I said) to enrich vs. For he raised him from the earth so soone that his flesh saw no corruption: nor is this sequence, *And lifteth the begger from the dunghill*, meant of any but him, (g) for the begger and the poore is all one, the dunghill whence hee was lifted, is the persecuting route of Iewes, amongst whom the Apostle had beene one, but afterwards, as he saith, *that which was aduantage vnto mee I held losse for Christs sake: nay not onelie losse, but I iudge them all dunge, that I might winne Christ*. Thus then was this poore man raised aboue all the ritch men of the earth, and this begger was lifted vp from the dunghill to sit with the Princes of the people, to whom hee saith, *You shall sit on twelue thrones, &c. and to make them inherite the seat of glory*: for those mighty ones had said, *Behold we haue left all, and followed thee*: this vowe had those mighties vowed. But whence had they this vow but from him that giueth vnto those that vow; otherwise, they should bee of those mighties, whose bow he hath broken. That giueth vnto them that vow. For none can vow any set thing vnto God but hee must haue it from God: it followeth, *and blesseth the yeares of the iust*, that is that they shalbe with him eternally; vnto whom it is written, *thy yeares shall neuer faile: for that they are fixed*: but here they either passe or perith: for they are gone ere they come, bringing still their end with them. But of these two, hee giueth vnto those that vow *and blesseth the yeares of the iust*: the one wee performe, and the other wee receiue; but this, alwaies by Gods giuing wee receiue, nor can wee doe the other without Gods helpe, because in his owne might shall no man be stronge: The Lord shall weaken his aduersaries, namely such as resist and enuy his seruants in fulfilling their voves. (h) The greeke may also signifie, his owne aduersaries: for hee that is our aduersary when we are Gods children is his aduersarie also, and is ouercome by vs, but not by our strength: for in his owne might shall no man bee stronge. The LORD, the holy LORD shall weaken his aduersaries, and make them be conquered by those whom Hee the most Holy hath made holy also; (i) and therefore let not the wise glory in his wisdom, the mighty in his might, nor the ritch in his riches, but let their glory be to know God, and to execute his iudgements and iustice vpon earth. Hee is a good proficient in the knowledge of God, that knoweth that God must giue him the meanes to know God. *For what hast thou (saith the Apostle) which thou hast not receiued?* that is, what hast thou of thine owne to boast of. Now hee that doth right, execute: h iudgement and iustice: and hee that liueth in Gods obedience and the end of the command, namely in a pure loue, a good conscience, and an vnfaigned faith. But this loue (as the Apostle *Iohn* saith) *is of God*. Then, to do iudgement and iustice, is of God, but what is on the earth; might it not haue beene left out, and it haue on-ly bin said, *to do iudgement and iustice*? the precept would bee more common both to men of land and sea: but least any should thinke that after this life there were a time elsewhere to doe iustice and iudgement in, and so to auoide the great iudgement for not doing them in the flesh, therefore, in the earth is added, to confine those acts within this life: for each man beareth his earth about with him in this world, and when hee dieth, bequeaths it to the great earth, that must returne him it at the resurrection. In this earth therefore, in this fleshly body must we doe iustice and iudgement, to doe our selues good hereafter by, when euery one shall receiue according to his works done in the body, good or bad: in the body, that is, in the time that the body liued: for if a man blaspheme in heart though he do no hurt with any bodily member yet shal not he be vnguilty, because though he did it not in his body, yet hee did it in the time wherein hee was in the body.

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And so many we vnderstand that of the Psalme, *The Lord, our King hath wrought saluation in the midst of the earth before the beginning of the world*: that is, the Lord Iesus our God before the beginning (for he made the beginning) hath wrought saluation in the midst of the earth namely then, when the word became flesh, and dwelt corporally amongst vs. But on *Annah* hauing shewen how each man ought to glory, viz. not in himselfe but in God, for the reward that followeth the great iudgement, proceedeth thus (l) *The Lord went up vnto heauen, and hath thundred: he shall iudge the ends of the worlds, and shall giue the power vnto our Kings, and exalts the horne of his annoynted.* This is the plaine faith of a Christian. *Hee ascended into heauen, and thence hee shall come to iudge the quicke and dead,* for who is ascended saith the Apostle, *but he who first descended into the inferiour parts of the earth?* Hee thundred in the clouds, which hee filled with his holy spirit in his ascension, from which clouds he threatned Hierusalem, that vngratefull vine to send no rayne vpon it. Now it is said, *Hee shall iudge the ends of the world,* that is the ends of men: for he shall iudge no reall part of earth, but onely all the men thereof; nor iudgeth hee them that are changed into good or bad, in the meane time, but (m) as euery man endeth, so shall he be iudged: wherevpon the scripture saith, *He that commeth vnto the end shall be safe,* hee therefore that doth iustice in the midst of the earth shall not be condemned, when the ends of the earth are iudged. *And shall giue power vnto our Kings,* that is, in not condemning them by iudgement, hee giueth them power because they rule ouer the flesh like Kings and conquer the world in him who shed his blood for them. *And shall exalt the horne of his annoynted.* How shall Christ the annoynted exalt the horne of his annoynted? It is of Christ that those sayings, *The Lord went up to heauen, &c.* are all ment, and so is this same last, of exalting the horne of his annoynted. *Christ therefore shall exalt the horne of his annoynted,* that is, of euery faithfull seruant of his, as she said at first: *my horne is exalted in the Lord,* for all that haue receiued the vnc-tion of his grace, may wel be called his annoynted, al which, with their head, make but one annoynted. This *Anna* prophisied, holy *Samuels* mother, in whome the change of ancient priesthood was prefigured and now fulfilled, when as the wo-man with many sonnes was enfeebled, that the barren which brought forth seuen, might receiue the new priesthood in Christ.

L. VIVES.

*Shee that (a) had.] Multa in filiis. (b) Nor had shee.]* The first booke of *Samuel* agreeth with *Augustine*, but *Iosephus* (vlesse the booke be falsy) saith she had fixe, three sons and three daughters after *Samuel*; but the Hebrewes reckon *Samuels* two sonnes for *Annahs* also, being but her grandchildren, and *Phamuahs* seauen children died seuerally, as *Annahs*, and her sonne *Samuels* were borne. (c) *And my horne.]* Some read, mine heart, but falsely, the greeke is *uapor*. (d) *No in preachers there are.]* Or, nor in such as are bound by calling to bee his preachers; the *Bruges* copy readeth, *but in his called prechers.* (e) *No man knoweth.]* Both in his foreknowledge, and his knowlege of the secrets of mans heart. (f) *Are hired out.]* The seauenty read it, *are diminished* (g) *For the begger,]* It seemes to be a word of more indigence, then poore: the latine word here is *inops*, or helpelesse, hauing no reference in many places to want of mony, but of helpe *Vir. Georg. 1. Terent. Adelpe. Act. 2. scena. 1. Panper,* saith *Varro*, is *quasi paulus lar. &c. inops, quasi opis egens.* (h) *The Greeke.]* *αὐτῷ* is both his and his owne: the Greekes do not distinguish these two, as we doe. (i) *Let not shee.]* This is not the vulgar translation of the Kings, but in Hieremy cha. 9. the 70. put it in them both, but with some alteration. It is an vtter subuersion of pride. God respects not wit, power, or wealth, those are the suell of mans vaine glory, but let him that gloryeth (as *Paul* saith) *glory in the Lord,* and by a modest and equall thought of himselfe.

selfe continually. For so shall he neuer be pride-swollen for the knowledge of God that charity seasoneth, neuer puffeth vp, if we consider his mercies, and his iudgements, his loue, and his wrath, together with his maiesty. (k) *And to doe iudgement* ] The seauenty read this one way in the booke of Samuel, and another way in Hieremy, attributing in the first vnto the man that glorieth, and in the later vnto God. (l) *The Lord went vp* ] This is not in the vulgar, vntill you come vnto this, *and he shall iudge*: Augustino followed the LXX and so did all that age almost in all the churches. (m) *As euery man* ] *As I finde thee, so will I iudge thee.*

*The Prophets words vnto Heli the priest, signifying the taking away of Aarons priest-hood.* CHAP. 5.

**B**Vt this was more plainly spoken vnto *Heli* the priest by a man of God, (a) whose name we read not, but his ministry proued him a Prophet: Thus it is written: *There came a man of GOD vnto Heli, and said vnto him: Thus saith the Lord, did not I plainly appeare vnto the house of thy fasher when they were in Egypt in Pharaos house, and I chose him out of all the tribes of Israel to bee my priest, to offer at mine Altar, to burne incense, and to weare (b) an Ephod, and I gaue thy fathers house al the burnt offrings of the house of Israel, for to eate. Why then haue you looked in scorne upon my sacrifices, and offrings, and (c) honored thy children aboue me, to (d) blesse the first of all the offrings of Israell in my sight? wherefore thus saith the LORD GOD of Israell: I said, thy house and thy fathers house shall walke before mee for euer: may not so now: for them that honour me (saith the Lord) will I honour, and them that despise me, will I despise. Behold the daies come that I will cast out thy seed, and thy fathers seed, that there shall not bee an (e) old man in thine house. I will destroy euery one of thine from mine Altar, that thine eyes may faile and thine heart faint, and all the remainder of thy house shall fall by the sword, and this shall be a signe vnto thee, that shall befall thy two sonnes, Ophi, and Phinees, in one day shall they both die. And I will take my selfe vppe a faithfull Priest that shall doe according to mine heart: I will build him a sure house, and hee shall walke before mine Annointed, for euer. And the (f) remaines of thy house shall come and bow downe to him for an halfe-penny of silver, saying: Put mee I pray the in some office about the priest-hood, that I may eate a morsell of bread.*

We cannot say that this prophecy, plainly denouncing the change of their old priest-hood, was fulfilled in *Samuel* (g) for though *Samuel* were of that tribe that serued the Altar, yee was he not of the sons of *Aaron*, to whose progeny God tied the priest-hood: (and therefore in this, was that change shadowed that Christ was to performe, and belonged to the Old Testament, properly, but figuratiuely, vnto the New: beeing now fulfilled both in the euent of the prophecy, and the historic, that recordeth these words of the Prophet vnto *Heli*.) For afterwarde there were Priests of *Aarons* race, as *Abiathar* and *Zador* in *Dauids* reigne, and many more, for the time came wherein the change was to bee effected by Christ. But who seeth not now (if hee obserue it with the eye of faith) that all is fulfilled, the Iewes haue no Tabernacle, no Temple, no Altar, nor any Priest of *Aarons* pedegree, as GOD commanded them to haue. Iust as this Prophet said: *Thou and thy fathers house shall walke before mee for euer. May not so now; for them that honour mee, will I honour &c. By his fathers house* hee meaneth not *Eli* his last fathers, but *Aarons*, from whom they all descended, as these words: *Did I not appeare to thy fathers house in Egypt &c.* Doe plainly prooue. Who was his Father in the Egiptian bondage, and was chosen priest after their freedome, but *Aaron*? of his stocke then it was here said there should bee no more priests as wee see now come to passe. Let faith bee but vigilant, and

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it shall discerne and apprehend truth, euen whether it will or no. *Behold* (saith he) *the daies doe come, that I will cast out thy seed &c.* Tis true: the daies are come. *Aarons* seede hath now no Priest: and his whole off-spring behold the sacrifice of the christians gloriously offered all the world through, with sayling eyes and fainting hearts: but that which followeth; *All the remainder of thine house shall fall by the sword &c.* belongs properly to the house of *Heli*. And the death of his sonnes, was a signe of the change of the Priest-hood of *Aarons* house: and signified the death of the Priest-hood, rather then the men. But the next place to the priest that *Samuel*, *Heli* his successor, prefigured, I meane Christ the Priest of the *New Testament*. *I will take mee vp a faith-full Priest, that shall do all according to mine heart: I will build him a sure house &c.* (This house is the heauenly *Ierusalem*) and he shall walke before mine annoynted for euer: that is hee shall conuerse with them, as hee said before of the house of *Aaron*, I sayd, *thou and thine house shall walke before mee for euer. Behold mine annoynted*, that is mine annoynted flesh, not mine annoynted Priest, for that is Christ himselfe, the Sauour. So that his house and flocke it is that shall walke before him, it may bee meant also of the passage of the faithfull from death vnto life at the end of their mortality, and the last iudgement. But whereas it is said: *He shall doe all according to mine heart*, wee may not thinke that *GOD* hath any heart, beeing the hearts maker, but it is figuratiuely spoaken of him, as the scripture doth of other members, *the hand of the LORD, the finger of GOD, &c.* And least wee should thinke that in this respect; man beareth the Image of *GOD*, the scripture giueth him wings, which man doth want: *Hide mee vnder the shadow of thy wings*: to teach men indeed, that those things are spoken with no true, but a tropicall reference vnto that ineffable essence. On now: *and the remaines of thine house shall come and bow downe vnto him, &c.* This is not meant of the house of *Heli*, but of *Aarons*, of which some were remayning vntill the comming of *CHRIST*, yea and are vnto this day. For that aboute, *the remaynder of thy house shall fall by the sword* was meant by *Heli* his linage. How then can both these places bee true, that some should come to bow downe, and yet the sword should deuoure all, vnesse they bee meant of two, the first of *Aarons* linage, and the second of *Helies*? If then they bee of those predestinate remainders whereof the Prophet saith: *The remnant shall be saued*: and the Apostle, *at this present time is there a remnant through the election of grace*: which may well bee vnderstood of that remnant that the man of *GOD* speakes off heere, then doubtlesse they beleued in Christ, as many of their nations (Iewes) did in the Apostles time, and some (though very few) do now, fulfilling that of the Prophet, which followeth: *and bow downe to him, for an halfe penny of siluer*: to whom but vnto the great Priest, who is God eternall? For in the time of *Aarons* Priest-hood, the people came not to the temple to adore, or bow downe to the priest. But what is that, *for an halfe pennie of siluer*? Onely the breuity of the Word of faith, as the Apostle saith, *The Lord will make a short accompt in the earth*, that siluer is put for the word, the *Psalmist* proueth, saying, *The words of the Lord are pure words, as siluer, tried in the fire*: what is his words now, that boweth to this Gods Priest, and this God and Priest: *place me in some office about the Priest-hood, that I may eate a morsell of bread: I will not haue my fathers honours, they are nothing, but place me any where in thy Priest-hood. I would faine be a dore-keeper, or any thing in thy seruice and amongst thy people*, for Priest-hood is put heere for the people, to whom Christ the mediator is the high Priest. which people the Apostle called, an holy nation and

Psal. 17.

I say. 10.  
Rom. 11. 5Rom. 9.  
Psal. 12. 6

Psal. 84. 10

1 Pet. 2. 9.

1 Cor. 10.  
17  
Rom. 12, 1.

a royall Priest-hood. Some read (k) *Sacrifice* in the former place for Priest-hood, all is one, both signifie the christian flocke. Whereof S. Paul saith: *Being many, we are all one bread, and one body*, and againe. (l) *Giue vp your bodies a liuing sacrifice*. So then the addition, *that I may eate a morsel of bread*, is a direct expression of the sacrifice, whereof the Priest himselfe saith *the bread which I will giue, is my flesh*. &c. This is the sacrifice not after the order of *Aaron* but of *Melchisedech*: hee that readeth, let him vnderstand. So then these words, *Place me in some office about thy priest-hood that I may eate a morsell of bread*, are a direct and succinct confession of the faith: this is the halfe penny of siluer, because it is brieft, and it is Gods word, that dwelleth in the house of the belecuer: for hauing said before that hee had giuen *Aarons* house meate of the offering of the house of *Israel*, which were the sacrifices of the Iewes in the Old Testament, therefore addeth hee *the eating of bread* in this conclusion, which is the sacrifice of the New Testament.

### L. VIVES.

The Ephed.

[This is too bitter the Louuainists like it not but leaue it out]

[Louuainists vnlesse you had felt your selues toucht with this, you would neuer haue razed it out]

**H**is (a) name] It was *Phinees*, say the Iewes: or *Helias Hierome*. (b) *An Ephod*] Of this read Hierome. *Ad Marcellam, Contra Iouinian. Ad Fabiolam*. The Greekes called it, *εφωδον*. *Ioseph. de Antiq. Iud. lib. 3.* So do the LXX. *Ruffinus* translateth it, *Superhumeralé* and it was open at the sides from the arme-pits downe-wards. The high Priest onely wore such an one, and it was embrothered with gold and silke of diuers collours. The *Leuities* had a garment like it, but that was of linnen. Such an one did *Anna* make for *Samuel*: and such an one did *Dauid* dance in, before the Arke. [And hereypon I thinke our Rabbines, or most Doctor-like sort of triers, haue got the tricke of wearing such a vesture hanging loose from the shoulders: as a badge of their super-eminent knowledg: and then your Ciuilian, and Pnifician in emulation of them, got vp the like.] But the Seauenty call it *εφωδον*. (c) *Honorist*] So was it in the time when the Iewes priests grew wealthy, and so is it now with vs: for who seeketh into the priest-hood for Godlinesse rather then gaine, as the world goeth now? and what sonne is perswaded by the father vnto an ecclesiasticall habite, but onely in hope of ritches? what Priest thinketh he doth not well, to sit and spend the churches goods (as they call them) frankly, with his sonnes if he haue them (and haue them hee will, vn'esse he see an Eunuch, his brethren, his sisters and his cousins, let the poore goe shift where they can? Thus, thus will it bee, whilest ritches rule in the hearts of men.) (d) *To blesse*] The vulgar is not so: read it, each one hath the bookes, I must proceed. (e) *An old man*] *περισβουτος* an high priest, saith Hierome. (f) *Remaines*] A diuersity of reading, but *nihil ad rem*. (g) *Though Samuel*] His father was a leuite, *Chron. 1. 6.* his mother of the tribe of *Iudab*. This place *Augustine* recallesh, thus: *whereas I said, hee was not of the sons of Aaron, I should haue said, hee was none of the priests sonnes*. And they most commonly succeeded their fathers in the Priest-hood, but *Samuels* father was of *Aarons* seede, but he was no Priest, nor of his seede otherwise then all the Iewes were the seed of *Iacob*. *Retractation. lib. 1.* (h) *Prophecy and history*] And though these words seemed to another purpose, yet aimed they at Christ. (i) *We should thinke*] So thought by the *Anthropomorphites*. (k) *Sacrific*] *εφωδον* is both, but rather, Priest-hood. (l) *Giue vp*] This is not in some copies, yet is it befitting this place.

*The promise of the Priest-hood of the Iewes, and their kingdome, to stand eternally not fulfilled in that sort that other promises of that unbounded nature, are.* CHAP. 6.

**A**lthough these things were the as deeply prophecied, as they now are plainly fulfilled, yet some may put this doubt: how shall we expect all the euent therein presaged, when as this that the Lord said; *thine house, and thy fathers house shall walke before me for ener*, can bee no way now effected, the priest hood being

NOW

now quite abolished, nor any way expected, because that eternity is promised to the priest-hood that succeeded it? hee that objecteth this, conceiues not that *Aarons* priest-hood was but a type & shadow of the others future priest-hood and therefore that the eternity promised to the shadow, was due but vnto the substance onely: and that the change was prophcyed, to auoyde this supposition of the shadowes eternity, for so the kingdome of *Saul*, the reprobate, was a shadow of the kingdome of eternity to come, the oyle where-with he was annoynted, was a great and reuerend mystery: which *Dauid* so honored, that when hee was hid in the darke caue into which *Saule* came to ease himselfe of the burden of nature, he was affraid, and onely cut off a peece of his skirt, to haue a token whereby to shew him how causelesse he suspected him, and persecuted him: hee feared, I say for doing thus much: least he had wronged the mystery of *Sauls* being annoynted: *Hee was touched in heart* (saith the Scripture) *for cutting off the (a) skirt of his rayment (b)* His men that were with him perswaded him to take his time, *Saul* was now in his hands, strike sure. *The Lord kepe me* (saith he) *from doing so vnto my maister the Lords annoynted: to lay mine hands on him, for he is the annoynted of the Lord.* Thus honored hee this figure, not for it selfe but for the thing it shadowed. And therefore these words of *Samuel* vnto *Saule*, *The Lord had prepared thee a kingdome for euer in Israel, but now it shall not remaine vnto thee, because thou hast not obeyed his voyce: therefore will he seeke him a man according to his heart.* &c. are not to be taken as if *Saul* himselfe should haue reigned for euermore, and then that his sinne made God breake his promise afterwards (for hee knew that he would sinne, when hee did prepare him this kingdome) but this hee prepared for a figure of that kingdome that shall remaine for euer more: and therefore he added, *it shall not remaine vnto thee*: it remaineth and euer shall in the signification, but not vnto him, for neither he nor his progeny were to raigne there, euerlastingly.

*The Lord will seeke him a man*, saith hee, meaning either *Dauid*, or the mediator, prefigured in the vnction of *Dauid* and his posterity. Hee doth not say *he will seeke*, as if hee knew not where to finde, but hee speaketh as one that seeketh our vnderstanding, for wee were all knowen both to God the father, and his sonne, the seeker of the lost sheepe, and elected in him also, before the beginning of the world (c) *He will seeke*, that is he will shew the world that which hee himselfe knoweth already. And to haue we *acquirō* in the latine, with a preposition, *to attaine*: and may vie *quero*, in that sence also: as *questus*, the substantiue, for *gaine*.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) skirt. Or hemme, or edge, any thing that he could come nearest to cut, the Jewes vsed edged garments much: according to that command in the booke of Numbers. The Greek word, is *ἡ πλάγιον διπλόδος* the wing of his doublet. *Ruffinus* translateth it, *Summitatem*. (b) *His men*. Which were three hundred, saith *Iosephus*. lib. 6. (c) *He will seeke*. A diuersity of reading, I thinke the words, *from*. And so haue we *acquirō*, to the end of the chapter, bee some addition of others.



*The Kingdome of Israell, rent: prefiguring the perpetuall diuision betweene the spirituall and carnall Israell.*

CHAP. 7.

**S**aul fell againe by ( a ) disobedience, and Samuell told him againe from God, *Thou hast cast off the Lord and the Lord hath cast off thee, that thou shalt no more bee King of Israell.* Now Saul confessing this sinne, and praying for pardon, and that Samuell would go with him to intreat the Lord. Not I ( saith Samuell ) *thou hast cast off the Lord, &c.* And Samuell turned him-selfe to depart, and Saul held him by the lappe of his coate, and it rent. Then, quoth Samuell, *the Lord hath rent the Kingdome of Israell from thee this day, and hath giuen it vnto thy neighbor which is better then thee: and Israell shall bee parted into two, and shall no more bee vnited, nor bee is not a man that hee should repent, &c.* Now hee vnto whome these words were said, ruled Israell fourty yeares, euen as long as Dauid, and yet was told this in the beginning of his Kingdome; to shew vs that none of his race should reigne after him, and to turne our eyes vpon the line of Dauid, whence Christ our mediator tooke his humanity. Now the originall read not this place as the Latines doe: *The Lord shall rend the Kingdome of Israell from thee this day*, but, *the Lord hath rent, &c. from thee*, that is from Israell, so that this man was a type of Israell, that was to loose the Kingdome as soone as Christ came with the *New Testament*, to rule spiritually, not carnally. Of whome these wordes, *and hath giuen it vnto thy neighbour*, sheweth the consanguinity with Israell in the flesh, and so with Saul: and that following, *who is better then thee*, implyeth not any good in Saul, or Israell, but that which the Psalme saith: *vntill I make thine enemies thy footstool*, whereof Israell the persecutor (whence Christ rent the Kingdome) was one. Although there were Israell the wheat amongst Israell the chaffe also: for the *Apostles* were thence, and *Stephen* with a many Martyrs besides, and from their seed grew up so many Churches as Saint Paul reckoneth, all gloryfing God in his conuersion. And that which followeth, *Israell shall bee parted into two*, concerning this point assuredly, namely, into Israell *Christ's* friend, and Israell *Christ's* foe: into Israell the free woman and Israell the slaue. For these two were first vnited, *Abraham* accompanying with his maid vntill his wiues barrenesse being fruitfull, she cryed out, *Cast out the bondwoman & her sonne*. Indeed because of *Salomons* sin, we know that in his sonne *Roboams* time Israell diuided it selfe into two parts, and either had a King, vntill the Chaldeans came & subdued and ren-uerfed all. But what was this vnto Saul? Such an euen was rather to be threatned vnto Dauid, *Salomons* father: And now in these times, the Hebrews are not diuided, but disperfed all ouer the world, continuing on still in their error. But that diuision that God threatned vnto Saul, who was a figure of this people, was a premonstration of the eternall irreuocable separation, because presently it followeth: *And shall no more bee vnited, nor repent of it, for it is no man, that it should repent*: Mans threatnings are transitory: but what God once resolueth is irremouable. For where wee read that *God repented*, it portends an alteration of things out of his eternall prescience. And likewise where *hee did not*, it portends a fixing of things as they are. So here wee see the diuision of Israell, perpetuall and irreuocable, grounded vpon this prophecy. For they that come from thence to *Christ*, or contrary, were to doe so by *Gods* prouidence, though humaine conceit cannot apprehend it: and their separation is in the spirit also, not in the flesh. And those Israelites that shall stand in Christ vnto the end, shall neuer pertake with

1. Sam. 15.

Psa. 110.2.

Gods  
repentance,  
what.

with those that stayed with his enemies vnto the end, *but be* (as it is here said) *eternally seperate*. For the *Old Testament* of Sina, begetting in bondage, shall doe them no good, nor any other, further then confirmeth the *New*. Otherwise, as long as *Moses* is read, (d) the vaile is drawne ouer their hearts: and when they come to *Christ*, then is remooued. For the thoughts of those that passe from them to him, are changed, and bettered in their passe: and thence, their felicitie they seeke is spirituall, no more carnall. Wherefore the great Prophet *Samuel* before hee had annointed *Saul*, when hee cryed to the Lord for Israel, and hee heard him: and when hee offered the burnt offering, (the Philistins comming against Israell, and the Lord thundred vpon them and scattered them, so that they fell before Israell): tookè (e) a stone, and placed it betweene the (f) two *Maspha's*; he *Old* and the *New*, and named the place *Eben Ezer*, that is, *the stone of helpe*: saying, *Hetherto the Lord hath helped vs*: that stone, is the mediation of our *Sauour*, by which wee come from the *Old Maspha* to the *New*, from the thought of a carnall kingdome in all felicitie, vnto the expectation of a crowne of spirituall glory, (as the *New Testament* teacheth vs,) and seeing that that is the sum and scope of all, *euē thitherto, hath God helped vs*.

## L. VIVES.

BY (a) *disobedience* ] For being commanded by *Samuel* from *God*, to kill all the *Amalechites* man and beaft, hee tooke *Agag* the King aliue, and droue away a multitude of Cattle. (b) *The lappe of his coate* ] *Diplon* is any double garment. (c) *The Lord hath rent* ] Shall rend, saith *Iosephus*: But, *hath rent, διπλις*, it is in the *LXX*. (d) *The vaile* ] The vaile that *Moses* couered his face, was a tipe of that where-with the *Jewes* couer their hearts, vntill they bee conuered. *1. Corinth. 3.* (e) *A stone* ] *Iosephus* saith, that hee placed it, at *Charron*, and called it *Fortitude. lib. 6.* (f) *The two Maspha's* ] *Maspha* the *Old* stood betweene the tribes of *Gad* and *Leui*. *Hier. de loc. Hebraic.* There is another in the tribe of *Iuda*, as you goe North-ward vnto *Elia*, in the confines of *Eleutheropolis*. *Maspha* is, *contemplation*, or *speculation*. The *Greekes* write it, *μασφάβ*.

*Promises made vnto David, concerning his sonne: not fulfilled in Salomon: but in Christ.*

## CHAP. 8.

NOW must I relate *Gods* promises vnto *David*, *Sauls* successor (which change prefigured the spirituall & great one, which all the *Scriptures* haue relation vnto) because it concerneth our purpose. *David* hauing had continuall good fortune, intended to build *GOD* an house, namely that famous and memorable temple that *Salomon* built after him. While this was in his thought, *Nathan* came to him from *God*, to tell him what was his pleasure: wherein, when as *GOD* had said, *That David should not build him an house, and that he had not commanded Israel in all this time to build him any house of Cedar*: then hee proceedeth thus: *Tell my seruant David, that thus saith the Lord: I tookè thee from the sheep-coate, so make thee a ruler ouer my people Israel: and I was with thee where-so-euer thou walked, and haue destroyed all thine enemies out of thy sight, and giuen thee the glory of a mighty man upon earth. I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will plant it, it shall dwell by it selfe, and mooue no more, nor shall wicked people trouble them any more, as they haue done, since I (a) appointed Iudges ouer Israel.*

And

*And I will give thee rest from all thine enemies, and the Lord telleth thee also that thou shalt make him an house. It shall be when thy dayes bee fulfilled, and thou sleepest with thy fathers, then will I set up thy seede after thee, euen hee that shall proceed from thy body, and will prepare his kingdome. He shall build an house for my name, and I will direct his throne for ever. I will be his father, and hee shall be my sonne: if hee sinne I will chasten him with the rod of men, and with the plagues of the children of men. But my mercy will I not remooue from him, as I remooued it from Saul, whom I haue reiected. His house shall be faithfull, and his kingdome eternall before mee: his throne shall bee established for ever. Hee that holdeth this mighty promise fulfilled in Salomon, is far-wid. For marke how it lyeth. He shall build me an house, Salomon did so: and this he marketh: but, His house shall bee faithfull and his kingdome eternall before mee: What is this? this hee marketh not. Well let him goe to Salomons house, and see the flocks of strange Idolatrous women, drawing this so wise a King into the same depth of damnation with them: doth he see it? the let him neither think Gods promises false, nor his prescience ignorant of Salomons future peruersion by Idolatry. We neede neuer doubt here, nor runne with the giddy brained Iewes to seeke had I wift, and to finde one in whom these may bee fulfilled, wee should neuer haue seene them fulfilled, but in our Christ, the sonne of David in the flesh. For they know well inough; that this sonne of whom these promises spake, was not Salomon: but (oh wondrous blindness of heart!) stand still expecting of another to come, who is already come, in most broad and manifest apparance. There was some shadow of the thing to come in Salomon, 'tis true, in his erection of the temple, and that laudable peace which he had in the beginning of his reigne, and in his name, (for Salomon is a peace-maker): but he was (b) onely in his person a shadow, but no presentation of Christ our Saviour, & therefore some things are written of him that concerne our Saviour: the scripture including the prophetic of the one, in the historie of the other. For besides the bookes of the Kings & Chronicles y speake of his reigne, the 72. Psalme is entituled with his name. Wherein there are so many things impossible to bee true in him, and most apparant in Christ, that it is euident that he was but the figure, not the truth it selfe.*

**Salomon.** The bounds of Salomons kingdome were knowne, yet (to omit the text) that Psalme saith; *hee shall reigne from sea to sea, and from the riuer to the lands end.* This is most true of Christ. For hee began his reigne at the riuer, when John baptized and declared him, and his disciples acknowledged him, calling him Lord and Maister. Nor did Salomon begin his reigne in his fathers time (as no other of their Kings did) but onely to shew that hee was not the ayme of the prophetic, that said, *it shall bee when thy dayes are fulfilled, and that thou sleepest with thy fathers, then will I set up thy seede after thee, and prepare his kingdome.* Why then shall we lay all this vpon Salomon, because it is sayd, *Hee shall build mee an house,* and not the rather vnderstand, that it is the other peace-maker that is spoaken of, who is not promised to be set vp before Davids death (as Salomon was) but after, according to the precedent text? And though Christ were neuer so long ere hee came, yet comming after Davids death, all is one: hee came at length as he was promised, and built God the Father an house, not of timber and stones, but of liuing soules, wherein wee all reioyce. For to this house of God, that is, his faithfull people, Saint Paul saith, *The temple of God is holy, which you are.*

Salomon.

Psal. 72. 9

1. Cor. 3. 17.

## L. VIVES.

**I** Appointed (a) Iudges ] Israel had thirteene Iudges in three hundred and scauentie yeares, from

from *Othniel* to *Samuel* who annointed *Saul*: and during that time, they had variable fortune in their waies. (b) *Onely* in ] Hee was a figure of *Christ*, in his peaceable reigne, and building of the temple: but hee was not *Christ* him-selfe.

*A Prophecie of Christ in the eighty eight Psalme, like vnto this of Nathan in the Booke of Kings.*

CHAP. 9.

**T**He eighty eight Psalme also, intituled, *An (a) instruction to Ethan the Israelite*, reckoneth vp the promises of *God* vnto *Dauid*, and there is some like those of *Nathan*, as this: *I haue sworne to Dauid my seruant, thy seede will I establish for euer*: and this: *Then spakest thou (b) in a vision vnto thy sonnes and said, I haue laid helpe vpon the mighty one: I haue exalted one chosen out of my people. I haue found Dauid my seruant, with my holy oyle haue I annoynted him. For mine hand shall helpe him, and mine arme shall strengthen him. The enemy shall not oppresse him, nor shall the wicked* <sup>Psal. 89.</sup> *hurt him. But I will destroy his foe before his face, and plague them that hate him. My truth and mercy shall bee with him, and in my name shall his horne bee exalted. I will put his hand in the sea, and his right hand in the flouds, hee shall call vpon mee, thou art my father, my GOD, and the rocke of my saluation. I will make him my first borne, higher then the Kings of the earth: My mercy will I keepe vnto him for euer, and my covenant shall stand fast with him. His seede shall endure for euer, and his throne as the dayes of heauen.* (c) All this is meant of *Christ* vnder the type of *Dauid*, because that from a *Virgin* of his seede *CHRIST* tooke man vpon him: Then followeth it of *Dauids* sonnes, as it doth in *Nathans* words, meant properly of *Salomon*; hee sayd there: *if they sinne I will (d) chasten them with the rodde of men, and with the (e) plagues of the sonnes of men*: (that is, correctiue <sup>2. Sam 7.</sup> afflictions) *but my mercy will I not remooue from him*. Where-vpon it is sayd. *Touch not mine annoynted, hurt them not*: And now heere in this Psalme (speaking of the mysticall *Dauid*) hee faith the like: *if his children forsake my lawe,* <sup>Psal. 105.</sup> *and walke not in my righteousnesse, &c. I will visite their transgression with rodde,* <sup>Psal. 89.</sup> *and their iniquities with stroakes: yet my mercy will I not take from him*. Hee faith not *from them*, though hee speake of his sonnes, but *from him*, which being well marked, is as much: For there could no sinnes bee found in *Christ*, the *Churches* head; worthy to bee corrected of *GOD*: with, or without reseruatiō of mercy, but in his members, that is his people: Wherefore in the *Kings* it is called his sonne, and in this Psalme, his childrens, that wee might see that all things spoken of his body, hath some reference vnto him-selfe; and in that when *Saul* persecuted his members, his faithfull, hee sayd from heauen, *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou mee?* It followeth in the sayd Psalme: *My covenant will I not breake, nor alter the thing I haue spoaken, I haue sworne onely by my holynesse: that (f) if I faile Dauid*: that is, I will not faile *Dauid*: It is the Scriptures vsuall phrase, that he will not faile in, he addeth, saying: *His seede shall remaine for euer, and his throne shall bee as thee sunne before mee: perfect as the Moone, and as a faithfull witnesse in heauen.*

¶ L VIVES.

## L. VIVES.

**A**N instruction (a) to Ethan the Israelite ] The Ezraite saith the Hebrew. Hierome. This Psalme is spoken by many mouthes from the father to the sonne, and the sonne to the father, and the church, the Prophet him-selfe, or the Apostles. (b) In a vision ] *in visione*. (c) All this ] A diuersity of reading all to one end. (d) Hasten them ] I thinke it is meant of the warres that often plague the nations. (e) Plagues ] all the discommodities, that befall man. (f) If I faile ] A negatiue phrase often vsed in the scriptures. As *Psal. 95. vers. 11.*

*Of diuerse actions done in the earthly Hierusalem, and the kingdome, differing from Gods promises, to shew that the truth of his words concerned the glory of another kingdome, and another King.*

## CHAP. IO.

**N**OW after the confirmation of all these promises, least it should bee thought that they were to be fulfilled in Salomon (as they were not) the Psalme addeth: *Thou hast cast him off, and brought him to nothing.* So did he indeed with Salomons kingdome in his posterity, euen (a) vnto the destruction of the earthly Hierusalem, the seat of that royalty, & vnto the burning of that temple that Salomon built, But yet least God should be thought to faile in his promise, he addeth: *Thou hast deferred thine annointed:* this was not Salomon, nor Dauid, if the Lords annointed were deferred, for though all the Kings that were consecrated with that mysticall Chryisme, were called annointed, from Saul their first King: (for so Dauid calleth him) yet was there but one true annointed whom all these did prefigure, who (as they thought that looked for him in Dauid, or Salomon) was deferred long, but yet was prepared to come in the time that God had appointed. What became of the earthly Hierusalem in the meane time where hee was expected to reigne, the Psalme sheweth, saying: *Thou hast ouer-throwne thy seruants covenant, prophaned his crowne, and cast it on the ground. Thou hast pulled downe his walles, and laid his fortresses in ruine. All passengers doe spoile him, hee is the scorne of his neighbours: thou hast set up the right hand of his foes, and made his enemies glad. Thou hast turned the edge of his sword, and giuen him no helpe in battaile. Thou hast dispersed his dignity, and cast his throne to the ground. Thou hast shortned the dayes (b) of his reigne, and couered him with shame.* All this befell Hierusalem the bond-woman, wherein neuerthelesse some sonnes of the free-woman reigned in the time appointed: hoping for the heauenly Hierusalem in a true faith, beeing the true sonnes thereof in Christ. But how those things befell that kingdome, the historie sheweth vnto those that will read it.

The Kings annointing, a type of Christ,

## L. VIVES.

**V**Nto the (a) destruction ] 2. Kings 25. (b) Of his reigne ] The vulgar, and the Greeke, say, of his time: *ἕως ἡμερῶν αἰῶνος.*

*The substance of the people of God who were in Christ in the flesh: who onely had power to redeeme the soule of man from hell.* CHAP. II.

*Psal. 89:*

**A**FTER this, the Prophet beginneth to pray: yet is this prayer a prophecie also: *Lord how long wilt thou turne away? (thy face) for euer? as is said else-where:*

*How*

*How long wilt thou turne thy face from mee* : Some bookes read it in the ( a ) passiue , but it may bee vnderstood of GODS mercy also, in the actiue : For euër, that is, vnto the end : which end, is the last times, when that nation shall beleue in CHRIST, before which time it is to suffer all those myseries that hee bewaileth . Wherefore it followeth : *Shall thy wrath burne like fire ? O remember of what I am ; my substance.* Heere is nothing fitter to bee vnderstood, then I E S V S, the substance of this people: for hence hee had his flesh.

Didst thou create the children of men in vaine ? Vnlesse there were one sonne of man, of the substance of Israel, by whome a multitude should bee saued, they were all created in vaine indeede: For now all the seede of man is fallen by the first man from truth to vanitie : *Man is like to vanitie* (saith the Psalme) *his dayes vanish like a shadowe.* Yet did not GOD create all men in vaine, for hee freeth many from vanitie by CHRIST the mediator his Sonne, and such as hee knoweth will not bee freed, hee maketh vse of, to the good of the free, and the greater eminence of the two Citties : Thus is there good reason for the creation of all reasonable creatures.

It followeth. *what man liueth that shall not see death? or shall free his soule from the hand of hell?* Why none but CHRIST I E S V S the substance of Israell, and the sonne of David : of whome the Apostle saith : *whi being raysed from death, dyeth no more : death hath no more dominion ouer him.* For hee liueth and shall not see death, *Bus freed his soule from the hand of hell*, because hee descended into the lower parts to loose some ( b ) from the bonds of sinne : by that power that the Euangelist recordeth of his : *I haue power to laye downe my soule, and I haue power to take it uppe againe.*

Psal. 144. 4

Rom. 6. 9.

Ioh. 10.

## L VIVES.

[ *N ( a ) the passiue* ] So readeth not the vulgar : but in the actiue: The Greekes indeede read it *απογισσιν*, *Wilt thou bee turned away.* ( b ) *From the bonds* ] The bonds of hell, say some bookes, making this earth an hell vnto Christ, being descended from heauen : but the other reading is better.

*Another verse of the former Psalme, and the persons to whome it belongeth.*

## CHAP. 12.

THE residue of this Psalme, in these wordes: *Lord where are thy old mercies which thou sworeſt vnto Dauid in thy truth ? Lord remember the rebuke of thy seruants, ( by many nations that haue scorned them, ) because they haue reproached the foote-steps of thine annointed :* whether it haue reference to the Israelites that expected this promise made vnto Dauid, or to the spirituall Israelites the Christians, it is a question worth deciding. This was

Psal. 99. 49  
50. 51.

written or spoaken in the time of *Ethan*, whose name the title of the Psalme beareth : which was also in *Dauids* reigne, so that these words : *Lord where are thine old mercies which thou swarest vnto Dauid in thy truth*, could not then bee spoaken, but that the Prophet bare a type of some-what long after to ensue, to wit at such time as the time of *Dauid* wherein those mercies were promised, might seeme ancient. It may further bee vnderstood, ( *b* ) because that many nations, that persecuted the Christians, cast them in the teeth with the passion of *Christ*, which hee calleth his change, to witte beeing made immortall by death.

*Christs* change also in this respect may bee a reproach vnto the Israelites, because they expected him, and the nations onely receiued him, and this the beleeuers of the *New Testament* reproche them for, who continue in the *Olde* : so that the Prophet may say, *Lord remember the reproache of thy seruants*, because heere-after ( *GOD* not forgetting to pittie them ) they shall belecue also. But I like the former meaning better : for the words, *LORD remember the reproach of thy seruants, &c.* cannot bee sayd of the enemies of *CHRIST*, to whome it is a reproche, that *CHRIST* left them and came to the nations : ( Such Iewes are no seruants of *GOD* ) but of them onely, who hauing endured great persecutions for the name of *CHRIST*, can remember that high kingdome promised vnto *Dauids* seede, and say in desire thereof, knocking, seeking, and asking, *Where are thine olde mercies Lord which thou swarest vnto thy seruant Dauid? Lord remember, &c.* because thine enemies haue held thy change a destruction, and vpbraided it in thine annointed.

And what is, *Lord remember*, but: Lord haue mercy, and for my patience, giue mee that height which thou swarest vnto *Dauid* in thy truth? If wee make the Iewes speake this, it must bee those seruants of *GOD*, that suffered the captiuitie in Babilon, before *CHRISTS* comming, and knew what the change of *CHRIST* was, and that there was no earthly nor transitory felicitie to bee expected by it, such as *Salomon* had for a few yeares, but that eternall and spirituall kingdome, which the Infidell nations not apprehending as then, cast the change of the annointed in their dishes, but vnknowinglie, and vnto those that knew it. And therefore that last verse of the Psalme, ( *Blessed bee the Lord for euer more, Amen, Amen* : ) agreeth fitly inough with the people of the celestiaall Hierusalem : place them as you please, hidden in the *Old Testament*, before the reuelation of the *New*, or manifested in the *New*, when it was fully reuealed. For *GODS* blessing vpon the seede of *Dauid*, is not to bee expected onely for a while, as *Salomon* had it, but for euer, and therefore followeth, *Amen, Amen*. The hope confirmed, the worde is doubled.

*2. Sam. 7.*  
*19.*  
 This *Dauid* vnderstanding in the second of the *Kings*, ( whence wee digressed in this Psalme ) saith : *Thou hast spoken of thy seruants house for a great while*. And then a little after : *Now therefore begin & blesse the house of thy seruant for euer, &c.* because then hee was to beget a sonne, by whome his progenie should descend vnto *Christ*, in whome his house and the house of *God* should bee one, and that eternall. It is *Dauids* house, because of *Dauids* seede, and the same is *Gods* house, because of his Temple, built of soules and not of stones, wherein *Gods* people may dwell for euer, in, & with him, and he for euer in,

in, and with them, he filling them, and they being full of him: God being all in all, their reward in peace and their fortitude in warre: And whereas *Nathan* had said before: *thus saith the Lord, shalt thou bewild me an house? now David saith vpon that: thou O Lord of hostes, the God of Israel, hast reuealed vnto thy seruant saying, I will build thee an house.* This house do wee build, by liuing well, and the Lord by giuing vs power to liue well, for, *unlesse the Lord build the house, their labour is but lost that build it.* And at the last dedication of this house, shall the word of the Lord bee fulfilled, that *Nathan* spoke saying: *I will appoynt a place for my people Israel, and will plant it, and it shall dwell by it selfe, and be no more moued, nor shall the wicked people trouble it any more, as it hath done since the time that I appoynted Iudges ouer my people Israel.*

## L. VIVES.

**T**He time of (a) *Ethan*.] *Ethan*, and *Asaph* were players vpon the brazen Cymballs before *Ethan*, the Arke, in *Dauids* time 1. (*Chronicles*. 15. the Greeke and the Latine call *Ethan* an Israelite, but I thinke he was rather an Iezraelite, of the towne of Iezrael in the tribe of *Iudab* and the borders of *Isacher* betweene *Scythopolis*, and the Legion, or an *Ezraite*, of *Ezran* in the tribe of *Assur*. Howsoeuer he was, *Hierome* out of the Hebrew, calleth him an *Ezrait*. But noe question he was not called an Israelite, for no man hath any such peculiar name from his generall nation. (b) *Because that many*.] There is a diuersity of reading in some other bookes, but not so good as this we follow.

*Whether the truth of the promised peace may be ascribed vnto Salomons time.*

## CHAP. 13.

**H**E that looketh for this great good in this world, is far wrong. Can any one bind the fulfilling of it vnto *Salomons* time? No, no, the scriptures commend it excellently, as the figure of a future good. But this one place, *the wicked shall not trouble it any more*, dissolueth this suspicion fully: adding this further, *as it hath done since the time that I appoynted Iudges ouer my people Israel*, for the Iudges began to rule Israel before the Kings, as soone as euer they had attained the land of promise: and the wicked, that is the enemy; troubled them sore, and diuers was the chance of warre, yet had they longer peace in those times then euer they had in *Salomons*; who raigned but fourty yeares, for vnder Iudge *Aod*, they had eighty yeares peace. *Salomons* time therefore cannot bee held the fulfilling of those promises: and much lesse any Kings besides his, for no King had that peace that hee had: nor any nation euer had kingdome wholly acquit from feare of foe, because the mutability of humane estate can neuer grant any realme an absolute security from all incursions of hostility. The place therefore where this promised peace is to haue residence, is eternall: it is that heavenly Hierusalem, that free-woman where the true Israel shall haue their blessed abode: as the name importeth; Hierusalem, (a) that is, *Beholding God*: the desire of which reward must beare vs out in Godlynesse; through all this sorrowfull pilgrimage.



## L. VIVES.

**H**ierusalem. (*a*) that is.] Hierome saith it was first called *Iebus* : then, *Salem* : thirdly *Hierusalem*, and lastly *Elia*. *Salem*, is peace : as the Apostle saith vnto the Hebrewes : *Hierusalem the vision of peace*. This was that *Salem* wherein *Melchisedech* raigned. *Ioseph* and *Hegesipp*. It was called *Elia*, of *Elia* *Adrian* the emperor that repayed it after the destruction by *Titus*, in emulation of his auncestors glory. The Gentiles called it both *Solyma*, *Solymi*, and *Hierusalem*. Some draw that *Solymi*, from the Pisidians in Lycia, called of old, *σαλυμι* some from the *Solymi*, a people of Pontus in Asia, who perished (as *Erastosthenes* writeth) with the Peleges and Bebricians, *Eupotemus* (as *Eusebius* saith) deriued the name *Solymi*, from *Salomon*, quasi *αρον σαλομωνος* *Salomons temple*, and some thinke *Homer* called it so : but *Iosephus* (*lib. 7.*) saith it was called *Solyma* in *Abrahams* time, And when *Dauid* had built a tower in it (the *Iebuzites* hauing taken it before) and fortified it, it was named *Hierosolyma*, for the Hebrewes call a fortification *Hieron*, but it was rather called *Iebus* after it was called *Salem*, then before, for it is held that *Melchisedech* built it, and he called it *Salem*. And the Canaanites, whose King he was, dwelt therein : and he was otherwise called the iust King (saith *Hegesippus* : ) not so was he named after his father, yet *Hierome* (*De loc. Hebræic. & ad Damas.*) saith that *Salem* was not *Hierusalem*, but another City in the country of *Sychem* (a part of *Chanaan*) where the ruines of *Melchisedechs* palace are yet to be scene, as the memories of a most ancient and magnificent structure. I omit to relate whence *Strabo* aeriueth the originall of *Hierusalem*, out of *Moyse* : for *Strabo* was neuer in *Chanaan*. I omit those also that say that *Hierusalem* was *Luz*, and *Bethel*, *Bethel*, being a village long after it, as I said before.

## Of Dauids endeouours in composing of the Psalmes.

## CHAP. 14.

**G**ods citty hauing this progresse, *Dauid* raigned first in the tipe therof, the terrestrial *Hierusalem*: now *Dauid* had great skil in songs, and loued musike, not out of his priuat pleasure, but in his zealous faith : whereby, in the seruice of his (and the true) *God* in diuersity of harmonious and proportionat sounds, hee mystically describeth the concord and vnity of the celestiall *City of God*, composed of diuers particulars. All his prophecies (almost) are in his *Psalmes*. A hundred and fifty whereof, that which wee call the booke of *Psalmes*, or the *Psalter*, contayneth. Of which, (*b*) some will haue them onely to be *Dauids*, that beare his name ouer their title. Some thinke that onely they that are intituled, each peculiarly a *Psalme of Dauid*, are his : the rest, that are intituled to *Dauid*, were made by others, and fitted vnto his person. But this our *Saulour* confuteth, his owne selfe : saying that *Dauid* called *Christ* in the spirit his *Lord* : cyting the hundreth and tenth *Psalme* that beginneth thus : *The Lord sayd vnto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand untill I make thine enemies thy foot-stoole*. Now this *Psalme* is not intituled, of *Dauid*, but to *Dauid* as many more are. But I like their opinion best that say hee made all the 150. entitling them sometimes with other names, and those pertinent vnto some prefiguration or other, and leauing some others vntituled at all, as *God* pleased to inspire these darke misteries, and hidden varieties (all vsfull how-so-euer) into his minde. Nor is it any thing against this that wee read the *Psalmes* of some great *Prophets* that liued

liued after him, vpon some of his Psalmes, as if they were made by them, for the spirit of prophecy might aswel foretel him their names, as other maters that apertained to their persons, as the Reigne of King *Iosias* was reuealed vnto a Prophet, who fore-told of his doings, and his very name about three hundred of yeares before it came to passe. 1. Kin. 13.

## L. VIVES.

**D***iuersity of (a) Harmonious and.* ] The seuerall instruments vsed in this harmony are rehearsed. 1. *Chron. 15.* *Augustine*, (in *Proem Quinquag.*) saith of the instrument called the *Psaltery*, that it is fit for celestially harmony, and to be vsed in matters diuine, because the concords of it in the tuning do all ascend vppwards (b) *Some will.* ] *James Perez*, my countryman, who wrote the last (not so eloquent as learned) large commentaries vpon the Psalmes, In the beginning of them disputeth a while about the authors of the Psalmes, and affirmeth that the Iewes neuer made question of it before *Origen*'s time: but all both wrot and beleued that *Dauid* wrot them all. But when *Origen* began with rare learning and delicate wit to draw all the propheticall sayings of the Old-testament vnto Christ already borne, hee made the Iewes runne into opinions farre contrarying the positions of their old maisters, and fall to deprauing of the scriptures in all they could, yet were there some Hebrewes afterwards that held as the ancients did, that *Dauid* was the onely author of all the Psalmes: Some againe held that he made but nine: and that other Prophets wrot the rest, viz. some of the sonnes of *Corab Eshan Asaph* or *Idythim*. Those that haue no titles they do not know whose they are, onely they are the workes of holy men they say. Marry *Rabby Salomon*, (that impudent *Rabbine*) maketh tenne authors of the Psalmes: *Melchisedech*, *Abraham*, *Moyfes*, the ionnes of *Chora*, *Dauid*, *Salomon*, *Asaph*, *Ieduthim*, and *Eshan*: but *Origen*, *Ambrose*, *Hillary*, *Augustine* and *Cassiodorus* make *Dauid* the author of them all; vnto whome *James Perez* agreeth, confirming it for the trueth by many arguments: read them in him-selfe, for the bookes are common, I omit *Hieromes* words to *Sophronius*, and *Cyprians*, concerning this poynt, let this suffice at this present (c) *To Dauid.* ] So is the Greeke indeed: but I haue heard diuers good *Hebraicians* say that the Hebrewes vse the dative case for the genitive. (d) *As the raigne.* ] 1. Kings. 11. James Perez, Rabbi Salomon.

*Whether all things concerning Christ and his Church in the Psalmes;  
be to be rehearsed in this worke.*

## CHAP. 15.

**I** See my reader expecteth now, that I should deliuer all the prophecies concerning Christ and his Church contayned in the Psalmes. But the abundance therof, rather than the want, hindreth me from explaining all the rest as I haue done one, and as the cause seemes to require. I should be too tedious, in reciting all, and feare to choose any part, least some should thinke I had omitted any that were more necessary. Againe, another reason is, because the testimony wee brought is to be confirmed by the whole body of the Psalter, so that though all do not affirme it yet nothing may contrary it: least wee should otherwise seeme to snatch out verses for our purpose, like (a) parcells of some (b) *retrograde poem*, whose intent concerneth a theame far different. Now to shew this testimony of one in euery Psalme of the booke, wee must expound the Psalme: which to do, how great a worke it is, both others and our volumes wherein wee haue done it, do expressly declare, let him that can and list, read those, and there hee shall see how abundant the prophecies of *Dauid* concerning Christ; and of

his Church were namely concerning that celestial King, and the Citty which hee builded.

### L. VIVES.

**Cent ones** **L**ike (e) parcels ] Centones are peeces of cloath of diuerse colours; vsed any way, on the back, or on the bedde. *Cic. Cato Maior. Sisenna, C. Cesar.* Metaphorically it is a poeme patched out of other poems by ends of verses, as *Homero-centon*, and *Virgilio-centon*, diuerse, made by *Proba*, and by *Ansonius*. (b) *Retrograde poeme* ] Sotadicall verses: that is verses backward and forwards, as *Musa mihi causas memora, quo numine laesa: & Laeso numine quo memora causas mshi Musa*. Sotadicall verses may be turned backwards into others also: as this Iambick: *Pio precare thure caelestum numina*: turne it, *Numina caelestum thure precare pio*: it is a Pentameter. They are a kinde of wanton verse (as *Quintilian* saith) inuented, saith *Strabo*, or rather vsed (saith *Diomedes*) by *Sotades*, whome *Martiall* calleth *Gmidus*: some of *Augustines* copies read it, a great poeme, and it is the fitter, as if one should pick verses out of some greater workes concerning another purpose, and apply them vnto his owne, as some *Centonists* did, turning *Virgils* and *Homers* words of the Greekes and Troyan warres, vnto *Christ* and diuine matters: And *Ansonius* turneth them vnto an *Epithalamion*.

**Sotadicall verses.**

*Of the fortie siue Psalmes: the tropes, and truths therein,  
concerning Christ and the Church.*

### CHAP. 16.

**P**For although there be some manifest prophecies, yet are they mixed with figures; putting the learned vnto a great deale of labour, in making the ignorant vnderstand them, yet some shew *Christ* and his *Church* at first sight (though we must at leifure expound the difficulties that we finde therein:) as for example. *Psal. 45. Mine heart hath giuen out a good word: I dedicate my workes to the King. My tongue is the pen of a ready writer: Thou fairer then the children of men, grace is powred in thy lippes, for GOD hath blessed thee for euer. Girde thy sworde upon thy thigh, thou most mighty: Proceede in thy beauty and glory: and reigne prosperously because of thy truth, thy iustice and thy gentleness: thy right hand shall guide thee wondrously: Thine arrowes are sharpe (most mighty) against the hearts of the Kings enemies: the people shall fall vnder thee. Thy throne O GOD is ever-lasting, and the scepter of thy kingdome, a scepter of direction: Thou louest iustice, and hatest iniquitie: therefore GOD euen thy GOD hath annoynted thee with oyle of gladnesse aboue thy fellowes. All thy garments smell of Myrrhe, Aloes, and Cassia, from the Iuory palaces, wherein the Kings daughters had made thee glad, in their honour.* Who is so dull that he discerneth not *Christ* our God, in whome we beleue, by this place? hearing him called GOD, whose throne is for euer, and annoynted by GOD, not with visible but with spirituall *Chrisme*: who is so barbarously ignorant in this immortall and vniuersall religion, that hee heareth not that *Christ*s name commeth of *Chrisma*, vnction? Heere wee know CHRIST, let vs see then vnto the types: How is hee father then vnto the sonnes of men? in a beauty farre more amiable then that of the body. What is his sword, his shaftes, &c. all these are tropicall characters of his power: and how they are all so, let him that is the subiect to this true, iust, and gentle King, looke to at his leasure. And then behold his *Church*, that spirituall spouse of his,  
and

**Psalm. 45.**

and that diuine wed-locke of theirs : here it is : *The Queene stood on thy right hand, her clothing was of gold embrodered with diuers colours . Heare Oh daughter , and marke, attend, and forget thy people and thy fathers house . For the King taketh pleasure in thy beauty : and hee is the Lord thy God . The sonnes of Tyre shall adore him with gifts, the rich men of the people shall wooe him with presents . The Kings daughter is all glorious within, her cloathing is of wrought gold . The Virgins shall be brought after her vnto the King, and her kinsfolkes and companions shall follow her, with ioy and gladnesse shall they be brought, and shall enter into the Kings chamber . Instead of fathers thou shalt haue children, to make them Princes through out the earth . They shall remember thy name O Lord from (a) generation to generation, therefore shall their people give thanks vnto thee world without end .* I doe not think any one so befotted at to thinke this to be meant of any personal woman. no, no, she is his spouse to whom it is said : *Thy throne, O God, is euerlasting ; and the scepter of thy Kingdome a scepter of direction . Thou hast loued iustice and hated iniquity , therefore the Lord thy God hath annointed thee with the oyle of gladnesse before thy fellowes : Namely Christ before the christians .* For they are his fellowes of whose concord out of all nations , cometh this Queene, as an other psalme saith : *the City of the great King, meaning the spirituall Syon : Syon is speculation : for so it speculateth the future good that it is to receiue, and thither directeth it all the intencions .* This is the spirituall Ierusalem, whereof wee haue all this while spoken , this is the foe of that deuillish Babilon, hight confusion, and that the foe of this . Yet is this City, by regeneration, freed from the Babilonian bondage, and passeth ouer the worst King for the best that euer was, turning from the deuill and comming home to Christ : for which it is sayd, *forget thy people, and thy fathers house, &c .* The Israelites, were a part of this City in the flesh , but not in that faith : but became foes both to this great King and Queene : Christ was killed by them , and came from them, to (b) those that he neuer saw in the flesh . And therefore our King saith by the mouth of the psalmist in another place : *thou hast deliuered me from the contentions of the people, and made me the head of the heathen : a people whom I haue not knowne, hath serued me, and as soone as they heard me, obeyed me .* This was the Gentiles who neuer saw Christ in the flesh , nor hee them : yet hearing him preached they beleued so stedfastly, that he might well say : *as soone as they heard me, they obeyed mee : for faith comes by hearing .* This people , conioyned with the true Israell, both in flesh and spirit, is that City of God, which when it was onely in Israell, brought forth Christ in the flesh : for thence was the Virgin Mary, from whom Christ tooke our man-hood vpon him . Of this cittie, thus saith another psalme. (c) *Men shall call it, our Mother Sion : he became man therein, the most high hath founded her : who was this most high, but God ? So did Christ found her in his Patriarchs and prophets, before he tooke flesh in her, from the Virgin Mary .* Seing therefore that the Prophet so long agoe said that of this City which now we behold come to effect : *In stead of fathers thou shalt haue children, to make them Princes ouer all the earth* (for so hath shee when whole nations and their rulers , come freely to confesse & proffesse Christ his truth for euer and euer) them without all doubt, there is no trope herein , how euer vnderstood , but hath direct reference vnto these manifestations.

Psal. 18. 43  
44.

Psal. 87. 6

## L. VIVES.

**F**rom (a) generation ] So read the 70, whom *Augustine* euer followeth, *in uan genitibus* and

and this reduplication is very emphaticall in the Hebrew. (*b*) *To those that hee neuer* ] Christ while hee was on the earth neuer came, nor preached in any nation but Israell. Nor matters it that some few Gentiles came vnto him, wee speake here of whole nations. (*c*) *Men shall call it* ] The seauenty read it thus indeed but erroneously as *Hierome* noteth In Psalm 89. for they had written it, *מִי נִשְׁאָר, what is Sion?* which reading, some conceyuing not, reiected, and added *נְשָׂא* reading it, *מִי נִשְׁאָר, an other Sion,* and that the rather because it followeth, *hee was made man therein*. But the vulgar followeth the Hebrew, and reads it with an interrogation.

*Of the references of the 110. Psalme vnto Christs Priest-hood:  
and the 22. vnto his passion.*

CHAP. I7.

**F**OR in that psalme that (as this calleth Christ a King) entitleth him a priest, beginning: *The Lord said vnto my Lord, sit thou at my right hand untill I make thine enemies thy foote-stoole*: we beleue that Christ sitteth at Gods right hand, but we see it not: nor that his enemies are all vnder his feete (which (*a*) must appeare in the end, and is now beleued, as it shall hereafter bee beheld): but then the rest: *the Lord shall send the rod of thy power out of Sion, be thou ruler amidst thine enemies*. This is so plaine that nought but impudence it selfe can contradict it. The enemies themselues confesse that the law of Christ came out of Sion, that which we call the Ghospell, and auouch to be the rod of his power. And that he ruleth in the midst of his enemies, themselues, his slaues; with grudging, and fruitlesse gnashing of teeth, doe really acknowledge. Furthermore: *the Lord sware and will not repent,* (which proues the sequence eternally established) *thou art a Priest for euer after the order of Melchisedech*. The reason is, *Aarons* priest-hood and sacrifice is abolished, and now in all the world vnder Christ the priest, wee offer that which *Melchisedech* brought forth when hee blessed *Abraham*: who doubteth now of whom this is spoken? and vnto this manifestation are the other Tropes of the psalme referred, as wee haue declared them peculiarly in our Sermons, and in that psalme also wherein CHRIST prophecieth of his passion by *Dauids* mouth, saying, *they perced my hands and my feete: they counted all my bones, and stood gazing vpon me*. These words are a plaine description of his posture on the crosse, his nayling of his hands and feete, his whole body stretched at length, and made a rufull gazing stock to the beholders. Nay more: *they parted my garments among them, they cast lots vpon my vesture*. How this was fulfilled, let the Ghospell tell you. And so in this, there are diuers obscurities, which notwithstanding are all congruent with the maine, and scope of the psalme, manifested in the passion, chiefly seeing that those things which the psalme presaged so long before, are but now effected (as it fore-told) and euen now are opened vnto the eyes of the whole world. For it saith a little after: *All the ends of the world shall remember themselues, and turne vnto the Lord: all the kindreds of the earth shall worship before him: for the kingdome is the Lords, and he ruleth among the nations*.

Gen. 22

Psal. 22

L. VIVES.

**V**V *Hich (a) must appeare* ] In the end, but now is onely beleued. Saint Paul writeth much of it vnto the Corynthians, and Hebrewes.

Christs

*Christs death and resurrection prophesied in psalme. 3 & 40.*

& 15. & 67. CHAP. 18.

**N**either were the psalmes silent of his resurrection: for what is that of the third psalme: *I laid me downe, and slept and rose againe, for the Lord susteined me?* wil any one say that the prophet would record it for such a great thing, to sleepe, and to rise, but that he meaneth by sleepe, death, and by rising againe, the resurrection? things that were fit to bee prophesied of Christ? this, in the 41. psalme is most plaine: for *Dauid* in the person of the mediator, discoursing (as hee vith) of things to come as if they were already past, (because they are already past in Gods predestination (a) and præscience) saith thus: *Mine enemies speake euill of me saying, when shall he die, and his name perishe? and if he come to see, he speaketh lies, and his heart heapeth vp iniquity within him: and hee goeth forth, and telleth it, mine enemies whisper together against me, and imagine how to hurt me. They haue spoken an vnjust thing vpon me, shall not he that sleepe, arise againe?* this is euen as much as if he had said, *shall not he that is dead reuiue againe?* the precedence doth shew how they conspired his death, and how he that came in to see him, went for to bewray him to them. And why is not this that traitor *Judas*, his disciple? Now because hee knew they would effect their wicked purpose, to kill him, hee to shew the fondnesse of their malice in murdering him that should rise againe, saith these words: *shall not he that sleepe, arise againe,* as if hee said, *you fooles, your wickednesse procureth but my sleepe.* But least they should do such a villany vnpunished, hee meant to repay them at full: saying, *My friend and familiar, whom I trusted, and who eate of my bread, euen he hath (b) kicked at me.* But thou Lord haue mercy vpon me, raise me up and I shall requite them. Who is hee now that beholdeth the Iewes beaten out of their land, and made vagabonds all the world ouer, since the passion of Christ, that conceiueth not the scope of this prophecy? for he rose againe after they had killed him, and repayed them with temporall plagues, besides those that hee referueth for the rest, vntill the great iudgement: for Christ himselfe shewing his betraier to the Apostles by reaching him a peece of bread; remembred this verse of the psalm, & shewed it fulfilled in himselfe, *he that did eate of my bread, euen he hath kicked at me*, the words, *in whom I trusted*, agree not with the head but with the members properly: for our Sauour knew him well, before hand, when he sayd (c) *One of you is a diuell:* but Christ vsed to transferre the proprieties of his members vnto himselfe, as being their head, body and head being all one Christ. And therefore that of the Gospell, *I was hungry, and you gaue me to eate*, hee expoundeth afterward thus: *In that (d) you did it to one of these, you did it vnto me.* He saith therefore that he trusted in him, as the Apostles trusted in *Judas*, when hee was made an Apostle. Now the Iewes hope that their Christ that they hope for shall neuer die; and therefore they hold that the law and the Prophets prefigured not ours, but one that shall be free from all touch of death, whom they doe looke for (and may doe, long inough). And this miserable blindness maketh them take that sleepe and rising againe (of which wee now speake) in the literal sense, not for death, and resurrection.

But the 16. psalme confoundeth them, thus: *My heart is glad, and my tongue reioycest, my flesh also resteth in hope, for thou wilt not leaue my soule in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy one to see corruption.* What man could say that his flesh rested in that hope that his soule should not bee left in hell, but returne presently to the flesh to saue it from the corruption of a carcasse, excepting

Psal. 3

Psal. 41

Luc. 23. 21.

Math. 25.

The Iewes beleue a Christ to come that shall not die at all.

excepting him onely that rose againe the third day? It cannot be said of *David*.  
 P<sup>sal.</sup> 68. 20 The sixtie eight P<sup>salme</sup> saith also: *Our God is the God that (e) saueth vs, and the issues of death are the Lords*. What can bee more plaine? *Iesus Christ* is the God that saueth vs: for *Iesus* is a *Sauour*, as the reason of his name was giuen in the  
 Luc. 1. Gospell, saying: *Hee shall saue his people from their sinnes*: And seeing that his blood was shed for the remission of sinnes, the enemies of death ought to belong vnto none but vnto him, nor could hee haue passage out of this life, but by death. And therefore it is said, *Vnto him belong the (f) issues of death*; to shew that hee by death should redeeme the world. And this last is spoken in an admiration, as if the Prophet should haue sayd, *Such is the life of man, that the Lord him-selfe leaueth it not, but by death!*

## L. VIVES.

**A***nd (a) prescience*] Some copies adde heere, *quia certa erant*, but it seemeth to haue but crept in, out of some scholion. *(b) Kicked at me*] *Supplantauit me*: taken vp mine heeles, as wrattlers doe one with another. Allegorically it is *analar*, to deceiue. *(c) One of you*] The Bruges copie hath: *One of you shall betraye mee: and one of you is a deuill*, both: they are two feuerall places in the Gospell. *Iohn. 13.* and *Iohn. 6.* *Iudas* is called a Deuill, because of his deceitfull villanie. *(d) In that you did it*] Or, in as much as *ἰσ' ἄσσο*. *(e) That saueth vs*] *ἰθὺς τῷ σφύρω*. A proper phrase to the Greeke tongue, but vnordinary in the Latine, vlesse the nowne be vsed, to say the God of saluation. *(f) Issues*] *ἰσῆσσο*.

*The obstinate infidelitie of the Iewes, declared in the sixtie nine P<sup>salme</sup>.* CHAP. 19.

**B***Ut* all those testimonies and prefigurations beeing so miraculously come to effect, could not moue the Iewes: wherefore that of the sixty nine P<sup>salme</sup> was fulfilled in them: which speaking in the person of Christ, of the accidents in his passion, saith this also among the rest: *They gaue mee gall to eate, and when I was thirsty they gaue mee vinegar to drinke*. And this banquet which they afforded him, hee thanketh them thus for. *Let their table bee (a) a snare for them, and their prosperitie their ruine; let their eyes bee blinded that they see not, and bend their backs for euer, &c.* which are not wishes, but prophecies of the plagues that should befall them. What wonder then if they whose eyes are blinded, discern not this, and whose backs are eternally bended, to sticke their aimes fast vpon earth: for these words being drawne from the literall sence and the body, import the vices of the minde. And thus much of the P<sup>salmes</sup> of *David*, to keepe our intended meane. Those that read these and know them all already, must needs pardon mee for beeing so copious, and if they know that I haue omitted ought that is more concerning mine obiect, I pray them to forbear complaints of me for it.

## L. VIVES.

**A***(a) Snare*] *Saint Augustine* calleth it heere, *Muscipula*, a Mouse-trappe. The Greeke is *ἰσῆσσο*.

Dauids

Dauids Kingdome: his merit, his sonne Salomon. Prophecies of Christ in Salomons bookes: and in bookes that are annexed vnto them.

CHAP. 20.

**D**Auid, the sonne of the celestiall Ierusalem, reigned in the earthly one, & was much commended in the scriptures, his piety and true humility so conquered his imperfections, that he was one of whom we might say, with him: *Blessed are those whose iniquity is forgiven and whose sinnes are covered.* After him, his sonne Salomon reigned in all his Kingdome, beginning to reigne (as we said) in his fathers time. (a) He beganne well but he ended badly: prosperity, the moath of wisdom, did him more hurt, then his famous and memorable wisdom it selfe, profited him. He was a prophet, as his workes, (b) namely the Prouerbs, the Canticles, and Ecclesiastes, doe proue: all which are canonicall. But Ecclesiasticus and the booke of wisdom, were onely called his, for some similitude betweene his stile, and theirs. But all the learned affirme them none of his, yet the churches of the West holds them of great authoritie, and hath done long: and in the booke of (c) Wisdom is a plaine prophetic of Christs passion: for his wicked murderers are brought in, saying, *Let vs circumuent the iust, for he displeaseth vs, and is contrary vnto our doings, checking vs for offending thee law, and shaming vs for our breach of discipline. Hee boasteth himselfe of the knowledge of GOD, and calleth himselfe the Sonne of the LORD: Hee is made to reprove our thoughts, it grieueth vs to looke vpon him, for his life is not like other mens: his waies are of another fashion. He counteth vs triflers, and avoideth our waies, as uncleannesse: he commendeth the ends of the iust, and boasteth that GOD is his father. Let vs see then if he say true: let vs prooue what end he shall haue: If this iust man, be GODS Sonne, he will helpe him, and deliuer him from the hands of his enemies: let vs examine him with rebukes and torments, to know his meekenesse, and to prooue his patience. Let vs condemne him vnto a shamefull death, for he saith he shall be preserved.* Thus they imagine, all astray, for their malice hath blinded them. In (d) Ecclesiasticus also is the future faith of the Gentiles prophesied, in these words. *Haue mercy vpon vs, O LORD GOD of all, and send thy feare amongst the Nations: lift vpp thyne hand vpon the Nations that they may see thy power: and as thou art sanctified in vs before them, so be thou magnified in them before vs: that they may know thee as wee know thee, that there is no God but onely thou O LORD.* This propheticall praier we see fulfilled in Iesus Christ. But the scriptures that are not in the Iewes Canon, are no good proofes against our aduersaries. But it would be a tedious dispute, and carry vs farre beyond our ayme, if I should heere stand to referre all the prophecies of Salomons three true bookes that are in the Hebrew Canon, vnto the truth of Christ and his church. Although that that of the Prouerbs, in the persons of the wicked: *Let vs lay waite for the iust without a cause, and swallow them vpp aloue, as they that goe downe into the pit, let vs raze his memory from earth, and take away his rich possession,* this may easily and in few wordes bee reduced vnto CHRIST, and his church: for such a saying haue the wicked husbandmen in his euangelicall Parable: *This is the heire, come let vs kill him, and take his inheritance.* In the same booke likewise, that which wee touched at before (speaking of the barren that brought forth seauen) cannot bee meant but of the church of CHRIST, and himselfe; as those doe easilie apprehend that know CHRIST to bee called the *wisdom of his father*; the wordes are.

wisdom



*Wisdom hath built her an house, and hath hewen out her seauen pillars: she hath killed her vittualls, drawne her owne wine, and prepared her table. Shee hath sent forth her maidens to crie from the highes, saying. He that is simple, come hether to me, and to the weake witted, she saith, Come and eate of my bread, and drink of the wine that I have drawne.* Here wee see that Gods wisdom, the coeternall Word built himan house of humanity in a Virgins wombe, and vnto this head hath annexed the church as the members; *hath killed the vittualls, that is sacrificed the Martires, and prepared the table with bread and wine,* (there is the sacrifice of *Melchisedech*;) *hath called the simple and the weake witted, for GOD (saith the Apostle) hath chosen the weakenesse of the worla, to confound the strength by.* To whom notwithstanding is said as followeth: *forsake your foolishnesse, that yee may live; and seeke wisdom, that yee may haue life.* The participation of that table, is the beginning of life: for in Ecclesiastes, where hee sayth: *It is good (e) for man to eate and drinke,* we cannot vnderstand it better then of the participation of that table which our *Melchisedechian* Priest instituted for vs the New Testament. For that sacrifice succeeded all the Old Testament sacrifices, that were but shadowes of the future good: as we heare our Sauour speake prophetically in the fortieth psalme, saying: *sacrifice and offering thou dost not desire, but a body hast thou perfited for me: for his body is offered and sacrificed now instead of all other offerings and sacrifices.* For Ecclesiastes meaneth not of carnall eating and drinking in those wordes that he repeateth so often, as that one place sheweth sufficiently, saying: *It is better to goe into the house of mourning then of feasting:* and by and by after, *the heart of the wise is in the house of mourning: but the heart of fooles is in the house of feasting.* But there is one place in this booke, of chiefe note, concerning the two Citties, and their two Kings, Christ and the deuill: *Woe to the land whose King is a child, and whose Princes eate in the morning. Blessed art thou, O land when thy King is the sonne of Nobles, and thy Princes eate in due time for strength and not for drunkennesse.* Here he calleth the deuill a child, for his foolishnesse, pride, rashnesse, petulance, and other vices incident to the age of boyish youthes. But Christ he calleth the sonne of the Nobles, to wit, of the Patriarches of that holy and free City: for from them came his humanity. The Princes of the former eate in the morning: before their houre, expecting not the true time of felicity, but wil hurrie vnto the worlds delights, head-long: but they of the *City of Christ* expect their future beatitude, with pacience. This is for strength: for their hopes neuer faile them, *Hope (saith Saint Paul) shameth no man. All that hope in thee (saith the psalme) shall not be ashamed.* Now for the Canticles, it is a certaine spirituall and holy delight in the mariage of the King and Queene of this citty, that is, Christ and the church. But this is all in mysticall figures, to inflame vs the more to search the truth and to delight the more in finding the appearance of that bridegrome to whom it is sayd there: *truth hath loued thee,* and of that bride, that receiueth this word; *loue is in thy delights.* I omit many things with silence, to draw the worke towards an end.

## L. VIVES.

**H**E (a) *beganne well*] *Augustine imitateth Salust In Bello Catil. (b) Workes, namely*] *Iosephus* affirmeth that he wrote many more, *viz. fise thousand bookes of songs, and harmonies: & three thousand of Prouerbs and Parables:* for hee made a parable of euery plant from the Ilope to the Cedar: and so did he of the beasts, birds and fishes: he knew the depth of nature,

and

and discoursed of it all, God taught him bands, exterminations and Amulets against the deuill, for the good of man, and cures for those that were bewitched. Thus saith *Iosephus* (c) *Wisdoms* ] *Philo*, the Some say that *Philo Iudeus*, who liued in the Apostles time, made this booke: He was the A-<sup>levv.</sup> postles friend, and so eloquent in the Greeke, that it was a prouerbe. *Philo eiber* Platonized or Plato Philonized. (d) *Ecclesiasticus* ] Written by *Iesus* the sonne of *Syrach*, in the time of *Ptolomy Energetes* King of Egypt, and of *Symon* the high priest. (e) *For man to eate* ] The Seventy and vulgar differ a little here, but it is of no moment.

*Of the Kings of Israel and Iudah, after Salomon.*

CHAP. 21.

**V**VE finde few prophecies of any of the Hebrew Kings after *Salomon*, pertinent vnto Christ or the church either of Iudah or Israel. For so were the two parts termed into which the kingdome after *Salomons* death was diuided, for his sinnes, and in his sonne *Roboams* time: the ten Tribes that *Ieroboam*, *Salomons* seruant attained, beeing vnder Samaria, was called properly *Israel* (although the whole nation went vnder that name) & the two other *Iudah* and *Beniamin*, which remained vnder Ierusalem, least *Dauids* stocke should haue vtterly failed, were called *Iudah*: of which tribe *Dauid* was. But *Beniamin* stuck vnto it, because *Saul*, (who was of that tribe) had reigned there the next before *Dauid*: these two (as I say) were called *Iudah*, and so distinguished from Israell, vnder which the other ten tribes remained subiect: for the tribe of *Leui*, beeing the Seminary of Gods Priests, was freed from both, and made the thirteenth tribe. *Iosephs* tribe, being diuided into *Ephraim*; and *Manasses*, into two tribes, whereas all the other tribes make but single ones a peece. But yet the tribe of *Leui* was most properly vnder Ierusalem because of the temple wherein they serued. Vpon this diuision, *Roboam* King of Iudah, *Salomons* sonne, reigned in Ierusalem, and *Hieroboam*, King of Israel, whilom seruant to *Salomon*, in Samaria. And whereas *Roboam* would haue made warres vpon them for falling from him; the Prophet forbad him from the Lord, saying; *That it was the Lords deed*. So then that it was no sinne either in the King or people of Israel but the Lords wil, that was herein fulfilled: which beeing knowne, both partes tooke vppe themselues, and rested: for they were onely diuided in rule, not in religion.

*How Hieroboam infected his subiects with Idolatry: yet did God neuer faile them in Prophets, nor in keeping many from that infection.*

CHAP. 22.

**B**Vt *Hieroboam* the King of Israell, fell peruersly from God (who had truely enthroned him as he had promised) and fearing that the huge resort of all Israel to Hierusalem (for they came to worship & sacrifice in the Temple, according to the law) might be a mean to withdraw the from him vnto the line of *Dauid* (their old King) began to set vp Idols in his own Realme, and to seduce Gods people by this damnable and impious suttlety, yet God neuer ceased to reprove him for it by his Prophets, and the people also that obeyed him and his successors in it for that time were the two great men of God, *Helias* and his disciple *Helisens*. And when *Helias* said vnto GOD: LORD they haue slaine thy Prophets, and digged  
Kkk  
downe

*downe thine Altars, and I onely am left and now they seeke my life : hee was answered  
1 Kings 19 that God had yet seaven thousand in Israel that had not bowed downe the knee to Baal.*

*The state of Israel and Iudah vnto both their Captiuities, (which befell  
at different times) diuersly altered. Iudah united  
to Israel : and lasty, both vnto Rome.*

CHAP. 23.

**N**OR wanted there Prophets in Iudah (that lay vnder Ierusalem) in all these successions: Gods pleasure was still to haue them ready, to send out either for prediction of euent, or reformation of maners. For the Kings of Iuda did offend God also (though in farre lesse measure then Israel) and deserued punishment, both they and their people. All their good Kings haue their due commendations. But Israel had not one good King from thence, but all were wicked, more or lesse. So that both these kingdomes, (as it pleased God) had their reuolutions of fortune, now prosperous, now aduerse, through forraine and ciuill warres, as Gods wrath, or mercy was mooued: vntill at length, their sinnes prouoking him, he gaue them all into the hands of the Chaldæans, who led most part of them captiues into Assyria, first the tenne Tribes of Israel, and then *Iudah* also, destroying Ierusalem, and that goodly Temple: and that bondage lasted 70. years. And then being freed, they repaired the ruined Temple, and then (although many of them liued in other nations) yet was the land no more diuided, but one Prince onely reigned in Ierusalem, and thether came all the whole land to offer and to celebrate their feasts at the time appointed. But they were not yet secure from all the nations, for then (a) came the Romanes, and vnder their subiection must Christ come and finde his Israel.

L. VIVES.

**T**Hen (a) came ] Pompey the great quelled them first, and made them tributaries to Rome. Cicero and Antony being consulls. And from that time they were ruled by the Romane Presidents of Syria, and Prouosts of Iudæa. That they paid tribute to the Romanes, both prophane histories and that question in the Ghospell (*Is it lawfull to giue tribute vnto Cæsar?*) doe witnesse.

*Of the last Prophets of the Iewes, about the time that Christ was borne.*

CHAP. 24.

**A**Fter their returne from Babilon, (at which time they had the Prophets *Aggee*, *Zacharie*, and *Malachi*, and *Esdra*) they had no more Prophets vntill our Sauours birth, but one other *Zacharie*, and *Elizabeth* his wife: and hard before his birth, old *Symeon* & *Anna*, a widow, and *Iohn* the last of all, who was about Christs yeares, and did not prophecy his comming, but protested his presence (a) being before vnkowne. Therefore saith CHRIST, *The prophets and the law prophesied vnto Iohn*. The prophecies of these five last, wee finde in the Ghospell, where the Virgin, *Our Lords Mother* prophesied also before *Iohn*.

But

But these prophecies the wicked Iewes reiect, yet an innumerable company of them did beleue, and receiued them. For then was Israel truly diuided, as was prophesied of old by *Samuel* vnto *Saul*: and avouched neuer to bee altered. But the reprobate Iewes also haue *Malachie*, *Aggee*, *Zacharie* and *Esdras* in their Canon, and they are the last bookes thereof: for their bookes are as the others, full of great prophecies: otherwise they were but few that wrote worthy of canonical authority. Of these aforesaid I see I must make some abstracts to insert into this worke, as farre as shall concerne Christ and his church: But that I may doe better in the next booke.

## L. VIVES.

**B**Eing (a) before unknowne ] Hee knew hee was come, but hee knew not his person yet, vntill the Holy Ghost descended like a doue, and God the Father spake from heauen, then hee knew him, and professed his knowledge.



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FINIS.

THE

THE  
EIGHTEENTH BOOKE  
OF THE CITTIE OF GOD:

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishop of *Hippo*,  
vnto *Marcellinus*.

*Recapitulation of the seauenteene bookes past, concerning the two  
Citties, continuing vnto the time of Christs birth, the  
Saiour of the world.*

CHAP. I.



**I**N my confutations of the peruerse contemners of Christ in respect of their Idols, and the enuious enemies of christianity (which was all that I did in my first ten bookes) I promised to continue my discourse through the originall, progresse, & limites of the *two Citties*, Gods, and the Worlds, as far as should concerne the generation of mankinde. Of this my tripler promise, one part, the originalls of the citties, haue I declared in the next foure bookes: part of the second, the progresse: from *Adam* to the deluge, in the fifteenth booke: and so from thence vnto *Abraham* I followed downe all the times as they lay. But whereas from *Abrahams* fathers time, vntill the Kingdome of the Israelites, (where I ended the sixteenth booke) and from thence vnto our Saiours birth (where I ended the seauenteenth) I haue onely caried the City of God along with my pen, whereas both the Citties ran on together, in the generations of mankinde: this was my reason; I desired first to manifest the descent of those great and manifold promises of God, from the beginning, vntill Hee, in whom they all were bounded, and to be fulfilled, were come to be borne of the Virgin, without any interposition of ought done in the Worldly city during the meane space: to make the City of God more apparent, although that all this while, vntill the reuelation of the New Testament, it did but lie inuolued in figures: Now therefore must I beginne where I left, and bring along the Earthly City, from *Abrahams* time, vnto this point where I must now leaue the heauenly: that hauing brought both their times to one quantity, their comparison may shew them both with greater euidence.

*Vives* his Preface vnto his commentaries vpon  
*the eighteenth booke of Saint Augustine his City of God.*

**I**N this eighteenth booke wee were to passe many darke waies, and often-times to seele for our passage, daring not fixe one foote vntill wee first groped where to place it, as one must doe in darke and dangerous places. Here wee cannot tarry all day at Rome, but mustt abroade into the worlds farthest corner, into linages long since lost, and countries worne quite out of memory

memory: pedegrees long agoe laid in the depth of obliuion must wee fetch out into the light (like *Cerberus*) and spread them openly. Wee must into Assyria that old Monarchy, scarcely once named by the Greekes: And Syclonia, which the very Princes therof sought to suppress from memory themselues, debarring their very fathers from hauing their names set on their tombes, as *Pausanias* relateth, and thence to *Argos*, which being held the most antique state of Greece, is all enfolded in fables: then Athens, whose nimble wits ayiming all at their countries honour, haue left truth sicke at the heart, they haue so cloied it with eloquence: and wrapped it vp in cloudes. Nor is *Augustine* content with this, but here and there casteth in hard walnuts, and almonds for vs to crack, which puts vs to shrewd trouble ere wee can get out the kernell of truth: their shells are so thicke. And then commeth the latine gests, all hacket in peeces by the discord of authors. And thence to the Romanes: nor are the Greeke wise-men omitted. It is fruitlesse to complaine, least some should thinke I doe it causelesse. And here and there, the Hebrew runneth, like veines in the body, to shew the full course of the Two Citties, the Heauenly and the Earthly. If any one traueiling through those countries, and learning his way of the cunningest, should for all that misse his way some times, is not he pardonable I pray you tho, and will any one thinke him the lesse diligent in his trauell? none, I thinke. What then if chance, or ignorance lead me astray, out of the sight of diuers meane villages that I should haue gone by, my way lying through deserts, and vntraced woods, and feldome or neuer finding any to aske the right way of? am I not to bee borne with? I hope yes, *Varro's Antiquities* are all lost; And the life of Rome. None but *Eusebius* helped mee in Assyria, but that *Diodorus Siculus* and some others, set mee in once or twice. I had a booke by mee, called *Berosus* by the Booke-sellers, and some-what I had of *Ioannes Annius*, goodly matters truely, able to fright away the Reader at first sight. But I let them ly still, I loue not to sucke the dregges, or fetch fables out of friuolous pamphlets, the very rackets wherewith Greece bandlieth ignorant heads about. Had this worke beene a childe of *Berosus*, I had vsed it willingly: but it looketh like a bastard of a Greeke sire, as *Xenophons Equinoca* are, and many other that beare their names that neuer were their authors.

If any man like such stuffe, much good doe it him: ile bee none of his riual. Through Syclonia *Pausanias* and *Eusebius*, went with mee, contenting themselues onely with the bare names, and some other little matters: the Reader shal pertake of them freely. For *Iudaen*, I see no guides but the scriptures: some-times wee haue put in the mindes of the Gentiles hereof, onely in those things that the Prophets touched not in the rest: where the scriptures concurre, wee neede goe no further. That maketh mee not to trouble *Cornelius Alexander Milesius Polyhistor*, for allegations concerning the Iewes: for hee goes all by the LXX. interpretours in his computations both in the Hebrew stories, and others. Concerning Athens, Rome, Argos, Latium, and the other fabulous subiects, the Reader hath heard whatsoeuer my diuersity of reading affordeth, and much from the most curious students therein that I could bee acquainted withall. Hee that liketh not this thing, may finde another by and by that will please his palate better, vnlesse hee bee so proudly testie that hee would haue these my paines for the publike good, of power to satisfie him onely. The rest, the Commentaries themselues will tell you.

*Of the Kings, and times of the Earthly Citty, correspondent vnto those of Abraham.*

CHAP. 2.

**M**An-kinde therefore beeing dispersed through all the world farre and wide (differing in place, yet one in nature) and each one following his owne affections, and the thing they desired being either insufficient for one, or all (being not the true good) begā to be diuided in it self: the weaker being oppressed by the stronger: for stil the weaker dominion, or freedome, yeelded to the mightier, preferring peace & safety howsoeuer, so that they (a) were wōdred at that had rather perish

perish then serue, for nature cryeth with one voice (almost all the world through) *It is better to serue the conquerour, then to be destroyed by warre.* Hence it is that some are Kings & some are subiects (not without Gods prouidēce for Prince & subiect are vnto him, alike, & both in his power) but in al those earthly dominions, wher- Gods prouidēce the arbiter of Kingdomes in diuided man-kinde followed each his temporall profit and respect: we find two more eminent then all the other, first *Assiria*, and then *Rome*: seuerall both in times and places: the one in the East, long before the other, that was in the West, finally the end of the first was the beginning of the later. The other kingdomes were but as appendents vnto these two. In *Assiria*, *Ninus* ruled, the second King thereof after his father *Belus* the first, in whose time (b) *Abraham* was borne.

Then was *Sycionia* but a small thing, whence that great scholler *Varro* begins his discourse, writing of the Romaine nation: and comming from the the *Sicyonians* to the *Athenians*, from them to the latines, and so to the *Romanes*. But those were trifles in respect of the *Assirians*, before *Rome* was built. Though the Romaine *Salust* say that (c) *Athens* was very famous in Greece: I thinke indeed it was more famous, then fame-worthy, for hee speaking of them, saith thus: *The Athenians exploits I thinke were worthy indeed: but short of their report: as being enhaunced by their eloquence in relations, and so came the world to ring of Athens, and the Athenians vertues held as powerfull in their acts, as their wits were copious in their reports.* Besides, the Philosophers continuall abode there-aboutes, and the nourishment of such studies there, added much vnto the fame of *Athens*. But as for dominion, there was none in those times so famous, nor so spacious as the *Assirians*, for *Ninus*, *Belus* his sonne, ruled there (d) with all *Asia*, the worldes third part in number, and halfe part in quantity, vnder his dominion: out as far as the furthest limites of *Lybia* (e) Onely the *Indians* (of all the East) hee had not subdued: but his wife (f) *Semiramis* warred vpon them after his death. Thus were all the vice-royes of those lands at the command of the Princes of *Assiria*. And in this *Ninus* his time was *Abraham* borne in *Chaldæa*. But because wee know the state of Greece better then that of *Assiria*, and the ancient writers of *Romes* originall haue drawne it from the Greekes to the Latines and so vnto the *Romaines* (who are indeed Latines) therefore must wee here reckon onely the *Assirian Kings* as farre as neede is, to shew the progresse of *Babilon* (the first *Rome*) together with that Heauenly pilgrim on earth, the holy *Citty of God*: but for the things themselves that shall concerne this worke, and the comparison of both *Citties*, them we must rather fetch from the Greekes and Latines, where *Rome* (the second *Babilon*) is seated.

At *Abrahams* birth therefore, *Ninus* was the second King of *Assiria*, and (h) *Europs* of *Sycionia*, for *Belus* was the first of the one and (i) *Aegialeus* of the other: but when *Abraham* left *Cladæa* vpon Gods promise of that vniuersall blessing to the Nations in his seede, the fourth King ruled in *Assiria*, and the fifth in *Sycionia*, for *Ninus* the sonne of *Ninus*, reigned there (k) after his mother *Semiramis*, (l) whome they say hee slew because she bare an incestuous lust towards him. Some thinke (m) shee built *Babilon*: indeed shee might repaire it: but when and by whome it was built our sixteenth booke declareth. Now (n) this sonne of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, that succeeded his mother, some call (o) *Ninus* and sonne *Ninius* by a deriuatiue from his fathers name. And now was *Sycionia* gouerned by (p) *Thelxion*, who had so happy a reigne that when



he was dead, they adored him as a God, with sacrifices, and playes, whereof it is said they were the first inuentors.

### L. VIVES.

Abraham,

**T**hey (a) were wondred at. ] As the Numantians, the Saguntines, the Opitergians, and of particular men, *Cato*, *Scipio*, and (*rassus*, were. (b) *Abraham* was borne. ] Many prophane authors haue written of *Abraham* as well as the Scriptures, as *Hecateus* that wrot a particular booke of him, (*Euseb. de prepar. Euang.*) and *Alexander Polyhistor*, who maketh him to bee borne in the tenth Generation, at *Camarine Or Vr* (which some call *Vrien*) in *Chaldæa*, called in Greeke *Chaldæopolis*, that hee inuented *Astrology* there, and was so iust, wise and welbeloued of God, that hee sent him into *Phænicia*, and there hee taught *Astronomy* and other good Arts, and got into great fauour with the King: *Nicholas Damascenus* saith that *Abraham* reigned at *Damascus*, comming thether out of *Chaldæa* with an army: and went thence into *Chanaan* (afterwards called *Iudæa*) leauing great monuments of his being at *Damascus*, by which was a village called *Abrahams* house. But *Chanaan* being plagued with famine, hee went into *Egypt*; and consorting him-selfe with the Priests there, helped their knowledge, their piety and their policy very much: *Histor. lib. 4.* *Alexander* saith hee liued a while at *Heliopolis*, not professing the inuention of *Astronomy*, but teaching it as *Enoch* had taught him it, who had it from his fore-fathers. *Artapanus* saith that they were called *Hebrewes* of *Abraham*, that hee was twenty yeares in *Egypt* and taught King *Pharetales* *Astronomy*, and went from thence into *Syria*. *Melo* in his booke against the *Iewes*, troubleth the truth of this history very much, for he maketh but three generations from the deluge vnto *Abraham*: giuing him two wiues, an *Egyptian*, and a *Chaldæan*, of which *Egyptian* hee begot tweiue children, all Princes of *Arabia*, and that of the *Chaldæan* he had but *Isaac* onely, who had tweiue children also, whereof *Moyse* was the eldest and *Ioseph* the youngest. But in this case the Scriptures are most true, as they are most diuine. (c) *Athens* was. ] Their estate was greater in time, then power, for in their greatest souerainety they ruled onely the sea coast (by reason of their nauy) from the inmost *Bosphorus*, about by the seas of *Aegeum* and *Pamphylia*, and that they held not about seauenty yeares, as *Lysias* signifieth in his *Epitaph*. (d) *All Asia*. ] *Dionisius Alexandrinus* sayth that the *Assirian* Monarchy ruled but a very small portion of *Asia*. (e) *Onely the Indians*. ] *India* is bounded on the East with the East sea, *Mar. del Zur*: on the South with the *Indian* sea, *Golfo di Bengala*: on the West with the riuer *Indus*, (the greatest of the world, saith *Diodorus*, excepting *Nilus*) and on the North, with mount *Emodus* that confineth vpon *Scythia*. There are some people called *Indoscythians*: *Ptolomy* diuideth *India* into two, the *India* without *Ganges*, and the *India* within. Of *India* many haue written, *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Stephanus*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Ptolomy*, and others that wrot the Acts of *Alexander* the great, who led an army ouer most of them parts, discouring more then euer traueller did beside. But our mariners of late yeares haue made a more certaine discouery of it all. *Diodorus*, and *Strabo* write much of the happy fertility of it in all things; both of them borrowing of *Eratosthenes* and *Megasthenes* who sojourned with *Sadrocetus* King of *India*, and recorded these things. (f) *Semiramis* warred. ] She had two battells against them, one at the riuer *Indus*, and wanne the field, the other farther in, and lost it, and was beaten home: *Diodor. lib. 3.* *Megasthenes* (in *Strabo*) saith the *Indians* neuer sent army forth of their country, nor any euer got into theirs, but those of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*. Neither *Sesoftris* the *Egyptian*, nor *Tharcon* the *Ethiopian*, though they came to *Hercules* his pillars through *Europe*, nor *Norbogodrosor* (whome the *Chaldeans* in some sort prefer before *Hercules*, and who came also to these pillars) euer came into *India*. *Idantyrus* also got into *Egypt*, but neuer into *India*, *Semiramis* indeed came into it a little, but perished ere shee got out. *Cyrus* conquered the *Massagetes* onely, but medled not with *India*. (g) *But because wee know*. ] In the Kings of *Sicyonia*, wee follow *Eusebius*, and *Pausanias*, both Greekes: for the bookes of *Varro* and all the Latines concerning them, are now lost. Nor do these two goe any Further then the names of those Kings: because indeed the *Sycionians* neuer set any

Epitaphs,

Epitaphs, but onely the names of the dead, vpon their tombes, as *Pausanias* declareth: Vpon *Kopribiaois*. Nor can any Latine author further vs in the affaires of Assiria: they medle not with them. The Greekes take a leape almost from *Ninus* to *Sardanapalus*, from the first Assirian Monarch to the last. Some name a few betweene them; but they do but name them: for this old monarchy they thrust into the fabulous times, as *Dionysius* doth in his first booke, Indeed it brought no famous matter to passe, for *Ninus* hauing founded it, and *Semiramis* hauing confirmed it, all their successors fell to sloth and easfull delights, liuing close in their huge palaces, and taking their pleasures without any controll; that made *Ctesias*, that old writer, both to record all their names and the yeares of their reignes. But of the other Kings, Greekes and Latines wee shall haue better store to choose in. (b) *Europe*.] The Sycionians (saith *Pausanias*) bordering vpon *Corynthe*, say, that *Aegialeus* was their first King, that he came out of that part of *Peloponnesus* that is called *Aegialos* after him, and dwelt first in the City *Aegialia*, where the tower stood then, where the temple of *Minerua* is now. This is *Aegialia* in *Sycyonia* on the sea coast: there is *Aegialia* in *Paphlagonia* also; and else-where. Some say that *Peloponnesus* was first called *Aegialia* of this King, and then *Apia* of *Apis*, then *Argos* of that famous city, and lastly *Peloponnesus* of *Pelops*. But their opinion that make *Aegialia* to be a sea-coasting city is better. This king, they say begot *Euroops*, he *Telchin* father to *Apis*, who grew so rich and mighty that before *Pelops* came to *Olympia*, all the country within *Isthmus* was called *Apia*, after him. Hee begot *Telexion*, and he *Egyrus*, *Egyrus*, *Thurimachus*, and hee *Leucippus*, who had no sonne, but a daughter called *Calchinia* vpon whome *Neptune* begot *Peratos*, whome *Leucippus* brought vp, and left as King. He begot *Plemneus*, and all *Plemneus* his children as soone as euer they were borne, and cryed, died presently, vntill *Ceres* helped this mis-fortune, for shee, comming into *Aegialia*, was intertayned by *Plemneus*, and brought vp a child of his called *Orthopolis* who afterwards had a daughter called *Charysorbis*, who had *Cornus* by *Apollo* (as it is sayd) and he had two sonnes, *Corax* and *Laomedon*, *Corax* dying *Iffuleffe* *Epopeus* came out of *Theffaly* iust at that time, and got his kingdome, and in his time they say warres were first set on foote, peace hauing swayed all the time before. Thus saith *Pausanias*. *Euroops* reigned fourty yeares, and in the twenty two yeare of his reigne, was *Abraham* borne. (c) *Aegialeus*.] The sonne of *Inachus*, the riuer of *Argos*, and *Melia*, *Oceanus* his daughter. Thus say some Greekes. (k) *After his mother Semiramis*.]

*Diodorus* saith much of her lib. 3. She was the daughter (saith hee) of nymph *Derceto* by an vnknowne man, hir mother drowned her-selfe in the lake *Ascalon*, because shee had lost her mayden-head and left *Semiramis* her child amongst the rockes where the wild beasts fed her with their milke: and that her mother was counted a goddesse with a womans head and a fishes body, nor would the *Sirians* touch the fish of that lake, but held them sacred vnto goddesse *Derceto*. Now *Symnas* the Kings sheppard found *Semiramis* and brought her vp, and being very beautifull, *Memnon* a noble man married her, and then she came acquainted with King *Ninus*, and taught him how to subdue the *Bactrians*, and how to take the city *Bactras* which then he beseged: so *Ninus* admiring her wit and beauty, married her, and dying left her Emperesse of *Asia*, vntill her yong sonne *Ninus* came at age, so shee vndertoke the gouernment, and kept it forty two yeares. This now some say, but the *Athenians* (and *Dion* after them) affirme that shee begged the sway of the power imperiall of her husband for five daies onely, which hee granting, she caused him to be killed, or as others say, to bee perpetually imprisoned.

(l) *They say he slew*.] She was held wondrous lustfull after men, and that she still murdered him whome she medled with: that shee tempted her sonne, who therefore slew her, either for feare to fare as the others had, or else in abhominacion of so beastly an act. The *Chaldees* say shee died not, but went quicke vp to heauen.

(m) *Built Babilon*] *Babilon* is both a country in *Assyria*, and a Citie therein, built by *Semiramis*, as *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, *Iustine*, and all the ancient Greekes and Latines held. But *Iosephus*, *Eusebius*, *Marcellinus*, and others both *Christians* and *Iewes* say, that it was built by the progenie of *Noah*, and onely repaired and fortified by *Semiramis*, who walled it about with such walles as are the worlds wonders. This *Onid* signifieth saying.

*Cottilibus*

*Cottibus muris cinxiffe Semiramis urbem.*

*Semiramis guirt it with walles of Brick.*

And this verſe *Hierome* citeth to confirme this, In *Oſe*. Some hold that *Belus* her father in law built it. Some, that hee laide the foundations onely. So holdes *Diodorus*, out of the Egyptian monuments. *Alexander* ſaith that the firſt *Belus*, whome the Greekes call *αβυρος*, reigned in Babilon, and that *Belus* the ſecond, and *Chanaan* were his two ſonnes. But hee followeth *Eupolemus* in allotting the building of Babilon to thoſe that remained after the deluge. *Euſ. de pr. Euang. lib. 8.* Chaldaea was all ouer with water (ſaith *Abydenus in Eusebium de prep. Euang. li. 10.*) And *Belus* dreined it drye, and built Babilon: the walles whereof being ruined by flouds, *Nabocodroſor* repaired, and thoſe remained vnto the time of the Macedonian Monarchie; and then hee reckoneth the ſtate of this King, impertinent vnto this place. *Auguſtine* maketh *Nemrod* the builder of Babilon, as you read before. Heare what *Plinie* ſaith: *lib. 6.* Babilon the chiefe City of Chaldaea, and long famous in the world, and a great part of the country of *Aſſyria* was called *Babilonia*, after it, the walles were two hundred foote high, and fifty foote brode: euery foote being three fingers larger then ours, *Euphrates* ranne through the midſt of it, &c. There was another Babilon in Egypt built by thoſe whome *Sefoſtris* brought from Babilon in *Aſſyria*, into Egypt, to worke vpon thoſe madde workes of his, the *Piramides*. (n) *This ſonne*] His mother brought him vp tenderly amongſt her Ladyes, and ſo hee liued a quiet Prince, and came ſeldome abroade, wherevpon the other Kings his ſucceſſors, got vp an uſe to talke with few in perſon, but by an interpretour, and to rule all by deputies. *Diodor. Iuſtin.* (o) *Ninus*] Some call him *Zameis*, ſonne to *Ninus*, (as *Iosephus* and *Eusebius*) and ſome *Ninins*. (p) *Telexion*] In the tranſlated *Eusebius* it is *Selchis*, whome hee ſaith reigned twenty yeares. In ſome of *Auguſtines* olde copies it is *Telexion*, and in ſome, *Thalaſion*, but it muſt be *Telexion*, for ſo it is in *Panſanias*.

Telexion.

*What Kings reigned in Aſſyria, and Sycyonia, in the hundreth yeare of Abrahams age, when Iſaac was borne according to the promiſe: or at the birth of Iacob and Eſau.*

CHAP. 3.

**I**N his time alſo did *Sara* being old, barren, and paſt hope of children, bring forth *Iſaac* vnto *Abraham*, according to the promiſe of *God*. And then reigned (a) *Aralius* the firſt King of *Aſſyria*. And *Iſaac* being three ſcore yeares of age, had (b) *Eſau* and *Iacob*, both at one birth of *Rebecca*, *Abraham* his father being yet liuing, and of the age of one hundred and ſixtie yeares, who liued fiſteene yeares longer and then dyed, (c) *Xerxes* the older, called alſo *Baleus*, reigning the ſeauenth King of *Aſſyria*, (d) and *Thuriachus* (called by ſome *Thurimachus*) the ſeauenth of *Sycyon*. Now the kingdome of the *Argiues* began with the time of theſe ſonnes of *Iſaac*, and *Inachus* was the firſt King there. But this wee may not forget out of *Varro*, that the *Sycionians* uſed to offer ſacrifices at the tombe of the ſeauenth King *Thurimachus*. But (e) *Armamitres* being the eight King of *Aſſyria*, and *Leucippus* of *Sycyonia*, and (f) *Inachus* the firſt King of *Argos*, *God* promiſed the land of *Chanaan* vnto *Iſaac* for his ſeede, as hee had done vnto *Abraham* before, and the vniuerſall bleſſing of the nations therein alſo: and this promiſe was thirdly made vnto *Iacob*, afterwards called *Iſrael*, *Abrahams* grand-child, in the time of *Belocus* the ninth *Aſſyrian* monarch, and *Phoroneus*, *Inachus* his ſonne, the ſecond King of the *Argiues*, *Leucippus* reigning as yet in *Sycione*. In this *Phoroneus* his time, *Greece* grew famous for diuerſe good lawes and ordinances: but yet his brother *Phegous*, after his death built a temple ouer his tombe, and made him to be worſhipped as a *God*, & cauſed oxen to be ſacrificed vnto

vnto him, holding him worthy of this honour, I thinke, because in that part of the kingdome which he held (for their father diuided the whole betweene them) hee set vp oratories to worship the gods in; and taught the true course and obseruation of moneths and yeares: which the rude people admiring in him, thought that at his death hee was become a God, or else would haue it to bee thought so. For so they say (f) that *Io* was the daughter of *Inachus*, shee that afterwards was called (g) *Isis*, and honored for a great goddesse in Egypt: though some write that (b) shee came out of Ethiopia to bee Queene of Egypt, and because shee was mighty and gracious in her reigne, and taught her subiects many good Artes, they gaue her this honour after her death, and that with such diligent respect, that it was death to say shee had euer bene mortall.

## L. VIVES.

**A**ralius (a) ] In the old copies *Argius*: in *Eusebius*, *Analius*, sonne to *Arrius* the last King before him, hee reigned fortie yeares. The sonne in Assyria euer more succeeded the father, *Velleius*. (b) *Esan* and *Iacob* ] Of *Iacob*, *Theodotus*, a gentile, hath written an elegant poem and of the Hebrew acts. And *Artapanus*, and one *Philo*, not the Iew, but another, *Alexander Polyhistor* also, who followeth the Scriptures, all those wrote of *Iacob*. (c) *Xerxes the elder* ] *Aralius* his sonne: hee reigned forty yeares. There were two more *Xerxes*, but those were Persian Kings: the first *Darius Hidaspis* his sonne, and the second successor to *Artaxerxes Long-hand*, reigning but a few moneths. The first of those sent the huge armies into Greece. *Xerxes* in the Persian tongue, is a Warriour, and *Artaxerxes* a great Warriour. *Herodot. in Erato*. The booke that beareth *Berosus* his name, saith that the eight King of Babilon was called *Xerxes*, surnamed *Balaus*, and reigned thirty yeares, that they called him *Xerxes*, Victor, for that hee wone twise as many nations to his Empire, as *Aralius* ruled, for hee was a stoute and fortunate souldiour, and enlarged his kingdome almost vnto India. Thus saith that author, what euer hee is. *Eusebius* for *Balaus* readeth *Balanus*: *Callistus* in Greeke, is *Balnearius*, belonging to the bathe. (d) *Thuriachus* ] *Eusebius* hath it, *Tir- Thuriachus*, and so hath the *Bruges* old copy: but erroneously, as it hath much more. *Egyrus* (saith *Pausanias*) was *Thelexions* sonne, and *Thurimachus* his sonne, in the seauenth yeare of whose reigne *Isaacs* sonnes were borne. (e) *Armamirres* ] He reigned thirty eight yeares, and *Leucippus*, the sonne of *Thuriachus* forty fiue, our counterfeit *Berosus* calleth him *Armamirres*.

(f) *Inachus* ] In Peloponesus there is the Argolicean gulfe (now called *Golfo di Na- Inachus*, *poli*) reaching from *Sylla's* promontory vnto Cape Malea, and the Myrtoan sea (now called *Mar de Mandria*) containing the Citties Argolis, Argos, and Mycenae, the riuers of *Inachus*, and *Erafinus*, and part of *Lycaonia*. Here did *Inachus* reigne at first, and gaue his name to the riuier that springs from mount *Lyrcæus*. Some thinke that both hee and *Phoroneus* reigned at Argos in Theffaly, but the likeness of the name deceiueth them. For there is Argos indeed in Theffaly, called *Pelasgis* by *Homer*, and there is *Pelasgis* in Peloponesus, and *Achzi*, and *Achini* in both countries. *Strabo* saith that *Pelops* came into *Apia* with the *Phthiots* that are now in Theffaly, and gaue *Peloponesus* his name afterwards: and that there were some *Pelasgi*, that were the first inhabitants of Italy about the mouth of *Po*, and some Theffalians that inhabited *Vmbria*. But *Pelasgus* was the sonne of *Niobe*, *Phoroneus* his daughter and *Pelasgus*, *Ione*, and from him came the *Achiues* and the *Peloponnesians* that first peopled *Aemonia* (afterwards called Theffaly) in great multitudes. *Dionys. Halicarn. Achaus*, *Phthius* and *Pelasgus* were the sonnes of *Neptune* and *Larissa*, came into *Aemonia*, chased out the Barbarians, and diuided it into three parts, each one leauing his name vnto his share. I thinke because they would continue the memory of their old countrey, hauing left *Achaia*, *Pelasgis*, *Phthia*, and *Larissa* the Argiue tower, at Argos, here they would renew the names for the memorie and fame of their nation.

Fiue

Five ages after did the Locrians and *Ætoli*ans (then called the *Leleges* and *Curetes*) by the leading of *Demalion*, *Prometheus* his sonne, chase these *Pelasgi*ues into the *Iles* of the *Ægean* sea, and the shores neare adiacent. Those that light in *Epyrus*, passed soone after into *Italy* *Homer* in his catalogue of the *Greekes* ships sheweth plaine that these names were confounded. But we are too long in this point. *Dionysius* maketh the *Argiue* state the eldest of all *Greece*. In *Chron.* *Axion* and others (the most) follow him, making *Ægiæus* King of *Sycion* to bee *Inachus* in *Phoroneus* his time, & the first founder of that state then. Now *Inachus* they say was no man but a river onely, begotten by *Oceanus*, and father to *Phoroneus*, and some say, vnto *Ægiæus* also. *Phoroneus* being made Iudge betweene *Iuno* and *Neptune* concerning their controuersie about lands, together with *Cephisus*, *Inachus*, and *Astecion*, iudged on *Iuno*'s side, and there vpon shee was called the *Argiue Iuno*, as louing *Argos* deere, and hauing her most ancient temple betweene *Argos* and *Mycenas*. *Phoroneus* did make lawes to decide controuersies amongst his people, and therefore is called a Iudge. Some thinke that *forum*, the name of the pleading place, came from his name: how truly, looke they to that. He drew the wandering people into a Cittie (saith *Pausanias*) and called it *Phoronicum*. The *Thelcissians* and *Carpathians* made warre vpon him, whome hee ouer-threw, and droue them to seeke a new habitation by the sea. At length they came to *Rhodes*, called then *Ophinsa*, where they seated them-selues a hundred and seauenty yeares before the building of *Rome*. *Oros.* (f) *Io*] *Ioue* (they say) rauished her, and lest *Iuno* should know it, turned her into a Cowe, and gaue her to *Iuno*, who put her to the keeping of the hundred eyed *Argus*: and this Cowe was *Isis*: *Herodotus*, out of the *Persian* Monuments relateth, that the *Phœnicians* that trafficked vnto *Argos*, stole her thence and brought her into *Egypt*, which was the first iniurious rape, before *Hellens*. *Diodorus* saith that *Inachus* sent a noble Captaine called *Cyranus* to seeke her, charging him neuer to returne without her. *Pausanias* maketh her the daughter of *Iasius* the sixt *Argiue* King, and not of *Inachus*. *Phoroneus* hee saith begot *Argos*, who succeeded his grandfather, and gaue the Cittie the name of *Argos* (being before called *Phoronicum*) and this *Argos* begot *Phorbas*, hee *Triopas*, and *Triopas*, *Iasius* and *Agenor*. *Valer. Flaccus* calleth *Io*, *Inachis*, and the *Iasian* vergin, the first because of the nobility of *Inachus*, the kingdoms founder, the later, because *Iasius* was her father. *Argonaut.* 4. And this reconcileth the times best. For if shee were *Inachus* his daughter, how could shee liue with King *Triopas*, as *Ensebius* saith shee did? In *Chron.* & *De prap. Euang.* l. 10. for hee liued foure hundred yeares after *Inachus*, being the seauenth King of *Argos*. Though *Ensebius* make one *Iun* in *Inachus* his time, to faile to *Egypt* by sea (In *Chron.*) but not to swim ouer the sea. For they had a feast in *Egypt* for the honour of *Isis* her ship. *Lactant.* lib. 1. And therefore shee was held the saylers goddesse, guiding them in the sea. *Goe* (saith *Ioue* to *Mercury* in *Lucian*) guide *Iun* through the sea vnto *Egypt*, & call her *Isis*, & let them account of her as a deity: let her carry *Nilus* as she list, & guide all the voyages by sea, &c. *My worship* (saith *Isis* of her feast, in *Apuleius*) shall bee eternall, as the day followeth the night, because I calme the tempests, and guide the ships through the stormy seas, the first frutes of whose voyages my priests offer mee. (g) *Isis*] In *Egypt* they pictured her with hornes. *Herodot.* *Diod.* *Sycul.* Some said shee was the daughter of *Saturne* and *Rhea*, who was married to her brother *Osiris*, that is, *Iuno* to *Ioue*. Others called her *Ceres*, (in *Spain* *Greece*) because shee inuented husbandry and sowing of corne, and those called *Osiris*, *Dionysius*. Some called her the *Moone*, and *Osiris* the *Sunne*: for *Diodorus* will not haue *Io* to bee *Inachus* his daughter. *Sernius* saith *Isis* is the genius of *Egypt*, signifying the ouer-flowing of *Nilus*, by the horne she beareth in her right hand, and by the bucket shee hath in her left, the plenty of all humane necessaries. Indeed in the *Egyptian* tongue, *Isis* is earth, and so they will haue *Isis* to be. In *Aeneid.* 8. (h) She came out of *Ethiopia*] Whence *Egypt* had all her learning, lawes, policies, religion, and often-times colonies sent from thence.

Of the times of *Iacob* and his sonne *Ioseph*. CHAP. 4.

**B** *Alaus* being the tenth King of *Assyria*, and *Messappus* (a) (otherwise (b) called *Cephisus*, but yet both these names were by seueral authors vsed for one man) being the ninth of *Sycionia*, and (c) *Apis* the third of *Argos*, *Isaac* dyed, being a hundred

hundred and eighty yeares old, leauing his sonnes at the ages of a hundred and twenty yeares: the yonger *Jacob*, belonging to *Gods Citty*, and the elder to the *worlds*. The yonger had twelue sonnes, one whereof called *Ioseph*, his brothers folde vnto Marchants going into *Egypt*, in their grand-father *Isaacs* time. *Ioseph* liued (by his humility) in great fauour and aduancement with *Pharao*, being now thirty yeares old. For he interpreted the Kings dreames, fore-telling the seauen plentifulious yeares, and the seauen deare ones, which would consume the plenty of the other: and for this the King set him at liberty (being before imprisoned for his true chastity, in not consenting to his lustfull mystresse, but fled and left his raiment with her, who here-vpon fallly complained to her husband of him) and afterwards hee made him Vice-roye of all *Egypt*. And in the second yeare of scarcity, *Jacob* came into *Egypt* with his sonnes, being one hundred and thirty yeares old, as he told the King. *Ioseph* being thirty nine when the King aduanced him thus, the 7. plentifull yeares, and the two deare ones being added to his age.

## L. VIVES.

**M**esappus (a) ] *Pausanias* nameth no such: saying *Leucippus* had no sonne, but *Chalcinia*, *Mesappus*.  
 one daughter, who had *Perattus* by *Neptune*, whom his grand-father *Leucippus* brought vp, and left inthroned in his kingdome. *Eusebius* saith *Mesappus* reigned forty seauen yeares. If it were *Mesappus*, then doubtlesse it was *Calcinias* husband, of whom mount *Mesappus* in *Bœotia* and *Melapia* (otherwise called *Calabria*) in *Italy*, had their names. *Virgil* maketh him *Neptunes* sonne, a tamer of horses, and invulnerable. *Aeneid.* 7. (b) *Cephisus* ] A riuer in *Bœotia*, in whose banke standeth the temple of *Themis*, the Oracle that taught *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* how to restore mankind. It runnes from *Parnassus* thorow the countries of *Bœotia*, and the Athenian territory. And *Mesappus* either had his names from this riuer and that mount, or they had theirs from him, or rather (most likely) the mount had his name, and hee had the riuers, because it ranne through his natiue soile. (c) *Apis* ] Hee is not in *Pausanias* *Apis*.  
 amongst the Argiue kings: but amongst the *Sycionians*, and was there so ritch, that all the cuntry within *Isthmus*, bare his name, before *Pelops* came. But *Eusebius* (out of the most *Greekes*) seateth him in *Argos*.

Of *Apis* the Argiue King, called *Serapis* in *Egypt*, and there adored as a deity. CHAP. 5.

**A**T this time did *Apis* king of *Argos* saile into *Egypt*, and dying there, was called *Serapis* the greatest God of *Egypt*. The reason of the changing his name, saith *Varro*, is this: a dead mans coffin (which all do now call (b) *σαροφάγος*) is *σοφίς* also in *Greece*: so at first they worshipped at his coffin and tombe, ere his temple were built, calling him at first *Sorosapis*, or *Sorapis*: and afterwards (by change of a letter, as is ordinary) *Serapis*. And they made a lawe, that who-soeuer should say hee had beene a man, should dye the death. And because that in all the (c) temples of *Isis* and *Serapis*, there was an Image with the finger laid vpon the mouth, as commanding silence, this was (saith *Varro*) to shew them that they must not say that those two were euer mortall. And (d) the Oxe which *Egypt* (being wonderously and vainly seduced) (e) nourished in all pleasures and fatnesse vnto the honor of *Serapis*; because they did not worship him in a coffin, was not called *Serapis* but *Apis*: which Oxe being dead, and they seeking him, and finding another, flecked of colour iust as hee was: here they thought they

they had gotten a great God by the foote. It was not such an hard matter indeed for the deuills, to imprinte the imagination of such a shape in any Cowes phantasia, at her time of conception, to haue a meane to subuert the soules of men, and the Cowes imagination would surely model the conception into such a forme, as (g) *Iacobs* ewes did and his shee goates, by seeing the party-colored sticke, for that which man can doe with true collours, the Diuell can do with apparitions, and so very easily frame such shapes.

## L V I V E S.

Osiris:

**A**T (a) *this time.*] *Diodorus lib. 1.* reciteth many names of *Osiris* as *Dionysius*, *Serapis*, *Ioue Ammon*, *Pan*, & *Pluto*. *Tacitus* arguing *Serapis* his original, saith that some thought him to be *Æsculapius*, the Phisitian-god: and others, tooke him for *Osiris*, *Egypt*s ancientst deity. *lib. 20.* *Macrobius* taketh him for the sunne, and *Isis* for the earth. *Te Serapim Nilus* (saith *Marlianus* to the sunne) *Memphis veneratur Osyrium: Nilus adoret hee as serapis, and Memphis, as Osiris.* Some held *Serapis* the genius of *Egypt*, making it fertile and abundant, His statues (saith *Suidas*) *Theophilus* Archbishop of *Alexandria* tooke downe, in the time of *Theodosius* the great. This god some called *Ioue*, some *Nilus*, (because of the measure that he had in his hand, and the cubite, designing the measures of the water,) and some, *Ioseph*. Some say there was one *Apis*, a rich King of *Memphis*, who in a great famine releued all *Alexandria* at his proper cost and charges, where-vpon they erected a Temple to him when hee was dead, and kept an Oxe therein, (for a type of his husbandry) hauing certaine spots on his backe, and this Oxe was called by his name, *Apis*. His tombe wherein he was buried, was remoued to *Alexandria*, and so him-selfe of *σορος*, and *Apis*, was called *Sorapis*, and afterwards, *Serapis*. *Alexander* built him a goodly temple. Thus much out of *Suidas* and the like is in *Ruffinus, Eccles. Hist. lib. 11.* The *Argiues* King (saith *Eusebius Prep. lib. 10* out of *Aristippus* his history of *Arcadia lib. 2.*) called *Apis*, built *Memphis* in *Egypt*: whome *Aristeus* the *Argiue* calleth *Sarapis*: and this man (we know) is worshipped in *Egypt* as a god. But *Nymphodorus, Amphipolitanus de legib. Asiatic. lib. 3.* saith that the Oxe called *Apis*, dying, was put into a coffin (called *σορος* in Greeke) and so called first *Serapis*, and then *Serapis*. The man *Apis*, was the third King after *Inachus*. Thus farre *Eusebius*, (b) *σοφοκρατος*.] That is, the deuouer of flesh. Therefore *Pausanias*, *Porphyry*, *Suidas*, and other Greekes, call him not *Sorapis*, but *Sarapis*, *σορος* is a chest, an Arke, or a coffin. (c) *Temples of.*] *Isis* and *Osiris* were buried at *Nisa* as some thinke (sayth *Diodorus lib. 1*) A city in *Arabia*, where two pillers were erected for monuments one for her and another for him, and epitaphs vpon them contayned their acts, and inuentions. Bnt that which was in the Priests hands might neuer come to light for feare of reuealing the truth: and dearely must hee pay for it that published it. This God that laid his finger on his lips in signe of silence, hight *Harpocrates*, *Varro de ling. Lat. lib. 3.* where he affirmeth that *Isis* and *Serapis* were the two great Gods, Earth and heauen. This *Harpocrates* *Ansonius* calleth *Sigalion*, of *σιγαλον*, to be silent. *Pliny*, and *Catullus* mention him often when they note a silent fellow, and his name is prouerbiall. *Plutarch. (lib. de Is. & Osyr)* saith hee was their sonne gotten by *Osiris* vpon *Isis* after his death: and because the child died as soone as it was borne, therefore they picture it with the finger on the mouth, because it neuer spake. I like not this interpretation, it is too harsh and idle. The statue signified that some-what was to bee kept secret, as the goddesse *Angerona* (in the like shape) did at Rome. *Macrob. Ouid. Metam. 9.*

Harpocrates:

Angerona,

*Sanctaque Bubastis, variisque coloribus Apis.*  
*Quique premit vocem, digitoque silentia suadet.*

Saint *Isis* and that party colour'd Oxe,  
And he whose lips his hand in silence lockes.

To this it may be *Persius* alluded saying, *digito compeſce labellū*, lay your finger on your mouth.  
(d) *The*

(d) *The Oxe* ] *Apis* the *Oxe*. No man I thinke Greeke or Latine, euer wrote of the Egyptian affaires, but he had vp this *Oxe*: but especially *Herodo. Diodo. Strabo. Plutar. Ensch. Suidas. Varro, Apis. Mela, Pliny, Solinus, and Marcellinus*. Hee was all black, but for a square spotte of white in his fore-head, (saith *Herodotus*) on his right side (saith *Pliny*): his hornes bowed like a Crescent: for he was sacred vnto the Moone. *Marcellinus*. Hee had the shape of an Eagle vpon his back, and a lumpe vpon his tongue, like a black-beetle, and his taile was all growne with forked haire. When hee was dead, they fought another with great sorrow, neuer ceasing vntill they had found a new *Apis* like him in all respects. Him did Egypt adore as the chiefe god, and (as *Macrobius* saith) with astonished veneration, nor might hee liue longer then a set time, if hee did, the priests drowned him (e) *Nourished* ] At Memphis (saith *Strabo*) was a temple dedicated vnto *Apis*, and thereby a goodly parke or enclosure, before which was an Hall, and this enclosure was the dams of *Apis*, whercinto hee was now and then letten in, to sport him-selfe, and for strangers to see him. His place where hee laie, was called the mysticall bed, and when he went abroade, a multitude of vsuers were euer about him: all adored this *Oxe-god*, the boyes followed him in a shole, and hee himselve now and then bellowed forth his prophecies. No man that was a stranger might come into this temple at Memphis, but onely at burials. (f) *They did not worship* ] Some did draw this worship of the *Oxe* from the institution of *Isis* and *Osyris*, for the vse that they found of this beast in tillage. Some againe say *Osyris* himselve was an *Oxe*, & *Isis* a Cow, either because of *Io*, or vpon some other ground. Some say besides (as *Diodorus* telleth vs) that *Osyris* his soule went into an *Oxe*, and remaineth continually in the *Oxe Apis*, and at the drowning of this, goeth into the next. Some affirme that *Isis* hauing found *Osyris* his members, dispersed by *Typhon*, put them into a wodden *Oxe* couered with an *Oxes* hide: so that the people seeing this, beleued that *Osyris* was become an *Oxe*, and so began to adore that, as if it had bene him-selfe. This was therefore the liuing *Osyris*, but the body that lyeth coffined in the temple, is called *Serapis*, and worshipped as the dead *Osyris*. (h) *Iacobs Eemes* ] *Gen. 30*. Of this I discoursed else-where. The LXX. doe translate this place confusedly. *Hierome* vpon *Genesis* explaineth it.

*The Kings of Argos and Assyria, at the time of Iacobs death.*

CHAP. 6.

**A** *pis* the King of Argos (not of Egypt) dyed in Egypt, (a) *Argus* his sonne succeeded him in his kingdome, and from him came the name of the Argiues. For neither the City nor the countrey bare any such name before his time. He reigning in Argos, and (b) *Eratus* in Sicyonia, *Baleus* ruling as yet in Assyria, *Iacob* dyed in Egypt, being one hundred forty seauen yeares in age, hauing blessed his sonnes and Nephewes at his death, and prophecied apparantly of CHRIST, saying in the blessing of *Iudah*; *The Scepter shall not depart from Iudah, nor the law-giuer from betweene his feete, vntill (c) that come which is promised him: And (d) hee shall bee the nations expectation.* Now in (e) *Argus* his time Greece began to know husbandry and tillage, fetching seedes from others. For *Argus* after his death was counted a God, and honoured with temples and sacrifices. Which honor a priuate man one *Homogyrus*, who was slaine by thunder, had before him, because hee was the first that euer yoaked Oxen to the plough.

L V I V E S.

**A** *rgus* (a) his sonne ] by *Niobe*, *Phoroneus* daughter: some call him *Apis*. It might bee *Argus*. *Apis* that begot him of *Niobe*, and was reckoned for a King of Argos, because he ruled



for his sonne vntill hee came to age : and then departed into Egypt, leauing his sonne to his owne. *Eusebius* saith hee left the kingdome to his brother *Agialus*, hauing reigned seauen-  
tie yeares. There was another *Argus*, *Arestors* sonne, who kept *Io*, *Imoes Cowe*, in Egypt : and  
another also, surnamed *Amphion*, whilom Prince of *Pylis & Orchomene* in *Arcadia*. (*b*) *Eratus* ]  
*Peratus*, saith *Pausanias*, and sonne to *Neptune* and *Chalkinia*, *Leucippus* his daughter. *Euse-*  
*binius* calleth him *Heratus*, hee reigned forty seauen yeares. (*c*) *Untill that which is promised* ]  
So read the Septuagints : but *Herome* readeth; *Untill hee come that is to bee sent*. The Hebrew,  
*Shiloh*. (*d*) *Hee shall bee* ] Some copies leaue out *shall bee*, and so doth the text of the LXX.  
(*e*) *In Argus his time* ] For *Ceres* came thether in *Phennus* his reigne, a little after *Peratus*  
and thence they say was the first that euer taught the Athenians husbandry.

*In what Kings time Ioseph dyed in Egypt.*

CHAP. 7.

**I**N *Mamitus* (*a*) his time, the twelfth Assyrian King, and (*b*) *Phennus* his, the  
eleuenth King of *Sicyonia* (*Argus* being aliue in *Argos* as yet) *Ioseph* dyed  
in *Egypt* : being a hundred & ten yeares old : after the death of him, *Gods* people  
remaining in *Egypt*, increased wonderfully, for a hundred forty five yeares toge-  
ther, vntill all that knew *Ioseph* were dead. And then because their great augmen-  
tation, was so enuid, and their freedome suspected, a great and heavy bondage  
was laide vpon them, in the which neuertheless they grew vp still, for all that  
they were so persecuted, and kept vnder, and at this time the same Princes ruled  
in *Assyria* and *Greece*, whom we named before.

L. VIVES.

**M***Amitus* (*a*) his ] So doth *Eusebius* call him, but saith that hee was but the eleuenth King  
of that Monarchie. Hee reigned thirty yeares. (*b*) *Plemnus* ] So doth *Pausanias* write  
this Kings name : hee ruled, as *Eusebius* saith, forty eight yeares.

*What Kings liued when Moyfes was borne : and what  
Goddess the Pagans had as then.*

CHAP. 8.

**I**N (*a*) *Saphrus* his time, the fourteenth Assyrian King, (*b*) *Orthopolus* being then  
the twelfth of *Sicyon*, and (*c*) *Criasus* the fift of *Argos* (*d*) *Moyfes* was borne in  
*Egypt*, who led the people of *God* out of their flauery, wherein *God* had excer-  
cised their paciencies during his pleasure. In the afore-said Kings times (*e*) *Prome-*  
*thens* (as some hold) liued, who was sayd to make men of earth, because he (*f*)  
taught them wisdom so excellently well (*g*) yet are there no wise men recor-  
ded to liue in his time. (*b*) His brother *Atlas* indeed is said to haue beene a great  
*Astronomer*, whence the fable arose of his supporting heauen vpon his shoul-  
ders: Yet there is an huge mountaine of that name, whose height may seeme to  
an ignorant eye to hold vp the heauens. And now began *Greece* to fill the stories  
with fables, but from the first vnto (*i*) *Cecrops* his time (the king of *Athens*) in  
whose reigne *Athens* got that name, and *Moyfes* lead *Israel* out of *Egypt* : some of  
the

the dead Kings were recorded for Gods, by the vanity and customary superstition of the Greekes. As *Melantonice*, *Crias* his wife (*k*) *Phorbias* there sonne, the sixt king of Argos, and the sonne of (*l*) *Triopas* the seauenth King, (*m*) *Iasus*, and (*n*) *Sihelenas* or *Sihelenus*, or *Sthenclus* (for hee is diuersely written) the ninth: And (*o*) in these times also liued *Mercury*, *Atlas* his grandchild, borne of *Maia* his daughter: the story is common. Hee was a perfect Artift in many good inuentions, and therefore was beleueed (at least men desired he should be beleueed) to bee a deity. (*p*) *Hercules* liued after this, yet was he about those times of the Argiues: some thinke hee liued before *Mercury*, but I thinke they are deceiued. But how-so-euer, the grauest histories that haue written of them (*q*) auouch them both to be men, and (*r*) that for the good that they did man-kinde in matter of ciuillity or other necessaries to humane estate, were rewarded with those diuine honors. (*s*) But *Minerua* was long before this, for shee (they say) appeared in *Ogigius* his time, (*t*) at the lake Triton, in a virgins shape, where-vpon she was called *Trytonia*: a woman indeed of many good inuentions, and the likelier to be held a goddesse, because her originall was vnknowne, for (*u*) that of *Iones* brayne is absolutely poetique, and no way depending vpon history. There was in deed (*x*) a great deluge in *Ogigius* his time, not so great as that wherein all perished saue those in the Arke (for that, neither Greeke author (*y*) nor Latine do mention) but greater then that which befell in *Ducalions* daies. But of this *Ogigius* his time, the writers haue no certainty, for where *Varro* begins his booke, I shewed before: and indeed he fetcheth the Romaines originall no further then the deluge that befell in *Ogigius* his time. But our (*z*) chro- Ogigius. niclers, *Eusebius* first, and then *Hierome*, following other more ancient authors herein, record *Ogigius* his Deluge to haue fallen in the time of *Phoroneus* the second King of Argos, three hundred yeares after the time before said. But how-soeuer, this is once sure, that in (*a*) *Cecrops* his time (who was either the builder or restorer of Athens) *Minerua* was there adored with diuine honors.

## L. VIVES.

**S** *Aphrus*. (*a*) *Machanell* (saith *Eusebius*) reigned iust as long as his father *Manius*, *Saphrus*. forty yeares; and *Iphereus* succeeded him and raigned twenty yeares and in the eighteenth yeare of his raigne was *Moyfes* borne in Egypt. (*b*) *Orthopolis*.] *Orthopolis* saith *Eu-Orthopolis*. *sebius*, and *Pausanias*, making him the sonne of *Plemneus* whome *Ceres* brought vp. The story of which you had before. (*c*) *Cryasus*.] *Pyraus* saith *Pausanias*, he rayned fifty foureyeaes. (*d*) *Moyfes* was borne] The wri- Moyfes. ters agre not about *Moyfes* birth. *Porphiry* saith (from *Saxchoniata*) that he liued in *Semiramis* time: No, but in *Inachus* his time, saith *Appion* (out of *Ptolomy Mendesius* the Priest) *Amosis* being then King of Egypt. *Polemon* (*Hist. Gre.*) maketh him of latter times: Making the people he led, to depart out of Egypt, and to settle in Syria, in the time of *Apis*, *Phoroneus* his sonne. *Tacianus Affirius* brings a many seuerall opinions of men concerning this poyn, some making *Moyfes* elder then the Troyan warre, and some equall with it. But the arguments which he him-selfe brings proueth him to haue beene before it. His words you may read in *Euseb. de prep. euang. lib. 10.* *Numenius* the Philosopher calleth *Moses Musaus*, and *Ariapannus* saith that the Greekes called him so, and that *Meris*, the daughter of *Chenephris* King of Egypt, hauing no child herselfe, adopted him for her son, and so he came to great honor in Egypt, because of his diuine knowledge & inuentions in matter of learning and gouernment. (*e*) *Promethus*.] Promethus So saith *Euseb.* from others, *Affricanus* I thinke, who maketh *Promethus* to liue ninety foure years

yeares after *Ogiginus*. *Porphyry* putteth *Atlas* and him in *Inachus* his time. But *Prometheus* was sonne to *Io*, and *Asia*. *Hesiod* calls his mother *Clymene*. His falling out with *Io* (saith *Higin. hist. Celest.* and many other do touch at this) grew vpon this cause: being to imall in sacrifices to offer great offerings, & the poore being not able to offord them, *Prometheus* suttely agreed with *Io* that halfe of their sacrifice onely should bee burnt; the rest shold be reserued for the vse of men: *Io* consented. Then offers *Prometheus* two Bulls vnto *Io* and putteth all their bones, vnder one of the skins, and all their flesh vnder the other, and then bad *Io* to choose his part. *Io*, a good plaine dealing God, looking for no counsage, tooke that was next to hand, & light on the bones: thereat being angry, he tooke away the fire frō mankind, that they could sacrifice no more. But *Prometheus* vsing his ordinary trickes, stole a cane full of the fire celestially, and gaue it vnto man, where-vpon hee was bound to *Caucasus*, and an Eagle set to feed continually vpon his liuer euer growing againe. Some say that *Prometheus* made those creatures who haue fetcht *Io* downe so often, women. *Prometheus* his complaint (in *Lucian*) is thus answered by *Vulcan* and *Mercury*: *Thou consoudest loue in sharing, thou stolest the fire, thou madest men, and especially women*. For so it is said, that he made men of clay, and then put life into them by the fire which hee had stolne from *Io*, where-vpon (saith *Horace*) commeth man-kinds diseases and feuers. *Seruius* saith that *Minerua* wounded at this man, this worke of *Prometheus*, and promised to perfit it in all it lackt: and that *Prometheus* affirming that hee knew not what was best for it, she tooke him vp to heauen, and setting him by the sonns Chariot, gaue him a cane full of the fire, and sent him downe to man with it. *Hesiod* in one place toucheth at that story of *Higinus*, saying that *Io* tooke away the fire from man, and *Prometheus* got it againe: to reuenge which iniury *Vulcan* by *Io*s command made *Pandora* (a woman endowed with all heauenly guifts and therefore called *Pandora*) and sent her downe into the earth by *Mercury*, to be giuen as a guift vnto *Epimetheus*, *Prometheus* his brother: and being receaued into his house, she opened a tunne of all the mischiefes that were diffused throughout all mankind, only hope remayning in the bottom: and *Prometheus* (as *Aeschilus* saith) was bound vpon *Caucasus* for thirty thousand yeares, neare to the *Caspian* streights, as *Lucian* saith in his *Caucasus*. *Philostratus* saith that that mount hath two toppes of a furlong distance one of the other, and that the inhabitants say that vnto these were *Prometheus* his hands bound. In *vita Apollon*. So saith *Lucian*. This Eagle, some say was begotten betweene *Typhon* and *Echydna*, (*Higin.*) some say betweene *Terra* and *Tartarus*: but the most say that *Vulcan* made her; and *Hercules* killed her with a shaft, so she was set vp in the skie betweene the tropike of *Cancer* and the Equinoctiall line. But after that *Prometheus* had prophecyed vnto *Io* (being to lye with *Thetis*) that the sonne he begat should bee greater then the father: He was loosed, prouided he must euer weare an iron ring vpon his finger, in memory of his bondage: and hence came the vse of rings they say: *Lactantius* saith he first made Idols of Clay: He stole fire (saith *Pliny lib. 7.*) that is he taught the way how to strike it out of the flints, and how to keepe it in a cane. It is sure (saith *Diodorus lib. 5.*) that hee did finde out the fewell of fire, at first. The *Pelasgiues* (as *Pausanias* testifieth) ascribe the finding of fire vnto their *Phoroneus*, not vnto *Prometheus*. *Theophrastus* saith this is tropicall and ment of the inuentions of wifdome.

(f) *He taught.*] Old *Iaphets* sonne: the worlds full wisest man doth *Hesiod* call him: vnto *Epimetheus* his younger brother they say hee did willingly resigne the kingdome of *Thessaly* giuing him-selfe wholly vnto celestially contemplation, and for that end ascending the high mount *Caucasus* to behold the circumuolution of the starres their postures, &c. And then descending downe came & taught the *Caldees* *Astronomy* and pollicy, to the which I thinke the fable of the Eagle feeding vpon his liuer hath reference, and to nis doubtfull cares arising still one from another. The interpreter of *Apollonius Rhodius*, saith there is a riuer called *Aquila*, that falling from *Caucasus* runnes through the heart of the country *Promethea*, lying close to that mount. *Herodotus* writeth that *Prometheus* the King of *Scythia* knowing not which way to bring the riuer *Aquila* to runne by his kingdome, was much troubled vntill *Hercules* came and did it for him. Thus of the riuer these two agree. *Diodorus* saith that *Prometheus* was the King of *Egypt*, and when *Nilus* had ouer flowed the country and drowned many of the inhabitants, he was about to kill him-selfe, but *Hercules* by his wisdome found a meane to reduce the riuer to his proper channell: and herevpon *Nilus* for his swiftnesse of course was called *Aquila*. (g) *Yet are.*]

Yes, *Atlas* was wife, and so was *Epimetheus*, but to late, for *Prometheus* is one of a forewit, & *Epimetheus* an after witted man, for he being warned by his brother *Prometheus* to take no gift of *Io*, neglected this warning, and tooke *Pandora*, and afterwards

Pandora.

Atlas.

wards (as *Hesiod* saith) he knew he had received his hurt. And therefore *Augustines* reason is strong, and acute: How was he such a great doctor, when wee can finde no wise men that hee left behind him? who can iudge of his wisdom, seeing there was no wise men of his time? for wisdom onely iudgeth of wisdom. (h) *His brother Atlas* ] There were three of this name, saith *Servius*, in *Æneid*. 1. 8. A Moore; the chiefe. An Italian, father to *Electra*, and an Arcadian, father to *Mavia* the mother of *Mercury*. These three, the writers doe confound as their vse is. For *Diodorus lib* 4. maketh *Atlas* the Moore, sonne to *Cælus*, and brother to *Saturne*, father to the *Helperides*, and grand-father to *Mercury*, a great astronomer, & one who by often ascending the mountaine of his name, frō whence he might better behold the course of the heauens, gaue occasion of the fable of his sustayning heauen vpon his shoulders. *Pliny lib* 7. saith that *Atlas* the son of *Lybia* (this Moore assuredly) was the inuenter of Astrology: & *lib* 2. inuented the sphere. *Alex. Polyhistor* thinketh that he was *Henoch*, the inuenter of that star-skill that *Abrahams* taught the Phœnicians and Egyptians afterwards, when hee trauelled these countries. This knowledge in Astronomy might well giue life to that fable of Heauen-bearing. Some thinke it arose from the inaccessible hight of mount *Atlas*, that seemeth to the eye to vnder-shore the skies (saith *Herodotus*) and reacheth about the cloudes, nor can the top be easily discerned, the cloudes beeing continually about it: this was a great furtherance to the fiction. The Italian *Atlas*, was that ancient king of *Fesulæ*, as it is reported. (i) *Cecrops his* ] *Pausanias* saith that *Atlas* was the first King of *Attica*, and *Cecrops*, an Egyptian (his step-son) inherited his kingdome after him: and hee (they say) was a man from his vpper parts, and a beast in his nether: because hee by good lawes reduced the people from barbarisme vnto humanity: or his nether parts were feminine say some, because hee instituted marriage, in that country, and was as it were the first author in those parts of father and mother: for before, they begot children at randon, and no man knew his owne father. *Africanus* saith that *Ogyges* was the first King of *Athens*, & that from the deluge in his daies, the land was vntilled and lay desert 200. years after, vntill *Cecrops* his time: But for *Atlas* and others named as Kings thereof before (*Cæsus*: they are but bare names: *Annal. lib* 4. (k) *Phorbas* ] Brother to *Pegasus*, saith *Pausanias*, son to *Argus*, and father to *Triopas*. The Rhodians (saith *Diodorus*,) beeing sore vexed by serpents, went to the Oracle, and by the appointment thereof, called *Phorbas* into their Island, giuing him part thereof, to him & his heires, and so they were freed from that plague, for which they decreed that he should after his death be honored as a God: but this (as seemes by *Diodorus*) was not *Phorbas* the Argiue, nor these of *Pegasus*, or *Argus*, but a Thessalian, the sonne of *Lapithus*. (l) *Triopas* ] Sonne to *Phorbas*. *Paus.* *Diodorus* mentions one *Triopas*, the sonne of vn-known parents: some say of *Neptune* and *Canace*, some of *Apollo*. The people hated him (saith he) for impouerishing the Temples, and for killing his brother. *Higinus* saith that some tooke him to bee that celestiall constellation in heauen called *Ophiuchus*, who is wound about with a dragon: for *Triopas* hauing taken off the rooffe of *Ceres* temple to couer his own palace withal, she reuenged her selfe vpon him with a bitter hunger: and lastly in his end, a dragon appeared vnto him & afflicted him sore: at last he died, and being placed in heauen he was figured as if a serpent guirt him about. (m) *Iafus* ] Father to *Io*, of whom *Argos* was called *Iafum*, and the Argiues, *Iafians*. (n) *Sibencelas* ] After *Iafus* (saith *Paus.*) *Crotopus*, *Agenors* son reigned, & hee begot *Sibencelas*. (o) *Mercury* ] *Tully* (as I said before) reckoneth 4. *Mercuries*. This is the third: son to *Ioue* and *Mata*, taught by his grand-father, & inuenting many excellent things of himselfe: hee was a Magician, as *Prudentius* writes, & therefore feigned to be the carier and recarier of soules to and from hell. (p) *Hercules* ] There were 6. of this name, as *Tully* saith. The 1. and most ancient, son to the eldest *Ioue* and *Lisitus*, & he contended with *Apollo* for the *Tripos*. 2. an Egyptian, son to *Nilus*, reputed the author of the Phrygian letters. 3. one deified amongst the Idæans, vnto whom they offer sacrifices infernal. 4. Son vnto *Asterj Latona's* sister, honored by the Tyrians, and Carthage they say was his daughter. 5. An Indian called *Belus*. 6. The third *Iupiters* son by *Alcmena*. *Siculus* hath but three of his name. 1. an Egyptian, the worthiest, made generall of the army by *Ophris*, for strength and valour, hee trauelled most part of the world, and erected a pillar in *Libya*: he liued before *Hercules Alcmenas* son, about 1000. yeares: that *Hercules* emulated him, and therefore he was called *Alceus*, An helper. The third, was *Hercules* of *Crete*, a famous soldior, and the ordainer of the Olympian games. *Paus.* calleth him *Hercules Idæus*. *Hæmuis*. *Servius* reckoneth foure *Hercules*, the Tyinthian, the Argiue, the Theban, and the Lybian. In *Æn* 8. But indeed the number is vncertaine. *Varro* reckoneth 44. The Lybians say theirs is the most ancient, and that other worthies did all take their names from him.

But the Author of *Xenophons Equiuoca*, saith that the most ancient Kings of Noble families were still called *Saturnes*: their eldest sonnes, *Iupiters*, and their hardiest grand-children, *Hercules*. *Augustine* heere meanes of that *Hercules* that was sonne to *Ioue* and *Alcmena*, who sailed with the *Argonautes*, and was one generation before the *Troian warre*: and to him doe the ambitious Greekes ascribe all the glory of the rest. So that he brought a greater fame vnto posterity then either *Ioue* or any other god: as *Seneca* the *Tragydian* writeth.

*Fortius ipse genitore tuo, fulmina mittes.*

With more strength, then thy fire, thou shalt flash thunders fire.

Minerua.

Pallas.

Lake Triton.

Ogyges.

He liued after *Mercury*. For *Mercury* (as the report goeth) waited vpon *Ioue* when he was begotten. But the sonne of *Liscius* was long before *Mercury* the *Arcadian*, and liued in the time of *Mercury* the *Egyptian*, being an *Egyptian* himselfe. (q) *Both men*] *Homer* maketh *Ulysses* meete *Hercules* amongst other dead men. *Odyss.* 9. and yet hee saith that his Idol onely was in hell, for himselfe feasted with the gods: but we know what he meanes by that Idol. (r) *For their good*] *Mercury* found out many good artes, and adorned the speech with eloquence. *Hercules* censed the world of tyrants and monsters: and was therefore called ἀλεξίμαχος. (s) *Minerua*] *Tully De nat. deor. lib. 5.* maketh fiue *Mineruas*. 1. mother vnto *Apollo*, begotten by *Vulcan* 2. daughter of *Nilus*, and a goddesse of the *Saitæ* in *Egypt*, thrid daughter to *Iupiter Calius*, fourth begotten by *Ioue* on *Coriphe*, *Oceanus* his daughter, whom the *Arcadians* called *Coria*, and affirme, that shee inuented *Chariots*. 5. the daughter of *Pallas* who killed her father being about to rauish her: and shee is pictured with wings. This *Pallas* they say was a cruell fellow, and shee for killing of him was surnamed *Pallas*. But the *Arcadians* tell a tale how *Minerua* being yet a little one was sent by *Ioue* to *Pallas*, *Lycæons* sonne, to be brought vp in his house, where she liued with his daughter whom she afterwards tooke vppe to Heauen and called her *Victoria*, and her selfe *Pallas* in memory of her foster-father. Now their are other deriuations of *Pallas*, as ἀπὸ τῆς πάλαιου, of shaking a speare, or ἀπο τοῦ ἀναπνέω &c. of mooning her selfe in *Ioues* head: or διὰ τὸ πάλαιον &c. of bringing *Dionysius* his heart panting vnto *Ioue*, namely whē the *Tytans* had torne him in peeces. (t) *Triton*] Between the two *Syrtes* in *Affrica* there is a riuier, and a sen also, both being called *Triton*, & thence the inhabitants (as *Mela* saith) suppose the sur-name of *Minerua* to be deriued, who they say was borne there, & y day that they thinke was her birth day they sollemnize with games & sports amongst the *Virgins*. *Herodotus* saith there is an Ile in that fenne or lake, where vnto *Iason* sailed with his *Argonautes*. The writers greeke and latine, consent in this, that *Minerua* was called *Tritonia* from this lake, *Silius* implieth that there she first found out oyle. *Solinus* saith she beheld her selfe therein: it may bee then, when seeing her cheekes bigge with blowing her pipe, shee cast it away. This the Poets say shee did by *Meander*, a riuier of *Ionia*. But which of the *Mineruas* was this? I thinke the fift: for hard by, there is a lake they call *Pallas*, and *Calimachus* who was borne not farre thence, viz. in *Cyrene*, calleth the lake *Triton* it selfe *Pallantia*, and so doth *Festus*. But the *Lybians* call it *Neptunes*, and *Tritonis* lake: it may bee *Neptune* is *Pallas*. Some now (and this I must not ommit) say that *Minerua* was borne in *Boeotia*, in *Triton* there. For there are diuers *Tritons*, one in *Boeotia*, one in *Theffaly*, and one in *Lybia*, and there was *Minerua* borne. *Interpr. Appollon. Rhod. (u)* That of *Ioues*] Some thinke *Minerua* was called *Tritonia* because in the *Bocotian* tongue τριτων is an head. But this was onely a fiction, because shee is called the goddesse of wisdome, and the highest part of the ayre. (x) *A great deluge*] *Eusebius*, (whence *Aug.* hath most of this) referreth all these things vnto the reigne of *Phoroneus* the *Argiue*. *Ogygius* reigned (saith hee) in *Attica Eleufina*, of old, called *Acta*, and ouer many other Citties, the time when the *Virgin* whom the *Greekes* call *Minerua*, appeared at the lake *Tritonis*.

In this Kings time there was a great inuadation, betweene which and that of *Deucalions* time are reckned one hundred and seauenty yeares, within a few. But *Solinus* saith not so. There was (saith hee) sixe hundred yeares betweene *Ogyges* and *Deucalion*, and *Ogyges* reigned in *Acta*, and *Boeotia*, which was called as *Strabo* saith, *Ogygia*, before *Cecrops* tme, who (as some say) built the *Boeotian Thebes*, and therefore the *Theban* wittes were called *Ogygi-an*, and hee was generally held to haue bene borne in *Eleufis* in *Attica*: for other originall of his is vnkowne; and from his time vnto the first *Olympiade*, *Hellanicus*, *Philochorus*, *Castor*, and

and *Thalus*, (that wrote the acts of the Sirians) doe reckon aboue a thousand yeares : and soe doth *Diodorus* and almost all the Greekes : vnto whome *Orosius* agreeth, making *Ogygis*, his deluge to befall a thousand foure hundred yeares before Rome was built. *Torphury* in his fourth book against Christianity, sayth that *Ogyges* liued in *Inachus* his time, and *Affricanus* following him, maketh *Moses* and him both of one time, whereas *Moses* was long after him. (y) *Nor latin* ] Not so in the opinion of *Iosephus* nor *Eusebius*. *Iosephus* sayth, that *Berosus* the Chaldean made mention of this generall deluge, as also *Mnaseas* of *Damascus*, and *Hierome* of *Egypt*, quoting all their sayings. And *Alexander Polyhistor*, *Melan*, *Eupolemus*, and *Abidonus* : doe mention it also, as *Eusebius* saith. *Plinie* also and *Mela* affirme, that *Ioppe* in *Egypt* was built before the Inundation of the earth, which cannot be ment of the deluge of *Ogyges* or *Deucalion* for those did neuer come so farre as *Egypt*. Nor is it any wonder if that *City* were built then : for so were a many more besides : yea that deluge which the poets make *Iupiter* to threaten, is no other but this. But they write hereof so obscurely, as they scarcely knew what they wrote them-selues, Indeed that which *Berosus*, *Mnaseas*, and *Eupolemus* do deliuer, belongs vnto the Barbarian histories, and neither to the Greeke nor latine, whereof *Augustine* speaketh. (z) *Our chroniclers* ] Christian historigraphers : as *Eusebius* Bishop of *Casarea* in *Palestina* ( who by reason of his familiarity with the martyr *Pamphilus*, was called *Pamphilus* also,) who as *Hierome* sayth wrote an infinite number of volumes, and amongst the rest, one generall history out of all the chroniclers, as an abstract or epitome of them all, and that I thinke be this which we haue of his yet extant, although the proper names, and frame of the whole worke bee much depraued by the ignorance of the transcribers, from whose heads the vnderstanding of those computations was farre to seeke : nor can those errors bee reformed, but by the most perfect antiquaries, and therefore the simple are herein easily seduced. But how necessary this booke is for a student, *Hierome* himselfe shewed by translating it out of the Greeke, and putting that holy admiration of *Irenaeus* vnto the transcriber, in the front of it. It was continued by *Eusebius* vntill the second yeare of *Constantine* the great, and *Hierome* made an appendix of the rest of the time vnto *Gratian*. (a) *Attica* ] It is a countrey in *Greece* betweene *Megara* and *Boeotia*, lying vpon the sea with the Hauens *Pyraeus*, and the Cape *Sunius* : a fertile soyle both of good fruites, good lawes, and good wittes, saith *Tully*. The waues beating vpon the shores hereof ( saith *apella* ) doe produce a true harmonious musick : metaphorically spoaken ( I thinke ) of their delightfull studies. The countrey-men call them-selues *αὐτοχθόνες*, in-bred, nor deriuing from any other nation. Of their Kings *Pausanias* saith thus : *Atlas* ( it is said ) reigned first in *Attica*, then *Cecrops* his sonne in law : who begot *Erisa*, *Aglaurus*, and *Pandrosus*, daughters, and *Erisichthon* a sonne, who dyed before his father. *Cecrops* ( saith *Strabo* ) brought the dispersed people into twelue Citties : *Cecropia*, *Tetrapolis*, *Epacria*, *Declea*, *Eleufis*, *Aphydria*, ( or *Aphydnæ* ) *Dorichus*, *Brabron*, *Cytheros*, *Sphetus*, *Cyphesia* and *Phalerus* : and afterwards hee brought them all twelue into that one now called *Thebes*.

The time when Athens was built, and the reason that Varro giueth for the name. CHAP. 9.

OF the name of Athens (a) (comming of *αθῶν*, which is *Minerua*) *Varro* giueth this reason. An Oliue tree grew sodenly vp in one place, & a fountaine burft as sodenly out in another. These prodigies draue the King to *Delphos*, to know the oracles minde, which answered him, that the Oliue tree signified *Minerua*, & the fountaine *Neptune*, and that the citty might after which of these they pleased to name their citty. Here-vpon *Cecrops* gathered all the people of both sexes together ( for (c) then it was a custome in that place to call the women vnto coufultations also ) to giue their voyces in this election, the men beeing for *Neptune*, and the women for *Minerua* : and the women beeing more, wone the day for *Minerua*. Here-at *Neptune* beeing angrie, ouer-flowed all the Athenians lands, ( for the Deuills may drawe the waters which way they list ) and

and to appease him, the Athenian women had a triple penalty set on their heads. First they must neuer hereafter haue voice in council. Second neuer hereafter be called (e) Athenians : third nor euer leaue their name vnto their children. Thus this ancient and goodly citty, the onely mother of artes and learned inventions, the glory and lustre of Greece, by a scoffe of the deuils, in a contention of their gods a male and female, and (f) by a feminine victory obtained by women, was enstiled Athens, after the females name that was victor, *Minerua* : and yet being plagued by him that was conquered, was compelled to punnish the means of the victors victorie; and shewed that it feared *Neptunes* waters, worse then *Mineruas* armes. For *Minerua* her selfe was punished in those her women champions : nor did she assist those that aduanced her, so much as to the bare reseruation of her name vnto themselues, besides the losse of their voices in elections, and the leauing of their names vnto their sonnes : Thus they lost the name of this goddesse, whom they had made victorious ouer a male god : whereof you see what I might say, but that mine intent carieth my penne on vnto another purpose.

## L. VIVES.

Athenis.

**A**Thens (a) comming] Whence this name descended it is doubtfull, the common opinion fetches it from *Minerua*, called *αθηνά*. The Greekes haue this, of the name both of the country and Citty. *Cranauis* (saith *Pausanias*) a worthy Athenian, succeeded *Cecrops* : and he amongst his other children, had a daughter called *Atthis*, of whom the country was called *Attica*, being called *Αἰττα* before. Some (saith *Strabo*) call it *Attica* of *Acteon* : Some call it *Atthis*, and *Attica* of *Atthis* (*Cranauis* his daughter of whom the inhabitants were called *Cranai*). Some call it *Mopsopia*, of *Mopsopus*, *Ionia* of *Ion* sonne to *Xuthus*, *Posidonia*, of *Posidon*, and *Athena* of *Athens*, or *Minerua*, of *Minerua*, if you like it in latine, *Iustine* (out of *Trogus*) saith it was not called *Athens* vntill the fourth King of *Attica*, *Cranauis* his successor, whom hee calleth *Amphionides*, but there is a fault, I thinke, the greeke is *Amphycthyon* : and indeed *Athens* is not named in the number of Citties that *Cecrops* founded. That which was called *Cecropia* and was after-wards called *Athens* and built by *Theseus*, was but the tower of the citty. For this the Greekes say ordinarily, the tower of *Athens* was called *Cecropia* at first : *Interp. Apollon*. But note this there were three townes called *Athens* (*Varro de analog.*) the Athenians inhabited one, the Athenians another, and the Athenopolitanes a third. The first was *Athens* in *Attica*. The second *Athens* in the Island *Eubæa*, (otherwise called *Chadæ*, built by King *Cecrops* sonne to *Erichonius*, and the citizens hereof were called *Athenians*, but that was onely by the Latines, for the Greekes call the Attick Athenians *αθωνιοι*) the third was a people of *Gallia Narbonensis* inhabiting *Atheneopolis* in the countrie of *Massilia*. There is another *Athens* in the *Lacedemonian* territory. (b) Of both sexes] *Ouid* saith that this contention of *Neptune* and *Minerua* was before twelue gods, and Ioue him selfe sat arbiter. *Neptune* smote the earth with his mase and brought forth an horse : and *Minerua* shee brought forth an oliue tree, this was the signe of peace, and that of warre. So all the gods liked the signe of peace best, and gaue *Minerua* the preheminance. *Metamorph. 6*. Some refer this to the contention betweene sea and land, whether the Athenians could fetch in more commodity or glory, by warre or peace, from sea or land. *Neptunes* horse was called by some *Syron*, by some *Arion*, and by some *Scythius*, *Seru. in 1. Georgic. Virg. Valerius Probus* reckons more of his horses then one : for he gaue *Adrastus*, *Arion*, and *Panthus* and *Cyllarus* vnto *Iuno*, and shee bestowed them on *Castor* and *Pollux*. But which of the fiue *Mineruas* was this. The second, *Nilus* his daughter, the *Egyptian*, *Sais* goddesse, as *Plato* held *In Timæo*. *Sais* is a great citty in *Egypt*, in the prouince of *Delta*, where *Amasis* was borne, built by the same *Minerua*, who is called *Neub* in *Egypt*, and *Athene* in *Attica*. The Athenians haue a moneth, beginning at the first new Moone in *December*, which they call *μωιδεω*; in memory of that contention

contention of *Neptune* and *Pallas*. (c) *Then it was*] Both there and else-where : and *Plato* required it in his *Repub.* (d) *Athenians*] Wherevpon they were neuer called but *Attica* as *Nectades* saith: the men indeed were called *Athenians*, but not the women, the reason was (saith he) because their wiues in their salutations should not shame the Virgins, for the woman taketh her husbands name and they being called Athenians if the Virgins should bee called Athenians, they should be held to be married. But *Pherecrates*, *Hilemon*, *Diphilus*, *Pindarus*, and diuers other old poets call the women of Athens *Athozias* which word *Phrynichus* the Bithinian sophister holdeth to bee no good Athenian Greeke, and therefore wondereth that *Pherecrates* a man wholly Atticizing, would vse it in that sence. (f) *By a feminine*] A diuersity of reading, but of no moment.

Varros relation of the originall of the word *Areopage*: and of  
Deucalions deluge. CHAP. IO.

**B**UT *Varro* will beleue no fables that make against their gods, least hee should disparage their maiesty: and therefore he will not deriue that (a) *Areopagon*, (the place (b) where *Saint Paul* disputed with the Athenians, and whence the Iudges of the city had their names) from that, that (c) *Mars* (in greeke *arens*) being accused of homicide, was tried by twelue gods in that court, and quit by fixe voices: so absolued (for the number being equall on both sides the absolution is to ouer-poyse the condemnation). But this though it be the common opinion he reiects, & endeauoreth to lay down another cause of this name, that the Athenians should not offer to deriue *Areopagus* from (d) *arens* and *Pagus*: for this were to iniure the gods by imputing broiles and contentions vnto them, and therefore he affirmeth this, and the goddesses contention about the golden apple, both alike, false: though the stages present them to the gods as true, and the gods take pleasure in them, bee they true or false. This *Varro* will not beleue, for feare of disgracing the gods in it: and yet hee tells a tale concerning the name of Athens; of the contention betweene *Neptune* and *Minerua*, (as friuolous as this) and maketh that the likeliest originall of the cities name: as if they two contending by prodigies, *Apollo* durst not bee iudge betweene them, but as *Paris* was called to decide the strife betweene the three goddesses, so he was made an vmpier in this wrangling of these two, where *Minerua* conquered by her fautors, and was conquered in her fautors, and getting the name of Athens to her selfe, could not leaue the name of Athenians vnto them. In these times, as *Varro* saith, (e) *Cranæus*, *Cecrops* his successor reigned at Athens, or *Cecrops* himselfe as our *Eusebius*, and *Hierome* doe affirme: and then befell that great inundation called the flood of *Deucalion*: because it was most extreame in his Kingdome. But (f) it came not nere *Egypt* nor the confines thereof.

L. VIVES.

**A** *Reopagon*] In some, *Areon Pagon*: in others *Arion Pagon*: in greeke *Ἄρειον Πάγον*. *Stephanus de Urbibus* saith it was a promontory by Athens where all matters of life & death were heard. For there were two counsels at Athens (as *Libanius* the Sophister writeth) one continu-  
all, iudging of capitall matters, alwaies in the *Areopage*: the other changing euery yeare and pertheyning to the state: called the counsell of the 500. of the first, our *Budens* hath writ large-  
lie out of both languages. *Annot. in Pandect.* (b) *Where Saint Paul*] *Act. 17.* (c) *Mars* called] *The common opinion is* so: and *Iunenall* therevpon calleth the *Areopage* *Mars* his Court.  
*Pausanias*



*Pausanias* saith it had that name because *Mars* was first iudged there for killing *Alirrbotion*, *Neptunes* sonne, because hee had rauished *Alcipa*, *Mars* his daughter by *Aglaura* the daughter of *Cecrops*. And afterwards *Orestes* was iudged there for killing of his mother, and being quit, he built a Temple vnto *Minerva Arca*, or *Martiall*. (d) *apud Pagus* I doe not thinke *Areopagus* is deriued hence, as if it were some village without the towne, or streete in the Citty: but *Pagus* is some-times taken for a high place or stone, or promontory as *Stephanus* calleth it. For *Suidas* saith it was called *Ariopagus*, because the Court was in a place aloft, vpon an high rock: and *Arius*, because of the slaughter which it decided, being all vnder *Mars*. Thus *Suidas*, who toucheth also at the iudgement of *Mars* for killing of *Alirrbotion*: out of *Hellanicus lib. 1.* As we did out of *Pausanias*: and this we may not ommit: there were siluer stones in that Court, wherein the plaintiffs and the defendants both stood, the plaintiffs was called the stone of Impudence and the defendants, of Iniury. And hard by was a Temple of the furies. (e) *Cranans*] Or *Amphyktion*, as I sayd: but *Eusebius* saith *Cecrops* himselfe. But this computation I like not, nor that which hee referreth to the same. viz. That *Cecrops* who sailed into *Enboea* (whom the Greekes call the sonne of *Erichibens*) ruled Athens long after the first *Cecrops*, and of him were the Athenians called *Cranai*, as *Aristophanes* called them. *Strabo* writeth that they were called *Cranai* also: but to the deluge, and *Deucalion*. Hee was the sonne of *Promethens* and *Oceana*, as *Dionysius* saith, and hee married *Pirra* the daughter of his vncler *Epimethens* and *Pandora*, and chasing the Pelasgiues out of Theffaly, got that Kingdome: leading the borderers of *Parnassus*, the *Leleges*, and the *Curetes* along in his warres with him. And in his daies (as *Aristotle* saith) fell an huge deale of raine in Theffaly, which drowned it and almost all Greece. *Deucalion* and *Pirra* sauing themselues vpon *Parnassus* went to the Oracle of *Themis*, and learning there what to doe, restored man-kinde (as they fable) by casting stones ouer their shoulders back-ward: the stones that the man threw prouing men, and *Pirras* throwes bringing forth women. Indeed they brought the stony and brutish people from the mountaines into the plaines, after the deluge and that gaue life to the fable.

In *Deucalions* time (saith *Lucian* in his *Misanthropus*) was such a ship-wrack in one instant, that all the vessells were sunke excepting one poore skiffe or cock-boate that was driuen to *Lycorea*. *Lycorea* is a village by *Delphos* named after King *Licoreus*. Now *Parnassus* (as *Stephanus* writeth) was first called *Larnassus*, of *Deucalions* *ἀρναε*, or couered boate, which he made him by the counsell of his father *Promethens*, and which was driuen vnto this mountaine. *Strabo* saith that *Deucalion* dwelt in *Cynos*, a Citty in *Locris* neare vnto *Sunnius Opuntius*, where *Pirras* sepulchre is yet to bee seene, *Deucalion* being buried at Athens. *Pausanias* saith there was a Temple at Athens of *Deucalions* building and that hee had dwelt there. Yet *Dion* saith that the tombe is in the Temple of *Iupiter Olympius*, which he founded. (f) *It came not*] So saith *Plato* In *Timeo*. and *Diodor. Sicul. lib. 1.*

Aboue whose times *Moyes* brought *Israel* out of *Egypt*. Of *Iosuah*: in whose times he died. CHAP. II.

I N the later end of *Cecrops* raigne at Athens, came *Moses* with *Israell* out of *Egypt*: *Ascarades*, (a) *Maeathus* and *Triopas* beings Kings of *Asiria*, *Sicyon* and *Argos*. To *Syna* did *Moses* lead them, and there receiued the law from aboue called the old Testament, containing all terrestriall promises: the new one, containing the spiritual, being to come with *Christ* our sauour: for this order was fittest (as it is in euery man as *S. Paull* sayth) that the naturall should be first, and the spirituall afterwards, because (as he said truely) *the first man is of earth, earthly, and the second man is of heauen, heavenly*. Forty yeares did *Moses* rule this people in the desert, dying a hundred and twenty yeares old: hauing prophesied *Christ* by innumerable figures in the carnal obseruations about the *Tabernacle*, the *Priesthood*, the sacrifices, and other mysticall commands. Vnto *Moses* was *Iosuah* the successour, and he led the people into the land of promise, and by Gods conduct expelled

expelld all the Pagans that swarmed in it, and hauing ruled seauen and twenty yeares, he dyed in the time that *Aminias* sat as eyghteenth King of *Assiria*; *Corax* the sixteenth of *Sicyonia* (b) *Danaus* the tenth of *Argos*, and *Erichthonius* the fourth of *Athens*.

## L. VIVES.

**M***Arathus* *Peratus*, saith *Pausanias*. But *Eusebius* calls him *Marathus*, hee reigned twen- *Marathus*.  
ty yeares. There was one *Marathus*, *Apollo's* sonne, who built a city in *Phocis* not farre  
from *Anticizza*. There was another that serued vnder *Castor* and *Pollux*, and of him did *Ma-*  
*arathon* in *Achaia* take the name. It may be this was *Marathus Apollo's* son; for *Suidas* affirm-  
eth that the country in *Attica*, so called had the name from that *Marathus*. (b) *Danaus*] An  
*Egyptian*, *Belus* his sonne, he brought the first ship out of *Egypt* into *Greece*. *Pliny*, for before, *Danaus*,  
they kept their shipping all in the red sea, among the *Illes* of King *Erythrae*. And this *Danaus*  
was the first that digged welles in *Argos*. *Dipsus* that is the drought. The *Egyptians* bani-  
shed him, and elected *Egyptus* for King, of whom the country (before called *Aria*) was now  
called *Egypt*. *Euseb*. He came to *Argos* in the time of *Gelanor* the sonne of *Sthenelas*, whom he  
deprived of his estate together with all *Agenors* progeny. Their contention was ended thus.  
*Danaus* beeing come out of *Egypt*, fell to contend with *Gelanor* about the Kingdome, the  
people beeing vmpier, much was said on both sides, *Danaus* seemed to speake as good reason  
as the other, so it could not bee decided vntill the next day: the next morning, a wolfe com-  
meth hurling into the pasture, and beginnes a fight with the chiefe bull of the Kings heard.  
This made the people liken *Danaus* to the wolfe, and *Gelanor* to the bull: for as the  
wolfe is a stranger to man, so was *Danaus* vnto them. But by and by, the wolfe kills the  
bull, and so vpon this iudgement was giuen on *Danaus* his side, wherefore *Danaus* thinking  
that *Apollo* had sent this wolfe, hee dedicated a temple vnto *Apollo Lycius*, that is, *Wolfeish*.  
This *Danaus* dwelt in the *Argiue* tower, and all the *Pelasgiues* were called *Danae* after him.  
His were the fifty daughters whom poets haue so eternized. *Diodorus* saith he built the *Argiue*  
*Argos*, the oldest city (one of them) in all *Greece*. Others say he built but the tower. He was a  
more famous King then *Greece* had euet had before him.

*The false gods, adored by those Greeke Princes, which liued be-  
tweene Israells freedome, and Iosuahs death.*

## CHAP. 12.

**B**ETWIXT the departure of *Israell* out of *Egypt*, and the death of *Iosuah*, who  
led them into the land of promise, the Greeke Princes ordained many sorts  
of sacrifices to their false gods, as solemne memorials of the deluge, and the free-  
dome of mankinde from it, and the miserable time that they had in it, and vpon it  
now being driuen vp to the hill, and soone after comming downe againe into the  
plaines; for this they say the (a) *Lupercalls* running vppe and downe (b) the holy  
streete, doth descipher, namely how the men ranne vp to the mountaines in that  
great inuadation, and when it ceased, came all downe againe into the plaines.  
And at this time they say that (c) *Dionysius* (otherwise called (d) father *Liber*, and  
made a god after his decease) did (e) first shew the planting of the vine in *Attica*:  
and then were there muscicall (f) plaies dedicated to *Apollo* of *Delphos*, to appease  
him who they thought had afflicted al *Greece* with barrenesse, because they de-  
fended not his temple which *Danaus* in his inuasion, burned: & the oracle it selfe  
M m m charged

charged them to ordaine those plaies. *Erichthonius* was the first that presented them in Attica, both vnto him and *Minerua*, where hee that conquered, had a reward of oyle, (g) which *Minerua* they say inuented, as *Liber* had found out the wine: and in these times did (h) *Xanthus* King of Crete force (i) away *Europa*, and begot (k) *Rhadamanthus* (l) *Sarpedon*, (m) and *Mimos*, who are reported to bee the sonnes of *Ioue* and *Europa*. But the pagans yeeld to the truth of history in this matter of the King of Crete: and this that hangs at euery poets penne, and at euery plaiers lips, they doe accompt as a fable, to proue their deities wholly delighted in beastly vntruthes: and now (n) was *Hercules* famous at Tyre: not hee that wee spake of before: (for the more secret histories say there were many *Hercules*, & many father *Libers*) And this *Hercules* they make famous for twelue sundry rare exploits (not counting the death of the African (o) *Anteus* amongst the, for that belongs to the other *Hercules*) and this same *Hercules* doe they make to burne himselfe vpon mount (p) *Oeta*, his vertue whereby he had subdued so many monsters, failing him now in the patient toleration of his (q) owne paines: and at this time (r) *Busyris* (the sonne of *Neptune* and *Libia* daughter to *Epaphus*) and King or rather Tyrant of Egypt, vsed to murder strangers & offer the to his gods: O but let vs not thinke *Neptune* a whore-maister or father to such a damned sonne, let the poets haue this scope to fill the stage and please the gods withall! It is said that *Vulcan* and *Minerua* were parents to this (s) *Erichthonius*, in the end of whose reigne *Iosuah* died. (t) But because they hold *Minerua* a Virgin, therefore (say they) in their striuing together, *Vulcan* proiected his sperme vpon the earth, and thence came this king as his name sheweth: for *terris* is *strife*, & *terra*, is *earth*: which ioyned doe make *Erichthonius*. But indeed the best learned of them reiect this beastlinesse from their gods, and say that the fable arose heere vpon, (u) that in the Temple of *Vulcan* and *Minerua*, which were both one at Athens, there was a (x) little child found with a dragon wound about him, which was a signe that hee should prooue a famous man, and because of this Temples knowing no other parents that hee had, they called him the sonne of *Vulcan* and *Minerua*: But howsoeuer, that fable doth manifest his name better then this history. But what is that to vs when as this is written in true bookes, to instruct religious men, and that is presented on publike stages to delight the vncleane deuills, whom notwithstanding their truest writers honour as gods, with those religious men? and let them deny this of their gods yet can they not acquit them of all crime, in affecting the presenting of those filthinesse, and in taking pleasure to behold those things bestially acted, which wisdom seemeth to say might better be denied: for suppose the fables belie them, yet if they do delight to heere those lies of them-selues, this maketh their guilt most true.

## L. VIVES.

The Lupercalis.

**T**He (a) *Lupercalis*] The *Lupercalis* was a place on mount Palatine in Rome, sacred vnto *Pan lycius*, or, the *Wolvisb*: whom they say the Arcadians that came with *Euander* into Italy, dedicated, by the aduice of *Carmentis*, the propheteffe: in the same holy forme that they worshipped him in their country, and *Iupiter Lycius* vpon mount Lyceum, In the same place where *Romulus* and *Remus* suckt, the she Wolfe, and there was a statue representing the same. Therefore was the place called *Lupercalis*, saith *Seruius*, but the statue of *Pan Lycius* had *Euander* consecrated long before *Romulus* was borne. *Ouid Fast.*

Quid

*Quid uerat Arcadico dictos a monte Lupercal  
Faunus in Arcadia templa Lycaus habet.*

Luperci may th' Arcadian hills name beare,  
Since wolfe-like Faunus hath his temple there.

And *Virgil* in his *Æneids*. lib. 8.

——— *Gelida monstrat sub rupe Lupercal,  
Parrhasia dictum panos de monte lycai.*

Lupercall vnderneath the rock so chill,  
So call'd of wolfe-like Pans Parrhasian hill.

*Romulus* himselfe was one of the *Lupercalls*, and was celebrating of that feast when *Numerus* shepherds tooke him. Now they vsed to sacrifice vnto *Pan* all naked saue their priuities which were couered (as *Dionys.* saith) with the skins of the sacrifices, and so they ranne all about the streete. They were called *Lupercalls* (saith *Varrò de ling. Lat. 5.*) because they sacrificed in the *Lupercall*: the orderer of the sacrifice when hee proclaimed the monthly feasts, to be kept vpon the nones of February, calleth this feast day, a day februate, that is a day of purgation, &c. *Festus* seemeth to ascribe the *Lupercall* feasts to the honour of *Iuno*, for on this day hee saith the women were purged with *Iuno's* mantle, that is, with a goates skinne, for the women, beleued that it would make them fruitfull, to bee beaten with a skinne of one of the sacrifices at the *Lupercall* feasts. And therefore as the *Lupercalls* ranne by, they would hold out their hands for them to strike. They offered a dogge also at this feast, as *Plutarch* saith: whether that were a kinde of purgation, or that it was in token of the dogges enmity with the wolues, beeing sacred vnto *Pan Lycois*. (b) *The holy streete Via sacra*. It reached not (as the vulgar thinke) onely from the pallace to the house of the Maister of the Ceremonies but from that house to the chappell of goddesse *Strenua*, and from the pallace, to the Capitol. The holy streete in Roma. *Varrò de ling. lat.* saith this: *At Strenuas chappel, hard by the Carina beeguneth, holy streete, and it reacheth to the Capitol for that way doe sacrifices goe to the Capitoll euery month: and that way come all Augurs to take their auguries.* But the vulgar know onely that part of it, which reacheth from the court to the fore-most descent: it was called *holy-streete*, for there did *Romulus* and *Tatius* the Sabine King make their vnion. Here *Ouid* saith they vsed to sell apples. It was a steep vneuen way, which is the reason of *Augustines* mention of it here. (c) *Dionysius* Dyonisius. *Tull. de nat. deor. 3.* Wee haue many *Dionysii*: one sonne to *Ioue* and *Proserpina*, another *Nilus* his sonne, the murderer of *Nysa*: a third *Caprius* his sonne, and King of Asia, whence the *Scythians* had there discipline: a fourth sonne to *Ioue* and *Luna*, to whom *Orpheus* his consecrations are dedicate, a fift, sonne to *Nisus* and *Thyone*, who instituted the *Trieterides*, (or three yeares sacrifices) vnto *Bacchus*. Of the Theban *Dionysius* the Indian and the Assirian, read *Philostratus. Vita Apollonii. lib. 2.* Some held but one *Dionysius* the finder out of wine, & the conquerour of many nations: and some againe held that there were three, beeing in three feuerall times. 1. an Indian, who found out wine. 2. sonne of *Ioue* & *Ceres*, the inuenter of the plough. 3. sonne to *Ioue* and *Semele*, an effeminate fellow, leading whores about with him in his army. (d) *Father Liber* Because (saith *Macrobius*, from *Nanius*) he is the sunne, and goeth freely (*Liberè*) throughout the skies. *Plutarch* (in *Quæst.*) giues other reasons becaue hee freeth the tongue of drinkers: or, becaue hee fought for the freedome of *Bæotia*: or becaue hee freeth one from cares, and secureth them in hardest actes. *Seneca* saith his name; *Liber*, commeth not a *Libera lingua*, from a free tongue, but, *quia liberat seruitio curarum animum*, becaue hee freeth the soule from the bondage of care, and giueth it vigor in enterprises: for it thrusts out care, and turneth the minde vp from the bottome, and therefore it is good to drinke now and then. Liber. *De tranq. anim.* (e) *First shew* Therefore was he called *Dionysius*, *quasi dicitur dionos*, giuing wine. *Plato in Cratyl.* Now *Valerius Probus* relateth this story thus. 1. *Georg. Staphylus* a shepheard of *Ætolia*, and keeper of King *Oeneus* goates, obserued one of them that straid alwaies from the rest, and was more lusty, and came later to the fold then any other, herevpon he watched him, and finding him in a secret place, eating of a fruite that was vnknowne vnto him, hee plucked some of it, and brought it vnto King *Oeneus*, who delighting in the iuice wrung from it, as soone as it grew ripe, set it before father *Liber*, who was then his guest. *Liber* teaching him the way how to husband it, for a perpetuall memory of the iuuentors, named the iuice *dionos* of

Oeneus, and the grape *σαβίνου*, of *Staphylus*. *Eusebius* meaneth one *Dionysius* the sonne of *Deucalion*, more ancient then that sonne of *Semele*, and he (saith *Eusebius*) came into Attica, and there found out the vine: that hee lodged with oue *Semacus* vnto whose daughter he gaue a *Roebucks* skia: but this was in *Cecrops* time. But *Enbolus* saith it was before *Cecrops* time that wine was found, and that before that, they vsed water in their sacrifices in stead of wine. (f) *Plaies dedicated to Apollo*] *Eusebius* saith that *Erichthon*, *Cecrops* sonne built that Temple vnto *Apollo Delius*: *Apollo* had many plaies sacred vnto him, but there were two sorts of the chiefe: the *Aetian*, in *Acarmania*, sacred vnto *Apollo Aetius*, wherein the *Lacedemonians* had the preheminnence: and these were famous all Greece ouer: and the *Delphike*, in *Phocis*, called the *Pythian* games, kept euery eight yeare. *Censorin*. *Plutarch* (in *Question*) saith that the *Delphians* celebrated three kindes of plaies euery ninth yeare: the *Stephateria*, the *Heroides*, and their *Chorila*.

*Apollo's*  
*plaies.*

But who ordeined these games at first, is vncertaine. One of *Pindarus* his interpetours, saith that their *Pythian* games were of two sorts (as *Strabo* also testifieth.) the most ancient, inuented by *Apollo* himselfe vpon the killing of the dragon *Python*: and in these, diuers *Heroës*, as *Castor*, *Pollux*, *Peleus*, *Hercules* and *Telamon* were victors, and al crowned with laurell: the later, ordeined by *Amphycthions* counsell, after the Grecians by the helpe of *Eurilochus* the *Theffalian*, had conquered their cursed aduerfaries the *Cirrhæans*: this was in *Solons* time. *Aeschylus* maketh mention of this warre. *Contra Ctesiphont*. (g) *With Minerua*] Shee rather found out the tree then the fruite. *Virg*. *Minerua*, finder of the *Oliue* tree; For *Pliny* lib. 7. ascribes the inuention of oyle, and oyle-presses, vnto *Aristeus* of *Athens*, hee that found hony out first: nay and wine also, saith *Aristotle*, making him a learned man, and much beholding to the *Muses*. Yet *Diodorus* deriues the drawing of oyle from one of *Minerua's* inuentions. But that the oliue tree is consecrated to *Minerua*, all writers doe affirme, as is the laurell to *Apollo*, the oke to *Ioue*, the myrtle to *Venus*, and the poplare to *Hercules*. *Virg*. *Pliny* saith that the oliue that *Minerua* produced at *Athens* was to bee seene in his time, lib. 16. And the conquerors at *Athens* are crowned with an oliue Ghirland. And this y<sup>e</sup> the *Romanes* had in their lesfer triumphs, vsing crownes of oliue and myrtle, and the troupes of souldiours in the *Calends* of *Iuly* were crowned with oliue branches, as the victors in the *Olympick* exercises were with garlands of the *Oliue*: and the tree whence *Hercules* had his crowne, remained vnto *Plinies* time, as himselfe writeth. (h) *Xanthus*,] I thinke this is that successor of *Deucalion* whom *Diodorus* calleth *Asterius*, lib. 5. *Deucalion* had *Hellenus*: hee, *Dorus*; *Dorus*, *Tectanus*, who sailed into *Crete*, and bare *Iupiter* three sons, *Rhadamanthus*, *Minos*, and *Sarpedon*: all which *Asterius* marying their mother, hauing no childe by her, adopted for his sonnes. *Eusebius* saith hee begot them all vpon her. But *Strabo* saith that *Hellenus*, *Deucalions* son, had two sons *Dorus*, and *Xanthus*, who marrying *Creusa*, *Erichthon* his daughter, brought collonies into *Tetrapolis* in *Attica*, founding *Oenoa*, *Marathon*, *Probalinthus*, and *Tricorythus*: *Ioannes Grammaticus* (*πρωι διαλεκτων*) is of his opinion also: adding one *Aeolus*, a third sonne of *Hellenus*, of whom the *Aeolike* dialect came, as the *Dorike* did of *Dorus*, and this is more likely. For there are but foure score yeares betweene *Deucalions* floud, and the rape of *Europa*, namely from the thirtith yeare of *Cecrops* vnto the fortith of *Erichthonius*.

*Xanthus*.

Some Greeke authors will not haue *Dorus* and *Xanthus* to bee sonnes vnto *Hellenus*, but vnto *Aeolus*, who married *Creusa*. Of *Ion*, sonne to this *Panthus*, was the countries name changed from *Aegialia*, into *Ionia*: for he planted Colonies in twelue citties of *Asia*, as the oracle of *Delphos* directed him, according to *Vtruuius*, who emploieith both *Xanthus* and his son, *Ion* in this businesse, yet did the country beare the sonnes name. The *Athenians* had a feast called *Βοηροπια* or, *speedy helpe*: because they beeing in a dangerous warre with *Eumolpus*, *Neptunes* sonne, *Xanthus* came to their aide with wonderfull celerity: for which *Erichthon* made him his sonne in lawe.

Now this *Xanthus* they thinke is *Asterius* also: for *Xanthus*, and *Xanthus* are vsed both for one: and hence came the claime that *Androgens*, son to *Minos*, & grand-child to *Xanthus*, had against *Aegeus*, *Thefens* his father, vnto the kingdome of *Athens*: and he being made away by the treasons of *Aegeus*, *Minos* inuaded *Attica*, and brought them to that streight, that they were faine to pay him a yearely tribute of seauen boies and seauen virgin girles. *Orpheus* nameth

nameth one *Asterius*, who went in the Argonautes voiage: but that was the brother of *Amphion*, not this *Asterius*. (i) *Europa* } *Agenors* daughter, stolne by Pyrates from Syden in Phænicia, and brought into Crete in a shippe called the White-Bull: and from her had this third part of our world, the name: if reports bee true. *Herodotus* saith the Cretans did steale her to auenge the rape of *Io*, whom the Phænicians had borne away before. Then *Paris* to reuenge the Asiens went and stole *Helen*, and so beganne the mischiefe. *Palephatus Paruus* declareth it thus. There was one *Taurus*, a Gnoosian, who making warre vpon Tyria, tooke a many Virgins from them, and *Europa* for one: and hence came the fable. The Greekes to make somewhat of the coniunction of *Ioue* and *Europa*, say that hee begot *Carnius* on her, whom *Apollo* loued, and therefore in Lacedomon they had the feasts of *Apollo Carnius*. *Praxil*. (k) *Rhadamanthus*] The Cretan law-giuer, for his iustice seigned to be iudge of hel. *Homer* calleth *ἔδωτο* that is *yellow*, or faire *Rhadamanthus*, and I thinke hee toucheth at his father herein: although hee call other faire personages *ἔδωτο* also. *Plato* saith he was sonne to *Afopus* by *Egina*, on whom *Ioue* begot *Adacus*, and gaue her name vnto an Ile in Greece. In *Gorg*. (l) *Sarpedon*] *Homer* will not haue him the son of *Ioue* by *Europa*, but by *Laodameia*, *Bellerophons* daughter. He reigned in Cilicia, where there is a promontory of his name in the vtmost part of his Kingdome. *Mela*, The common report is he was King of Lycia, and so holds *Straba lib. 12*. writing that *Sarpedon* brought two Colonies from Crete thither: where he dwelt, and where the son of *Pandion Lycus* reigned afterwards, leauing his name to it, which was called *Mynia* before, and *Solymi* afterwards, though *Homer* make two seuerall peoples of them. *Sarpedon* was slaine by *Menelaus* before Troy, to the great grieffe of *Ioue*, who could not comptroll the destenies herein. (m) *Minos*] King of Crete, and their law-giuer also: This some say was *Minos* the yonger, and son to *Iupiter*. *Diodor. l. 5*. (n) *Hercules in Tyria*] Or in Syria. But indeed Tyre is in Syria, and all Phænicia also. For Syria is an huge thing. Sixe *Hercules* doth *Tully* (as I said) reckon vpon. *Eusebins* makes *Hercules* surnamed *Delphinus* who was so famous in Phænicia, to liue in these times: but if it were the *Hercules* that burnt himselfe on Oeta, it was the Argiue, and we must read *Tyrinthia* in *Augustine*, and neither Tyria, nor Syria: *Tyrinthia* being a citty neare vnto Argos wherein *Hercules* the Argiue was brought vp, & therevpon called the *Tyrinthian*; he it was whom the Authors say did come into Italie and killed all the monsters. But hee that came vnto the Gades, was *Hercules* of Egypt, as *Philostratus* saith. l. 2. (o) *Antaus*] Son vnto *Terra*, he dwelt in Tingen in Mauritania, which was therevpon called *Tingitana*; lying ouer against Spaine. His sheeld (saith *Mela*) is there to be seene, being cut out of the back of an Elephant & of such hugeness, as no man of earth is able to weeld it: and this the inhabitants affirme with reuerence, that hee bore alwaies in fight. There is also a little hill there, in forme of a man lying with his face vpward, that, say they, is his tombe, which when any part of it is dimished, it begins to raine, and neuer ceaseth vntill it be made vp againe. *Eusebins* driueth the ouerthrow of *Antaus* by *Hercules*, vnto the former-times, of the first *Hercules*, who conquered him (as hee saith) in wrastring. Nor doth *Virgil* mention the conquest of *Antaus* amongst the Argiue *Hercules* labours: but *Onid*, *Clandian* and others, lay all the exploits of the rest vpon him only, that was son to *Ioue* & *Alcmena*. (p) *Oeta*] A mountaine in Macedonia. *Mela*. The Oetæan groue was the last ground that Argiue *Hercules* euer touched, all the greeke and latine bookes are filled with the story of his death: there is nothing more famous. (q) *His owne paines*] Proceeding of a melancholy breaking into vlcers. *Arist.* (in *probl.* mentions his disease, as *Politian* hath obserued in his Centuries. *Festus* saith he was a great Astronomer, and burned himselfe in the time of a great eclipse, to confirme their opinion of his diuinity: for *Atlas* the Moore had taught him Astronomy, and he shewing the Greekes the sphere that he had giuen him, gaue them occasion to feigne that *Hercules* bore vp heauen while *Atlas* rested his shoulders. (r) *Busfris* King of Egypt he built *Busfris* and *Nomos* in an inhospitable and barren soile, and thence came the fable of his killing his guesstes: for the hardi-men of those parts would rob & spoile the passengers, if they were to weake for them. Another reason of this fable was (saith *Diod. li. 2.*) for that *Typhon* who slew his brother *Osyris*, being red-headed, for pacification of *Osyris* soule, an order was set downe, that they should sacrifice nothing but redde oxen and red-headed men, at his tombe, so that Egypt hauing few of those red heads, and other countries many, thence came there a report that *Busfris* massacred strangers, whereas it was *Osyris* tombe that was cause of this cruelty. *Busfris* indeed (as *Euseb.* saith) was a theeuish King: but *Hercules* killing him, set al *Erichthonius* the land at rest. This assuredly was *Hercules* the Egyptian. (s) *Erichthonius*] Son to *Vulcan* and

the earth. He conspired against *Amphiction*, and deposed him. *Pausan.* (t) But because they hold *Ioue* hauing the paines of trauell in his head, praied *Vulcan* to take an axe and cleave it: he did so, and out start *Minerua*, armed, leaping and dancing. Her did *Vulcan* aske to wife, in regard of the mid-wifry that hee had afforded *Iupiter* in his neede, as also for making *Ioues* thunder-bolts, and fire-workes vsed against the Gyants: *Ioue* put it vnto the Virgins choises and she denies to marry with any man. So *Vulcan* affring to force her, (by *Ioues* consent) in struing he cast out his sperme vpon the ground, which *Minerua* shaming at, couered with earth: and hence was *Erichthonius* borne, hauing the lower parts of a snake, and therefore he inuented Chariots, wherein he might ride, and his deformity be vnseene. *Virg. Georg. 3.*

*Primus Erichthonius currus et quatuor ansus,  
Iungere equos, rapidisque rotis insistere victor.*

First *Erichthonius* durst the Chariot frame,  
Foure horses ioyne, on swift wheelles runne for fame.

*Seruius* vpon this tells the tale as wee doe. *Higinus* saith (*Hist. caelest. lib. 2.*) that *Ioue* admiring *Erichthonius* his new inuention, tooke him vpe to heauen, naming him  $\mu\chi\theta$ , that is *Waggoner*: appointing him to be the driuer of the 7. stars by the tropike of *Cancer*. But *Erichthonius* (saith hee) inuented waggones, and ordained sacrifices to *Minerua*, building her first Temple at Athens. (u) That in the Temple of ] Aboute *Ceramicus* and *Stoa* (called *Basileum*) is a Temple of *Vulcan* wherein is a statue of *Minerua*: and this gaue originall to the fable of *Erichthonius*. *Pausan.* in *Attic*. There was one *Minerua* that by *Vulcan* had *Apollo*, him whom Athens calleth *Patron*. (x) A little child] Hence was he feigned to be footed like a serpent. *Ouid* tells a tale how *Minerua* gaue a boxe vnto *Cecrops* daughters to keepe (in which *Erichthonius* was) and warned them not to looke in it, which set them more on fire to know what it was, and so opening it, they saw a child in it, and a dragon lying with him. *Metam. 2.* *Pandrosas* one of the sisters would not consent to open it, but the other two did, and therefore beeing striken with madnesse, they brake their necks downe from the highest part of the tower. *Pausanias*.

Vulcans  
Temple.

What fictions got footing in the nations, when the Iudges beganne  
first to rule Israel. CHAP. 13.

**I** *Osuah* being dead, *Israell* came to be ruled by *Iudges*: and in those times, they prospered, or suffered, according to the goodnes of Gods mercies or the desert of their sins. And (a) now the fiction of *Triptolemus* was on foote, who by *Ceres* apoyntment flew all ouer the world with a yoake of Dragons, and taught the vse of corne: another fiction also (b) of the *Minotaure*, shut in (c) the labyrinth, a place which none that entred, could euer get out of. Of the (d) *Centaures* also, halfe men and halfe horses: of (e) *Cerberus*, the three-headed dogge of hell. Of (f) *Phrixus* and *Helle* who flew away on the back of a Ramme. Of (g) the *Gorgon* whose haire were snakes, and who turned all that beheld her into stones. Of (h) *Bellerophon*, and his winged horse *Pegasus*: (i) of *Amphion*, and his stone-moouing musick on the harpe. Of (k) *Oedipus*, and his answer to the monster *Sphinxes* riddle, making her breake her owne necke from her stand. Of *Anteus*, earthes-sonne killed by *Hercules* (in the ayre) for that he neuer smote him to the ground but he arose vp as strong againe as he was when he fell: and others more that I perhaps haue omitted. Those fables, vnto the Troian warre, where *Varro* ende: h his second booke *De Gente Rom.* were by mens inuentions so drawn (l) from the truth of history that their gods were no way by them disgraced. But as for those that fayned that *Iupiter* (m) stole *Ganymede*, that goodly boy for his lustfull vse (a villany done by *Tantalus* and ascribed vnto *Ioue*,) or that he came downe to lie with (n) *Danae* in a shower of gold (the woman being tempted by gold vnto dishonesty):  
and

and all this being eyther done or deuised in those times, or done by others, and fayned to be *Ioues*: it canot be said how mischieuous the presumption of those fable-forgers was, vpon the hearts of all mankind, that they would beare with such vngodly flanders of their gods: which they did notwithstanding, and gaue them gracious acceptance, whereas had they truely honored *Iupiter*, they should feuerely haue pnnished his slanderers. But now they are so farre from checking them, that they feare their gods anger, if they doe not nourish them, and present their fictions vnto a populous audience. About this time *Latona* bore *Apollo*, not that oraculous God before-said: but he that kept the heards of King (o) *Admetus* with *Hercules*: yet was hee afterwards held a God, and counted one and the same with the other. And then did (p) father *Liber* make warre in India, leading a crue of women about with him in his armie, called *Baccha*, being more famous for their madnesse then their vertue. Some write that this *Liber* (q) was conquered and imprisoned: some, that *Perseus* slew him in the field, mentioning his place of buriall also: and yet were those damned sacriligious sacrifices called the *Bacchanalls* appointed by the vncleane deuills vnto him, as vnto a God. But the Senate of Rome at length (after long vse of them) saw the barbarous filthinesse of these sacrifices, and expelled them the citty. And in this time (r) *Perseus* and his wife *Andromeda* being dead, were verily beleued to bee assumed into heauen, and there vpon the world was neither ashamed (s) nor affraide to giue their names vnto two goodly constellations, and to forme their Images therein.

## L. VIVES.

**T**he fiction of (a) *Triptolemus*. His originall is vncertaine, ignoble, saith *Ouid*, his mother was *Triptolema* a poore woman, and he a sickly childe: and *Ceres* lodging in his mothers house, bestowed his health of him. *Lactantius* making him sonne to *Eleusius* (King of Eleusis) and *Hione*, that *Ceres* bestowed immortality vpon him, for lodging a night in his fathers house: on the day she fedde him in heauen with her milke, and on the night she hidde him in fire. *Celeus* was his father, saith *Seruius*: But *Eusebius* maketh him a stranger to *Celeus*, and landeth him at Eleusis, *Celeus* his citty out of a long ship. But the Athenians generally held him the sonne of *Celeus*, so did not the Argiues, but of *Trochilus Hieropanta* who falling out with *Agenor*, & flying from Argos, came to *Eleusis*, there married, and there had *Triptolemus*, and *Euboles*. Some hold him (and so *Mysaeus* did, some say) the sonne of *Oceanus* and *Terra*: that *Eubolis* and *Triptolemus* were *Dysaulis* sonnes, saith *Orpheus*. *Charilus* of Athens deriues him from *Rharus*, and one of *Amphyliions* daughters. *Diodorus*, from *Hercules* and *Thefprote* King *Phileus* his daughter. Now *Ceres* (they say) gaue him corne, and sent him with a chariot (with two wheelles onely for swiftnesse sake, saith *Higin.*) drawne by a teame of Dragons through the ayre, to goe and teach the sowing of corne to the world: that he first sowed the field *Rharius* by Eleusis, and reaped an haruest of it: wherfore they gathered the Mushromes vsed in the sacred banquetts, fro that field: *Triptolemus* had his altar also, and his threshing place there. The pretended truth of this history agreeth with *Eusebius*: for it saith that *Triptolemus* was sonne to *Eleusius* King of Eleusis, who in a great dearth sustained the peoples liues out of his owne granary, which *Triptolemus* vpon the like occasion beeing not able to doe, fearing the peoples furie, hee tooke a long ship called the Dragon, and sayling thence, within a while returned againe with abundance of corne, and expelling *Celeus* who had vsurped in his absence, releued the people with corne, and taught them tillage. Hence was he termed *Ceres* his pupil. Some place *Lyncus* for *Celeus*. He (saith *Ouid*) was King of Scythia, & because he would haue slaine *Triptolemus*, *Ceres* turned him into the beast *Lynx*, which we call an Ounce. (b) *The Minotaure*. *Minos* of Crete married *Pasiphae* the *Suns* daughter, & he being absent in a war against *Attica* about his claime to the kingdom, & the killing of his son *Androgeus*, she fell into a beastly desire of copulation with



with a *Bull*: and *Dadalus* the Carpenter framed a *Cow* of wood, wherein she being enclosed, had her lust satisfied, and brought forth the *Minotaure*, a monster that ate mans flesh. This *Venus* was cause of. *Seru.* For the *Sunne* bewraying the adultery of *Mars* and *Venus*, *Vulcan* came and tooke them both in a Wyre nette, and so shamefully presented them vnto the view of all the gods. Here-vpon *Venus* tooke a deadly malice against all the *Sunnes* progenie: and thus came this *Minotaure* borne: but *Seruius* saith he was no monster, but that there was a man either Secretary to *Minos*, or some gouernour of the Souldiours vnder him called *Taurus*, and that in *Dadalus* his house, *Pasiphae* and he made *Minos* Cuckold, and shee bringing forth two sonnes, one gotten by *Minos*, and the other by *Taurus*, was said to bring forth the *Minotaure*: as *Virgill* calleth it;

*Mistumque genus prolemq; biforem.*

A mungrell breed, and double formed-birth.

*Euripides* held him halfe man and halfe bull: *Plutarch* saith he was Generall of *Minos* forces, and either in a sea-fight or single combate, slaine by *Theseus*, to *Minos* his good liking: for hee was a cruell fellow, and the world reported him too inward with *Pasiphae*: and therefore after that *Minos* restored all the tribute-children vnto *Athens*, and freed them from that imposition for euer. *Palephratus* writeth that *Taurus* was a goodly youth, and fellow to *Minos*, that *Pasiphae* fell in loue with him, and hee begot a child vpon her: which *Minos* afterwards vnderstood, yet would not kill it when it was borne, because it was brother to his sonne. The boy grew vp, and the King hearing that hee iniured the Sheapheards, sent to apprehend him: but he digged him a place in the ground, and therein defended himselfe. Then the King sent certaine condemned Malefactors to fetch him out: but he hauing the aduantage of the place, slew them all, and so euer after that the King vsed to send condemned wretches thether, and hee would quickly make them sure. So *Minos* sent *Theseus* thether vnarmed (hauing taken him in the warres): but *Ariadne* watched as he entred the caue, and gaue him a sword wherewith he slew this *Minotaure*. (c) *The Labyrinth* } A building so entangled in windings and circles, that it deceiueth all that come in it. Foure such there were in the world: but in *Egypt* at *Heracleopolis*, neare to the Lake *Mæris*, *Herodotus* saith that he sawe it: no maruell, for it was remaining in *Plinies* and *Diod.* his time. These two, and *Strabo* and *Mela* do describe it, *Mela* saith *Psameticus* made it. *Pliny* reciteth many opinions of it, that it was the worke of *Petesucus*, or else of *Tithois*, or else the palace of *Motherudes*, or a dedication vnto the *Sunne*, and that is the common beleefe. *Dadalus* made one in *Crete* like this: *Diod. Plin.* but it was not like *Egypt*s by an hundred parts: and yet most intricate. *Ouid.* 8. *Metamorph. Philothorus* in *Plutarch*, thinketh that it was but a prison, out of which the enclosed theeces might not escape, and so thinketh *Palephatus*. The third was in *Lemnos*, made by *Zmilus*, *Rholus*, and *Theodorus* builders. The ruines of it stood after those of *Crete* and *Italy* were vtterly decayed and gone. *Plin.* The fourth was in *Italy*, by *Clusium*: made for *Porfenna* King of *Hetruria*. *Varro.* (d) *The Centaures* } *Ixion*, sonne to *Phlegias* the sonne of *Mars*, louing *Iuno*, and shee telling *Ioue* of it, hee made a cloud like her, on which cloud *Ixion* begot the *Centaures*. Sure it is, he was King of *Theffaly*, where horses were first backt. *Plin. lib.* 7. Bridle and saddle did *Peletronius* inuent: and the *Theffalians* that dwelt by mount *Pelion*, were the first that fought on Horse-back: *Virgil* goeth not farre from this, saying. *Georg.* 3.

*Frena Pelethronii Lapsi he girofque dedere,  
Impositi dorso, atque equitem docuerè sub armis,  
Insultare solo, & gressus glomerare superbos.*

First *Pelethronian Lapsiths* gaue the bit,  
And hotted rings, and taught arm'd horsemen sit:  
And bound, and proudly coruet as was fit.

The same hath *Lucan* in his *Pharsalia*, lib. 6.

*Primus ab equorea percussis cuspide saxo,  
Thessalicus sonipes, bellis ferallibus omen  
Exiit, primus Chalybem frenosque momordit,  
Spumantique nouis Lapithæ domitoris habenis.*

Since *Neptune* with sea-trident stroke the rockes,  
First the *Theffalian* horse with deadly shockes

The Labyrinth.

Ixion.

A dismall

A dismall signe, came forth, he first bit bruized,  
And tom'de; at Lapith riders reines vnused.

*Seruius* explaining this place of *Virgill*: saith thus. *The Oxen of a certaine King of Thessaly gadding madly about the fields, hee sent his men to fetch them in: but they being not swift enough for them, got upon horses, and so riding swiftly after the Oxen, pricked and whipped them home to their stables.* Now some seeing them in their swift courtes, or when they let their horses drinke at the riuer *Peneus*, began this fable of the *Centaures*: giuing them that name, *αἰτίωνοις τῶν τάρων*, of pricking the Oxen. Some say this fable was inuented to shew how swiftly mans life passeth on, (because of the swiftnesse of an horse.) Thus farre *Seruius*. *Palaphatus* hath it thus. *When the wilde Bulls troubled all Larissa and Thessaly, Ixion proclaimed a great rwarde to those that could driue them thence. So the youths of Nephele got upon the horses they had broken, (for they had waggons in use before) and so droue them away very easily: and hauing received their reward, they grew proud, iniuring both Ixion him-selfe and the Larissians (then called Lapithes) for being iruited to Pirroas his marriage, they fell to ranshing of the virgins.* Thus began the fable of the *Centaures*, and their horse-like bodyes, and of their birth from a clowd: for *Nephele* (their cities name) is, a cloud. These *Centaures* also were *Lapithes*, for *Nephele* was in the *Lapithes* countrie, and they are distinct as the *Romaines* and the *Latines* were. (e) *Cerberus*] begotten by *Typhon*, he made an hideous noise when he barked, hauing fifty necks. *Hesiod*, in *Theogon*. Thus *Seneca* describeth him in his *Hercules furens*.

*Post hac auari Ditis apparet domus,  
Saurus hic umbras territat Stygius canis,  
Qui terna vasto capita concutiens sono  
Regnum tuetur. sordidum tabo caput  
Lambunt colubri, viperis horrent iuba,  
Longusq; torta sibilat cauda draco;  
Par ira forma, sensit ut motus pedum;  
Attollit hirtas angue vibrato comas,  
Missumq; captat aure subiecta sonum,  
Sensire & umbras solitus. —*

The haulc of greedy hell comes next to fight:  
Here the fierce Stygian Dog doth soules affright,  
Who shaking his three heads with hideous sound,  
Doth garde the itate; his mattring head around  
Snakes lick: his mane with vipers horrid is:  
At his wreathd taile a Dragon large doth hisse.  
Furie, and forme, like: when our feete he heard,  
Darting a snake, his bristled haire he reard,  
And listned at the noise with loll'd eare,  
As he is wont eu'n shady soules to heare.

*Boccace* and others compare him to a couctous man: (and *Boccace* wrote nothing so vainely, as the rest of that age did.) *Porphyry* saith, that the badge of *Serapis* and *Isis*, (that is *Dis* and *Proserpina*) was a three-headed dogge: viz. that triple kinde of deuill that haunts the ayre, the earth, and the water. *De interpr. diuin.* He was called three-headed (saith he) because the sunne hath three noted postures, the point of his rising, height, and setting. This *Cerberus*, *Hercules* (they say) did traile from hell vp to earth: and that is now a prouerbe in all hard attempts. Some say he drew him out vnder mount *Tanarus* (*Strab. Senec.*) & this is the common beleefe. For there (say they) lieth the readiest and largest way downe vnto hell. It is thought that *Hercules* killed some venemous serpent there, & that thence the fable had originall. Of those parts we read this in *Mela*. The *Mariandines* dwell there in a city that by report, was giuen them by the *Argiue Hercules*, it is called *Heraclea*: the prooffe of this is, because hard by it is the hole called *Achereusia*, whence *Hercules* is thought to haue haled *Cerberus*. *Pliny* followeth *Mela*. l. 27. The *Herbe Aconitum* grew (say they) from the froth that fell from *Cerberus* his lips when he was trailed along by *Hercules*: & therefore it groweth about *Heraclea*, whence the hole is at which he came vp. *Ouid* assigneth no set place for the growth, but only *Pontus* at large where *Cerberus* was first scene, to cast his froth vpon the cliffes: for it is called *Aconitum* of *αἰκων*, a stagge.

a cragge or flint: and he is called *Cerberus*, quasi *ὑπὸ τῶν βράχων*, a devourer of flesh. *Aideus* the Molloſian King had a dogge of this name, for he being called *αἰδούριος*, that is *Orcus*, named his wife *Ceres*, his daughter *Proſerpina*, and his dogge *Cerberus*. Some ſay he ſtole his wife and called her *Proſerpina*: but on with *Plutarchs* tale. *Theſeus* and *Pirithous* coming to ſteale his daughter, hee tooke them, and caſt *Pirithous* vnto his dogge *Cerberus*, and kept *Theſeus* in ſtraight priſon. Here-vpon came the fable of their going into Hell to bring away *Proſerpina*. For the countrey of Molloſſus in Epyrus, lying Weſt from Attica and Theſſaly, was alwayes ſignified by the name of Hell. *Homer*. *Palaphatus* tells this tale in this manner. *Hercules* hauing conquered *Gerion* in *Tricarenia*, a city of *Pontus*, and driving away all his heards, there was a very fierce Maſtiſſe that followed the Oxen: they called him *Cerberus*: ſo when they came into *Peloponneſus*, *Molloſſus*, a rich Nobleman of *Mycene* begged the dogge: but *Euriſtheus* denying him, hee agreed with the ſhepherd to ſhut him into the caue of mount *Tanarus*, with a ſort of birches that hee had put in there. So *Euriſtheus* ſet *Hercules* to ſeeke the dogge, and hee found him in *Tanarus*, and brought him away, and this is the ground of the fable. (f) *Phryxus* and *Helle* } Brother and ſiſter, the children of *Athamas* ſonne to *Aeolus*, a man of *Nephele*: who becomming mad, and running into the deſers, *Athamas* married *Ino* *Cadmus* his daughter: who hating *Phryxus* and *Helle*, made meanes by the matrons to ſpoile all the fruites of the citty: the cauſe whereof they ſhould go and inquire of the Oracle, and returne this falſe answer, that the children of *Nephele* muſt be ſacrificed. But *Ino* pittying them, ſent them a golden fleeced Ram, to ride ouer the ſea vpon. *Helle* being a young virgin, and not able to guide her ſelfe, fell into the ſea, that runs betweene *Aſia* & *Europe*, therevpon named *Helleſpont* (her did *Neptune* lie with, and ſhe bare him *Paon*.) *Phryxus* paſſed ouer *Bosphorus*, *Propontis*, &c. and at laſt landed at *Colchos*, where he ſacrificed the Ram vnto *Ioue*, and the fleece vnto *Mars*, building him a temple. *Apollonius* ſaith hee built *Mars* no temple, but onely one vnto *Iupiter fugius*, the flight-guider, (yet ſome Greeke authors ſay that *Deucalion* erected the ſtatue of this deity, preſently vpon the deluge.) The Ram was bred at *Orchomenon* in *Bœotia*, ſome ſay in *Theſſaly*: he was taken to heauen, & made the firſt ſigne in the *Zodiak*. Now that is obſcure (ſaith *Eraſtoſthenes*) for when he was to aſcend, he put off his golden fleece himſelfe, & gaue it vnto *Phryxus*. There was an Oracle (ſaith *Diod. li. 5.*) told *Aetas* King of *Pontus*, that the Ram ſhould dye as ſoone as a ſtrange ſhip came to take away this fleece of the Ram: wherevpon he cruelly maſſacred all ſtrangers, to make them feare to come thither, and walled the temple about with a triple wall, keeping a continuall guard of *Taurians* about it, of whom the Greekes told an hundred lyes: that they were Bulls that breathed fire, and that a great dragon watched the fleece, &c. But they were called Bulls, of their countrie name *Taurica*, and becauſe they were ſo cruel, were ſaid to breath fire. And the keepers name of the temple being *Draco*, hence ſerched the Poets all their fixions. So feigned they alſo of *Phryxus*, who indeed ſailed away in a ſhip called the *Golden Ram*, and *Helle* being ſea-ſick, and leaning ouer the poope, fell into the ſea. Others ſay, that *Gambrus* the King of *Scythia* landed at *Colchos* the time that *Phryxus* and his maſter was taken and that the King liking the youth well, *Aetas* gaue him to him, & he brought him vp as the heire of his kingdome, and left him it at his death: but for his maſter *Aries*, (for that was his name) he was ſacrificed to the gods, and his ſkin hung vp in the temple, as the cuſtome was. And then the oracle telling *Aetas* that he ſhould dye when ſtrangers came to demand the Rams ſkin, he to make the keepers more carefull ouer it, guilded it ouer: thus far *Siculus*. Some referre this to the riuer of *Colchos*, in whoſe channels there is gold found, which they purge from the ſand through ſiues, and receiue it into ſkins which they lay vnder their ſiues. Some refer it to the great aboundance of gold and ſiluer in that country, as *Pliny* doth in theſe words. Now had *Salauces* and *Eſubopes* reigned in *Colchos*, who finding the land in the originall purity, digged out much gold and ſiluer in the *Sanian* territories: This as *Sirabo* ſaith, firſt made *Phryxus*, and then *Iaſon*, to vnder-take an expedition againſt it: both which, left ſome memories of their being there: *Iaſon*, the *Cittie Iaſonia*; and *Phryxus*, *Phryxiu*; and both of them matched with *Aetas* daughters, *Iaſon* with *Medea*, and *Phryxus* with *Chalciop*: by whome he had *Cyriſſorus*, *Melana*, *Phontis* and *Argus*, of whome (ſaith *Pherecides*.) their ſhip was called *Argo*. But *Euſeb.* will haue *Phryxus*, *Abas* the *Argiue*, and *Erichtheus* of *Athens*, all of one time. Some writers affirme (ſaith hee) that *Phryxus* at this time fled with his ſiſter *Helle* from his ſtep-mothers treacheries, and was ſcene go ouer the ſea vpon a golden Ram: the ſhip wherein hee ſailed bearing a guilt Ram vpon her ſtemme. *Palaphatus* deliueſ it thus.

Athamas,

Phryxus  
& Helle.

Athamas, Acolus his sonne raining in Phrygia, had a steward called Arius whome he much trusted. This Arius told Phryxus how his death was plotted: so Phryxus his sister Helle and this Arius, got a great masse of riches together, and away they went. Helle died at sea: and so they cast her body over-board, which gave the name of Hellespont unto the sea; the rest got to Colchos. Phryxus married King Acetas daughter, and gave him an Image of a Ramme, all of pure gold: which hee made of the riches that he brought with him. (g) The Gorgon. ] There were said to bee three Gorgons, Steno, Euriale and Medusa, daughters to Phorcus, and sea monsters. Hesiod saith that of these three Medusa onely was mortall, In Theog. Ouid hath but two in all. Met. 4. and both these had but one eye betweene them, which they used by course. Over against the West of Ethiopia, are Ilands that Mela calleth Gorgones, making them the habitation of these monsters. And Lucan agreeth with him Phars. 9. Over against Hesperoceras a promontory of Egypt there are Ilands (saith Pliny) which the Gorgon whilom inhabited; some two daies saille from the maine: Hanno of Carthage came to them, & tooke two of the women, a rough & hairy: the men were too swift for them, but these he got: & their skins hung vp for a monument in Junos temple, a long time after, at Carthage. Some tooke these Gorgons for the Hesperides, but the Hesperides Iles, sayth Statius Sebosus ly forty daies sayle farther then the Gorgons. Diodorus saith that the Gorgons were a warlike nation of women in Lybia, whome Perseus ouerthrew, with their leader Medusa. lib. 4.

This Medusa the fables say that Neptune lay withall in Minerva's Temple, wheret Minerva being angry turned her hayres into snakes, and made them all that beheld her, become stones: Perseus being armed with Minerva's shield encountered her, and she beholding herselfe in the bright sheeld as in a glasse grew into an heauy sleepe, and became a stone, but Perseus presently cut of her head, and the droppes of blood that fell from it filled Lybia full of serpents euer since: and those that fell vpon the twiggges of shrubs, turned them into corall: and from thence (saith Ouid and Hesiod) came Pegasus that winged horse: but others say, from the copulation of Neptune and Medusa. Higinius saith that Perseus ouercame the Gorgons thus: Hauing but one eye betweene them, hee watched the time that the one tooke it out to giue the other, and then hee suddenly came and snatched it away, and threw it into the lake Triton, and so hauing blinded them he easily foyle them both. Iupiter being to fight against the Giants was told that he must weare the Gorgons head if he would be victor: wherupon he couered it with a goats skine, and so bare it to the field: Pallas afterwards got it of him. Eubermernus saith that Pallas slew the Gorgon. In sacr. Hist. Tis commonly held that this Medusa was wonderfull faire, and amazed all that beheld her beauty, and thence was it said she made them stones. The Gorgons came to the field armed in the skins of mighty serpents. Diod. perhaps they will put some of this fixation vpon the Catoblepæ, for they liue ouer against the Iles Gorgones, in that part of the mayne. Mela. Pliny. They are no great beasts, but they are the diuill for dangerous; slow of body, with great heads hanging alwaies downe to the ground: and hurt not with any member but their eyes. No more doth the basiliske against which men go armed with glasses in their shields and breast-plates, that the serpent may see himselfe. Palaphatus tells a long tale of these things and this it is. Phorcus was an Ethiopian of Cyrene, which is an Iland without the strayght of Hercules, and the inhabitants till the ground of Lybia as farre as the riuer Amona neare to Carthage, and are very rich in gold. So Phorcus erected a statue vnto Minerva, of three cubites height: but died ere he could dedicate it. (This goddesse now they call Gorgon.) So he left three daughters behind him Stheno, Euriale, and Medusa: who would none of them marry, but shared their fathers estate equally: each one had her Iland, but for that statue, they neither consecrated it nor diuided it but kept it in the treasury, and possessed it each one by course. Now Phorcus had one faithfull friend about him whome hee used as if it had bene his eye. Now Perseus being fled from Argos, and turned pyrat, hearing that those Ilands were full of gold and empty of men, lurked secretly betweene Sardinia and Corsica, and watching this faithfull messenger whome the sisters used still to send from one to another, tooke him in a message, and learnt of him that there was nothing for him to take, but Minervas statue. So the Virgins wondrous what was become of their seruant, their eye, Perseus landed, and shewed them that he had him, and would not restore him, nay further, would kill them, vnlesse they shewed him the Gorgons statue, Medusa would not, and so was slaine, the other two did, and had their eyes againe. So Perseus set Medusas head vpon the prow of his Gally, naming her the Gorgon, and then robbing on, spoyled all the Ilanders of their wealth; killing, and plaging those that would giue him na-  
thing

thing, and demanding money of the Striphians, they forsooke the city which he entering found nothing but a many stone statues in the Market place. See ( quoth Perſius) how my Gorgon turnes men into stones, I would ſhe did not ſo with our ſelves. Thus farre Palaphatus: who is farre miſtaken in the places. I thinke thoſe Ilands the Syrtes, for they doe accord better with Cyrene, Sardinia and Corfica. But there may bee ſome error in his copies. ( b ) *Bellerophon*. Sonne to *Glaucus*: *Siſiphus* his ſonne: king of Ephyra ( afterwards Corinth ) vntill *Praxus* the Argiue King depriued him and made him ſerue him. Now *Antia*, *Praxus* his wife, tempted him to lie with her, which refuſing, ſhee ſlandered him vnto her husband of attempting it. So he ſent him to *Ariobatus*, *Antias* father with a letter aduiſing him to protect his daughters chaſtity by killing *Bellerophon*. *Ariobatus*, ſent him againſt the *Chymera* which hee with the helpe of the winged horſe *Pegasus* ouer-came ( i ) Now this *Chymera* ( ſaith *Hefiod* ) was a Lyon in his fore-parts, a Dragon in the miſt, and a Goate behind; which hinder parts gaue name to the whole monſter, *Homer* maketh it the middle part a goat. *Typhon* they ſaid begot it vpon *Echidna*, it breathed fire: *Virg. En. 6* vpon which place *Seruius* ſaith that indeed it was a mountaine in Lycia whoſe top caſt forth flames: and that about the height of it there were Lyons: that the middle parts were good paſture grounds, and that the ſoothe of it ſwarmed with ſerpents: & this *Bellerophon* made habitable. *Pegasus* the horſe, had as *Ouid* ſaith, *Calum pro terra pro pede penna* heauen for earth, and wings for hoofes. *Apuleius* ſaith that it was his feare made him famous, leaping about the *Chymera* for feare of hurt, as if he had flowne. *Aſini. lib. 8*. From this horſe, the two chiefe fountaines of the Muſes in Greece had their names. Thus writeth *Solinus* of them. By Thebes is the wood *Helicon*, the groue *Cytheron*, the riuer *Iſmenius*, and fountaynes, *Arctuſa*, *Oedipodia*, *Pſammate*, *Derce*, and chiefly *Aganippe* and *Hippocreene*, both which *Cadmus*, the firſt inuentor of letters, finding as he rode abroad gaue the Poets occaſion to ſaigne that they both ſprung from the dints of the winged horſes heeles, and both being drunke of, inspired the wit with vigor and learning. Thus he. Now *Bellerophon* riding vp towards heauen, and looking downe, grew brain-ficke, and downe he fell, but *Pegasus*, kept on his courſe, and was ſtabled amongſt the ſtarres. *Palaphatus* ſaith *Bellerophon* was a Phrygian, of the bloud of Corinth, and was a rouer in the ſtraytes of Aſia and Europe, hauing a long ſhippe called *Pegasus*. In Phrygia is Mount *Telmifus*, and *Chymera* adioyning to it: neare that was a caue that vented fyre: and vpon Mount *Chymera*, were dragons, Lyons. &c. that did the husbandmen much hurt. The whoie mountaine did *Bellerophon* ſet on fire, and ſo the wild-beaſts were all burnt. ( k ) Of *Amphion*.] Brother to *Zetus* and *Calais*, *Iones* ſonnes by *Antiope*: for which *Lyncens* her husband, King of Thebes, refuſed her. The children being come to age reuenged their mothers diſgrace, ſlew *Lyncens*, and *Dyrce* his wife, and chaſing out old *Cadmus*, poſſeſſed Thebes them-ſelves. *Amphion* they ſay drew the ſtones after his muſicke and ſo built the walls of Thebes, the ſtones dauncing themſelves into order. *Horac. de Arte poet.*

*Dicitur et Amphion Thebana conditor arcis,  
Saxa mouere ſono teſtudinis, et prece blanda,  
---- Ducere quo uellet.*

Amphion builder of the Theban city,  
With ſound of harpe and ſweet enticing ditty,  
To moue the ſtones is ſayd, and where he would them lead.

*Pliny* ſaith hee inuented Muſicke. lib. 7. Some ſay the Harpe alſo: and ſome ſay that *Mercury* gaue him the Harpe. He was author of the Lydian tones. *Valerius probus* vpon *Virgills Alex- is*, ſaith that *Enripides*, and *Pacuius* ſay that *Zetus* & *Amphion* could gather their flockes together with their pipes. Witneſſe Thebes which they walled about as *Apollonius* writeth. In *Argonaut*. But *Zetus* bare the ſtones to their places, *Amphion* onely piped, or harped them together. *Eusebius* maketh them both the inuentors of Muſicke. *Euang. prep. Panyafis*, and *Alexander* ſay that *Mercury* gaue *Amphion* the Harpe for freeing of *Cynara*. Thus farre *Probus*. *Amphion* built Thebes, ( ſaith *Solinus* ) not that his Harpe fetched the ſtones thether, for that is not likely, but hee brought the mountayners, and hyland-men vnto ciuility, and to helpe in that worke. This is that which *Horace* ſayth: *Dicitur et Amphion Thebana conditor arcis  
saxa*

*saxa mouere, &c.* It may bee that his song or his eloquence obtained stones for the worke, of his neighbours. *Palaphatus* saith hee paide them for the stones with his Musicke, hauing no money. But *Eusebius* maketh him and *Zelus* to liue both together in two seuerall ages, vnlesse his transcriber haue falsified him. For first they liued vnder *Linceus* his reigne, and then in *Abas* his time after wards. *Niobe* (about whose children the writers hold that famous contro- uersie) was *Amphions* wife.

(k) *Dadalus* | An Attike (saith *Diod. lib. 5.*) sonne to *Eupalamus*, who was grand-child to *Dadalus*. *Erichthens*. hee was a rare statuarie, and an excellent Architect, framing statues that seemed to breath, and to goe, his witte was so admirable. Hee taught it to *Talus* his nephew, who being but young, inuented the Wimble and Sawe, which *Dadalus* greewing at, that the glory of his Arte should bee shared by another, slew the youth, and being therefore condemned hee fled vnto *Minos* in Crete, who interteined him kindly: and there hee built the Labyrinth. Thus *Siculus*. Now *Seruins Aenead. 6.* saith, that hee and his sonne *Icarus* being shutte in the labyrinth, hee deceiued his keepers by perswading them hee would make an excellent worke for the King, and so made him and his sonne wings, and flew away both. But *Icarus* flying too high, the sunne melted his waxen ioyntes, and so hee fell into the sea that beareth his name. *Dadalus* lighted at Sardinia, and from thence (as *Salust* saith) he flew to Cumæ, and there built a temple to *Apollo*. Thus *Seruins. Diod.* and others say, hee neuer came in Sardinia, but into Sicilia, whether *Minos* pursued him, *Cocalus* reigning then in Camarina, who vnder colour of a long discourse with him in his bathe, held him there vntill hee had choaked him. *Aristotle* saith, that *Crosalus* his daughters killed him: but hee interpreteth a ship and In Polit. Oares to bee his wings, whose speed seemed as if hee flew away. *Diodorus* reckoneth many of his workes in Sicilia, *Cocalus* intertaining him with all courtesie, becaute of his excellent inuentions, and that it was a Prouerbe to call any delicate building, a *Dadalean worke*. *Home. Odyf. 1.*

Καλὸν δαδάλιον, &c.

Vnder his feete a foote-stoole was, which in *Dadalean worke*: did passe.

And *Virgill* calleth the honey combes, *Dadalean houses*. *Geo. 4.* and *Circe* hee calleth *Dadalea*. *Aristotle* (in *Polit.*) saith that the statues hee made would goe by them-selues. I and runne away (saith *Plato* in *Memnone*) Vnlesse they were bound. Hee that had them loose had fugitiue seruants of them. Hee made a statue of *Venus* that mooued through quick-siluer that was in it. *Arist. 1. de Anima.* *Palaphatus* referres all this to the distinction of the feete, all statuaries before him making them alike. Hee learnt his skill in Egypt, but hee soone was his maisters better. For hee alone made more statues in Greece then were in all Egypt: At Memphis was *Vulcans* porche, so memorable a worke of his, that hee had a statue mounted on it, and diuine honors giuen him, for the Memphians long after that, had the temple of *Dadalus* in great honour: which stood in an Ile neere Memphis. But I wonder which Cumæ the writers meane, when they say hee flew to Cumæ: whether the Italian or the Ionian, whence the the Italian descended. Most holde of the Italian. For thence hee flew into Sicilia, and of this doe *Virgill* and *Iuuenall* meane. *Iuuenall* where hee saith, how *Vmbritius* went to Cumæ, and *Virgil* where *Aeneas* conferreth with *Sybilla* of Cumæ. But the doubt is, because the Icarian sea, (being his drowned sonnes name) is not betweene Crete and Italy, but betweene Crete and Ionia, neere vnto *Icarus*, one of the Sporades Ilands, of which the sea (saith *Varro*) is called Icarian, and the Ile beareth *Icarus* his name, who was drowned there in a ship-wrack, and so left his name to the place. *Ouid* describeth how they flew in their course in these words:

— — — *Et iam Innonia lana*  
*Parte Samos fuerat, Delosque parosque relicta:*  
*Dextra Lebynthos erat, facundaq, melle Calydna.*

Now Paros, Delos, Samos, Iunoes land,  
On the left hand were left: on the right hand  
Lebynth, and hony-full Calydna stand.

*Virgil* saith hee flew an vnknowne way to the North. But the Ionian Cumæ, and not the Italian are North from Crete. But *Seruins* saith, that if you obserue the worde, hee flew towards the North: but if you marke the historie, hee flew by the North. So that the fable

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**Oedipus.** hath added some-what besides the truth : vnclesse it were some other *Icarus*, or some other cause of this seas name, who can affirme certainly in a thing of such antiquity. (*l*) *Oedipus*.] *Laius*, Grand-child to *Agenor* and sonne to *Labdacus*, King of Thebes in Boecia, married *Iocasta* (*Creons* daughter : who seeming barren, and *Laius* being very desirous of children, went to the oracle which told him hee neede not bee so forward for children, for his owne sonne should kill him. Soone after *Iocasta* conceiued, and had a sonne : the father made holes to bee bored through the feete and so cast it out in the woods : but they that had the charge, gaue it to a poore woman called *Polybia*, and she brought it vp in Tenea, a towne in the Corinthian territory. It grew vp to the itate and strength of a man, and being hardy and high minded he went to the Oracle to know who was his father, for hee knew hee was an out-cast child. *Laius* by chance came then from the Oracle, and these two meeting neare Phoris, neither would giue the way : so they fell to words and thence to blowes, where *Laius* was slaine or as some say, it was in a tumulte in Phocis, *Oedipus* and hee taking seuerall parts. *Iocasta* was now widdow, and vnto her came the Sphynx with a riddle for all her wooers to dissolue: hee that could, should haue *Iocasta* and the Kingdome; he that could not, must dye the death. Her riddle was : what creature is that goeth in the morning on foure feete, at noone on two and at night on three? This cost many a life, at last came *Oedipus* and declared it : so married his mother, and became King of Thebes. The Sphynx brake her necke from a cliffe, *Oedipus* hauing children by his mother, at last knew whome hee had married, and whome he had slaine: where-vpon hee pulled out his owne eyes : and his sonnes went to gether by the eares for the Kingdome. Thus much out of *Diod. Strabo, Sophocles* and *Seneca* : for it is written in tragedyes. Hee was called *Oedipus quasi, idioris, swollen feete*. The Sphynx (saith *Hesiod*) was begot betwene *Typhon* and the *Chymara*. *Ausonius* (*In Gryphiis.*) makes her of a triple shape, woman-faced, griffin-winged, and Lyon-footed. His words be these.

A riddle.

Sphynx.

*Illa etiam thalamos per trina enigmata querens,  
Qui bipes, et quadrupes foret, et tripes omnia solus,  
Terruit Aoniam volucris, leo, virgo triformis,  
Sphinx volucris pennis, pedibus fera, fronte pulla.*

A mariage she seeking by riddles three,  
What one might two, three, and foure-footed be,  
Three-shaped bird, beast, made, the Greece distrest,  
Sphinx maid-fac'd, fetherd-foule, foure-footed beast.

But indeed this Sphynx was a bloody minded woman. All this now fell out (saith *Eusebius*) In *Pandions* time, the *Argiues*, and in the *Argonautes* time. *Palaphatus* saith that (*Admetus* hauing put away his wife *Harmonia*, shee tooke the mountaine Sphynx in Boecia, and from that roust did the Boeotians much mischief. (Now the Boeotians called treacheries *Enigmata*, riddles.) *Oedipus* of *Corynth* ouer-came her, and slew her, (*l*) *From the truth of.*] For of nothing is nothing inuented, saith *Lactant* and *Palaphatus*. (*m*) *Ganymed*.] *Tantalus* stole him and gaue him to *Ioue*, he was a goodly youth : and sonne to *Tros* King of *Troy*. *Ioue* made him his cup-bearer, and turned him into the signe *Aquary*. *Tros* warred vpon *Tantalus* for this, as *Phanocles* the Poet writeth. *Euseb.* and *Oros.* say that hee was stollen from *Herpagium*, which tooke the name from that fact: it was a place neare the citty *Parium* in *Phrygia*. *Stephan.* (*n*) *Danae*.] Of her elsewhere. She was *Acrisius* his daughter : who shut her and his sonne *Perseus* in a chett, and cast them into the sea, they droue to *Apulia*, where *Danae* was married vnto *Pisammus*, and bare him *Dannus*, of whome *Apulia* was called *Dannia*, (*o*) *Admetus*.] The Hell-gods complayning to *Ioue* that *Aesculapins* diminished their kingdome in reuiuing dead men, hee killed him with a thunder-bolt, at which his father *Apollo* being mad, shot all the *Cyclops* (*Ioues* thunder-makers) to death, which *Ioue* greatly stomaching would haue thrust *Apollo* out of Heauen : but at *Latonas* intreaty, hee onely bound him a yeare prentise vnto a mortall. So hee came into *Theffaly* and there was heardisman vnto King *Admetus*, and therefore was he called *Nomis*, or *Pastorall*. *Orph. Flacc. in Argonaut. Diod. lib. 5. Higinius* saith he killed not all the *Cyclops* but onely *Steropes*. *Admetus* sayled with the *Argonautes*. *Apollo* loued him wel, and kept his heards because he lay with his daughter. *Lactant.*

Ganymede.

Danae

The

This may bee that *Apollo* that gaue the *Arcadians* their lawes, who called him *Nomius*. Who knoweth the contrarie? (p) *Father Liber* ] As *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Philostratus*, and all Poets almost doe recorde. *Diodor.* and *Philostr.* giue this reason of that fable of his beeing borne in *Ioues* thigh. His armie was sore infected with maladies in *India*, and he lead them vpp to an higher and more wholefome ayre; where hee recovered them all, and this place the *Indians* called *Femur* (a thigh :) and so grew the fable. (q) *Was conquered* ] Some (saith *Eusebius*) in these times (to witte when *Pandion* remoued the seate of the *Argiue* kingdome to *Mycenas*) recorde the deedes of *Liber Pater*, the *Indians*, *Atlaon* and *Pentheus*, and that *Perseus* ouer-came *Liber*, and slew him as *Dinarchus* the Poet writeth. Hee that will not beleue him, let him view the tombe of *Liber* at *Delphos*, neere the guilded statue of *Apollo*. Hee is painted in an effeminate shape, for hee lead women to the warres as well as men, as *Philocerus* saith, *liber. 2*. Thus farre *Eusebius*, *Clemens* (*Contra Gent.*) saith that the *Tytans* pulled him in peeces, and began to roast and boyle his members, but *Pallas* gotte them away, and *Apollo* by *Ioues* command buried them on *Parnassus*.

(r) *Perseus* and ] Sonne to *Ioue* and *Danaë*: of him had *Persia* the name, for hee warred there with admirable good fortune. *Oros.* so holde the *Greekes* as *Xenophon Atticus* for one, *Andromeda* was daughter to *Cephus*, *Phanix* his sonne, and *Cassiopeia*. Shee was bound vnto a rocke, by the command of *Apollo's* Oracle, for a Sea-monster to deuoure, and her parents standing and weeping ouer her: *Perseus* comming from the *Gorgons* warres, hearing how all things stood, bargained with them that hee should marry the *Virgin*, and so slew the monster by presenting the *Gorgons* head vnto it. All of them were afterwards placed in heauen: *Cepheus* hath nineteene starres at the backe of *Vrsa Minor*, and the circle *Arctike* diuideth him in the brest, no part of his constellation euer setteth, but his shoulders: *Cassiopeia* sitteth in a chaire, and hath thirteene starres, and the milken circle diuides her in the middest: the heauens motions turnes her heeles vpwards (saith *Higinus*) because shee boasted that shee was fairer then the *Nereides*. *Andromeda* was deified by *Nimera*, for preferring her husband before her countrey and friend: shee is next *Cassiopeia*, and hath twentie starres in her constellation: her head is vnder *Pegasus* his belly, and the Tropike of *Cancer* runnes ouer her brest and her left arme. *Perseus* hath seauenteene starres: his right hand toucheth the circle *Arctike*, and his foote stands vpon *Arcturus* his head. Of these, read *Iulius Higinus* and *Aratus Solensis*. *Ioppa* in *Syria* (saith *Mela. lib. 1.*) was built before the deluge, where the inhabitants say *Cepheus* reigned, where they doe keepe diuerse old altars of his and his brother *Phineus* with great reuerence, as also the huge bones of the sea monster that *Perseus* slew. *Hierom. Marcus Scaurus* (saith *Pliny lib. 9*) in his Edileship amongst other strange sights, shewed the bones of the monster that should haue deuoured *Andromeda*: beeing thirtie foote more in length, then the longest Elephants ribbe of *India*, and halfe a foote thicker in the back bone. This hee brought from *Ioppe*, a towne in *Judza*. Indeed all writers say that *Ioppe* is in *Judza*, and therefore I wonder that *Lawrence Valla* liketh not of this opinion: for hee taxeth *Serome* of Ignorance for placing of it in *India*: whereas *Hierome* had *Pliny* and *Mela* on his side, of better credite in Geographie then *Onid*. But indeed those verses are not much to the purpose: for the first of the swartie browne, may bee meant of *Ethiopia* or *Egypt*: and in the laier, *Valla* himselfe mistaketh the storie. For *Perseus* came out of *Mauritania* to *Judza* and *Egypt*, along the coast of *Africa*. There married hee *Andromeda*, and from thence hee went to *Euphrates*, and to that countrey that the *Greekes* call *Persia* after him, from thence into *India*, and then home to *Argos* with his wife. (s) *Nor affraide* ] Fearing not to blaſt heauen with such impious and fabulous imputations.

### Of the Theologicall Poets.

#### CHAP. 14.

ABOUT that time liued Poets, who were called Theologians, versifying of their men-made gods; or of the worlds elements (the true GODS handy-workes) or the principalities and powers, (whome GODS will and

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not



not their merite, had so aduanced ) of these as of Gods did they make their poemes. If their fables contained any thing that concerned the true God it was so layd in hugger-mugger with the rest, that hee was neither to bee discerned from their false gods therby, nor could they take that direction to giue him the whole, his onely due, but must needs worshippe the creatures as Gods, with God the creator, and yet could not abstaine from disgracing the same their gods with obscoene fables. Such was *Orpheus* ( *a* ) *Museus*, and *Linus*. But those were onely the gods seruants, not made gods them-selues. Though *Orpheus*, I know not by what meanes, hath gotten the ( *b* ) ruling of the infernall sacrifices, or rather sacriledges in the city of the Deuill. The ( *c* ) wife of *Atamas* also, *Ino*, cast her selfe headlong into the sea with her child *Melicertes*, and yet were reputed gods: as others of those times were also, as ( *d* ) *Castor* and *Pollux*. *Ino*, was called by the Greekes *Leucothea*, and by the latines *Matuta*, and held a goddesse by both parts.

## L. VIVES.

**Orpheus.** **O** *Orpheus* ( *a* ) *Museus*, and *Linus*. ] They liued all together a little before the warres of Troy. *Orpheus* was a Thracian and sonne to *Oeager*, or as some say, to *Apollo* and *Calliope*, but that was fiction, deriued from his delicate vaine. *Artapanus* sayth he learnt *Moyser* law of a maister in Egypt, *Diod.* sayth hee brought the bacchanalia from Egypt into Greece, and taught the Thebanes them, because they vsed him curteously. Beasts and stones did follow his musicke, by report, and his harmony perswaded the very deities to returne him his *Euclidice*. Thus the Poets fable. The *Bacche* slew him: wherefore, no man knoweth: some say because hee had seene the sacrifices of *Liber*: others because in his praises of the gods, being in hell, hee left *Liber* out. Others, because hee iudged that *Calliope* should lye with *Adonis* one halfe yeare, and *Venus* another; and iudged not all for *Venus*: therefore the women fell vpon him and killed him. Hee was torne in peeces ( saith *Higin lib. 2.* ) and his harpe placed in Heauen, with the belly towards the circle Arcticke. *Aristotle* saith there was no such man. Others say he was of *Crotone*, and liued in *Pysistratus* his time, the Tyrant of Athens. *Author Argonautic.* *Linus* was sonne to *Mercury* and *Vrania*: *Hermodor.* *Apollo* sonne, saith *Virgill*. Hee first inuented musike in Greece. *Diod.* Hee taught *Hercules* on the Harpe: who being dulle and there-vpon often chiden, and some-times striken by *Linus*, one time vp with his harpe and knockt out his maisters braynes. Some say hee was slayne with one of *Apolloes* shaftes. *Snidas* reckneth three *Musai*. One borne at *Eleusis*: sonne to *Antiphemus* and scholler to *Orpheus*, hee wrot ethike verses vnto *Enmolpus*. Another a Theban, sonne to *Thamyras*. Hee wrot himnes, and odes, before the warres of Troy. A third farre latter, An Ephesian, in the time of *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, Kings: hee wrot the affaires of the Troyans. It is commonly held that hee that was *Orpheus* scholler was sonne to *Enmolpus*. *Laertius* sayth he wrot the genealogyes of the Athenian gods: inuented the sphere, and held one originall of all things, vnto which they all returned. Hee dyed at *Phalera* in *Attica*, as his epitaph mentioneth, they say hee was Maister of the Eleusine ceremonies when *Hercules* was admitted to them. Some (as I said before) held that the Greekes called *Moyser*, *Museus*: vnto *Eusebius* bee herein corrupted ( *b* ) *Ruling of the infernall.* ] Because held to goe into hell and returne safe: and to mollifie the deities and make the furies weepe. *Onid. Met. 10.* This prooued him powerfull in Hell. ( *c* ) *The wife.* ] Shee seeing her husband loue an Aetolian maid shee had, called *Antiphera*, fell in loue her-selfe with her sonne *Melicertes*. And therefore no seruant may come in her temple. The crier of the sacrifices vsed to cry: *A way seruants and Aetolians man and woman.*

Ino.

At Rome the Matrons led one maid seruant onely into *Matutas* Temple, and there they beate her. *Plut. Prob.* *Ino* and *Melicerta* being drowned, had their names changed, *Ino*

10

to *Leucothea* in Greeke and *Matuta* in Latine: *Melicertes* to *Palamon* in Greeke, and *Portumnus* in Latine: *quasi Deus portuum*, the God of hauens. His temple was on the wharfe of Tiber, and his feasts called *Portumalia*. *Varro*. In honour of him the Corinthians ordained the Isthmian games. *Pausan.* (d) *Castor and Pollux* *Iupiter* in the shape of a Swan, commanding *Venus* to pursue him in the shape of an Eagle, flew into *Ledas* lappe, who tooke him, and kept him. But shee being a sleepe, he got her with egge, of which came *Castor*, *Pollux*, and *Helena*, *Castor* and some say she laid two egges: (*Hor. Art. Poet.*) and that *Hellen* and *Clytemnestra* came of the *Pollux*.  
tother egge.

Others say that *Helen* onely and *Pollux* were the immortall births of the egge: but that *Castor* was mortall, and begotten by *Tyndarus*. *Isocrates* saith that *Hellen* was thought to bee of the Swannes begetting, because shee had a long and a white neck. They were all called *Tyndarides* and *Tyndarida*, because they were supposed the children of *Tyndarus*, *Ledas* husband, and sonne vnto *Oebalus*, and not of *Ioue*. Yet is a Swanne placed in heauen as a monument of this holy acte (forsooth) and *Castor* and *Pollux* are the signe *Gemini* which doe shine by course: because (saith *Homer*) *Castor* and *Pollux* endeuouring to take away the birdes of *Linus* and *Idas*, *Idas* after a long fight killed *Castor*, and would haue killed *Pollux* also, but that *Iupiter* sent him sudden helpe, and made him invulnerable. So *Pollux* begd of *Ioue*, that his brother might haue halfe of his immortality, and *Ioue* granted it. *Castor* was a good horse-man, and *Pollux* a wraffler. They were called *Dioscuri*, *δῖος κούροι*, that is, *Dioscuri* *Iupiters* sonnes. *Homer* saith they were buried in *Lacedamon*, they were held to bee good for the Sailer, and they appeared like two starres, because they being in the *Argonautes* voyage, a tempest arose, where vpon all were terribly afraide, sauing *Orpheus* who cheered them vp, and hauing prayde to the *Samothracian* gods, the tempest immediately began to calme, two starres appearing vpon the heads of *Castor* and *Pollux*, which miracle gladded them all, and made them thinke that the gods had freed them: and so it grew to a custome to implore the helpe of those two, who when both appeared, were a good signe, but neuer when they came single: But the Romanes called their temple most commonly *Castors* temple: wherein they were eyther ir-religious, or *Castor* vngratefull, who beeing made immortall by his brothers meanes, would take all the glory and honour vnto him-felse, who had beene forgotten and left in obscurity but for the other. But *Pollux* was cause of this, for hee obteyning that one should shine one day, and another another day, was cause that they could neuer haue one anothers company.

The ruine of the Argiue kingdome: *Picus Saturnes* sonne  
succeeding him in *Laurentum*.

#### CHAP. 15.

Then was the Argiue kingdome translated (a) to *Mycænae*, where (b) *Agamemnon* ruled: and then (c) arose the kingdome of the *Laurentines*, which (d) *Picus Saturnes* sonne was the first successor in, (e) *Delborah* a woman beeing Iudgesse of the Iewes: *GODS* spirit indeed iudged in her, for shee was a Prophetesse: (her (f) prophecie is too obscure to drawe vnto **CHRIST** with-out a long discourse.) And now had the *Laurentines* had a kingdome in Italy, (g) from whence, (after their discent from Greeke) the *Romaines* pedegree is drawne. Still the *Assyrian* Monarchy kept vp: *Lampares* the twentieth King ruling there now, when *Picus* began his kingdome in *Laurentum*. His father *Saturne* (the Pagans say) was no man: let the Pagans looke to that: some of them haue written that hee was, and that hee was (h) King heere before his sonne *Picus*. Aske these verses of *Virgill*, and they will tell you. *Æneid.* 8.

Aeneid, 8.

*Is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis  
Composuit, legesque dedit, Latiumque vocari  
Maluit: his quoniam latuisset tunc in oris.  
Aureaque ut perhibent illo sub rege fuere.-----Secula.*

Th'vndocill sort on Mountaines high disperst  
He did compose, and gaue them lawes, and first  
Would call it *Latium*, when he latent lay,  
In whose raigne was the golden age men say.

Stercus.

Tuff, but these they say are fictions ( *l* ) *Sterces* was *Saturnes* father, hee that inuented ( *m* ) manuring of the ground with dung, which of him was called *Stercus*: Some say they called him *Stercutius*: Well howsoeuer hee gotte the name of *Saturne*, hee was the same *Sterces* or *Stercutius* whome they deified for his husbandry. And *Pyrus* his sonne was deified after him also; ( *n* ) a cunning sooth-sayer, and ( *o* ) a great foldier as they report him to bee. Hee begotte ( *p* ) *Faunus*, the second King of *Laurentum*, and hee was made a *Syluane* god. All these men were deified before the *Troyan* warre.

## L. VIVES.

The Arg-  
gius King-  
dome.

**T**Ranslated ( *a* ) unto *Mycena* ] *Pausanias* his wordes here-vppon. All know the villany of *Danaus* daughters vpon their cousine *Germanes*, and how *Lyncus* succeeded *Danaus* in the Kingdome: who dying, *Abas* his sonnes diuided the Kingdome amongst them. *Acrisius* had *Argoes Pratus*, *Eræum*, *Mydæa* and *Tyrinthus*, and all that lay to the sea: In *Tyrinthus* are monuments yet of *Pratus* his dwelling there. Afterward *Acrisius* hearing how his grand-childe *Persens* was aliue, and of great renowne, hee retyred to *Larissa* neare the riuer *Peneus*: Now *Persens* was wonderfull desirous to see him, and fought all the meanes to honour him that might bee, and comming to *Larissa* to him, they mette, and *Persens* after a while began to practise the casting of the quoyte ( his owne inuention ) to shew his strength: now *Acrisius* by chance came vnder the fall of the quoyte, and so was brayned according to the Oracle concerning his death. *Persens* returning to *Argos*, and beeing ashamed of his grandfiers death, changed Kingdomes with *Nicagapenthes* the sonne of *Pratus*: and then built *Mycenas*, calling it so, because his swordes *μύνη*, scabberd fell off there: which hee tooke for a signe to settle there. Yet some say it was named so of *Mycena* daughter to *Inachus* the second, and wife to *Arestor*. *Homer* doth name such a woman. ( *b* ) *Agamemnon* ] *Pelops* begotte *Atreus* and *Thyestes* on *Hippodame*, and *Atreus* begotte *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus* of *Erope*, as *Homer* holdeth. But *Hesiod* saith they were the sonnes of *Plisthenes*, *Thyestes* sonne, vnlesse wee read *Thyestes* for *Plisthenes*, which is more likely. This *Agamemnon* ledde all the Heroes against *Troy*: Though some say that hee was putte once from the Empire and *Palamedes* crowned, who beeing slayne by the craft of *Ulysses*, the empire returned to *Agamemnon*. ( *c* ) *Laurentum* ] The eldest City of *Latium*: the seate of the Aborigines where the Kingdome was founded by *Saturne*: called *Laurentum* of the laurell wood, that grew neare it. ( *d* ) *Picus* ] *Saturnes* sonne by *Fauna*.

Mycenæ.

Agamem-  
non.Lauren-  
tum.  
Picus.

Delborah.

*Virg. lib. 7. Ouid. Meta 14.* He marryed *Cyrce*, who perceiuing that he loued *Pomona*, turned him into a bird called a *Pye*: wherefore the *Latines* held that for *Mars* his bird, and it was oraculous. *Dyonis. Alex. Ouid* saith hee was thus transformed for refusing the loue of *Cyrce*, but she was not his wife. So holds *Seruius* also. ( *l* ) *Delborah* ] *Hierome* readeth it *Deborah*, that is ( sayth hee ) a *Bee*: or a *Pratler* The Tribe of *Nephtalim* vnder her directions and *Baruchs* conduct ouerthrew the mighty armie of *Sisara*, *Iudg. 4. Ioseph. de antiqui. lib. 5.* Shee ruled the people forty yeares, and hadde peace all the while in *Israell*. ( *f* ) *Hor*

(f) *Her prophecy*] *Iud. 5.* (g) *From whence*] In a continuall succession from the Laurentes vnto *Lavinia Aeneas* his wife, to *Sylvius Posthumus* their sonne, and so to the Kings of Alba, downe vnto *Numitor*, *Anulus*, *Ileas Romulus*, and *Remus*. (h) *King there*] Wherevpon it was called *Saturnia*: though the ancient poet *Eusebius* thinke otherwise. Read his words in *Dion. lib. 1.* (i) *Virgil*] *Euanders* words. *Aeneid. 8.* (k) *Golden age*] Of this before. It was such as *Plato* required in his *respublica*: and that was such as *Adam* liued in before his fall: so that *Eusebius* saith that *Pluto* had that place from *Moyse* law. (l) *Sterces*] This they say was *Saturne Stercutius*. that taught manuring, call him what they will. *Macrob. Saturnal.* But *Pliny* saith that *Stercutius* who was deified for dung-finding, was *Saturnes* sonne. But there was a *Saturne Saturnes* long before this, three hundred yeares before the Troyan warre, as *Theophilus* writeth out many. of *Talus*: liuing in the time of *Belus* the Babilonian. *Alex. Polyhistor* called *Belus* himselfe, *Saturne*: which were it so, either our times are false accounted, or he was eight hundred yeares before that warre. It may bee (as hee that wrote the *Aequiuoca* saith) that the chiefe of euery noble family were called *Saturnes*, and their sonnes *Ioues*. (m) *Manuring*] Taught by *Pliny lib. 16.* *Varro*, and other writers of husbandry. *Cato* in *Tully*, wonders that *Hesiod* ommiteth it, *Homer* hauing mentioned it before him. (n) *A cunning sooth-saier*] Therefore was hee said to be turned into a pie, because hee kept one alwaies for Augury: and therefore *Virgill* saith he was painted with the Augurs staffe by him. *Aeneid.*

*Ipse Quirinali lituo paruaq; sedebat,  
Succinctus trabea.*

Virg.  
Aeneid, li. 7

He in a sory paule did sit,  
An augurs crozier ioyn'd with it.

(o) *Warrour*] *Ouid. Met. 14.* and *Virgil* calleth him the *Horse-breaker*, which in Greeke is as much as *Warrior*: wherefore they feigne him changed into a hardy bird; who pearceth an oke with her bill: and is holy vnto *Mars*. The Romans honour it much, and affirme that it defended *Romulus* and *Remus* from hurt when they were cast out in their infancy. (p) *Faunus*] *Faunus*. Who was also called *Fatnus*, and his sister *Fauna*, and *Fatua*. Of these we haue spoken before. *Dionys.* saith that some held *Mars* to bee his great grand-father, and that the Romans worshipped him as their countries *Genius*, with songs and sacrifices. So saith *Trogus*. They say he seated *Euander* and his few *Arcadians* vpon mount *Palatine*; and his wife *Fatua* (saith *Trogus*) was euery day filled with the spirit of prophecy: so that it grew a prouerbe to say of prophets, that they were *infatuate*, *Faunus* killing her, she was deified and named *Bona dea* and her chastity is said to be such, as no man lyuing euer saw her, but her owne husband. *Varro*. from this *Faunus* come all the *fawnes*, *Syluanes*, and *Satires*. *Bona Dea.*

*How Diomedes was deified after the destruction of Troy: and his fellowes said to bee turned into birdes.* CHAP. 16.

Troy (whose destruction the excellent wits of elder times haue left recorded vnto all memory, as well as the greatnesse of it selfe) being now destroyed in the reigne of (a) *Latinus*, sonne to *Faunus*, (b) (and from him came the Latine name,) the *Laurentine* ceasing): The *Grecian* victors returning each one to his home, (c) were fore afflicted on all sides, and destroyed in great numbers: yet some of them got to bee gods. For (d) *Diomedes* was made one, who neuer returned home, and his fellowes they say (e) became birdes: this now they haue history for, not poetry onelie, yet neither could his new god-head, nor his in-treaty of *Ioue* preuaile so much as to turne his fellowes vnto men againe. It is said also that hee hath a Temple (f) in the Ile *Diomedea*, not farre from Mount *Gargarus* in *Apulia*, where these birdes continually flie about the Temple, and dwell there with such wonderfull obedience, that they

will wash the Temple with water which they bring in their beakes, and when any Grecian comes thether, or any of a Greeke race, they are quiet, and will bee gentle with them, but if any one else come they will fly at his face with great fury, and hurt some euen to death, for their beakes are very bigge sharpe and strong, as it is said.

## L VIVES.

**Latinus.** **L** *Atinus* (a) *Sonne.* ] Sonne to *Faunus* and *Marica*. *Virg.* Some say this was *Circe*, and some held her (saith *Seruius*) to bee *Venus*: *Hesiod* makes him the Sonne of *Circes* and *Vlisses*, and *Virgill* toucheth at that also, But the times allow it not, therefore wee must affirme with *Higonus*, that there were many *Latini*. *Dionysius* saith that *Hercules* being in Italy begot *Pallas* of *Lavinia*, *Euanders* daughter, and *Lafius* of *Hyperboride* his hostage; who at his departure to Greece hee married to *Faunus* King of the Aborigines. *Iustine* sayth he was bastard to *Hercules* and *Faunus* daughter. The Greeks called him *Telephus*, that is *illustrious*. (b) *And from him.* ] The common report is they were first called Aborigines, and afterwards *Latines*. *Dion* and others. But *Philelphus* brings in *Orpheus* against this calling them *Latines* ere *Latinus* was borne. But let him looke which *Orpheus* it was that wrot both the *Argonautica* and the *Hymmes*: not the Thracian *Orpheus*, hold all the learned: but for the *Hymmes*, the *Pythagorists* hold them the workes of a certaine cobler. *Aristotle* saith there neuer was such a Poet as *Orpheus* was. But if it be called *Latium* of *Saturnes* lying hid there, then are they called the *Latines* of *Latium*. But *Varro* deriueth it from *Latinus*. (c) *Sore afflicted.* ] *Ulysses* his wandrings are well knowne. *Menelaus* was driuen into Egrpt. *Oyleus* *Asax* into Lybia. The whole nauy was drawne vpon the rockes of *Caphareus*, neare *Eubœa* by a false light *Nauplius* father to *Palamedes* hung out. *Virgill*. lib. 2. *Seruius* diriueth all this mischief from *Mineruas* wrath, either for *Cassandras* rape, or for their contempt shewen in not sacryficing vnto her. (d) *Diomedes.* ] Sonne to *Tydeus* and *Deiphile*: A soldior before Troy and almost equalized with *Achilles* by *Homer*. Hee maketh him foyle *Mars*. He was King of *Aetolia*, but would not returne thither, because of his wife *Egiale* that playde the whore with *Cylleborus*, *Sthenelus* his sonne, so went he into *Apulia*, where he built *Adria*, *Argyripa*, *Sipunte* and *Salapia*, and there are *Diomedes* fieldes which hee shared with *Danaus* his step-father. There was an elder *Diomedes*, a bloody King of *Thrace* that fed his horses with mans-flesh, and *Hercules* fed them with him-selc. His sister *Abdera* built that citty in *Thrace* where *Democrisus* was borne: Neare vnto which was *Diomedes* tower, the Greekes say those horses were his filthy daughters, whome hee made strangers to lye withall, and then killed them. *Palaphatus* referreth it vnto the wasting of his patrimony vpon horses, as *Atleon* did his vpon dogs. (e) *Became birdes.* ] Because *Agmon* *Diomedes* his fellow had rayled on *Venus*. *On. Met.* 4. or, because *Diomedes* had hurt both *Venus* and *Mars*, before Troy, the later the likelier, *Homer. Ili.* 5. *Pliny* saith these birds are called *Cataractæ* (by *Iuba*) and that their teeth and eyes are of the collour of fire: their bodies are white, one euer leadeth the shole, and another followes it: and they are onely seene in the Ile *Diomedea*, where his tombe and his Temple is, ouer against *Apulia*. If any stranger come there, they set vp a monstrous cry; But if a Greeke come, they will play with him, that you would wounder to see how they seeme to acknowledge their country-men. *Origen* saith their washing of his temple is but a fable. They were transformed (saith *Seruius*) through their impatient sorrow after the losse of their leader, and that they will fly in flocks to the Greekes ships still, as knowing their old kindred, but do the Barbarians all the Greefe they can, for that *Diomedes* was killed by the *Illyrians*. In *Geor.* 2. yet *Aristotle* saith *Aeneas* slew him. In *Psyl.* *Seruius* saith the Greekes called them *ipostis*, which *Gaza* translateth, *Hearons*. *Suidas* saith they were like storkes, or storkes them-selues. They may be like storkes or hearons, or swans as *Onid* saith, but they are neither storkes, hearons, nor swans. (f) *In the Ile.* ] Some (as *Augustine* here, *Suidas*, *festus*, &c.) will haue but one Ile thus called: but there are two, in one of which *Diomedes* lies buried. Some will haue fiue or sixe of them. But *Pliny* and *Strabo* do name onely two, ouer against the promontory *Garganus* which lyes three hundred furlongs into the sea,

the

the one of them is inhabited, but not the other, in which they say *Diomedes* was lost and neuer scene more: so the Venetians both there and in their owne seate, gaue him diuine honours.

*Of the incredible changes of men that Varro beleued.*

CHAP. 17.

**V**arro, to get credite vnto this, reports a many strange tales of that famous (a) witch *Circe*, who turned *Ulysses* his fellowes into beasts: and (b) of the Arcadians, who swimming ouer a certaine lake became wolues, and liued with the wolues of the woods: and if they eate no mans flesh, at nine yeares end swimming ouer the said lake they became mē againe. Nay he names one *Damonetus*, who talking of the sacrifices, which the Arcadians (killing of a child) offered to their god *Lycæus*, was turned into a wolfe, and becomming a man againe at ten yeares end, hee grue to bee a (c) champion, and was victor in the Olympike games. Nor doth he thinke that *Pan* (d) and *Iupiter* were called *Lycæi* in the Arcadian history for any other reason then for their transforming of men into wolues: for this they held impossible to any but a diuine power: a wolfe is called *λύκος* in greeke, and thence came their name *Lycæus*; and the Romane *Luperci* (saith hee) had originall from their misteries:

L. VIVES.

**T**hat (a) famous witch *Cyrcé*] Daughter to the *Sun*, Aunte vnto *Medea*. Her mother is vnknowne, some say she was *Asteria*, *Latonâ's* sister. *Homer* saith *ÿ Persa*, *Oceanus* his daughter was her mother. But *Diod.* tells this tale. *Persus* and *Aetas*, were sonnes to *Phabus*: *Persus* begot *Hecate*, a cruell huntresse, who vsed to strike men in stead of beasts; with dartes dipped in *Aconytum*, (the vse whereof shee first found): And she had *Medea*, *Cyrce* and a sonne called *Egeus*, by her vncler *Aetas*. *Cyrce* became an excellent Herbarist, and could make Philters (Loue-drinks) she married *Scytha* King of *Sarmatia*, and poysoned him when she had done. Wherevpon shee was chased into a little desert Ile in the Ocean, or as some say, vnto the promontory that beares her name. Some thinke it is an Ile, but indeed it is but a promontory like a *Peninsula*. *Strabo*. It was once an Ile, but time hath knit it vnto the continent, as it hath done many more. *Seruius*. In the bigger Ile of the two *Pharmacussæ*, is *Circes* tombe to bee scene. This is shee that turned *Ulysses* his consorts into beasts; *Homer* hath much of her. So hath *Theocritus*, *Virgill* and many other poets and Historians. (b) Of the Arcadians ] *Euantes* (saith *Pliny lib. 8.*) a credible Greeke author writeth that the Arcadians vsed to choose one out of the family of one *Anteus*, and to bring him to a certaine lake, where he (putting off his cloathes and hanging them on an oke) swam ouer, and became presently a wolfe, running streight to the desert, and lyuing nine yeares amongst the wolues, where if hee eate no mans flesh in that space hee returned to the lake and swimming ouer againe, became man as hee was, onely nine yeares elder: *Fabius* saith hee had the same cloathes againe also. So saith *Mela* of the *Neuri*, a people in *Scythia*, that they haue set times wherein they may turne wolues if they will, and wherein they may turne men againe if they will. (c) A champion] Properly a fighter with whirlebars: for that, wrastling, running, leaping, and quoiting were the Greekes exercises: and the practisers of them all were called in greeke *πυλαδοι*, in laine *Quinquersones*. (d) *Pan* and ] Vpon mount *Lycæus* in *Arcadia* were three gods honored, by the name of *Lycæi*: *Ioue*, *Bacchus*, and horned *Pan*. I thinke the place, (but some others hold their driving away of the wolues) gaue them their names. Some say they ruled in this metamorphizing of men into wolues, and helped them to their natuere shapes againe.

of

*Of the deuills power in transforming mans shape : what a Christian  
may belecue herein. CHAP. 18.*

Some perhaps will looke for our opinion heere, touching this deceit of the deuills, (a) [ what a christian, should do, vpon this report of miracles amongst the infidells. ] What shall wee say, *but get you out of the midst of Babilon* ? this propheticall command wills vs, to ply our faiths feete as fast as we can, and quit our selues of this Worldly Citie compact of a confused crue of sinners and euill Angells, and hie vs vnto the liuing God. For the greater power wee behold in the deceiuer, the firmer hold must we lay vpon our mediator, by whom wee leaue the dregs and ascend vnto hight of purity. So then if we should say, all those tales are lies, yet are there some that wil avow they haue either hard them for truth, of persons of credite, or haue seene them tried themselues. For when I was in Italy, I heard such a report there, how certaine women of one place there, would but giue one a little drug in cheefe, and presently hee became an asse, and so they made him carry their necessaries whether they would, and hauing done, they reformed his figure againe: yet had he his humane reason still, (b) as *Apuleus* had in his asse-ship, as himselfe writeth in his booke of the golden asse; bee it a lie or a truth that hee writeth. Well (c) either these things are false, or incredible, because vnusuall. But we must firmly hold Gods power to bee omnipotent in all things: but the deuills can doe nothing beyond the power of their nature (which is angelicall, although maleuolent) vnlesse hee whose iudgements are euer secret, but neuer vniust, perinit them. (d) Nor can the deuills create any thing (what euer shewes of theirs produce these doubts) but onely cast a changed shape ouer that which God hath made, altering onely in shew. Nor doe I thinke the deuill can forme any soule or body into beistiall or brutish members, and essences: but they haue an vnspeakable way of transporting mans fantasie in a bodily shape, vnto other senses (this running ordinarylie in our dreams through a thousand seuerall things, and though it be not corporall, yet seemes to cary it selfe in corporall formes through all these things) while the bodies of the men thus affected lie in another place, being aliuie, but yet in an extasie farre more deepe then any sleepe. Now (e) this phantasie may appeare vnto others senses in a bodily shape, and a man may seeme to himselfe to bee such an one as hee often thinketh himselfe to be in his dreame, and to beare burdens, which if they be true burdens indeed, the deuills beare them, to delude mens eyes with the apparance of true burdens, and false shapes. For one *Præstantius* told me that his father tooke that drug in cheefe at his owne house, wherevpon he lay in such a sleepe that no man could awake him: and after a few daies hee awaked of himselfe and told all hee had suffered in his dreames in the meane while, how hee had bene turned into an horse and carried the souldiours victualls about in a (f) budget. Which was true as he told, yet seemed it but a dreame vnto him: another told how one night before he slept, an old acquaintance of his a philosopher came to him and expounded certaine *Platonismes* vnto him, which hee would not expound him before. So afterwards he asked him why he did it there which he would not doe in his own house when he was intreated? I did it not quoth the other, indeed I dreamed that I did it. And so that which the one dreamed, the other in a fantasticall appearance beheld: These now were related by such as I thinke would not lie, for had any one told them, they had not bene to be beleueed. So then those Arcadians,

whom

Præstantius.

whom the god (nay the deuills rather) turned into wolues, and those fellows of *Klisses* (g) beeing charmed by *Circe* into Bestiall shapes, had onely their fantasie, occupied in such formes, if there were any such matter. But for *Diomedes* birds, seeing there is a generation of them, I hold them not to be transformed men, but that the men were taken away, and they brought in their places, as the (h) hinde was, in *Iphigenias* roome, *Agamemnons* daughter. The deuill can play such iugling trikes with ease, by Gods permission, but the Virgin beeing found alie afterwards, this was a plaine deceipt of theirs to take away her, and set the hinde there. But *Diomedes*, fellows, because they were neuer seene, (the euill angells destroying them) were beleued to be turned into (i) those birds that were brought out of their vnkowne habitations into their places. Now for their washing of his temple, their loue to the Greekes and their furie against others, they may haue all this by the deuills instinct: because it (k) was his endeour to perswade y<sup>e</sup> *Diomedes* was become a god, thereby to make them iniure the true God, by adoring fained ones, and dead persons (with temples, altars priests and sacrifices) who when they liued, (l) had no life: all which honours beeing rightly bestowed, are peculiar to that one true and onely God.

## L. VIVES.

**V**hat (a) a Christian] Some copies haue not this. (b) As *Apuleius*] Hee was a magitian, doubtlesse: but neuer turned into an asse. *Augustine* saw how incredible that was, but <sup>Apulians</sup> <sup>Lucian.</sup> hauing not red many Greekes, he could not know whence he had his plot of the golden asse: for *Apuleius* names none that he followes, as hee doth in his cosinography. But *Lucian* before him wrote how hee beeing in Thessaly to learne some magike was turned into an asse in stead of a bird: not that this was true: but that *Lucian* delighted neither in truths, nor truths likelihoods. This worke did *Apuleius* make whole in latine, adding diuers things to garnish it with more delight to such as loue Melesian tales, and heere and there sprinkling it with his antiquaries phrases, and his new compositions, with great liberty, yet some-what suppressing the absurdity of the theame. But wee loue now to read him because hee hath said some things there in that new dexterity, which others seeking to imitate, haue committed grosse errors: for I thinke that grace of his in that worke, is inimitable. But *Apuleius* was no asse, only he delights mens eares with such a story, as mans affection is wholly transported with a strange story. (c) *Either these*] *Pliny* l. 8. held them all false, nor may we beleuee all the fables affirmed: but the Greekes were such cruell liars; that they would not want a witnesse for the most impudent fiction they had. (d) *Nor can*] To create, is to make something of nothing: this God onely can do: as all the diuines affirme: but then they dispute whether hee can communicate this power vnto a creature. *Saint Thomas* hath much concerning this, and *Scotus* seekes to weaken his arguments to To create confirme his owne: and *Occam* is against both, and *Petrus de Aliaco* against him, thus each what it is. one scroweth the celestiall power into what forme he please. How can manners, bee amended, [Loughow can truth bee taught, how can contentions bee appeased, as long as there is this confused uaine co-obstinate iangling, and this haling too and froe in matter of diuinity, according as pie-de-each man stands affected?] (e) *This Phantase*] All the world prooues this opinion of *Augustine* <sup>fectiue.</sup> *fine* true. (f) *A budget*] *Reticulum*: the traouellers caried their victualls in it, bread, cheesc, apples, &c. *Hor. lib. 1. Sermon.*

*Reticulum parvis venales inter onustos,  
Forte vehas humero, nihil plus accipias quam  
Qui nihil portarit*

As if you, on your backe well burdened, bore  
A wallet of sale-bread, you should no more  
Receiue for food then he: that were from burthen free.

It



Iphigenia.  
Calchas.

It was a nette (sayth *Acron*) wherein bread was borne to the slaues that were to bee sold. Thus I coniecture (sayth hee) (g) *Charmed*] *Virg. Pharmaceutr.* (b) *The Hinde*] *Iphigenia* was daughter to *Agamemnon* and *Clitemnestra*. The Army being at Aulis in Boeotia, *Agamemnon* killed a Stag of *Dianas*, for which deed the navy was fore beaten with stormes, and infected with pestilence: to the Augury they went: *Calchas* answered, *Diana* must be appeased with *Agamemnons* blood. So *Ulysses* was sent to Mycenæ for *Iphigenia*, vnder coulor of a marriage, and being brought to the Altar, and ready to bleed, shee was sent away, and a Hinde sette in her place, shee beeing carryed into Taurica Chersonnesus, to King *Thoas*, where shee was made Priestt vnto *Diana Taurica*, who had men sacrificed vnto her. So *Orestes* hir brother comming thether, they two conspired together and slewe the King, and then sayled away to Aricia in Italy (i) *Those birds*] A diuersity of reading. (k) *It was bis indeauor*] Many a fond note was there, on this worke here-tofore. An asse, that is, a creature so called: hee spoke, that is, hee sayd, I was silent, that is, I said nothing: and such an one was crept into the text heere but wee haue left it out. (l) *Had no true life*] For the soules true life is Gods: whome the soule leauing, dyeth. This the Pagan Phylosophers taught as well as wee Christians that all things the farther they were from *G O D*, the lesse life had they, and so of the contrary. This is common in *Plato* and sometimes in *Aristotle*. The *Stoikes* sayd that a wife man onely liued, and was a man; the rest were nothing but plaine apes. So sayd *Socrates*.

*That Aeneas came into Italy when Labdon was Iudge of Israell.*

CHAP. 19.

**T**roy beeing now taken and razed, (a) *Aeneas* with tenne shippes filled with the remaynes of Troy came into Italy, *Latinus* being King there, (b) *Mnestheus* at Athens, *Poliphides* in Syrión, (d) *Tautanes* in Assyria, and (e) *Labdon* iudging Israell. *Latinus* dying, *Aeneas* raigned three yeares in the same time of the same Kinges, excepting that (f) *Pelasgus* was King of Sycion, and (g) *Sampson* Iudge of the Hebrewes, who was counted *Hercules* for his admired strength. *Aeneas* (h) beeing not to bee found after his death (i) was canonized for a God by the Latines. So was *Sangus* or *Sanctus* by the Sabines. And at this time *Codrús* the King of Athens, went indiguise to bee slaine of the Peloponesians the Athenians enemies; and so he was: hereby deliuering his countrey from ruine. For the Peloponesians had an Oracle told them that they should conquer if they killed not the Athenian King. So hee deceiued them by his disguise, and giuing them euill wordes, prouoked them to kill him, whereof *Virgill* sayth: *Aut iurgia Codri*. And (k) him the Athenians sacrificed vnto as a God; Now in the raigne of *Syluius* the fourth Latine King (*Aeneas*, his sonne by *Lauina*, not by *Creusa*, nor brother to *Ascanius*) *Onens* the nine and twentieth of Assyria (l) *Melanthus* the sixteenth of Athens, and *Heli* the Priestt iudging Israell, the Sicyonian Kingdome fell to ruine, which indured (as it is recorded) 959 yeares.

L. VIVES.

*Aeneas*.

**A***Aeneas* (a)] How hee escaped out of Troy, it is diuersly related. *Dionys. lib. 1.* For some say that hee keeping a Tower, and setting all the Grecians on fire against that place, meane time packt away all the vnecessaries, old men, women and children into the shippes, and then breaking through the foes, increased his powers and rooke the strengths of *Ida*, which they held almost a yeare: but the Greekes comming against them, they made a peace, vpon condition to depart out of *Phrygia* without disturbance of any man whatsoever, vntill they were setled some-where. Thus saith *Hélanicus*, a famous, but a fabulous author. *Mencrates Xanthius* saith *Aeneas* betrayed Troy, and therefore the Greekes freed him: the reason of this treason was, for that *Paris* sco med him and made him a mocking stocke to the Trojan Lords: some say he was in the hauen when Troy was taken; others, that he was admirall of *Priams* navy; the Latines say that *Antenor* and hee were preserved

preserved because they had alwaies perswaded the restoring of *Hellen*, and were of old acquaintance in Greece. How hee came into *Italie*, *Virgill* sings at full, mixing false notes with true, as poets commonly vse. I wil quote no more from others, for this is the most like to truth. He came first into *Thrace*, staid there all winter, and had many fled vnto him out of *Asia*: there he built a City and called it *Aenea* (*Dionys.*) or *Aenion*: (*Mela* and *Plin.*) And there saith *Virgil* was *Polidorus* buried. *Æn.* 3.

————— *Feror huc et littore curuo*  
*Mansa prima loco, fatis ingressus iniquis:*  
*Æneadesque meos nomen de nomine fingo.*

I hether driu'n, by crosse-fates in I came,  
 And on crook't shore first walls did found and frame,  
 And nam'd them *Æneads* by myne owne name.

This City *Salust* calleth *Aenon*, though *Homer* saith that *Aenon* sent armes against *Troy*. *Seru. in Æn.* 3. *Euphorion* and *Callimachus* say that *Vlisses* his companion was buried there, going forth to forage, and dying: and thence it had the name. It stood vntill the *Macedonian* monarchy, and then King *Cassander* razed it, and remooued the townesmen to *Theffalonica* which hee then built. From *Thrace* *Aeneas* went to *Delos*, then to *Cythera*, then to his kinsmen in *Arcadia*, thence to *Zacynthus*, so to *Leucadia*, and thence to *Ambracia* where there was a City on the riuer *Achelons* banke, called *Aenea*, but it was left vn-peopled afterwards. Thence went *Anchises* to *Butrotum* in *Epyrus*, and *Aeneas* to *Dodona* to the oracle, with all speed, and thence returning to his father, they came to *Drepanum* in *Sicily*, where *Anchises* died. (Yet *Strabo* saith *Anchises* came into *Italy*: and died (saith *Dionys.*) a yeare before *Aeneas*.) Then came *Aeneas* into *Italy*, into the quarters of *Laurentum*, in the fife and thirty yeare of *Latinus* his reigne, two yeares after his departure from *Asia*. Nor came his whole *Nauy* hether. For some landed in *Apulia*, and some in other places of *Italy*, of whose arriual there are monuments vnto this day. Some of them leauing *Aeneas* in *Italy*, returned to *Phrygia* againe. The first place that *Aeneas* held in *Latium*, they named *Troy*. It was foure furlongs from the sea. (b) *Mnestheus*] Sonne to *Ornius*, *Erichtheus* his sonne; hee stirred the people against *Thefcus* in his absence, saying that hee had brought the free people of *Attica* into one city, as into a layle: Now *Thefcus* was held in most strait prison by *Orchus* the *Molossian* King: and he had left the rauished *Hellen* at *Aphydna*, which *Cassor* and *Pollux* tooke, freed their sifter and made *Mnestheus* King of *Athens*, for that hee left them souldiours. So *Thefcus* being freed by *Hercules*, and making meanes for the recouery of his Kingdome, went into *Scyros*, where King *Lyconides* slew him. So ruled *Mnestheus* quietly at *Athens*: for *Thefcus* his children were but young, and in the hands of *Elpenor* in *Eubcea*, *Mnestheus* respected them not. They being come to yeares went with *Elpenor* to that vniuersall warre of *Troy*, and *Mnestheus* went also with his forces, and returning died in *Melos*, and *Demophon* *Thefcus* sonne succeeded him. *Plut.* *Paus.* *Enseb.* So that *Mnestheus* was dead a little before *Aeneas* came into *Italy*. *Apion Polyhistor* saith that *Demophon* reigned at *Athens* when as *Troy* was destroyed. (c) *Polyphides*] So saith *Enseb.* but *Pausanias* relateth it thus. *Sycion* had a daughter, called *Echthonophyle*, on hir did *Mercury* (they say) beget *Polybus*, *Phlias*, *Dionysius* his sonne married her afterwards, and had begot *Androdanus* on her. *Polybis* married his daughter *Lylianassa* to *Talaus*, sonne to *Bias* King of *Argos*. At this time *Adrastus* fled from *Argos* to *Polybus* in *Sycion*, and *Polybus* dying, was King there. He returning to *Argos*, *Ianiscus* one of *Clytius Laomedons* posterity came from *Attica* thether & got their Kingdome, and dying, left it to *Phestus*, a sonne of *Hercules*. Hee being called by Oracle into *Crete*, *Emxippus* sonne to *Apollo* and nymph *Syllis*, reigned, and hee being dead, *Agamemnon* made warre vpon *Sycionia*, and *Hippolitus* sonne to *Rhopalus* the sonne of *Phestus*, fearing his power, became his tributary, vpon composition. This *Hippolitus*, had issue *Lacestades* and *Phalces*. Now *Tamphaltes* sonne to *Temennus* came with his *Dorikes* in the night and tooke the city, yet did no harme, as being descended from *Hercules* also, onely hee was ioyned fellow in this Kingdome with him. From thence the *Sycionians* were called *Dorians*, and made a part of the *Argiue* Empire. (d) *Tantamus*] He reigned in the time of the *Troian* wars. *Enf.* *Diod.* saith that *Præm* (who held his crown from him as from his soueraigne) in the beginning of the siege sent to intreate some helpe of

him : who sent him 10000. Ethiopians ; 10000. Sufians, and twenty chariots or armed wag-  
gons, vnder the conduct of *Memnon*, sonne to Duke *Tybon* his dearestt affociate. *Homer*  
*Labdon.* mentioneth this *Memnon*, for he was slaine in this warre. He was a youth of an hardy and heroi-  
que spirit, as his valourous performances did witnesse in abundance. (e) *Labdon*] So doth *Eu-*  
*Hieromino.* *seb.* call him. The Bible hath it. *Abdon. Iud. 12. 13.* Sonne he was to *Hylo* the Ephraite, who had  
*Buffaldo.* forty sons, and they had fifty sons al good horfmen & he left them al liuing at his death. *Ios. li. 5*  
(f) *Pelagius*] The old bookes, read *Pelagus*. My friend *Hieronimo Buffaldo* ( an vnwearied  
student, a true friend, and an honest man) saith that in one copy hee had read it *Pelagus*, *Pan-*  
*Mezent us.* *sanius* putteth other names in this place quite different : he giues vs no light here. (g) *Samp-*  
*Aeneas dei-* *son*] *Iud. 13.* His deeds excelled all those of *Hercules*, *Hector*, or *Milo*. They are knowne : I will  
fed, not stand to rehearse them. (h) *Being not to be*] *Mezentius* King of Hetruria warred againstt  
the Latines, and *Aeneas* (their King) ioyning battell with him neere *Launium*, they had a sore  
fought field : and being parted by night, next morning *Aeneas* was not to bee found : some  
said he was indenized, some, that he was drowned in *Numicus*, the riuer. The Latines built him  
a Temple, & dedicated it : TO OVR HOLY FATHER AND TERRESTRIALL GOD, GO-  
VERNOR OF THE WATERS OF NUMICVS. *Dionys.* Some say be built it himselfe, *Festus*  
saith, *Ascanius* his sonne did. He died three yeares after his step-father *Latinus*, (so long was  
he King) and seauen yeares after the dissolution of *Troy*. He hath tombes in many nations, but  
those are but for his honour, *κενοταφια*, empty monuments, his true one is by the riuer *Numicus*.  
*Lin.* They call him *Iupiter indiges*, so *Ascanius* named him whē he deified him: *Indiges*, is a mor-  
*Indiges,* tall made a Deity. Some say it is onely spoken of those, whom it is sacrilege to name,  
what it is. as the patron-gods of citties, and such like. But I thinke *Indiges* bee as much as in-borne or in-  
liuing ; that is, meaning them that dwelt or were borne in the soile, where they are deified.  
Such did *Lucane* meane when he said.

*Indigites fleuisse deos urbisq; laborem,*  
*Testatos sudore lares* —————

The towne-gods wept, the house-hold-gods with sweat  
Witness, the Citties labour should be great.

And therefore he was both *Iupiter indiges*, and *Iupiter Latialis*. But this I may not balke:  
*Swinging* *Aeneas* had his swinging places in Italy, as *Erigone Icarus* his daughter had in Greece : for  
games, thus saith *Festus Pompeius*. These swinging-games had originall from hence, because *Aeneas*,  
being lost (no man knew how in his warres againstt *Mezentius* King of the *Cerites*) was held  
deified, and called *Ioue Latiall*. So *Ascanius* sent out all his subiects bond and free fixe daies  
to seeke him in earth and ayre : and so ordeined swinging to shew the forme of mans life,  
how he might mount to heauen, or fall from thence to earth, and the perpetuall reuolution of  
fortune. Thus *Festus.* (i) *By the Latines*] And the Sicilians also in *Elyma*, a citty that hee  
*Sangus* built. *On. Met. 14.* (k) *Sangus*] Or *Xanthus*, or *Sauellus*, or *Sancus*, but *Sangus* is the truth. *Por-*  
*Codrus.* *cius Cato* (saith *Dionys.*) wrote that the Sabines had their name from *Sabinus*, sonne to *Sangus*  
the god of the Sabines, otherwise called *Pisitus*. Him (saith *Lactantius*) doe the Sabines adore,  
as the Romanes doe *Quirinus*, and the Athenians *Minerua*. Hereof hee that list may read *An-*  
*ninus. Sequester Vibius*, in his description of *Rome*, mentions this *Geniu. Sangus.* (l. *Codrus*) son  
to *Melanthus* the *Messenian* ; in whose time the Kings of *Peloponnesus* (descended from *Her-*  
*cules*) warred vpon *Athens*, because they feared the aboundance of exiles there, and *Codrus*  
reiging at *Athens*, they feared both the *Cerinthians*, because of their bordeting vpon them  
(for *Isthmus* wherein *Corynth* stood, ioyneth on *Megara*) and the *Messenians* also, because of  
*Melanthus*, *Codrus* his father, beeing King there. So the bloud royall of *Peloponnesus* sent to  
the oracle, and were answered that the victory and the Kings death should fall both on  
one side : herevpon they conceiled the Oracle, and withall, gaue a strict charge that none  
should touch *Codrus*. But the Athenians hearing of this Oracle, and *Codrus* beeing de-  
sirous of glorie, and the good of his cuntry, disguised himselfe, went into the *Laconian*  
campe, and falling to brable with the souldiours, was slaine. So they lost the fiede, and  
all their Kingdome besides, excepting onely *Megara*. (m) *An Oracle*] Eyther that  
the *Laconians* should conquer if they killed not *Codrus*: (*Trog.*) or that the *Athenians*  
should conquer if *Codrus* were killed. *Tusc. quest. lib. 3.* *Seruius* deliuereth it, as wee  
did but now. (n) *Him the Athenians*] If these bee gods (saith *Tully De nat. Deor. 3.*)  
then

then is *Erichtheus* one, whose priest and temple we see at Athens: if hee be a god, why then is not *Codrus*, and all those that fought and died for their countries glory, Gods also? which if it be not probable, then the ground whence it is drawne, is false. These words of *Tully* seeme to auerre that *Codrus* was held no god at Athens rather then otherwise. (o) *Crensa*] Daughter to *Priam* and *Hecuba*, wife to *Aeneas*, mother to *Ascanius*. But *Aeneas* in Italy had *Sylvius* by *Crensa*, *Lavinia*, and hee was named *Posthumus* because his father was dead ere hee were boine. Some think that *Lavinia*, after *Aeneas* his death swaied the state till *Sylvius* came to yeares, and then resigned to him. Some say *Ascanius* had it though hee had no claime to it from *Lavinia* by whom it came: but because that she had as yet no sonne, and withall, was of too weake a sex to manage that dangerous war against *Mezentius* & his son *Lusius* (leaders of the *Hetrurians*) therefore she retired into the country, and built her an house in the woods where she brought vpe her sonne, calling him therevpon *Sylvius*. Now *Ascanius* hauing ended the warre fetched them out of the woods, and vsed them very kindly, but dying hee left his Kingdome to his son *Iulius*, betweene whom and his vnckle *Sylvius* there arose a contention about the Kingdome, which the people decided, giuing *Sylvius* the Kingdome, because he was of more yeares, & discretion, and withall, the true heire by *Lavinia*: and making *Iulus* chiefe ruler of the religion, a power next to the soueraignes. Of this *Casur* speaketh, both in *Lucane*, and in *Suctonius*. And this power remained to the *Iulian* family vntill *Dionys*. his time. I remember I wrote before, that because of *Neptunes* prophecy in *Homer*, some thought that *Aeneas* returned into *Phrygia* hauing seated his fellowes in Italy, and that hee reigned ouer the *Troians* there, at their home: (perhaps stealing from that battaile with *Mezentius*, and so shipping away thether.) But if that *Homer* meane the *Phrygian* Troy, then he likewise speaketh of *Ascanius*, whom many hold did reigne there againe. *Dionysius* saith that *Hellenus* brought *Hectors* children back to *Ilium*, and *Ascanius* came with them and chased out *Antenors* sonnes whom *Agamemnon* had made viceroies there at his departure. There is also a *Phrygian* City called *Antandron*, where *Ascanius* (they say) reigned buying his liberty of the *Pelasgiues*, for that towne, wherevpon it had the name. So that it is a question whether *Aeneas* left him in *Phrygia*, or that his father being dead in Italy, and his step-mother ruling all, he returned home againe. *Hesychius* names *Afcania*, a city in *Phrygia* of his building. *Steph.* It may bee this was some other son of *Aeneas* his, then that who was in *Italie*. For I beleue *Aeneas* had more sonnes of that name then one: It was rather a sur-name amongst them then otherwise; for that *Ascanius* that is said to rule in Italy, properly hight *Enryleon*. (p) *Melanthus*, ] *Codrus* his father. How hee got this Kingdome, is told by many: but specially by *Suidas* in his *Apaturia*. This feast (saith hee) was held at Athens in great sollemnity, three daies together: and *Sitalcus* his sonne (the King of *Thrace*) was made free of the City. The first day they call *Dorpeis*, the shipping day, for that daie their feast was at supper: the second *Anarrhysis*, the riot, then was the excessive sacrifices offered vnto *Iupiter Sodalis*, and *Minerva*: the third, *Cureotis*, for their boies and wenshes plaied all in companies that daie. The feasts originall was thus. The Athenians hauing warres with the *Bæotians* about the *Celenians*, that bordered them both; *Xanthus* the *Bæotian* challenged *Thimetus* the King of Athens: hee refusing, *Melanthus* the *Messianian* sonne to *Periclymenus*, the sonne of *Nelus*, beeing but a stranger there, accepted the combat and was made King. Beeing in fight *Melanthus* thought hee saw one stand behind *Xanthus* in a black goates skin, wherevpon he cried out on *Xanthus* that he brought helpe with him to the field. *Xanthus* looking back, *Melanthus* thrust him through. Herevpon was the feast of the deceiuer (ἀπορίσις) ordained, and a Temple built to *Dyonisius Melanaiges*, that is black-skind. Some say that the name of these feasts came of their fathers gathering together to inscribe their sonnes into the rolls of their men, and giue them their tog a virilis, their gowne of mans estate. Thus farre *Suidas*.

Of the succession of the Kingdome in Israell after the Iudges.

CHAP. 20.

SOone after (in those Kings times) the Iudges ceased, and *Saul* was anoynted first King of Israel, in *Samuel* the prophets time: and now began the Latine kings

O o o z

The *Slyuis*. kings to be called *slyuis* of *Sylvius Æneas* his sonne: all after him, had their proper names feuerall, and this sur-name in generall, as the Emperors that (a) succeeded *Cæsar*, were called *Cæsars* long after. But *Saul* and his progeny being reiected, (b) and he dead, *David* was crowned, (c) forty yeares after *Saul* beganne his reigne. (d) Then had the Athenians no more kings after *Codrns*, but beganne an Aristocracy. (e) *David* reigned forty yeares, and *Salomon* his sonne succeeded him, hee that built that goodly Temple of God at Ierusalem. In his time the Latines built *Alba*, & their kings were thence-forth called *Alban* kings, though ruling in *Lati-um*. (f) *Roboam* succeeded *Salomon*, & in his time *Israel* was diuided into two kingdomes, and either had a king by it selfe.

## L. VIVES.

The *Cæsars* whence. **T**HAT (a) succeeded *Cæsar* ] Not *Julius*, but *Augustus* ( and so haue some copies ) for it was from him that *Augustus*, and *Cæsar* became Imperiall surnames. He was first called *C. Octavianus*, but *Cæsar* left him heite of his goods, and name. (b) *Hee dead*, ] *Samuel* had anointed him long before, but he began not to reigne vntill *Sauls* death, at which time God sent him into *Hebron*. 2. *Sam*. 2. (c) *Forty yeares* ] So long ruled *Saul*, according to the scriptures, and *Iosephus*. But *Eupolemus* that wrote the Hebrew gests, saith, but 22. (d) *Then had the* ] They set a rule of *ἀρχοντες*, princes, magistrates, or what you will. The Latines call them *Archons*, vsing the Greeke. *Cic*. 1. *de fato*. *Spartian*. in *Adriano*. *Vell. Patere*. &c. They had nine magistrates at *Athens* (saith *Pollux*. lib. 8.) first the *Archon*, elected euery yeare new. Then the president, then the generall for war: then the chiefe Iustice, and fiue other Counsellors or Lawiers with him. These last heard and decided matters in the Court. The *Archon*, he was to looke to the ordering of *Bacchus* his sacrifices, and *Appollo's* games in the spring: commanding all then: hee was chiefe also of the Court where causes of violence, slander, defraudations of wards, elections of guardians, letting out of the fatherlesse childrens houfes, &c. were dispatched, all these must passe his seale. Thus *Pollux*. Before *Solons* lawes, they might not giue iudgement but each in a feuerall place. The president, hee sat at the *Bucolæum*, not farre from the Councill-house. The Generall in the *Lycæum*, the Counsellours in the *Thesmotium*. The *Archon* at the brazen statues, called *Exonimi*, where the lawes were fixed ere they were approued. (e) *David* ] There was neuer such a paire of men in the world, princes or priuate men as were these two, *David* and *Salomon*, the father and the sonne, the first for humility, honesty, and prophecy: the second for wisdome. Of him and of the Temple hee built, *Eupolemus* and *Timocharis*, (prophane Authors) doe make mention. *Lact. Inst. diu. lib.* 4. saith that hee reigned one hundred and forty yeares before the *Troyan* warre: whereas it was iust so long after it ere hee beganne to reigne. Either the author, or the transcriber are farre mistaken. (f) *Roboam*. In him, was the prouerbe fulfilled, a good father hath often-times a badde sonne: for hee like a foole, fallen quite from his fathers wisdome, would needes hold the people in more awe then his father had done before him, and so lost tenne tribes of his twelue; and they chose them a King, calling him King of *Israel*, leauing the name of the King of *Iuda* to him and his posterity, that reigned but ouer that, and the tribe of *Beniamin*: for *Leui*, belonging to the temple of God, at *Ierusalem*, was free.

Of the *latian* Kings: *Æneas* (the first) and *Auentinus* (the twelfth) are made gods.

## CHAP. 21.

**L**ATIUM, after *Æneas* their first deified king had cleauen more, and none of them deified. But *Auentinus* the twelfth, beeing slaine in warre, and buried on

on that hill that beares his name, he was put into the calender of their men gods. Some say he was not killed, but vanished away, and that mount Auentine (a) had not the name from him but from another: after him was no more gods made in Latium but *Romulus* the builder of Rome, betwixt whom and *Auentine* were two Kings: one, *Virgil* nameth saying.

*Proximus ille Procas Troiane gloria gentis.*

In whose time because Rome was now vpon hatching, the great monarchy of Assyria tooke end. For now after one thousand three hundred & fise years (counting *Belus* his reigne also in that little Kingdome at first) it was remooued to the Medes. *Procas* reigned before *Amulius*. Now *Amulius* had made *Rhea*, (or *Ilsa*) his brother *Numitors* daughter, a vestall Virgin, and *Mars* they say lay with her (thus they honour her whore-dome) and begot two twins on her, who (for a prooffe of their fore-said excuse for her) they say were cast out, and yet a she-wolfe, the beast of *Mars* came and fedde them with her dugges: as acknowledging the sonnes of her Lord and Maister. Now some doe say that there was an whore found them when they were first cast out, and shee sucked them vp. (Now they called whores, *Lupa*, shee wolues, and the stewes vnto this daie are called *Lupanaria*.) Afterwardes *Fasulus* a shep-herd had them (say they) and his wife *Acca* brought them vppe. Well, what if GOD, to taxe the bloody minde of the King that commanded to drowne them, preserued them from the water and sent this beast to giue them nourishment? is this any wonder? *Numitor*, *Romulus*, his grand-sonne succeeded his brother *Amulius* in the Kingdome of Latium, and in the first yeare of his reigne was Rome built, so that from thence forward, hee and *Romulus* reigned together in Italy.

Wolfe  
whores.

## L. VIVES.

**A**uentine (a) had not] It hath many deriuations (saith *Varro*.) *Nanus* deriueth it *ab anibus* Auentine. from the birds that flew thence to Tyber. Others, of *Auentinus* the Alban King, there buried. Others, *ab aduentu hominum*, of the resort of men, for there stood *Dianas* temple, common to all Latium. But I thinke it comes rather *ab aduectu*, of carrying to it: for it was whilom seuered from all the cittie, by fennes; and therefore they were faine to bee rowed to it in shippes. And seeing wee doe comment some-what largely in this perticular booke, for curious heads, take this with yee too: Auentine was quite without the precinct of Rome, either because that the people encamped there in their mutiny, or because that there came no fortunate birds vnto it in *Remus* his Augury.

*Rome, founded at the time of the Assyrian Monarchies fall, Ezechias being King of Iuda. CHAP. 22.*

**B**riefly Rome (a) the second Babilon, daughter of the first (by which it pleased God to quell the whole world, and fetch it all vnder one soueraignty) was now founded. The world was now full of hardy men, painfull and well practised in warre. They were stubborne, and not to bee subdued but with infinite labour and danger. In the conquests of the Assyrians ouer all Asia, the warres were of farre lighter accompt, the people were to seeke in their defenses, nor was the world so populous. For it was not about a thousand yeares after that vniuersall deluge wherein all died but *Noah* and his family, that *Ninus* conquered all Asia

excepting India. But the Romanes came not to their monarchy with that ease that hee did: they spred by little and little, and found sturdy lets in all their proceedings. Rome then was built when Israell had dwelt in the land of promise 718. yeares. 27. vnder *Iosuah*, 329. vnder the Iudges, and 362. vnder the Kings vntill *Achaz*, now King of Iudah, or as others count, vnto his successor *Ezechias*, that good and Godly king, who reigned (assuredly) in *Romulus* his time: Of see in the meane time being king of Israell.

## L. VIVES.

Rome called Babil6. **R**ome the (a) second Babilon ] Saint Peter calleth Rome Babilon as *Hierome* saith (in *Vita Marci*.) who also thinketh that *Iohn* in the Apocalips meaneth no other Babilon but Rome. *Ad Marcellam*. [ But now it hath put off the name of Babilon: no confusion now: you cannot buy any thing now in matter of religion without a very faire pretext of holy law for the selling of it, yet may you buy or sell (almost) any kinde of cause, holy, or hellish, for money.]  
leauē it out, and so they doe.]

*Of the euident prophecy of Sybilla Erithræa concerning Christ.*

## CHAP. 23.

**I**N those daies *Sybilla Erythrea* (some say) prophesied: there were many (a) *Sybills* (saith *Varro*) more then one. But this (b) *Sybille* of *Erythrea* wrote some apparant prophesies of Christ, which wee haue read in rough latine verses, not correspondent to the greeke, the interpretor wel learned afterward, being none of the best poets. For *Flaccianus*, a learned and eloquent man (one that had bene Consull deputie) beeing in a conference with vs concerning Christ, shewed vs a greeke booke, saying they were this *Sybills* verses, wherein in one place, he shewed vs a sort of verses so composed, that (c) the first letter of euery verse beeing taken, they all made these words  $\text{ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΟΥΝΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ}$ . *Iesus Christus, Dei Filius, Saluator*, IESVS CHRIST, SON OF GOD THE SAVIOVR. Now (d) these verses, as some haue translated into latine, are thus. The English of them you shall haue in the Comment following, in an acrostike out of the Greeke.

(c) *Iudicii signo tellus sudore madescet.*

*E celo rex adueniet per secla futurus:*

(f) *Scilicet in carne presens ut iudicet orbem.*

*Unde Deum cernent incredulus atq; fidelis*

*Celsum cum sanctis, ani iam termino in ipso.*

(g) *Sic anima cum carne aderunt, quas iudicet ipse.*

*Cum iacet incultus densis in vepribus orbis.*

*Reiciunt simulachra viri, cunctam quoque Gazam.*

(h) *Exuret terras ignis, pontumque polumque*

*Inquirens, tetri portas effringet Auerni.*

(i) *Sanctorum sed enim cuncta lux libera carni*

*Tradetur, fontes aeternum flamma cremabit.*

(k) *Osculos actus retegens, tunc quisque loquetur*

*Secreta,*

*Secreta, atque Deus referabit pectora luci.*  
*Tunc erit et luctus, stridebunt dentibus omnes:*  
*Eripitur solis Iubar, et chorus interit astris.*  
*Soluetur calum, lunaris splendor obibit.*  
*Deiciet colles, valles extollet ab imo.*  
*Non erit in rebus hominum sublime, vel altum.*  
*Iam equantur campis montes, et carula ponti.*  
*Omnia cessabunt, tellus confracta peribit.*  
*Sic pariter fontes torrentur, fluminaque igni.*  
*Sed tuba tunc sonitum tristem dimittet ab alto*  
*Orbe, gemens facinus miserum, variosque labores:*  
*Tartareumque Chaos monstrabit terra debiscens.*  
*Et coram hic domino reges sistentur ad unum.*  
*Decidet è calis ignisque et sulphuris amnis.*

Now this translator could not make his verses ends meete in the same sence that the Greeke meete in : as for example, the Greeke letter *v*, is in the head of one verse, but the Latines haue no word beginning with *v*, that could fitte the sence. And this is in three verses, the fifth, the eighteenth and the nineteenth. Againe wee doe not take these letters from the verses heads in their iust number, but expresse them 5. wordes, *Iesus Christus, Dei Filius, saluator*. The verses are in all, 27. which make a trine, fully (*m*) quadrate, and solid. For 3. times 3. is 9. and 3. times 9. is 27. Now take the 5. first letters from the 5. first wordes of the Greeke sentencè included in the verses heads, and they make *ixhvs a fjb*, a misticall name of *Christ*, who could be in this mortall world, as in a deepe Sea, without all sinne. Now this *Sibilla Erythraa*, or (as some rather thinke) *Cumana*, hath not one word in all her verses (whereof these are a parcell) tending to Idolatry, but all against the false gods and their worshippers, so that she seemes to me to haue beene a cittizen of the *Citty of God*. (*f*) *Lactantius* also hath prophecies of *Christ* out of some *Sibille*, but he saith not from which. But that which he dilateth in parcels, do I thinke good to lay together, and make one large prophecy of his many little ones. This it is. *Afterwards he shall be taken by the ungodly, and they shall strike God with wicked hands, and spitte their venemous spirits in his face. Hee shall yeeld his holy backe to their strokes, and take their blowes with silence, least they should know that he is the word, or whence he came to speake to mortals. They shall crowne him with thorne, they gaue him gall in stead of vineger to eate, this table of hospitallity they shall afford him. Thou foolish nation that knewst not thy God, but crowned him with thorne, and feasted him with bitternesse. The wayle of the Temple shall rend in two, and it shall bee darke three howres at noone day. Then shall he dy and sleepe three dayes, and then shall hee arise againe from death and shewe the first frutes of the resurrection to them that are called.* All this hath *Lactantius* vsed in feuerall places, as hee needed, from the the *Sybill*: We haue laid it together, distinguishing it onely by the heads of the chapters, if the transcriber haue the care to obserue and follow vs. Some say *Sybilla Erythraa* liued in the Troyan warre long before *Romulus*.

### L. VIVES.

**M**any (*a*) *Sybils*] Prophetesses. *Diod. lib. 5. Seru. in 4. Aeneid. Lactant. Div. inst.* The *Sy-*  
 say that *Sybilla* commeth of *σιβη* God, (in the *Acolike* Dialect) and *βου*'s counsel, *Suidas* bills.  
 ayth that it is a *Romane* word and signifieth a *P*rophetesse. How many of the *Sibils* ther were  
 and



and when they liued, is vncertaine : wee will heare the best authors hereof, *Martianus* saith there were but two *Sybills*, one called *Erophila*, daughter to *Marmasus* the Troyan ( and this hee saith was that of Phrygia and Cumæ ) the other *Symmachia*, daughter to an Hipponesian, borne at Erythra, and prophecying at *Cuma* also. There were three statues of three *Sybils*, in the pleading court at Rome. *Plin.* the first erected by *Pacuvius Taurus* Aedile, and the rest by *M. Messala*. These (saith *Solinus* ) were the Cumane, the Delphike, and the Erythrean *Erophila*. *Alian* (*hist. vari.*) names foure : Erythra, Samia, Egyptia, Sardinia. Others adde two more Iudæa, and Cumæa. *Varro* makes them vp ten, *De re divin. ad Cæs.* The Greekes thought to doe with them as they did with the *Iones* and *Hercules*, making a many all into one, and writ much of one *Sybilla* : some make her daughter to *Apollo* and *Lamia* : sonne to *Aristocrates* and *Hydole* : some to *Crimagoras*, or to *Theodorus*. Some make her borne at Erythra, some in Sicily, some in Sardinia, Gergethia, Rhodes, Lybia, or Leucania, and all these concerne the Erythrean *Sybill*, who liued before the sack of Troy, say they. But now to *Varro's* ten *Sybills*, as *Lactantius* reckens them, adding the fitte assertions of Greekes, or Latines by the way. The first was a Persian, mentioned by *Nicaner*, the Chronicler of *Alexanders* actes. This some say was a Chaldean, and some a Jew, her name being *Sambetha*, borne in Noe, a citty neare the read sea, of one *Berosus* and his wife *Tymantia*, who had foure and twenty children betweene them. Shee prophecyed abundantly of *Christ*, and his comitting, with whome the other *Sybills* doe fully accorde. The second was a Lybian. *Eurip. Prolog. in Lamiam.* The third a Delphian, (*Chrysis. de Divinat.*) borne at Delphos, called *Themis*, liuing before the siege of Troy. *Homer* inserted many of her verses into his *Rapsodie*. This saith *Diodorus* was *Daphne*, *Tyresias* daughter, whom the Argiues conquering Thebes, sent to Delphos, where growing cunning in *Apollo's* mysteries, shee expounded the Oracles, to them that sought to them, and therefore was called *Sybilla*. There was another *Daphne*, daughter to *Lidom* the Arcadian, *Apollo* loued her, and shee is feigned to bee turned into a Lawrell in flying from him. The fourth a Cumæan in Italy. *Næn. de bello Punic. Piso in Annual.* Some say shee was borne in Cymerium a towne in Italy neere Cumæ. The fifth an Erythrean : *Apollodorus* saith hee and shee were borne both in a towne. Shee prophecied to the Greekes, going to Troye, that they should conquer, and that *Homer* should write lyes. But the common opinion is, shee liued before the siege of Troy : yet *Eusebius* drawes him to *Romulus* his time. Indeede *Strabo* maketh more then one Erythrean *Sybill* : saying there was one ancient one, and another later called *Athenais*, liuing in *Alexanders* time. *Lactantius* saith *Sybilla Erythraea* was borne at Babilon, and chose to bee called Erythraea. The sixt was a Samian, *Eratosth.* saith hee found mention of her in the Samian *Annales* : shee was called *Phito* the seauenth, a Cumane, called *Amalthea*, and by other *Herophile*, or *Demophile*. *Suidas* calleth her *Hierophile*, and saith shee brought nine bookes to King *Tarquinius Priscus*, and asked him three hundred angels for them, which hee denying and laughing at her, shee burnt three of them before his face, and asked him the whole summe for the rest. Hee thinking shee was madde or drunke indeed, scoffed at her againe : shee burned other three, and asked still the whole summe for the three remaining : then the King was moued in minde, and gaue it her. This is recorded by *Pliny*, *Dionys. Solin. Gellius*, and *Seruius*, concerning *Tarquin* the proud, not the other. *Pliny* saith shee had but three bookes, burning two, and sauing the third. *Suidas* saith she had nine bookes of priuate oracles, and burnt but two of them : her tombe (saith *Solinus*) may be seene yet in Sicilia. But he calleth her not *Erophile*, for that hee giues to the Erythrean *Sybill*, who was more ancient then the Cumane. *Eusebius* thinks that *Hierophile* was neither the Erythrean, nor Cumane, but the Samian, that she liued in *Numa's* time, *Leocrates* being Archon of Athens. The wife of *Amphiarans* was called *Erophile* also. The eight was of Hellepont, borne at Marmissum neare Troy, liuing in the time of *Solon* and *Cyrus*. *Heracle. Pontic.* The ninth was a Phrygian, and prophecied at Aucyra. The tenth a Tyburtine, called *Alburnea*, worshipped at Tybur, as a goddesse on the banke of the riuer Anienes, in whose channell her Image was found, with a booke in the hand of it. These are *Varro's* *Sybills*. There are others named also, as *Lampusia*, *Calchas* his daughter, of *Colophon*, whose prophecies were whilom extant in verse : and *Sybilla Elyssas* also with them. *Cassandra* also, *Priams* daughter, who prophecied her countries ruine, was counted for a *Sybill* : there was also *Sybill* of Epirus, and *Manto Tyresias* daughter : and lastly *Carmentis Emanders* mother, and *Fatua*, *Fannus* his wife, all called *Sybills*. *Didimus Grammaticus* is in doubt whether *Sapho* were a *Sybill* or no.

*Tarquinius Priscus.*

Sen.

*Sen. de stud. liberal.* Yet some in this place read *Publica* for *Sybilla*. But which *Sybill* it was that wrote the verses conteyning the Romanes fate, *Varro* him-felse they say could not tell. Some sayd it was *Sybilla Cumana*, as *Virgill* doth, calling her *Deiphobe* daughter to *Glaucus*, who was a Prophet, and taught *Apollo* the art: vnlesse you had rather read it *Deiphile*, for she (as some say) brought the bookes to *Tarquin Priscus* who hid them in the Capitol: She liued in Rome (sayth *Solinus*) in the fifteenth Olympiad. If that be so, it was *Tarquin Priscus*, & not the Proud, that bought her bookes: For *Priscus* dyed, and *Seruus Tullus* began his raigne the fourth yeare of the fifteenth Olympiade, *Epitelides* of *Lacedemon* beeing victor in the Games, and *Archestratides* beeing Archon of Athens. That therefore is likelier that *Varro* and *Suidas* affirme of *Priscus*, then that which others sayd of *Superbus*, if *Solinus* his Account bee true. Her Chappell was to bee seene at *Cumæ*, but *Varro* thinketh it vnlikely that the *Sybill* that *Aeneas* talked with, should liue vnto the fift King of Romes time: and therefore hee thinketh it was *Erythraa* that sung the Romaines destinies. Yet *Dionys.* sayth it was to her that *Aeneas* went. *lib. 4.* *Varro* hath this further ground, that when *Apolloes* Temple at *Erythraa* was burnt, those very verses were found there. Euen this is shee whome *Virgill* calleth *Cumæa*, for shee prophesied at *Cumæ* in Italy, sayth *Capella*, and so thinke I; There is *Cumæ* in Ionia, by *Erythrea*, but *Aristotle* sayth directly, there is a *Cauæ* in *Cumæ* a City of Italy, in which *Sybilla* dwelt. Shee whome others called *Erythraa*, the *Cumæans* for glory of their country call *Cumæa*: Otherwise they meane some other. For it was not *Virgils* *Sybill* that *Cumæa* *Sybilla*, that sold *Tarquin* the bookes, Nor sayth *Virgill*, nor thinke wee, that there were no verses in those bookes, but of One *Sybil*. This *Tacitus* sheweth saying of *Augustus*, that, whereas there were many fables spred vnder the *Sybil*s names, hee sent into *Samos*, *Erythrea*, *Ilium*, *Africke*, and to all the Italian Colonies, to bee at Rome with their verses at a day appoynted, where a iudgement was past by the *Quindecimvirs*, and a censure vpon all that should haue of these verses in priuate: Antiquity hauing decreed against it before. And the Capitol being repayed (sayth *Lactantius* out of *Varro*) they came thether from all places (and chiefly from *Erythraa*) with *Sybil*s verses. This also *Femestella* (a dilligent Author) recordeth, and that *P. Gabinus*, *M. Octacilius*, and *Luc. Valerius* went to *Erythraa* purposely about it, and brought about a thousand verses to Rome, which priuate men had copyed forth. Thus farre *Lactantius*. *Stilico Honorius* his step-father, desiring to moue the people against his sonne in law, made away all the *Sybil*s bookes: Of which fact, *Claudian* writeth thus:

*Nec tantum Geticis grassatus proditor armis  
Ante Sybillinæ fata cremanit opis.*

Nor onely rag'd the Traytor in *Gothes* armes,  
But burnt the fates of *Sybil*s helpe from harmes.

And thus much of the *Sybil*s. (b) *Sybill of Erythraa* ] *Lactantius* citeth some of those verses from another *Sybill*: it is no matter indeed which *Sybil*s they are. One *Sybil*s they are sure to be, and because shee was the most famous, to her they assigne them. (c) *The first letter* ] That the *Sybil*s put misteries in their verses heads, *Tully* can testifie. Their Poems (sayth he) prooueth them not mad, for there is more cunning then turbulency in them: beeing all coueued into *Acrosticks*, as *Ennius* also had done in some, Shewing a minde rather attentiuie then furious. *De diuinat. lib. 2.* *Virgill* also *Argl. 4.*

*Ultima Cumæi venit iam carminis atas:*

The *Sybil*s prophesies draw to an end.

Namely the time that shee included in her propheticall *Acrosticks*. (d) *These verses* ] The Greeke verses in *Eusebius* are these.

εδροις γδ χθον, κελτοις σημειον οτ' εσα  
αξει δ' εχρηθησιν βασιλεις αιωσιν ο μελλων  
σδρακα παροι κριση παστας, και κοσμοι απωτα.  
ο-φοντα ηθιοι μισρη και πιστοι και απιστοι  
δ-ψιστοι μ' ε' ελιανισι ποτα χρονοιο  
στροφοστρο, ψυχας δ' εδρασαν επι σωματι κρισει.  
χρησος ετ' απωσι κοσμοσ' ελος και ακαθαρτα γινεται,  
ε-ψισι τ' ειδωλας ερωται, και σθεδρατοσ' αωτατα.

1278.09

ἰχθυοὶ ῥέει τὸ σῶμα εἰρατὴ αἰδῶ.  
 σαρξὶ τῷ σώματι κερῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου φῶς ἔχει.  
 τὸν ἀγιόν, ἀνίμω τὸ τοῦ ἀγαίου ἐκείνου ἰδίχθου.  
 ἰσοῖσα πρὸς ἀραξῆς ἰλαθῆναι, τότε πᾶν τὸ λαλήσει.  
 σθῆρα γὰρ ζοφῶντα διδὸν φασήσιν ἀνοίξει.  
 θρυγῶ δ' ἂν πάντων ἰσῆαι καὶ βρύχμος ἐδοίτων  
 ἐκλείψει σίλας οὐρανὸν ἐστὼν τὴν χροῖαν,  
 ἀκαθὸν εἰλοῖξει μῆτις δὲ τὴν φύγῃς ἰλείται.  
 ὑψοῖς ἢ φάσκαζας, ἰλαθῆναι ὑψοῦσιν ἐδοίτων.  
 ὑψοῖς δ' ἂν ἐκ τῆς λυγρῆς ἐκείνου ποιοῖ φασήται.  
 ἰσῆαι τ' ὅρα σῶμα ἰσῆαι, καὶ πᾶσα βάλαντα  
 ἐκείνου ἰσῆαι, γὰρ τὸ φρυγῆσαι κερῶν,  
 σῶμα ἀνοίξει ποταμοὶ ἀσπλαζῶντες ἐκείνου.  
 σῶμα, γὰρ δ' ἀκαθὸν φασῶν πολυθῆρτων ἀραξῆς.  
 ἔρυστα μύσους μίλλοι καὶ σῶμα κερῶν,  
 τῆς τῆς ἢ καὶ τὸ τοῦ δείξει γαῖα χαλῶσα.  
 ἔξουσι δ' ἰσῆαι ἐκείνου διὰ βασιλῆας ἀπαρτίς,  
 ῥῶσει δ' ἀκαθὸν ποταμὸς πυρῆς, ἰδί γὰρ θεῶν.

**I**n signe of Doomes-day, the whole earth shall sweate:  
**E**uer to reigne, a King in heauenly seate,  
**S**hall come to iudge all flesh. The faithfull, and  
**V**nfaithfull too, before this God shall stand,  
**S**eeing him high with Saints, in Times last end.  
**C**orporeall shall bee sit; and thence, extend  
**H**is doome on soules. The earth shall quite lie wast,  
**R**u'n'd, ore-growne with thornes, and men shall cast  
**I**dolls away, and treasure. Searching fire  
**S**hall burne the ground, and thence it shall inquire,  
**T**hrough seas, and skie, and breake Hells blackest gates:  
**S**o shall free light salute the blessed states  
**O**f Saints; the guilty lasting flames shall burne.  
**N**o act so hid, but then to light shall turne;  
**N**or brest so close, but GOD shall open wide.  
**E**ach where shall cries be heard, and noyse beside  
**O**f gnashing teeth. The Sunne shall from the skie  
**F**lie forth; and starres no more mooue orderly.  
**G**reat Heauen shall be dissolu'd, the Moone depriv'd  
**O**f all her light; places at height arriu'd  
**D**eprest; and valleys raised to their seate:  
**T**here shall be nought to mortalls, high or great.  
**H**ills shall lye leuell with the plaines; the sea  
**E**ndure no burthen; and the earth, as they,  
**S**hall perish cleft with lightning: euery spring  
**A**nd riuier burne. The fatall Trumpe shall ring  
**V**nto the world, from heauen, a dismall blast  
**I**ncluding plagues to come for ill deedes past.  
**O**ld Chaos, through the cleft masse, shall bee scene,  
**V**nto this Barre shall all earths Kings conuene:  
**R**iuers of fire ana Brimstone flowing from heauen.

(e) *Iudicii signo*] Act. 1. 11. This *Iesus* who is taken vp to heauen, shall so come as you haue  
 seene him goe vp into heauen. (f) *Scilicet*] This verse is not in the Greeke, nor is it added  
 here, for there must be twenty seauen. (g) *Sic anima*] The Greeke is, then shall all flesh come  
 into free heauen, and the fire shall take away the holy and the wicked for euer, but because  
 the sence is *harsh*, I had rather read it τῶν ἁγίων, and so make it agree with the Latine inter-  
 pretation.

pretation. (b) *Exuret.*] The bookes of consciences shall bee opened, as it is in the Reuelation: Of those here-after. (i) *Sanctorum*] *Isay.* 40. 4. Euery valley shall bee exalted, and euery mountaine and hill shall bee layde lowe: the crooked shall bee straight, and the rough places plaine.

(k) *Occultos*] High and lowe shall then bee all one, and neither offensiue; pompe, height and glorye shall no more domineere in particular: but as the *Apostle* saith. Then shall all principalities and powers bee annihilated, that GOD may bee all in all. For there is no greater plague then to bee vnder him that is blowne bigge with the false conceite of greatnesse: hee groweth rich and consequently proud: hee thinkes hee may domineere, his father was, I marry was hee: his pedigree is alway in his mouth, and (very likely) a theefe, a Butcher or a Swin-heard in the front of this his noble descent.

Another Tarre-lubber bragges that hee is a souldiour, an ayde vnto the state in affaires military, therefore will hee reare and teare, downe goe whole Citties before him (if any leaue their owne seates and come into his way, or to take the wall of him, not else): A quadrate number, plane and solide. (l) *No word*] For the Greeke  $\delta$ , beginning a word, is alwayes aspirate: now if we bring it into Latine, aspirate wee must put *H.* before it, and this deceiues the ignorant. (m) *Quadrade and solid*] A plaine quadrate is a number multiplyed once by it selfe, as three times three, then multiply the product by the first, and you haue a solid: as three times three is nine. Heere is your quadrate plaine, three times nine is twenty seauen, that is the quadrate Laclant. lib. 4 cap. 18. solide. (n) *Laclantius*] *Laclantius* following his Maister *crnobius*, hath written seauen most excellent and acute volumes against the Pagans, nor haue wee any Christian that is a better *Ciceronian* then hee.

οὐκ εἶμις χεῖρας, καὶ ἀπίστον ὕστερον ἦξοι.  
δαῖτυσι δὲ θῶα ῥασισηματα χερσιν ἀνάγχοις,  
καὶ σῆμασι μιαιφῶσι τὰ σπυσηματα φαρμακοῦντα,  
δῶσι δὲ αἱ μέγιστοι κολῶε δ' ἔχοι τετιῶται.

To th'faithlesse vniust hands then shall hee come,  
Whose impure hands shall giue him blowes, and some  
Shall from their foule mouthes poysoned spittle send,  
Hee to their whips his holy back shall bend.

καὶ πλοαφίζονται στήθεσι, μὴτε ἐπιγνώ  
με λόγῳ ἠκούσει ἄλλοι ἐνα φθίμενοις λαλοῦσι.  
καὶ σῆμασι φησὶσι τῶν ἀκαθάρτων.

Thus beate hee shall stand mute, that none may ken  
Who was, or whence, the worde, to speake to men:  
And hee shall beare a thornie crowne

οὐδὲ τὸ θῆμα χεῖρας, αἵ εἰς δὲ τὰς ἕξαι ἰδμεται,  
τῆς ἀφιλοξῆνιαι τῶν ἄποιν δαίξουσι τρέπιζαι.

They gaue him for drinke Vineger, and Gall for meate,  
This table of in-hospitalitie they set.

This

This is likewise in another verse of *Sybills*: the Greeke is:

αὐτὸ θεοῦ ἀφρονὶ τί σοι θεοὶ ἐκείνοισι,  
 σκίζοντα ἄθροστοῖσι νόμοισιν, ἀλλὰ παραδοῖς  
 ἱερῆς τερατῆς, ὁρῶντι τι χεῖλι ἐκείνοισι.

Thy God ( thy good ) thou brainlesse sencelesse didst not know,  
 Who past and plaid in mortall words and works below :  
 A crowne of thornes, and fearfull gall thou didst bestow.

Chap. 19.

In the next Chapter following: the words are these,

καὶ ἕσχηθίσεται αἰτῶμα, καὶ ἕρηται μίση  
 τῆς νύκτος σκοτίεσσα πλῆρη, ὅτι τρισὶν ὥραις.

The Temples veile shall rend in twaine, and at mid-day  
 Prodigious darkned night for three full houres shall stay.

In the same Chapter.

καὶ θάνατος μῶρας τῆλεος τρισὶν ἡμερῶν ὄψοιται,  
 καὶ τότε ἄνοιθιμὸν ἀναυφῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἕξει  
 πρῶτος αἰεσίτης ἀποτίεσθαι ὑπὸν εἴας.

Death shall shut vp his date with sleeping for three daies  
 Then rising from the dead, he turns to the Sunne rayes :  
 The resurrection's first-fruites to th' elect displays,

(\*) *Of the resurrection*] Making away for the chosen, by his resurrection, so the Greeke implyeth, *Christ* as the Apostle saith, being *the first borne of many brethren*, and *the first fruites of those that sleepe*.

*The seauen Sages in Romulus his time: Israel lead into captivity:  
 Romulus dyeth and is deified.*

CHAP. 24.

**I**N *Romulus* his time liued *Thales*, one of those who (after the Theologicall Poets in which *Orpheus* was chiefe) were called the Wise-men, or Sages. And (a) now did the Chaldæans subdue the ten Tribes of Israell, (fallen before from *Juda*) and lead them all into Chaldæa captiue, leauing onely the tribes of *Juda* and *Beniamin* free, who had their Kings seate at Hierusalem. *Romulus* dying, and beeing not to bee found, was here-vpon deified, which vse was now almost giuen ouer, so that (b) in the *Casars* times they did it rather vpon flattery then error, and *Tully* commends *Romulus* highly in that hee could deserue those in so wise and learned an age, though Philosophy were not yet in her height of subtile and acute positions and disputations. But although in the later dayes they made no new Gods of men, yet kept they their old ones still, and gaue not ouer to worship them: increasing superstition by their swarmes of Images, whereof antiquity had none: and the deuills working so powerfully with them, that they got them to make publike presentations of the gods shames, such as if they had bin vn-dreamed of before, they would haue shamed to inuent as then. After *Romulus* reigned *Numa*, who stuffed all the Citty with false religion, yet could hee not shape a God-head for him-selfe out of all this *Chaos* of his

his consecrations. It seemes hee stowed heauen so full of gods that hee left no roome for him-selfe. He raigning at Rome, and *Manasses* ouer the Hebrewes (that *(c)* wicked King that killed the Prophet *Isaias*) *Sybilla* (*d*) *Samia* liued; as it is reported.

## L. VIVES.

**N**ow (*a*) did] By the conduct of *Senacharib*, or *Salmanazar*, King of Chaldaea, in *Osee's* time. They were transported into the Mountaines of Media, after they had bene ruled by Kings 250. yeares. *Senacherib* sent colonies out of Assyria into Iudæa to possesse and keepe it, and they followed the Iewish law, and were called Samaritanes, that is, keepers. (*b*) In the *Samaritanes* *Cæsar's* time] *Tully* in his *Phillippikes* rattles vp *Cæsars* deity, *Seneca* derides that of *Claudius*, *Lucan*, and *Lucan* the diuine honours giuen to all the *Cæsars*. (*c*) That wicked King that killed] So he did and set vp an Idoll with fūe faces. *Esaias* was a Prophet of the bloud royall. Hee prophesied vnder *Manasses* who made him be sawen in two. He was buryed vnder the oke *Rogell*, neare to the spring that *Ezechias* damned vpp. *Hierome*. (*d*) *Samia*] Called *Herophilius*, and liuing in Samos. *Euseb.*

*Phylosophers liuing in Tarquinius Priscus his time, and Sedechias, when Hierusalem was taken, and the Temple destroyed.*

## CHAP. 25.

**S***edechias* ruling ouer the Hebrewes, and *Tarquinius Priscus* (successor to *Ancus Martius*) ouer the Romanes, the Iewes were carried captiue to Babilon, Hierusalem was destroyed, and *Salomons* temple razed. (*b*) The Prophets had told them long before that their wickednes would be the cause of this, chiefly *Hieremy* (*c*) who told them the very time that it would hold: (*d*) about this time liued (*e*) *Pittacus* of Mitylene, another of the sages. And the other fūe also (which with *Thales* and this *Pittacus* make seauen) liued all (as *Eusebius* saith) (*f*) within the time of the Israelites captiuitie in Babilon. Their names were (*g*) *Solon* of Athens (*h*) *Chilo* of Lacedæmon (*i*) *Periander* of Corinth (*k*) *Cleobulus* of Lindum, (*l*) and *Bias* of Prienæum. These were all after the Theologicall Poets, and were more famous for their (*m*) better discipline of life, then others obserued, & for that they gaue sundry (*n*) good instructions, touching the reformatiō of manners. But they left (*o*) no records of their learning to posterity, but onely *Solon* that left the Athenians som lawes of his making. *Thales* was a Naturalist, & left books of his opinions: & in this time also liued *Auaximander*, *Anaximenes* & *Xenophanes*, al natural, Philosphers, & *Pythagoras* also frō whom Philosophy seemed to take begining.

## L VIVES.

**S***edechias* (*a*)] *Nabuchodrosor* (or *Nabuchodonosor*) warred with three Kings of Iuda, first with *Ioachim*, and him he made his tributary: then which *Iechonias*, and him he carried after three months war, vnto Babilon, spoiling al Iury, and leauing *Matathias* (whom he named *Sedechias*) *Iechonias* his vncle, Prouost of Iudæa: he changed his name to make him remember his place, but he disobeyed him vpon his departure, and so pulled the weight of a great war vpon him. For the *Chaldean* came in person, burned and slew all vp before him, besieged Hierusalem, took it through famine, slew *Sedechias* his children before his face, put out his eies, and carried him captiue to Babilon, with al his people with him, and razed the city to the ground. (*b*) The Prophets] *Hieremy* began to prophesy the third yeare of *Iosias*, son of *Ammon*, King of Iuda, as he declareth in the beginning of his prophesy. *Euseb* saith, not vntill the tenth yeare. Of him and his prophesy thus writeth *Alex. Polyhist.* In *Ioachims* time, he was sent by God to  
Nabuco-  
drofor.  
Hieremy.  
Prophecy

Prophecy, and finding the Iewes adoring of their Idol Baal, hee there-uppon prophesied their Citties raine and their captiuitie, where-uppon Ioachim commanded to burne him. But hee told them that with the same peeces of wood should they (beeing captiue) digge and delue betwene Tigris and Euphrate: This Nabuchodrozor heard off, and gathering his power, came and spoiled all Iudaea, Hierusalem, and the Temple, taking the Arke and all away with him. (c) Who told ] Seauenty yeares hee sayd it would indure, and so it did. (d) Pittacus ] Euseb. sayth that there were seauen wise men of Greece in Cyrus his time. Euang. Prep. lib. 10. But indeed their times cannot bee brought vnto one, some were before other some. Thales assuredly spake with Cyrus, so did Solon and Pittacus with Crasus who warred with Cyrus. But Cyrus his time began but a little before his ended. For Cyrus liued from the fortieth to the fiftieth Olympiade. Some say to the fifty one, fifty two, fifty three, yea and some to the fifty eighth. Eusebius sayth Thales liued in the beginning of Romulus his time. But eyther the author or the transcriber is in a foule fault, yet Augustine followeth them. For how could Thales come to Cyrus his time then? From the eighth Olympiad vnto the fivie and fiftieth, very neere two hundred yeares? Thales by the longest accompt liued but ninety: So counts Socrates, but ordinarily hee hath but seauenty allowed him; Laert. And Eusebius maketh the seauen sages to liue but in Seruius his first beginning of his reigne: and Thales in the first of Ancus Martius; that is Olymp. thirty fivie, whome he sayd liued vnto Olymp. fifty eight: then must he not be referred to Romulus his time. And the Greekes haue exceeding adoe about their sages, euery one being vayne-gloryous for his owne side, for they hadde wont in old time to call all their Artists, Sages, as wee call them knowing men. The Poets also were called so: as Hesiod and Homer. And then Thales, Bias, Pittacus, and Solon gotte all this name. For these sayth Dicaearchus, were assuredly such. But whome to adde to these now there lyes the doubt. It is the greatest and most noble question that is handled in prophane masters. The three that Augustine nameth, are commonly added. Laert. Plato, reiectes Periander, and putteth one Misson in his place, whose country is vnkowne. In protag. Plato maketh him a Cheuean, a man-hater as Tymon, and Apemanthus was. Leandrius for him and Cleobulus, putts Leophantus of Ephesus, and Epimenedes of Crete. Ephorus puttes Anacharsis the Sythian in Periander's place. Others ad Aristodemus Pamphilus, and Strabras the Argiue, Hermippus reckons seauenteene wise men: Solon, Thales, Pittacus, Bias, Cleobulus, Chilo, Periander, Anacharsis, Acusilaus, Epimenides, Cleophantus, Pherecides, Aristodemus, Pythagoras, Latius, Hermion and Anaxagoras. (e) Pittacus ] Sonne to Hircadius the Thracian as it is reported: borne at Mytelene in Lesbos: a louer of his countryes freedome, for which hee slew the Tyrant Melanchrus: he was very valiant (for hee fought hand to hand with Phrymon of Athens who had bene victor in the Olympicks, and slew him) and most iust, for beeing made a iudge betwene Athens and Mitylene in a controuersie concerning lands, hee iudged on the Athenians side: and therefore the Mitylenians made him President of their state, which hee held vntill hee had settled it and then gaue it ouer. Hee dyed, Olymp. fifty one, in the seauentith yeare of his age; tenne yeares after hee had reformed the state. (f) Within the time ] Euseb. Prep. Euang. and in Chronic. (whome Augustine followeth much in this work) In Cyrus his time were the Israelites freed, and in the beginning of his reigne the seauen sages flourished. (g) Solon ] born in Salamina, vnder the dominion of Athens, & son of Execestides one descended from the bloud-royall of Codrus: he mollified Draco his bloody lawes, & gaue the Athenians better: for Draco wrote his with bloud & not with inke, as Demades said: al crimes great and smal, yea euen idleness it selfe was guilty of death. Solon hated his cousin Pisistrates his affectation of a Kingdom, who attaining it, Solon got him into Egypt, & from thence to Crasus, King of Lydia: then to Cilicia where hee built Solos (afterwards called Pompeiopolis) because there Pompey ouercame the pirates, thence to Cyprus and there he died, being 70. yeares old. He was Archon of Athens, Olymp. 46. in the third yeare therof. For they elected now euery yeare, not euery tenth yeare as they had done before. The Athenians offered him their Kingdom which he stoutly refused, & exhorted them earnestly to stand in their liberty. Laertius and Plutarch recite some of his lawes, which the Romans put into their twelue tables. (h) Chilo ] His fathers name was Damagetes; he was one of the Ephori (Magistrates much like the Romaine Tribunes) for he first ordained the ioyning of the Ephori with the Kings: he was a man of few words, and brieft in phraze as the Laconians were naturally. Hee dyed at Pisa, imbracing his sonne comming victor from the Olympicks. He had an epigram vnder his statue, that called him the wisest of the seauen (i)

Periander

(i) *Periander*.] I see no reason he should haue this honor, for hee was a tyrant, most furious, vicious, couetous, and abominably incestuous. These are no parts of wisdom, therefore many do put him out of this number. But *Sotion* and *Heraclitus* say that the wise *Periander* was not hee of Corinth, but an Ambracian borne. *Aristot*, saith hee was borne at Corinth: and cofin-germaine to the Tyrant. *Plato* saith no. (k) *Cleobulus*.] Borne at Lindus in Rhodes, some say, in Caria. Duris. His father was called *Euagoras*, the most beautiful and valorous person of his time. Hee learnt his knowledge in Egypt, his daughter *Cleobulina* was a famous prophetesse, &c. (l) *Bias*.] His fathers name was *Tentamus*. Priennia is in Ionia. To him they say the golden *Tripos* was brought, and hee sent it vnto *Hercules* of Thebes. Hee freed his country from the great warre of *Crasus* the Lydian, his was that phrase, *Omnia mea mecum porto*: Myne owne, and all mine owne, I beare about me. *Cic. Paradox.* I wonder the Greekes make no mention of this in his life. They speake not of *Prienes* taking in all his whole life: *Tully* I beleuee was deceiued in this, nor is this his onely errour. *Seneca* seemes to giue it more truly to *Stilpo* of Megara, for *Demetrius* as then tooke Megara. *Bias* died sweetly with his head in the lap of his grandchild by his daughter. The Priennians built a chappell to him. *Satyros* preferreth him before all the other Sages. (m) *Better discipline*.] They were not learned, nor Philosophers (saith *Dicaearchus*) but they were hardy men and good politicians. And so saith *Tully. De Amicit.* (n) *good instructions*.] We haue Greeke sentences vnder these names: *Ansonius* hath made some of them into verse. *Thales* his motto was, *Nosce te*: know thy selfe. *Pittacus* his, *Nosce occasionem*: take time while time is. *Solons*, *Nihil nimis*: the meane is the best. *Thilons*, *Sponsioni non deest iactura*: Bargaines and losses are inseparable, or he that wil aduenture must loose. *Perianders*, *Stipandus Imperator dediturus non est armis sed beneuolentia*, loue and not armes guard him that would rule. *Cleobulus*, *cave inimicorum insidias, amicorum inuidias*; beware of your foes enmity and your friends enuy. *Bias*, *Plures mali*. The worse are the more. So agree *Augustine* and *Eusebius* who saith that their inuentions were nothing but short sentences, tending to the instituting of honest disciplines into mens hearts. *Prep. Euang. liber. 10. (o) No records*.] Yet *Solon* and *Bias* they say left some verses.

*The Romaines were freed from their Kings, and Israel from  
captiuitie both at one time.*

#### CHAP. 26.

**A**T the same time (a) *Cyrus* King of Persia, Caldæa, and Assyria, gaue the Iewes a kinde of releafe, for hee sent 50000. of them to re-edifie the Temple, and these onely built the Altar, and layd the foundations: for their foes troubled them with so often incursions that the building was left of vntill *Darius* his time. (b) The story of *Judith*, fell out also in the same times: which they say the Iewes receiue not into their cannon. The seauenty yeares therefore being expired in *Darius* his reigne, (the time that *Hieremy* (c) had prefixed) The Iewes had their full freedome: *Tarquim* the proud being the seauenth King of Rome: whom the Romaines expelled, and neuer would be subiect to any more Kings. Vntill this time, had Israell prophets, in great numbers, but indeed we haue but few of their Prophecies canonically recorded. Of these I said in ending my last booke, that I would make some mention in this, and here it is fittest.

#### L. VIVES.

**C***yrus* (a) King.] Sonne to *Mandanes*, *Astages* his daughter, the Median King, and *Cambyses* one of obscure birth: hee was called *Cyrus*, after the riuer *Cyrus* in Persia



Computati-  
on of years

Isaias pro-  
phcyed  
210. yeares  
before Cy-  
rus.

The autho-  
rity of the  
booke of  
Iudith.

ner to which he was brought vp. Hee foyled his grandfather in warre, and tooke the Monarchy from the Medes, placing it in persia. He conquered Chaldæa also. For the Medians hauing gotten the Monarchy to them-selues after *Sardanapalus* his death, had their Kings all crowned at Babilon, and *Nabuchodrosor* was their most royall ruler: his employtes they extoll about the Chaldean *Hercules* actes: saying that hee had a conquering armye, as farre as the Gades. *Strabo ex Megasthene. Megasthenes*, (sayth *Alphans*) affirms that *Nabuchodrosor* was a stouter soldier then *Hercules*, and that hee conquered all Libya and Asia as farre as *Armenia*, and returning to his home, he cryed out in manner of prophcing: *O Babilonians, I presage that a great misfortune shall befall you, which neither Belus, nor any of the gods can resist: The Mule of Persia shall come to make slaves of you all!* Hauing thus sayd, presently hee vanished away, *Milma Rudocus* his sonne succeeded him, and was slaine by *Igitifares* who reigned in his place, and left the crowne to his sonne *Babaso Arascus*, who was slaine by treason, *Nabuidocus* was made King. Him did *Cyrus*, taking Babilon, make Prince of Carmania. Thus farre *Alphans. Alexander Polyhistor* differeth somewhat from this but not much. *Iosephus* sayth there were two *Nabuchodrosors*: and that it was the sonne that *Megasthenes* preterres before *Hercules*, and the father that tooke Babilon. The sonne dying left his crowne to *Amilmadapak*, or *Abimasadok*, and he freed *Iechonias* and made him one of his Courtiers. *Amilmadapak* dyed hauing reigned eighteene yeares, and left his son *Agressarius* to inherite, who reigned fourty yeares, and his sonne *Labosfordak* succeeded him, who dyed at the end of nine monthes, and *Balthazar* otherwise called *Noboar* had his crowne, and him did *Cyrus* chase out of his Kingdome when hee had reigned seauenteene yeares. Now if this account bee true, there are more then an hundred yeares betweene the beginning of the Iewes captiuitie and *Cyrus* the Persian. But sure an error there is, cyther in the author or in the transcriber. Now *Cyrus* being moued by the Prophecy of *Esay*, who had fore-told the original of his Empire twenty yeares ere it came to passe, sette the Iewes free and sent them to build the Temple, restoring all the vessels that *Nabuchodrosor* had brought away. This was now fourty yeares after the beginning of their captiuitie, *Euseb.* So they went and built, but their enemies troubled them so that they were sayne to let it alone vntill the second yeare of *Darius* his reigne, the sonne of *Histiasspis*, who expelled the *Magi*, and was King alone. For hee in fauour of *Zorobabell*, sent all the Iewes home, and forbad any of his subiects to molest them. So in the seauentith yeare after their captiuation they returned home. This is after *Eusebius* his account, vnto whome *Clement* agreeth, saying. The Iewes captiuitie indured seauenty yeares vnto the second yeare of *Darius* King of Persia, *Egypt* and *Assyria*, in whose time, *Aggee*, *Zachary* and one of the 12. called *Angelus*, prophcyed; and *Iesus* the son of *Iosedech* was high Priest. That *Darius* his second yeare, and the seauentith of the captiuitie, were both in one, *Zachary* testifieth Chap. 1. 1. 12. But *Iosephus* maketh seauenty yeares of the Captiuitie to be runne in *Cyrus* his time. (b) *The story of Iudith*] This booke (sayth *Hierome*) hath no authority in matter of Controuersie: But yet the synode of Nice hath made it canonicall. *Bede* sayth that *Cambysis* sonne to the elder *Cyrus* was called by the Iewes the second *Nabuchodrosor*, and that the fact of *Iudith* was done in his time. (c) *Had profixed*] Chap. 25. 11.

*Of the times of the Prophets whose bookes wee haue: How they prophcyed (some of them) of the calling of the nation, in the declyning of the Assyrian Monarchy, and the Romaines erecting.*

CHAP. 27.

**T**O know the times wel, let vs go backe a little. The prophecy of *Ozee*, the first of the twelue beginneth thus. *The word of the Lord that came to Ozee, in the dayes of Ozias, Ioathã, Achaz, Ezechias, Kings of Iuda* (b) *Amos* writeth also that ſ prophecy in *Ozias* his daies, (c) adding that *Hieroboam* liued in those times also, as he did indeed. *Esaias* also the son of *Amos* (either the Prophet or some other, and

and this later is more generally held) nameth the foure in the beginning of his prophecy, that *Osee* named. So doth (d) *Michas* also. All these their prophecies proue to haue liued in one time: together with (e) *Ionas*; and (f) *Ioel*, the first vnder *Ozias*, and the later vnder his sonne *Ioathan*. But wee finde not the times of the two later, in their bookes, but in the *Chronicles*. Now (g) these times reach from *Procas* or *Auentinus* his predecesor, King of the Latines, vnto *Romulus* now King of Rome; nay euen vnto *Numa Pompilius*, his successor: For so long reigned *Execbias* in Iuda. And therefore in the fall of the Assyrian Empire and the rising of the Romane, did these fountains of prophecy breake forth: that euen as *Abraham* had received the promise of all the worldes beeing blessed in his seed, at the first originall of the Assyrian estate: So likewise might the testimonies of the person in whome the former was to bee fulfilled, be as frequent both in word and writing in the originall of the westerne Babilon. For those prophets that were continually in Israell, from the first of their Kings, were all for their peculiar good, and no way pertaining to the nations. (h) But for the more manifest prophecies, which tended also to the nations good, it was fitte they should begin, when that City began that was the Lady of the nations.

## L. V I V E S.

[In the (a) dayes of *Ozias*] The surest testimony of the Prophets times, are in their works. *Ozias*, if they haue not omitted to record when they prophesied, so that it were superfluous to make addition of any other confirmations, then those of their owne. *Osee* prophesied too, vnder those three Kings of the two tribes, the father, the sonne, and the sonnes sonne, in the last of whose dayes, *Sabmanazar* ledde the Israelites away captiue. So that *Osee* (as *Hierome* sayth) did both presage it ere it came, and deplore it when it came. *Ozias* liued in that memorable ruine of the Assyrian Empire, by the rebellion of the Medes. Some call this King *Azarias*. (b) *Amos*] *Amos* (sayth *Hierome*) the next Prophet after *Ioel*, and the third of the twelue was not hee that was the Prophet *Esays* father. For his name is written *אמוס*, *Alaph* and *Tsade* beeing the first and last letters of his name, which is interpreted; strong and valiant: but this Prophets name is written *אמ*: with *Ain* and *Samech*, and is translated a dispersed people. *Mem* and *Van*, both of them haue alike. To vs now that haue no difference of vowels, nor of the letter *S*, which the Hebrewes haue triple, these wordes seeme all one: but they can discern them, by the propriety of the vowels and accents. This Prophet *Amos* was borne in *Thecue*, six miles South from holy *Bethleem* where our Saviour was borne: and beyond that is neyther village nor cottage: such an huge desert lyes betweene that and the redde sea, reaching euen to the confines of *Persia*, *Ethiopia*, and *India*. But because the ground is barren and will beare no corne, therefore all is full of sheapheards, to countervaille the fruitlesnesse of the land, with the aboundance of cattell. One of these sheapheards was *Amos*, rude in language but not in knowledge. For the spirit that spake in them all, spoke also in him. Thus saith *Hierome*. Wherefore I wonder that the Prologue vnto *Amos* sayth directly that hee was father to *Esay*; perhaps it was from some Hebrew tradition, who say that all the Prophets fathers, or grand-fathers, that are named in any part of their workes titles, were Prophets also. *Hier. in Sophon.* (c) Adding that *Hieroboim*] Not hee that drewe the tenne tribes from *Roboam*, for hee was a hundred and sixty yeares before this other, who was *Iaas* his sonne. (*Michas*] Hee prophesied (sayth *Hierome*) in the time of *Ioathan*, *Michas*, nor of *Ozias*. The seauenty make him third Prophet of the twelue, and the Hebrewes the sixth. (e) *Ionas*] So sayth *Eusebius*, of the times of *Azarias*, or *Ozias*. So sayth *Hierome* also in his commentaries vpon *Osee*: and in his prologue vpon *Ionas* he receyeth the opinion of some that helde *Amathi* the father of *Ionas*, to bee the widow of *Sarephtha's* sonne, whome *Elias* restored to life, where-vpon shee sayd: Now I know that thou art a man of God, and that the word of God in thy mouth is truth, and therefore her child was so named.

Joel,

For *Amias*, in our language is truth. (f) *Joel* ] In our tongue *Beginning*. *Hierome*. Hee prophesied in the times of the other prophets. (g) *These times* ] *Auentinus* raigned thirty seauen yeares, and in the two and thirtieth of his reigne began *Azarias* or *Ozias* to reigne in *Juda*. *Ensch*. *Eutropius* differs not much from this, so that by both accounts *Ezechias* his time fell to the beginning of *Numa* his reigne. (h) *But for the* ] For these prophets prophesied of the calling of the Heathens, as he will shew afterwards.

*Prophecies concerning the Gospell, in Osee and Amos.*

CHAP. 28.

Hose, 1. 10.

**O** See is a Prophet as diuine as deepe. Let vs performe our promise, and see what hee sayth: *In the place where it was sayd vnto them, you are not my people, it shall bee sayd, ye are sonnes of the liuing God*, This testimony the (a) Apostles them-selues interpreted of the calling of the Gentiles: who because they are the spirituall sonnes of *Abraham*, and therefore (b) rightly called *Israell*: it followeth of them thus: *Then the children of Iudah and the children of Israell shall bee gathered together and appoint them-selues one head, and they shall come vp out of the land*. If wee seeke for farther exposition of this, wee shall cloy the sweete taste of the Prophets eloquence. Remember but the corner stone, and the two wals, the Iewes and the Gentiles, eyther of them vnder those seuerall names, beeing founded vpon that one head, and acknowledged to mount vppe from the land.

Hose, 3. 4.

And that those carnall Israelites that beleue not now shall once beleue (being as sonnes to the other, succeeding them in their places) the same Prophet auoucheth, saying: *The children of Israell shall sit many dayes without a King, without a Prince, without an offering, without an Altar, without a Priesthood, and without (c) manifestatsons*, who sees not that these are the Iewes? Now marke the sequele. *Afterwards shall the children of Israell conuert, and seeke the Lord their God, and Dauid their King, and shall feare the Lord and his goodnesse in these later dayes*. Nothing can be playner spoken, here is *Christ* meant by *Dauid*, as he was the son of *Dauid* in the flesh (sayth the Apostle) Nay this Prophet fore-told the third day of his resurrection also: Heare him else: *After two dayes will he reuiue vs, and in the third day he will raise vs vp*. Iust in this key spake *Saint Paul* saying: *If ye bee risen with Christ, seeke the thinges which are aboue*. Such a prophecy hath *Amos* also: *Prepare to meete thy God O Israell, for lo, I forme the thunder, and the windes, and declare mine annoynted in men*: and in another place: (d) *In that day will I raise vp the tabernacle of Dauid that is falne downe, and close vp the breaches thereof, and will raise vppe his ruines, and build it as in the daies of old: that the residue of mankind, and all the heathen, may seek me, because my name is called vpon them, saith the Lord that doth this*.

Hose, 6. 2;  
Colos, 3. 1.  
Amos, 4. 12

L. VIVES.

Itael,

**T** He (a) Apostles ] *Pet. 1. 2. 10.* (b) *Rightly called Israell* ] For all that follow truth and righteousness are of *Abrahams* spirituall seed. Wherefore such as descend from him in the flesh, the scriptures call *Iudab*, because that tribe stucke to the old Priesthood, temple and sacrifices: and such as are not *Abrahams* children by birth, but by faith, are called *Israell*. For the tenne tribes that fell from *Iudabs* King, the Iewes named *Israell*, and they differed not much from Pagans: for they left their fathers religion, and became Idolaters: Wherefore the Iewes hated them as much as they did the heathen, who had no clayme at all of descent from *Abraham*.

(c) *Manifesta-*

(c) *Manifestations*] So doe the seauenty. read it. The hebrew hath it *Ephod*. The seauenty ayme at that intimation of the losse of their prophecy, doctrine and wisdom: the greatest losse that could befall a citty. The hebrew, at the abolition of their priest-hood, dignity, and ornament, (d) *In the day*] This place Saint *James* in the *Acts* testifieth to be meant of the calling of the Nations *Act. 15. 13. 16*. The Apostles there avowing it, who dares gaine-say it?

Esay his prophecies concerning Christ.

CHAP. 29.

**E** *Saias* (a) is none of the twelue prophets. They are called the small prophets because their prophecies are brieft, in comparison of others that wrote large volumes, of whom *Esay* was one, whom I adde here, because he liued in the times of the two afore-named. In his precepts against sin, and for goodnesse, & his prophecies of tribulation for offending, hee forgetteth not also to proclaime Christ and his Church more amply then any other, in so much that (b) some call him an Euangelist rather then a Prophet. One of his prophecies heere in brieft because I cannot stand vpon many. In the person of God the Father, thus hee saith: (c) *Be- Esay 52. 13*  
*hold, my son shal vnderstand: he shalbe exalted and be very high: as many were astonied* <sup>14</sup>  
*at thee (thy forme was so despised by men, and thy beauty by the sons of men) so shall ma-*  
*ny nations admire him, & the kings shalbe put to silence at his sight: for that which they* <sup>11. 53. 1, 2</sup>  
*haue not heard of him, shall they see, and that which hath not bene told them, they shall* <sup>ec.</sup>  
*vnderstand. Lord who will beleeue our report? to whom is the Lords arme reuealed? wee*  
*will declare him, as an infant and as a roote out of a dry ground: he hath neither forme*  
*nor beauty, when wee shall see him hee shall haue neither goodlinesse nor glory: but his*  
*looke shalbe despised and reiected before all men. He is a man full of sorrowes, and hath*  
*experience of infirmities. For his face is turned away: he was despised and we esteem-*  
*ed him not. Hee hath borne our sinnes and sorroweth for us: yet did we iudge him as*  
*plagued of God, and smitten and humbled. But hee was wounded for our transgressions,*  
*and broken for our iniquities: our peace we learned by him, and with his stripes wee are*  
*healed. We haue all straid like sheepe: man had lost his way, and vpon him hath GOD*  
*laid all our guilt. He was afflicted, yet neuer opened he his mouth: he was led as a sheepe*  
*to the slaughter. & as a Lambe before the shearer, is dumbe, so was he & opened not his*  
*mouth: hee was out from prison vnto iudgement: O who shall declare his generation?*  
*For he shalbe taken out of life. For the transgression of my people was he plagued: and*  
*I will giue the wicked for his graue, and the ritch for his death: because hee hath*  
*done no wickednesse, nor was there any (d) deceite found in his mouth! The LORD*  
*will purge him from his affliction: (e) If you giue your soule for sinne, you shall see the*  
*seed continue long, and the LORD shall take his soule from sorrow: to shew him light*  
*to confirme his vnderstanding, to iustifie the righteous, seruing many, for he bare their*  
*iniquities. Therefore I will giue him a portion with the great: hee shall diuide the*  
*spoyles of the strong, because hee hath poured out his soule vnto death: Hee was reckon-*  
*ed with the transgressors, and hath borne the sinnes of many, and was betrayed*  
*for their trespasses. Thus much of CHRIST, now what faith he of his church? <sup>Isai 54. 1, 2</sup>*  
*Reioyce O barren that bearest not: breake forth and crye out for ioy, thou that bringest* <sup>ec.</sup>  
*not forth: for the desolate hath more children then the married wife. Enlarge the*  
*place of thy tents, and fasten the (f) curtaines of thy Tabernacles: spare not, stretch out*  
*thy cordes and make fast thy stakes: spread it yet further to the right hand and thy*  
*left: and thy seed shal possesse the Gentiles, and dwell in the desolate Citties: feare not, be-*  
*cause*

cause thou art shamed: be not afraid because thou art vp-broyded, for thou shalt forget thine everlasting shame, and shalt not remember the reproch of thy widow-hood any more, for the Lord that madethee is called the Lord of Hostes, and the redeemer, the holy one of Israel shall be called the God of all the world. &c. Here is enough, needing but a little explanation, for the places are so plaine that our enemies themselves are forced ( despite their hearts) to acknowledge the truth. These then suffice.

## L. VIVES.

Hais.

**E** *Saias (a) is.*] A noble man worthily eloquent, more like an Euangelist then a Prophet, he prophecied in Hierusalem and Iury. *Hier. ad Eustoch. & Paulam.* Manasses King of Iudah made him be sawen a two, with a wooden saw, of him is that ment in the Hebrewes. *cbp. 11. verse. 37. They were sawen asunder.* The causes of his death *Hierome* relateth, *commen. in Esa. lib. 1. (b) Some.*] *Hierome ad Paul & Eustoch.* for he speaketh not in mysticall manner of things as if they were to come, but most plainely, as if they were present, or past which is not ordinary in the other prophets. *(c) Behold.*] All this quotation out of the 52. 53. and 54. chapters of *Isay*, the Septuagints (whome *Saint Augustine* followeth) do some-times differ from the Hebrew truth: But the scope aymes all at one end, namely the passion of Christ: wee will not stand to decide perticulars, *Augustine* him-selfe saith all is playne inough, and omits to stand vpon them, to avoyd tediousnesse. *(d) Deceit found.*] The seauenty, leaue out found *(e) If you giue your soule.*] The seauenty read it, *if you giue (him) for sinne, your soule shall see your scode of long continuance. (f) The curtaines.*] The vulgar, and the seauenty read, *the skins.*

*Prophecies of Michæas, Jonas, and Ioell, correspondent unto the New-Testament.*

## CHAP. 30.

Mich. 4.  
Iai. 2.

**T** He Prophet *Micheas* prefiguring Christ by a great mountaine, saith thus *(a) In the last daies shall the mountaine of the Lord be prepared vpon the toppes of the hills, and shall be exalted above the hills: and the nations shall hast them to it saying: Come let vs goe vp into the mountaine of the Lord, into the house of the God of Iacob, and he wil teach vs his waies and we wil walke in his paths, for the law shall go forth of Sion and the word of the Lord from Hierusalem. Hee shall iudge amongst many people and rebuke mighty nations a farre of.* The same prophet foretells Christ birth place also saying, *(b) And thou Bethleem (c) of Ephrata, art little to bee amongst the thousands of Iudah: yet out of thee shall a (d) captaine come forth vnto mee that shall be the Prince of Israel, (e) whose goings forth haue bene euerlasting. Therefore (f) will be giue them vp vntill the time that the child-bearing woman do trauell, and the (g) remnant of her brethren shall returne vnto the children of Israell. And he (h) shall stand and looke, and feed his flocke in the strength of the Lord: in the honor of Gods name shall they continue: for now shall he be magnified vnto the worlds end.* Now *(i) Ionas* prophecied Christ rather in suffering, then in speaking, & that most manifestly considering the passion & resurrection. For why was he 3. daies in the whals belly and then let out, but to signifie Christs resurrection from the depth of hell, vpon the third day? Indeed *Ioels* prophecies of Christ & the Church, require great explanation, yet one of his, (and that was remembered by the *(k) Apostles*, at the descending of the *Holy Ghost* vpon the faithfull, as Christ had promised) I will not omit. *Afterwards (saich hee) I will power out my spirit vpon all flesh: your sonnes and*

and daughters shall Prophecy, and your old men shall dreame dreames, and your yong men see visions: euen upon the seruants and the maids in those daies will I poure my spirit.

## L V I V E S.

**I**N (a) *The last daies.*] The same is in *Esay. 2. 2.* (b) *And thou Bethleem.*] *Augustine*, and the seauenty do differ here from the Hebrew. *S. Mathew* readeth it thus. *And thou Bethleem in the land of Iudah art not the least among the Princes of Iudah, for out of thee shall come the governor that shall feed my people Israel.* *S. Hierome* vpon *Michaas* (lib. 2.) saith that this quotation of *Mathew* accordeth neither with the Hebrew nor the seauenty. This question putting the holy father to his plunges, hee is sayne to say that either the Apostle cited it not having the booke before him, but out of his memory, which some-time doth erre: or else that hee cited it as the priests had giuen it in answer to *Herod*: here in shewing their negligence, the first hee affirmeth as the opinion of others. It is an hard thing to make the Apostle speake iust contrary to the prophet: Neither *Prophecy* nor *Celsus* would beleeue this in a matter that concerned not themselves. But the scope of both being one, maketh this coniecture indeede the more tollerable: But it is a weake hold to say the Priest spake it thus, it were extremely absurd in their practise of the scriptures to alter a Prophecy, intending especially to shew the full ayme of it. But before the Apostle (nay the spirit of God) shall be taxed with such an error, let the later coniecture stand good, or a weaker then it, as long as we can finde no stronger. But if we may lawfully put in a guesse, after *Hierome* (that worthy) in the extrication of those holy labyrinths, to grant that the Hebrew and the seauenty read this place affirmatiuely and the Euangelist negatiuely: read the place with an interrogation, and they are both reconciled: I meane with an interrogation in the Prophet, as is common in their workes, and besitting the ardor of their affections: but in the Euangelist the bare sence is onely fit to be layd downe without figure or affection. (c) *Of Ephrata.*] The country where Bethleem stood, which the Priests omitted, as speaking to *Herod* a stranger that knew Iuda better. The Euangelist gaue an intimation of Christ whence he was to come, by putting in Iuda for Ephrata; there was another Bethleem in Galilee, as it is in *Iosuah*. *Hierome* vpon *Mathew* noteth it as the transcribers salt to put Iuda for Iuda, for all the Bethlems that are, are in Iuda Galee, where the other is, being a part thereof. And the like salt it may be in that which followeth; But when hee heard that *Archelaus* raigned in Iudæa, for Iuda, but indeed Iudæa after the returne from Captiuitie, kept not the old bounds, but was contracted to the country about Hierusalem, the metropolitane citty thereof. (d) *A captaine.*] The *Bruges* copy leaueth out, a captaine, and so do the seauenty. But the putting of it in, alters not the sence. (e) *Whose goings out.*] This excludeth all mortall men from being meant of in this Prophecy: incuking onely that eternall Sauour, whose essence hath beene from all eternity. (f) *Will hee giue them.*] The gentiles shall rule, vntill the body of their states do bring forth children vnto the Lord (g) *The remnant.*] The bretheren of the people Israel, and the spirituall seede of *Abraham*, &c. they shall beleeue on that Christ that was promised to the true Israel. (h) *He shall stand.*] Here shall be rest, and security, the Lord looking vnto all his sheepe and feeding them with his powerfull grace. (i) *Ionas.*] Being cast ouer-board by the saylers <sup>Iouat.</sup> in a storme, he was caught vp by a Whale, and at the third daies end was cast a shore by him; thus was he the Image of Christ him-sefe vnto the tempting Iewes. *Mat. 12. 39. 40.* (k) *By the Apostles.*] *Act. 2. 17. 18.*

*Prophecies of Abdi, Naum and Abacuc, concerning the worlds  
saluation in Christ. CHAP. 31.*

**T**Herefore the small prophets (a) *Abdi*, (b) *Naum*, and (c) *Abacuc* neuer mention the times: nor doth *Eusebius* or *Hierome* supply that defect. They place (d) *Abdi* and *Michaas* both together, but not there where they record the time of *Michaas* his prophecy (e) which  
the

the negligence of the transcribers I thinke was the onely cause of. The two other, we cannot once finde named in our copies: yet since they are canonicall, we may not omit them. *Abdi* in his writing is the briefest of them all, he speaks against *Idumæa*, the reprobate progeny of *Eſau*, the elder ſonne of *Iſaac*, and grandchild of *Abraham*. Now if we take *Idumæa*; by a *Synechdoche partis*, (g) for all the nations, we may take this prophecy of his to be meant of *Chriſt*: *Vpon Mount Syon ſhalbe ſaluation, and it ſhalbe holy*, and by and by after. *They that (h) ſhall be ſaued, ſhall come out of Sion* (that is the beleuer in *Chriſt*, the *Apoſtles*, ſhall come out of *Iudah*) *to defend mount Eſau*. How to defend it, but by preaching the *Goſpell*, to ſaue the beleeuers, and tranſlate them into the kingdome of *G O D* out of the power of darkeneſſe as the ſequell ſheweth? *And the Kingdome ſhalbe the Lords*. For *Mount Syon* ſignifieth *Iuda*, the ſtore-houſe of ſaluation, and the holy mother of *Chriſt* in the fleſh: and (i) *Mount Eſau*; is *Idumæa*, prefiguring the church of the *Gentiles*, whom they that were ſaued came out of *Syon* to defend, that the kingdome might bee the *Lords*. This was vnknowne ere it were done, but beeing come to paſſe, who did not diſcerne it? Now the Prophet *Naum* (nay God in him) ſayth. *I will aboliſh the grauen and molten Image, and make them thy (k) graue*. *Behold vpon the feete of him that declareth and publiſbeth peace*. *O Iudah keepe thy ſollemn feaſts, performe thy vowes, for the wicked ſhall no more paſſe through thee; he is utterly cut off*. *He that breaeth in thy fate, and freeth thee from tribulation, aſcendeth*. Who is this that doth thus? remember the Holy *Ghoſt*, remember the *Goſpell*. For this belongeth to the *New Teſtament* whoſe feaſts are renewed, neuer more to ceaſe. The *Goſpell* we ſee hath aboliſhed all thoſe grauen and molten Images, thoſe falſe *Idols*, & hath layd them in obliuion, as in a *grau*. Herein we ſee this prophecy fulfilled. Now for *Abacuc*, of what doth he meane but of the coming of *Chriſt*, when he ſaith? *The Lord answered ſaying, write the viſion, and make it plaine on tables that he may runne that readeth it*. *For the viſion is yet for an appointed time, but at the laſt it ſhall ſpeake and not lie, though it tarry: awaite, for it ſhall come ſurely, and ſhall not ſtay*.

Naum 1

Abac 2

## L. VIVES.

**Abdi.** **A**<sup>Bdi (a)</sup> The Hebrewes (ſaith *Hierome*) ſay this was he that in the perſecution vnder *Achab* and *Iezabel*, ſedde one hundred prophets in caues, that neuer bowed the knee vnto *Baal*, and thoſe were part of the ſeaunen thousand whom *Elias* knew not. His ſepulchree is next vnto *Helifeus* the prophets, and *John Baptiſts*, in *Sebaſta*, otherwiſe called *Samaria*. This man got the ſpirit of prophecy becauſe he ſed thoſe prophets in the wilderneſſe, and of a warriour, became a teacher. *Hier. in Abdi*. He was in *Ioſaphats* time, before any of the other. *Tiber* being king of the *Latines*, (b) *Naum*] He liued in *Ioathans* time, the king of *Iuda*. *Ioseph. lib. 9.* (c) *Abacuc*] Of him is mention made in *Daniel. c. 14.* that hee brought *Daniel* his dinner from *Iuda* to *Babilon*. [But *Auguſtine* ſeeth not this place to proue his times, becauſe, that hiſtory of *Bel*, and all this fourteenth chapter together with the hiſtory of *Sufanna* are *Apocryphall*, neither written in *Hebrew* nor tranſlated by the ſeaenty.] *Abacuc* prophesied (ſaith *Hierome*) when *Nabuco. droſar* led *Iudah* and *Beniamin* into captiuitie, and his prophecy is all againſt *Babilon*. (d) *Abdi* and ] *Eusebius* placeth *Addi* and *Michaas* both vnder *Ioſaphat*. It is true that *Abdi* liued then, but for *Michaas*, his owne words (cited before by *Auguſtine*) doe diſprooue it. For his viſions befell him in the times of *Ioathan*, *Achaz*, and *Ezechias*, long after *Ioſaphat*. (e) *Which the negligence*] I aſſure you there is errour in *Eusebius*, very dangerous both to the ignorant and the learned. (f) *Idumæa*] It adioyneth to *Paleſtina*, and is the next countrie beyond *Arabia*. *Pliny Ioseph. Hierom.* The Greeke and Latine authors call them *Nabaſhes*, inhabiting the

Naum.  
Abacuc.  
[Louaine  
copie de-  
fectiue.]

Idumæa.

the Citty Petra. The land hath the name of *Eſau*, who was otherwise called Edom, for diuers cauiſes (g) *For all the nations* ] Idumæa is no part of Iſrael, but yet they deſcended both from *Iſaac*. Yet was it a foe vnto Iuda, and the Iewes called the Romanes, Idumæans. Idumæa ſignifieth fleſh, which fighteth againſt the ſpirit, (h) *Shalbe ſaued* ] The hebrew is, *ſhall ſaue*. (i) *Mount Eſau* ] The Mountaines in Idumæa are called Scir. *Iofeph. Iofuah. chap. 24.* Scir, the art *wile*. Saint Paul had not his quotation. *Rom. 10. 15.* from hence, but from the fifteenth of Idumæa, of *Eſay*.

*The prophecy contained in the ſong, and praier of Abacuc.*

CHAP. 32.

**A**ND in his praier and ſong, who doth he ſpeake vnto but Chriſt ſaying. *O Lord I heard thy voice, and was afraid, Lord I conſidered thy workes, and was terrified.* What is this but an ineffable admiration of that ſuddaine and vnknowne ſaluation of man? *In the miſt of two, ſhalt thou bee knowne*, what are thoſe two? the two Teſtaments; the two theeues, or the two prophets *Moyſes* and *Eſas*. *In the approach of yeares ſhalt thou be knowne*: this is plaine, it needs no expoſition. But that which followeth: *My ſoule being troubled there-with, in thy wrath remember mercy*: is meant of the Iewes, of whoſe nation hee was: who being made in their wrath and crucifying Chriſt, he remembering his mercy, ſaid, *Father forgive them, they know not what they doe*. God ſhall come from *Theman* and the holy one from the thicke and darke mountaine: from (a) *Theman* (ſay ſome) that is from the (b) *South*: ſignifieth the heate of charity, and the light of truth. The thicke darke mountaine, may bee taken diuerſly, but I rather chooſe to hold it meant of the depth of the holy ſcriptures prophecyng Chriſt: for therein are many depths for the induſtrious to exerciſe themſelues in: and which they finde out when they find him whom they concerne: *His glory couereth the heauens, and the earth is full of his praiſe*: that is juſt as the pſalme ſaith. *Exalt thy ſelfe O GOD above the heauens and let thy glorie bee above all the earth*: His brightneſſe was as the light: His glorie ſhall enlighten the nations: *Hee had hornes comming out of his hands*: that was his extension on the croſſe: *there was the hiding of his power*; this is plaine. *Before him went the word, and followed him into the field*: that is, hee was prophecyed ere hee came, and preached after his departure: *hee ſtood, and the earth mooued*, hee ſtood to ſaue, and earth was mooued with beleeuing in him: *He beheld the nations, and they were diſſolued*: that is hee pitied, and they repented: *Hee brake the mountaines with violence*, that is, his miracles amazed the proude: *the eternall hee did bow*: the people were temporally humbled, to bee eternally glorified: *For my paines, I ſaw his goings in*: that is, I had the reward of eternity for my labours in charity: *the tents of Ethiope trembled: and ſo did they of Madian*: that is euen thoſe nations that were neuer vnder Rome, by the terror of thy name and power preached, ſhall become ſubiect to Chriſt. *Was the Lord angry againſt the riuers or was thine anger againſt the ſea?* this implieth that he came not to iudge the world, but to ſaue it: *thou rodeſt vpon horſes, and thy Chariot brought ſaluation*: The Euangelists are his horſes, for hee ruleth them, and the Goſpell his Chariot, ſaluation to all beleeuers: *thou ſhalt bend thy bowe aboue ſcepters, thy iudgement ſhall reſtraine euen the Kings of the earth, thou ſhalt cleaue the earth with riuers*, that is, thine abundant doctrines ſhall open the hearts

of



of men to belecue them : vnto such it is sayd . *Reud your hearts and not your garments .* The people shall see thee, and tremble ; thou shalt spread the waters as thou goest, thy preachers shall power out the streames of thy doctrine on all sides . *The deepe made anoise :* the depth of mans heart expressed what it saw : *the highs of his phantasie,* that is the deepe gaue out the voice, expressing (as I sayd,) what it saw . This phantasie was a vision, which hee conceiled not, but proclaimed at full . The Sunne was extolled, and the Moone kept her place . Christ was assumed into heauen, and by him is the church ruled : *thine arrowes flew in the light .* Thy word was openly taught, and by the brightnesse of thy shining armes, *thine arrowes flew :* For Christ himselfe had said, *what I tell you in darkenesse, that speake in the light .* Thou shalt tread downe the land in anger, thou shalt humble high spirits by afflicting them . *Thou shalt thresh the heathen in displeasure,* that is, thou shalt quell the ambitious by thy iudgements : *thou wentest forth to saue thy people and thine annointed, thou laidest death vpon the heads of the wicked :* all this is plaine : *thou hast cut them off with amazement :* thou hast cut downe bad, and set vppe good, in wonderfull manner : *the mighty shall crowne their heads ; which maruell at this : they shall gape after thee as a poore man eating secretly .* For so diuers great men of the Iewes beeing hungry after the bread of life, came to eate secretly, fearing the Iewes, as the Gospell sheweth : *thou puttest thine horses into the sea, who troubled the waters ;* that is, the people ; for vnlesse all were troubled, some should not become fearefull conuerteres, and others furious persecutors . *I marked it and my body trembled, at the sound of my lippes : feare came into my bones, and I was altogether troubled in my selfe .* See, the hight of his praier and his prescience of those great euent amazed euen himselfe, and hee is troubled with those seas, to see the imminent persecutions of the church whereof hee lastly avoucheth himselfe a member, saying, *I will rest in the daie of trouble,* as if hee were one of the hopefull sufferers, and patient reioycers : *that I may goe vppe to the people of my pilgrimage :* leauing his carnall kinred that wander after nothing but worldly matters, neuer caring for their supernall cuntrye : *for the fig-tree shall not fructifie nor shall fruite bee in the vines : the oliue shall faile and the fields shalbe fruitlesse . The sheepe haue left their meate, and the oxen are not in their stalles .* Here hee seeth the nation that crucified CHRIST, deprived of all spirituall goods, prefigured in those corporall fertilitie, and because the cuntries ignorance of God had caused these plagues, forsaking Gods righteousnesse through their owne pride, hee addeth this : *I will reioyce in the Lord, and ioy in God my Saviour : the Lord my God is my strength, he will establish my feete : hee will set mee vpon high places ; that I may bee victorious in his song .* What song ? euen such as the psalmist speaketh of : *hee hath set my feete vpon the rocke : and ordered my goings : and hath put into my mouth a new song of praise vnto GOD .* In such a song (and not in one of his owne praise) doth *Abacuc* conquer, glorying in the Lord his God . Some bookes read this place better. *(e) I will ioy in my LORD IESVS .* But the translators had not the name it selfe in Latine other-wise wee like the word a great deale better .

## L. VIVES.

Themas.

**F** Rom (a) Theman ] *Aquila, Symmachus,* and the fifth edition (saith Hierome) put the very word so. *Onely Theodotion* expresseth it, *from the South, &c.* Theman is vnder Edom, in the

the land of Gebal, named so by *Theman* sonne to Elyphaz the sonne of *Efan*, and it holdeth the name vnto this day: lying fiue miles from Petra where the Romaine garrison lyeth, and where *Elphaz* King of the Thebans was borne. One also of the sonnes of *Isaacs*, was called *Theman*. Indeede the Hebrewes call euery Southerne Prouince, *Theman*. *Hieron. loc. Hebraic.* (b) *Soub*] Such is that place also in the Canticles. (c) *The thick darke mountaine*] So say the LXX. but the Hebrewes, from mount Paran, which is a towne on the farre side of Arabia, joyning to the Sarazens. The Israelites went by it when they left Sina. The LXX. rather expressed the adiacents, then the place it selfe. (d) *Neuer vnder Rome*] India, Persia, and the new found lands. (e) *I will ioy*] So doth the Hebrew read it: indeed *Iesus*, *ταρις* and *Sauour*, are all one. In *Tullyes* time they had not the Latine word *Saluator*. *Act. 3. in Verr.* but *Lactantius. Au-* Saluator.  
*sonius*, and many good Latinists doe vse it since. Read *Hierome* of this verse if you would know further.

*Prophecies of Hieromie, and Zephary, concerning the former themes.*

CHAP. 33.

**H**ieremy (a) is one of the greater Prophets: so is *Isayas*, not of the small: of some of whom I now spake. He prophecied vnder *Iosias* King of Iuda, *Ancus Martius* being King of Rome, hard before Israels captiuity, vnto the fifth month of which hee prophecied, as his owne booke prooueth. *Zephary* (b) a small prophet, was also in his time, and prophecied in *Iosias* time also (as himselfe saith) but how long he saith not. *Hieremies* time lasted all *Ancus Martius* his, and part of *Tarquinius Priscus* his reigne, the fift Romaine King. For in the beginning of his reigne, the Iewes were captiued. This prophecie of *Christ* wee read in *Hieremy*. *The breath of our mouth, the annoynted our Lord was taken in our sinnes.* Heere hee sheweth brieflie both *Christ* his deity and his sufferance for vs. Againe. *This is my God, nor is there any besides him: he hath found all the wayes of wisdom, & taught them to his seruant Iacob, and to Israel his beloued: Afterwards was hee seene vpon earth, and hee conuersed with men.* This, some say, is not *Hieremies* but (d) *Baruchs* his transcribers. But the most hold it *Hieremies*. Hee saith further. *Behold, the* Hier. 23 5.  
*dayes doe come* (saith the Lord) *that I will raise vnto Dauid a iust branch, which shall reigne as King, and be wise: and shall exetute iustice and iudgement vpon the earth. In his dayes shall Iudah be saued, and Israel shall dwell safely, and this is the name that they shall call him: The Lord our righteousnesse.* Of the calling of the Gentiles (which we see now fullfilled) he saith thus. *O Lord my God and refuge in the day of euill vnto thee shall the Gentiles come from the ends of the world, and shall say: Our fathers haue adored false Images wherein there was no profit.* And because the Iewes would not acknowledge *Christ*, but should kill him: the Prophet saith. (e) *The heart is heavy in all things, he is a man and who shall know him?* His was the testimony also of the *New Testament* and *Christ* the mediator, which I recited in my tenth Booke: for hee saith. *Behold, the dayes come that I will make a new couenant with the house of Israel, &c.* Now *Zephary*, that was of this time also, hath this of *Christ*. *Wayte vpon me* (saith the Lord) *in the day of my resurrection, wherein my* Zeph. 2.  
*iudgement shall gather the nations: and againe: The Lord will bee terrible vnto them: hee will consume all the gods of the earth: euery man shall adore him from his place: euen all the Iles of the Heathen: and a little after: Then will I turne to the people a pure language, that they may all call vpon the Lord, and serue him with one consent, and from beyond the riuers of Ethiopia shall they bring mee offerings. In that day shalt thou not bee ashamed for all thy workes wherein thou hast offended mee, for then will I cleanse thee of the wicked that haue wronged thee: and thou shalt no more bee*

proud of mine holie mountaine, and I will leaue a meeke and lowly people in the mindes of thee, and the remnant of Israell shall reuerence the name of the Lord. This is the remnant that is prophecied of else-where, and that the Apostle mentioneth saying: there is a remnant at this present time through the election of grace. For a remnant of that nation beleued in Christ.

## L. VIVES.

**Zephany.** **H**eremy (a) Of him, already. (b) Zephany] Hee was a prophet, and father to prophets, and had prophets to his grand-father and great grand-father, say the Hebrewes. *Chusi* was his father, who was sonne to *Godolius*, the sonne of *Amarias* the son of *Ezechias*, all prophets: for all the prophets progeny named in their titles, were prophets, say the Hebrew doctors. (c) *The anointed*, There are many anointed, & many Lords: but that breath of our mouth, *this annointed* is none but CHRIST our SAVIOVR the SON of GOD: by whom we breath, we moue, and haue our being: who if he leaue vs, leaue vs lesse life, then if we lackt our soules. (d) *Baruchs*] Hee was Hieremies seruant (as Hieremies prophecy sheweth) and wrote a litle prophecy, allowed by the Church, becauie it much concerned Christ, and those later times. (e) *The heart*] This is the Septuagints interpretation. *Hierome* hath it otherwise from the hebrew.

## Daniels, and Ezechiels prophecies, concerning Christ, and his Church. CHAP. 34.

**Dan 7, 13** **N**OW in the captiuitie it selfe (a) *Daniel* and (b) *Ezechiel*; two of the greater prophets prophecied first. *Daniel* fore-told the very number of yeares vntill the comming of Christ, and his passion. It is too tedious to perticularize, and others haue done it before vs. But of his power and glorie; this he sayd: *I beheld a vision by night, and behold, the sonne of man came in the cloudes of heauen, and approached vnto the ancient of daies, and they brought him before him and hee gaue him dominion and honor, and a Kingdome, that all people, nations and languages should serue him; his dominion is an euerlasting dominion, and shall neuer bee tane away: his Kingdome shall neuer be destroyed: Ezechiel also prefiguring Christ by *Dauid* (as the prophets vse) because Christ tooke his flesh, and the forme of a seruant from *Dauids* seed: in the person of GOD the Father doth thus prophecy of him. *I will set vpp a sheapheard ouer my sheepe, and hee shall feed them, euen my seruant *Dauid*, hee shall feed them and be their sheapheard. I the Lord wilbe their God, and my seruant *Dauid* shall be Prince amongst them: I the LORD haue spoken it. And againe: One King shall be King to them all: they shall be no more two peoples, nor bee deuided from thence-forth into two Kingdomes: nor shall they bee any more polluted in their Idols, nor with their abominations, nor with all their transgressions: but I will saue them out of all their dwelling places, wherein they haue sinned, and will cleanse them: they shall be my people and I wilbe their GOD: and *Dauid* my seruant shall be King ouer them, and they all shall haue one sheapheard.**

## L. VIVES.

**Daniel.** **D**aniel (a) Hee was one of the captiued sonnes of *Iudah*, and so *Daniel*, was named *Balthazar*, by the Kings Eunuch that had charge of the children. His wisdome made him

him highly esteemed of *Balthazar* the last King of Babilon, and after that, of *Darius* the Monarch of Media, as *Daniel* himselfe and *Iosephus* lib. 10. doe testifie. *Methodius*, *Apollinaris*, and *Eusebius Pamphilus* defended this prophet against the callumnies of *Porphyry*. (b) *Ezechiel*, A priest, and one of the captiuitie with *Daniell*, as his writings doe record.

*Of the three propheties of Aggee, Zachary and Malachy.*

CHAP. 35.

THRE of the small prophets, (a) *Aggee*, (b) *Zachary*, and (c) *Malachy*, all prophesying in the end of this captiuitie, remaine still. *Aggee* prophesyeth of Christ and his church, thus, diuersly and plainely: *Yet a little while and I wil shake the heauens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land: and I will moue all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come, saith the Lord of hostes*. This prophesie is partly come to effect, and partly to bee effected at the consumation of all. The Angells, and the starres are witness, of heauens moouing at Christs birth. The miracle of a Virgins child-birth, mooued the earth, the preaching of Christ in the Isles and the continent, mooued both sea and drieland: The nations we see are mooued to the faith. Now the comming of the desire of all nations, that we doe expect, at this day of iudgement: for first hee must be loued of the beleeuers and then be desired of the expecters. Now to *Zachary*. *Reioyce greatly O daughter of Syon* (saith hee of Christ and his church) *shoute for ioy O daughter of Ierusalem: behold thy King commeth to thee, hee is iust, and thy Saviour: poore, and riding vpon an asse, and vpon (d) a colt, the foale of an asse: his dominion is from sea to sea, & from the riuer to the land end*. Of Christs riding in this manner, the Gospell speaketh: where this prophecy (as much as needeth) is recited: In another place, speaking prophetically of the remission of finnes by Christ, he saith thus to him. *Thou in the blood of thy testament hast loosed thy prisoners out of the lake wherein is no water*. This lake may bee diuersly interpreted without iniuring our faith. But I thinke hee meaneth that barren, bondlesse depth of humane mysery, wherein there is no streame of righteousnesse, but all is full of the mudde of iniquitie: for of this is that of the psalme meant: *Hee hath brought mee out of the lake of misery, and Psa. 40.2 out of the myrty clay*.

Now *Malachi* prophesying of the church (which wee see so happily propagate by our Saviour Christ) hath these plaine words to the Iewes in the person of God: *I haue no pleasure in you, neither will I accept an offering at your hand: for from the rising of the Sunne vnto the setting my name is great amongst the Gentiles, and in euery place shalbe (e) incence offered vnto mee, and a pure offering vnto my name: for my name is great among the heathen, saith the LORD*. This wee see offered in euery place by Christs priest-hood after the order of *Melchisedech*: but the sacrifice of the Iewes, wherein God tooke no pleasure but refused, that they cannot deny is ceased. Why do they expect an other Christ, and yet see that this prophecy is fulfilled already, which could not bee but by the true Christ? for he saith by & by after in the perso of God: *My couenant was with him of life and peace: I gaue him feare, and he feared me, and was afrasd before my name. The law of truth was in his mouth: he walked with me in peace and equity, and turned many away from iniquity: for the priests lips should preserue knowledge, and they should seeke the law at his mouth: for he is the messenger of the Lord of hostes*. No wonder if Christ be called so, for as he is a seruant because of the seruants forme he tooke, when he came to

men: so is hee a messenger, because of the glad tydings which hee brought vnto men: For *Euangelium* in grecke, is in our tongue, *glad tydings*, and he saith againe of him. *Behold I will send my messenger and hee shall prepare the way before mee: the Lord whom you seeke, shall come suddenly into his Temple, and the messenger of the couenant whom you desire: behold he shall come, saith the Lord of hostes: but who may abide the daie of his comming? who shall endure when he appeareth?* This place is a direct prophecy of both the commings of Christ: of the first: *He shall come suddenly into his temple his flesh, as hee sayd himselfe: Destroy this temple, and in three daies I will raise it againe.* Of the second: *Behold, hee shall come, saith the LORD of hostes, but who may abide the day of his comming? &c.* But those words *the Lord whom you seeke, and the messenger of the couenant whom you desire*, imply that the Iewes, in that manner that they conceiue the scriptures, desire and seeke the comming of CHRIST. But many of them acknowledged him not, being come, for whose comming they so longed; their euill desertes hauing blinded their hearts.

The couenant, named both heere, and there where hee sayd, *My couenant was with him*, is to bee vnderstood of the New Testament whose promises are eternall, not of the Old, full of temporall promises: such as weake men esteeming too highly, doe serue GOD wholly for, and stumble when they see the sinne-full to enioy them. Wherefore the Prophet, to put a cleare difference betweene the blisse of the New Testament, peculiar to the good, and the abundance of the Old Testament, shared with the badde also, adioyneth this, *Your words haue bene stout against me (saith the Lord) and yet you said, wherein haue we spoken against thee? you haue said it is in vaine to serue GOD; and what profit haue we in keeping his commandements, and in walking humbly before the LORD GOD of hostes? and now wee haue blessed others; they that worke wickednesse are set vpper, and they that oppose God, they are deliuered.* Thus spake they that feared the Lord: each to his neighbour, the Lord hearkned, and heard it, and wrote a booke of remembrance in his sight, for such as feare the Lord, and reuerence his name. That booke insinuateth the New Testament. Heare the sequelle: *They shall be to mee saith the Lord of hostes, in that day wherein I doe this, for a stocke: and I will spare them as a man spareth his owne sonne that serueth him. Then shall you returne, and discern betweene the righteous and the wicked, and betweene him that serueth GOD, and him that serueth him not. For behold the day commeth that shall burne as an oven: and all the proud and the wicked shall be as stubble, and the day that commeth, shall burne them vpper saith the LORD of Hostes, and shall leave them neither roote nor branch. But vnto you that feare my name shall the sonne of righteousnesse arise, and health shall be vnder his wings, and you shall goe forth and growe vpper as fatte Calues. You shall tread downe the wicked, they shall be as dust vnder the soles of your feete in the day that I shall doe this saith the LORD of Hostes.* This is that day that is called the day of iudgement, whereof if it please God, wee meane to say some-what, in place conuenient.

## L. VIVES.

**A**gee (a) Zachary] *Esdra* nameth them. chap. 6. 1. where he calleth Zachary the sonne of *Addo*, whom Zachary himselfe saith was his grand-father, and *Barachiab*, his father. This (saith *Hierome*) was doubtlesse that *Addo* that was sent to *Hieroboam* the sonne of *Nabath*,  
in

in whose time the Altar clef, and his hand withered, and was restored by this *Addo* prayers. *Kings*. 1. 12. & *Chro.* 2. 12. But hee is not called *Addo* in either of these places: the *Kings* omit his name, the *Chronicles* call him *Semeius*. But a prophet of that time must bee great great grand-father at least to a sonne of the captiuitie. This *Zachary* was not the sonne of *Ioiada* whome *Ioash* the King of Iuda killed. *Cbr.* 2. 34. 21. he whome Christ said was killed betweene the Temple and the Altar. *Mat.* 23. 35. (b) *Malachi*.] His name interpreted is, *His Angell*, *Malachi*. and so the seauenty called him, where-vpon *Origen* vpon this prophet saith that hee thinketh it was an Angell that prophesied this prophecy, if we may belecue *Hieromes* testimony herein. Others call him *Malachi*, for indeed, names are not to be altered in any translation. No man calleth *Plato*, *Broade*: Or *Aristotle* good perfection, or *Iosuah*, the Sauour, or *Athens*, *Minerua*. Names are to be set downe in the proper *Idiome*, other-wise, the names of famous men, being translated into seuerall tongues, should obscure their persons fame, by being the more disperfed, which makes me wonder at those that will wring the Greeke names. &c. vnto their seuerall Idiomes, wherein their owne conceit doth them grosse wrong, *Cesar* was wise, to deale plainely in giuing the french & Germaine, each his contries names, only making them declinable by the Latine. But to *Malachi*. Some by concordance of their stiles, say that he was *Esdras*: and prophesied vnder *Darius* the sonne of *Histaspis*. Of *Esdras* in the next chapter (c) *Keioyce* greatly.] This whole quotation, and the rest differ much from our vulgar translation. (d) *Upon a colt*.] The Euangelist *S. Mathew* readeth it: vpon a colt, and the sole of an asse vsed to the yoke. *cha.* 21. *ver.* 5. The Iewes that were yoaked vnder so many ceremonies were prefigured herein. But the free and yong colt (as the seauenty do translate it) was the type, of the Gentiles, take which you wil: God sitteth vpon both, to cure both from corruption and to bring both saluation. (e) *Shalbe incense offred*.] The seauenty, read it, *is offred*: because the Prophets often speake of things to come, as if they were present yea and some-times as if they were past. The translation of the seauenty is some-what altered in the following quotation.

Of the bookes of *Esdras*, and the *Machabees*.

CHAP. 36.

**A**fter *Ageo*, *Zachary* & *Malachy*, the three last Prophets, in the time of the said captiuitie, (a) *Esdras* wrote, but he is rather held an Historiographer then a Prophet: As the booke of (b) *Hester* is also, contayning accidents about those times; all tending to the glory of God. It may bee said that *Esdras* prophesied in this, that when the question arose amongst the young men what thing was most powerfull, one answering Kings, the next, wine, and the third women, for they often command Kings, (c) yet did the third adde more, and said that truth conquered althings. Now Christ in the Gospell is found to bee the truth. From this time, after the temple was re-edified the Iewes had no more kings but princes vnto (d) *Aristobulus* his time. The account of which times wee haue not in the canonicall scriptures, but in the others, (e) amongst which the bookes of the *Machabees* are also, which the church indeed holdeth for canonicall (f) because of the vehement and wonderfull sufferings of some Martires for the law of God before the comming of Christ. Such there were that endured intollerable torments, yet these bookes are but Apocryphall to the Iewes.

L. VIVES.

*Esdras* (a) A most skilfull scribe of the law he was, & *Hierome* saith he was that *Iosedech* whose son *Iesus* was priest. He, they say, restored the law, which 5 Chaldæes had burnt, (not without diuine assistance) & changed the hebrew letters to distinguish the frō the Samaritanes, Gentiles which

Master.  
Artaxerxes,  
long-hand.

Zorobabel.  
Aristobuius

which then filled Iudæa. *Enseb.* The Jewes afterwards vsed his letters, only their accents differed from the Samaritans, which were the old ones that *Moses* gaue them. (*b*) *Hester.* This history fell out (saith *Iosephus*) in the time of *Artaxerxes*, other-wise called *Cyrus*: for *Xerxes* was the sonne of *Darius Histaspis*, and *Artaxerxes* surnamed *Long-hand*, was sonne to him, in whose time the Jewes were in such danger by meanes of *Haman*, because of *Mardochee*, *Hesters* vnclè, as there booke sheweth. This *Nicephorus* holdeth also. But *Ensebius* saith this could not bee, that the Jewes should bee in so memoriable a perill, and yet *Esdra*s who wrot their fortunes vnder *Artaxerxes* neuer once mention it. So that hee maketh this accident to fall out long after, in the time of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, bastard sonne to *Darius*, and him the Hebrewes called *Assuerus*, (saith hee) Indeed, *Bede* is of this minde also. But I feare *Ensebius* his accompt is not so sure as *Iosephus*, but in this wee recite opinions onely, leauing the iudgement. (*c*) *Yet did the third.* ] This was *Zorobabel* that said truth was about all. *Esd.* 33. *Ios. Ant. lib.* II. but the third and fourth booke of *Esdra*s are Apocryphall, *Hierome* reiecteth them as dreames. (*d*) *Aristobulus.* ] Sonne to *Ionathas*, both King and Priest, he wore the first diademe in Iudæa, foure hundred eighty and foure yeares after the captiuitie vnder *Nabucadonosor.* (*e*) *Machabees.* ] *Hierome* saw the first of those bookes in Hebrew, the latter hee knew to bee penned first in Greeke by the stile: *Iosephus* wrot the history of the *Machabees* as *Hierome* saith *Contra Pellagian.* I cannot tell whether hee meane the bookes that we haue for scripture, or another Greeke booke that is set forth seuerall and called *Iosephi ad Machabeos*, There is a third booke of the *Machabees*, as yet vntranslated into Latine that I know of: that I thinke the Church hath not receiued for canonical. (*f*) *Because of.* ] For there were seuen brethren who rather then they woold breake the law, endured together with their mother to be flayed quicke, rather then to obey that foule command of *Antiochus*, against God.

*The Prophets more ancient then any of the Gentile Philosophers.*

CHAP. 37.

IN our (*a*) Prophets time (whose workes are now so farre diuulged) there were no Philosophers stirring as yet, for the first of them arose from (*b*) *Pithagoras* of Samos, who began to bee famous at the end of the captiuitie. So that all other Philosophers must needes bee much later (*c*) for *Socrates* of Athens, the chiefe Moralist of his time, liued after *Esdra*s, as the *Chronicles* record. And soone after was *Plato* borne, the most excellent of all his scholers. To whom if we ad also the former seauen, who were called sages, not Philosophers, and the Naturalists that followed *Thales* his study, to wit *Anaximander*, *Anaximenes*, *Anaxagoras*, and others before *Pythagoras* professed Philosophy, not one of these was before the Prophets, for *Thales* the most ancient of them all, liued in *Romulus* his time, when this Propheticall doctrine flowed from the fountaine of *Iraell*, to be deriued vnto all the world. Onely therefore the Theologicall Poets, *Orpheus Linus*, *Museus* and the others (if there were anymore) were before our canonical prophets. But they were not more ancient then our true diuine *Moses*, who taught them one true God, and whose bookes are in the front of our Canon, and therefore though the learning of Greece warmeth the world at this day, yet neede they not boast of their wisdome, being neither so ancient nor so excellent as our diuine religion, and the true wisdome: we confesse, not that Greece, but that the Barbarians, as Egypt for example, had their peculier doctrines before *Moses* time, which they called their wisdome: Otherwise our scripture would not haue said that *Moses* was learned in al the wisdome of the Egyptians: for there was hee borne, adopted, and brought vp worthily (*e*) by the daughter of *Pharao*. But their wisdome could not bee before our prophets, for *Abraham* him-selfe was a prophet. And what wisdome could there be in Egypt, before *Isis* their supposed goddesse taught them letters? This *Isis* was daughter to *Inachus* King of Argos, who raigned in the times of *Abrahams* Grandchildren.

L. VI

## L. VIVES.

[*In our (a) prophets*] Here *Augustine* prooves the Old Testament ancienter then all the philosophy of the greekes. This question *Iosephus* handleth worthily against *Apion*, so doth *Euseb. prep. evang.* and *Iustin. Martyr Ad Gentes*. The case is plaine Inough by our allegations vpon other chapters of this booke. (*b*) *Pythagorus*.] Tully saith he liued in his progenitor *Seruius Tullus* his time, and so saith *Livy lib. 1*. True in his later yeares, and in the whole time of *Cyrus* *Pythagoras* the Persian: for hee flourished Olympiade sixty, wherein *Tarquin* the proud beganne his reigne. He died (according to *Eusebius*) Olymp. 70. after the Iewes were freed from captiuitie and liued quietly at Ierusalem. (*c*) *Socrates*.] He liued Olymp. 77. saith *Apollodorus*, almost forty yeares after *Darius* sent the Iewes to the reparation of the temple. (*d*) *Sonne after was*] In the eighty eight Olympiad. *Apollod.* (*e*) *By the daughter*] *Manis* the daughter of *Menepres* King of Egypt, hauing no children, adopted a Iewish child called in hebrew *Moyse*, in greeke *Moses*. This *Eusebius lib. 9, prep.* citeth out of *Arcapamus*.

*Of some scriptures too ancient for the Church to allow, because that might procure suspect that they are rather counterfeited then true.*

## CHAP. 38.

**N**OW if I should goe any higher, there is the Patriarch *Noah*, before the great deluge: we may very well cal him a prophet, for his very Arke, and his escape in that flood, were propheticall references vnto these our times. What was *Enoch*, the seauenth from *Adam*? Doth not the Canonick Epistle of *Iude* say that hee prophesied? The reason that wee haue not their writings, nor the Iewes neither, is their to great antiquity: which may procure a suspect, that they are rather feigned to bee theirs, then theirs indeed. For many that beleue as they like, and speake as they list, defend themselues with quotations from bookes. But the cannon neither permitteth that such holy mens authority should be reiected, nor that it should be abused by counterfeited pamphlets. Nor is it any marnell that such antiquity is to be suspected when as we read in the histories of the Kings of Iuda and Israel (which we hold canonicall) of many things touched at there which are not there explained, but are said (*a*) to bee found in other bookes of the prophets, who are sometimes named, & yet those workes wee haue not in our Canon, nor the Iewes in theirs? I know not the reason of this, only I thinke that those prophets whom it pleased the holy spirit to inspire, wrote some-things historically as men, and other things prophetically as from the mouth of God, and that these workes were really distinct: some being held their own, as they were men, and some, the Lords, as speaking out of their bosomes: so that the first might belong to the bettring of knowledge and the later to the confirming of religion, to which the Canon onely hath respect, besides which if there be any workes going vnder prophets names, they are not of authority to better the knowledge, because it is a doubt whether they are the workes of those prophets or no: therefore wee may not trust them, especially when they make against the canonical truth, whecin they proue themselues directly false birthes.

## L. VIVES.

**T**O bee found in (*n*) other. For we read: *Concerning the deedes of David, &c. they are written*



written in the booke of *Samuel* the Seer, and in the booke of *Nathan* the prophet, and of *Gad* &c. *Chron.* 1. 29. 29. & so likewise of *Salomons Chron.* 29. 29. And of *Iofaphats Chronic.* 2. 20. 34.

*That the Hebrew letters haue beene euer continued in that language.* CHAP. 39.

**V**VEB may not therefore thinke as some doe, that the hebrew tongue onely was deriued from *Hebert* to *Abraham*, & that (a) *Moyfes* first gaue the hebrew letters with the law: no, that tongue was deriued from man to man successiually by letters as well as language. For *Moyfes* appointed men to teach them, before the law was giuen. These the scriptures call (b) *Grammaton Isagogos*, that is introductors of letters, because they did as it were bring them into the hearts of men, or rather their hearts into them. So then no nation can ouer-poise our Prophets and Patriarches in antiquity of wisdom, for they had diuine inspirations, & the Egyptians themselues that vse to giue out such extreame and palpable lies of their learnings, are prooued short of time in comparison with our Patriarches. For none of them dare say that they had any excellence of vnderstanding before they had letters, that is, before *Isis* came and taught them. And what was their goodly wisdom thinke you? Truly nothing but (c) *Astronomy*, and such other sciences as rather seemed to exercise the wit, then to eleuate the knowledge. For as for morality, it stirred not in Egypt vntill *Trismegistus* his time, who was indeed long before (d) the sages and Philosophers of Greece, but after *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Iacob*, *Ioseph*, yea & *Moyfes* also: for at the time when *Moyfes* was borne, was *Atlas*, *Prometheus* his brother, a great Astronomer luying, and hee was grandfather by the mother-side to the elder *Mercury*, who begot the father of this *Trismegistus*.

Philosophy

## L:VIVES.

**M**Oyses (a) first gaue] It is the common opinion both of the Jewes & Christians that *Moyfes* did giue the first letters to that language. *Empolemus*, *Artapanus*, & many other prophane authors, affirme it also: and that the Phœnicians had their letters thence. *Artapanus* thinketh that *Moyfes* gaue letters to the Egyptians also: and that he was that *Mercury*, whom all affirme did first make the Egyptian language literate. If any one aske then in what letter that wisdom of Egypt, that *Moyfes* learned was contained, hee shalbe answered, it went partly by tradition, and partly was recorded by Hieroglyphicks: *Philo* the Jew saith, *Abraham* inuented the Hebrew letters. But that they were long before *Abraham* it seemes by *Iosephus*, who saith that the sonnes of *Setb*, erected two pillers, one of stone, and another of brick, whereon the artes that they had inuented were ingrauen: and that the stone piller was to be seene in *Syria* in his time. *Antiq. lib.* 1. These *Augustine* seemeth here to take for the Hebrew letters, (b) *Grammatos isagogus*] *Hierome* translateth it, *Doctors*, and *Maysters* & *Scribes*. They taught onely the letter of the scriptures, and declined not from it an inch: but the greater professors were the Pharises, of *Phares* diuision, for they seuered themselues from others, as all others betters. Both sorts taught the law out of *Moyfes* chaire, the scribes the litterall sence, and the Pharisees the misteries. (c) *Astronomy*] *Geometry*, *Arithmetick* and *Astronomy*, were the ancient Egyptians onely studies. Necessity made them Geometers, for *Nilus* his inundations e-very yeare tooke away the boundes of their lands, so that each one was faine to know his owne quantity, and how it lay and in what forme, and thus they drew the principles of that art. Now aptnesse made the Astronomers, for their nights were cleare, & neuer cloud came on their

Pillers erected by the sons of Setb.

Scribe. Pharises.

their land, so as they might easily discerne all the motions, stations, rising and fall of euery star: a study both wondrous delectable, and exceeding profitable, and besteming the excellence of man: now these two arts, could not consist without number, and so Arithmetick goeth vp for the third. (d) *Before the sages*] A diuersity of reading rather worth nothing then noting.

*The Egyptians abominable lyings, do claime their wisdome the age  
of 100000. yeares.* CHAP. 40.

**I**T is therefore a monstrous absurdity to say, as some doe, that it is about 100000. yeares since Astronomie began in Egypt. What recordes haue they for this, that had their letters but two thousand yeares agoe (or little more) from *Isis. Varro's* authority is of worth here, agreeing herein with the *holy Scriptures*. For seeing it is not yet fixe thousand yeares from the first man *Adam*, how ridiculous are they that ouer-runne the truth such a multitude of yeares? whome shall wee belecue in this, so soone as him that fore-told what now we see accordingly effected? The dissonance of histories, giueth vs leaue to leane to such as doe accorde with our diuinitie. The cittizens of Babilon indeed, being diffused all the earth ouer, when they read two authors of like (and allowable) authority, differing in relations of the eldest memory, they know not which to belecue. But we haue a diuine historie to vnder-shore vs, and wee know that what so euer seculer author he bee, famous or obscure, if hee contradiet that, hee goeth farre astray from truth: But bee his words true or false, they are of no vales to the attainment of true felicitie.

*The dissension of Philosophers, and the concord of the Canonickall Scriptures.*

CHAP. 41.

**B**Ut to leaue history, and come to the Philosophers whom wee left long agoe: their studies seemed wholly to ayme at the attainment of beatitude. Why did the schollers then contradiet their maisters, but that both were whirled away with humaine affects: wherein (a) although there might be some spice of vaine-glory, each thinking him-selfe wiser and quicker conceited then other, and affecting to bee an Arch-dogmatist him-selfe, and not a follower of others: notwithstanding to grant that it was the loue of truth, that carried some (or the most of them) from their teachers opinions, to contend for truth, were it truth or were it none? what course, what act can mortall misery performe to the obtaining of true blessednesse, with-out it haue a diuine instruction? as for our Canonickall authors, *God* forbid that they should differ. No they do not: and therefore worthily did so many nations belecue that *God* spoake either in them or by them: this the multitude in other places, learned and vnlarned doe auow, though your petty company of ianglers in the schooles denie it. Our Prophets were but few, least being more, their esteeme should haue beene lesse, which religion ought highly to reuerence, yet are they not so few but that their concord is iustly to be admired. Let one looke amongst all the multitude of philosophers writings, and if he finde two that tell both one tale in all respects, it may be registred for a rarity. It were too much for me to stand ranking out their diuersities in this worke. But what Dogmatist in all this Hierarchie of Hell hath any such priuiledge that hee may not bee controuled, and opposed by others, with gracious allowance to both partes: were not the *Episurists* in great account at Athens, holding that *GOD* had naught to doe with man? And were not the *Stoikes* their opponents, that held the Gods to bee the directors of all things, such

as

as gracious as they? Wherefore I marvell that (*b*) *Anaxagoras*, was accused for saying the sunne was a fiery stone, denying the god-head thereof: *Epicurus* being allowed and graced in that Citty, who diuided both deities of sunne, starres, yea of *Ioue* him-selfe (*c*) and all the rest, in all respect of the world, and mans supplications vnto them: was not *Aristippus* there with his bodily *summum bonum*, and *Antisthenes* with his mentall? Both famous *Socratis*ts, and yet both so farre contrary each to other in their subiects of beatitude. The one had a wise man flye rule, the other had him take it, and both had full and frequent audience. Did not euery one defend his opinion in publike, in the towne (*d*) gallery, in (*e*) schooles, in (*f*) gardens, and likewise in all priuate places? One (*g*) held one world: another a thousand: some hold that one created: some, not created: some hold it eternall, some not eternall: some say it ruled by the power of *God*, others by chance. Some say the soules are immortall: others mortall: some transfuse them into beasts: others deny it: some of those that make them mortall, say they dye presently after the body: others say they liue longer, yet not for euer: some place the cheefest good in the body, some in the soule, some in both: some draw the externall goods to the soule and the body: some say the sences go awaie true, some say but some-times, some say neuer. These and millions more of dissensions do the Phylosophers bandy, and what people, state, kingdom or citty of all the diabolicall socyety hath euer brought them to the test, or reiected these and receiued the other? But hath giuen nourishment to all confusion in their very bosomes, and vpheld the rable of curious ianglers, not about lands, or ca-ses in lawe, but vpon mayne poynts of misery and blisse? Wherein if they spoke true, they had as good leaue to speake false, so fully and so fitly sorted their society to the name of Babilon, which (as we sayd) signifieth *confusion*. Nor careth their King the diuell how much they iangle, it procureth him the larger haruest of variable impiety. But the people, state, nation and Citty of Israel to whome *Gods* holy lawes were lest, they vied not that licentious confusion of the false Prophets with the the true, but all in one consent held and acknowledged the later for the true authors, recording *Gods* testimonies. These were their Sages, their Poets, their Prophets, their teachers of truth and piety. Hee that liued after their rules, followed not man, but *God*; who spake in them. The sacrilege forbidden there, *God* forbiddeth: the commandement of *honour thy father and mother*, *God* commandeth. *Thou shalt not commit adultery, nor murder, nor shalt steale*: *Gods* wildome pronounceth this not the wittie of man. For (*h*) what truth soeuer the Philosphers attayned and disputed off amidst their falshood as namely, *that God framed the world, and gouerned it most excellently, of the honesty of vertue, the loue of our countrey, the faith of friendship, iust dealing,* and all the appendances belonging to good manners: they knew not to what end the whole was to bee referred: The Prophets taught that from the mouth of *God* in the persons of men, not with inundations of arguments, but with apprehension of fear and reuerence of the Lord in all that understood them.

Exod. 10.

## LVIVES.

**A**lthough (*a*) there be } Vain-glory led almost all the ancient authors wrong, stuffing artes with infamous errors, grosse and pernicious: each one seeking to be the proclamer of his own opinion, rather then the preferer of anothers. Blind men! they saw not how laudable it is to obey *Good counsell*, &c. to agree vnto truth. I knew a man once (not so learned as arrogant) who

who professed that hee would write much, and yet avoyd what others had said before him as hee would fly a serpent or a Basiliske: for that hee had rather wittingly affirme a lie, then assent vnto the opinion. (b) *Anaxagoras*.] A stone fell once out of the ayre into Aegos, a riuer in Thracia, and *Anaxagoras* (who had also presaged it) affirmed that heauen was made all of stones and that the sonne was a fire stone: where-vpon *Empedocles* his scholler calleth it a golden turfe. In *Phaetonte*: for this assertion *Sotion* accused him of impiety, and *Pericles* his scholler pleaded for him, yet was he fined at five talents, and perpetuall banishment. Others say otherwise. But the most say that *Pericles* who was great in the City, saued his life being condemned: where-vpon the Poets saigned that *Ioue* was Angry at *Anaxagoras* and threw a thunder-bolt at him, but *Pericles* stept betweene, and so it flew another way. (c) *And all the rest*.] *Epicurus* held Gods, but excluded them from meddling in humane assayres, and hearing vs: indeed his vnder ayme was Atheisme, but the *Arceopage* awed him from professing it: for farewell such Gods as wee haue no neede on faith *Cotta in Tully* (d) *Towne gallery*.] There taught the stoikes. (e) *Schooles*.] As the *Peripatetiques* in the *Lycæum*. (f) *Gardens*.] As the *Epicureans* did (g) *Some held*.] Of these we spake at large vpon the eight booke. (h) *What truth socuer*.] *Euse. de præp. Euang* proueth by many arguments that *Plato* had all his excellent position out of the scriptures.

*Of the translations of the Old-Testament out of Hebrew into Greeke, by  
the ordinance of God for the benefit of the nations*

CHAP. 42.

**T** Hese scriptures one (a) *Ptolomy* a king of Egypt desired to vnderstand, for after the strange & admirable conquest of *Alexander* of Macedon, surnamed the great, wherein he brought all Asia and almost all the world vnder his subiection, partly by faire meanes and partly by force, (who came also into Iudæa) his nobles after his death making a turbulent diuision or rather a dilaceration of his monarchy, Egypt came to be ruled by *Ptolomyes*. The first of which was the soone of *Lagus*, who brought many Iewes captiue into Egypt: the next was *Philadelphus*, who freed all those captiues, sent gifts to the temple, and desired *Eleazar* the Priest to send him the Old-testament whereof he had heard great commendations, and therefore hee ment to put it into his famous library: *Eleazar* sent it in Hebrew, and then hee desired interpretours of him, and he sent him seauenty two; sixe of euery tribe all most perfect in the Greeke and Hebrew. Their translation doe wee now vsually call the Septuagints. (b) The report of their diuine concord therein is admirable: for *Ptolomy* hauing (to try their faith) made each one translate by him-selfe, there was not one word difference between them, either in sence or order, but al was one, as if only one had done them all: because indeede there was but one spirit in them all. And God gaue them that admirable gift, to giue a diuine commendation to so diuin a worke, wherein the nations might see that presaged, which wee all see now effected.

L V I V E S.

**O** Ne (a) *Ptolomy*.] The Kings of Egypt were all called *Pharaos* vntill *Cambyses* added that kingdome vnto the Monarchy of Persia. But after *Alexander*, from *Ptolomy* son of *Lagus*, they were al called *Ptolomyes*, vntill *Augustus* made Egypt a prouince. *Alexander* was abroad with an army 21. yeares; in which time he subdued al Asia, but held it but a while, for in the 32. yeares of his age, he died, and then his nobles ranne all to share his Empire as it had bin a broken chett filled with gold; euery one got what he could, and the least had a Kingdome to his share. *Antigonus* got Asia; *Seleucus* Chaldaea, *Cassander* Macedonia, each one somewhat, & *Ptolomy* Egypt, Phænicia and Ciprus; hee was but of meane descent. *Lagus* his father was one of *Alexanders*

*Alexanders* guard, and hee from a common soldiour, got highly into the fauour of his Prince for his valor, discretion, and experience. Being old, and addicted to peace, he left his crowne to his sonne *Philadelphus*, who had that name either for louing his sister *Arfinoe* or for hating her afterwards, *a contrario*. He freed all the Iewes whome his father had made captiues and set Iudæa free from a great tribute: and being now grown old, and diseased (by the perswasion of *Demetrius Phalereus*, whome enuy had chased from Athens thether) hee betooke him-selſe to study, gathered good writers together, buyt that goodly librarie of Alexandria, wherein he placed the Old-Testament, for hee sent to *Eleazar* for translators for the law and Prophets, who being mindfull of the good hee had done to Iudæa, sent him the seauenty two interpreters whome from breuiy sake we call the seauenty, as the Romaines called the hundred and fise officers, the *Centumuiris*. In *Iosephus* are the Epistles of *Ptolomy* to *Eleazar*, and his vnto him. lib. 12. There is a booke of the seauenty interpreters that goeth vnder his name, but I take it to be a false birth. (b) *The report of.*] *Ptolomy* honored those interpreters, highly. To try the truth by their Agreement (saith *Iustine*) hee built seauenty two chambers, placing a translator in euery one, to write therein, and when they had done, conferred them all and their was noc a letter difference. *Apologet. ad Gent.* The ruines of these *Iustine* saith he saw in *Pharos*, the tower of Alexandria. *Menedemus* the Philosopher admired the congruence in the translation, *Tertull.* *Aduers. gentes* [*Hierome* some-times extolls their translation as done by the ho'y spirit, and some-times condemneth it for euill, and ignorant: as hee was vehement in all opposition] that story of their chambers, he scoffeth at for this he saith: I know not what hee was whose lyes built the chambers for the seauenty at Alexandria, where they might write seuerall, when as *Aristeas* one of *Ptolomies* gard, saith that they all wrote in one great pallace: not as Prophets: for a prophet is one thing, and a tranſlatour another, the one speaketh out of inspiration, and the other tranſlateth out of vnderstanding. *Prolog. in Pentateuch.*

Philadel-  
phus.  
+  
The Septu-  
aginta.

[The Lo-  
uaine co-  
py faileth  
here.]

*That the translation of the Seuenty is most authentick,  
next vnto the Hebrew.*

CHAP. 43.

*Hierome*  
Priest.

There were other translators out of the Hebrew into the Greeke as *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, *Theodotion*, and that namelesse interpetor whose translation is called the fift Edition. But the Church hath receiued that of the seauenty, as if there were no other, as many of the Greeke Christians, vsing this wholly, know not whether there be or no. Our Latine translation is from this also. Although one *Hierome*, a learned Priest, and a great linguist hath translated the same scriptures from the Hebrew into Latine. But (a) although the Iewes affirme his learned labour to be al truth, and auouch the seauenty to haue oftentimes erred, yet the Churches of Christ hold no one man to be preferred before so many, especially being selected by s<sup>h</sup> high Priest, for this work: for although their concord had not proceeded from their vnity of spirit but frō their collations, yet were no one man to be held more sufficient then they all. But seeing there was so diuine a demonstration of it, truely whosoever tranſlateth from the Hebrew, or any other tongue, either must agree with the seauenty, or if hee dissent, wee must hold by their propheticall depth. For the same spirit that spake in the prophets, translated in them. And that spirit might say other-wise in the translation, then in the Prophet, and yet speake alike in both, the sence being one vn'o the true vnderstander though the words bee different vnto the reader. The same spirit might adde also, or diminish, to shew that it was not mans labour that performed this worke, but the working spirit that guded the labours.

Some

Some held it good to correct the seauenty, by the Hebrew, yet durst they not put out what was in them and not in the Hebrew, but onely added what was in that and not in them. (b) marking the places with (c) *Asteriskes* at the heads of the verses, and noting what was in the seauenty, and not in the Hebrew, with lines, as we marke (d) ounces of weight withall: And many Greeke and Latine copies are dispersed with these markes. But as for the alterations, whether the difference be great or small, they are not to be discerned but by conferring of the bookes. If therefore we go all to the spirit of God and nothing else, as is fittest; whatsoeuer is in the seauenty, and not in the Hebrew, it pleased God to speake it by those latter prophets, and not by these first. And so contrary-wise of that which is in the Hebrew and not in the seauenty, herein shewing them both to be Prophets, for so did he speake this by *Esay*, that by *Hieremy*, and other things by othes as his pleasure was. But what wee finde in both, that the spirit spake by both: by the first as Prophets, by the later as propheticall translations: for as there was one spirit of peace in the first who spake so many seuerall things with discordance, so was there in these who translated so agreeably without conference.

## L VIVES.

**A**lthough (a) the *Iewes*.] No man now dales sheweth an error, and leaueth it. Mankind is not so wise. Againe, time gayneth credit vnto many: and nothing but time vnto some. But it is admirable to see how gently hee speaketh here of *Hierome*: whose opinion he followed not in this high controuersie. O that wee could immitate him! (b) *Marking*.] of this *Hierome* speaketh *Prolog. in Paralip.* *Origen* was the first that tooke the paines to conferre the translation, and he conferred the seauenty with *Theodotion*; *Hier. ep. ad August.* where he inueigheth at what hee had erst commended: saying that the booke is not corrected but rather corrupted by those asteriskes, and spits. [But this he said because *Augustine* would not meddle with his translation, but held that of the seauenty so sacred, this power oftentimes hath affection in the holiest men.] (c) *Asteriskes*.] Little stars (d) *Ounces*.] It seemes the ounce in old times was marked with a spits character. *Isidore* saith it was marked with the Greeke *Gamma*, and our *v*: thus  $\gamma$ , and the halfe scruple with a line thus  $\text{---}$  they noted those places with a spit, thus  $\text{---}$  to signifie that the words so noted, were thrust through as additions, falsifying the text. It was *Aristarchus* his inuention vsed by the Grammarians in their censure of bookes and verses. *Quinti. lib. i.* Which the old Grammarians vsed with such seuerity that they did not onely taxe false places, or bookes hereby, but also thrust their authors either out of their ranke or wholly from the name of Grammarians. Thus *Quintilian*. *Seneca* did elegantly call the rasing out of bastard verses; *Aristarchus* his notes.

*Of the destruction of Nininy, which the Hebrew perfixeth forty daies vnto, and the Septuagints but three.*

## CAP. 44.

**I** But will some say, how shall I know whether *Ionas* said, yet forty daies and *Nininy* shalbe destroyed, or yet three daies? who seeth not that the Prophet presaging their destruction could not say both: if at three daies end they were to bee destroyed, then not at fourty: if at fourty then not at three.

R r r

14

*Nin. iie, a  
figure of  
the Church*

If I bee asked the question, I answer for the Hebrew. For the LXX. being long after, might say otherwise, and yet not against the sence, but as pertinent to the matter as the other, though in another signification: aduising the reader not to leaue the signification of the historie for the circumstance of a word, nor to contemne either of the authorities: for those things were truly done (*b*) at Niniue; and yet had a reference farther then Niniue: as it was true that the Prophet was three dayes in the Whales belly, and yet intimated the being of the Lord of all the Prophets three dayes in the wombe of the graue. Wherefore if the Church of the Gentiles were prophetically figured by Niniue, as being destroyed in repentance, to become quite different from what it was: *Christ* doing this in the said Church, it is hee that is signified both by the forty dayes, and by the three: by forty, because hee was so long with his disciples after his resurrection, and then ascended into heauen: by three, for on the third day hee arose againe: as if the Septuagints intended to stir the reader to looke further into the matter then the meere history, and that the propher had intended to intimate the depth of the mysterie: as if hee had said: *Seeke him in forty dayes whom thou shalt finde in three*: this in his resurrection, and the other in his ascension. Wherefore both numbers haue their fitte signification, both are spoken by one spirit, the first in *Ion. is*, the latter in the translators. Were it not for tediousnesse I could reconcile the LXX. and the Hebrew in many places wherein they are held to differ. But I study breuity, and according to my talent haue followed the Apostles, who assumed what made for their purposes out of both the copies, knowing the holy spirit to be one in both. But forward with our purpose.

### L. VIVES.

**Y**Et (*a*) *forty dayes*] *Hierome* wonders that the seauenty would translate three, for forty, the Hebrew hauing no such similitude in figure or accent. In these straites is the excellent witte of Saint *Augustine* now entangled, nor can hee well acquit him-selfe of them. (*b*) *At Niniue*] A citty in Assyria, built by *Ninns*. Wee haue spoaken of it already.

*The Iewes wanted Prophets euer after the repaying of the Temple,  
and were afflicted euen from thence vntill Christ  
came: to shew the Prophets spake of the  
building of the other Temple.*

### CHAP. 45.

*Agge. 2.*

**A**fter the Iewes were left destitute of Prophets, they grew dayly worse and worse: namely from the end of their captiuity, when they hoped to growe into better state vpon the repaying of the Temple. For so that carnall nation vnderstood *Agees* Prophecie, saying; *The glory of this last house shall bee greater then the first*: which hee sheweth that hee meant of the *New Testament* in the words before, where hee promiseth *CHRIST* expressely, saying: *I will mooue all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come*. Where the LXX. vsed a sence rather applyable to the members then the head, saying: *And they that are GODS elect shall come out of all Nations, to witte, the*

men

men of whom *Christ* said in the Gospell. *Many are called, but fewe are chosen.* For those chosen, is the house of GOD built by the *New Testament*, of liuing stones, farre more glorious then that which was built by *Salomon*, and repaired after the captiuitie. Therefore from thence had this nation no more Prophets, but were sore afflicted by aliens; euen by the Romaines them-selues, to teach them that *Agge* meant not of that house which they had repayred. For (b) *Alexander* came soone after that, and subdued them: who although hee made no massacre of them (for they durst doe no other but yeeld at his first becke) yet there was the glory of that Temple prooued inferiour to what it had beene in their owne free Kings times. For in the Temple did *Alexander* sacrifice, not in any true worship vnto GOD, but giuing him a place in the adoration of his false deities. (c) Then came the fore-named *Ptolomey* sonne to *Lagus*, after *Alexanders* death, and hee lead many of them captiue into Egipt; yet his sonne *Philadelphus* did courteously free them afterwards, and had the seauentie to translate the *Old Testament* for him, as I sayde before: from whence it came to our hands.

*Alexander* sacrificeth to God, but not as hee should

After all this, the warres mentioned in the *Machabees*, lay vpon them. And in (d) proesse of time, *Ptolomy* King of *Alexandria* subdued them, (hee that was called *Epiphanes*) and then were they extreemly plagued, forced to offer to Idols, and their Temple filled with sacriligious pollution by *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, whose powers not-with-standing *Iudas Machabeus* vtterly subuerted, and restored the Temple to the ancient dignity.

Within a while after, did *Alchimus* (a man borne out of the Priests bloud) by ambition aspire to the Priest-hood: and then about fifty yeares after, all which were passed vnder the variable chance of warre, did *Aristobulus* assume a diademe, and became both King and Priest. For all the time before, euer since the captiuitie, they had no Kings, but Captaines and Generalls, or Princes (though a King may bee called a Prince, because of his preheminance; but all that are Captaines and Princes, (f) are not Kings, as *Aristobulus* was). To him (g) did *Alexander* succeed both in the kingdome and the Priesthood, and is recorded for a tyrant ouer his people. Hee left the regality to his wife *Alexandra*, and from thence began the Iewes extremities of affliction. For (h) her two sonnes *Aristobulus* and *Hircanus* contending for the Principalltie, called the Romaine forces to come against Israell, by the meanes of *Hircanus* demanding their ayde against his brother. Then had the Romaines conquered all Affrick and Greece; and hauing commanded ouer a multitude of other nations, (i) the state seemed too heauie for it selfe, and brake it selfe downe with the owne burden. For now had sedition gotten strong hold amongst them, breaking out into confederacies, and ciuill warres, where-with it was so maimed, that now all declined vnto a Monarchike forme of gouernment. But *Pompey* the great generall of Romes forces, brought his powers into *Iudæa*, tooke *Hierusalem*, opened the Temple doores (not to goe in to pray vnto God, but to prey vpon God rather) and not as a worshipper, but as a prophaner, entred the (k) *sanctum sanctorum*, a place onely lawfull for the high Priest to bee scene in. (l) And hauing seated *Hircanus* in the priest-hood, and made *Antipater* prouost of the prouince, hee departed carrying *Aristobulus* away with him, prisoner. Here began the Iewes to bee the Romaines tributaries. Afterwards came *Cassius* and spoiled the Temple. (m) And within a few yeares after, *Herod* an Alien was made their gouernour, and in his time was our *Sauour CHRIST* borne.

*Alexandra*.

*Pompey* prophaneth the temple.

*Cassius* spoiles the temple.



For now was the fulnesse of time come which the Patriarch prophetically im-  
 Gen. 49. 10 plied, saying, *The Scepter shall not depart from Iuda, nor the law-giuer from be-  
 tweene his feete, vntill Shilo come, and hee shall gather the nations vnto him.* For the  
 Iewes had neuer beene with-out a Prince of their bloud, vntill *Herods* time, who  
 was their first Alien King. Now then was the time of *Shiloh* come, now was  
 the *New Testament* to bee promulgate, and the nations to bee reconciled to the  
 truth. For it were vnpossible that the nations should desire him to come in his  
 glorious power to iudge, (as wee see they doe) vnlesse they had first beene  
 vnited in their true beleefe vpon him, when hee came in his humility to  
 suffer.

## L. VIVES.

- Alexander.* **T**hey that (a) are Gods elect ] τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν. (b) *Alexander came* ] In the time of *Darius*,  
 sonne to *Arsamus*, Olymp. 112. which is a little more then two hundred yeares after. For  
*Alexander* besieging *Tyre* and sending for helpe to *Iaddus* the Priest, commanding him as if he  
 were Lord of Asia, seeing he had now chased *Darius* thence, the Priest answered, that he ought  
 him no seruice as long as *Darius* liued, with whome hee was in league. A wise answer, and be-  
 fitting an Israelites faith: it enflamed the valarous young King, who hauing taken *Tyre*, made  
 straight to *Galilee* through *Palestina*, tooke *Gaza*, and set forward to *Hierusalem*, where the  
 Priests mette him in all their ceremoniall robes, and saluted him: so hee was pacified and ado-  
 red the Priest, saying that hee was the Priest of the God of Nature, who had appeared vnto  
 him in his sleepe at *Macedon*, and tolde him hee should attaine this Empire. So tooke hee  
*Iudæa* into his protection. *Ioseph. lib. 11. Antiq.* (c) *Ptolomy* sonne to *Lagus* ] Vnder colour  
*Ptolomy.* of desiring to sacrifice in the Temple vpon a Sabbath, hee tooke the towne. *Ioseph.* (d) *Epi-  
 phanes.* phanes ] That is, *Illustrious*. Hee succeeded his Father *Philopater*, and warred with *Antiochus*  
*Epiphanes*, vntill they both were wearied, and then hee marryed *Cleopatra*, *Antiochus*  
 his daughter, and had *Iudæa* for his dowrie, &c. (e) *Antiochus* ] Of him read the *Machabees*  
 2. 7, and 8. and *Ioseph. lib. 13.* (f) *Are not Kings* ] For King is a greater name then Prince, or  
 Captaine, bringing larger licence to the ruler, and stricter bondage to the subiect. (g) *A-  
 lexander* ] *Aristobulus* kept his brothers prisoners during his life, but beeing dead, his wife  
*Saloni* (whome the Greekes call *Alexandra*) set them at liberty, and made *Alexander* (one  
 of them) King, whome *Ptolomy*, *Demetrius*, and *Antiochus* soyled in many fights. At  
 length beeing sickly by often surfetting, hee dyed. Hee was a forward spirited and a  
 valarous tyrant, but euer vnfortunate, and vnwise. Hee left the kingdome to *Alexan-  
 dra* his wife, who held it nine yeares, letting the Pharisees rule all as befitted a woman,  
 to doe.
- Aristobolus.* (h) *Her two sonnes* ] Their warre was worse then ciuill, and befell (saith *Ioseph*) in the  
 & *Hircanus* Consullship of *Q. Hortensius*, and *Q. Metellus Creticus*, Olymp. a hundred eighty three.
- Antipater.* *Alexander* and his wife had left *Antipas* (afterwards called *Antipater* the rich) an *Idu-  
 mæan* prefect of *Idumæa*, who was factious and stirring, and fauoured *Hircanus* aboue  
*Aristobolus*, and set *Aretes* King of *Arabia* against *Aristobolus*, and for *Hircanus*. Hee  
 soone assented, and besieged *Aristobolus* in *Hierusalem*. Then warred *Pompey* the great in  
*Pompey.* *Affrica*, and his Legate *Emil. Scaurus* lead part of his forces into *Syria*, and him did *Ari-  
 stobolus* implore in his ayde: *Scaurus* rayled the siege, and afterward the bretheren contending  
 for the kingdome before *Pompey* at *Damascus*, were both dismissed. Afterwards, *Ari-  
 stobolus* offending him, hee marched into *Iudæa*, tooke him prisoner, and turned *Iudæa* into  
 a Prouince of *Rome*, *Tully* and *C. Antonius* being Consuls. *Ioseph. lib. 15.* (i) *The state seemed*  
*The sancti* too heauie ] So sayd *Liue* of it indeed. (k) *The sanctum sanctorum* ] The *Romaines* desired  
*sanctorum.* earnestly to see what God the Hebrewes worshipped, thinking they had some statue of him  
 in the Temple. So *Pompey*, and a few with him, entred euen to this place (which the Iewes held  
 a sa-

a sacrifice for any man but the priest to doe, ) where he found nothing but a golden table, a many tasters, a great deale of spices, and 2000. talents in the holy treasury: of this enuy of his Tacitus speaketh, *Annal.* 21. and saith that vpon this it was giuen out that the Iewes had no Images of their gods but worshipped in voide roomes and empty sanctuaries. (1) *And ha-ving sealed* ] By the sending of *Annius Gabinius*, who diuided also all the land into fise parts, *Hircanus*. and set rulers ouer them all. *Iosephus* saith that in *Cæsars* warre against *Ptolomy*, *Hircanus* and *Antipater* sent him ayde, wherevpon hauing ended the warre hee made *Hircanus* high priest, and *Antipater* ( according to his choice ) prouost of the whole land. *De bello Iud. lib. 1. & in Antiq. lib. (m)* *And within a few* ] *Antipater* dying, made his sonne *Hircanus*, ( a dull and sloathfull youth ) gouernor of Ierusalem, and *Herode* ( beeing as then scarcely fiteene yeare old ) ruler of Galilee, who by his vertues, surmounting his age, quickly got the hearts of all the Syrians, and so by a bribe (paide by them) got the gouernment of Syria from *Sextus Cæsar*, who as then held it: and afterwardes helping *Octauius* and *Antony* greatly, in the warre of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, got the stile of King of Iudæa, giuen him by the Senate, hee beeing an Idumæan borne. So was *Iacobs* prophecy at his death, fulfilled, which alone might bee of power sufficient to shew the *Messias* to the Iewes, but that their eyes by Gods secret iudgements are so wholly sealed vp, and enclouded.

*Of the words becomming flesh, our Sauours birth:  
and the dispersion of Iewes.*

CHAP. 46.

**H**erod reigning in Iudæa, Romes gouernment being changed, and (a) *Augustus Cæsar* being Emperour, the world beeing all at peace, Christ (according to the precedent prophecy) was borne in Bethlem of Iudah, beeing openly man of his Virgin-mother, and secretly God, of God his father: for so the Prophet had said: (b) *Behold, a Virgin shall conceiue, and beare a sonne: and she shall call his name, Emanuel, that is, God with vs.* Now he shewed his deity by many miracles, which as farre as concerneth his glory and our saluation, are recorded in the Gospell. The first is his miraculous birth, the last his as miraculous ascension. But the Iewes who reiected him, and slew him ( according to the needfulnesse of his death, and resurrection ) after that were miserably spoiled by the Romanes, chased all into the slauery of strangers, and dispersed ouer the face of the whole earth. For they are in all places with their Testament, to shew that we haue not forged those prophecies of Christ; which many of them considering, both before his passion and after his resurrection, beleued in him, and they are the remnant that are saued through grace. But the rest were blinde, as the psalme saith, *Let their table be made a snare before them, and their prosperity their ruine: let their eyes be blinded that they see not, and make their loines alway to tremble.* For in refusing to beleue our scriptures, their owne ( which they read with blindnesse ) are fulfilled vpon them. Psal. 69  
22.23

!(c) Some may say that the *Sybills* prophecies which concern the Iewes, are but fictions of the christians: but that sufficeth vs that wee haue from the bookes of our enemies, which wee acknowledge in that they preferue it for vs against their wills, themselues and their bookes beeing dispersed as farre as GODS Church is extended and spread; in euery corner of the world; as that prophecy of the psalme which they themselues doe read, fore-telleth them. *My mercifull GOD will preuent mee, GOD will let me see my desire vpon mine enemies: slay them not least my people forget it, but scatter them abroad with thy power,* here did GOD shew his mercy to his church euen vpon the Iewes his enemies, because ( as the

Apostle faith / through their fall commeth saluation to the Gentiles. And therefore hee slew them not, that is hee left them their name of Iewes still, although they bee the Romaines slaues, least their vter dissolution should make vs forget the law of GOD concerning this testimony of theirs. So it were nothing to say, *Slaye them not*, but that he addeth, *Scatter them abroade*: For if they were not dispersed through-out the whole world with their Scriptures, the Church should want their testimonies concerning those prophecies fulfilled in our *Messias*.

### L. VIVES.

**A** *Vgnstus* (a) [ *Caesar* ] In the forty and two yeare of his reigne, and of the world five thousand one hundred ninety and nine, was *Christ* borne. Him-selfe, and *M. Plautius* being Consuls. *Euseb. Cassiodorus* referreth it to the yeare before, *Cn. Lentulus*, and *M. Messala* being Consuls. (b) *Behold a Virgin* ] *Shall take a sonne into her wombe*, say the seauentie. (c) *Some may say* ] But not truly: for *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* cited them when the bookes were common in all mens hands. Where if they had quoted what those bookes contained not, it would both haue beene impudence on their parts, and disgrace to the cause of *Christ*. Besides *Ouid* and *Virgil* vse many of the *Sybills* verses, which can concerne none but *Christ*, as *Virgills* whole fourth *Eglogue* is, and his digression vpon the death of *Caesar*. *Georg. 1.* And likewise in *Ouid* wee read these.

*Esse quoq; in fatis reminiscitur affore terris  
Quo mare, quo tellus correptaque regia Cali,  
Ardeat et mundi moles operosa labores.*

There is a time when heauen ( men say ) shall burne,  
When ayre, and sea, and earth, and the whole frame,  
Of this huge masse shall all to ashes turne.

And likewise this.

*Et Deus humana lustrat sub imagine terras.*

God takes a view of earth in humaine shape.

And such also hath *Lucane* in his *Pharfalian warre. liber 12.* Now if they say that all the assertions of ours ( recorded by great Authors ) bee fictions, let mee heare the most direct truth that they can affirme, and I will finde one Academike or other amongst them that shall make a doubt of it.

*whether any but Israelites. before Christs time, belonged to the  
Citty of God. CHAP. 47.*

**VV** Herefore any stranger be he no Israelite borne, nor his workes allowed for canonicall by them, if hee haue prophecied of *Christ*, that wee can know or rehearse, may bee added vnto the number of our testimonies: not that wee need his words, but because it is no error to beleue that there were some of the Gentiles, to whom this mystery was reuealed, and who were inspired by the spirit of prophecie to declare it: were they elect or reprobate, & taught by the euill spirits, whom we know confessed *Christ* being come, though the Iewes denied him.

Nor

Nor do I thinke the Iewes dare auerre, that (a) no man was saued after the propagation of Israel, but Isralites: Indeed there was no other people properly called the people of God. But they cannot deny that some particular men liued in this world and in other nations that were belonging to the Heauenly hierarchy. If they deny this, the story of (b) holy *Iob* cō: uinceth them, who was neither a natiue Isralite, nor (c) a profelitte, adopted by their law, but borne and buried in Idumæa: and yet (d) is hee so highly commended in the scriptures, that there was none of his time (it seemes) that equalled him in righteoufnesse, whose time though the Chronicles expresse not, yet out of the canonicall authority of his owne booke wee gather him to haue liued in (e) the third generation after Israel. Gods prouidence (no doubt) intended to giue vs an instance in him, that there might be others in the nations that liued after the law of God, and in his seruice thereby attaining a place in the celestially Hierusalem: which we must thinke none did but such as fore-knew the comming of the *Messias*, mediator betweene God and man, who was prophecied vnto the Saints of old that he should come iust as we haue seene him to haue come in the flesh: thus did one faith vnite all the predestinate into one city, one house, and one Temple for the liuing God. But what other Prophecies soeuer there passe abroad concerning Christ the vicious may suppose: that we haue forged, therefore there is no way so sure to batter downe all contentions in this kinde, as by citing of the prophecies conteyned in the Iewes booke: by whose dispersion from their proper habitations all ouer the world, the Church of Christ is hapily increased.

## L. VIVES.

**T**hat (a) No man. Nature being vnpolluted with vicious opinion might possibly guide one to God as well as the law of *Moyfes*, for what these get by the law, those might get without it, and come to the same perfection that the Iewes came, seeking the same end: nor was their difference other then if one traoueller should cary an Itinerary of his way with him, [The Lord and the other trust onely his memory, [ So may he also now a dayes, that liueth in the faith- uaine colleffe Iles of the Ocean, and neuer heard of Christ, attaine the glory of a Christian by keeping py defect the two abstracts of all the law and the Prophets. perfect loue of God and his neighbour: such tiue in all a conscience is a law to man, and according to the Psalmist. *We remembreth the name of the this.*] *Lord in the night, and keepeth his lame.* This hath hee that seeth the Lords righteoufnesse: so great a blessing is it to bee good, although you haue not one to teach you goodnesse. And what wanteth here but water? for here is the holy spirit as well as in the Apostles: as *Peter* witnesseth of some who receiued that, before euer the water touched them. So the nations that haue no law but natures, are a law to them-selues, the light of their liuing well is the giuft of God comming from his sonne, of whome it is said. *Hee is the light which lighteth euery man that commeth into the world.*] (b) Holy *Iob*. His holy history, saith hee was of the Land of Huz. *Hierome* saith Huz buylt Damascus, and Traconitide and ruled betweene Palestina and Cælosiria: this the scauenty intimate in their translation. Huz was of the sonne of *Aram*, the brother of *Abraham*. There was an other Uz descended froth *Esau* but *Hierome* excludeth him from *Iobs* kindred, admitting that sonne of *Aram*, for that (saith hee) it is in the end of the booke where hee is said to be the forth from *Esau*, is because the booke was translated out of Syrian, for it was not written in the Hebrew. *Phillip* the Priest, the next commentator vpon *Iob* after *Hierome* saith thus: (*Huz* and *Buz* were the sons of *Nachor*, *Abrahams* brother begot of *Melcha*, sifter to *Sarah*. It is credible that this holy man (*Iob*) dwelt in the Land that bore his fathers name: and that hee was rather of the stocke of *Nachor* then of *Esau*; though some suspect the contrary, but the three Kings (to wit *Eliphaz*; *Bildad*, and *Zophane*) were of the generation of *Esau*. Thus saith *Phillip*. So that *Iob* was sonne to *Nachor*, by *Melcham*. *Origen* followeth the vulgar, and saith that hee was an *Vzzite* borne

borne & bred, and there liued. Now they, & the Minæites, and Euchæites & the Themanites, are all of the race of *Eſau*, or *Edom*, *Iſaacs* ſonne: and all Idumæa was as then called *Edom*: but now they are all called Arabians, both the Idumæans, Ammonites and Moabites. This is the opinion of *Origen*, and the vulgar, and like-wiſe of ſome of the Gentiles, as of *Ariſteus Hiſt.* Aprofelyte. *Indaic. &c.* (c) *Aprofelite*] Comming from heatheniſme to the law of *ἁγιωγραφία*, to come to (d) *So highly commended*] In the booke of *Iob*, and *Exech. 14.* (e) *In the third generation*] Some thinke that *Geneſis* mentioneth him vnder the name of *Iafub*, but there is no certenty of it. *Hierome* ſaith that *Eliphaz*, *Eſau's* ſonne by *Adah*, is the ſame that is mentioned in the booke of *Iob*: which if it be ſo, *Iob* liued in the next generation after *Iacob*.

*Aggees prophecy of the glory of Gods houſe, fulfilled in the Church,  
not in the Temple. CHAP. 48.*

**T**his is that Houſe of God more glorious then the former for all the precious compacture: for *Aggees* prophecy was not fulfilled in the repaying of the Temple, which neuer had that glory after the reſtoring that it had in *Salomons* time: but rather loſt it all, the Prophets ceaſing, and deſtruction enſuing, which was performed by the Romanes as I erſt related. But the houſe of the New Teſtament is of another luſtre, the workemaſhip being more glorious, and the ſtones being more precious. But it was figured in the repaire of the old Temple, becauſe the whole New Teſtament was figured in the old one. Gods prophecy therefore that ſaith, *In that place will I giue peace*, is to be meant of the place ſignified, not of the place ſignificant: that is, as the reſtoring that houſe prefigured the church which Chriſt was to build, ſo GOD, ſaid *in this place*, (that is in the place that this prefigureth) *will I giue peace*, for all things ſignifying, ſeeme to ſupport the perſons of the things ſignified, as *Saint Peter* ſaid: *the Rock was Chriſt*: for it ſignified Chriſt. So then, farre is the glory of the houſe of the New Teſtament aboue the glory of the Old, as ſhall appeare in the finall dedication. Then ſhall the deſire of all nations appeare (as it is in the hebrew): for his firſt comming was not deſired of all the nations, for ſome knew not whom to deſire, nor in whom to beleue. And then alſo ſhall they that are Gods elect out of all nations come (as the LXX. read it) for none ſhall come truely at that day but the elect, of whō the Apoſtle ſaith *As he hath elected vs in him, before the beginning of the world:* for the Architec̄t himſelf, that ſayd, *Many are called but few are choſen*: he ſpoke not of thoſe that were called to the feaſt and then caſt out: but meant to ſhew that hee had built an houſe of his elect, which times worſt ſpight could neuer ruine. But being altogether in the church as yet, to bee hereafter ſifted, the corne from the chaffe; the glory of this houſe cannot be ſo great now, as it ſhalbe then where man ſhalbe alwaies there where he is once.

Ephes, 1, 4

*The Churches increaſe vncertaine, becauſe of the commixtion of elect and reprobate in this world. CHAP. 49.*

**T**herefore in theſe miſchieuous daies, wherein the church worketh for his future glory in preſent humility, in feares, in ſorrowes, in labours and in temptations, ioying onely in hope when ſhee ioyeth as ſhe ſhould, many rebroate liue amongſt the elect: both come into the Goſpells Net, and both ſwim at randon in the ſea of mortality, vntill the fiſhers draw them to ſhore, and then the

bad

are throwne from the good, in whom as in his Temple, God is all in all. We acknowledge therefore his words in the psalme, *I would declare and speake of them, but they are more then I am able to expresse, to be truly fulfilled.* This multiplication began at that instant when first *John* his Messenger, and then himselfe in person began to say, *Amend your liues for the Kingdome of God is at hand.* He chose him disciples, and named the Apostles: poore, ignoble, vnlerned men, that what great worke soeuer was done hee might bee seene to doe it in them. He had one, who abused his goodnesse, yet vsed hee this wicked man to a good end, to the fulfilling of his passion, and presenting his church an example of patience in tribulation. And hauing sowne sufficiently the seed of saluation, he suffered, was buried and rose againe; shewing by his suffering what wee ought to endure for the truth, and by his resurrection what we ought for to hope of eternity, (a) besides the ineffable Sacrament of his blood, shed for the remission of sinnes. Hee was forty daies on earth with his disciples after wardes, and in their sight ascended to heauen, ten daies after sending downe his promised spirit vpon them: which in the coming, gaue that manifest and necessary signe of the knowledge in languages of all nations, to signifie that it was but one Catholike church, that in all those nations should vse all those tongues.

## L. VIVES.

**B**esides (a) the ineffable) For Christs suffrance, and his life hath not onely leaft vs the vertue of the Sacraments, but of his example also, whereby to direct ourselues in all good courses

*The Gospell preached, and gloriously confirmed by the blood of the preachers.*

## C H A P. 50.

**A**ND then, as it is written, *The law shall goe forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Ierusalem,* and as Christ had fore-told, when as (his disciples being astonished at his resurrection) he opened their vnderstandings in the scriptures, and told them that it was written thus: *It behoued Christ to suffer, and to rise againe the third day, and that repentance, and remission of sinnes should bee preached in his name amongst all nations beginning at Ierusalem:* and where they asked him of his second coming, and he answered, *It is not for you to know the times and seasons which the father hath put in his owne power: but you shall receiue power of the Holie Ghost when hee shall come vpon you and you shall be witnesses of mee in Ierusalem, and in all Iury and in Samaria, and vnto the utmost part of the earth:* First the church spred it selfe from Ierusalem, and then through Iudæa, and Samaria, and those lights of the world bare the Gospell vnto other nations: for Christ had armed them, saying, *Feare not them that kill the body but are not able to kill the soule:* they had the heate of loue that kept out the cold of feare: finally, by their persons who had seene him aliue, and dead, and aliue againe: and by the horrible persecutions endured by their successors after their death, and by the euer conquered (to others vnconquerable) tortures of the Martires, the Gospell was diffused through all the habitable world: GOD going with it in Miracles, in vertues, and in gifts of the Holy Ghost: in so much that the nations beleuing in him who suffered for their Redemption, in christian loue did hold the blood of those

Martires

Martires in reuerence, which before, they had shed in barbaroufnesse, and the Kings whose edicts afflicted the church came humbly to be warrours vnder that banner which they cruelly before had sought vtterly to abolish: beginning now to persecute the false gods, for whom before they had persecuted the seruants of the true GOD.

*That the Church is confirmed euen by the schismes of Heresies.*

CHAP. 51.

**N**OW the deuill seeing his Temples empty & al running vnto this Redeemer, set heretiques on foote to subert Christ, in a christiã vizar, as if there were allowance for them in the heauenly Ierusalem which their was for contrariety of Philosophers in the deuills Babilõ. Such therfore as in the church of God do distast any thing, and (a) being checked & aduised to beware, do obstinately oppose themselues against good instructions, and rather defend their abominations then discard them, those become Heretikes, and going forth of Gods House, are to be held as our most eager enemies: yet they doe the members of the Catholike Church this good, that their fall maketh them take better hold vpon God, who vseth euill to a good end, and worketh all for the good of those that loue him. So then the churches enemies whatsoeuer, if they haue the power to impose corporall affliction, they exercise her patience: if they baite her with with opposition onely verball, they practise her in her sapience: and shee in louing these enemies excerciseth his beneuolence, and bounty, whether shee goe about them with gentle perswasion or seuer correction: and therefore though the deuill her chiefe opponent, mooue all his vessells against her vertues, cannot iniure her an inch. Comfort she hath in prosperity, to bee confirmed, and constant in aduersity: and excercised is shee in this, to bee kept from corrupting in that: Gods prouidence managing the whole: and so tempering the one with the other that the psalmist sayd fitly. *In the multitude of the cares of mine heart thy comforts haue* *ioyed my soule.* And the Apostle also: *Reioycing in hope and patient in tribulation.* For the same Apostles words saying, *All that will liue Godly in Christ shall suffer persecution,* must be held to be in continuall action: for though *ab externo*, abroad, all seeme quiet, no gust of trouble appearing, & that is a great comfort, to the weak especially: yet at home, *ab intus*, there doe wee neuer want those that offend and molest the Godly pilgrim by their deuillish demeanour, blaspheming Christ and the Catholike name, which how much dearer the Godly esteeme, so much more grieue they feele to heare, if lesse respected by their pernicious brethren then they desire it should bee: and the Heretiques themselues, being held to haue Christ, and the Sacraments amongst them, greeue the hearts of the righteous extreamely, because many that haue a good desire to christianity, stumble at their dissentions, and againe many that oppose it, take occasion hereby to burden it with greater calamities: the Heretiques bearing the name of christians also. These persecutions befall Gods true seruants by the vanity of others errors, although they be quiet in their bodily estate: this persecution toucheh the heart, and not the body: as the psalme saith, *in the multitude of the cares of mine heart: not of my body.* But then againe, when wee reuolue the immutability of Gods promises, who as the Apostle saith, *knoweth who be his*, whom hee hath predestinate to (b) be made like the Image of his Sonne, their shall not one of these bee

lost

Psal. 94, 19  
Rom. 12,  
12  
2 Tim. 3

lost: therefore the psalme addeth. *Thy comforts haue ioyed my soule.* Now the sorrow that the Godly feeleth for the peruerfnesse of euill, or false christians, is good for their owne soules, if it proceed of charity, not desyring their destruction nor the hindrance of their saluation: and the reformation of such, yeeldeth great comfort to the deuout soule, redoubling the ioy now, for the griefe that it felt before for their errors. So then in these malignant daies, not onely from Christ and his Apostles time, but euen from holy *Abell* whom his wicked brother slew, so along vnto the worlds end, doth the church trauell on hir pilgrimage, now suffering worldly persecutions, and now receiuing diuine consolations.

The sorrow of the Godly.

## L. VIVES.

**B**Eing (a) checked] Heretiques are first to be quietly instructed by the church, & letten know that their positions are vnchristian: which if they obstinately auer, then their contumacy is as pernicious to their soules as their doctrine. (b) To be made] Made, is not in Saint Pauls text.

*Whether the opinion of some, be credible, that there shalbe no more persecutions after the ten, past, but the eleauenth, which is that of Antichrists.*

## CHAP. 52.

**B**UT I thinke that that is not to be rashly affirmed, which some doe thinke *viz.* that the church shall suffer no more persecutions vntill Antichrists time, then the ten already past, that his shalbe the eleauenth and last. The (a) first was vnder *Nero*, the (b) second by *Domitian*, the third by *Traian*, the (c) fourth by *Antoninus*, the (d) fift by *Seuerus*, the (e) sixt by *Maximinus*, the (f) seauenth by *Decius*, the (g) eight by *Valerian*, the (h) ninth by *Aurelian*, the (i) tenth by *Diocletian*, & *Maximian*. For some hold (k) the plagues of *Egypt* being ten in number before Israels freedome, to haue referencē vnto these, Antichrists eleauenth persecutiō being like the Egyptians pursuite of *Israel* in the read sea, in which they were all drowned. But I take not those euents in *Egypt* to bee any way pertinent vnto these, either as prophecies, or figures, although they that hold other-wise haue made a very ingenious adaptation of the one to the other, but not by the spirit of prophecy, but onely by humaine coniecture, which some-times may erre, as well as not: for what will they that hold this affirme of the persecution where in *Christ* was killed? What ranke shall that haue amongst the rest? If they except this, and hold that such onely are to be reckned as belong to the body and not to the head, what say they to that after the ascension, where *Steuē* was stoned, and *James* the brother of *John* beheaded, and *Peter* shut vp for the slaughter, but that the Angell freed him? where the brethren were chased from *Ierusalem*, and *Saul*, (afterwards made an Apostle and called *Paul*) plaid the pursuant amongst them, haling them out to destruction? and where he himselfe also being conuerted, and preaching the faith which he had persecuted, suffered such afflictions as a foretimes hee had laid vpon others, wheresoeuer hee preached, vnto Iewes or Gentiles? why do they begin at *Nero*, when the church was neuer without persecutions of all the time before, wherof it is too tedious to recount the particulars.

If



If they will not beginne but at persecutions by a King, why (l) *Herod* was a King, who did the church extreame iniury after Christs ascention? Againe (m) why are not *Julians* villanies reckned amongst the ten? was not hee a persecutor that (n) forbad to teach the christians the liberall artes? was not (o) *Valentinian* the elder ( who was the third Emperor after him ) deprived of his generallship, for confessing of Christ? to (p) leaue all the massacres begun at Antioche, by this wicked Apostata, vntill one faithfull and constant young man lying in tortures an whole day, continually singing psalmes, and praying of GOD, did with his patience so terrifie the persecuting Atheist that hee was both afraid and ashamed to proceed. Now lastly (q) *Valens*, and *Arrian*, brother to the aboue-named *Valentinian*, hath not hee afflicted the easterne church with all extreamity, euen now before our eyes? What a lame consideration is it to collect the persecutions endured by an vniuersall church vnder one Prince, and in one nation, and not in another? cannot a church so farre diffused, suffer affliction in one perticular nation but it must suffer in all? perhaps they will not haue the christians persecution in Gothland, (r) by their owne King for one, who martired a many true Catholikes, as wee heard of diuers brethren who had scene, it liuing in those parts when they were children: and (s) what say they to Persia? Hath not the persecution there, chased diuers euen vnto the townes of the Romanes? It may be now quiet, but it is more then wee can tell. Now all these considerations laid together, and such like as these are, maketh me thinke that the number of the churches persecutions is not to bee defined: but to affirme that there may bee many inflicted by other Kings before that great and assured one of Antichrist; were as rash an assertion as the other: let vs therefore leaue it in the midst, neither affirming nor contradicting, but onely controwling the rashnesse of both in others.

## L. VIVES.

*Suetonius*  
and *Tacitus*  
againe  
the christi-  
ans.

**T**He first (a) was] Of these writeth *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* of this first *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* make mention, *Suetonius* calling the christians *men of new and pernicious superstition. in Nerone*, And *Tacitus* calleth them, *Hated for their wickednesse, guilty, and worthy of utmost punishment. lib. 15.* Oh sencelesse men, *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*! Can your bestiall and luxurious *loue* seeme a God vnto you, and Christ seeme none? call you an vnion in innocency, execrable superstition, and hold you them worthy of punishment, whose chiefe lawes is, to doe no man hurt, and all men good? If you haue not read our lawes why condemne you vs? If you haue, why reprocue you vs, seeing wee embrace those vertues which your best writers so highly admire. (b) The second] *Nero's* three ended vnder *Vespasian*, who suffred the christians to liue in quiet, and so did his sonne *Titus* after him. But *Domitiannus Caluus Nero*, to proue himselfe right *Nero*, begunne the persecution againe, banishing *Saint Iohn* into *Pathmos*: This, and the third of *Traian*, is all one: for *Domitian* begunne it and it lasted vnto *Traian*, successor vnto *Nerna*, who succeeded *Domitian*, and held the Empire little more then a yeare. There is an Epistle extant vnto *Traian* from *Pliny* the younger, Regent of Asia, asking how he woul haue him to vse the christians, seeing hee saw no hurt in them, reckning vp their hurtlesse meetings, praiers, hymnes, communions, &c. and affirming that the name spred so farre that the altars of the gods cooled, and the priests were almost starued. *Traian* biddeth him not seeke them out, but if they bee accused vnto him punish them, vnlesse they will recant &c. [O would wee christians could vse this moderation vnto others.] In this persecution was *Simon Cleophas* second Bishoppe of Ierusalem, martired. (c) The fourth] For *Adrian* was a secret fauourite of Christ, and would haue deified him amongst his other gods, but that some told him, all the rest would goe downe if Christ once came vp, *Antoninus Pius* also did lighten their affliction by an

*Domitian.*

*Hadrian.*  
*Antoninus*

an edict. But this *Antonine* that caused the fourth persecution was the Philosopher who ruled with *Antonius verus*: In this persecution were *Policarpe* and *Pionius* martyred in Asia: and many in France, whose sufferings are left recorded. *Iustine* martyr also suffered at this time *Euseb. lib. 4. Hist. Eccl. (d) The fifth by Seueus.* He had good fortune to become Emperor, for hee was an African, a fierce and bloody fellow. He forbade Christianity vpon a deadly penalty. (*Æl. Spartian.*) and plagued the Christians all Egypt ouer, chietely in Thebais. *Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 5. Alexander* Bishop of Hierusalem was martyred at this time. (*e*) *The sixth.* *Maximinus* was a Thracian borne, his father a Goth, his mother a Seythian: barbarous in descent, body and mind. His strength preferd him from a common soldiour to a commander. And *Alexander Mammea* her sonne being killed, the soldiours made him Emperor. He was most proud and cruell. He persecuted the priests, as the especiall causers of christianity *Euse. (f) By Decius.* Borne in Bubalia, a part of the lower Pannonia. He foyled *Philip* the Emperor in a ciuill fight, and he then succeeded in his place: hating the Christians so much more because *Phillip* fauored them, and putting them to exquisite torments: *S. Lawrence*, he broyled. *Entrop.* Yet ruled he but one year, what would he haue done had he continued? *Fabian* also the Bishop of Rome was martyred vnder him. (*g*) *By Valerian.* Who was crowned three years after *Decius*. He was most vnfortunate: for *Sapor* King of Persia tooke him in fight, and made him his blocke to mount his horse by. *Galien* and he were ioyned Emperors, vnder whome the Empire fell greatly to decay: no maruell, being both deiected, sluggish lumps. In this persecution was *S. Cyprian* Bishop of Carthage martired. (*h*) *By Aurelian.* Third Emperor after *Galien*. A Dane; very fortunat in warre, but bloody and Barbarous, fit for an Empire, and for nothing else: hated, (and so slayne) by his owne friends, who killed him as he went from Byzance to Herculea. (*i*) *Diocletian.* Sonne to *Salon*, a dalmatian, he aspired to the Empire by the contentions of others, and ioyned *Maximianus Hercules* with him, the better to withstand the ingruent warre. Hee was suttile, and cruell, and could easily lay his butcheries on anothers necke. *Maximian* was Barbarous, and brutish euen in Aspect, and serued for *Diocletians* hangman, who grew to such pride that he commanded him-selfe to be adored as a God, and that his foote should be kissed, whereas before, they vsed but to kisse their hands: he persecuted the Church and on Easter-weeke, the nineteenth year of his raigne, commanded all the Churches to be pulled downe, and the Christians to bee killed. *Decius* his persecution was the greatest, but this was the bloudest. (*k*) *The Plagues of Egypt.* This is *Orosius* his opinion. *lib. 7.*

(*l*) *Herod.* His sonne vnder whome Christ was borne. (*m*) *Iulian.* The Apostata, first a Christian, and after-wards an Atheist. He shed no Christian blood, but vsed wouderfull deceites to draw men from Christ: a bitter kind of persecution, taking more hearts from God by that one meanes, then all the violence before had done. (*n*) *Forbad to teach the liberall artes.* His edict was torne in peeces by *S. Iohn*. There was one *Prohairesius* a Sophister of Cæsarea, who coming to Athens was receiued with great applause of the people, to whome he made an extemporall oration in a frequent audience. *Iulian* allowed leaue onely vnto him to teach the Christians: but the learned man hating that Barbarous edict, forooke the towne and scholers, to the great greefe of the students. (*o*) *Valentinian.* An Hungarian, captaine of the targaryers, and saluted Emperor by the soldiours. Being a Christian vnder *Iulian*, he was commanded either to sacrifice vnto the Idols or to resigne his place, which hee resigned willingly, and soone after *Iulian* being slaine, and *Iovinian* dead, he reigned Emperor, receiuing that for his captaine-ship that he had lost for Christs sake. *Entrop.* His sonne, *Valentinian* the younger ruled first with *Gratian* and then with *Theodosius* the great. (*p*) *At Antioche.* *Iulian* bad the Christians remoue the tombe of the martire *Babylas* to some other place, so they went about it singing the Psalme *When Israel went out of Æc.* Which *Iulian* hearing was vexed, & caused diuers of them to be put to torments. *Salustius* was he that had the charge, who tooke a young-man called *Theodorus*, and put him to most intollerable torments, yet he neuer moued, but with a ioyfull countenance continually sung the Psalme that the Church sung the day before, which *Salust* seeing, hee returned him to prison, and went to *Iulian*, telling him that if hee tortured any more of them, it would redownd to their glory and his shame: where-vpon hee ceased. *Eusebins* saith that him-selfe talked with this *Theodorus* at Antioch and asked him if hee felt no payne; who told him no: for there stood a young-man behind

me in a white raiment, who oftentimes sprinkled cold water vpon me, and wiped my sweat away with a towell as white as snow, so that it was rather paine to mee to bee taken from the racke. (g). *Valens*] An Arrian : when *Augustine* was a youth, this Emperour made a law that Monkes should goe to the warres, and those that would not, hee sent his souldiors to beate them to death with clubbes. An huge company of those Monkes liued in the deserts of Egypt. *Euseb. Entrop. Oros. (r) By their owne*] Immediately after *Valens* his death : Arianisme as then raging in the church. (f) *In Persia*] Vnder King *Gororanes*, a deuillish persecutor who raged because *Abdias* an holy bishop had burnt downe all the Temples of the Persians great god, their fire. *Cassiod. Hist. trip. lib. 10. Sapor* also persecuted sore in *Constantines* time, a little before this of *Gororanes*.

*Of the vnknowne time of the last persecution.*

CHAP. 53.

**T**He last persecution vnder Antichrist, Christs personall presence shall extinguish. For, *He shall consume him with the breath of his mouth, and abolish him with the brightnesse of his wisdome*, saith the Apostle. And here is an vsuall question: when shall this bee? it is a saucy one. If the knowledge of it would haue done vs good, who would haue reuealed it sooner then Christ vnto his disciples? for they were not bird-mouthed vnto him, but asked him, saying: *Lord wilt thou at this time (a) restore the Kingdome to Israel*. But what said he? *It is not for you to knowe the (b) times or seasons which the Father hath put in his owne power*. They asked him not of the day or houre, but of the time, when hee answered them thus. In vaine therefore doe wee stand reckning the remainder of the worlds yeares, wee heare the plaine truth tell vs, *it befits vs not to knowe them*. Some talke how it shall last 400. some five hundred, some a thousand yeares after the Ascension, euery one hath his vie, it were in vaine to stand shewing vpon what grounds; In a word, their coniectures are all humane, grounded vpon no certenty of scripture. For hee that said, *It is not for you to knowe the times &c.* stoppes all your accounts and biddes you leaue your calculations.

2. Theff, 2  
8.  
  
A damnable fiction  
accusing  
Peter of  
sorcery.

But (c) this being an Euangelicall sentence, I wonder not that it was not of power to respreffe the audacious fictions of some infidels touching the continuance of christian religion. For those, obseruing that these greatest persecutions did rather increase then suppress the faith of CHRIST, intiented a sort of greeke verses (like as if they had beene Oracle) conteyning how CHRIST was cleare of this sacreledge, but that *Peter* had by magike founded the worship of the name of CHRIST for three hundred three score and five yeares, and at that date, it should vtterly cease. Oh learned heads! Oh rare inuentions! fit to belecue those things of CHRIST since you will not beleue in CHRIST: to wit, that *Peter* learned magike of CHRIST: yet was he innocent: and that his disciple was a witch, and yet had rather haue his Masters name honored then his owne, working to that end with his magike, with toile, with perills, and lastly with the effusion of his blood! If *Peters* witch-craft made the world loue CHRIST so well, what had CHRISTs innocence done that *Peter* should loue him so well? Let them answer, and (if they can) conceiue that it was that supernall grace that fixed CHRIST in the hearts of the nations for the attainment of eternall blisse: which grace also made

*Peter*

*Peter* willing to endure a temporall death for CHRIST, by him to bee receiued into the sayd eternity. And what goodly gods are these that can preface these things and yet not pretent them? but are forced by one witch and (as they affirme) by one (c) child-slaughtering sacrifice, to suffer a sect so iniurious to them to preuaile against them so long time, and to beare downe all persecutions by bearing them with patience, and to destroy their Temples, Images, and sacrifices? which of their gods is it (none of ours it is) that is compelled to worke these effects by such a damned oblation? for the verses say that *Peter* dealt not with a deuill, but with a god, in his magicall operation. Such a god haue they, that haue not CHRIST for their GOD.

## L. VIVES.

At this time (a) restore] So it must bee read, not represent, (b) It is not for you] He forbid- Against  
 deeth all curiosity, referuing the knowledge of things to come onely to himselfe. Now let calculators,  
 my figure-flingers, and mine old wiues, that hold Ladies and scarlet potentates by the eares,  
 with tales of thus and thus it shalbe; let them all goe packe. Nay sir he doth it by Christs  
 command: why very good, you see what Christs command is. Yet haue wee no such de-  
 light as in lies of this nature, and that maketh them the bolder in their fictions, thinking that  
 wee hold their meere desire to tell true, a great matter in so strange a case. (c) *Euangelicall*]  
 Spoken by Christ, and written by an Euangelist. Indeed Christs ascension belongeth to the  
 Gospell and that Chap. of the Actes had been added to the end of *Lukes* Gospell but that his  
 preface would haue made a seperation. (d) *Child-slaughtering*] The Pagans vsed to vp- Killing of  
 braid the Christians much with killing of Children. *Terrull Apologet.* It was a filthy lie. children  
 Indeed the *Caraphrygians* and the *Pepuzians*, two damned sects of heresie, vsed to prick a yong cast in the  
 childes body all ouer with needles, and so to wring out the blood, wherewith they tempered Christians  
 their past for the Eucharisticall bread. *Aug. ad Quodvultd.* So vsed the *Enchite* and the *Gnostici*, teeth,  
 for to driue away deuills with. *Psell.* But this was euer held rather villanies of magike then Caraphry-  
 rites of christianity. gians.

*The Pagans foolishnesse in affirming that Christianity should  
 last but 36. yeares.*

## CHAP. 54.

I Could gather many such as this, if the yeare were not past that those lies pre-  
 fixed and those fooles expected. But seeing it is now about three hundred  
 sixty five yeares, since Christs coming in the flesh, and the Apostles preaching  
 his name, what needeth any plainer confutation. For to omit Christs infancy  
 and child-hood wherein he had no disciples, yet after his baptisme in Iordan, by  
*John*, as soone as he called some disciples to him, his name assuredly began to bee  
 diuulged, of whom the Prophet had said, *hee shall rule from sea to sea, and from the  
 riner to the lands end.* But because the faith was not definitiuelly decreed vntill  
 after his passron, to wit, in his resurrection for so saith *Saint Paul* to the Athe-  
 nians: *Now hee admonisheth all men every where, to repent, because hee hath appoin-*  
*ted a daie in which hee will iudge the world in righteousnesse. by that man in whom* AG. 17. 30  
*hee hath appointed a faith vnto all men, in that hee hath raised him from the dead:*  
 Wee shall doe better for the solution of this question, to beginne at that time,  
 Sff 2 chiefly

chiefly because then the Holy Spirit descended vpon that society wherein the second law the New Testament was to bee professed, according as Christ had promised. For the first law, the Old Testament was giuen in *Sina* by *Moses*, but the later which Christ was to giue was prophecied in these words: *The law shall goe forth of Zion, and the word of the LORD from Ierusalem.* Therefore hee said himselfe that it was fit that repentance should bee preached in his name throughout all nations, yet beginning at Ierusalem. There then beganne the beleefe in CHRIST crucified and risen againe. There did this faith heate the heartes of diuers thousands already, who sold their goods to giue to the poore and came cheerefully to CHRIST and to voluntary pouerty, withstanding the assaults of the bloud-thirsty Iewes with a pacience stronger then an armed power.

If this now were not done by Magike, why might not the rest, in all the world bee as cleare? But if *Peters* magike had made those men honour Christ, who both crucified him and derided him beeing crucified, then I aske them when their three hundred three score and five yeares must haue an end? CHRIST died in the (a) two *Geminis* consulshippe, the eight of the Calends of Aprill: and rose againe the third daie, as the Apostles saw with their eyes, and felt with their hands: fortie daies after ascended hee into Heauen, and tenne daies after (that is fiftie after the resurrection) came the Holy Ghost, and then three thousand men beleued in the Apostles preaching of him. So that then his name beganne to spread, as wee beleue, and it was truly prooued, by the operation of the Holy Ghost: but as the Infidels feigne, by *Peters* magike. And soone after five thousand more beleued through the preaching of *Paul*, and *Peters* miraculous curing of one that had bene borne lame and lay begging at the porch of the Temple: *Peter* with one word. *In the name of our LORD IESVS CHRIST*, set him sound vpon his feete. Thus the church gotte vpe by degrees. Now reckon the yeares by the Consulships from the descension of the Holie Spirit that was in the Ides of Maie, vnto the consulshippe of (b) *Honorius*, and *Eutychian*, and you shall finde full three hundred three score and five yeares, expired. Now in the next yeare, in the consulship of (c) *Theodorus Manlius* when christianity should haue bene vtterly gone (according to that Oracle of deuills, or fiction of fooles:) what is done in other places, wee neede not inquire, but for that famous cittie of Carthage wee know that *Iouius* and *Gaudentius*, two of *Honorius* his Earles, came thether on the tenth of the Calends of Aprill, and brake downe all the Idols, and pulled downe their Temples.

It is now thirty yeares agoe since, (almost) and what increase christianity hath had since, is apparant inough: and partly by a many whom the expectation of the fulfilling of that Oracle kept from beeing reconciled to the truth, who since are come into the bosome of the church, discouering the ridiculousnesse of that former expectation. But wee that are christians *re & ore*, in deed and name, doe not beleue in *Peter*, but in (f) him that *Peter* beleued in. Wee are edified by *Peters* sermons of Christ, but not bewitched by his charmes nor deceiued by his magike, but furthered by his religion. CHRIST, that taught *Peter* the doctrine of eternitie, teacheth vs also. But now it is time to set an end to this booke, wherein as farre as neede was wee haue runne along with the courses of the Two Citties in their confused

The christians beleue not in *Peter* but in CHRIST.

progress

progress: the one of which, the Babilon of the earth, hath made her false gods of mortall men, seruing them and sacrificing to them as shee thought good, but the other, the heauenly Ierusalem shee hath sticke to the onely and true GOD, and is his true and pure sacrifice her selfe. But both of these doe feele one touch of good and euill fortune, but not with one faith, nor one hope, nor one law: and at length, at the last iudgement they shall bee seuered for euer, and either shall receiue the endlesse reward of their workes. O these two endes wee are now to discourse.

## L. VIVES.

**I**n the (a) two] First, sure it is, Christ suffered vnder *Tyberius* the Emperor. *Luke* the Euange- The time.  
-list maketh his baptisme to fall in the fiftenth yeare of *Tyberius* his reigne. So then his pas- of Chri. st's  
sion must be in the ei- hteenth or ninteenth, for three yeares hee preached saluation. *Hier.* So death.  
saith *Eusebius*, alledging heathen testimonies of that memorable eclips of the Sunne, as name-  
ly out of *Phlegon*, a writer of the Olympiads: who saith that in the fourth yeare of the two  
hundred and two Olympiade (the eighteenth of *Tyberius* his reigne) the greatest eclips be-  
fell, that euer was. It was midnight-darke at noone-day, the starres were all visibler, and an  
earth-quake shooke downe many houses in Nice a city of Bythinia. But the two *Gemini*, *Ru-*  
*bellius*, and *Fufius*, were Consulls in the fiftenth yeare of *Tyberius*, as is easily proued out of  
*Tacitus lib. 5.* and out of *Laetantius lib. 4. cap. 10.* where hee saith that in that yeare did Christ  
suffer, and him doth *Augustine* follow here. But *Sergius Galba* (afterwards Emperor) and *L.*  
*Sylla* were Consulls in the eighteenth yeare. (b) *Honorius* and *d*] In the consuls-  
*Stilicon* draue the Gothes and Vandals into Italy. *Honorius* the Emperor beeing Consull the  
fourth time. *Prosper* saith this was not vntill the next yeare, *Stilicon* and *Aurelian* beeing  
Conss. (c) *Theodorus*] *Claudian* made an excellent Panegyrike, for his consuls-  
ship, wherein hee sheweth that hee had beene Consul before. *Prosper* maketh him Consul before *Honorius* his  
fourth Consuls-ship, but I thinke this is an error in the time, as well as in the copie. For it must  
bee read, *Being the second time Consul.* *Entropius* the Eunuch was made Consull with him, but  
soone after hee was put to death. Wherevpon it may bee that *Entropius* his name was blotted  
out of the registers, and *Theodorus Manlius* (hauing no fellow) was taken for two, *Theodorus*  
and *Manlius*, as *Cassiodorus* taketh him, but mistakes himselfe. Yet about that time, they began  
to haue but one Consull. (d) Now 30 yeares] Vnto the third yeare of *Theodosius Iunior*, where-  
in *Augustine* wrote this. (e) In him that Peter] For who is Paul, and who is Apollo? the mini-  
sters by whom you beleene.

Finis lib. 18.

Sff 3

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## FINIS.

THE  
NINETEENTH BOOKE  
OF THE CITTIE OF GOD:

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishop of *Hippo*,  
vnto *Marcellinus*.

*That Varro obserued 288. sects of the Philosophers in their  
question of the perfection of goodnesse.*

CHAP. I.



Hereas I am now to draw my discourse (from the progresse) vnto the consumation of the state of those two hierarchies, the celestiall and the terrestriall, I must therefore first lay downe their arguments (as farre as the quantity befeeming this volume may permit) who intend to make them-selues vp a beatitude extant euen in the continuall misfortunes of manstemporall mortality: wherein my purpose is to paralell their vaine positions with our assured hope which GOD hath giuen vs, and with the object of that assurance, namely the true blessednesse which he will giue vs: that so, confirming our assertions both with holy scriptures, and with such reasons as are fitt to be produced against Infidels, the difference of their grounds and ours, may bee the more fully apparant. About that question of the finall good, the Philosophers haue kept a wonderfull coyle amongst them-selues: seeking in euery cranke and cauerne thereof, for the true beatitude: for that is the finall good, being onely desired for it selfe, all other goods hauing in their attainments a reference vnto that alone. We do not call that the finall good, which endeth goodnesse, that is, which maketh it nothing: but that which profiteth it, which giueth it fulnesse of perfection; nor do wee call that the end of all euill, whereby it ceaseth to bee euill, but that point which mischiefe ariseth vnto, still reseruing the mischieuous nature, that we call the end of mischiefe. So then the great good and the greatest euill, are the ends of all good and euill: the finall goodnesse, and the finall badnesse. About which two there hath beene wonderfull inquisition, to auoide the finall euill and attaine the finall good: this was the daily endeuour of our worldly Philosophers: who though they were guilty of much exorbitance of error, yet the bounds of nature were such limits to their *Aphorismes* that they sought no further then either the body, the mind, or both, wherein to place this *summum bonum* of theirs. From this tripartite foundation hath *M. Varrō* in his booke *De Philosophia*, most wittily and diligently obserued 288. sects to haue originall, not in *esse*, but in *posse*, so many feuerall positions may bee drawne from those three fountaines: of which to make a brieue demonstration, I must begin with that which hee rehearseth in the booke afore named. *viz.* That there are foure things which euery one desireth by nature, without helpe of maister or industry; or that habite of life which is called (*a*) vertue, and is learned by degrees: namely, eyther sensible pleasure, or sensible rest, or both, (*b*) (which *Epicurus* calleth by one name of pleasure) or (*c*) the vniuerfall first positions of nature, wherein these and the rest are included, as in the body, health and strength, and in the minde, sharpnesse of witte,

Four  
things desi-  
red by man  
in nature.

5 ff 4

and



and soundnesse of iudgement : these foure therefore , pleasure, rest, both, and natures first positives , are in the fabricke of man vnder these respects, that either vertue ( the effect of doctrine ) is to be desired for them, or for it selfe, or they for vertue or for themselues. And here are foundations for twelue sects, for by this meanes they are all tripled : I will show it in one, and that will make it apparant in all the rest. Bodily pleasure, being either set vnder vertue, aboue it, or equall with it, giueth life to three diuers opinions. It is vnder vertue when vertue ruleth it and vseth it, for it is a vertue to liue for our countries good, and for the same end to beget our children: neither of which can be excluded from corporall delight, for without that wee neither eat, to liue, nor vse the meanes of carnall generation. But when this pleasure is preferred before vertue, then is it affected in meere respect of it selfe, and vertues ataynement is wholly referred vnto that, that is all vertues acts must tend to the production of corporall pleasure, or else to the preseruacion of it : which is a deformed kind of life, because therein, vertue is slave to the commands of voluptuousnes : ( though indeed, that cannot properly bee called vertue that is so.) But yet this deformity could not want patronage and that by many Philosophers. Now pleasure and vertue are ioyned in equality when they are both sought for them selues, no way respecting others. Wherefore, as the subiection, preheminance, or equality of vertue vnto voluptuousnesse, maketh three sects, so doth rest, delight and rest, and the first positives of nature make three more in this kinde, for they haue their three places vnder, aboue, or equall to vertue, as well as the other: thus doth the number arise ( *d* ) vnto twelue. Now adde but one difference, to wit, society of life, and the whole number is doubled : because whosoever followeth any one of these twelue sects, either doth follow it as respecting himselfe or his fellow, to whome he ought to wish aswell as himselfe : So there may bee twelue men that hold those twelue positions each one for their owne respect, and other twelue that hold them in respect of others, whose good they desire as much as their owne. Now bring in but your ( *e* ) new Academikes, and these twenty foure sects become fourty eight, for euery one of these positions may bee either maintained Stoically to bee certaine ( as that of vertue, that it is the sole good ) or Accademically as vncertaine, and not so assuredly true, as likely to bee true. Thus are there twenty foure affirming the certaine truth of those positions, and twenty foure standing wholly for their vncertainty. Againe each of these positions may be defended either in the habite of any other Philosopher or ( *f* ) of a Cynike, and this of fourty eight maketh the whole ninety sixe: Againe these may either be disputed of by such as professe meere Philosophy no way entermedling with affaires of state, or by such as loue argumentation, and yet neuerthelesse keepe a place in politique directions and employments of the weale publike, or by such as professe both, and by a certaine vicissitude, do now play the meere Philosophers, and now the meere politirians : and thus is the number trebled, amounting to two hundred eighty and eight. Thus much, as briefly as I could out of *Varro*, laying downe his doctrine in mine owne formes. But to shew how he confesseth all the rest but one, ( *g* ) and chooseth that, as peculiar to the old Academikes of *Platos* institution, ( continuing to defend certaine *Aphorismes* from him to ( *h* ) *Polemon* the forth that succeded him ) who are quite different from the new nought-affirming Academikes, instituted by ( *i* ) *Archehilas*, *Polemons* successe : to shew *Varros* opinion in this, that the old Academikes were free both of vncertainty and error. It is too tedious to make

a full

a full relation of it, yet may we lawfully (nay and must necessarily) take a view of it in some part: first therefore he remoueth all the differences procuring this multitude of sects, his reason is, they ayme not at the perfection of goodnesse. For hee holdeth not that worthy the name of a sect in Philosophy, (*k*) which differeth not from all others in the maine ends of good and euill: the end of all Philosophy being onely beatitude; which is the maine end and perfection of all goodnesse. This then is the aime of all Philosophers: and such as do not leuell at this are vnworthy that name. Wherefore in that question of society in life, whether a wise man should respect the perfection of goodnesse in his friend as much as in himselfe, or do all that he doth for his owne beatitudes sake: this now doth no way concerne the good it selfe, but the assuming or not assuming of a companion into the participation of it, not for ones owne sake, but for his sake that is admitted, whose good the other affecteth as hee doth his owne. And likewise in these new Academicismes, whether all these assertions be to be held as vncertaine, or with that assurance that other Philosophers defended them: the question medleth not with the nature of that which we are to attaine, as the end of all good, but it asketh whether there be such a thing or no, auerring a doubt hereof rather than an affirmation: that is (to be more plaine) the controuersie is, whether the follower of this perfection may affirme his finall good to be certaine, or onely that it seemeth so, but may be vncertaine, and yet both these intend one good. And likewise againe, for the Cynicall habite, the reality of the good is not called in question, but whether it be to be followed in such a fashion of life and conuersation or no. Finally there haue beene Philosophers that haue affirmed diuersly of the finall good, some placing it in vertue, and some in pleasure, and yet haue all obserued one Cynicall habite and forme of cariage: so that the cause of their being entituled so, had no manner of reference to the perfection that they studied to attaine. For if it had, then should that end bee peculiar to that habite, and not bee communicated with any other.

## L V I V E S.

**A**nd (*a*) is learned] The old Philosophers haue a great adoe about vertues in man: whether it be by laborious acquisition, or naturall infusion. Some hold the later, and some the first: *Plato* is variable. Assuredly vertue is not perfited in any one with-out both, nature & exercise. Three things *virtus, ratio, et exercitio*, nature, reason and practise, are as necessary in the attaining of artes and all good habites, as a fatte soyle, a good seed, and a painfull husband-man, are vnto the obtaining of a fruitfull haruest. *Plutarch* hath a little worke, proouing vertue to bee *industria*. (*b*) Which *Epicurus*] Hee called both sensible delight, and rest full quiet by one onely name, Pleasure. For so doth *Tully* make *Torquatus* an Epicure enough, in his first booke *De finibus*. (*c*) The vniuersall] These are most frequent and peculiarly vsed by the Stoikes. *Cicero* vseth them in many places. (*d*) Vnto *melus*] Omit but vertue in some of those references, and the number will arise to a farre greater sum: comparing pleasure with rest, & then with natures first positiuies, and then compare rest with them, but indeed there was neuer Philosopher so impudent, as to exclude vertue from the seate of felicitie, though he gaue the preheminence vnto pleasure. (*e*) New Academicks] Herein he obserueth the vulgar opinion. For *Varro* in *Tully* saith, that he thinketh that *Socrates* instituted that Academy of *Archefilas*, that it was the elder, and that *Plato* confirmed it, & recorded the positions. *Eusebius* addeth a third Academy of *Carmeades* his institution called the middle Academy. *Prep. euang. lib. 14*. But *Laertius* maketh *Plato* the founder of the old one, *Archefilas* of the middle one, and *Lacydas* (his scholler) of the new one. (*f*) Of a Cynicke] *Antisthenes*, Scholler to *Socrates*, an earnest hater of pleasure, founded this sect: Such were most of the Cynikes after him, yet some were great voluptuaries, where-vpon *Origen* compareth the dogge-flye vnto their sect,

sect, who to draw others vnto the same damnation with them, auouch lust and carnall delight to be the true beatitude. *In Exod.* Now it were strange that this should bee meant of all, the old Cynikes hauing this pro verbe continually in their mouthes, *I had rather runne madde then enioy delight*: I: may bee that *Hierome* followeth *Origen*, in calling *Aristippus* and the Cynikes, the proclainers of voluptuousnesse. *In Ecclesiast.* But wee haue put Cyrenaikes for Cynikes, for that makes the better sence. Note that *Laertius* saith the Cynickes are a true and iust sect of Philosophers, not molified, nor deniable vpon any respect. (g) *And chooseth that*] Which *Tully* also approoueth about all, as almost pure *Aristotelian*. *De fin. lib. 5.* For *Aristotle* had most of his morality that was worth ought, from his maister *Plato*. (h) *Polemon*] *Speusippus*, sisters sonne to *Plato*, was made *Platos* successor in the schoole, but hee growing diseased, resigned the place to *Xenocrates*, who by one oration conuerted this *Polemon* from a lewd and luxurious youth, to become an honest and earnest obseruer of pacience: and after *Xenocrates* death, he taught in his place. *Valer. Maximus* citeth him, as an example of sudden change of manners. There was another *Polemo* surnamed *Hellanicus*, an Historiographer, wee haue vsed his authorities else-where. A third also of this name there was, a sophister in *Lacedicia*. (i) *Archephilus*] Borne in Pitane in *Aeolia*, a *Socratist* in matter and forme: leauing no more recordes of his doctrine himselfe, then *Socrates* did. (k) *Which differeth not*] Hee that amongst the old Philosophers differed from any other in the *summum bonum*, was forthwith reputed of a contrary sect, though he agreed with them in all positions besides.

*Varro his reduction of the small good's of all these differences vnto three heads and three definitions, one onely of which is the true one.*

CHAP. 2.

**T** Herefore in these three sorts of life, the contemplatiue, the actiue, and the mixt, if our question be, which of these we should obserue, we doe not meddle with the finall good, but with the easie or hard attainment of that good, which accompanieth those three seuerall courses: for being attained, the finall good doth immediatly make the attainer blessed. But it is neither contemplation, nor action, nor these two proportioned together, that maketh a man blessed, for one may liue in any of these three fashions, and yet bee farre wide from the true course to beatitude. So then, the questions touching the end of goodnesse, which distinguish all those sects, are farre different from those of society of life, Academicall vncertainty tylicall cariage, and that of the three courses of conuersation, Philosophicall, politique, and neuter. For none of all these doe once meddle with the natures of good and euill. Wherefore *Varro* hauing recited the last foure, whereby the whole summe of opinions amounteth to two hundred eighty eight, because they are not worthy the name of sects, in that they (a) make no mention of the good that is chiefly to be desired, he leaueth them all, and returneth to their first twelue, whose controuersie is about the maine point, *Mans chiefe good*: out of these will he gather one direct truth, and shew all the rest to be false. For first he remooues the three sorts of life, and they carry two parts of the number with them: so there remaines but ninety sixe. Then go the Cynikes, and they carry forty eight with them: so there remaineth but forty eight, then send away the new Academikes with their parts, so there remaines but thirty sixe. And then the sociall conuersation, with the multitude that it brought, so there remaines onely twelue, which no man can deny to be twelue seuerall sects. For their onely difference is the highest parts of good and euill. For the ends of good being found, the euills lye directly opposite. So these twelue sects are produced by the triplication of these foure, Pleasure, rest, both, and (b) natures primitiue affects and habites, which *Varro* calleth *Primogenia*. For they all are made  
either

eyther vertues inferiours, and desired onely in respect of her, or her superiours, and shee desired onely for their sake: or equals, and both are affected for their owne sakes: thus doe they accrew vnto twelue seuerall positions. Now of these foure heads, *Varro* taketh away three: pleasure, rest, and both vnited: not that he disprooues them, but that they are already included in the fourth: namely the first positives of nature, as well as many things more are, and therefore what neede they keepe a number in this ranke? So then of the three remaining deducted from the fourth head, his discourse must wholly be framed, to know which of them is the truth: there can bee but one true one by reason, bee it in these three, or in some other thing, as wee will see afterwards. Meane time let vs briefly see *Varro's* choise of the three: which are these; *whether Natures first positive affects, bee to bee desired for vertues sake, or vertue for theirs, or both for them selues.*

### L. VIVES.

**T**hey (*a*) make no ] For though their true vse seeme to hinder, or further the chiefest good, yet haue they no essentiall reference there-vnto. (*b*) *Natures primitive* ] As health, strength, perfection of the senses, freedome from sorrow, vigor, beauty, and such like: like vnto which are the first seedes of vertue in our mindes, which if depraued opinions would suffer to come to maturity, they alone were sufficient to guide vs to beatitude.

*Varro his choise amongst the three fore-named sects, following therein the opinion of Antiochus, author of the old Academicall sect.*

#### CHAP. 3.

**T**hus hee beginneth to shew in which of them the truth is contained. First, <sup>What man</sup> because the question concerneth not the beatitude of Gods, or beasts, or trees, but of man, he holds fit to examine what man is. Two things he findeth in his nature, body and soule, whereof the soule hee affirms to bee the farre more excellent part. But whether the soule be onely man, and that the body be vnto it, as the horse is to the horse-man, that hee maketh another controuersie of: (for (*a*) the horse-man, is the man alone, not the horse and man both together: yet is it the mans reference to the horse, that giueth him that name.) Or whether the body onely bee the man, hauing that respect vnto the soule that the cup hath to the drinke, (for it is not the cup and the drinke both that are called (*b*) *poculum* in Latine, but the cup onely: yet onely in respect that it containeth the drinke:) or whether it bee both body and soule conioyned, and not seuerall, that is called man, and these two are but his parts, as two Oxen are called a yoake, (which though it consist of one on this side, and another on that, yet call wee neither of them seperately a yoake, but both combined together). Now of those three positions, he chooseth the last, calling the essence composed of body and soule, man, and denying the appellation vnto either of them, being seuerally considered. And therefore (saith he) mans beatitude must be included in the goods that belong ioyntly both to body and soule: so that the prime gifts of nature are to bee desired for them-selues, & that vertue which doctine doth gradually ingrasse in a good minde, is the most excellent good of all. Which vertue or methode of life, hauing receiued those first gifts of nature (which not-with-standing had being,

being, before that they had vertue) it now desireth all things for it selfe, and the owne selfe also: vsing all things together with it selfe, vnto the owne pleasure and delightfull fruition, (A) more or lesse, making a liking vse of all, and yet if necessity require, rather refusing the smaller goods, for the attainment or preferuation of the greater, then otherwise. (e) But euer-more holding it selfe in higher respect then any other good what-so-euer, mentall or corporall: For it knoweth both the vse of it selfe and of all other goods that maketh a man happy. But where it wanteth, bee there neuer so many goods, they are none of his that hath them, because hee cannot giue them their true natures by good application of them. That man therefore alone is truly blessed, that can vse vertue, and the other bodily and mentall goods which vertue cannot be with-out, all vnto their true end. If hee can make good vse of those things also that vertue may easily want, he is the happier in that. But if hee can make that vse of all things what-so-euer, to turne them either to goods of the body or of the minde, then is hee the happiest man on earth: for life and vertue are not all one. The wise-mans life onely it is, that deserues that name: for some kinde of life may bee wholly voyde of vertue, but no vertue can be with-out life. And so likewise of memory, reason, and other qualities in man: all these are before learning, it cannot bee with-out them, no more then vertue, which it doth teach. But swiftnesse of foote, beauty of face, strength of body, and such, may bee all with-out vertue, and all of them are goods of them-selues, with-out vertue, yet is vertue desired for it selfe neuertheless, and vseth these goods as befittech. Now (f) this blessed estate of life they hold to bee sociable also, desiring the neighbours good as much as their owne, and wishing them in their owne respects, as well as it selfe: whether it be the wiues and children, or fellow cittizen, or mortall man what-so-euer, nay suppose it extend euen to the Gods whome they hold the friends of wise-men, and whome wee call by a more familiar name, Angels. But of the ends of the good and euill they make no question, wherein onely (they say) they differ from the new Academikes: nor care they what habite, Cynicall, or what-so-euer a man beare, so he auerre their ends. Now of the three lines, contemplatiue, actiue, and mixt, they choose the last. Thus (saith Varro) the old Academikes taught: (g) *Antiochus* maister to him and *Tully*, being author hereof, though *Tully* make him rather a Stoike then an old Academike in most of his positions. But what is that to vs? wee are rather to looke how to iudge of the matter, then how others iudge of the men.

### L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) *horfman*] But *equus* hath beene of old time vsed for *equus*. *Gell. Marcell. Macrob.* and *Seruius*, all which doe prouue it out of *Ennius, Annal. lib. 7.* and *Virgil Aeneid. 3.* And it was the old custome to say, that the horse rode, when the man was on his back; as well as the man him-selfe. *Macrob. Saturnal. 6.* (b) *Poculum*] *Poculum* is also the thing that is in the vessell, to bee drunke, especially in the Poets. *Virg. Georg. i.* (c) *Vertue or methode*] Which ripening out of the seedes infused by nature, groweth vp to perfection, and then ioynes with the first positives of nature, in the pursuite of true beatitude; thus held the Academikes, hee that will read more of it, let him looke in *Aristotles Morality*, and *Tullys de finib. lib. 5.* Vnlesse hee will fetch it from *Plato*, the labour is more, but the liquor is purer.

(d) *Mors*

(d) *More or lesse*] Bodily goods lesse then mentall, and of the first, health more then strength, quicknesse of sence more then swiftnesse of foote. (e) *But ever-more*] Nor is it arrogance in vertue to haue this knowledge of her-selfe, and to discern her onely excellence surmounting all. (f) *This blessed*] The Stoikes placed it in a politike manner of life, but their meaning *Seneca* explaineth (*De vita beata*) making two kinde of common-wealths, the one a large and comely publike one, conteyning *GOD* and *Man*, and this is the whole world: the other, a lesser, where-vnto our birth hath bound vs, as the Athenian state or the Carthaginians: Now some follow the greater common-weale, liuing wholly in contemplation, and others the lesser, attending the state and action of that, and some apply them-selues to both. Besides, a wise man often-times abandoneth to gouerne, because either the state respecteth him not, or the maners thereof are vnreformable. The latter made *Plato* liue in private, the first, *Zeno*, *Chrysippus*, and diuerse other. (g) *Antiochus*] An Ascalonite: he taught *Varro*, *Lucullus*, *Tully*, and many other nobles of Rome, all in forme of the ancient Academy, together with some inclination to *Zeno*, yet calling the men of his profession rather reformed Academikes then renewed Stoikes, and therefore *Brutus* who was an auditor of his brother *Arifinus*, and many other Stoikes, did greatly commend his opinion of beatitude. Indeed it was very neere Stoicisme (as wee sayd else-where) and their difference was rather verball then materiall. Some few things onely were changed, which *Antiochus* called his reformations of the old discipline.

*The Christians opinion of the chiefest good, and euill, which  
the Philosophers held to be within them-selues.*

#### CHAP. 4.

**I**F you aske vs now what the *Citty of God* saith, first to this position of the perfection of good, and euill, it will answere you presently, eternall life is the perfection of good and eternall death the consummation of euill, and that the ayme of all our life must bee to auoyde this, and attaine that other. Therefore is it written, *The iust shall liue by faith*. For wee see not our greatest good, and therefore are to beleue and hope for it, nor haue wee power to liue accordingly, vnlesse our beleefe and prayer obteyne helpe of him who hath giuen vs that beleefe and hope that hee will helpe vs. But such as found the perfection of felicity vpon this life, placing it either in the body, or in the minde, or in both: or (to speake more apparantly) eyther in pleasure or in vertue, or in pleasure, and rest together, or in vertue, or in both, or in natures first affects, or in vertue, or in both: fondlye and vainely are these men perswaded to finde true happynesse heere. The Prophet scoffes them, saying: *The Lord knoweth the thoughts of men*, or (as *Saint Paul* hath it, of the wise,) *that they are vaine*. For who can discourse exactly of the miseries of this life? *Tully* (a) vpon his daughters death, did what hee could. But what could hee doe? in what person can the first affects of nature bee found with-out alteration? what hath not sorrow and disquiet full power to disturbe the pleasure and quiet of the wisest? So strength, beauty, health, vigour and actiuity, are all subuerted by their contraries, by losse of limmes, deformitie, sicknesse, faintnesse, and vnwieldinesse. And what if a member fall into some tumor or other affect? what if weakenesse of the back bend a man downe to the ground, making him neere to a foure-footed beast? is not all the grace of his posture quite gone? and then the first gifts of nature, whereof sence and reason are the two first, because of the apprehension of truth, how easily are they lost? how quite doth deafnesse or

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blindnesse take away hearing and sight ? and then for the reason, how soone, is it subuerted by a phreneticall passion, a Lethargy or so ? Oh it is able to wring teares from our eies to see the actions of phrenetique persons so wholly different, nay so directly contrary vnto reasons direction ! what need I speake of the *Demoniakes*, whose vnderstanding the diuel wholly dulleth, and vseth all their powers of soule and body at his owne pleasure ? and what wise man can fully secure himselfe from these incurSIONS ? Againe, how weake is our apprehension of truth *Wisdom. 9,* in this life, when as we reade in the true booke of wisdome, *the corruptible body is heavy vnto the soule, and the earthly mansion keepeth downe the minde that is full of cares?*

And that same *(b)* *impet,* that violent motion vnto action, *(c)* which they reckon for one of natures first positives in good men : is it not that that effecteth those strange and horrible acts of madnesse when the reason & sence are both besotted and obnubilate ? Besides, vertue, which is not from nature but commeth afterwards from industry, when it hath gotten the highest stand in humanity, what other worke hath it, but a continuall fight against the in-bred vices that are inherent in our owne bosomes not in others ? chiefly that *(d)* *concupiscum* that temperance which suppresseth the lusts of the flesh, and curbeth them from carying the mind away into mischief ? for that same is a vice when (as the Apostle saith) *the flesh lusteth against the spirit*, and that contrary is a vertue, *when the spirit lusteth after the flesh*, for they (saith hee) are contrary, so that you cannot do what you would. And what would wee ? what is our desire in this perfection of God, but that the flesh should not lust against the spirit, and that there were no vice in vs against which the spirit should lust ? which since we cannot attaine in this life, would wee neuer so faine, let vs by God grace endeavour this, that we do not subiect our spirit vnto the concupiscence of our flesh, and so scale vnto the bond of sinne with a free consent.

So that farre bee it from vs euer to thinke that wee haue attayned the true happinesse whilst wee liue here. Who is so wise, but hath now and then diuers fights against his owne lustes ? what is the office of prudence ? is it not to discern betweene things to be chosen, & things to be refused, to the end that no error be incurred in either ? This testifieth that there is euil in vs and that we are in euil. It teacheth vs that it is euil to assent vnto sinne, and good, to auoyd it. But yet neither can prudence nor temperance rid our liues of that euill which they fore-warne vs of and arme vs against. And what *(e)* of Iustice, that giueth euery one his due ? and the iust order of nature is that the soule bee vnder God, the flesh vnder the soule, and both together vnder God. Is it not plaine that this is rather continually laboured then truly attained in this life ? for the lesse that the soule doth meditate of God, the lesse it serueth him, and the more that the flesh lusteth against the soule, the lesse command hath the soule ouer it, wherefore as long as wee are obiected vnto this languour and corruption, how dare we say we are safe, or (if not safe, much more) blessed by the perfection of attayned blesse ? Now there is also Fortitude, another authentical testimony of humaine miseries endured with Patience.

I wonder with what face the Stoikes deny these to bee euills, of which *(f)* they confesse that if a wise man cannot, or ought not to endure them, hee may lawfully (nay he must needs) kill him-selfe, and auoyd this life. To this height is their proud stupidity growne (building all there beatitude vpon this life) that if their wise man *(g)* were blind, deafe, lame, and made the very hospitall of all agonies

agonies and anguish, which should ly so sore on him that they should force him be his owne death, yet this life that is enuironed with all those plagues, are not they ashamed to call blessed. O sweete and blessed life, which it is requisite that death do conclude! for if it be blessed why then keepe it still: but if those euills make it auoydable, what is become of the blisse? or what are these but euills, that haue such power to subuert the good of fortitude? making it not onely guilty of deiection, but of dotage, in affirming that one and the same life is blessed, and yet must be auoyded: who is so blind that seeth not that if it be the one, it cannot possibly be the other? O but (say they) the auoydance is caused by the effect of the ouerpressing infirmity: why may they not aswell bid adue to obstinacy, and confesse that it is wretched? was it patience that made *Cato* kill him selfe? no he would not haue done it but that he rooke *Cæsars* victory so vnpatiently: where was his fortitude now? gone, it yeilded, and was so troden downe that it fled both light and life, as blessed as it was. Was not his life then blessed? why then it was wretched. Why then are not they true euills that can make ones life so wretched and so to be auoyded? And therefore the Peripatetiques and old Academikes (whose sect *Varro* stands wholly for) did better in calling these accidents, plainly euill. But they haue one foule error to hold his life that endureth these euills, blessed, if hee rid him selfe from them by his owne voluntary destruction. The paines and torments of the body are euill, say they, and the greater the worse, which to auoyde, you must willingly betake your selfe to death, and leaue this life: what life? this, that is so encombred with euills. What is it then blessed amongst so many euills that must bee auoyded, or call you it blessed, because you may abandon these euills when you list, by death? what if some power diuine should hold you from dying, and keepe you continually in those euills; then you would say this were a wretched life indeed? well, the soone leauing of it maketh not against the misery of it: because if it were eternall, your selfe would iudge it miserable. It is not quit of misery therefore because it is short, nor (much lesse) is it happynesse in that the misery is short. It must needes be a forcible euill, that hath power to make a man (nay and a wise man) to be his owne executioner, it being truely said by them-selues, that it is as if were natures first and most forcible precept, that a man should haue a deære respect of him selfe, and therefore auoyde the hand of death, by very naturall instinct: and so bee-friend him selfe, that hee should still desire to bee a liuing creature, and enjoy the coniunction of his soule and body. Mighty are the euills that subdue this natural instinct, which is in al men to desire to auoid death, and subduing it so farre, that what was before abhorred, should now be desired, and (rather then wanted) effected by a mans owne hand. Mighty is the mischief that maketh fortitude an homicide, if that bee to bee called fortitude which yeeldeth so to these euills, that it is faine to force him to kill him selfe to auoyde these inconueniences whome it hath vndertaken to defend against all inconueniences.

Indede a wise man is to endure death with patience, but that must come *ab externo*, from another mans hand and not from his owne. But these men teaching that hee may procure it to him selfe, must needes confesse that these euills are intollerable which ought to force a man to such an extreame inconuenience. The life therefore that is liable to such a multitude of miseries can no way bee called happy, if that men to auoyd this infelicity bee faine to giue it



place by killing of them-selves, and being conuincd by the certainty of reason are faine in this their quest of beatitude, to giue place to the truth, and to discern, that the perfection of beatitude is not resident in this mortall life, when in mans greatest guilts, the greater helpe they affoord him against anguish, dangers and dolours, the surer testimonies are they of humaine miseries. For if true vertue can bee in none in whome there is no true piety, then doe they not promise any many in whom they are, any assurance from suffering of temporall sorrowes. For true vertue may not dissemble, in professing what it cannot performe: but it aimeth at this onely, that mans life which being in this world, is turmoyled with all these extreames of sorrowes, should in the life to come bee made pertaker both of safety and felicitie. For how can that man haue felicitie that wanteth safety? It is not therefore of the vnwise, intemperate, impacient or vniust that Saint *Paul* speaketh, saying, *Wee are saued by hope*, but of the sonne of true piety, and obseruers of the reall vertues: *Hope that is seene, is not hope*, Rom. 8. 25 for how can a man hope for that which hee seeth? But if wee hope for that wee see not, wee doe with patience abide for it. Wherefore as wee are saued, so are wee blessed by hope, and as wee haue no holde of our safety, no more haue wee of our felicity, but by hope, paciently expecting it; and beeing as yet in a desert of thornie dangers, all which wee must constantly endure vntill wee come to the paradise of all ineffable delights, hauing then passed all the perills of encombrance. This security in the life to come, is the beatitude wee speake of, which the Philosophers not beholding will not belecue, but forge them-selves an imaginarie blisse here, wherein the more their vertue assumes to it selfe, the falser it prooues to the iudgement of all others.

## L. VIVES.

**T**ully (a) vpon ] Hee had two children, *Marke* a sonne, and *Tullia* a daughter, married first to *Piso-frugus Crassipes*, and afterwards to *Cornel. Dolabella*, and dyed in child-bed. *Tully* tooke her death with extreame grieue. *Pompey*, *Cesar*, *Sulpitius*, and many other worthy men sought to comfort him, both by letters and visitation, but all being in vaine, hee set vp his rest to bee his owne comforter, and wrote his booke called *Consolatio*, vpon this subiect: which is not now extant, yet it is cited often, both by him and others. There-in hee saith hee bewailed the life of man in generall, and comforted him-selfe in particular. *Tusc. quest. 1.*

(b) ὀρεῖν] ὀρεῖν, is, to goe to any acte with vehemencie and vigor, to goe roundly to worke. ὀρεῖν, is the violence of passion that carrieth euery creature head-long to affect or to auoyde: and are conuersant onely about things naturally to bee affected, or auoyded, as the Stoikes say, and *Cato* for one, in *Tully*. (c) Which they ] The instinct where-by wee affect our owne preservation is of as high esteeme as eyther the witte or memorie: for turne it away, and the creature cannot liue long after. (d) σπουδασθῆναι ] Of this before. (e) Of Justice ] It comprehendeth both that distributiue change of estate, and also vnto the line of reason and religion. (f) They confesse ] *Cic. de fin. lib. 3.* & *Tusc. quest. 4.* (g) Were blinde ] It is a wise mans duty (saith *Cato* the Stoike in *Tully*) some-times to renounce the happiest estate. So saith *Seneca* often. (h) Ouer-passing infirmitie ] A diuersity of reading in the texts of *Bruges* and *Basil*: but it is not to bee stood vpon. (i) Natures first ] *Cic. off. 1.* and *De fin. 3.* and 5.

of

*Of liuing sociably with our neighbour : how fitt it is, and yet how  
subject to crosses.* CHAP. 5.

**WE** doe worthily approue their enioyning a wise man to liue in mutuall society: for how should our *Celestiall City* (the nineteene booke whereof we now haue in hand) haue euer come to originall, to prolation or to perfection, but that the Saints liue all in sociable vnion? But yet what is he that can recount all the miseries incident vnto the societies of mortalls? Here what the Comedian saith, with a generall applause. *(a) I married a wife (b) O what misery wanted I then! I begot children: so, there's one care more.* And those inconueniences that *Terence* pins on the back of loue, as *(c) iniuries, enmities, warre, & peace againe,* do not all these lackey our mortality continually? do not these foote some-times into the friendliest affections? and doth not all the world, keepe these examples in continuall renouation as warre, I meane iniuries & enmities. And our peace is as vncertaine, as we are ignorant of their affects with whome wee hold it, and though we nigh know to day what they would do, to morrow we shall not. Who should be greater friends then those of one family? yet what a many secret plots of malice lye euen amongst such, to expell security? their firmer peace becoming toulter malice: and being reputed most loyall, whereas it was onely most craftily faigned: the far spread contagion of this made *Tully* let this saying runne out with his teares: *Treason is neuer so close carried, as when it lurketh vnder the name of duty, or affinity. An open foe is easily watched: but this your secret serpent both breeds and strikes ere euer you can discover it.* Wherefore that which the holy scripture saith, *(d) A mans enemies are the men of his house,* this wee heare with great grieefe: for though a man haue fortitude to endure it, or preuention to auoyde it, yet if hee bee a good man, hee must needs take great grieefe at the badnesse of those so neare him: bee it that they haue beene vsed vnto this viperous dissimulation of old, or haue learnt it but of late. So then if a mans owne priuate house afford him no shelter from these incursions, what shall the city doe, which as it is larger, so is it fuller of brables, and sutes, and quarrels, and accusations, to grant the absence of seditions and ciuill contentions, which are too often present: and whereof the Cities are in continuall danger, when they are in their safest estate?

### L. VIVES.

[*(a) haue married*] *Ter. Adolph. Act. 3. sc. 4. Demea's words.* [*(b) O what*] Some bookes haue it not as *Terence* hath it, but they haue beene falsly copied. [*(c) Iniuries*] *Parmeno* his words vnto *Phadria.* [*(d) A mans enemies*] *Mich. 7. and Matth. 10.*

*The error of humaine iudgments, in cases where truth is not knowne.*

### CHAP. 6.

**AND** how lamentable and miserable are those mens iudgements whom the Cities must perforce vse, as Magistrates, euen in their most settled peace, concerning other men? they iudge them whose consciences they cannot see, and therefore

therefore are often driuen to wring forth the truth by ( *a* ) tormenting of innocent witnesses. And what say you when a man is tortured in his owne case, and tormented, euen when it is a question whether hee be guilty or no? and though hee be ( *b* ) innocent, yet suffereth assured paines when they are not assured hee is faulty. In most of these cases the Iudges ignorance turnes to the prisoners miserie. Nay which is more lamentable, and deserueth a sea of teares to washe it away; the Iudge in torturing the accused, least hee should put him to death, being innocent, often-times through his wretched ignorance killeth that party being innocent, with torture, whome hee had tortured to auoyde the killing of an innocent. For if (according vnto their doctrine) hee had rather leaue this life then endure those miseries, then hee saith presently that hee did the thing whereof hee is cleare indeed. And being there-vpon condemned, and executed, still the Iudge cannot tell whether hee were guilty or no. Hee tortured him least hee should execute him guiltlesse, and by that meanes killed him ere hee knew that hee was guilty. Now in these mists of mortall societie, whether shall the Iudge sitte or no? Yes hee must sitte: hee is bound to it by his place, which hee holdeth wickednesse not to discharge, and by the states command, which hee must obey. But hee neuer holds it wickednesse to torture guiltlesse witnesses in other mens causes, and when the tortures haue ore-come the patience of the innocent, and made them their owne accusers to put them to death as guilty, whome they tortured but to trie, being guiltlesse: nor to let many of them dye euen vpon the very racke it selfe, or by that meanes, if they doe escape the hang-man. Againe, what say you to this, that some bringing a iust accusation against this man or that, for the good of the state, the accused endureth all the tortures without confession, and so the innocent plaintiffes being not able to prooue their plea, are by the Iudges ignorance cast and ( *c* ) condemned? These now, and a many more then these, the Iudge holdeth no finnes, because his will is not assenting vnto them, but his seruice to the state compells him, and his ignorance of hurt it is that maketh him doe it, not any will to hurt. This now is misery in a man: if it be not malice in a wise man, is it the troubles of his place and of ignorance that cause those effects, and doth not hee thinke hee is not well enough in being free from accusation, but hee must needes sitte in beatitude? ( *d* ) how much more wisdom and discretion should hee shew in acknowledging his mortality in those troubles, and in detesting this misery in him-selfe, crying out vnto GOD (if hee be wise) with the Psalmist: *Lord take mee out of all my troubles.*

### L. VIVES.

**T**Ormenting ( *a* ) of ] For in the cause pertaining them, the seruant still is called in question, and so is the guiltlesse commonly brought to the torment. This kinde of Triall is oft mentioned in Tully. It was once forbidden. *Cic. pro deiotar. & Tacit. l. 2.* ( *b* ) Yet sufficient ] It was a true tyrant, ( were it Tarquin the proud, or whosoeuer ) that inuented torments to trye the truth; for neither hee that can endure them will tell the truth, nor hee that cannot endure them. Paine ( saith one ) will make the innocent a lyer. ( *c* ) Condemned ] By that lawe, that saith, *Let the accuser suffer the paines due to the accused, if hee cannot prooue his accusation.* ( *d* ) How much more ] A needlesse difference there is here in some coppes ( but I may well omitte it ).

*Dif-*

*Difference of language, an impediment to humane society. The miseries of the iustest warres.*

CHAP. 7.

**A**FTER the city, followeth the whole world, wherein the third kind of humane society is resident, the first beeing in the house, and the second in the city. Now the world is as a flood of waters, the greater, the more dangerous: and first of all, difference of language (a) diuides man from man ] For if two meete, who perchance light vpon some accident crauing their abiding together, and conference, if neither of them can vnderstand the other, you may sooner make two brute beasts, of two seuerall kindes sociable to one another. then these two men. For when they would common together, their tongues deny to accord, which being so, all the other helpes of nature, are nothing: so that a man had rather bee with his owne dogge, then with another man of a strange language. But the great (b) westerne Babilon endeauoureth to communicate her language to all the lands she hath subdued, to procure a fuller society, and a greater aboundance of interpretours on both sides. It is true, but how many liues hath this cost? and suppose that done, the worst is not past: for although she neuer wanted stranger nations against whom to lead her forces, yet this large extention of her Empire procured greater warres then those; named ciuill and confederate warres, and these were they that troubled the soules of man-kinde both in their heate, with desire to see them extinct, and in their pacification, with feare, to see them renewed. If I would stand to recite the massacres, and the extreame effects hereof, as I might (though I cannot doe it as I should) the discourse would bee infinite. (c) yea but a wise man (say they) will wage none but iust warre. Hee will not! As if the very remembrance that himselfe is man, ought not to procure his greater sorrow in that hee hath cause of iust warre, and must needs wage them, which if they were not iust, were not for him to deale in, so that a wise man should neuer haue warre: For it is the other mens wickednesse that workes his cause iust that hee ought to deplore, whether euer it produce warres or no: Wherefore hee that doth but consider affectionately of all those dolorous and bloody extreames, must needs say that this is a misery, but hee that endureth them without a sorrowfull affect, or thought thereof, is farre more wretched to imagine hee hath the blisse of a God, when hee hath lost the sence of a man.

L. VIVES.

**D**iuersity (a) of language] *Plin. lib. 7.* (b) *Westerne imperious Babilon* ] Rome: called imperious for her souerainty that was so large, and because her commands were so peremptory, he alludes to the surname of *Titus Manlius*, who was called imperious, for executing his sonne. The Romanes endeauoured, to haue much latine spoken in their Prouinces, in so much that Spaine and France did wholly forget their owne languages, and spake all latine. Nor might any Embassage bee preferred to the Senate but in latine. Their endeauour was most glorious, and vsfull herein, whatsoeuer their end was. (c) *Yea but*] Here hee disputeth against the Gentiles, out of their owne positions.

*That true friendship cannot bee secure, amongst the incessant perills of this present life.*

## CHAP. 8.

**B**Vt admit that a man bee not so grossely deceiued ( as many in this wretched life are) as to take his foe for his friend, nor contrariwise, his friend for his foe: what comfort haue wee then remayning in this vale of mortall miseries, but the vnfaigned faith and affection of sure friends? whom the (a) more they are, or the further of vs, the more we feare, least they bee endamaged by some of these infinite casualties attending on all mens fortunes. We stand not onely in feare to see them afflicted by famine, warre, sicknesse, imprisonment, or so, but our farre greater feare is, least they should fal away through treachery, malice, or deprauation. And when this commeth to passe, and wee heare of it, (as they more friends wee haue, and the farther off withal, the likelier are such newes to be brought vs) then who can decypher our sorrowes but he that hath felt the like? we had rather heare of their death, though that wee could not heare of neither, but vnto our grieffe. For seeing wee enioyed the comfort of their friendships in their life, how can wee but bee touched with sorrowes affects at their death? hee that forbiddeth vs that, may as well forbid all conference of friend and friend, all sociall curtesie, may euen all humane affect, and thrust them all out of mans conuersation: or else prescribe their vses no pleasurable ends. But as that is impossible, so is it likewise for vs not to bewaile him dead whom wee loued being aliuie. For the (b) sorrow thereof is as a wound, or vlcer in our heart, vnto which bewaylements doe serue in the stead of fomentations, and plaisters. For though that the sounder ones vnderstanding be, the sooner this cure is effected, yet it proues not but that there is a malady that requireth one application or other. Therefore in al our bewayling more or lesse, of the deaths of our dearest friends or companions, wee doe yet referue this loue to them, that wee had rather haue them dead in body, then in soule, and had rather haue them fall in essence, then in manners, for the last, is the most dangerous infection vpon earth, and therefore it was written, *Is not mans life a (b) temptation vpon earth?* Wherevpon our Saviour said: *Woe bee to the world because of offences,* and againe: *Because iniquity shalbe increased, the loue of many shalbe cold.* This maketh vs giue thanks for the death of our good friends, and though it make vs sad a while, yet it giueth vs more assurance of comfort euer after, because they haue now escaped all those mischieues which oftentimes seize vpon the best, either oppressing, or peruerting them, endangering them how-soeuer.

Iob. 7, 1  
Mat. 18  
Mat. 24

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) more they are ] Aristotles argument against the multitude of friends. (b) Temptation] The vulgar readeth it, *Is there not an appointed time to man vpon earth?* Hierom hath it a *warfare*, for we are in continuall warre with a suttle foxe, whom wee must set a continuall watch against, least he inuade vs vnprovidid.

The

*The friendship of holy Angells with men : undiscernable in this life, by reason of the deuills, whom all the Infidells tooke to be good powers, and gaue them diuine honours. CHAP. 9.*

**N**OW the society of Angells with men (those whom the Philosophers calle the gods guardians, *Lars*, and a number more names) they set in the fourth place, comming as it were from earth to the whole vniuerse, and here including heauen. Now for those friends (the Angells) we need not feare to be affected with sorrow for any death, or deprauation of theirs, they are impassible. But this friendship betweene them and vs, is not visibly apparant as that of mans is: (which addes vnto our terrestriall misery) and againe, the deuill (as wee reade) often transformes himselfe into an Angell of light to tempt men, some for their instruction, and some for their ruine: and here is need of the great mercy of God, least when wee thinke wee haue the loue and fellowship of good Angells, they prooue at length pernicious deuills, fained friends, and suttle foes, as great in power as in decept. And where needeth this great mercy of GOD, but in this worldly misery, which is so enveloped in ignorance, and subiect to be deluded. As for the Philosophers of the reprobate city, who sayd they had gods to their friends, most sure it was they had deuills indeed whom they tooke for deities; all the whole state wherein they liued, is the deuills monarchy, and shall haue the like reward with his, vnto all eternity. For their sacrifices, or rather sacrifices, where-with they were honored, and the obscæne plaies which they themselves exacted were manifest testimonies of their diabolicall natures.

*The reward that the Saints are to receiue after the passing of this worlds afflictions.*

CHAP. 10.

**Y**Ea the holy and faithfull seruants of the true GOD are in danger of the deuills manifold ambushes: for as long as they liue in this fraile, and soule-browed world, they must be so, and it is for their good, making them more attentiu in the quest of that security where their peace is without end, and without want. There shall the Creator bestowe all the gifts of nature vpon them, and giue them not onely as goods, but as eternall goods, not onely to the soule, by reforming it with wisdom, but also to the body by restoring it in the resurrection. There the vertues shall not haue any more conflicts with the vices, but shall rest with the victory of eternall peace, which none shall euer disturbe. For it is the finall beatitude, hauing now attained a consummation to all eternity. Wee are sayd to be happy here on earth when wee haue that little peace that goodnesse can afford vs: but compare this happinesse with that other, and this shall be held but plaine misery. Therefore if wee liue well vpon earth, our vertue vseth the benefits of the transitory peace, vnto good ends, if we haue it: if not, yet still our vertue vseth the euills that the want thereof produceth, vnto a good end also. But then is our vertue in full power and perfection, when it referreth it selfe, and all the good effects that it can giue being vnto either vpon good or euill causes, vnto that onely end, wherein our peace shall haue no end, nor any thing superior vnto it in goodnesse or perfection.

*The*

*The beatitude of eternall peace, and that true perfection wherein the Saints are installed.* CHAP. II.

WE may therefore say that peace is our finall good, as we sayd of life eternall: because the psalme saith vnto that citty whereof we write this laborious worke: *Praise thy LORD O Ierusalem, praise thy LORD O Zion: for hee hath made fast the barres of thy gates, and blessed thy children within thee; hee hath made peace thy borders.* When the barres of the gates are fast, as none can come in, so none can goe out. And therefore this peace which wee call finall, is the borders and bounds of this citty: for the mysticall name hereof, Ierusalem, signifieth, *A vision of peace*, but because the name of peace is ordinary in this world where eternity is not resident, therefore wee choose rather to call the bound wherein the chiefe good of this citty lieth, *life eternall*, rather then *peace*.

Rom. 6. 22. Of which end the Apostle saith. *Now beeing freed from sinne, and made seruants to GOD, you haue your fruite in holynesse, and the end, euerlasting life.* But on the other-side because such as are ignorant in the scriptures, may take this *euerlasting life*, in an ill sence, for the life of the wicked which is eternally euill, either as some Philosophers held, because the soule cannot die, or as our faith teacheth, because torments cannot cease (yet should not the wicked feele them eternally but that they haue also their eternall life): therefore the maine end of this citties ayme, is either to be called eternity in peace, or peace in eternity, and thus it is plaine to all. For (a) the good of peace is generally the greatest wish of the world, and the most welcome when it comes. Whereof I thinke wee may take leaue of our reader, to haue a word or two more, both because of the citties end, whereof we now speake, and of the sweetnesse of peace, which all men doe loue.

### L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) good of peace ] Nothing is either more pleasant or more profitable: more wished, or more welcome. Peace is the chiefe good, and warre the chiefe euill. *Xenoph.* ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν. And the peace of minde is that which *Democritus* called *the great felicity*. The Stoikes make concord one of beatitudes chiefe goods.

*That the bloudiest warres chiefe ayme is peace: they desire which is naturall in man.* CHAP. 12.

**W**Hich hee that marketh but mans affaires, and the (a) generall forme of nature, will confesse with me. For ioy and peace are desired a like of all men? The warrior would but conquer: warres ayme is nothing but glorious peace: what is victory but a suppression of resistants, which beeing done, peace followeth? So that peace is warres purpose, the scope of all military discipline, and the limmite at which all iust contentions leuell. All men seeke peace by war, but none seekes warre by peace. For they that perturb the peace they liue in, do it not for hate of it, but to shew their power in alteration of it. They would not disanull it, but they would haue it as they like; and though they breake into seditions from the rest, yet must they hold a peace-full force with their fellowes that

that are engaged with them, or els they shall neuer effect what they intend. Euen the theeues themselues that molest all the world besides them, are at peace amongst themselues. Admit one be so strong, or suttle that he will haue no fellow, but plaicth all his parts of roguery alone, yet such as hee can neither cut off, nor list to make knowne his facts vnto, with those he must needs hold a kinde of peace. And at home, with his wife and family, there must he needs obserue quietnesse, and questionlesse delighteth in their obedience vnto him, which if they faile in, he chafes, and chides and strikes; setting all in order by force if need bee, or by cruelty: which he seeth he cannot doe, vnlesse all the rest be subiected vnder one head, which is himselfe. And might hee haue the sway of a citry, or prouince in suth sort as he hath that of his house, he would put off his theeuish forme, and put on a Kings, albeit his couetousnesse and malice remained vnchanged. Thus then you see that all men desire to haue peace with such as they would haue liue according to their liking. For those against whom they wage warre, they would make their owne if they could, and if they conquere them they giue them such lawes as they like. (b) But let vs imagine some such infociable fellow as the poets fable recordeth, calling him (c) *Halfe-man*, for his inhumaine barbarisme.

Now he although his Kingdome lay in a lightlesse caue, and his villanies so rare that they gaue him that great name of (d) *Cacus*, which is, Euill: though his wife neuer had good word of him, hee neuer plaied with his children, nor ruled them in their manlier age, neuer spake with friend, not so much as with (e) his father *Vulcan* (then whom he was farre more happy in that he begot no such monster, as *Vulcan* had, in begetting him) though hee neuer gaue to any, but robbed and reaued all that hee could gripe from all manner of persons, yea and (f) the persons themselues, yet in that horred dungeon of his, whose flore & walls were alwaies danke with the bloud of new slaughters, hee desired nothing but to rest in peace therein, without molestation. He desired also to bee at peace with himselfe, and what hee had, he enioyed, he ruled ouer his owne bodie, and to satisfie his owne hungry nature that menaced the seperation of soule and body, he fell to his robberies with celerity, and though he were barbarous and blouodie, yet in all that, he had a care to prouide for his life and safety: and therefore if hee would haue had that peace with others, which he had in the caue with himselfe alone, hee should neither haue beene called *Halfe-man* nor *Monster*. But if it were his horrible shape and breathing of fire that made men avoide him, then was it not will, but necessity that made him liue in that caue and play the thiefe for his liuing. But there was no such man, or if there were, hee was no such as the poets faigne him. For vnlesse they had mightily belied *Cacus*, they should not sufficiently haue (h) commended *Hercules*. But, as I sayd, it is like that there was no such man; no more then is truth in many other of their fictions: for the very wild beasts, (part of whose brutishnesse they place in him) doe preserue a peace each with other (i) in their kinde, begetting, breeding and liuing together amongst themselues, beeing otherwise the infociable births of the deserts: I speake not here of Sheepe, Deere, Pigeons, Stares or Bees, but of Lions, Foxes, Eagles and Owles. For what Tyger is there that doth not nourse her yong ones, & fawn vpon them in their tendernesse: what Kite is there, though he fly solitarily about for his prey, but wil tread his female, build his nest, sit his egges, feed his young, and assist his fellow in her motherly duety, all that in him lieth? Farre stronger are the bands that binde man vnto society, and peace with all that



are peaceable : the worst men of all doe fight for their fellowes quietnesse , and would (if it lay in their power) reduce all into a distinct forme of state, drawne by themselves, whereof they would be the heads, which could neuer bee, but by a coherence either through feare or loue . For herein is peruerse pride an Imitator of the goodnesse of GOD, hauing equality of others with it selfe vnder him, and laying a yoke of obedience vpon the fellowes, vnder it selfe, in stead of him: thus hateth it the iust peace of God, and buildeth an vniust one for it self. Yet can it not but loue peace , for no vice how euer vnnaturall, can pull nature vp by the rootes . But he that can discern betweene good and bad, and betweene order and confusion , may soone distinguish the Godlie peace from the wicked . Now that peruerse confusion must bee reformed by the better disposing of the thing wherein it is, if it bee at all, as for example : hang a man vp with his head downwards, al his posture is confouled, that which should be lowest, haning the highest place, and so contrary this confusion disturbs the flesh, and is troublesome to it. But it is the soules peace with the bodie that causeth the feeling of that disturbance . Now if the soule leaue the body by the meanes of those troubles, yet as long as the bodie forme remaineth it hath a certaine peace with it selfe, and in the very manner of hanging , shewes that it desireth to bee placed in the peace of nature, the very weight, seeming to demand a place for rest , and though life be gone, yet very nature swayeth it vnto that order wherein shee placed it . For if the dead body bee preferued by putrefaction, by vugents, and embalmings, yet (n) the peace of nature is kept , for the bodie weight is applied thier by to an earthly simpathizing site, & conuenient place for it to rest in. But if it bee not (o) embalmed , but left to natures dissoluing, it is so long altered by (p) ill tasting vapours, vntill each part bee wholly reduced to the perticular natures of the elements, yet is not a tittle of the Creators al-disposing law controlled : for if there grow out of this carcasse, a many more living creatures, each body of these, serueth the quantity of life that is in it, according to the same law of creation . And if that it be deuoured vppe, by other rauinous beasts or birds, it shall follow the ordinance of the same law, disposing al things congruently, into what forme of nature soeuer it be changed.

### L. VIVES.

**G**enerall (a) forme] Or community of nature. [ Our scholians say that wee must netier respect words in matter of diuinity or Philosophy : this they auouch, hand-smooth, and yet one of their great men at Paris, brought these words of *Augustine*, (in a question of Philosophy) to confirme the communities of nature, which *Occam* had written against . So likewise, many of them will haue *Tully*, *Seneca*, *Hierome*, *Augustine*, *Pliny* and others, speaking of common sense, to meane that which *Aristotle* maketh the iudge ouer all the senses corporall, whereas they, and all latine authors take common sense, for a thing that is vniuersally inherent, as for a mother to loue her child . And natures community is those generall inclinations that are in all men. This misinterpretation of words hath made soule worke in artes, first cankring and then directly killing them ] (b) *Imagine some such* This was *Virgils Cacus*. *Aeneid*. 8. Hee was ouercome (saith *Dionysius*) by *Hercules*, hee dwelt in an impregnable place, from whence hee plagued all that dwelt neere him : and hearing that *Hercules* was encamped nere him, hee stole out and droue away a great prey : but the greekes iniured him in his strength. He dwelt (saith *Solinus*) at *Salinæ*, where port *Trigemina* stands now. Being put (saith *Gellius*) into prison by *Tarchon* the *Tyrhene* Prince, whilest hee was embassader for *Mecales* the *Phrigian* who ruled with *Marsus*, he brake prison and came home, and fortifying

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all Vulturum & Campania, he presumed to encroach vpon the Arcadians whom *Hercules* protected, who therevpon slew him. Thus out of these. *Seruius* saith: the fable reported him the sonne of *Vulcan*, that he breathed fire, and destroyed all that hee came neare, but the truth of all is, he was a thecuiſh and villenous seruant of *Euanders*, his sister *aca* betrayed him, and therefore had a chappell erected vnto her, wherein the vestalls offered sacrifice. *Lactant.* (c) *Halfe-man*] *Virgil*, and *Seruius* call him so. (d) *Cacus*] *Diodorus* saith his proper name was *Lacunius*, if his copy bee true. *lib. 5.* (e) *His father Vulcan*] *Virg. Ouid. Fast.* and others call him so because hee burnt vp the corne, and wasted their fields, with fire. (f) *The persons*] Whose heads he set vppe at the mouth of his caue. *Virg. and Ouid* (g) *Breathing of*] Fire-breathing *Cacus*, did *Virgil* call him. (h) *Commended Hercules*] One of whose labours the death of *Cacus* was, for *Cacus* stole part of his Spanish kine, and drew them into his caue by their tailes, least they should tract them by their steps. But *Hercules* discovering them by their bellowing, brake into the Caue, & killed him, *Livy, Dionys. Virg. Ouid.* and a many more, the story is common. (i) *In their kinde*] By that law which the lawyers call naturall, *Ulpian 1. lib. Pandect.* (k) *Tyger*] A fierce beast, *Virg. and Ouid* vse it as the embleme of bloudinesse. (l) *Nouſte her yong*] She loueth her yong dearely. *Plin. 1. 8.* (m) *Kite*] A rauinous and meager soule. It is not seene in winter, and at the *Solifficies*, it hath the gout in the feete. *Plin. 1. 10. Aristotle* hath one strang note of the Eagles breed, that some of them goe out of their kind, & are hatched Ospreyes: the Osprey hatcheth not Ospreyes but the foules called *obras*, *Boane-breakers*, and they hatch kites, who doe not breed birds of their owne kinde, but others, which die and neuer bring forth any other. (n) *The peace of*] *Empedocles* held all things to consist by concord, and to dissolue by discord, putting them two as the first qualities of the foure elements. (o) *Embalmed*] As they vse to preferue bodies the longer from putrefaction, drying vp the Viscous humidity, so that thereby the carcases become dry, and at length turne to plaine pouders of dust. (p) *Illustring*] For as a good sent delighteth the sense, so doth a ranke one offend it: nature holding a correspondent affection vnto things that delight, and an inherent distaste of things offensive to it.

*Of that vniuersall peace which no perturbances can seclude from the law of nature, Gods iust iudgements disposing of every one according to his proper deserts.*

CHAP. 13.

**T**He bodies (a) peace therefore is an orderly dispose of the parts thereof: the vnreasonable soules, a good temperature of the appetites thereof: the reasonable soules, a true harmony betweene the knowledge, and the performance. The bodies, and soules both, a temperate and vndiseased habite of nature in the whole creature. The peace of mortall man with immortall GOD, is an orderly obedience vnto his eternall law, performed in faith. Peace of man and man, is a mutuall concord: peace of a family, an orderly rule and subiection amongst the parts thereof: peace of a citty, an orderly command, and obedience amongst the citizens: peace of Gods Citty a most orderly coherence in God, and fruition of GOD: peace of althings, is a well disposed order. For order, is a good disposition of discrepant parts, each in the fittest place, and therefore the miserable, (as they are miserable) are out of order, wanting that peace-able and vnperurbed state which order exacteth. But because their owne merites haue incurred this misery, therefore euen herein they are imposed in a certaine set order howsoeuer. Being not con-iointed with the blessed, but seuered from them by the law of order, and being exposed to miseries, yet are adapted vnto the places wherein they are resident, and so are digested into some kinde of methodicall forme, and consequently into some peacefull order. But this is their

mifery, that although that some little security wherein they liue, exempt them from present sorrowes, yet are they not in that state which fecludeth sorrow for euer, and affordeth eternall security. And their mifery is farre greater if they want the peace of nature: and when they are offended, the part that grieueth is the first disturber of their peace: for that which is neither offended, nor diffolued, preferues the peace of nature ftill. So then as one may poffibly liue without grieffe, but cannot poffibly grieue vnleffe hee liue: fo may there bee peace without any warre or contention: but contention, cannot bee without fome peace, (not as it is contention, but) becaufe the contenders doe fuffer and performe diuers things herein according to natures prefcript, which things could not confift, had they not fome peacefull order amongst them. So that there may bee a nature (you fee) wherein no euill may haue inherence, but to finde a nature vtterly voide of goodneffe, is vtterly impoffible. For the very nature of the deu ill (confider it as nature) is moft excellent, but their owne voluntary peruerfneffe depraued it. The deuill abode not in the truth, yet fcaped hee not the fentence of the truth: for hee tranfgreffed the peacefull lawe of order, yet could not auoide the powerfull hand of the orderer.

The good which GOD had beftowed on his nature, cleared him not from GODS heauy iudgement which allotted him to punishment. Yet doth not GOD heerein punifh the good which himfelfe created, but the euill which the deuill committed: nor did hee take away his whole nature from him, but left him part, whereby to bewaile the loffe of the reft: which lamentation, teftifyeth both what hee had and what hee hath: for had hee not fome good left, hee could not lament for what hee had loft. For his guilt is the greater that hauing loft all his vprightneffe, fhould reioyce at the loffe thereof. And hee that is ficke, if it benefit him nothing yet greueth at the loffe of his health. For vprightneffe and health beeing both goods, it behooueth the loofers of them to mourne, and not to reioyce, vnleffe this loffe bee repaired with better recompence, as vprightneffe of minde is better then health of bodie: but farre more reason hath the finner to lament in his fuffering then to reioyce in his tranfgreffion. Therefore euen as to reioyce at the loffe of goodneffe in fining, argueth a depraued will: fo likewise lament for the fame loffe, in fuffering, proueth a good nature. For he that bewaileth the loffe of his naturall peace, hath his light from the remainders of that peace, which are left in him, keeping his nature and him in concord.

And in the laft iudgement, it is but reafon that the wicked fhould deplore the loffe of their naturall goods, and feele GODS hand iuftly heauy in depriving them of them, whome they fcornefully refpected not in the beftowing them vpon them. Wherefore the high GOD, natures wifeft creator, and moft iuft difpofet, the parent of the worlds faireft wonder (mankinde) beftowed diuers goods vpon him, which ferue for this life onely, as the worldly and temporall peace, kept by honeft cohærence and fociety: together with all the adiacents of this peace, as the vifible light, the fpirable ayre, the potable water; and all the other neceffaries of meate drinke and cloathing: but with this condition, that hee that fhall vfe them in their due manner, and reference vnto (*b*) humane peace, fhall bee rewarded with giftes of farre greater moment, namely with the peace of immortality, and with vnfhaded glory,

glorie; and full fruition of GOD; and his brother, in the same GOD: (c) but he that vseth them amisse; shall neither partake of the former nor the later.

### L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) *bodie; peace*] Saint *Augustine* in this chapter prooueth althings to consist by peace and concord: so that consequently, discord must needs bee the fuell to all ruine and confusion. Wherefore I wonder at the peruerse nature of men that loue dissentions and quarrells, as their owne very soules, hating peace, as it were a most pernicious euill; Surely they had but there due, if their bosomes within, and their states without, were wholly fraught with this their so deere affected darling, warre. (b) *Humane peace*] But men doe turne all these goods now a daies into contentious vses, as if they were ordeined for no other end; neuer thinking that there is a place of eternall discord prepared for them to dwell in hereafter, where they may enioy their damned desires for eter. The whole goodnesse of peace, and of that especially which CHRIST left vs as his full inheritance, is gone, all but for the name and an imaginary shade thereof, all the rest wee haue lost: nay wee haue made a willing extrusion of it, and expelled it wittingly, and of set purpose, imagining our whole felicity to consist in the tumults of warres and slaughters. And oh so wee braue it, that wee haue slaine thus many men, burnt thus many townes, sacked thus many citties! Founding our principall glories vpon the destruction of our fellowes. But I may beginne a plaint of this heere, but I shall neuer end it. (c) *But hee*] A diuersity of reading in the copies, rather worth nothing then noting.

*Of the law of Heauen and Earth, which swaieeth humane  
society by counsell, and vnto which counsell hu-  
mane society obeyeth.*

#### CHAP. 14.

**A**LL temporall things are referred vnto the benefit of the peace which is resident in the *Terrestriall Cittie*, by the members thereof: and vnto the vse of the eternall peace, by the Citizens of the *Heauenly society*. Wherefore if wee wanted reason, wee should desire but an orderly state of body, and a good temperature of affects: nothing but fleshly ease, and fulnesse of pleasure. For the peace of the body augmenteth the quiet of the soule: and if it bee a wanting, it procureth a disturbance euen in brute beasts, because the affects haue not their true temperature.

Now both these combined, adde vnto the peace of soule and bodie both, that is, vnto the healthfull order of life. For as all creatures shew how they desire their bodies peace, in avoyding the causes of their hurt: and their soules, in following their appetites when neede requireth: so in flying of death; they make it as apparant how much they fet by their peace of soule and body. But man hauing a reasonable soule, subiecteth all his communities with beasts, vnto the peace of that, to worke so both in his contemplation and action, that there may bee a true consonance betweene them both, and this wee call the peace of the reasonable soule. To this end hee is to avoide molestation by griefe, disturbance by desire, and dissolution by death, and to ayme at profitable knowledge, wherevnto his actions may bee conformable. But leass his owne infirmity, through the much desire to know, should draw him into any pestilent inconuenience of error, hee must haue a diuine instruction,

to whose directions and assistance, hee is to assent with firme and free obedience. And because that during this life, *Hee is absent from the LORD, hee walketh by faith, and not by sight*, and therefore hee referreth all his peace of bodie, of soule, and of both, vnto that peace which mortall man hath with immortall GOD: to liue in an orderlie obedience vnder his eternall lawe, by faith.

Now GOD, our good Maister, teaching vs in the two chiefest precepts the loue of him, and the loue of our neighbour, to loue three things, GOD, our neighbour, and our selues, and seeing he that loueth GOD, offendeth not in louing himselfe: it followeth, that hee ought to counsell his neighbour to loue GOD, and to prouide for him in the loue of GOD, sure hee is commanded to loue him, as his owne selfe. So must hee doe for his wife, children, family, and all men besides: and wish likewise that his neighbour would doe as much for him, in his need: thus shall hee bee settled in peace and orderly concord with all the world. The order whereof is, first (a) to doe no man hurt, and secondly, to helpe all that hee can. So that his owne, haue the first place in his care, and those, his place and order in humane society affordeth him more conueniency to benefit. Wherevpon Saint Paul saith, *Hee that prouideth not for his owne, and namely for them that bee of his household, denieth the faith, and is worse then an Infidell*. For this is the foundation of domestickall peace, which is, an orderly rule, and subiection in the partes of the familie, wherein the prouisors are the Commaunders, as the husband ouer his wife; parents ouer their children, and maisters ouer their seruants: and they that are prouided for, obey, as the wiues doe their husbands, children their parents, and seruants their maisters. But in the family of the faithfull man, the heauenly pilgrim, there the Commaunders are indeed the seruants of those they seeme to commaund: ruling not in ambition, but beeing bound by carefull duety: not in proud souerainty, but in nourishing pittie.

### L. VIVES.

**F**irst (a) to doe no] Man can more easily doe hurt, or forbear hurt, then doe good. All men may iniure others, or abstaine from it. But to doe good, is all and some. Wherefore holy writ bids vs first, abstaine from iniury, all we can: and then, to benefit our christian bretheren, when wee can.

*Natures freedome, and bondage, caused by sinne: in which man is a slave to his owne affects, though he be not bondman to any one besides.*

### CHAP. 15.

**T**Hus hath nature order prescribed, and man by GOD was thus created. *Let them rule (saith hee) over the fishes of the sea, and the fowles of the ayre, and ouer every thing that creepeth upon the earth.* Hee made him reasonable, and LORD, onely ouer the vnreasonable, not ouer man, but ouer beastes. Wherevpon the first holy men were rather shep-heards then Kings, GOD shewing

shewing herein what both the order of the creation desired, and what the merit of sinne exacted. For iustly was the burden of seruitude layd vpon the backe of transgression. And therefore in all the scriptures wee neuer reade the word, *Seruant*, vntill such time as that iust man *Noah* (a) layd it as a curse vpon his offending sonne. So that it was guilt, and not nature that gaue originall vnto that name. (b) The latine word *Seruus*, had the first deriuation from hence: those that were taken in the warres, beeing in the hands of the conquerours to massacre or to preserue, if they saued them, then were they called *Serui*, of *Seruo*, to saue. Nor was this effected beyond the desert of sinne. For in the iustest warre, the sinne vpon one side causeth it; and if the victory fall to the wicked (as some-times it may) (c) it is GODS decree to humble the conquered, either reforming their sinnes heerein, or punishing them. Witnesse, that holy man of GOD, *Daniel*, who beeing in captiuity, confessed vnto his Creator, that his sinnes, and the sinnes of the people were the reall causes of that captiuity.

Sinne therefore is the mother of seruitude, and first cause of mans subiection to man: which notwithstanding commeth not to passe but by the direction of the highest, in whome is no iniustice, and who alone knoweth best how to proportionate his punishment vnto mans offences: and hee himselfe saith: *Whosoever committeth sinne is the seruant of sinne*, and therefore many religious Christians are seruants vnto wicked maisters, (d) yet not vnto free-men, for that which a man is addicted vnto, the same is hee slaue vnto. And it is a happier seruitude to serue man then lust: for lust (to ommit all the other affects) practiseth extreame tirany vpon the hearts of those that serue it, bee it lust after souerainty, or fleshly lust. But in the peacefull orders of states, wherein one man is vnder an other, as humility doth benefit the seruant, so doth pride endamage the superior. But take a man as GOD created him at first, and so hee is neither slaue to man nor to sinne. But penall seruitude had the institution from that law which commaundeth the conseruation, and forbiddeth the disturbance of natures order: for if that law had not first beene transgressed, penall seruitude had neuer beene enioyed.

Therefore the Apostle warneth seruants to obey their Maisters and to serue them with cheerefulnesse, and good will: to the end that if they cannot bee made free by their Maisters, they make their seruitude a free-dome to themselues; by seruing them, not in deceitfull feare, but in faithfull loue, vntill iniquity be ouerpasse, and all mans power and principality disanulled, and GOD onely be all in all.

## L. VIVES.

**N**oah (a) layd it ] *Gen. 9.* (b) *The latine* ] So saith *Florentinus* the Ciuilian, *Institue lib. 4.* And they are called *Mancipia* (quoth hee) of *manu capti*, to take with the hand, or, by force. This you may reade in *Iustinians Pandects lib. 1.* The Lacædemonians obserued it first. *Plin. lib. 7.* (c) *It is Gods decree* ] Whose prouidence often produceth warres against the wills of either party. (d) *Yet not vnto free* ] Their Maisters being slaues to their owne passions, which are worse maisters then men can be.

*Of the iust law of soueraignty.*

## CHAP. 16.

**V**Herefore although our righteous fore-fathers had seruants in their families, and according to their temporall estates, made a distinction betwixt their seruants and their children, yet in matter of religion (the fountaine whence all eternall good floweth,) they prouided for all their household with an equall respect vnto each member thereof. This, natures order prescribed, and hence came the name of, *The Father of the family*, a name which euen the worst Maisters loue to bee called by. But such as merit that name truely, doe care that all their families should continue in the seruice of GOD, as if they were all their owne children, desyring that they should all bee placed in the household of heauen, where commaund is wholly vnecessary, because then they are past their charge, hauing attained immortality, which vntill they bee installed in, the Maisters are (a) to endure more labour in their gouernment, then the seruants in their seruice. If any bee disobedient, and offend this iust peace, hee is forth-with to bee corrected, with strokes, or some other conuenient punishment, whereby hee may beere-ingrafted into the peace-full stocke from whence his disobedience hath torne him. For as it is no good turne to helpe a man vnto a smaller good by the losse of a greater: no more is it the part of innocence by pardoning a small offence, to let it grow vnto a fouler. It is the duetie of an innocent to hurt no man, but withall, to curbe sinne in all hee can, and to correct sinne in whome hee can, that the sinners correction may bee profitable to himselfe, and his example a terrour vnto others. Euery family then beeing part of the cittie, euery beginning hauing relation vnto some end, and euery part, tending to the integrity of the whole, it followeth apparantly, that the families peace adhereth vnto the citties, that is the orderly command, and obedience in the familie, hath reall reference to the orderly rule and subiection in the cittie. So that *the Father of the familie* may fetch his instructions from the citties gouernment, whereby hee may proportionate the peace of his priuate estate, by that of the Common.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He Maisters (a) are to endure ] It is most difficult and laborious to rule well, and it is as trouble-some to rule ouer vnruely persons.

*The grounds of the concord, and discord betweene the Citties of Heauen and Earth.* CHAP. 17.

**B**Vt they that liue not according to faith, angle for all their peace in the Sea of temporall profittes: Whereas the righteous liue in full expectation of the glories to come, vsing the occurrences of this worlde, but as pilgrimes, not to abandon their course towards GOD

for mortall respects, but thereby to assist the infirmity of the corruptible flesh, and make it more able to encounter with toyle and trouble. Wherefore the necessities of this life are common, both to the faithfull and the Infidell, and to both their families: but the endes of their two vsages thereof are farre different.

The faythlesse, *worldly city*, aymeth at earthly peace, and setteth the selfe therein, onely to haue an vniformity of the Cittizens wills in matters onely pertayning till mortality. And the *Heauenly city*, or rather that part thereof, which is as yet a pilgrime on earth and liueth by faith, vseth this peace also: as befitteth vnto, it leaue this mortall life wherein such a peace is requisite and therefore liueth (while it is here on earth) as if it were in captiuity, and hauing receiued the promise of redemption, and diuers spirituall gifts, as seales thereof, it willingly obeyeth such lawes of the *temporall city* as order the things pertayning to the sustenance of this mortall life, to the end that both the Citties might obserue a peace in such things as are pertinent here-vnto. But because that the *Earthly City* hath some members, whome the holy scriptures vtterly disallow, and who standing either to well affected to the diuels, or being illuded by them, beleueed that each thing had a peculiar deity ouer it, and belonged to the charge of a seuerall God: as the body to one, the soule to another, and in the body it selfe the head to one, the necke to another, and so of euery member: as likewise of the soule, one had the witt, another the learning, a third the wrath, a fourth the desire: as also in other necessities or accidents belonging to mans life, the cattell, the corne, the wine, the oyle, the woods, the monies, the nauigation, the warres, the mariages, the generations, each being a seuerall charge vnto a particullar power, whereas the cittizens of the *Heauenly state* acknowledged but one onely God, to whom that worshipp, which is called *λατρεία* was peculiarly and folly due: hence came it that the *two hierachies*, could not bee combined in one religion, but must needs dissent herein, so that the good part was faine to beare the pride and persecution of the bad, but that their owne multitude some-times, and the prouidence of G O D continually stood for their protection.

This *celestiall society* while it is here on earth, increaseth it selfe out of all languages, neuer respecting the temporall lawes that are made against so good and religious a practise: yet not breaking, but obseruing their diuersity in diuers nations, all which do tend vnto the preservation of earthly peace, if they oppose not the adoration of one onely G O D. So that you see, the *Heauenly city* obserueth and respecteth this temporall peace here on Earth, and the coherence of mens wills in honest morality, as farre as it may with a safe conscience, yea and so farre desireth it, making vse of it for the attaynement of the peace eternall: which is so truly worthy of that name, as that the orderly and vniforme combination of men in the fruition of G O D, and of one another in G O D, is to be accompted the reasonable creatures onely peace, which being once attained, mortality is banished, and life then is the (2) true life indeed, nor is the carnall body any more an encombrance to the soule, by corruptibility, but is now become spirituall, perfected, and entirely subiect vnto the souerainety of the will.

This peace is that vnto which the pilgrime in faith referreth the other which he



hath here in his pilgrimage, and then liueth hee according to faith, when all that hee doth for the obtaining hereof is by him-selfe referred vnto *God*, and his neighbour with-all, because being a cittizen, hee must not bee all for him-selfe, but sociable, in his life and actions.

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### L. VIVES.

**T**He (*a*) true life ] *Ennius* vsed the Latine phrase *Vita vitalis*, to which *Augustine* alludeth. *Cicero*.

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*That the suspended doctrine of the new Academy opposeth the constancie of Christianity.* CHAP. 18.

**A**S for the new Academians, whome *Varro* auoucheth to hold no certainty but this, *That all things are uncertaine*: the Church of *God* detesteth these doubts, as madnesse, hauing a most certaine knowledge of the things it apprehendeth, although but in small quantity, because of the corruptible body which is a burden to the soule, and because as the *Apostle* saith, *Wee know (but) in part*. Besides, it beleueth the sence in objects, of which the minde iudgeth by the sensitiue organs, because hee is in a grosse error that taketh all trust from them: It beleueth also the holy canonicall scriptures, both old and new, from which the iust man hath his faith, by which hee liueth, and wherein (*a*) wee all walke with-out doubt, as long as wee are in our pilgrimage, and personally absent from *God*: and this faith being kept firme, wee may lawfully doubt of all such other things as are not manifested vnto vs eyther by sence, reason, scripture, nor testimony of grounded authoritie.

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### L. VIVES.

**W**E all walke (*a*) without doubt ] We haue no knowledge of it, but beleue it as firmly as what wee see with our eyes.

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*Of the habite, and manners belonging to a Christian.*

CHAP. 19.

**I**T is nothing to the *Citty of God* what attyre the cittizens weare, or what rules they obserue, as long as they contradict not *Gods* holy precepts, but each one keepe the faith, the true path to saluation: and therefore when a Philosopher becommeth a Christian, they neuer make him alter his habite, nor his manners, which are no hindrance to his religion, but his false opinions. They respect not *Varro's* distinction of the *Cynikes*, as long as they forbear vncleane and intemperate actions. But as concerning the three kindes of life, actiue, contemplatiue, and the meanes betweene both, although one may keepe the faith in any of those courses, yet there is a difference betweene the loue of the truth, and the duties of charitie. One may not bee so giuen to contemplation, that hee neglect the good of his neighbour: nor so farre in loue with action that hee forget diuine speculation. In contemplation one may not seeke for idlenesse, but for truth:

to

to benefite him-selfe by the knowledge thereof, and not to grudge to impart it vnto others. In action one may not ayme at highnesse or honor, because *all vnder the sunne is meere vanitie*: but to performe the worke of a superiour vnto the true end, that is, vnto the benefite and saluation of the subiect, as wee sayd before. And this made the Apostle say: *If any man desire the office of a Bishop, hee* 1. Tim. 3. 2. *desireth a good worke*: what this office was; hee explaineth not; it is an office of labour, and not of honour. (a) The Greeke word signifieth that hee that is heerein installed, is to watch ouer his people that are vnder him: *Episcopus* a Bishop, commeth of *ἐπίσκοπος*, which is, *ouer*, and *σκοπος*, which is, *a watching, or an attendance*: so that wee may very well translate *ἐπίσκοπος*, a *superintendent*, to shew that hee is no true Bishop, who desireth rather to be Lordly him-selfe, then profitable vnto others. No man therefore is forbidden to proceed in a lawdable forme of contemplation. But to affect soueraignty, though the people must bee gouerned, & though the place be well discharged, yet notwithstanding is (b) taxable of indecencie. Wherefore the loue of truth requireth a holy retirednesse: and the necessity of charity, a iust employment, which if it bee not imposed vpon vs, wee ought not to seeke it, but be-take our selues wholly to the holy inquest of truth: but if wee bee called forth vnto a place, the law and need of charity bindeth vs to vnder-take it. (c) Yet may wee not for all this, giue ouer our first resolution, least wee loose the sweetnesse of that, and bee surcharged with the weight of the other.

### L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) Greeke word] of this before. *lib. 1. cap. 9.* *ἐπίσκοπος* comes either of *ἐπίσκοπος*, to consider, or of *ἐπίσκοπος*, which is, to visit. The Scripture, where the seauenty translated *ἐπίσκοπος*, doe read it, a *watch-man*, as in *Ezechiel, & Osee, chap. 5.* [where the Lord complaineth that they had bene a snare in their watching, and a net upon mount Thabor. As if hee uaine could had spoken of the Bishops of these times, who set snares for benefices, and spread large netts pie for money, but not too wide wasted, least the coyne should scatter forth. (b) Taxable of fectiue indecencie] O but some fine braines have now brought it so about, that bishoppricks may not onely bee sued for, but euen bought and sold with-out any preiudice at all vnto this lawe.] (c) Yet may wee not] Hee sheweth that a Bishop should conuerse with the holy scriptures often, and drawe him-selfe home vnto God now and then, from all his busineses, living (if he did well) as a pilgrim of Gods in this life, and one that had a charge of Gods, and his owne soules in hand, not any temporall trash, and yet ought he not to forsake his ministry, to which he should be preferred by an heauenly calling, and not by an heauy purse. thus far.]

Hope, the blisse of the heauenly Cittizens, during this life.

### CHAP. 20.

**T**Hen therefore is the good of the Holy society perfect, when their peace is established in eternity: not running any more in successions as mortall men doe in life and death, one to another: but confirmed vnto them together with their immortalitie for euer, with-out touch of the least imperfection. What is hee that would not accompt such an estate most happy, or comparing it with

with that which man hath heere vpon earth, would not auouch this later to bee most miserable, were it neuer so well fraught with temporall conueniences? yet hee that hath the latter in possession, and applyeth it all vnto the vse of his hopes firme and faithfull obiekt: the former, may not vnfairly bee called happy already, but that is rather in his expectation of the first, then in his fruition of the later. For this possession with-out the other hope, is a false beatitude, and a most true misery. For herein is no vse of the mindes truest goods, because there wanteth the true wildome, which in the prudent discretion, resolute performance, temperate restraint, and iust distribution of these things, should referre his intent in all these, vnto that end, where *God* shall bee all in all, where eternity shall be firme, and peace most perfect and absolute.

*Whether the Citty of Rome had euer a true common-wealth, according to Scipio's definition of a common-wealth, in Tully.*

CHAP. 21.

**N**OW it is time to performe a promise which I passed in the second booke of this worke: and that was, to shew that Rome neuer had a true common-wealth, as *Scipio* defineth one in *Tullyes* booke *De Repub.* his Definition was, A common-wealth is the estate of the people. *Respub. est res populi.* If this be true, Rome neuer had any, for it neuer had an estate of the people, which hee defines the common-wealth by: For, he defineth the people to bee a multitude, vnited in one consent of lawe and profite: what hee meaneth by a consent of lawe, hee sheweth him-selfe: and sheweth there-by that a state cannot stand with-out iustice: so that where true iustice wanteth, there can bee no law. For what lawe doth, iustice doth, and what is done vniustly, is done vnlawfully. For wee may not imagine mens vniust decrees to bee lawes: all men defining law to (a) arise out of the fountaine of iustice; and that that same vniust assertion of some, is vtterly false: (b) *That is law which is profitable vnto the greatest.* So then, where iustice is not, there can bee no societie vnited in one consent of lawe, therefore no people, according to *Scipios* definitions in *Tully.* If no people, then no estate of the people, but rather of a confused multitude, vnworthy of a peoples name. If then the common-wealth be an estate of the people, and that they bee no people that are not vnited in one consent of lawe: nor that no law, which groundeth not vpon iustice: then followeth it needes, that where no iustice is, there no common-wealth is. Now then *ad propositum*: Iustice is a vertue distributing vnto euery one his due. What iustice is that then, that taketh man from the true *God*, and giueth him vnto the damned fiends? is this distribution of due? is hee that taketh away thy possessions, and giueth them to one that hath no claime to them guilty of in-iustice, and is not hee so likewise, that taketh him-selfe away from his *Lord God*, and giueth him-selfe to the seruice of the deuill? There are witty and powerfull disputations in those bookes *De repub.* for iustice against in-iustice. Wherein, it hauing first beene argued for in-iustice, against iustice, and auerred that a state could not stand with-out in-iustice; and this brought as a principall confirmation hereof, that it is in-iustice for man to rule ouer-man, and yet if the Citty whose dominion is so large, should not obserue this forme of in-iustice, shee could neuer keepe the prouinces vnder. Vnto this it was answered on the behalfe of iustice, that this was a iust course; it being profitable for

for such to serue, and for their good, to witte, when the power to do hurt is taken from the wicked, they wil carry themselues better being curbed, because they carried themselues so badly before they were curbed. To confirme this answer this notable example was alledged, as being fetched from nature it selfe: *If it were iust to rule, why doth God rule ouer man, the soule ouer the body, reason ouer lust, and al the mindes other vicious affects?* This example teacheth plaine that it is good for some to serue in perticular, and it is good for all to serue God in generall. And the mind seruing God, is lawfull Lord ouer the body: so is reason being subiect vnto God, ouer the lusts and other vices. Wherefore if man serue not God, what iustice can bee thought to bee in him? seeing that if hee serue not him the soule hath neither lawfull souerainty ouer the body, nor the reason ouer the affects: now if this iustice cannot be found in owne man, no more can it then in a whole multitude of such like men. Therefore amongst such there is not that consent of law which maketh a multitude a people, whose estate maketh a commonwealth; What neede I speake of the profit, that is named in the definition of a people? for although that none liue profitably that liue wickedly, that serue not God, but the Diuells (who are so much the more wicked in that they being most filthy creatures, dare exact sacrifices as if they were gods:) yet I thinke that what I haue said of the consent of law may serue to shew that they were no people whose estate might make a weale-publike, hauing no iustice amongst them. If they say they did not serue Diuells, but holy gods, what neede wee rehearse that here which we said so often before? who is he that hath read ouer this worke vnto this chapter, and yet doubteth whether they were diuells that the Romaines worshipped or no? vnlesse he be either senselessly blockish, or st.amelessly contentious? But to leaue the powers that they offered vnto, take this place of holy writ for all: *He that sacrificeth vnto gods, shalbe rooted out, but vnto one God alone.* He that taught this in such threatning manner will haue no gods sacrificed vnto, be they good or be they bad.

### L. VIVES.

**L**aw to (a) arise.]. *Cic. de leg. lib. 1.* It was not the peoples command (saith he) nor Princes decrees, nor iudges sentences, but the very rule of nature that gaue originall vnto law. And againe. *lib. 2.* *I see that the wisest men held that law came neither from mans inuentions nor popular decrees, but is an eternall thing, ruling all the world by the knowledge of commanding and forbidding: and so they auouched the high law of all to be the intellect of that great God who swayeth all by compulsion and prohibition.* Thus Tully, out of Plato, and thus the Stoikes held aganst Epicurus who held that nature accounted nothing iust, but feare did. *Sene. Epsit. 16.* This holy law that lyeth recorded in euery mans conscience, the ciuilians call *right and reason equum & bonum.*

So that *Ulpian* defineth law to be *ars equi & boni*, an arte of right and reason, making him ouely a Lawyer that can skill of this right and reason, and such that as *Tully* sayd of *Sulpitius*, referre all vnto equiry, and had rather end controuersies then procure them, that peace might be generally kept amongst men, and each bee at peace with him-selfe, which is the chiefe ioy of nature.

Surely the lawyers of ancient times were appointed for this end, to decide and finish contentions, as when I was litle better then a child, I remember I hard mine vncle *Henry Marke* read in his admired lectures vpon *Iustinians Institutions.* *Francesco Craneweldio*, and

and I had much talke hereof, of late, who is a famous and profoud ciuilian, and in truth hee made a great complaint in my hearing of the quirkes, and coufonages that the lawyers of this age do hatch and bring forth. Truly he is a man of a rare conceipt, and of that harmelesse cariage withall, that conuerse with him seauen yeares, and yet you shall neuer heare offensiue tearme come out of his mouth. *Marke Laurino*, Deane of *S. Donatians* in Bruges was with vs now and then: if learning had many such friends as he, it would beare an higher fayle then it doth. *John Fennius* also, of the same house, was with vs sometimes, a youth naturally ordayned to learning, and so he applieth him-selfe. (*b*) *That is law.*] So did *Thrasibulus* define law. *Plato de Rep. lib. 1.* where *Socrates* confuteth him, but truely the law that is in ordinary practise, is most of this nature.

*Whether Christ, the Christians God be he vnto whome onely sacrifice is to be offered.*

CHAP. 22.

**B**Vt they may reply: who is that God? or how proue you him to be worthy of all the Romaines sacrifices, and none besides him to haue any part? oh it is a signe of great blindnesse, to be yet to learne who that God is! It is he whose prophets fore-told what our owne eyes saw effected: it is he that tolde *Abraham*, *In thy seed shall all the nations be blessed*, which the remainders of the haters of Christianity do know, whether they will or no, to haue beene fulfilled in Christ, descended from *Abraham* in the flesh. It is that God whose spirit spake in them whose prophecies the whole Church beholdeth fulfilled: the whole Church, spred over the face of the whole earth, beholds them, and in that were they fulfilled, which I related in my former bookes. It is that God whome *Varro* calleth the Romaines *Ioue*, though he know not what he saith, yet this I adde because that so great a scholler thought him to bee neither no God at all, nor one of the meanest, for hee thought that this was the great God of all. Briefly, it is euen that God whome that learned Philosopher *Prophiry* (albeit he was a deadly foe to Christianity) acknowledged to bee the highest God, euen by the Oracles of those whom hee called the inferiour gods.

*Porphiry his relation of the Oracles touching Christ.*

CHAP. 23.

**F**Or he in his bookes which he entitleth *θεολογία φιλοσοφίας*, *The diuinity of Philosophy* wherein he setteth downe the Oracles answeres in things belonging to Philosophy, hath something to this purpose, and thus it is, from the Greeke: *One went* (saith he) *vnto the Oracle, and asked vnto what God he should sacrifice for to obtaine his wiues conuersion from Christianity: Apollo answered him thus: Thou maist sooner write legible letters vpon the water, or get thee wings to fly through ayre like a bird, then reuoke thy wife from hir polluted opinion. Let her runne after her mad opinions, as long as she list: let her honour that dead God with her false lamentations, whome the wise and well aduised iudges condemned, and whome a shamefull death vpon the crosse dispatched.* Thus farre the Oracle, the Greeke is in verse but our language will not beare it. After these verses, *Prophiry* addeth this: *Behold how remedyleffe their erroneous beleefe is: because as Apollo said* (quoth he) *the Iewes do receive*

receiue God with meanes greater then others. Heare you this? hee disgraceth and obscureth *Christ*, and yet saith, *the Iewes receiue God*, for so he interpreteth the oracles verses, where they say that *Christ* was condemned by well aduised iudges, as though hee had beene lawfully condemned and iustly executed. This lying Priests oracle let him look vnto, and beleue if hee like it: but it may very well bee that the Oracle gaue no such answer, but that this is a meere fiction of his. How hee reconciles the oracles, and agrees with him-helfe, wee shall see by and by. But by the way, heere hee saith, that the Iewes, as the receiuers of God, indged aright in dooing *Christ* to so ignominious and cruell a death. So then to the Iewes God sayd well in saying, *Hee that sacrificeth vnto many Gods shall bee rooted out, but vnto one God onely*. But come on, let vs goe to more manifest matter, and heere what hee maketh of the Iewes God: Hee asked *Apollo* which was better, *the word, or the law*: And hee answered thus (saith hee) and then hee addeth the answer, I will relate as much of it as needeth): *Vpon God the Creator, and vpon the King before all things, who maketh heauen and earth, the sea, and hell, yea and all the Gods to tremble: the lawe is their fasher, whome the holy Hebrewes doe adore*. This glory doth *Porphry* giue the Hebrew God, from his God *Apollo*, that the very deities doe tremble before him. So then this God hauing sayd, *Hee that sacrificeth vnto many Gods shall bee rooted out*, I wonder that *Porphry* was not afraide to bee rooted out for offering to so many Gods. Nay this fellow speaketh well of *Christ* afterwards, as forgetting the reproche hee offered him before: as if in their dreames, his Gods had scorned CHRIST, and beeing awake, commended him, and acknowledged his goodnesse. Finally, as if hee meant to speake some maruellous matter: *It may exceede all beleefe* (saith hee) *which I am now to deliuer: the Gods affirmed CHRIST to bee a man most godly, and immortalized for his goodnesse, giuing him great commendations: but for the Christians, they auouche them to bee persons stained with all corruption and error: and giue them all the foule words that may bee*. Then hee relateth the Oracles which blaspheme the Christian religion, and afterwards, *Hecate* (saith hee) being asked if *Christ* were GOD, replied thus: *His soule beeing seuered from his body became immortal; but it wandereth about voyde of all wisdom: it was the soule of a most worthy man, whome now those that forsake the truth, doe worship*. And then hee addeth his owne sayings vpon this oracle, in this manner. *The goddesse therefore called him a most godly man, and that the deluded Christians doe worship his soule, being made immortal after death, as other godly soules are*. Now being asked why hee was condemned then? shee answered: *His body was condemned to torments, but his soule sitteth aboue in heauen, and giueth all those soules vnto error by destiny, who cannot attaine the gifts of the Goas, or come to the knowledge of immortal Ioue. And therefore are they hated of the Gods, because they neither acknowledge them, nor receiue their gifts, but are destin'd vnto error by him: now hee him-selfe was godly, and went up to heau as godly men doe. Therefore blasphemie not him, but pittie the poore soules whome hee hath bound in error*.

What man is there so fond that cannot obserue that these oracles are either directly faigned by this craftie foe of Christianity, or else the Deuills owne trickes to this end, that in praying of *Christ*, they might seeme truely to reprehend the Christian profession? and so if they could, to stop mans entrance into Christianity, the sole way vnto saluation? for they thinke it no preiudice to their many-formed deceit, to be beleued in praying of *Christ* as long as they be beleued also in dispraying the Christian, so that he that beleueth them, must be a

commender of *Christ*, and yet a contemner of his religion. And thus although hee honour *Christ*, yet shall not *Christ* free him from the clutches of the Deuill, because they giue *Christ* such a kinde of praise, as who so beleueth to bee true, shall be farre from true Christianity, and rather then other-wise, of (*b*) *Photinus* his heresie, who held *Christ* to be but onely man, and no *God* at all: so that such a beleuer should neuer bee saued by *Christ*, nor cleared of the deuils fowling nettes.

But we will neither beleue *Apollo* in his deprauation, nor *Hecate* in her commendation of *Christ*. He will haue *Christ* a wicked man, and iustly condemned, she will haue him a most godly man, and yet but onely man. But both agree in this, they would haue no christians, because all but christians are in their clutches. But let this Philosopher, or they that giue credence to those oracles against christianity, if they can reconcile *Apollo* and *Hecate*, and make them both tell one tale, either in *Christ*s praise or dispraise. Which if they could do, yet would we auoide them, as deceitfull deuills both in their good words and in their bad. But seeing this *God* & this goddesse cannot agree about *Christ*, truly men haue no reason to beleue or obey them in forbidding christianity. Truly either *Porphyr* or *Hecate* in these commendations of *Christ*, affirming that he destined the christians to error, yet goeth about to shew the causes of this error; which before I relate, I will aske him this one question: If *Christ* did predestinate all christians vnto error, whether did hee this wittingly, or against his will? If hee did it wittingly, how then can hee bee iust? if it were against his will, how can hee then bee happy? But now to the causes of this error. There are some spirits of the earth, (saith hee) which are vnder the rule of the euill *Demon*es. These, the Hebrewes wise men, (whereof *I E S V S* was one, as the diuine Oracle, declared before, doth testifie) forbad the religious persons to meddle with-all, aduising them to attend the celestiall powers, and especially *God the Father*, with all the reuerence they possibly could. And this (saith hee) the Gods also doe command vs, as wee haue already shewen, how they admonish vs to reuerence *GOD* in all places. But the ignorant and wicked, hauing no diuine guift, nor any knowledge of that great and immortall *Ioue*, nor following the precepts of the gods or good men, haue cast all the deities at their heeles, choosing not onely to respect, but euen to reuerence those depraued *Demon*es. And where-as they professe the seruice of *GOD*, they doe nothing belonging to his seruice. For *GOD* is the father of all things, and stands not in neede of any thing: and it is well for vs to exhibite him his worship in chastitie, iustice, and the other vertues, making our whole life a continuall prayer vnto him, by our search and imitation of him. (*c*) For our search of him (quoth hee) purifieth vs, and our imitation of him, deifieth the effects in our selues. Thus well hath hee taught *God the Father* vnto vs, and vs how to offer our seruice vnto him. The Hebrew Prophets are full of such holy precepts, concerning both the commendation and reformation of the Saints liues. But as concerning Christianity, there hee erreth, and slandereth, as farre as his deuills pleasure is, whome hee holdeth deities: as though it were so hard a matter, out of the obscenities practised and published in their Temples, and the true worship and doctrine presented before *GOD* in our Churches, to discern where manners were reformed and where they were ruined. Who but the deuill him-selfe could inspire him with so shamelesse a falsification, as to say, that the Christians doe rather honour then detest the Deuills whose adoration was forbidden by the Hebrewes? No, that

that *God* whome the Hebrewes adored, will not allow any sacrifice vnto his holiest Angels, (whome wee that are pilgrims on earth, doe not-with- standing loue and reuerence as most sanctified members of the *City of heauen*) but forbiddeth it directly in this thundring threate: *Hee that sacrificeth vnto Gods, shall be rooted out*, and least it should be thought hee meant onely of the earthly spirits, whome this fellow calles the lesser powers, (d) and whome the scripture also calleth gods, (not of the Hebrewes, but the *Heathens*) as is euident in that one place, *Psal. 96. verse 5. For all the Gods of the Heathen, are Diuels*: least any should imagine that the fore-said prohibition extended no further then these deuills, or that it concerned not the offering to the celestiall spirits, he addeth: *but vnto the Lord alone, but vnto one God onely*: Some may take the words, *nisi domino soli*, to bee vnto the *Lora*, the sunne: and so vnderstand the place to bee meant of *Apollo*, but [the ori- nall and] the (e) Greeke translations doe subuert all such misprision. So then the Hebrew *God*, so highly commended by this Philosopher, gaue the Hebrewes a lawe in their owne language, not obscure or vncertaine, but already disper- sed through-out all the world, wherein this clause was literally contened. *Hee that sacrificeth vnto Gods shall bee rooted out, but vnto the Lord alone*. What neede wee make any further search into the law and the Prophets concerning this? nay what need wee search at all, they are so plaine and so manifold, that what neede I stand aggrauating my disputation with any multitudes of those places, that exclude all powers of heauen and earth from participating of the honors due vnto *God* alone? Behold this one place, spoaken in brieffe, but in powerfull manner by the mouth of that *GOD* whome the wisest *Ethnickes* doe so highly extoll; let vs marke it, feare it, and obserue it, least our eradication ensue. *Hee that sacrificeth vnto more gods then that true and onely LORD, shall bee rooted out*: yet *God* him-selſe is farre from needing any of our seruices, but (f) all that wee doe herein is for the good of our owne soules. Here-vpon the Hebrewes say in their holy *Psalmes*: *I haue sayd vnto the Lord, thou art my GOD, my well-dooing tendeth not vnto thee*: No, wee our selues are the best and most excellent sacri- fice that hee can haue offered him. It is his *City* whose mystery wee celebrate in such oblations as the faithfull doe full well vnderstand, as I sayd once already. For the ceasing of all the typicall offerings that were exhibited by the Iewes, and the ordeyning of one sacrifice, to bee offered through the whole world from East to West (as now wee see it is) was prophecied long before, from *GOD*, by the mouthes of holy Hebrewes: whome wee haue cited, as much as needed, in conuenient places of this our worke.

Therefore, to conclude, where there is not this iustice that *GOD* ruleth all alone ouer the society that obeyeth him by grace, and yeeldeth to his prohibition of sacrifice vnto all but him-selſe, and where in euery member belonging to this heauenly society, the soule is lord ouer the body, and all the bad affects thereof, in the obedience of *GOD*, and an orderly forme, so that all the iust (as well as one) liue according to faith (g) which worketh by loue, in which a man loueth *GOD* as hee should, and his neighbour as him-selſe: where this iustice is not, is no societie of men combined in one vniformity of lawe and profite: consequently, no true state popular, (if that definition holde touch) and finally no common-wealth; for where the people haue no certaine state, the generall hath no exact forme.



## L. VIVES.

θεολογια φιλοσοφιας.] That is of *Oraculous Philosophie*, in which worke hee recites *Apollos Oracles*, and others, part whereof wee haue cited before. (b) *Photinus.*] Hee was condemned by the counsell of *Syrmiu*, being confuted by *Sabinus* Bishoppe of *Ancyra*. *Cassiod. Hist tripart.* He followed the positions of *Samasatenus*, so that many accompted of both these heresies all as one. (c) *For our search.*] Search is here a mentall inquisition, whereby the mind is illustrate, and purged from darke ignorance, and after it hath found God, studieth how to grow pure, and diuine, like him. (d) *And whome the scripture.*] The name of God, is principally his, of whome, by whome, and in whome, all things haue their existence: shewing (in part) the nature and vertue of that incomprehensible *Trine*. Secondly and (as one may say) abusiuely, the Scripture calleth them, gods, vnto whome the word is giuen, as our Sauiour testifieth in the Gospell: and so are the Heauenly powers also called, as seemeth by that place of the Psalme: *God standeth in the assembly of the gods.* &c. Thirdly and (not abusiuely but) falsely, the Deuills are called gods also. *All the gods of the heathen, are Deuills. Origen. in Cantic.* This last question *Augustine* taketh from the seauenty, for *Hierome* translatheth it from the Hebrew, Idols, and not Diuells. *Psa. 96. 5.* (e) *The Greeke.*] Where wee read *ὁ μὲν τὸ εὐσεβὸν* nor is this superfluously added of *Augustine*, for many Philosophers, and many nations both held and honored the Sunne onely for God, and referred the power of all the rest vnto it alone, *Macrob. (f) All that we do.*] Our well doing benefiteth not God, nor betters him, so that there is nothing due vnto vs for being good: but wee our selues owe God for all, by whose grace it is that wee are good. (g) *Which worketh by.*] It is dead, and lacketh all the power, and vigour, when it proceedeth not in the workes of charity.

*A definition of a people, by which, both the Romaines and other kingdomes may challenge themselves common-weales.*

## CHAP. 24.

**B**Vt omit the former difinition of a people, and take this: *A people is a multitude of reasonable creatures conioyned in a general communication of those things it respecteth*: and then to discerne the state of the people, you must first consider what those things are. But what euer they bee, where there is a multitude of men, conioyned in a common fruition of what they respect, there, may fitly bee sayd to bee a people: the better that their respects are, the better are they them-selues, and other-wise, the worse. By this definition, Rome had a people, and consequently a common-weale: what they embraced at the first, and what afterwards, what goodnesse they changed into bloudinesse, what concord they forooke for seditions, confederacies and ciuill warres, History can testifie, and wee (in part) haue already related? Yet this doth not barre them the name of a people, nor their state of the stile of a common-wealth, as long as they beare this our last definition vnin-fringed. And what I haue sayd of them, I may say of the Athenians, the Greekes in generall, the Egyptians, and the Assirian Babilonians, were there dominions great or little, and so of all nations in the world. For in the *City of the wicked*, where GOD doth not gouerne and men obey, sacrificing vnto him alone, and consequently where the soule doth not rule the body, nor reascn the passions, there generally wanteth the vertue of true iustice.

*That*

*That there can be no true vertue, where true religion wanteth.*

CHAP. 25.

**F**OR though there be a seeming of these things, yet if the soule, and the reason serue not *God*, as he hath taught them how to serue him, they can neuer haue true dominion ouer the body, nor ouer the passions: for how can that soule haue any true meane of this *decorum*, that knoweth not *God*, nor serueth his greatnesse, but runneth a whoring with the vncleane and filthy deuills? No, those things which shee seemes to account vertues, and thereby to sway her affects, if they bee not all referred vnto *God*, are indeed rather vices then vertues. For although some hold them to bee reall vertues, (a) when they are affected onely for their owne respect, and nothing else; yet euen so they incurre vaine-glory, and so loose their true goodnesse. For as it is not of the flesh, but about the flesh, that animates the body. So it is not of man, but about man, which deifies the minde of man, yea, and of all the powers of the heauens.

L. VIVES.

**W**Hen (a) they ] The Stoikes held vertue to bee her owne price, content with it selfe, and to bee affected onely for it selfe. This is frequent in *Seneca*, and in *Tullies Stoicysmes*, and *Plato* seemes to confirme it. *Tully* setteth downe two things that are to be affected meere-ly for them-selues: perfection of internall goodnesse, and that good which is absolutely externall, as parents, children, friends, &c. These are truly deare vnto vs, in them-selues, but nothing so as the others are. *De finib. lib. 5.* It is a question in diuinity, whether the vertues are to bee desired meere-ly for them-selues. *Ambrose* affirmeth it. *In Epist. ad Galat.* *Augustine* denieth it. *De Trinit. lib. 13.* *Peter Lombard* holdes them both to bee worthy of loue in them-selues, and also to haue a necessary reference vnto eternall beatitude. But indeed, they are so bound vnto *Gods* precepts, that hee that putteth not *Gods* loue in the first place, cannot loue them at all. Nor can hee so loue them for them-selues, that hee preferre them before *God* their author, and their founder, or equall the loue of them, with the loue of him: their nature is to lift the eyes of him that admireth them, vnto *G O D*, so that hee that seeketh for them-selues, is by them euen ledde and directed vnto him, the consummation vnto which they all doe tend. But Saint *Augustine* in this place, speaketh of the Gentiles, whose vertues desiring externall rewardes, were held base and ignominious: but if they kept them-selues content with their owne sole fruition, then were they approoued. but this was the first steppe to arrogance, by reason that heereby they that had them, thought none so good as them-selues.

*The peace of Gods enemies, use-full to the piety of his friends  
as long as their earthly pilgrimage lasteth.*

CHAP. 26.

**W**herefore, as the soule is the fleshes life, so is *God* the beatitude of man, as the Hebrewes holy writte affirmeth (a) *Blessed is the people whose God is the Lord*: wretched then are they that are strangers to that *G O D*, and yet haue those a kinde of allowable peace, but that they shall not haue for euer, because they vsed it not well when they had it. But that they should haue it in this life is for our good also: because that during our commixtion with

*1. Tim. 2, 2* Babilon, wee our selues make vse of her peace, and faith doth free the people of God at length out of her, yet so, as in the meane time wee liue as pilgrims in her. And therefore the Apostle admonished the Church, to pray for the Kings and Porentates of that *earthly Citty*, adding this reason; *That wee may lead a quiet life in all godlinesse and (b) charity.* And the Prophet *Hieremy*, fore-telling the captiuitie of Gods ancient people commanding them (from the Lord) to goe peaceably and patiently to Babilon, aduised them also to pray, saying, *For in her peace, shall be your peace*, meaning that temporall peace which is common both to good and bad.

## L. VIVE S.

**B**lessed (a) is] *Psal. 144. 15.* Where the Prophet hauing reckoned vp all the goods of fortune, children, wealth, peace, prosperitie, and all in abundance, at length hee concludeth thus: [they haue sayd] *Blessed are the people that bee so: yea,* [but] *blest are the people whose God is the Lord. (b) Charity*] In the Apofile, it is *honesty, suuorim.*

*The peace of Gods seruants, the fulnesse whereof, it is impossible in this life, to comprehend. CHAP. 27.*

**B**Ut as for our proper peace, we haue it double with God: heere below by faith, and here-after aboue (a) by sight. But all the peace we haue here, bee it publicke, or peculiar, is rather a solace to our misery, then any assurance of our felicity. And for our righteousness, although it be truly such, because the end is the true good where-vnto it is referred, yet as long as we liue here, it consisteth (b) rather of sinnes remission, then of vertues perfection, witnesse that prayer which all Gods pilgrims vse, and euery member of his holy Citty, crying dayly vnto him; *Forgiue vs our trespasses, as wee forgiue them that trespasse against vs. (c)* Nor doth this prayer benefite them whose faith, wanting workes; is dead, but them whose faith worketh by loue: for, because our reason though it be subiect vnto God, yet as long as it is in the corruptible body, which burdeneth the soule, cannot haue the affects vnder perfect obedience, therefore the iustest man stands in neede of this prayer. For though that reason haue the conquest, it is not without combat. And still one touch of infirmity or other, creepeth vpon the best conquerour, euen when he hopes that he holds all viciousnesse vnder, making him fall either by some vaine word, or some inordinate thought, if it bring him not vnto actual error. And therefore as long as we ouer-rule sinne, our peace is imperfect: because both the affects not as yet conquered, are subdued by a dangerous conflict, and they that are vnder already, doe deny vs all securitie, and keepe vs dooing in a continuall and carefull command. So then, in all these temptations (whereof God said in a word: (d) *Is not the life of man a temptation vpon earth?*) who dare say hee liueth so, as hee need not say to God, *Forgiue vs our trespasses?* none but a proud soule. Nor is he mighty, but madly vain-glorious, that in his owne righteousness will resist him, who giueth grace to the humble, where-vpon it is written, *God resisteth the proud, and giueth grace to the humble.* Mans iustice therefore is this: to haue God his Lord, and him-selfe his subiect, his soule maister ouer his body, and his reason ouer sinne, eyther by subduing it or resisting it: and to intreat God both for his grace for merite, and his pardon for sinne, and lastly to be gratefull

*1. Pet. 4.*

gratefull for all his bestowed graces. But in that final peace vnto which all mans peace and righteoufnesse on earth hath reference, immortality and incorrupti- on doe so refine nature (from vicioufnesse) that the (c) we shall haue no need of reason to rule ouer sinne, for there shall bee no sinne at all there, but GOD shall rule man, and the soule and body: obedience shall there bee as pleasant and easie, as the state of them that liue shall be glorious, and happy. And this shall all haue vnto all eternity, and shall be sure to haue it so, and therefore the blessednesse of this peace, or the peace of this blessednesse, shall be the fulnesse and perfection of all goodnesse.

## L. VIVES.

**B***(a) fight* Being then, face to face with GOD. *(b) Rather of sinnes* For the greatest part of our goodnesse is not our well doing, but Gods remission of our sinnes. *(c) Nor doth this* For as a medecine, (otherwise holosome) cannot benefit a dead body: so this parcell of praier can doe him as little good that saith it, if in the meane while hee bee not friends with his brother. *(d) Is not mans* Our vulgar translation is, *Is there not an appointed time for man upon earth*, but Saint *Aug.* followes the LXX. as he vieth. To liue (sayth *Seneca*) is to wage continuall warre. So that those that are tossed vppe and downe in difficulties, and aduerture vpon the roughest dangers, are valourous men, and captaines of the campe: whereas those that sit at rest whilest others take paines, are tender turtles, and buy their quiet with disgrace.

*The end of the wicked.*

## CHAP. 28.

**B***V*t on the other side, they that are not of this society, are destined to eternall misery, called the second death, because there, euen the soule, being deprived of GOD, seemeth not to liue, much lesse the body, bound in euerlasting torments. And therefore, this second death shall be so much the more cruell, in that it shall neuer haue end. But seeing warre is the contrary of peace, as misery is vnto blisse, and death to life, it is a question what kinde of warre shall reigne as then amongst the wicked, to answer and oppose the peace of the Godly. But marke only the hurt of war, & it is plainly apparant to be nothing but the aduerse dispose, and contentious conflict of things betweene themselues. What then can be worse then that, where the will is such a foe to the passion, & the passion to the will, that they are for euer in-suppressible, and ir-reconcilable? and where nature, and paine shall hold an eternall conflict, and yet the one neuer maister the other? In our conflicts here on earth, either the paine is victor, and so death expelleth sence of it, or nature conquers, and expells the paine. But there, paine shall afflict eternally, and nature shall suffer eternally, both enduring to the continuance of the inflicted punishment. But seeing that the good, and the badde, are in that great iudgement to passe vnto those ends, the one to bee sought for, and the other to bee fled from: by Gods permission and assistance I will in the next booke following, haue a little discourse of that last day, and that terrible iudgement.

Finis lib. 19.

THE

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FINIS.

THE  
 TWENTITH BOOKE  
 OF THE CITTIE OF GOD:

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishop of Hippo,  
 vnto *Marcellinus*.

*Gods iudgements continually effected: His last iudgement the  
 proper subiect of this booke following.*

CHAP. I.



Being now to discourse of the day of GODS last iudgement, against the faithlesse, and the wicked, wee must lay downe holy scriptures first, for the foundation of our following structure: Which some belecue not, but oppose them with fond and friuolous arguments, wresting them either quite, vnto another purpose, or vtterly denying them to containe any thing diuine. For I doe not thinke that man liueth, who vnderstanding them as they are spoken, and beleueing that GOD inspired them into sanctified men, will not give his full assent vnto what they auerre, but hee must needs professe as much, bee he neuer so ashamed or afraid to auouch it, or neuer so obstinate that he would conceale it, and study to defend mere and knowne falshood against it. Wherefore, the whole church beleueth, and professeth, that Christ is to come from heauen to iudge both the quicke and the dead, and this wee call the day of GODS iudgement, the last time of all: for how many daies this iudgement will hold, wee know not, but the scripture vseth Daie for Time, verie often, as none that vseth to reade it but well discerneth it. And wee, when we speake of this daie doe adde last, *the last daie*, because that GOD doth iudge at this present and hath done euer since hee set man forth of paradise, and chased our first parents from the tree of life for their offences, nay from the time that hee cast out the transgressing Angells, whose enuious Prince doth all that hee canne now to ruine the soules of men. It is his iudgement that both men and deuills doe liue in such miseries and perturbations in ayre and earth, fraught with nothing but euills and errors.

And if no man had offended, it had bene his good iudgement that man and all reasonable creatures had liued in perfect beatitude and eternall coherence with the LORD their GOD. So that he iudgeth not onely men, and deuills, vnto misery, in generall, but hee censureth euery perticular soule for the workes it hath performed out of freedome of will. For the deuills pray that they may not bee tormented; neither doth GOD vniustly either in sparing them or punnishing them. And man, some-times in publike, but continually in secret, seeleth the hand of Almighty GOD, punnishing him for his trespasses and misdeedes, either in this life, or in the next: though no man canne doe well, without the helpe of GOD, nor any

deuill

Rom. 9. 14.  
Rom. 11.  
33.

diuill can doe hurt, without his iust permission. For as the Apostle sayth: *Is there vnrighteousnesse in GOD? GOD forbid: and in another place. Vnsearcheable are his iudgements, and his waies past finding out.* I intend not therefore in this booke to meddle with Gods ordinary daylie iudgements, or with those at first, but with that great and last Iudgement of his, (by his gracious permission) when CHRIST shall come from heauen, *To iudge both the quicke, and the dead*, for that is properly called the Iudgement-day: because (a) there shalbee no place for ignorant complaint, vpon the happinesse of the bad and the misery of the good. The true and perfect felicity in that day shalbe assured onely to the good, and eternall torment shall then shew it selfe as an euerlasting inheritance onely for the euill.

### L. VIVES.

**T**Here (a) shalbe no place for } In this life, many men stumble at the good fortunes and prosperity of the badde, and the sad misfortunes of the good; They that know not that fortunes goods are no goods at all, (as the wicked doe beleue they are) doe wonder at this. But indeede, the wicked neuer enjoy true good, nor doth true euill euer befall the good. For the names of goods and euills, that are giuen to those things that these men admire, are in farre other respect then they are aware of, and that makes their fond iudgements condemne the ordering of things. But at the last Iudgement of CHRIST, where the truth of good and bad shall appeare, then shall good fall onely to the righteous, and bad to the wicked: and this shalbe there, vniuersally acknowledged.

*The change of humane estates, ordered by Gods vnsearcheable iudgements.*

### CHAP. 2.

**B**Vt here on earth, the euills, endured by the good men instruct vs to endure them with pacience, and the goods enjoyed by the wicked, aduise vs not to affect them with immoderation. Thus in the things where GODS iudgements are not to bee discouered, his counsell is not to bee neglected. Wee know not why GOD maketh this bad man rich, and that good man poore: that hee should haue ioy whose deserts wee hold worthier of paines, and hee paynes, whose good life wee imagine to merite content: that the Iudges corruption or testimonies falsenesse should send the innocent away condemned, much more vn-cleared; and the iniurious foe should depart, reuenged, much more vnpunished: that the wicked man should liue sound, and the Godly lie bedde-ridde: that lusty youthes should turne theecues, and those that neuer did hurt in worde, bee plagued with extremity of sicknesse: That silly infantes, of good vse in the world, should bee cut off by vntimelie death, while they that seeme vnworthie euer to haue beene borne, attaine long and happie life: that the guilty should be honoured, and the Godlie oppressed, and such like as these; Oh who can stand to collect or recount them!

These now, albeit they kept this seemingly absurd order continually, that in  
this

this whole life (wherein as the Prophet saith in the Psalme, *Man is like to vanity, and his daies like a shadow that vanisheth*) the wicked alone should possess those temporall goods; and the good onelie suffer euills, yet might this bee referred to GODS iust iudgements, yea euen to his mercies: that such as sought not for eternall felicitie, might either for their malice, bee iustly deluded by this transitory happinesse; or by GODS mercie bee a comfort vnto the good, and that they beeing not to loose the blisse eternall, might for a while bee excercised by crosses temporall, either for the correction of sinnes, or (a) augmentation of their vertues.

But now, seeing that not onely the good are afflicted, and the badde exalted (which seemes iniustice) but the good also often enjoy good, and the wicked, euill; this prooues GODS iudgements more inscrutable, and his waies more vnsearcheable. Although then wee see no cause why GOD should doe thus or thus; hee in whome is all wisdome, and iustice, and no weakenesse, nor rashnesse, nor iniustice: yet heere wee learne that wee may not esteeme much of those goods; or misfortunes, which wee see the badde share with the righteous. But to seeke the good, peculiar to the one, and to a-void the euill referued for the other.

And when we come to that great iudgement, properly called *the day of doome*, or, *the consummation of time*; there we shall not onely see all things apparant, but acknowledge all the iudgements of GOD from the first to the last, to bee firmly grounded vpon iustice. And there wee shall learne, and know this also, why GODS iudgements are generally incomprehensible vnto vs, and how iust his iudgements are in that point also: although already indeede it is manifest vnto the faithfull, that wee are iustly, as yet, ignorant in them all; or at least in the most of them.

### L. VIVES.

**O**R (a) *augmentation*] That vertue might haue meanes to exercise her powers, for shee loues action, and leaning that, shee languisheth, may euen perisheth, as fire doth, which wanting fuell to worke vpon, dieth. But practise her vpon objects of aduerse fortune, and she worketh out her owne perfection.

*Salomons disputation in Ecclesiastes, concerning those goods which both the iust and the uniuert doe share in.*

### CHAP. 3.

**S**alomon, the wisest King that euer reigned ouer Israel, beginneth his booke called (a) *Ecclesiastes*, (which the Iewes themselues hold for Canonically) in this manner: (b) *Vanity of Vanities, all is vanity*. What remaineth vnto man of all his trauels which hee suffereth vnder the Sunne? Vnto which, hee annexeth the tormentes and tribulations of this declining worlde, and the short and swift courses of time, wherein nothing is firme, nothing constant. In this vanitie of althings, vnder the Sunne, hee bewayleth this also for one, that seeing (c) *There is more profite in wisdome then in follie, as the light is more excellent then darkenesse: and seeing the wise-mans eyes,*

*are*



are in his head, when the foole walketh in darkenesse, yet, that one condition, one estate, should befall them both as touching this vaine and transitory life: meaning hereby, that they were both alike exposed to those euills that good men and bad do some-times both alike endure. Hee saith further, that the good shall suffer as the bad do: and the bad shall enioy goods, as the good do; in these words: *There is a vanity which is done upon the earth, that there bee righteous men to whome it commeth according to the worke of the wicked, and there bee wicked men to whome it commeth according to the worke of the iust: I thought also that this is vanity.* In discouery of this vanity, the wise man wrote al this whole worke, for no other cause but that wee might discern that life which is not vanity vnder the sunne, but truth, vnder him that made the sunne. But as (d) touching this worldly vanity, is it not Gods iust iudgement that man being made like it, should vanish also like it? yet in these his daies of vanity, there is much betweene the obeying, and the opposing of truth: and betweene partaking and neglecting of Godlinesse and goodnesse? but this is not in respect of attayning or auoyding any terrestriall goods or euills, but of the great future iudgment, which shall distribute goods, to the good, and euils to the euil to remaine with them for euer. Finally the said wise King concludeth his booke thus: *feare God and keepe his commandements, for this is the whole (duty) of man, for GOD will bring euery worke vnto iudgement (e) of euery despised man, be it good or be it euill, how can wee haue an instruction more brieft, more true, or more wholesome? feare God (saith he) and keepe his commandements for this is the whole (duty) of man, for he that doth this, is full man, and he that doth it not, is in accompt, nothing, because he is not reformed according to the Image of truth, but sticketh still in the shape of vanity: for God will bring euery worke, that is euery act of man in this life, vnto iudgement, be it good or euill, yea the workes of euery despised man, of euery contemptible person that seemeth not to be noted at all, God seeth him, and despiseth him not, neither ouer-passeth him in his iudgement.*

## L. VIVES.

**E**(*Cleastes (a)*.) Or the Preacher. Many of the Hebrewes say that *Salomon* wrot this in the time of his repentance for the wicked course that he had runne. Others say that he fore-saw the diuision of his kingdome vnder his sonne *Rehoboam*, and therefore wrote it, in contempt of the worlds vnstable vanity (*b*) *Vanity of.*] So the seauenty read it, but other read it *ἀπὸς αἰῶνος, smoke of fumes, Hierome (c)* *There is more.*] Wisdome and folly are as much opposed as light and darkenesse. (*d*) *Touching this.*] But that GOD instructeth our vnderstanding in this vanity, it would vanish away, and come to nought, conceyuing falshood for truth; and lying all consumed with putrifying sinne, at length like a fume it would exhale a way vnto the second death. (*e*) *Of euery despised man.*] Our translations read it; *with euery secret thing Hierome* bath it, *Pro omni errato.*

*The authors resolution in this discourse of the iudgement, to produce the testimonies of the New-Testament first, and then of the old.*

## CHAP. 4.

**T**He testimonies of holy Scriptures by which I meane to proue this last iudgement of God, must bee first of all taken out of the New-Testament, and then out

out of the Old. For though the later bee the more ancient, yet the former are more worthie, as beeing the true contents of the later. The former then shall proceed first, and they shall be backt by the later. These, that is, the old ones, the law and the prophets afford vs, the former, (the new ones) the Gospells, and the writings of the Apostles. Now the Apostle saith; *By the law commeth the knowledge of sinne. But now is the righteousnesse of GOD made manifest without the law, hauing witnesse of the law and the Prophets, to wit, the righteousnesse of GOD, by the faith of IESVS CHRIST vnto all and vpon al that beleue.* Rom. 3, 10 11, 22 This righteousnesse of GOD belongeth vnto the New Testament, and hath confirmation from the Old, namely the law and the prophets. Wee must therefore first of all propound the cause, and then produce the confirmations, for CHRIST himselfe so ordered it, saying: *Euery scribe which is taught vnto the kingdome of heauen is like vnto an housholder which bringeth out of his treasury things both new and old.* Mat. 13, 52 He saith not, *both and new*, but if hee had not respected the order of dignity more then of antiquity, he would haue done so, and not as he did.

*Places of Scripture prouing that there shall be a daie of Iudgement at the worlds end.*

CHAP. 5.

**O**UR Sauour therefore, condemning the citties, whom his great miracles did not induce vnto faith, and preferring aliens before them; telleth them this, *I say vnto you, it shall be easier for Tyrus (a) and Sydon at the day of iudgement then for you.* Mat. 11, 22 And by and by after, vnto another cittie: *I say vnto you, that it shall be easier for them of the Land of Sodome, in the daie of iudgement then for thee.* Here is a plaine prediction of such a day. Ibid 24 Againe: *The men of Ninuie (saith hee) shall arise in iudgement with this generation, and condemne it, &c. The Queene of the south shall arise in iudgement with this generation, and shall condemne it, &c.* Mat. 12, 41 42 Heere wee learne two things 1. that there shall be a iudgement 2. that it shall be when the dead doe arise againe. For Our Sauour speaking of the Ninuities, and of the Queene of the South, speaketh of them that were dead long before. Now (b) hee sayd not, *shall condemne*, as if they were to bee the iudges, but that their comparison with the afore-said generation shall iustly procure the iudges condemning sentence. Againe, speaking of the present commixtion of the good and bad, and their future seperation, in the day of Iudgement, hee vseth a simily of the sowne wheate, and the tares, sowne afterwards amongst it, which hee expoundeth vnto his disciples. *Hee that soweth the good seed is the Sonne of Man: the field is the world: the good seed they are the children of the Kingdome: the tares are the children of the wicked, the enemy that soweth that is the deuill: the haruest is the end of the world, and the reapers bee the Angells. As then the tares are gathered and burned in the fire, so shall it bee in the ende of this worlde: the Sonne of Man shall send forth his Angells and they shall gather out of his Kingdome all things that offend, and they which doe iniquity, and shall cast them into a furnace of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the iust men shine as the Sunne in the Kingdome of their Father. Hee that hath eares to heare, let him heare.* Mat. 13, 37 35, 34, 40 41, 42, 43

Hee nameth not the Iudgement day heere: but hee expreffeth it farre more plainly by the effects, and promifeth it to befall at the end of the world. Furthermore, hee faith to his difciples; *Verely I fay vnto you, that when the Sonne of Man fhall fit in the Throne of his Maiefty, then yee which followed mee in their regeneration, fhall fit alfo vpon twelue thrones and iudge the twelue tribes of Ifraell.* Here wee fee that CHRIST fhall bee iudge, together with his Apoftles. Wherevpon hee fayd vnto the Iewes in another place: *If I through Beelzebub caft out deuills, by whom doe your children caft them out? therefore they fhall be your iudges.* But now, in that hee speaketh of twelue thrones, we may not imagine that he, and one twelue more with him fhall be the worlds Iudges. The number of twelue, includeth the whole number of the Iudges, by reafon of the two parts of feauen, which number fignifieth the totall, and the vniuerfe: which two parts, foure and three multiplied either by other, make vp twelue, three times foure, or foure times three, is twelue. (befides others reafons why twelue is vfed in thefe words of our Sauour.) Otherwise, *Mathias* hauing *Judas* his place, *Saint Paul* fhould haue no place left him to fit as Iudge in, though hee tooke more paines then them all: but that hee belongeth vnto the number of the Iudges, his owne wordes doe proue: *Know yee not that we fhall iudge the Angells?* The reafon of their iudgements alfo is included in the number of twelue. For CHRIST in faying, *To iudge the twelue tribes of Ifraell*, excludeth neither the tribe of *Leui*, which was the thirteenth, nor all the other Nations befides Ifraell, from vnder-going this iudgement.

1 Cor. 6, 3

Now whereas hee faith, *In the regeneration* heereby affuredlie hee meanes the refurrection of the dead. For our flefh fhall be regenerate by incorruption, as our foule is by faith. I omit many things that might concerne this great daie, becaufe inquiry may rather make them feeme ambiguous, or belonging vnto other purpose then this: as either vnto CHRIST S dayly coming vnto his church in his members, vnto each in perticular, or vnto the deftruccion of the earthly Ierufalem, becaufe Our Sauour fpeaking of that, vfeth the fame phrafe that hee vfeth concerning the end of the world, and the laft iudgement, fo that wee can fcarcely diftinguifh them but by conferring the three Euangelifts, *Mathew*, *Marke*, and *Luke*, together, in their places touching this point. For one hath it fome-what difficult, and another, more apparant, the one explayning the intent of the other. And thofe places haue I conferred together in one of mine Epiftles vnto *Hefychius*, (of blessed memory) Bifhoppe of Salon, the Epiftle is intituled, *De fine feculi*, of the worldes ende. So that I will in this place, relate onely that place of *Saint Mathew*, where CHRIST (the laft iudge, beeing then present) fhall feperate the good from the badde. It is thus.

Mat. 25, 31  
32, 33 &c. *When the Sonne of Man commeth in his glory, and all the holy Angells with him, then fhall he fit vpon the throne of his glorie, and before him fhall be gathered all nations, and he fhall feperate them one from another as a fheepheard feperateth the fheepe from the goates, and hee fhall fet the fheepe on his right hand, and the goates on his left. Then fhall the King fay to them on his right hand: come yee blessed of my father inherite yee the Kingdome prepared for you from the foundations of the worlde. For I was an hungered, and you gaue mee meate; I thirfted, and you gaue mee drinke, I was a stranger, and you lodged mee: I was naked, and yee cloathed mee, I was ficke and yee vifited mee, I was in prifon and yee came vnto mee.*  
Then

Then shall the righteous answer him saying; | *L O R D* when saw wee thee an hungred and fedde thee, or a thirst, and gave thee drinke, &c. And the King shall answer, and say vnto them, *Verely I say vnto you in asmuch as yee haue done it vnto one of the least of these my bretheren, yee haue done it vnto mee.* Then shall hee say vnto them on the left hand; *Depart from mee yee cursed into euerlasting fire which is prepared for the deuill and his Angells: for I was an hungred and yee gave mee no meate: I thirsted, and yee gave mee no drinke, &c.* Then shall they also answer him saying: *L O R D* when sawe wee thee hungery, or a thirst, or a stranger; or naked, or in prison, or sicke, and did not minister vnto thee? Then shall hee answer them, and saie, *Verelie I saie vnto you in asmuch as yee did it not vnto one of the least of these, yee did it not vnto mee. And these shall goe into euerlasting fire, and the righteous into life eternall.*

Now *Iohn* the Euangelist sheweth plainly that *CHRIST* fore-told this <sup>10.5, 22,</sup> iudgement to bee at the resurrection. For hauing sayd, *The Father iudgeth* <sup>23, 24</sup> *no man, but hath committed all iudgement vnto the Sonne; Because all men should honour the Sonne as they honour the Father, hee that honoureth not the Sonne, the same honoureth not the Father that sent him: Hee addeth forth-with. Verelie, verelie I say vnto you, hee that heareth my Worde and beleueth in him that sent mee, hath euerlasting life, and shall not come into (c) iudgement, but shall passe from death to life.* Behold, heere hee auoucheth directly that the faithfull shall not bee iudged. How then shall they by his iudgement bee seuered from the faithlesse, vnlesse iudgement bee vsed heere for condemnation? For that is the iudgement into which, they that heare his word and beleue in him that sent him, shall neuer enter.

## L. VIVES.

**T***Trus (a) and Sydon*] Two Citties on the Coast of Phœnicia, [ called now, *Suri*, and *Said*. *Postell Niger.* (b) *Hee sayd not*] The accusers of the guilty persons are sayd to condemne him, as well as the Iudges. (c) *Iudgement but shall passe*] Our translation readeth it, *condemnation, but hath passed, Hierome* readeth it, *transiet.*

*What the first resurrection is, and  
what the second.*

## CHAP. 6.

**T***Hen* hee proceedeth, in these words: *Verely, verelie I say vnto you, the houre* <sup>10.5, 25,</sup> *shall come, and now is, when the dead shall heare the voyce of the Sonne of GOD,* <sup>26</sup> *and they that heare it shall liue. For as the father hath life in himselfe, so likewise hath hee giuen vnto the Sonne to haue life in himselfe.*

Hee doth not speake as yet of the second resurrection, of that of the bodies, which is to come, but of the first resurrection, which is now. For to distinguish these two hee sayth, *the houre shall come, and now is:* Now this is the soules resurrection, not the bodies; for the soules haue their deaths in sinne, as the bodies haue in nature; and therein were they dead, of whome Our Sauiour

Yyy 2

sayd,

sayd, *let the dead bury the dead*, to witte let the dead in soule, bury the dead in bodie. So then these wordes, *The houre shall come and now is, when the dead shall heare the voice of the Sonne of GOD, and they that heare it, shall liue*. They that heare it, that is, they that obey it, belecue it, and remaine in it. Hee maketh no distinction heere, betweene good and euill, none at all. For it is good for all to heare his voice, and thereby to passe out of the death of sinne and impiety, vnto life and eternity. Of this death in sinne the Apostle speaketh, in these wordes: *If one bee dead for all, then were all dead, and hee died for all, that they which liue, should not hence-forth liue vnto themselues, but vnto him which died for them and rose againe.*

1 Cor. 5  
14, 15

Thus then, all were dead, in sinne, none excepted, either in originall sinne, or in actuall: either by being ignorant of good, or by knowing good and not performing it: and for all these dead soules, one liuing Son came, and died; liuing, that is, one without all sinne, that such as get life by hauing their sinnes remitted, should no more liue vnto themselues, but vnto him that suffered for all our sinnes, and rose againe for all our iustifications, that wee which belecue vpon the iustifier of the wicked, beeing iustified out of wickednesse, and rayfed (as it were) from death to life, may bee assured to belong vnto the first resurrection, that now is. For none but such as are heires of eternall blisse, haue any part in this first resurrection: but the second, is common both to the blessed and the wretched. The first is mercies resurrection: the second, iudgements. And therefore the Psalme saith: *I will sing mercie and iudgement vnto thee O LORD!* With this iudgement the Euangelist proceedeth, thus: *And hath giuen him power also to execute Iudgement, in that hee is the Sonne of Man.* Loe heere now, in that flesh, wherein hee was iudged, shall hee come to bee the whole worldes iudge. For these wordes, *in that hee is the Sonne of Man*, haue a direct ayme at this. And then hee addeth this: *Maruell not at this, for the houre shall come in the which, all that are in the graues shall heare his voice; and they shall come forth, which haue done good, vnto the resurrection of life; but they that haue done euill vnto the resurrection of iudgement.*

Psal. 101, 1  
10, 5, 27

Io. 5, 28

This is that iudgement which hee put before, for condemnation, when hee sayd, *Hee that heareth my worde, &c. shall not come into iudgement, but shall passe from death to life*, that is, hee belongs to the first resurrection, and that belongeth to life, so that hee shall not come into condemnation, which hee vnderstandeth by the worde *Iudgement* in this last place, *vnto the resurrection of Iudgement*. Oh Rise then in the first resurrection all you that will not perish, in the the second. *For the houre will come, and now is, when the dead shall heare the voice of the Sonne of GOD, and they that heare it shall liue*: that is, they shall not come into condemnation, which is called the second death: vnto which they shall all bee cast head-long after the second resurrection, that arise not in the first. *For the houre will come*: ( hee saith not that houre is now, because it shalbe in the worldes end ) in the which all that are in the graues shall heare His voice, and shall come forth: but hee saith not heare as hee sayd before, and *they that heare it, shall liue*: ( for they shall not liue all in blisse, which is onely to bee called life, because it is the true life.

Yet

Yet must they haue some life; otherwise they could neither heare nor arise in their quickned flesh.) And why they shall not all liue? hee giueth this subsequent reason.

*They that haue done good shall come forth vnto the resurrection of life: and these onely are they that shall liue: they that haue done euill, vnto the resurrection of condemnation, and these (GOD wot) shall not liue, for they shall die the second death. In liuing badlie they haue done badly, and in refusing to rise in the first resurrection they haue liued badly, or, at least in not continuing their resurrection vnto the consummation. So then, as there are two regenerations, one in faith by Baptisme, and another in the flesh, by incorruption; so are there two resurrections, the first (That is now) of the soule, preuenting the second death. The later (Future) of the bodie, sending some into the second death, and other some into the life that despiseth and excludeth all death whatsoever.*

*Of the two resurrections: what may bee thought of the thousand yeares mentioned in Saint Johns Reuelation:*

CHAP. 7.

Saint Iohn the Euangelist in his Reuelation speaketh of these two resurrections in such darke manner, as some of our diuines, exceeding their owne ignorance in the first, doe wrest it vnto diuers ridiculous interpretations. His words are these. *And I sawe an Angell come downe from Heauen hauing the Apoc. 17. keye of the bottomlesse pitte, and a great chaine in his hand, And hee tooke that Dragon, that old Serpent which is the deuill and Sathan, and bound him a thousand yeares, and hee cast him into the bottomlesse pitte, and shut him vppe, and sealed the dores vpon him, that hee should deceiue the people no more, till the thousand yeares were fulfilled. For after hee must bee loosed for a little season. And I saw seates, and they set vpon them, and iudgement was giuen vnto them, and I saw the soules of them, which were slaine for the testimonie of IESVS, and for the worde of GOD, and worshipped not the beast, nor his Image, neither had taken his marke vpon their fore-heads, or on their handes: and they liued and reigned with CHRIST a thousand yeares. But the rest of the dead men shall not liue againe vntill the thousand yeares be finished: this is the first resurrection. Blessed and Holy is hee that hath his part in the first resurrection, for on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be the Priests of GOD and of CHRIST, and reigne with him a thousand yeares.*

The chiefest reason that mooued many to thinke that this place implied a corporall resurrection, was drawne from (a) the thousand yeares, as if the Saints should haue a continuall Sabbath endring so long, to wit, a thousand yeares vacation after the fixe thousand of trouble, beginning at mans creation and expulsion out of Paradise into the sorrowes of mortalitie, that since it is written, *One daie is with the LORD as a thousand yeares, and a thousand yeares as one daie*, therefore fixe thousand yeares beeing finished, (as the fixe daies) the seauenth should follow, for the time of Sabbath, and last a thousand yeares also, all the Saints rising corporallie from the dead to celebrate it.

This opinion were tolerable, if it proposed onely spirituall deights vnto the Saints during this space (wee were once of the same opinion our selues), but seeing the auouchers heereof affirme that the Saints after this resurrection shall doe nothing but reuell in fleshly banquettes, where (b) the cheere shall exceed both modesty and measure, this is grosse, and fitte for none but carnall men to beleue. But they that are really and truly spirituall, doe call those Opinionists, (c) *Chiliassts*; the worde is greeke, and many bee interpreted, *Millenaryes*, or Thousand-yeer-ists.

To confute them, heere is no place, let vs rather take the texts true sence along with vs. *Our LORD IESVS CHRIST* saith: *No man can enter into a strong mans house, and take away his goods, unlesse hee first binde the strong man, and then spoyle his house: meaning by this strong man, the deuill, because hee alone was able to hold man-kinde in captiuiety: and meaning by the goods hee would take away, his future faithfull, whome the deuill held as his owne in diuers sinnes and impieties. That this Strong-man therefore might bee bound, the Apostle sawe the Angell coming downe from heauen, hauing the keye of the bottomlesse pitte, and a great chainē in his hand: And hee tooke, (sayth hee) the Dragon that olde serpent, which is, the deuill and Sathan and bound him a thousand yeares, that is, restrayned him from seducing or with-holding them that were to bee set free. The thousand yeares, I thinke may bee taken two waies, either for that this shall fall out in the last thousand, that is, (d) on the sixth daie of the workes continuance, and then the Sabbath of the Saints should follow, which shall haue no night, and bring them blessednesse which hath no end: So that thus the Apostle may call the last part of the current thousand (which make the sixth daie) a thousand yeares, vsing the part for the whole: or else a thousand yeares is put for eternity, noting the plenitude of time, by a number most perfect. For a thousand, is the solid quadrate of tenne: tenne times tenne, is one hundred, and this is a quadrate, but it is but a plaine one. But to produce the solide, multiply ten, by a hundred, and there ariseth one thousand.*

Now if an hundred bee some-times vsed for perfection, as wee see it is in *CHRISTS* wordes concerning him that should leaue all and follow him, saying: *Hee shall receiue an hundred-fold more*; (which the Apostle seemeth to expound, saying, *As hauing nothing and yet possessings all things, for hee had sayd before, vnto a faithfull man the whole worlde is his riches*) why then may not one thousand, bee put for consummation, the rather, in that it is the most solide square that can bee drawne from tenne? And therefore wee interprete that place of the Psalme, *Hee hath alway remembered his covenant and promise that hee made to a thousand generations*, by taking a thousand, for all in generall. On. *And hee cast him into the bottomlesse pitte*, hee cast the deuills into that pitte that is, the multitude of the wicked, whose malice vnto *GODS* Church is bottomlesse, and their hearts a depth of enuie against it: hee cast him into this pitte, not that hee was not there before, but because the deuill beeing shut from amongst the Godly, holds faster possession of the wicked: for hee is a most sure hold of the deuills, that is not onelic cast out from *GODS* seruants, but pursues them also with a causelesse hate: forward. *And shut him vpp, and sealed the dore vpon him*, that hee should deceiue the people no more till the thousand yeares were expired,

hee

be sealed, that is, his will was to keepe it vnknowne, who belonged to the diuell, and who did not. For this is vnknowne vnto this world, for we know not whether he that standeth shall fall, or he that lieth along shall rise againe. But how-so-euer this bond restrainerh him from tempting the nations that are Gods selected, as he did before. For God chose them before the foundations of the world, meaning to take them out of the power of darkenesse, and set them in the kingdome of his sonnes glory, as the Apostle saith. For who knoweth not the deuils dayly seducing and drawing of others vnto eternall torment, though they bee none of the predestinate? Nor is it wonder if the diuell subuert some of those who are euen regenerate in Christ, and walke in his wayes. For God knoweth those that bee his, and the deuill cannot draw a soule of them vnto damnation. For this God knoweth, as knowing all things to come, not as one man seeth another, in presence, and cannot tell what shall be come either of him hee seeth, or of him-selfe here-after. The diuell was therefore bound and locked vp, that hee should no more seduce the nations (the Churches members) whom he had held in errour and impiety, before they were vnired vnto the Church. It is not said, that hee should deceiue no man any more, but, that he should deceiue the people no more, whereby questionlesse hee meaneth the Church. Proceed: vntill the thousand yeares bee fulfilled, that is, either the remainder of the sixth day, (the last thousand) or the whole time that the world was to continue. Nor may wee vnderstand the deuill so to bee barred from seducing, that at this time expired, hee should seduce those nations againe, whereof the Church consisteth, and from which hee was forbidden before. But this place is like vnto that of the Psalme, *Our eyes waite vpon the Lord vntill hee haue mercy vpon vs,* (for the seruants of God take not their eyes from beholding, *Pf. 123, 2* as soone as he hath mercy vpon them) or else the order of the words is this, *Hee shut him vp, and sealed the doore vpon him vntill a thousand yeares were fulfilled,* all that cometh betweene, namely, that he should not deceiue the people, hauing no necessary connexion here-vnto, but beeing to bee seuerally vnderstood, as if it were added after wards, and so the sence runne thus: *And he shut him vp, and sealed the doore vpon him vntill a thousand yeares were fulfilled, that hee should not seduce the people,* that is, therefore hee shutte him vp so long, that he should seduce them no more.

## L. VIVES.

From the (x) thousand } Iohns mention of a thousand yeares in this place, and Christs words, *I will not drinke hence-forth of the fruite of the vine, vntill that day that I drinke it new with you in my Fathers kingdome,* together with many Prophecies touching Christs kingdome in Hierusalem, made some imagine that Christ would returne into the world, raise the Saints in their bodies, and liue a thousand yeares heere on earth in all ioy, peace, and prosperitie, farre exceeding the golden age of the Poets, or that of Sybilla and Esayas. The first Author of this opinion was Papias Bishop of Hierusalem, who liued in the Apostiles times. Hee was seconded by Irenaus, Apollinaris, Tertullian (*lib. de fidelium*) Victorinus Pictauiensis, & Lactantius. (*Divin. Inst. lib. 7.*) And although Hierome deride and scoffe at this opinion in many places, yet in his fourth booke of his Commentaries vpon Hieremy, hee saith that hee dare not condemne it, because many holy martyrs and religious Christians held it, so great an authority the person some-times giueth to the position, that we must vse great modesty in our dissention with them, and giue great reuerence to their godlynesse and grauity. I cannot beleue that the Saints held this opinion in that manner that Cerinthus the heretique did, of whome wee read this in Eusebius. *Cerinthus held that Christ would haue an earthly kingdome in Hierusalem, after the resurrection, where the Saints should liue in all societie of humane* list



lusts and concupiscences. Besides, against all truth of scripture, hee held that for a thousand yeares space this should hold, with reuells and mariage, and other works of corruption, onely to deceiue the carnall minded person. *Dionisius* disputing of *S. Iohns* reuelation, and reciting some ancient traditions of the Church, hath thus much concerng this man. *Cerintus* (quoth he) the author of the *Cerinthian* heresie, delighted much in getting his selfe authority by wresting of scripture. His heresie was, that *Christ's* Kingdome should bee terrestriall and being giuen vp vnto lust and gluttony himselfe, he affirmed nothing but such things as those two affects taught him. That all should abound with banquets and belly-chere and (for the more grace to his assertions) that the feasts of the law should be renewed, and the offering of carnall sacrifices restored. *Irenaus* publisheth the secrecie of this heresie in his first booke: they that would know it may finde it there. Thus farre *Eusebius*. *Hist. Eccl. lib. 3.* wherefore this was not *Papias* his opinion, whose originall *Hierome* would otherwise haue ascribed vnto *Cerintus*, who was more ancient then *Papias*, a little, though both liued in one age: nor would *Irenaus* haue written against *Cerintus*, for he allowed of *Papias* his opinion, neither did all the sects agree in one as touching this thousand yeares: but each one taught that which seemed likeliest vnto him-selfe, and no wonder, in so yaine a fiction. *Dionisius* of Alexandria (as *Hierome* affirmeth, *In Esai. lib. 18.*) wrot an elegant worke in derision of these *Chiliafts*, and there Golden Hierusalem, their reparation of the temple, their bloud of sacrifices, there Sabbath, there circumcisions, there birth, there mariages, there banquets, there soueraignties, their warres, and triumphs, &c. ( *b* ) *The cheere shall exceed.* ] So saith *Lactantius*: *The earth shall yeeld her greatest fecundity, and yeeld her plenty vntilled. The rockie mountaines shall sweate hony, the riuers shall runne wine, and the fountaines milke.* (To omit *Cerintus* his relations which are farre more odious, ( *c* ) *Chiliaft.* ] *χιλιοι*, is a thousand. ( *d* ) *On the sixth day.* ] There is a report that in the bookes of *Elias* the Prophet it was recorded that the world should last 6000. yeares, 2000. vnder vanity, vnto *Abraham*, 2000. vnder the law vnto *Christ*. and 2000. vnder *Christ*, vnto the iudgement. This by the Hebrewes account: for the *LXX.* haue about 3000. yeares from *Adam* to *Abraham*. And in *Augustines* time the world lackt not 400 yeares of the full 6000. So that now, our Vulgar account is about 6700. yeares. Namely, from Our Sauour, 1522. Whom *Eusebius* and such as follow the *LXX.* affirme to haue bene borne in the yeare of the world 5100. and somewhat more. Therefore *Augustine* saith that the later end of the 6000. yeares, passed along in his time. And *Lactantius*, who liued before *Augustine*, vnder *Constantine*, saith that in his time there was but 200. of the 6000. yeares to runne.

*Of the binding and loosing of the Diuell.*

CHAP. 8.

**A**fter that (saith *S. Iohn*) he must be loosed for a season. Well, although the Diuell be bound and lockt vp that he should not seduce the Church, shall hee therefore be loosed to seduce it? God forbid. That Church which God predestinated, and setled before the worlds foundation, whereof it is written, *God knoweth those that be his, that, the Deuill shall neuer seduce*: and yet it shalbe on earth euen at the time of his loosing, as it hath continued in successiue estate euer since it was first erected, for by and by after, hee saith that, *the Deuill shall bring his seduced nations in armes against it, whose number shalbe as the sea sands: And they went up* (saith hee) *unto the plaine of the earth, and compassed the tents of the Saints about, and the beloued city, but fire came downe from God out of Heauen, and deuoured them. And the Deuill that deceived them was cast into a lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false Prophets shalbe tormented euen day and night for euermore.*

But

But this now belongeth to the last iudgment; which I thought good to recite, least some should suppose that the Diuell being let loose againe for a season should either finde no Church at all, or by his violence and seducements should subuert all he findeth. Wherefore the Diuells imprisonment during the whole time included in this booke (that is from Christs first coming to his last) is not any particular restraint from seducing the Church, because hee could not iniure the Church were hee neuer so free: other-wise if his bondage were a fet-prohibition from seduction what were his freedome but a full permission to seduce? which God forbid should euer be! No his binding is an inhibition of his full power of temptation, which is the meanes of mans being seduced, either by his violence or his fraudulence. Which if hee were suffered to practise in that long time of infirmity, hee would peruert and destroy the faith of many such soules as Gods goodnesse will not suffer to bee cast downe. To auoyd this inconuenience, bound hēe is; And in the last and smallest remainder of time shall hee bee loosed: for wee read that hee shall rage in his greatest malice onely three yeares and fixe monethes, and hee shall hold warres with such foes as all his emnity shall neuer bee able either to conquere or iniure. But if hee were not let loose at all, his maleuolence should bee the lesse conspicuous, and the faithfulls pacience the lesse glorious; briefly it would bee lesse apparent vnto how blessed an end GOD had made vse of his cursednesse, in not debarring him absolutely from tempting the Saints (though hee bee vtterly cast out from their inward man) that they might reape a benefit from his badnesse: and in binding him firmly in the hearts of such as vow them-selues his sectators, least if his wicked enuy had the full scope, hee should enter in amongst the weaker members of the Church, and by violence and subtilty together, deter and diswade them from their faith, their onely meane of saluation. Now in the end, hee shalbe loosed, that the *Citty of GOD* may see what a potent aduersary she hath conquered by the grace of her *Sauour and redeemer*, vnto his eternall glory.

O what are wee, and compare vs vnto the Saints that shall liue to see this! when such an enemy shall be let loose vnto them as we can scarcely resist although hee bee bound! (although no doubt but Christ hath had some soldiors in these our times, who if they had liued in the times to come, would haue auoyded all the Deuills trapps by their true discrete prudence) or haue withstood them with vndanted pacience.) This binding of the Diuell began when the Church began to spread from Iudea into other regions, and lasteth yet, and shall do vntill his time bee expired: for men euen in these times do refuse the chaine wherein hee held them, infidelity, and turne vnto GOD, and shall do no doubt vnto the worlds end. And then is he bound in respect of eue-ry priuate man, when the soule that was his vassall, cleareth her selfe of him, nor ceaseth his shutting vpon, when they dye wherein hee was shut: for the world shall haue a continuall succession of the haters of Christianity, whilst the earth endureth, and in their hearts the diuell shall euer bee shut vp. But it may bee a doubt whether any one shall turne vnto GOD, during the space <sup>Mat. 12, 29</sup> of his three yeares and an halfe raigne, for how can this stand good, *How can a man enter into a strong mans house & spoyle his goods, except he first bind the strongman, & then spoile his house,* if he may do it when the strong man is loose? This seemeth to proue directly that during that space, none shalbe conuerted, but that the diuell shall

shall haue a continuall fight with those that are in the faith already, of whome he may perhaps conquer some certaine number, but none of Gods predestinate, not one. For it is not idle that *John* the Author of this Reuelation, saith in one of his Epistles, concerning some Apostatas, *They went out from vs, but they were not of vs: for if they had beene of vs they would haue continued with vs.* But what then shall become of the children? for it is incredible, that the Christians should haue no children during this space: or that if they had them, they would not see them baptized by one meanes or other. How then shall these bee taken from the deuill, the spoyle of whose house no man can attaine before he binde him? So that it is more credible to auouche, that the church in that time shall neither want decrease nor augmentation, and that the parents in standing stilly for their childrens baptisme, (together with others that shall but euen then become beleeuers) shall beate the diuell back in his greatest liberty: that is, they shall both wittily obserue and warily auoyde his newest stratagems, and most secret vnderminings, and by that meanes keepe them-selues cleare of his mercylesse clutches. Not-with-standing, that place of Scripture, *How can a man enter into a strong mans house, &c.* is true, for all that: and according there-vnto, the order was, that the strong should first bee bound, and his goods taken from him out of all nations, to multiply the church in such fort, that by the true and faithfull vnderstanding of the Prophecies that were to bee fulfilled, they might take away his goods from him when hee was in his greatest freedome: for as wee must confesse, *that because iniquity increaseth, the loue of many shall bee colde, and that many of them that are not written in the booke of life shall fall before the force of the raging newly loosed deuill:* So must wee consider what faithfull shall as then bee found on the earth, and how diuerse shall euen then flie to the bosome of the Church, by Gods grace, and the Scriptures plainnesse: wherein amongst other things, that very end which they see approaching is presaged: and that they shall be both more firme in beleefe of what they reiected before, and also more strong to with-stand the greatest assault and forest batteries. If this be so, his former binding left his good to all future spoyle, bee hee bound or loose, vnto which end, these words, *How can a man enter into a strong mans house, &c.* doe principally tend.

*What is meant by Christs reigning a thousand yeares with the Saints,  
and the difference betweene that and his eternall reigne.*

CHAP. 9.

**N**OW doubtlesse whilst the diuel is thus bound, *Christ* reigneth with his Saints the same thousand yeares, vnderstood both after one manner, that is, all the time from his first comming, not including that kingdome whereof hee saith, *Come you blessed of my Father, inherite you the kingdome prepared for you:* for if there were not another reigning of *Christ* with the Saints in another place, whereof him-selke saith; *I am with you alway vnto the end of the world:* the Church now vpon earth should not bee called his kingdome, or the kingdome of heauen: for the Scribe that was taught vnto the kingdome of God, liued in this thousand yeares. *And the Reapers shall take the tares out of the Church, which grew (vntill haruest) together with the good corne:* which Parable he expoundeth, saying, *The harvest is the end of the world, and the reapers are the Angels, as then the tares are gathered*

gathered and burned in the fire: so shall it be in the end of the world. The sonne of man shall send forth his Angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdome all things that offend. What doth hee speake here of that kingdome where there is no offence? No, but of the Church, that is heere below. Hee saith further, *who-so-euer shall breake one of these least commandements and teach men so, hee shall bee called the least in the kingdome of heauen: but who-so-euer shall obserue and teach them, the same shall bee called great in the kingdome of heauen.* Thus both these are done in the kingdome of heauen, both the breach of the commandements, and the keeping of them.

Then hee proceedeth: *Except your righteousnesse exceed the righteousnesse of the Scribes and Pharisees (that is of such as breake what they teach, and as Christ saith else-where of them, Say well but doe nothing) vntil you exceed these, that is, both teach and obserue, you shall not enter into the kingdome of heauen.* Now the kingdome where the keeper of the commandements, and the condemner were both said to be, is one, and the kingdome into which, *he that saith and doth not,* shall not enter, is another. So then where both sorts are, the church is, that now is: but where the better sort is only, the church is, as it shall be here-after, vtterly exempt from euill. So that the church now on earth is both the kingdome of Christ, and the kingdome of heauen. The Saints reigne with him now, but not as they shall doe here-after: yet the tares reigne not with them though they grow in the Church amongst the good seed. They reigne with him who do as the Apostle saith: *If yee Coloss. 3, 1 then be risen with Christ, seeke the things which are aboue, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God: Set your affections on things which are aboue, and not on things which are on earth,* of whome also hee saith, that *their conuersation is in heauen.* Lastly they reigne with Christ who are with all his kingdome where he reigneth. But how do they reigne with him at all, who continuing below, vntill the worlds end, vntill his kingdome be purged of all the tares, do neuer-the-lesse seeke their owne pleasures, and not their redeemers? This booke therefore of *Saint Johns* speaketh of this kingdome of malice, wherein there are daily conflicts with the enemy, some-times with victory, and some-times with foyle, vntill the time of that most peaceable kingdome approach, where no enemy shall euer shew his face; this, and the first resurrection are the subiect of the Apostles Reuelation. For hauing sayd that the deuill was bound for a thousand yeares, and then was to bee loosed for a while, hee recapitulateth the gifts of the Church during the sayd thousand yeares.

*And I saw seates, (saith he) and they sat vpon them, and iudgement was giuen vnto them.* This may not bee vnderstood of the last iudgement: but by the seates are meant the rulers places of the Church, and the persons them-selues by whom it is gouerned: and for the Iudgement giuen them, it cannot be better explained then in these words, *what-so-euer yee binde on earth shall be bound in heauen, and what-so- Ma 18, 18 euer yee loose on earth shall be loosed in heauen.* Therefore saith *Saint Paul:* *what haue I to doe to iudge them also that bee without? doe not yee iudge them that are within? On. And I saw the soules of them which were slaine for the witnesse of Iesus 1 Cor 5, 11 and for the word of Gods vnderstand that which followeth: they reigned with Christ a thousand yeares.* These were the martires soules, hauing not their bodies as yet, for the soules of the Godly are not excluded from the Church, which as it is now is the kingdome of God. Otherwise she should not mention them, nor celebrate their memories at our communions of the body and bloud of Christ: nor were it necessary for vs in our perills, to run vnto his Baptisme, or to be afraid to dy without it; nor

to seeke reconciliation to his church, if a man haue incurred any thing that exacteth repentance, or burdeneth his conscience. Why doe we those things; but that euen such as are dead in the faith, are members of Gods Church? Yet are they not with their bodies, and yet neuer-the-lesse, their soules reigne with *Christ*, the whole space of this thousand yeares. And therefore wee reade else-where in the same booke. *Blessed are the dead which dye in the Lord*: Euen so saith the spirit, for they rest from their labours, and their workes follow them. Thus then the Church raigneth with *Christ*, first in the quick and the dead: for *Christ* (as the Apostle saith) that hee might thence-forth rule both ouer the quick and the dead. But the Apostle heere nameth the soules of the martyrs onely, because their kingdome is most glorious after death, as hauing fought for the truth vntill death. But this is but a taking of the part for the whole, for wee take this place to include all the dead that belong to *Christs* kingdome, which is, the Church: But the sequell, *And which did not worship the beast, neither his Image, neither had taken his marke vpon their fore-heads, or on their hands*: this is meant both of the quick and dead. Now although wee must inake a more exact inquiry what this beast was, yet is it not against Christianity to interpret it, the society of the wicked, opposed against the company of Gods seruants, and against his holy Citty. Now his image, that is, his dissimulation, in such as professe religion, and practise infidelity. They faigne to bee what they are not, and their shew (not their truth) procureth them the name of Christians. For this Beast consisteth not onely of the professed enemies of *Christ* and his glorious Hierarchy, but of the tares also, that in the worlds end are to be gathered out of the very fields of his owne Church. And who are they that adöre not the beast, but those of whome *Saint Pauls* aduise taketh effect, *Bee not [vnequally] yoked with the Infidells*? These giue him no adoration, no consent, no obedience, nor take his marke, that is, the brand of their owne sinne, vpon their fore-heads, by professing it, or on their hands, by working according to it. They that are cleare of this, be they liuing, or be they dead, they reigne with *Christ* all this whole time, from the vnion vnto him, to the end of the time implied in the thousand yeares. *The rest* (saith *Saint Iohn*) shall not liue, for now is the howre when the dead shall heare the voyce of the sonne of God, and they that heare it shall liue, the rest shall not liue: but the addition; *vntill the thousand yeares be finished*, implieth, that they shall want life all the time that they should haue it, in attayning it, by passing through faith from death to life. And therefore on the day of the generall resurrection, they shall rise also, not vnto life, but vnto iudgement, that is, vnto condemnation, which is truly called the second death, for hee that liueth not before the thousand yeares be expired, that is, he that heareth not the Sauours voyce, and passeth not from death to life, during the time of the first resurrection, assuredly shall be throwne both body and soule into the second death, at the day of the second resurrection. For *Saint Iohn* proceedeth plainly: *This* (saith hee) is the first resurrection. *Blessed and holy is hee that hath part in the first resurrection*, and part of it is his, who doth not onely arise from death in sinne, but continueth firme in his resurrection. *On such* (saith he) *the second death hath no power*: But it hath power ouer the rest of whome hee sayd before, *The rest shall not liue vntill the thousand yeares bee finished*: because that in all that whole time meant by the thousand yeares, although that each of them had a bodily life (at one time or other) yet they spent it, and ended it without arising out of the death of iniquitie, wherein the deuill held them: which resurrection should

should haue beene their onely meane to haue purchased them a part in the first resurrection, ouer which the second death hath no power.

*An answer to the obiection of some, affirming that resurrection is proper to the body onely, and not to the soule.*

CHAP. IO.

SOME object this, that resurrection pertaineth onely to the body, and therefore the first resurrection is a bodily one; for that which falleth (say they) that may rise againe: but the body falleth by death, (for so is the word *Cadaver*, a carcasse, deriued of *Cado*, to fall:) *Ergo*, rising againe belongeth soly to the body, and not vnto the soule. Well, but what will you answer the Apostle, that in as plaine terms as may be, he calleth the soules bettring, a resurrection: they were not reuiued in the outward man, but in the inward, vnto whom he said, *If yee then be risen with Christ, seeke the things which are aboue*: which he explaineth else-where, say-  
 Rom. 6. 4  
 ing; *Like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the father, so wee also should walke in newnesse of life.* Hence also is that place: *Awake thou that sleepest, Ephes. 5. 14*  
*and stand up from the dead, and Christ shall giue thee light.* Now whereas they say, none can rise but those that fall, *ergo*, the body onely can arise, why can they not heare that shrill sound of the spirit. *Depart not from him lest you fall, and againe, Iofuah 2. 2*  
*Hee standeth or falleth to his owne maister*: and further, *Let him that thinketh hee Rom. 14. 4*  
*standeth, take heed lest hee fall*: I thinke these places meane not of bodily falls, but I. Cor. 10. 12.  
 of the soules. If then resurrection concerne them that fall, and that the soule may also fall; it must needs follow, that the soule may rise againe. Now *Saint Iohn* hauing laid, *On such the second death shall haue no power*, proceedeth thus: *But they shall bee the Priests of God and of Christ, and shall reigne with him a thousand yeares*: Now this is not meant onely of those whome the Church peculiarly calleth Bishops and Priests, but as wee are all called Christians, because of our mysticall *Chrisme*, our vnction, so are wee all Priests in being the members of one Priest. Where-vpon *Saint Peter* calleth vs, *A royall Priest-hood, an holy nation. I. Pet. 2. 9*  
 And marke how briefly *Saint Iohn* insinuateth the deity (a) of *Christ* in these words, *of God, and of Christ*, that is of the Father and of the Sonne, yet as hee was made the sonne of man, because of his seruants shape, so in the same respect was he made a *Priest* for euer according to the order of *Melchisedech*, whereof wee haue spoken diuerse times in this worke.

L. VIVES.

**D**euity (a) of Christ ] For it were a damnable and blasphemous injury to God to suffer any one to haue Priests, but him alone: the very Gentiles would by no meanes allowe it.  
*Cicero Philippic. 2.*

*Of Gog and Magog, whom the Deuill (at the worlds end) shall stirre up against the Church of God. CHAP. II.*

**A**nd when the thousand yeares (saith hee) are expired, *Sathan shall be loosed out of*  
 Rev. 20. 7, 8  
 of

of his prison and shall goe out to deceiue the people which are in the foure quarters of the earth, euen Gog and Magog, to gather them together into Battell whose number is as the sand of the sea. So then the ayme of his deceit shall be this warre, for he vsed diuers waies to seduce before, and all tended to euill. He shall leaue the dennes of his hate, and burst out into open persecution; This shall be the last persecution, hard before the last iudgement, and the Church shall suffer it, all the earth ouer: the whole citiy of the Diuell shall afflict the *Citty of God* at these times in all places.

This *Gog* and this *Magog* are not to bee taken for (a) any particular Barbarous nations, nor for the Getes and Messageres, because of their litterall affinity, nor for any other Countreyes beyond the Romaines iurisdiction: hee meaneth all the earth when hee saith, *The people which are in the foure quarters of the Earth*, and then addeth that they are *Gog* and *Magog*. (b) *Gog*, is, an house: and *Magog*, of an house: as if hee had sayd, *the house and hee that commeth of the house*. So that they are the nations wherein the Deuill was bound before and now that he is loosed, cometh from thence, they being as the house, and hee as comming out of the house. But wee referre both these names vnto the nations, and neither vnto him, they are both the house, because the old enemy is hid and housed in them: and they are of the house, when out of secret hate they burst into open violence. Now where as hee sayth: *They went up into the plaine of the Earth, and compassed the tents of the Saints about, and the beloued City*, wee must not thinke they came to any one set place, as if the Saints tents were in any one certaine nation, or the *beloued City* either: no, this *Citty* is nothing but Gods Church, dispersed throughout the whole earth, and being resident in all places, and amongst all nations, as them words, *the plaine of the Earth*, do insinuate: there shall the tents of the Saints stand, there shall the *beloued City* stand: There shall the fury of the persecuting enemy guirt them in with multitudes of all nations vnited in one rage of persecution: there shall the Church bee hedged in with tribulations, and shut vp on euery side: yet shall she not forsake her warfare, which is signified by the word, *Tents*.

## L. VIVES.

**A**Ny (a) particular Barbarous.] The Iewes (saith *Hierome*) and some of our Christians also following them herein, thinke that *Gog* is meant of the Huge nation of the Scythians, beyond *Caucasus* and the fens of *Meotis*, reaching as farre as India and the Caspian Sea, and that these (after the Kingdome hath lasted a thousand yeares at Hierusalem) shall be stirred vp by the Deuill to war against Israell and the Saints, bringing an innumerable multitude with them, first out of *Mosloch*, which *Iosephus* calls *Cappadocia*, and then out of *Thubal*, which the Hebrewes affirme to be Italy, and he holdeth to bee Spaine. They shall bring also the Persians, Ethiopians and Lybians, with them of *Gomer* and *Theogorma*, to wit, the Galatians and Phrigians, Saba also and *Dedan*, the *Carthaginians*, and *Tharsians*. Thus farre *Hierome*. In *Exoh. lib. 11*. (b) *Gog* is an house.] So saith *Hierome*. So that these two words imply all proud and false knowledge that exalteth it selfe against the truth.

whether

*Whether the fire falling from heauen, and deuouring them,  
imply the last torment of the wicked.*

## C H A P . 12 .

**B**Vt his following words, *fire came downe from GOD out of heauen, and deuoured them*, are not to bee vnderstood of that punishment, which these words imply: *Depart from me yee cursed into euerlasting fire*: for then shall they bee cast into the fire; and not fire be cast downe vpon them. But the first fire insinuateth the firmnesse of the Saints, that will not yeeld vnto the wills of the wicked: for heauen is the firmament, whose firmnesse shall burne them vp for very zeale and vexation, that they cannot draw the seruants of *God* vnto the side of Antichrist. This is the fire from *God* that shall burne them vp, in that *God* hath so confirmed his Saints, that they become plagues vnto their opposites. Now whereas I said *zeale*, know that zeale is taken in good part or in euill: in good, as here; *The zeale of* psal. 69. *thine house hath eaten mee vp*: in euill, as here: *Zeale hath possessed the ignorant people*. And now the fire shall eat vp these opposers, but not that fire of the last iudgement. Besides if the Apostle by this fire from heauen doe imply the plague that shall fall vpon such of Antichrists supporters, as *Christ* at his coming shall finde left on earth, yet not-with-standing this shall not be the wickedes last plague, for that shall come vpon them afterwards, when they are risen againe in their bodies.

*Whether it be a thousand yeares vntill the persecution vnder  
Antichrist.*

## C H A P . 13 .

**T**HIS last persecution vnder Antichrist (as wee said before, and the Prophet *Daniell* prooueth) shall last three yeares and an halfe: a little space! but whether it belong to the thousand yeares of the deuills bondage, and the Saints reigne with *Christ*; or be a space of time more then the other fully accompted, is a great question. If we hold the first part, then wee must say that the Saints with *Christ* reigned longer then the deuill was bound. Indeed the Saints shall reigne with him in the very heate of this persecution, and stand out against the deuill, when hee is in greatest power to molest them. But why then doth the Scripture confine both their reigne and the deuills bondage to the iust summe of a thousand yeares, seeing the diuells captiuitie is out three yeares and sixe moneths sooner then their kingdome with *Christ*? well, if wee hold the later part, that these three yeares and a halfe, are beyond the iust thousand, to vnderstand *Saint Iohn* that the reigne of the Saints with *Christ*; and the deuills imprisonment ended both at once; (according to the thousand yeares which hee giueth alike vnto both) so that the said time of persecution belongeth neither to the time of the one, nor the other: then we must confesse, that during this persecution, the Saints reigne not with *Christ*. But what is he dare affirme, that his members do not reigne with him, when they do most firmlie of all, keepe their coherence with him? at such time as when the warres doe rage, the more apparent is their constancie, and the more frequent is the ascent from martyrdome to glory? If wee say they reigne not because of the affliction that they endure, wee may then inferre, that in the times already past, if the Saints were once afflicted, their kingdome with their *Saviour* ceased: and so they whose soules this Euangelist beheld, namely of those who were slaine for the testimonie of *I E S V S*, and for the



word of *God*, reigned not with *Christ* in their persecutions, nor were they the kingdome of *Christ*, who were *Christ*s most excellent possessions. Oh this is absurd and abhominable! No, the victorious soules of the glorious martyrs, subduing all earthly toyles and tortures, went vp to reigne with *Christ* (as they had reigned with him before) vntill the expiration of the thousand yeares, and then shall take their bodies againe, and so reigne body and soule with him for euermore. And therefore, in this sore persecution of three yeares and an halfe, both the soules of those that suffered for *Christ* before, and those that are then to suffer, shall reigne with him vntill the worlds date bee out, and the kingdome begun that shall neuer haue end. Wherefore assuredly the Saints reigne with *Christ*, shall continue longer then Sathans bondage, for they shall reigne with *God* the sonne their King, three yeares and an halfe after Sathan bee loosed. It remaineth then, that when we heare that, *The Priests of God and of Christ*, shall reigne with him a thousand yeares, and that after a thousand yeares the deuill shall bee loosed, we must vnderstand that either the thousand yeares are decretiuey meant of the deuills bondage onely, and not of the Sainrs kingdome: or that the yeares of the Saints kingdome are longer, and they of the deuills bondage shorter, or that seeing three yeares and an halfe is but a little space, therefore it was not counted, either because the Saints reigne had more then it conceived, or the deuills bondage lesse; as wee said of the foure hundred yeares in the sixteene booke. The time was more, yet that summe onely was set downe, and this (if one obserue it) is very frequent in the Scriptures.

*Satan and his followers condemned: A recapitulation of the resurrection,  
and the last iudgment.* CHAP. 14.

**Rom. 20. 11** **A**fter this rehearfall of the last persecution, he proceeds with the successe of the deuill and his congregation at the last iudgment. *And the deuill (saith he) that deceiued them, was cast into a lake of fire & brimstone, where the beast and the false Prophet shall be tormented euen day and night for euermore.* The beast (as I said before) is the city of the wicked: his false Prophet is either Antichrist, or his image, the figmēt that I spake of before. After all this, commeth the last iudgment, in the second resurrection, to wit, the bodies, and this he relateth by way of recapitulation, as it was reuealed vnto him, *I saw (saith he) a great white throne, and one that sat on it, from whose face flew away both the earth and heauen, and their place was no more found.* He saith not, and heauen and earth flew away from his face, [as importing their present flight, for that befell not vntill after the iudgement, but, from whose face flew away both heauen and earth, namely afterwards, when the iudgment shall be finished, then this heauen and this earth shall cease, and a new world shall begin. But the old one shall not be vtterly consumed, it shall onely passe through an vniuersall change; and therefore the Apostle saith. *The fashion of this world goeth away, and I would haue you with-out care.* The fashion goeth away, not the nature. Well, let vs follow *Saint Iohn*, who after the sight of this throne, &c. proceedeth thus. *And I sawe the dead both great and small stand before God, and the bookes were opened, and another booke was opened which is the booke (a) of life, and the dead were iudged of those things which were written in the bookes, according to their workes.*

**1. Cor. 7,  
31.**

Behold, the opening of bookes, and of one booke! This what it was, hee sheweth:

sheweth: which is the booke of life. The other are the holy ones of the Old and New-Testament, that therein might be shewed what God had commanded: but in the booke (b) of life were the commissions and omissions of euery man on earth, particularly recorded. If we should imagine this to be an earthly booke, such as ours are, who is he that could imagine how huge a volume it were, or how long the contents of it all, would be a reading? Shall there be as many Angells as men, and each one recite his deeds that were committed to his guard? then shall there not bee one booke for all, but each one shall haue one. I but the Scripture here mentions but one in this kind: It is therefore some diuine power infused into the consciences of each peculiar, calling all their workes (wonderfully & strangely) vnto memory, and so making each mans knowledge accuse or excuse his owne conscience: these are all, and singular, iudged in themselves. This power diuine is called a booke, and fitly, for therein is read all the facts that the doer hath committed, by the working of this hee remembreth all: But the Apostle to explaine the iudgement of the dead more fully, and to shew how it compriseth greate and small, he makes at it were a returne to what he had omitted (or rather deferred) saying, *And the sea gaue vp her dead which were within her, and death and Hell deliuered vp the dead which were in them.* This was before that they were iudged & yet was the iudgment mentioned before, so that as I said, he returnes, to his intermission, & hauing said thus much. *The sea gaue vp her dead. &c.* As afore, he now proceedeth in the true order, saying, *And they were iudged euery man according to his workes.* This hee repeateth againe here, to shew the order which was to manage the iudgment whereof hee had spoken before in these words, *And the dead were iudged of those things which were written in the bookes, according to their workes.*

### L. VIVES.

OF (a) life ] So readeth *Hierome*, and so readeth the vulgar, wee finde not any that readeth it, *Of the life of euery one*, as it is in some copies of *Augustine*. The Greeke is iust as wee read, *of life*, without addition.

*Of the dead, whom the Sea, and death, and hell shall giue vp to Iudgement.*

#### CHAP. 15.

But what dead are they that the Sea shall giue vp? for all that die in the sea are not kept from hell, neither are their bodies kept in the sea: Shall we say that the sea keepeth the death that were good, and bell those that were euill, horrible absurdity? Who is so sottish as to beleecue this? no, the sea here is fitly vnderstood to imply the whole world. *Christ* therefore intending to shew that those whome he found on earth at the time appointed, should be iudged with those that were to rise againe, calleth them dead men, and yet good men, vnto whom it was said, *You are dead, and your life is hidden with Christ in God.* But them he calleth euill of whome hee sayd, *Let the dead bury their dead.* Besides, they may bee called dead, in that their bodies are deaths objects: wherefore the Apostle saith: *The body is dead, because of sinne, but the spirit is life for righteousnesse sake: shew that*

in a mortall man, there is both a dead body and a liuing spirit; yet said hee not, *the body is mortall*, but dead, although according to his manner of speach, hee had called bodies, mortall, but a little before. Thus then the sea gaue vppe her dead; the world waue vppe all mankind that as yet had not approached the graue. And death and hell (quoth hee) *gaue vp the dead* which were in them. The sea gaue vp his, for as they were then so were they found: but death and hell had theirs first called to the life which they had, left & then gaue them vp. Perhaps it were not sufficient to say death onely, or hell onely, but hee saith both, *death and hell*, death for such as might onely die, and not enter hell, and hell for such as did both, for if it bee not absurd to beleue that the ancient fathers beleuing in Christ to come, were all at rest (a) in a place farre from all torments, (and yet within hell) vntill Christs passion, and descension thether set them at liberty: then surely the faithfull that are already redeemed by that passion, neuer know what hell meaneth, from their death vntill they arise and receiue their rewards. *And they iudged euery one according to their deedes*: a brieue declaration of the iudgement. *And death and hell (saith he) were cast into the lake of fire*: this is the second death, *Death and Hell*, are but the diuell and his angells, the onely authors of death and hells torments. This hee did but recite before, when he said, *And the Diuell that deceiued them was cast into a lake of fire and brimstone*: But his mistical addition, *Where the beast and the false Prophet shall be tormented, &c.* That he sheweth plainly here: *Whosoener was not found written in the booke of life was cast into the lake of fire*. Now as for the booke of life, it is not meant to put God in remembrance of any thing; least hee should forget, but it sheweth who are predestinate vnto saluation, for God is not ignorant of their number, neither readeth hee this booke to finde it: his precience is rather the booke it selfe wherein all are written, that is fore-knowen.

### L. VIVES.

**I**n a (a) place.] They call this place *Abrahams bosome*: wherein were no paines felt as Christ sheweth plainly of *Lazarus Luc. 16.* and that this place was farre from the dungeon of the wicked: but where it is, or what is ment hereby, *S. Augustine* confesseth that he cannot define, *Sup. Genes. lib. 8.* These are secrets all vnneedfull to be knowne, and all wee vnworthy to know them.

### *Of the new Heauen, and the new Earth*

#### CHAP. 16.

Mat. 25.

**T**He iudgement of the wicked being past as he fore-told, the iudgement of the good must follow, for hee hath already explained what Christ said in brieue *They shall go into euerlasting paine*: now he must expresse the sequell: *And the righteous into life eternall. And I saw (saith he) a new heauen and a new earth.* The first heauen and earth were gone, and so was the sea, for such was the order described before by him when he saw *the great white throne, & one sitting vpon it, fro whose face they fled.* So then they that were not in the booke of life being iudged, and cast into eternall fire; what, or where it is, I hold is vnknowne to (a) all but those vnto whome it please the spirit to reueale it then shall this world loose the figure by worldly fire, as it was erst destroyed by earthly water. Then (as I said) shall all the worlds corruptible qualities be burnt away, all those that held correspondence with our corruption, shall be agreeable with immortality, that the world being so substantially renewed, may bee fitly adapted vnto the men whose

whose substances are renewed also. But for that which followeth, *There was no more sea*, whether it imply that the sea should bee dried vp by that vniuersall conflagration, or bee transformed into a better essence, I cannot easily determyne. Heauen and Earth, were read, *shalbe renewed* but as concerning the sea, I haue not read any such matter, that I can remember: vnllesse that other place in this booke, of that which hee calleth as it were a sea of glasse, like vnto christall, import any such alteration. But in that place hee speaketh not of the worlds end, neither doth hee say directly a sea, but, as a sea. Norwithstanding it is the Prophets guise to speake of truths in misti-call manner, and to mixe truths and types together: and so he might say, *there was no more sea*, in the same sence that hee sayd, *the sea shall giue vp hsr dead*, intending that there should be no more turbulent times in the world, which he insinua-teth vnder the word, Sea.

## L. VIVES.

**V** *Unknowne (a) to all* [ To all? nay ( Saint Augustine ) it seemes you were neuer at the schoole-mens lectures. There is no freshman there, at least no graduate, but can tell that it is the elementary fire which is betweene the sphere of the moone, and the ayre, that shall come downe, and purge the earth of drosse, together with the ayre and water. If you like not this, another will tell you, that the beames of the Sonne kindle a fire in the midst of the ayre, as in a burning glasse, and so worke wonders. ] [No word of this in Loutaine copy.]

But I doe not blame you: fire was not of that vse in your time that it is now of, when euery Philosopher (to omit the diuines) can carry his mouth, his hands and his seete full of fire both in the midst of Decembers cold, and Iulies heate. Of Philosophers they become diuines, and yet keepe their old fiery formes of doctrine still, so that they haue farre better iudgement in an hot case then you or your predecessors euer had. ]

*Of the glorification of the Church, after death, for euer.*

## CHAP. 17.

**A**ND Iohn (saith hee) sawe that Holie Cittie, new Ierusalem, come downe from GOD out of Heauen, prepared as a bride trimmed for her husband. And I heard a great voice out of Heauen, saying, behold, the Tabernacle of GOD is with men, and hee will dwell with them, and they sha' be his people, and hee himselfe shalbe their GOD with them. And GOD shall wipe away all teares from their eyes, and there shalbe no more death, neither teares, neither crying, neither shall there bee any more paine, for the first things are passed. And hee that sat upon the Throne sayd, behold, I make althings new, &c.

This cittie is sayd to come from Heauen, because the grace of GOD that founded it is heauenly, as GOD saith in Esay. *I am the LORD that made thee.* This grace of his came downe from heauen euen from the beginning, and since, the citizens of GOD haue had their increase by the same grace, giuen by the spirit, from heauen, in the fount of regeneration. But at the last iudgement of GOD by his Sonne Christ, this onely shall appeare in a state so glorious, that all the ancient shape shalbe cast aside: for the bodies of each member shall cast aside their olde corruption, and put on a new forme of immortality. For it were too grosse impudence to thinke that this was meant of the thousand years afore sayd, wherein the Church is sayd to

reigne with Christ: because he saith directly, *GOD shall wipe awaie all teares from their eses; and there shalbe no more death, neither sorrowes, neither crying, neither shall there bee any more paine.* Who is so obstinately absurd, or so absurdly obstinate as to averre, that any one Saint (much lesse the whole society of them) shall passe this transitory life without teares or sorrowes, or euer hath passed it, cleare of them? seeing that the more holy his desires are, and the more zealous his holinesse, the more teares shall bedew his Orisons. Is it not the Heauenly Ierusalem (that sayth,) *My teares haue bene my meate daie and night?* And againe: *I cause my bedde euerie night to swimme, and a water my couch with teares* and besides: *My sorrow is renewed?* Are not they his Sonnes that bewaile that which they will not forsake? But bee cloathed in it, that their mortality: may bee re-inuested with eternitie? and hauing *the first frutes of the spirit, doe sigh in them: lues, wayting for the adoption,* [that is] *the redemption of their bodies?* Was not Saint Paul one of the Heauenlie Cittie, nay and that the rather in that hee tooke so great care for the earthly Israelites? And when (a) shall death haue to doe in that Cittie, but when they may say: *Oh death, where is thy sting? Oh hell, where is thy (b) victorie? The sting of death is sinne.* This could not bee sayd there where death had no sting: but as for this world, Saint Iohn himselte saith: *If wee say wee haue no sinne, wee decerne our selues, and there is no truth in vs.* And in this his Reuelation, there are many things written for the exoercising of the readers vnderstanding, and there are but few things, whose vnderstanding may bee an induction vnto the rest: for hee repeteth the same thing, so many waies, that it seemes wholly pertinent vnto another purpose: and indeed it may often bee found as spoken in another kinde. But here where hee sayth: *GOD shall wipe awaie all teares from their eyes, &c:* this is directly meant of the world to come, and the immortalitie of the Saints, for there shalbe no sorrow, no teares, nor cause of sorrowe or teares; if any one thinke this place obscure let him looke for no plainenesse in the Scriptures.

## L. VIVES.

**T**hy (a) victorie? ] Some read, *consention*: but the originall is, *Victory*, and so doe Hierom and Ambrose reade it, often. Saint Paul hath the place out of *Osee. chap. 13. ver. 14.* and vseth it. *1. Cor. 16. ver. 55.* (b) *When shall death* ] The Cittie of GOD shall see death, vntill the words that were sayd of Christ after his resurrection; *Oh hell, where is thy victorie?* may bee said of all our bodies, that is, at the resurrection, when they shalbe like his glorified bodie.

## Saint Peters doctrine of the resurrection of the dead.

## CHAP. 18.

**N**OW let vs heare what Saint Peter sayth of this Iudgement. *There shall come* (saith hee) *in the last daies, mockers, which will walke after their lusts, and say, where is the promise of his coming?* For since the fathers died, all things continue alike from the beginning of the creation. For this, they (willingly) know not, that the heauens were of old, and the earth that was of the water, and by the water by the word of GOD, wherefore the world; that then was, perished, ouer-flowed with the water. But the heauens and earth that now are, are kept by the same word in store and reserved vnto fire against the day of iudgement, and

and of the destruction of vngodly men. Dearly beloued bee not ignorant of this, that one daie with the LORD is as a thousand years, and a thousand yeares as one daie. The LORD is not slack concerning his promise, (as some men count slacknesse) but is patient toward vs, and would haue no man to perish, but would haue all men to come to repentance. But the daie of the LORD will come as a thiefe in the night, in the which the heauens shall passe awaie with a noyse, and the elements shall melt with heate, and the earth with the workes that are therein shall be burnt vpper. Seeing therefore all these must bee dissolued, what manner of persons ought you to bee in holy conuersation and Godlinesse, longing for, and hastening vnto the comming of the daie of GOD, by the which, the heauens beeing on fire shall be dissolued and the elements shall melt with heate. But vve-looke for a new heauen, and a new earth according to his promise where in dwelleth righteousness. Thus farre. Now here is no mention of the resurrection of the dead: but enough concerning the destruction of the world, where his mention of the worlds destruction already past, giueth vs sufficient warning to beleue the dissolution to come. For the world that was then perished (saith hee) at that time: (not onely the earth, but that part of the ayre also which the watter (a) possessed, or got aboute, and so consequently almost all those ayry regions, which hee calleth the heauen, or rather (in the plurall) the heauens) but not the spheres wherein the Sunne and the Starres haue their places, they were not touched: the rest was altered by humidity, and so the earth perished, and lost the first forme by the deluge. But the heauens and earth (saith hee) that now are) are kept by the same word in store, and reserued vnto fire against the daie of iudgement, and of the destruction of vngodly men. Therefore the same heauen and earth that remained after the deluge, are they that are reserued vnto the fire afore-said, vnto the daie of iudgement and perdition of the wicked. For because of this great change hee sticketh not to say, there shall be a destruction of men also, whereas indeed their essences shall neuer bee annihilate, although they liue in torment. Yea but (may some say) if this old heauen and earth shall at the worlds end bee burned before the new ones be made, where shall the Saints be in the time of this conflagration, since they haue bodies and therefore must be in some bodily place? We may answer, in the vpper parts, whither the fire as then shall no more ascend, then the water did in the deluge. For at this daie the Saints bodies shall be moouable whither their wills doe please: nor need they feare the fire, being now both immortal and incorruptible: (b) for the three children though their bodies were corruptible, were notwithstanding preserued from losing an haire by the fire, and might not the Saints bodies be preserued by the same power?

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) water possessed ] For the two vpper regions of the ayre doe come iust so low that they are bounded with a circle drawne round about the earthlie, highest mountaine tops. Now the water in the deluge beeing fifteene cubites higher then the highest mountaine, it both drowned that part of the ayre wherein wee liue, as also that part of the middle region wherein the birds do vsually flie: both which in Holy writ, and in Poetry also are called Heauens. (b) The three Sidrach, Misach, and Abdenago, at Babilon, who were cast into a furnace for scorning of Nabuchadnezzars golden statue. Dan. 3.

Saint

*Saint Pauls words to the Theſſalonians: Of the manifeſtations of Antichriſt whoſe times ſhall immediately fore-runne the day of the Lord. CHAP. 19.*

**I** See I muſt ouer-paſſe many worthy ſayings of the Saints, concerning this day; leaſt my worke ſhould grow to too great a volume: but yet Saint Pauls  
 2. Theſ. 2. I may by no meanes omit. Thus ſayth he. *Now I beſeech you bretheren by the com-*  
 1. &c. *ming of our LORD IESVS CHRIST, and by our aſſembling vnto him, that you*  
*bee not ſuddenly mooued from your minde, nor troubled neither by ſpirit, nor by word,*  
*nor by letter, as if it were from vs, as though the day of CHRIST were at hand. Let no*  
*man deceiue you by any meanes, for that day ſhall not come except there come (a) a fugi-*  
*tive firſt, and that that man of ſinne bee diſcloſed, euen the ſonne of perdition: which is*  
*an aduerſary, and exalteth himſelfe againſt alſ called god, or that is worſhipped: ſo*  
*that he ſitteth as God in the Temple of God, ſhewing himſelfe that he is God. Remember*  
*yee not that when I was yet with you, I told you theſe things? And now yee know what*  
*withholdeth that he might be reuealed in his due time. For the miſtery of iniquity doth*  
*already worke: onely he which now withholdeth, ſhall let till he be taken out of the way:*  
*and the wicked man ſhalbe reuealed, whom the Lord ſhall conſume with the ſpirit of his*  
*mouth, and ſhall aboliſh with the brightneſſe of his comming: euen him whoſe comming*  
*is by the working of Sathan, with all power, and ſignes, and lying wonders, and in all de-*  
*ceiuableneſſe of vnrightheouſneſſe amongſt them that perſiſh, becauſe they receiued not*  
*the loue of the truth that they might be ſaued. And therefore God ſhall ſend them ſtrong*  
*deluſion, that they ſhould beleeu eues; that all they might bee damned which beleeu not*  
*in the truth, but had pleaſure in vnrightheouſneſſe. This is doubtleſſe meant of Anti-*  
 chriſt and the day of iudgement. For this day hee ſaith ſhall not come, vntill that  
 Antichriſt be come before it, he that is called here a fugitiue from the face of the  
 Lord: for if all the vngodly deſerue this name, why not hee moſt of all? But in  
 what temple of God he is to ſit as God, it is doubtfull: whether it be the ruined  
 Temple of Salomon, or in the church. For it cannot bee any heathen temple. Saint  
 Paul would neuer call any ſuch the Temple of God. Some therefore doe by  
 Antichriſt vnderſtand the deuill and all his domination, together with the  
 whole multitude of his followers: and imagine that it were better to ſay, hee  
 ſhall ſit (b) in *Templum dei*, as the Temple of God, that is, as though hee were the  
 church: as we ſay (c) *Sedet in amicum*, hee ſitteth as a friend, and ſo forth. But  
 whereas hee ſaith, *And now yee know what with-holdeth*, that is, what ſtaieſh him  
 from being reuealed; this implieth that they knew it before, and therefore hee  
 doth not relate it here. Wherefore wee that know not what they knew, doe  
 ſtrive to get vnderſtanding of his knowledge of the Apoſtle, but wee cannot; be-  
 cauſe his addition maketh it the more myſticall. For what is this: *The miſtery of*  
*iniquity doth already worke, onely hee that with-holdeth ſhall let till hee bee taken out of*  
*the way?* Truly I confeſſe, that I am vtterly ignorant of his meaning: but what  
 others coniectures are hereof I will not bee ſilent in. Some ſay Saint Paul ſpoke  
 (d) of the ſtate of Rome, and would not bee plainer, leaſt hee ſhould incurre a  
 ſlander that hee wiſhed Romes Empire euill fortune, whereas it was hoped that  
 (e) it ſhould continue for euer. By *the miſtery of iniquity* they ſay he meant Nero,  
 whoſe deeds were great reſemblances of Antichriſts, ſo that ſome thinke that he  
 ſhall riſe againe and be the true Antichriſt. Others thinke he (f) neuer died, but  
 vaniſhed, and that he liueth (in (g) that age and vigor wherein hee was ſuppoſed

to

to be slaine) vntill the time come that hee shalbe reuealed, and restored to his Kingdome.

But this is too presumptuous an opinion. Onely these wordes: *Hee that withholdeth shall let till hee be taken out of the waie.* May not vnicly bee vnderstood of Rome, as if he had sayd: *He that now reigneth shall reigne vntill hee bee taken away, And then the wicked man shalbe reuealed.* This is Antichrist, no man doubts it. Now some vnderstand these wordes, *Now yee know what withholdeth,* and, *the mystery of iniquity doth already worke;* to be meant onely of the false christians in the church, who shall increase vnto a number which shal make Antichrist a great people: this, say they, is the mystery of iniquity, for it is yet vnreuealed: and therefore doth the Apostle animate the faithfull to perseuere, saying, *let him that holdeth, hold* (for thus they take this place) *vntill hee bee taken out of the way,* that is, vntill Antichrist and his troupes, (this vnreuealed mystery of iniquity) depart out of the midst of the church. And vnto this doe they hold Saint Johns words to belong: *Babes it is the last time: And as yee haue heard that Antichrist shall come, euen now there are many Antichrists, whereby wee know that it is the last time. They went out from vs but they were not of vs: for if they had bene of vs, they would haue continued with vs.* Thus (say they) euen as before the end in this time which Saint John calls *the last of all*, many heretiques (whom he calleth many Antichrists) went out of the church, so likewise hereafter all those that belong not vnto CHRIST but vnto the last Antichrist shall depart out of the midst of CHRIST S flocke, and then shall the man of sinne be reuealed. Thus one taketh the Apostles wordes one way, and another another way, but this hee meaneth assuredly, that CHRIST will not come to iudge the world vntill Antichrist bee here before him to seduce the worlde: (although it bee GOD S secret iudgement that hee should thus seduce it) for his comming shalbe (as it is sayd) *by the working of Sathan with all power, and signes, and lying, vvonders, and in all deceiuablenesse of vnrighteousnesse amongst them that perish. For then shall Sathan bee let loose, and vvorke by this Antichrist vnto all mens admiration, and yet all in fallhood.* Now here is a doubt, whither they bee called lying wonders because hee doth but delude the eyes in these miracles, and doth not what hee seemes to doe, or because that although they may bee reall actions, yet the end of them all is to drawe ignorant man-kinde into this false conceite that such things could not bee done but by a diuine power, because they know not that the deuill shall haue more power giuen him then, then euer he had had before? For the fire that fell from Heauen, and burnt the house and goods of Holie Job, and the whirlwind that smote the building and slew his children, were neither of them false apparitions: yet were they the deuills effects, by the power that GOD had giuen him.

Therefore, in what respect these are called lying wonders, shalbe then more apparant. Howsoeuer, they shall seduce such as deserue to bee seduced, because they receiued not the loue of truth that they might bee saued: wherēpon the Apostle addeth this. *Therefore shall GOD send them strong delusion that they should beleene lies.* GOD shall send it: because his iust iudgement permittes it, though the deuills maleuolent desire performes it. That all they might bee damned which beleene not in the truth, but had pleasure in vnrighteousnesse.

Thus



Thus being condemned, they are seduced, and being seduced, condemned. But their seducement is by the secret iudgement of God, iustly secret, and secretly iust; euen his that hath iudged continually, euer since the world beganne. But their condemnation shalbe by the last and manifest iudgement of I E S V S C H R I S T, he that iudgeth most iustly and was most vniustly iudged himselfe.

## L. VIVES.

**A** (*a*) *Fugitive*] The greeke is *ἀποκεία*, a departing, and so the vulgar reads it. (*b*) *In templum dei*] So doth the greeke read it. (*c*) *Sedet in amicum*] The common phrase of scripture. *Esto mihi in deum*: be thou my God, &c. (*d*) *Of the state of Rome*] *Lactant. lib. 7.* It was a generall opinion, that towards the end of the world, there should tenne Kings share the Romane Empire amongst them, and that Antichrist should be the eleauenth and ouercome them all. *Hier. in Daniel.* But these are idle coniectures. (*e*) *It should continue for euer.*] As the old Romanes dreamed. So saith *Iupiter in Virgil.*

*His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono,  
Imperium sine fine dedi.* —————

I bound these fortunes by no time, or place,  
Their state shall euer stand. —————

(*f*) *Neuer died*] His death in deed was secret; for vpon *Galba's* approach hee fled in the night with foure onely in his company (and his head couered) vnto his country house betweene *via Salaria* and *Momentana*, and there stabd himselfe, and was buried by his nurses and concubine, in the Sepulchre of the *Domitii* neare to the field. *Sueton.* (*g*) *In that age*] Being two and thirty yeares old.

## Saint Pauls doctrine of the resurrection of the dead.

## CHAP. 20.

**B**ut the Apostle saith nothing of the resurrection of the dead in this place: *1 Theff. 4. 13, 14, &c.* *concerning those which sleepe, that yee sorrow not euen as those which have no hope: for if wee belecue that I E S V S is dead, and is risen againe, euen so, them which sleepe in I E S V S, will GOD bring with him. For this wee say vnto you by the word of the LORD that wee wish liue and are remainyng at the comming of the LORD, shall not prouent those that sleepe. For the LORD himselfe shall descend from heauen with a sboute, with the vaice of the Arch angell, and with the trumpet of GOD, and the dead in C H R I S T shall arise first: then shall we which liue and remaine be saught vp with them also in the cloudes to meeete the LORD in the ayre, and so shall wee euer bee with the LORD.* Here the Apostle maketh a plaine demonstration of the future resurrection, when C H R I S T shall come to sit in iudgement ouer both quick and dead. But it is an ordinary question whether those whom C H R I S T shall finde aliue at his comming/whom the Apostle admitteth himselfe and those with him to be) shall euer die at all, or goe immediately in a moment vp with the rest to meeete C H R I S T, and so be forth with immortalized. It is not impossible for them both to die and liue againe in their very ascention through the ayre. For these words; *And so shall wee euen bee with the LORD*, are not to bee taken as if wee were to continue in the ayre with him, for hee shall not stay in the ayre, but goe

goe and come through it. We meete him comming, but not staying: but so shall we euer bee with him, that is, in immortall bodies, where euer our stay bee. And in this sence the Apostle seemes to vrge the vnderstanding of this question to bee this, that those whom *Christ* shall finde aliue, shall neuer the lesse both dye and reuiue, where he saith. *In Christ shall all bee made aliue:* and vpon this, by and by after; *That which thou sowest, is not quickned except it dye.* How then shall those whom *Christ* shall finde aliue bee quickned in him by immortality, vnlesse they doe first dye, if these words of the Apostle bee true? If wee say that the sowing is meant onely of those bodies that are returned to the earth, according to the iudgement laide vpon our transgressing fore-fathers: *Thou art dust, and to dust shalt thou returne:* then wee must confesse, that neither that place of *Saint Paul* nor this of *Genesis* concernes their bodies whome *Christ* at his comming shall finde in the body: for those are not sowne, because they neither goe to the earth, nor returne from it, how-so-euer they haue a little stay in the ayre, or other-wise taste not of any death at all. But now the Apostle bath another place of the resurrection. *(a) wee shall all rise againe,* saith hee, or (as it is in some copies) *wee shall all sleepe.*

So then, death going alway before resurrection, and sleepe in this place implying nothing but death, how shall all rise againe, or sleepe, if so many as *Christ* shall finde liuing vpon earth, shall neither sleepe nor rise againe? Now therefore, if wee doe but auouch that the Saints whome *Christ* shall finde in the flesh, and who shall meete him in the ayre, doe in this rapture leaue their bodies for a while, and then take them on againe; the doubt is cleared both in the Apostles first words; *That which thou sowest is not quickned, except it dye:* as also in his later, *wee shall all rise againe, or wee shall all sleepe:* for they shall not bee quickned vnto immortality, vnlesse they first taste of death: and consequently haue a share in the resurrection by meanes of this their little sleepe. And why is it incredible that those bodies should bee sowne, and reuiued immortally in the ayre, when as wee beleue the Apostle, where hee saith plainly, that the resurrection shall bee in the twinkling of an eye, and that the dust of the most aged bodye, shall in one moment concurre to retaine those members, that thence-forth shall neuer perish: Nor let vs thinke that that place of *Genesis*, *Thou art dust, &c.* concerneth not the Saints; for all that their dead bodies returne not to the earth, but are both dead and reuiued whilest they are in the ayre.

*To dust shalt thou returne,* that is; thou shalt by losse of life, become that which thou wast ere thou hadst life. It was earth in whose face the LORD breathed the breath of life, when man became a liuing soule: So that it might bee sayd. *Thou art liuing dust; which thou wast not, and thou shalt bee liuelesse dust; as thou wast.* Such are all dead bodyes euen before putrefaction, and such shall they bee (if they dye) where-so-euer they dye, beeing voyde of life, which not-with-standing they shall immediatly returne vnto. So then shall they returne vnto earth; in becoming earth, of liuing men; as that returnes to ashes which is made of ashes, that vnto putrefaction which is putrified, that into a potte which of earth is made a potte, and a thousand other such like instances. But how this shall bee, wee doe but coniecture now, nor shall know till wee see it.

That (b) there shall bee a resurrection of the flesh at the comming of *Christ*,

to iudge the quicke and the dead, all that are christians must confidently beleue: nor is our faith in this point any way friuolous, although wee know not how this shalbe effected. But, as I said before, so meane I still, to proceed in laying downe such places of the Old Testament now, as concerne this last iudgement, as farre as neede shalbe; which it shall not bee altogether so necessary to stand much vpon, if the reader do but ayde his vnderstanding with that which is passed before.

### L. VIVES.

**W**E shall (*a*) all rise againe] The greeke copies reade this place diuersly (*Hier. ep. ad Numerium*:) for some read it, *We shall not all sleepe, but wee shall all bee changed.* *Eras. Annot. Nou. Testam. et in Apolog.* Hence I thinke, arose the question whether all should die, or those that liued at the iudgement daie bee made immortall without death. *Petrus Lombardus Sent. 3. dist. 40.* shewing the difference herevpon betwene *Ambrose* and *Hierome*, dares not determine, because *Augustine* leaneth to *Ambrose*; and most of all the greeke fathers to *Hierome*, reading it, *wee shall not all sleepe.* And for *Ambrose*, *Erasmus* sheweth how he staggereth in this assertion. Meane while wee doe follow him whom wee explaine. (*b*) *Theree shall be a resurrection.*] This we must stick to, it is a part of our faith. How it must bee, let vs leaue to GOD, and yoake our selues in that sweet obedience vnto Christ. It sufficeth for a christian to beleue this was, or that shalbe, let the meanes alone to him who concealeth the plainest workes of nature from our apprehensions.

### Esaias his doctrine concerning the iudgement and the resurrection.

#### CHAP. 21.

**R. 26. 19** **T**He dead (saith the prophet *Esaias*) shall arise againe; and they shall arise againe that were in the graues; and all they shall be glad that are in the earth: for the dew that is from thee, is health to them, and the Land (or earth) of the wicked shall fall. All this belongs to the resurrection. And whereas he saith the land of the wicked shall fall, that is to bee vnderstood by their bodies which shalbe ruined by damnation. But now if wee looke well into the resurrection of the Saints, these wordes, *The dead shall arise againe*, belong to the first resurrection, and these, *they shall arise againe that were in the graues*, vnto the second. And as for those holie ones whom CHRIST shall meeete in their flesh, this is fitrely pertinent vnto them: *All they shall be glad that are in the earth: for the dewe that is from thee, is health vnto them*: By health in this place, is meane immortality, for that is the best health, and needes no dailely refection to pre-serue it.

The same prophet also speaketh of the iudgement, both to the comfort of the Godly, and the terror of the wicked. Thus saith the Lord: Behold, I will incline vnto them as a flood of peace: and the glory of the Gentiles like a flowing streame: Then shall yee suck: yee shall be borne vpon her shoulders, and be ioyfull vpon her knees. As one whom his mother comforteth so will I comfort you, and yee shall be comforted in Ierusalem. And when yee see this your hearts shall reioyce and your bones shall flourish as an herbe: and she

*the hand of the Lord shalbe knowne vnto his seruants, and his indignation against his enemies. For behold the Lord will come with fire, and his chariots like a whirle-winde, that hee may recompence his anger with wrath, and his indignation with a flame of fire, for the LORD will iudge with fyre, and with his sword, all flesh, and the slaine of the LORD shalbe many.* Thus you heare, as touching his promises to the good, hee inclineth to them like a floud of peace: that is in all peacefull abundance; and such shall our soules bee watted withall at the worldes end. (but of this in the last booke before) This hee extendeth vnto them to whom hee promisseth such blisse that wee may conceiue that this floud of beatitude doth sufficiently bedewe all the whole region of Heauen, where we are to dwell. But because he bestoweth the peace of incorruption vpon corruptible bodies, therefore hee saith *he will incline,* as if hee came downe-wards from aboue, to make man-kinde equall with the Angells.

By Ierusalem wee vnderstand not her that serueth with her children, but our free mother (as the Apostle saith) which is eternall, and aboue; whereafter the shokes of all our sorrowes bee passed, wee shall bee comforted, and rest like infants in her glorious armes, and on her knees. Then shall our rude ignorance bee inuested in that vn-accustomed blessednesse; then shall wee see this, and our heart shall reioyce: what shall wee see? it is not set downe. But what is it but GOD, that so the Gospell might bee fulfilled: *Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see GOD.* And all that blisse which wee now beleue but, like fraile-men, in farre lesse measure than it is, wee shall then behold and see: Here wee hope, there wee shall enioye. But least wee should imagine that those causes of ioye concerned, onelie the spirit; hee addeth, *And your bones shall flourish as an herbe.* Here is a plaine touch at the resurrection, relating as it were, what hee had omitted.

These things shall not bee done euen then when wee doe see them; but when they are already come to passe, then shall wee see them. For hee had spoken before of the new heauen and earth in his relations of the promises that were in the end to bee performed to the Saints, saying, *I will create new Heauens, and a new Earth, and the former shall not bee remembered nor come into minde: but bee you glad and reioyce therein; for behold I will create Ierusalem as a reioycing, and her people as a ioye, and I will reioyce in Ierusalem, and ioye in my people, and the voice of weeping shalbe heard no more in her, nor the voice of crying, &c.* This now some applie to the prooffe of Chilsisme: because that the Prophets manner is to mingle tropes with trathes, to exercise the Reader in a fitte inquest of their spirituall meanings, but carnall sloath contents it selfe with the litterall sence onely, and neuer seekes further. Thus farre of the Prophets wordes before that hee wrote what wee haue in hand: now for-ward againe. *And your bones shall flourish like an herbe:* that hee meaneth onelie the resurrection of the Saintes in this, his addition prooues: *And the hand of the LORD shalbee knowne amongst his seruantes.* What is this, but his hand, distinguishing his seruants from such as scorne him? of those it followeth. *And his indignation against his enemies:* or (as another interprets it) (a) *against the vnfaithfull.* This is no threatning, but the effect of all his threatnings. *For behold (saith hee) the LORD will come with fire, and his chariots like a whirle-winde that hee may recompence his*

*his anger with wrath, and his indignation with a flame of fire. For the LORD will iudge with fire, and with his sword, all flesh, and the slaine of the LORD shalbee many, whither they perish by fire or sword, or whirle-winde, all denounce but the paine of the Iudgement, for hee saith that GOD shall come as a whirle-winde, that is, vnto such as his comming shalbe penall vnto. Againe his chariots, beeing spoke in the plurall, imploy his ministring Angells. But whereas hee saith that all flesh shalbee iudged by this fyre and sword, wee doe except the Saints, and imply it onelie to those which minde earthlie things, and such minding is deadlie: and such as those of whome GOD saith, My spirit shall not alwaie striue with man, because hee is but flesh. But these words. The slaine (or wounded) of the LORD shalbee many; this implieth the second death.*

Phil. 3  
Gen. 6

The fire, the sword, and the stroke, may all bee vnderstood in a good sence: for GOD hath sayd *hee would send fyre into the world*: And the Holie Ghost descended in the shape of fiery tongues. Againe, *I came not (saith CHRIST) to send peace, but the sworde*. And the scripture calls GODS Word a *two edged sworde*; because of the two Testaments. Besides, the church in the Canticles, saith *that shee is wounded with loue*, euen as shotte, with the force of loue. So that this is plaine, and so is this that wee read, *that the LORD shall come as a Reuenger, &c.*

So then the Prophet proceedes with the destruction of the wicked, vnder the types of such as in the olde law forbare not the forbidden meates, rehearsing the graciousnesse of the New Testament from CHRIST S first comming, euen vnto this Iudgement we haue now in hand. For first, he tells how GOD saith that *hee commeth to gather the nations, and how they shall come to see his glorie. For all haue sinned (saith the Apostle) and are deprived of the glorie of GOD*. Hee sayth also that hee will leaue signes amongst them to induce them to beleue in him, and that hee will send his elect into many nations, and farre Islands that neuer heard of his name, to preach his glory to the Gentiles, and to bring their bretheren, that is the bretheren of the elect Israell (of whome hee spake) into his presence: to bring them for an offering vnto GOD in chariots, and vpon horses; that is by the ministerie of men or angells, vnto holie Ierusalem, that is now spread through-out the earth in her faithfull Citizens. For these when GOD assisteth them, beleue; and when they beleue, they come vnto him. Now GOD in a simily compares them to the children of Israel that offered vnto him his sacrifices with psalmes in the Temple: as the church doth now in all places: and hee promiseth to take of them for priests and for leuites, which now wee see hee doth. For hee hath not obserued fleshly kindred in his choise now, as hee did in the time of Aurons priest-hood: but according to the New Testament where CHRIST is priest after the order of Melchisedech, hee selecteth each of his priests according to the merit which GODS grace hath stored his soule with: as wee now behold: and these (b) Priests are not to bee reckned of for their places (for those the vn-worthie doe often hold) but for their sanctities, which are not common both to good and bad.

II. 66, 22,  
23, &c.

Now the prophet hauing thus opened Gods mercies to the church, addeth the seueral ends that shall befall both the good and bad in the last iudgement, in these words: *As the new beauen and the new earth which I shall make shall remaine before*

me,

*mee, saith the LORD: euen so shall your seede and your name. And from mouth to mouth, and from Sabbath to Sabbath shall all flesh come to worshipping before mee, saith the LORD: And they shall goe forth and looke vpon the members of the men that haue transgressed against mee; for their women shall not die, neither shall their fire bee quenched; and they shall be an abhorring vnto all flesh.* Thus endeth the Prophet his booke, with the end of the world. Some in this place for members, read (c) carkasse, hereby intimating the bodies euident punishment, though indeed a carkasse is properly nothing but dead flesh: but those bodies shall be liuing, otherwise, how should they bee sensible of paine? vnlesse wee say, they are dead bodies, that is, their soules are fallen into the second death, and so wee may fitly call them carkasses. And thus is the Prophets former words also to bee taken; *The land of the wicked shall fall: Cadauer, a carkasse, all knowes, commeth of Cado to fall: Now the translators by saying the carkasses of the men, doe not exclude women from this damnation, but they speake as by the better sexe, beeing that woman was taken out of man. But note especially, that where the Prophet speaking of the blessed, sayth, all flesh shall come to worshipping; Hee meaneth not all men (for the greater number shal be in torments) but some shall come out of all nations, to adore him in the Heauenly Ierusalem. But as I was a saying, since here is mention of the good by flesh, and of the bad, by carkasses; Verelie after the resurrection of the flesh, our faith whereof, these words doe confirme, that which shall confine both the good and bad vnto their last limits, shall be the iudgement to come.*

## L. VIVES.

**A**gainst (a) *the unfaithfull* ] Hierome, out of the hebrew, and the seauenty readeth it, *Against his enemies.* (b) *Priests are not to be* ] It is not priest-hood, nor orders that maketh a man any whit respected of GOD; for these dignities both the Godly and vngodly doe share in: but it is purity of conscience, good life, and honest cariage, which haue resemblance of that immense, that incorruptible nature of GOD, those winne vs-fauour with him. (c) *Carkasses* ] So doth Hierome reade it. But marke Saint *Augustines* vprightnesse, rather to giue a fauorable exposition of a translation to which hee stood not affected, then any way to cauill at it.

*How the Saints shall goe forth to see the paines of the wicked.*

### CHAP. 22.

**B**Vt how shall the good goe forth to see the bad plagued? Shall they leaue their blessed habitations, and goe corporally to hell, to see them face to face? God forbid: no, they shall goe in knowledge. For this implieth that the damned shall be without, and for this cause the Lord calleth their place, vtter darkenesse, opposite vnto that ingresse allowed the good seruāt in these words, *Enter into thy Masters ioye*: and lest the wicked should be thought to goe in to bee seene, rather then the good should goe out by knowledge to see them, being to know that which is without: for the tormented shall neuer know what is done in the Lords Ioye: but they that are in that Ioye, shall know what is done in the vtter darkenesse: Therefore saith the Prophet, *they shall goe forth*; in that they shall know what is without, for if the Prophets through that small part of diuine inspiration

could know these things before they came to passe: how then shall not these immortalls know them being passed, seeing that in them the Lord is all in all? Thus shall the Saints bee blessed both in seed, and name. In seed, as Saint *John* saith, *And his seed remaineth in him*. In name, as *Isaas* saith, *So shall your name continue; from moneth to moneth, and from Sabbath to Sabbath shall they have rest upon rest*: passing thus from old and temporall types to new and euerlasting truthe. But the paines of the wicked, that eternall worme, and that neuer dying fire, is diuersly expounded, either in reference to the bodie onelie, or to the soule onely, or the fire to belong to the bodie reallie, and the worme to the soule figuratiuely, and this last is the likeliest of the three. But heere is no place to discusse peculiars. Wee must end this volume, as wee promised, with the iudgement, the seperation of good from badde, and the rewards and punishments accordingly distributed.

*Daniels prophecy of Antichrist; of the iudgement,  
and of the Kingdome of the Saints.*

CHAP. 23.

Dan. 7

**O**F this Iudgement *Daniel* prophecieth, saying, that *Antichrist* shall fore-run it: and so hee proceedeth to the eternall Kingdome of the Saints: for hauing in a vision beheld the foure beasts, types of the foure Monarchies, and the fourth ouer-throwne by a King which all confesse to bee *Antichrist*; and then seeing the eternall Empire of the Sonne of man (*CHRIST*) to follow:] *Daniel* (saith hee) *was troubled in spirit, in the midst of my body, and the visions of mine head made mee affraide. Therefore I came to one of them that stood by, and asked him the truth of all this: so hee told mee and shewed mee the interpretation of these things. These foure great beasts are foure Kings, which shall arise out of the earth, and they shall take away the Kingdome of the most high, and possesse it for euer, euen for euer and euer. After this, I would know the truth of the fourth beast which was so vnlike the other, verie fearefull, whose teeth were of Iron, and his myles of Brasse, which deuoured, brake in peeces and stamped the rest vnder his feete. Also knowe of the tenne hornes that were on his head, and of the other that came vppe, before whom three fell, and of the horne that had eyes, and of the mouth that spake presumptuous things, whose looke was more stoute then his fellowes: I beheld, and the same horne made battaile against the Saints, yea and preuailed against them, untill the Ancient of daies came, and iudgement was giuen to the Saints of the most high: and the time approached that the Saints possessed the Kingdome.*

All this *Daniel* inquired, and then hee proceedeth: *Then hee sayd, the fourth beast shall be the fourth Kingdome on the earth, which shall be vnlike to all the Kingdomes and shall deuoure the whole earth, and shall tread it downe and shall breake it in peeces. And the tenne hornes are tenne Kings that shall rise, and another shall rise after them, and hee shall be vnlike to the first, and hee shall subdome three Kings, and shall speake wordes against the most high, and shall consume the Saints, of the most high, and thinke that hee may change times and lawes; and they shall be giuen into his hand untill a time, and halfe a time.*

*But the iudgement shall sit and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and destroy it vnto the end: And the kingdome, and dominion, and the greatnesse of the kingdome*

Kingdome vnder the whole Heauen shalbe given vnto the holy people of the most high whose Kingdome is an euerlasting Kingdome, and all powers shall serue and obey him. Euen this is the end of the matter. I Daniell had many cogitations which troubled me, and my countenance changed in me but I kept the matter in mine heart. These foure Kingdomes, some hold to bee (a) those of the Assrians, Persians, Macedonians, and Romaines.

How fitly, read Hieromes commentaries vpon Daniel, and there you may haue full instruction. But that Antichrists Kingdome shalbe most cruell against the Church (although it last but a while) vntill the Saints receiue the Soueraignty, none that reads this place, can make question of. The time, times and halfe a time is three yeares and a halfe: a yeare, two yeares and halfe a yeare, and this is declared by a number of daies afterwards, and by the numbers of monethes in other places of the Scriptures. Times in this place seemeth indefinite; but the (b) duall number is here vsed by the LXX. which the Latines haue not: but both the Greekes and (c) Hebrewes haue. Times then standeth but for two times. Now I am afraid (indeede) that wee deceiue our selues in the ten Kings whome Antichrist shall find, as tenne men, by our account, but there are not so many Kings in the Romaine Monarchy, so that Antichrist may come vpon vs ere wee bee aware. What if this number imply the fullnesse of regality, which shalbe expired ere hee come, as the numbers of a thousand, a hundred, seauen, and diuers more do oftentimes signifie the whole of a thing? I leaue it to iudgement. On with Daniel, *There shalbe a time of trouble (as th bee chap. 12) such as neuer was since there began to bee a nation vnto that same time, and at that time thy people shalbe deliuered, euery one that shalbe found written in the booke. And many that sleepe in the dust of the Earth shall awake: some to euerlasting life, and some to shame and perpetuall contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightnesse of the firmament, and they that turne to righteousnesse shall shine as the starres, for euer and euer.* How like is this place vnto that of the Ghospell concerning the resurrexion that saith: *They that are in the graues: This, they that are in the dust of the Earth that saith, shall come forth: this, shal awake, that, they that haue done good, vnto eternall life, and they that haue done euill vnto euerlasting damnation: this, some to euerlasting life, and some to perpetuall shame and contempt.* Nor thinke they differ in that the Gospell saith, *all that are in the graues,* and the Prophet saith but *Many:* for the Scripture sometimes vseth *many* for *all*. So was it said vnto Abraham, *thou shalt bee a father of many nations,* and yet in another place, *in thy seed shall all nations be blessed.* Of this resurrexion, it was said thus to Daniell him-selfe a little after; *Go thou thy way till the end be: for thou shalt rest, and stand vp in thy lot at the end of the daies.*

### L. VIVES:

**T** Hese of the (a) Assrians. For the first beast was like a Lyonesse, bloody and lustful and like an Eagle, proud, and long liued: and such was the Assrian Empire: The second like a Beare, rough and ferre, such was Cyrus founder of the Persian Monarchy. The third like a winged Leopard, head-long, bloody, and rushing vpon death: such was the Macedon, who seemed rather to fly to souerainety then goe on foote: for how soone did hee bring all Asia vnder the forth, the strangest, strongest, bloudest, &c. Of all: such was the Romaine Empire,



Empire, that exceeded Barbarisme in cruelty, filling all the world with the rust of hir owne breeding, with bones of her massacring, with ruines of her causing. (*b*) *The Duall* ] The ancient Greekes had but singular and plurall: the duall was added afterwards, which the Latines would not imitate. (*Dionys. Grammat.*) yet the Greeke Poets doe often vse the plurall for the duall, as yee may obserue in *Homer, &c.* (*c*) *Hobrewes haue* ] So saith *Hierome* vpon *Daniel*.

Dauids Prophecies of the worlds end, and the last iudgment.

CHAP. 24.

**T**ouching this last iudgment, we finde much spoken of it in the Psalmes, but I omit the most of it, yet the plainest thereof, I cannot but rehearse. *Thou afore time layd the foundation of the earth, and the heauens are the workes of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure: they shall all waxe old as doth a garment; as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall bee changed: but thou art the same, and thy yeares shall not faile.* What reason now hath *Porphyrus* to praise the Hebrewes for their adoration of the greatest God, and yet blame the Christians for auouching that the world shall haue an end, seeing that these bookes of the Hebrews, whose God hee confesseth to bee terrible to all the rest, doe directly auerre it? *They shall perish: what? the heauens: the greatest, the safest, the highest part of the world shall perish, and shall not the lesser, and lower doe so too? If some doe not like this, whose oracle (as Porphyrus saith) hath condemned the Christians credulity, why doth hee not condemne the Hebrewes also, for leauing this doctrine especially recorded in their holiest writings: But if this Iewish wisdome which he doth so commend, affirme that the heauens shall perish, how vaine a thing is it, to detest the Christian faith, for auouching that the world shall perish, which if it perish not, then cannot the heauens perish.* Now our owne scriptures, with which the Iewes haue nothing to doe, our Gospels and Apostolike writings, do all affirme this. *The fashion of this world goeth away. The world passeth away. Heauen and earth shall passe away.* But I thinke that *passeth away*, doth not imply so much as *perisheth*. But in *Saint Peters Epistle*, where hee saith, how the world perished being ouer-flowed with water, is plainly set downe both what he meant by the world, how farre it perished, and what was reserued for fire, and the perdition of the wicked. And by and by after, *The day of the Lord will come as a thiefe in the night, in the which the Heauens shall passe away with a noyse, the elements shall melt with heate, and the earth with the rockes that are therein shall bee burnt up;* and so concludeth, that seeing all these perish, what manner persons ought yee to be? Now we may vnderstand that those heauens shall perish which he said were reserued for fire, and those elements shall melt which are here below in this mole of discordant natures; wherein also he saith those heauens are reserued, not meaning the vpper spheres that are the seats of the stars: for whereas it is written *that the starres shall fall from heauen*, it is a good prooffe that the heauens shall remaine vntouched; (if these words bee not figuratiue, but that the starres shall fall indeed, or some such wonderous apparitions fill this lower ayre, as *Virgil* speaketh of,

*Aenid. 2.*

*Stella (a) facem ducens multa cum luce cucurrit.*


A tailed Starre flew on, with gliftring light.

And so hid it selfe in the woods of Ida.) But this place of the Psalme seemes to exempt

exempt none of all the heauens from perishing. *The heauens are the workes of* Psal. 101.  
*thine hands*: they shall perish: thus as hee made all, so all shall bee destroyed.  
 The Pagans scorne (I am sure) to call *Saint Peter* to defend that Hebrew doctrine which their gods doe so approoue; by alledging the figuratiue speaking hereof *pars pro toto*: all shall perrish, meaning onely all the lower parts: as the Apostle saith there, that the world perished in the deluge, when it was onely the earth, and some part of the ayre. This shift they will not make, least they should eyther yeeld to *Saint Peter*, or allow this position, that the fire at the last iudgement may doe as much as wee say the deluge did before: their assertion, that all man-kinde can neuer perish, will allow them neither of these euasions. Then they must needs say that when their gods commended the Hebrews wisdom, they had not read this Psalme: but there is another Psalme as plaine as this: *Our God shall come, and shall not keepe silence: a fire shall deuoure before him, and a mightie tempest shall bee moued round about him: Hee shall call the heauen aboue, and the earth to iudge his people. Gather my Saints together vnto mee, those that make a couenant with mee with sacrifice.* This is spoken of Christ, whome wee beleuee shall come from heauen to iudge both the quick and the dead. Hee shall come openly, to iudge all most iustly, who when hee came in secret was iudged himselfe most vniustly. Hee shall come and shall not bee silent, his voyce now shall confound the iudge before whome hee was silent, when hee was lead like a sheepe to the slaughter, and *as a lambe before the shearer is dumbe*, as the Prophet saith of him, and as it was fulfilled in the Ghospell. Of this fire and tempest wee spake before, in our discourse of *Isaias* prophecie touching this point. But his calling the heauens aboue (that is the Saints) this is that which *Saint Paul* saith: *Then shall wee bee caught up also in the clouds, to meete the Lord in the ayre.* For if it meant not this, how could the Heauens bee called aboue, as though they could bee any where but aboue? The words following; *And the earth*, if you adde not, *Aboue* heere also, may bee taken for those that are to bee iudged, and the heauens for those that shall iudge with *Christ*. And then the calling of the heauens, aboue implyeth the placing of the Saints in seates of iudgments, nor their raptures into the ayre. Wee may further vnderstand it to bee his calling of the Angels from their high places, to discend with him to iudgement, and by the earth, those that are to bee iudged. But if wee doe vnderstand *Aboue* at both clauses, it intimateth the Saints raptures directly: putting the heauens for their soules, and the earth for their bodyes: *to iudge (or discern) his people*, that is, to seperate the sheepe from the goates, the good from the bad. Then speaketh he to his Angels, *Gather my Saints together vnto mee*: this is done by the Angels ministry. And whome gather they? *Those that make a couenant with mee with sacrifice*: and this is the duty of all iust men to doe. For either they must offer their workes of mercy (which is aboue sacrifice, as the *Lord* saith, *I will haue mercy and not sacrifice*) or else their workes of mercy is the sacrifice it Osee. 6.  
 selfe that appeaseth *Gods* wrath, as I prooued in the ninth booke of this present volume. In such workes doe the iust make couenants with *God*, in that they performe them for the promises made them in the *New Testament*. So then *Christ* Mat. 25.  
 hauing gotten his righteous on his right hand, will giue them this well-come. *Come yee blessed of my Father, inherite yee the kingdome prepared for you from the foundations of the world: for I was an hungred and you gaue me to eat: and so forth of the good workes, and their eternall rewards which shall be returned for them in the last iudgment.*

L. VIVES.

## L. VIVES.

**S***Stella (a) facem duccens*] *Virg. Aeneid. 2.* Anchises beeing vnwilling to leaue Troy, and Aeneas being desperate, and resolving to dye, Iupiter sent them a token for their flight, namely this tailed starre: all of which nature (saith *Aristotle*) are produced by vapours enflamed in the ayres mid region. If their formes be only lineall, they call them *Stellas*, that is, *Lampes*, or *torches*. Such an one saith *Plynie* glided amongst the people at noone day, when *Germanicus Caesar* presented his Sword-players prize: others of them are called *Bolide*, and such an one was seene at *Mutina*. The first sort of these flye burning onely at one end, the latter burneth all ouer. Thus *Pliny lib. 2.* 

Malachies Prophecy of the iudgement, and of such as are to be purged by fire. CHAP. 25.

**T**HE Prophet (a) *Malachiel*, or *Malachi*, (other-wise called the *Angel*, and held by some as *Hierome* saith, and namely by the Hebrews, (b) to bee *Esdra* the Priest that wrote some other parts in the Canon) prophecied of the last iudgement in these words. Behold hee shall come, saith the Lord of Hostes: but who may abide the day of his comming? and who shall endure when hee appeareth? for hee is like a purging fire, and like Fullers Sope: and hee shall sit downe to trye and fine the siluer, hee shall euen fine the sonnes of Leui, and purifie them as golde and siluer, that they may bring offrings to the Lord in rightousnesse. Then shall the offerings of Iudah, and Hierusalem bee acceptable vnto the Lord as in old time, and in the yeares afore. And I will come neere vnto you to iudgement, and I will bee a swift witnesse against the Sooth-sayers, and against the adulterers, and against false swearers, and against those that wrongfully keepe back the hirelings wages, and vexe the widdow and the fatherlesse, and feare not mee, saith the Lord of Hostes: for I am the Lord, I change not. These words doe seeme evidently to imply a purification of some, in the last iudgement. For what other thing can bee meant by this, Hee is like a purging fire, and like Fullers sope, and hee shall sitte downe to trye and fine the siluer. hee shall fine the sonnes of Leui, and purifie them as golde or siluer? So saith *Esayas*: the Lord shall wash the filthinesse of the daughters of Zion, and purge the bloud of Hierusalem out of the middest thereof, by the spirit of iudgement, and by the spirit of burning. Perhaps this burning may bee vnderstood of that seperation of the polluted from the pure in that pænall iudgement, the good beeing to liue euer after, with-out any commerce with the bad. But these words; Hee shall euen fine the sonnes of Leui, and purifie them as gold and siluer, that they may bring offrings to the Lord in rightousnesse, doe intimate a purgation euen of the good, who shall now be cleansed from that in-iustice wherein they displeas'd the Lord, & being cleansed, and in their perfection of rightousnesse, they shall bee pure offerings themselves vnto him their Lord. For what better or more acceptable oblation for him, then them selues? But let vs leaue this theame of pænall purgation vnto a more fitt oportunity. By the sonnes of *Leui*, *Iudah* and *Hierusalem*, is meant the Church of God, both of Hebrews and others: but not in that state that it standeth now in: (for as we are now, if wee say wee haue no sinne, wee deceiue our selues and the truth is not in vs:) but as it shall be then, like a threshing-floore cleansed by the fan of the last iudgement, all being penally purged, that needed such a purification, so that now there shall need no more sacrifice for sinne, for all that offer such, are in sinne, for the remission of which they offer to bee freed from it by Gods gracious acceptance of their offering.

L. VIVES.

## L. VIVES.

**M**alachi or (a) Malachi. I neuer read that Malachi was euer called Malachiel. Malachi, is in Hebrew, his Angel: and therefore he was called Malachi, for if it were Malachiel, it should be interpreted, the Angell of the Lord: I thinke therefore it should be read here, Malachi. (b) To be Esdras. Of this lib. 18.

*Of the Saints offerings, which God shall accept of, as in the old time, and the yeares afore.* CHAP. 26.

**T**O shew that the City of God, should haue no more such custome, it is said that the sonnes of Lewi: shall bring offerings to the Lord in righteousness: therefore not in sinne, and consequently not for sinne, wee may therefore gather by the words following, viz. Then shall the offerings of Iudah and Ierusalem be acceptable vnto the Lord, as in old time and in the yeares afore; that the Iewes are deceiued in beleeuing the restorations of their old legall ceremonies: for all the sacrifices of the old Instrument were offered in sinne, and for sinne, the priest him selfe (who wee must thinke was the holiest) was expressly commanded by the Lord to offer first for his owne sinnes, and then for the people: wee must therefore shew how these words, *As in old time and in the yeares afore*, are to bee taken. They may perhaps imply the time of our first parents being in paradice, for they were then pure, and offered them-selues as vnspotted oblations to the Lord. But they transgressing, and being therefore thrust out, and all mankind being depraued and condemned in them, since their fall no (a) man but the worlds red-emer, and little baptized infants were euer pure from sinne: no not the infant of one daies age.

If it be answered that they are worthily said to offer in righteousness that offer in faith, in that *the iust liueth by faith*, though if he say, *hee hath no sinne hee deceiues him-selfe*, and therefore hee saith it not, because he liueth by faith: I say againe, is any one so farre deceiued as to pararell these times of faith with those of the last iudgment, wherein those that are to offer those oblations in righteousness are to bee purged and refined: Nay, seeing that after that purgation, there shall be no place for the least imperfection of sin: assuredly the time wherein there shall be no sinne is not to bee compared with any, sauing with the time before our first parents fall in Paradise, wherein they liued in spotlesse felicity. So that this it is which is ment by the old time, and the yeares afore, for such another passage is there in *Esaias*: After the promise of a new Heauen and a new Earth, amongst the other allegoricall promises of beatitudes to the Saints (which study of breuity enforced vs to let passe vnexpounded) this is one. *As the daies of the of tree life, shall the dayes of my people be.* This tree, who is it that hath read the Scriptures and knowes not God planted it, and where, and how our first parents If 25.22. by sinne were debarred from eating of the fruit thereof, and a terrible guard set vpon it for euer after? some may say the Prophet by that, meant the daies of Christ his Church that now is, and that Christ is that tree, (according to that of *Salomon* concerning wisdom. *She is a tree of life to them that lay hold on her*) and againe, that our first parents liued but a smal while in Paradise, seeing that they had no children during that space, and therefore when we speake of the time that they were there, we can not speake of any yeares, as this place doth, *In old time and in the yeares before*: well this question is too intricate to discusse at this time, and therefore let it passe.

There

There is another meaning of these words also, ( besides this ) which doth also, exclude the interpretation of this place by the legall and carnall sacrifices as though the restoring of them were such a benefit, for those offrings of the old law being made all of vnpolluted beasts, and purely exhibited, did signifie spotlesse and holy men, such as Christ him-selfe onely was and no other. Seeing therefore that in the iudgement all being clenfed that neede clen-  
 Wild. 1.9. fising, there shall not bee any sinne left in the Saints, but each shall offer him-  
 selfe in righteousnes vnto God, as an immaculate and pure oblation: thus shall it  
 be then as in the yeares afore, when that was represented typically which at this  
 day shall be fulfilled truely, for then shall that purity be reall in the Saints, which  
 erst was prefigured in the sacrifices. And thus of that. Now as for those that are  
 not worthy of being clenfed, but condemned, thus saith the Prophet: *I will come  
 to you in iudgement, and I wil be a swift witnessse against the South-sayers, and against  
 the adulterers, &c. for I am the Lord, and change not: as if he said your fault hath now  
 made you worse, and my grace once made you better: but I change not.* He will  
 be witnessse him-selfe, because he shall in that iudgement neede no other. Swift,  
 because he will come on a sudden, vnlooked for, and when he is thought to bee  
 farthest of: and againe because hee will conuince the guilty conscience without  
 making any words. *Inquisition shall be made in the thoughts of the ungodly, saith the  
 wise man. Their conscience also bearing witnessse (saith the Apostle) and their thoughts  
 accusing one another or excusing, at the day when God shall iudge the secrets of men  
 by Iesus Christ according to my Gospell.* Thus then shall God be a swift witnessse in  
 calling that presently vnto the thoughts which shall forthwith condemne them.

## L. VIVE S.

[None of  
 this in the  
 Louaine  
 copy.]

**N**O ( a ) man except. [The question of the *Virgin Mary* was not yet a foote: but grew af-  
 terward betweene two orders of friers, both fiery, and led with vndaunted generalls, the  
 Dominicans by *Thomas of Aquin*, and the Franciscans by *Iohn Duns Scotus*. Now the coun-  
 cell of Basil decreed that she was wholly pure from all touch of sinne. But the Dominicans ob-  
 jected that this was no lawfull counsell: and the Minorites of the other side avowed that  
 it was true and holy, and called the Dominicans heretiques for slandering the power of  
 the Church: so that the matter had come to a shrewd passe, but that Pope *Sixtus* forbad  
 this theame to be any more disputed of. Thus do these men esteeme counsell or canons, bee  
 they againe their pleasures, just as an old wiues take in a Flaxe-shoppe: or at an Ale-house  
 Gossiping.]

*Of the seperation of the good from the bad in the end of the last iudgement.*

## CHAP. 27.

**T**HAT also which I alledged ( to another purpose ) in the eighteenth booke,  
 out of this Prophet belongeth to the last iudgement: *They shall be to me, saith  
 Malachy.3 the Lord of Hostes, in that day that I shall do this, as a stocke, for I will spare them as a  
 man spareth his owne sonne that serueth him: then shall you returne and discern be-  
 tweene the righteous and the wicked, betweene him that serueth God and him that ser-  
 ueth him not, for behold the day commeth, that shall burne as an Ouen, and all the proud,  
 yea and all that do wickedly shall be stuble, and the day that commeth shall burne them up  
 saith*

*saith the Lord of Hostes, and shall leaue them neither roote nor branch. But vnto you that feare my name shall the sunne of righteousnes arise, and health shall be vnder his winges, and yee shall go forth and grow up as fat Calues. And yee shall tread downe the wicked, for they shall be dust vnder the soles of your feete in the day that I shall do this, saith the Lord of Hostes.* This distance of rewards, and punishments, seuering the iust from the vniust, is not scene by the transitory light of this worldly sunne, but when it appeareth before that sunne of righteousnesse, in the manifestation of the life to come, then shall there bee such a iudgement as neuer was before.

*Moyse Law, to be spiritually vnderstood, for feare of dangerous error.*

CHAP. 28.

**B**Vt whereas the Prophet procedeth, saying: *Remember the law of Moyse my Malachi's* servant, which I commended vnto him in Horeb for all Israell with the statutes and iudgements, this is fittly added, both to follow the precedent distinction betweene the followers of the law and the contemners of it, as also to imply that the said law must bee spiritually interpreted, that Christ, the distinguisher of the good and bad, may therein be discovered; who spoke not idly him-selfe, when he told the Iewes saying: *Had yee beleueed Moyse, yee would haue beleueed me, for* <sup>Io. 5. 46.</sup> *he wrote of me*, for these men conceyuing the Scriptures in a carnall sence and not apprehending those earthly promises as types of the eternall ones, fell into those damnable murmurings that they durst bee bold to say, (a) *It is in vaine to serue* <sup>Mal. 3. 14.</sup> *God, and what profit is it that wee haue kept his commaundement, and that wee walked humbly before the Lord of Hostes? Therefore (b) wee count the proud blessed, euen they that worke wickednesse are set vp. &c.* These their words seeme euen to compell the prophet to foretell the last iudgement, where the wicked shall be so farre from all shadow of happinesse, that they shall be apparantly wretched, and the good, so acquite from all lasting misery, that they shall not be touched with any the most transitory, but fully and freely be enthroned in eternal blessednesse. For their words before seeme to say thus, *all that do euill, are good in Gods eye, and please him.* These grumbings against God proceeded meere of the carnall vnderstanding of Moyse law. Where-vpon the P<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>m</sup>ist saith that he had like to haue fallen him-selfe, and that his feete slipped, through his fretting at the foolish, seeing the prosperity of the wicked, in so much that he saith: *How doth God know it, or is there knowledge in the most high?* and by and by after: *Haue I clenfed mine heart in vaine, and washed mine hands in innocency?* but to cleare this difficulty, how it should come to passe that the wicked should bee happy, and the iust miserable, he adde this: *Then thought I to know this, but it was too painefull for me, vntill I went into the Sanctuary of God and then vnderstood I their end.* At the day of the Lord it shall not be so, but the misery of the wicked, and the happinesse of the Godly shall appear at full, in far other order then the present world can discover.

L. VIVES.

**I**T is (a) in vaine.] A wicked, fond and absurd complaint, of such as onely (like brute beasts) conceiue & respect nothing but what is present: looke but into the conscience of the wicked  
 Bbbb and

and you shall finde their hearts torne in peeces : looke but vpon the time to come , and you shall see a shole of plagues prepared for them, which you may thinke are slowe , but heauen assureth you, they are sure. ( *b* ) *Woe cometh the wicked* ] Your account cannot make them fortunate.

*Helias his comming to conuert the Iewes, before the iudgment.*

CHAP. 29.

**N**OW the Prophet hauing aduised them to remember the law of *Moyſes*, because he fore-saw that would here-after miſt interprete much thereof, hee addeth : *Behold I will ſend you (a) Heliah the Prophet before the comming of the great and fearefull day of the Lord: and hee ſhall turne the heart of the fathers to the children and of the children to the fathers, leaſt I come and ſmite the earth with curſing.* That this great and mighty Prophet *Elias* ſhall conuert ( *b* ) the Iewes vnto *Chriſt* before the iudgment, by expounding them the lawe, is moſt commonly beleeued and taught of vs Chriſtians, and is held as a point of infallible truth. For we may well hope for the comming of him before the iudgment of *Chriſt*, whome we do truly beleeu to liue in the body at this preſent houre, with-out hauing euer taſted of death. Hee was taken vp by a fiery chariot body and ſoule from this mortall world, as the ſcriptures plainly auouch. Therefore when he commeth to giue the law a ſpirituall expoſition, which the Iewes doe now vnderſtand wholly in a carnall ſence, *Then ſhall hee turne the hearts of the fathers vnto the children, (or, the heart of the father vnto the child: for the LXX. doe often vſe the ſingular number for the plurall.)* that is, the Iewes ſhall then vnderſtand the law as their holy fore-fathers had done before them, *Moyſes*, the Prophets, and the reſt. For the vnderſtanding of the fathers being brought to the vnderſtanding of the children, is the turning of the fathers heart vnto the children, and the childrens content vnto the vnderſtanding of the fathers, is the turning of their heart vnto the fathers. And whereas the LXX. ſay : ( *c* ) *And the heart of a man vnto his kiſman* : fathers and children are the neareſt of kindred, and conſequently are meant of in this place. There may be a farther and more choice interpretation of this place, namely that *Helias* ſhould turne the heart of the father vnto the childe; not by making the father to loue the child, but by teaching that the father loueth him, that the Iewes who had hated him before, may hence-forth loue him alſo. For they hold that *God* hateth him now, because they hold him to be neither *God* nor the *Sonne of God* : but then ſhall his heart (in their iudgements) be turned vnto him, when they are ſo farre turned them-ſelues as to vnderſtand how he loueth him. The ſequell, *And the heart of man vnto his kiſman*; meaneth, the heart of man vnto the man *Chriſt*, for hee being one *God* in the forme of *God*, taking the forme of a ſeruant, and becomming man, vouchſafed to become our kiſman. This then ſhall *Heliah* performe. *Leaſt I come and ſmite the earth with curſing.* The earth, that is, thoſe carnall thoughted Iewes, that now are, and that now murmure at the Deity, ſaying, *that he delighted in the wicked, and that it is in vaine to ſerue him.*

L. VIVES.

**H***eliab* ( *a* ) the Of him read the *King*. 1. 2. The Iewes out of this place of *Malachi* beleeu that hee ſhall come againe before the *Meſſiah*, as the Apoſtles doe ſhew in their queſtion concerning his comming, *Matt.* 17. to which our *Sauour* in anſwering *that he is come already*, doth not reprove the Scribes opinion, but ſheweth another coming of *Heliah* before himſelfe, which

which the Scribes did not vnderstand. *Origen*, for first he had said that *Helias must first come and restore all things*.

But it being generally held that *Helias* should come before Christ, and it being vnknowne before which comming of Christ, our Sauour to cleare the doubt that might arise of his deity in that the people did not see that *Helias* was come said, *Helias is come already* meaning *Iohn*, of whome hee him-selfe had sayd, *If yee will receiue it, this is Helias*; As if he had said; hee not moued in that you thinke you saw not *Helias* before me, whome you doubt whether I be the *Messias* or no. No man can be deceiued in the beleeuing that *Iohn*, who came before me was that *Helias* who was to come: not that his soule was in *Iohn*, or that *Helias* himselfe in person were come, but in that *Iohn* came in the spirit and power of *Helias* to *turne the hearts of the fathers vnto the children*, to make the vnbeleeuers righteous, and to prepare me a perfect people, as the Angel promised of him *Luc. 1.17*, This great mystery the Lord being willing to poynt at, and yet not laying it fully open, hee eleuates the hearts of the audience with his vsual phraze vpon such occasions, *Hee that hath eares to heare let him heare*.

And truly *Iohns* life came very neare *Helias* his. Both liued in the wildernesse, both wore girdles of skins, both reprobued vicious Princes and were persecuted by them, both preached the comming of Christ: fittly therefore might *Iohn* bee called another *Helias* to fore-runne Christs first comming, as *Helias* him-selfe shall do the second. &c. ( *b* ) *Conuert the Iewes.* ] Therefore said Christ, *Helias must first come.* &c. to correct (saith *Christosome*) their infidelity and to turne the hearts of the fathers vnto the children, that is vnto the Apostles. And then hee maketh a question; If *Helias* his comming shall do so much good, why did not our Sauour send him before his first comming? Answ. because as then, they held our Sauour himselfe to be *Helias*, and yet would not beleue him, whereas when at the worlds end *Helias* shall come, after all their tedious expectation, and shew them who was the true *Messias*, then will they all beleue him. ( *c* ) *And the heart of man.* ] *Hierome* ( and our English vulgar ) read it other-wise.

*That it is not euident in the Old-Testament in such places as say, God shall iudge, that it shall be in the person of Christ, but onely by some of the testimonies where the Lord God speaks.*

CHAP. 30.

**T**O gather the whole number of such places of Scripture as prophecy this iudgement, were too tedious. Sufficeth we haue proued it out of both the Testaments. But the places of the Old-Testament are not so euident for the comming of Christ ( *a* ) in person as them of the New be; for whereas we read in the Old, that the *Lord God shall come*, it is no consequent that it is meant of Christ: for the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost are all both Lord and God: which we may not omit to obserue. Wee must therefore first of all make a demonstration of those places in the prophets as do expressly name the Lord God, and yet herein are euidently meant of Iesus Christ, as also of those wherein this euidence is not so plaine, and yet may bee conueniently vnderstood of him neuertheless. There is one place in *Isaias*, that hath it as plaine as may be. Here me O Iacob and Israel (saith the said Prophet) *my called, I am, I am the first, and I am the last: surely my hand hath laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand hath spanned the Heauens: when I call them, they stand together. All you assemble your selues, and heare: which amongst them hath declared these things? The Lord hath loued him: hee will do his will in Bable, and his arme shall be against the Chaldeans. I, euen I haue spoken it and I haue called him: I haue brought him and his waies shall prosper.*

*Come neare vnto me, heare yee this: I haue not spoke it in secret from the beginning,*  
B b b b 2 from



from the time that the thing was, I was there, and now the LORD GOD and his spirit hath sent me. This was he that spoke here as the LORD GOD: and yet it had not beene eident that hee was Christ, but that hee addeth the last clause, *the LORD GOD and his spirit hath sent me*. For this hee spoke of that which was to come, in the forme of a seruant vsing the preterperfect tense for the future, as the Prophet doth else-where saying, *he was led as a sheepe to the slaughter*, he doth not say, *He shalbe led*, but putteth the time past for the time to come, according to the vsuall phrase of propheticall speeches.

Zach 2 There is also another place in *Zacharie*, as eident as this: where *the Almighty sent the Almighty*: and what was that, but that the *Father sent the Sonne*? the words are these: *Thus saith the Lord of Hoastes: After this glory hath bee sent mee vnto the nations, which spoyled you, for hee that toucheth you, toucheth the Apple of his eye. Behold, I will lift my hand vpon them, and they shall bee a spoyle to those that serued them, and yee shall know that the Lord of Hoastes hath sent mee.* Behold here, the LORD of hoastes saith; that the LORD of hoastes hath sent him. Who dare say that these words proceed from any but from *Christ*, speaking to his lost sheepe of Israell? for hee saith so him-selfe: *I am not sent but vnto the lost sheepe of Israell*: those hee compareth heere vnto the Apple of his eye, in his most feruent loue vnto them, and of those lost ones, the Apostles were a part themselues; but after this resurrection, (before which the Holy Ghost (saith *Iohn*) was not yet giuen, because that *IESVS* was not yet glorified) hee was also sent vnto the gentiles in his Apostles, and so was that of the psalme fulfilled; *Thou hast deliuered mee from the contentions of the people: thou hast made mee the head of the heathen*: that those that had spoiled the Israelites and made them slaues, should spoile them no more but become their slaues. This promised hee to his Apostles saying, *I will make you fishers of men*, and againe, vnto one of them alone, *from hence-forth thou shalt catch men*. Thus shal the nations become spoiles, but vnto a good end, as vessell tane from a strong man that is bound by a stronger.

Zach. 12 The said Prophet also in another place saith (or rather the LORD by him saith) *In that daie will I seeke to destroy all the nations that come against Ierusalem, and I will powre vpon the house of Dauid and vpon the inhabitants of Ierusalem the spirit of grace and of compassion, and they shall looke vpon mee whome they haue pearced, and they shall lament for him as one mourneth for his onely sonne, and bee sorry for him as one is sory for his first borne*. Who is it but GOD that shall ridde Ierusalem of the foes that come against her, that is, that oppose her faith, or (as some interpret it) that seeke to make her captiue? who but hee can powre the spirit of grace and compassion vpon the house of *Dauid* and vpon the inhabitants of Ierusalem? This is Gods peculiar, and spoken by God himselfe in the prophet: and yet that this GOD, who shall doe all the wonderfull workes is CHRIST, the sequele sheweth plainly: *they shall looke vpon mee whom they haue pearced, and bee sory &c.* For those Iewes who shall receiue the spirit of grace and compassion, in the time to come, shall repent that euer they had insulted ouer CHRIST in his passion, when they shall see him comming in his Maiesty, and know that this is hee whose base-nesse of parentage they had whilom flowted at. And their fore-fathers shall see him too, vpon whom they had exercised such impiery, euen him shall they behold, but not vnto their correction, but vnto their confusion. These words there, *I will powre*

poore upon the house of Dauid, and upon the inhabitants of Hierusalem, the spirit of grace and compassion, &c. doe no way concerne them, but their progenie onely, whome the preaching of *Heliás* shall bring to the true faith. But as we say to the Iewes, *You killed Christ*, though it were their predecessors, so shall the progeny of those murderers bewaile the death of *Christ* themselves, though their predecessors, (and not they) were they that did the deed. So then though they receiue the spirit of grace and compassion, and so escape the damnation of their fore-fathers, yet shall they grieue, as if they had bene pertakers of their predecessors villanie, yet shall it not be guilt, but zeale that shall inforce this grieue in them. The LXX. doe read this place thus, *They shall behold mee, ouer whome they haue insulted*, but the Hebrews read it, *whom they haue peared*; which giueth a fuller intimation of the crucifying of *Christ*. But that insultation in the LXX. was continued euen through the whole passion of *Christ*; Their taking him, binding him, iudging him, apprelling him with sot-like habites, crowning him with thorne, striking him on the head with reedes, mocking him with fained reuerence, entorcing him to beare his owne crosse, and crucifying him, euen to his very last gaspe, was nothing but a continuare insultation. So that laying both the interpretations together (as wee doe) wee expresse at full, that this place simplyeth *Christ* and none other.

Therefore, when-so-euer wee read in the Prophets that *God shall iudge the world*, though there bee no other distinction, that that very word, *Judge*, doth expresse the *Sonne* of man, for by his comming it is, that *Gods* iudgement shall be executed. *God the Father* in his personall presence will iudge no man, but hath given all iudgement vnto his *Sonne*, who shall shew him-selfe as man, to iudge the world euen as hee shewed him-selfe as man to bee iudged of the world. Who is it of whome *God* speaketh in *Esaus* vnder the name of *Iacob* and *Israel*, but this sonne of man that tooke flesh of *Iacobs* progeny? *Iacob my seruant, I will stay* <sup>12.42.</sup> *upon him. Israel mine elect in whome my soule delighteth, I haue put my spirit upon him; hee shall bring forth iudgement vnto the Gentiles. Hee shall not crye nor lift up, nor cause his voyce to bee heard in the streetes. A bruised Reede shall hee not breake, and the smoaking Flaxe shall hee not quench: hee shall bring forth iudgement in truth. Hee shall not faile nor bee discouraged vntill hee haue setled iudgement in the earth, and the Ies shall hope in his name.*

In the Hebrew there is no (b) mention of *Iacob*, nor of *Israel*, but the LXX. being desirous to shew what hee meant by his seruant, namely that same forme of a seruant wherein the highest was humbled, added the name of the man, from whose stock hee was to deriue that seruaile forme. *The spirit of God came upon him in forme of a Doue*, as the Ghospell testifieth. *Hee brought forth iudgement to the Gentiles*, in fore telling them of future things which they neuer knew of before. *Hee did not crye out*, yet ceased hee not to preach: *Nor was his voyce heard with out* (or in the streete) for such as are cut off from his fold neuer heare his voyce. *Hee neither broake downe* nor extinguished those Iewes his persecutors, whose lost integrity, and abandoned light, made them like brused Reedes, and (c) smoaking flaxe; *hee spared them*, for as yet hee was not come to iudge them, but to bee iudged by them. *Hee brought forth iudgment in truth*, by shewing them their future plagues, if they persisted in their malice. *His face shone on the mount*, his fame in the whole world, *hee neither failed nor fainted*, in that both hee and his Church stood firme against all persecutions. Therefore

**Psal. 41.** his foes neuer had, nor euer shall haue cause to thinke that fulfilled which they wished in the Psalme, saying; *When shall hee dye and his name perish?* vntill hee haue settled iudgement in the earth: Loe, here is that wee seeke. The last iudgement, is that which hee shall settle vpon earth; coming to effect it out of heauen. As for the last wordes, *the Iles shall hope in his name*, wee see it fulfilled already.

Thus then by this which is so vn-deniable, is that prooued credible, which impudence dares yet deny. For who would euer haue hoped for that which the vnbeleeuers them-selues doe now behold, as well as wee, to their vtter heart-breaking and confusion? (*d*) Who did euer looke that the Gentiles should embrace Christianity, that had seene the Author thereof bound, beaten, mocked, and crucified? That which one theefe durst but hope for vpon the crosse, in that now doe the nations farre and wide repose their vtmost confidence, and least they should incurre eternall death, are signed with that figure where-vpon hee suffered his temporall death. Let none therefore make any doubt that *Christ* shall bring forth such a iudgment as the Scriptures doe promise, except hee beleue not the Scriptures, and stand in his owne malicious blindnesse against that which hath enlightned all the world.

And this iudgment shall consist of these circumstances, partly precedent and partly adiacent: *Helias* shall come, the Iewes shall beleue, Antichrist shall persecute, *Christ* shall iudge, the dead shall arise, the good and bad shall seuer, the world shall burne, and bee renewed. All this wee must beleue shall bee, but in what order, our full experience then shall exceed our imperfect intelligence as yet. Yet verily I doe thinke they shall fall out in order as I haue rehearsed them. Now remaineth there two bookes more of this theame, to the perfect performance of our promise: the first of which shall treat of the paines due vnto the wicked, and the second of the glories bestowed vpon the righteous; wherein if it please G O D, wee will subuert the arguments which foolish mortalls, and miserable wretches make for them-selues against G O D S holy and diuine promises, and against the sacred nutriment giuen to the soule, by an vnspotted faith, thinking them-selues the onely wise-men in these their vngratious cauills, and deriding all religious instructions as contemptible and ridiculous. As for those that are wise in G O D, in all that seemeth most incredible vnto man, if it bee auouched by the holy Scriptures ( whose truth wee haue already sufficiently prooued ) they laye hold vpon the true and omnipotent deity, as the strongest argument against all opposition, for hee ( they know ) cannot possiblye speake false in those Scriptures, and with-all, can by his diuine power effect that which may seeme more then most impossible to the vnbeleeuers.

## L. VIVES.

**G**Christ (*a*) in person ] According to this iudgement of *Christ*, did the Poets faigne the Iudges of hell: for holding *Ioue* to be the King of Heauen, they auouched his sonne to be iudge of hell: yet none of his sonnes that were wholly immortall at first, as *Bacchus*, *Apollo* or *Mercurie* was, but a God that had bene also a mortall man, and a iust man withall: such as *Minos*, *Eacus*, or *Rhadamanthus* was. This out of *Lactantius lib. 7.* (*b*) [No mention] *Hierom.*

*Hierom. in 72. Esai. (c) Smoking flaxe* ] It was a custome of old (saith *Plutarch. in Questions*.) neuer to put out the snuffe of the lampe, but to let it die of it selfe, and that for diuers reasons; first because this fire was some-what like in nature to that inextinguible immorrall fire of heauen, secondly they held this fire to be a liuing creature, and therefore not to bee killed but when it did mischief. (That the fire was a liuing creature, the want that it hath of nutriment, and the proper motion, besides the grone it seemeth to giue when it is quenched, induced them to affirme). Thirdly, because it is vnfit to destroy any thing that belongeth to mans continuall vse, as fire, or water &c. But wee ought to leaue them to others when our owne turnes are serued. Thus far *Plutarch*. The first reason tenderth to religion, the second to mansuetude, the third to humanity. (d) *Who did euer looke* ] Christ was not ignorant of the time to come, nor of the eternity of his doctrine, as his leauing it to the publishing of onely twelue weakemen, against the malicious opposition of all Iudæa, and his commanding them to preach it throughout the whole world, doth sufficiently prooue, besides his prophecyng to the Apostles that they should all abandon him and bee led to death that night, and yet againe hee promiseth them to be with them, to the end of the world.

**Finis lib. 20.**

**Bbbb 4**

**THE**

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27. Against those that thinke those sinnes shall not be laid to their charge, wherewith they mixed some workes of mercy.

FINIS.

THE  
ONE AND TWENTITH  
BOOKE OF THE CITTIE OF GOD:

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishop of *Hippo*;  
vnto *Marcellinus*.

*Why the punishment of the damned is here disputed of before  
the happinesse of the Saints.*

CHAP. I.



EEing that by the assistance of *Our LORD and SAVIOUR IESVS CHRIST*, the Iudge of the quick and the dead we haue brought both the Citties (the one whereof is *GODS* and the other the deuill's,) vnto their intended consummation, wee are now to proceed (by the helpe of *GOD*) in this booke, with the declaration of the punishment due vnto the deuill and all his confederacy. And this I choose to doe before I handle the glories of the blessed, because both these & the wicked are to vndergo their sentences in body and soule, and it may seeme more incredible for an earthly body to endure vndissolued in eternall paines, then without all paine, in euerlasting happinesse. So that when I haue shewne the possibility of the first, it may bee a great motiue vnto the confirmation of the later. Nor doth this Methode want a president from the Scriptures themselues, which some-times relate the beatitude of the Saints fore-most, as here, *They that haue done good, vnto the resurrection of life, but they that haue done euill, vnto the resurrection of condemnation*, and some times afterward, as here, *The Sonne of man shall send forth his Angells, and they shall gather out of his Kingdome all things that offend, and them which doe iniquitie, and shall cast them into a furnace of fire, there shall be wayling and gnashing of teeth: Then shall the iust shine like the Sunne, in the Kingdome of the Father, and againe, And these shall goe into euerlasting paine, and the righteous into life eternall*. Besides, hee that will looke into the Prophets shall finde this order often obserued: it were too much for me to recite all: my reason why I obserue it heere, I haue set downe already.

*whether an earthly bodie may possibly be incorruptible by fire:*

CHAP. 2.

WHAT then shall I say vnto the vn-beleeuers, to prooue that a body carnall and liuing, may endure vndissolued both against death and the force of eternall fire. They will not allowe vs to ascribe this vnto the power of God, but vrge vs to prooue it to them by some example. If wee shall answer them that there are some creatures that are indeed corruptible, because mortall & yet doe

liue vntouched in the middest of the fire : and likewise, that there are a kinde (a) of Wormes that liue without being hurt in the feruent springs of the hot bathes, whose heate some-times is such as none can endure ; and yet those wormes doe so loue to liue in it , that they cannot liue without it ; this , either they will not beleue vnlesse they see it ; or if they doe see it , or heare it affirmed by sufficient authority, then they cauill at it as an insufficient prooffe for the proposed question ; for that these creatures are not eternall howsoeuer , and liuing thus in this heate, nature hath made it the meane of their growth , and nutriment , not of their torment . As though it were not more incredible that fire should nourish any thing rather then not consume it. It is strange for any thing to be tormented by the fire, and yet to liue : but it is stranger to liue in the fire and not to bee tormented. If then this later be credible, why is not the first so also?

### L. VIVES.

**A** Kinde (a) of wormes] There are some springs that are hot in their eruptions by reason of their passages by vaines of sulphurous matter vnder ground . *Empedocles* holds that the fire which is included in diuers places of the earth , giueth them this heate *Senec. Quæst. nat. lib. 3.* Their waters are good for many diseases. Many of those naturall bathes there are in Italy, and likewise in Germany, whereof those of Aquisgrane are the best. Of these bathes read *Pliny lib. 1. & 32.* In these waters doe the wormes liue that he speaketh of.

*whether a fleshy body may possibly endure eternall paine.*

### CHAP. 3.

**Y**Es but (say they (a) there is no body that can suffer eternally but it must perish at length. How can we tell that ? Who can tell whether the (b) deuills doe suffer in their bodies when as the confesse they are extreemely tormented ? If they answer that there is no earthly soule , and visible body , or (to speake all in one) no flesh , that can suffer alwaies and neuer die , what is this but to ground an assertion vpon meere sence , and apparance ? for these men know no flesh but mortall , and what they haue not knowne and scene , that they hold impossible. And what an argument it this , to make paine the prooffe of death , when it is rather the testimony of life ? for though our question bee , whether any thing liuing may endure eternall paine and yet liue still , yet are wee sure it cannot feele any paine at all vnlesse it liue , paine beeing inseperably adherent vnto life , if it be in any thing at all . Needs then must that liue that is pained , yet is there no necessity that this or that paine should kill it : for all paine doth not kill all the bodies that perish . Some paine indeed must , by reason that the soule and the body are so conioyned that they cannot part without great torment , which the soule giueth place vnto , and the mortall frame of man beeing so weake that it cannot withstand this (c) violence , thereupon are they seuered . But afterwards , they shall be so reioyned againe , that neither time nor torment shall bee able to procure their seperation . Wherefore though our flesh as now bee such that it cannot suffer all paine , without dying ; yet then shall it become of another nature , as death also then shalbe of another nature . For the death then shalbe eternall , and the soule that suffereth it shall neither bee able to liue , hauing lost her God and onely life , nor yet to avoide torment , hauing lost all meanes of death . The first

first death forceth her from the body against her will, and the second holds her in the body against her will. Yet both are one in this, that they enforce the soule to suffer in the body against her will. Our opponent will allow this, that no flesh as now can suffer the greatest paine, and yet not perish: but they obserue not that there is a thing about the body, called a soule, that rules and guides it, and this may suffer all torment and yet remaine for euer. Behold now, here is a thing, sensible of sorrow, and yet eternall: this power then that is now in the soules of all, shall be as then in the bodies of the damned. And if wee weigh it well, the paines of the bodie are rather referred to the soule. The soule it is, and not the body that feels the hurt inflicted vpon any part of the bodie.

So that as wee call them liuing, and sensitiue bodies, though all the life and sence is from the soule; so likewise doe wee say they are greued bodies, though the grieue be onely in the soule. So then, when the bodie is hurt, the soule grieueth with the bodie. When the minde is offended by some inward vexation; then the soule grieueth alone, though it be in the bodie; and further, it may grieue when it is without the bodie, as the soule of the rich glutton did in hell, when hee sayd, *I am tormented in this flame*. But the bodie wanting a soule grieueth not, nor hauing a soule, doth it grieue without the soule. If therefore it were meete to draw an argument of death, from the feeling of paine, as if wee should say, hee may feele paine: *ergo*, he may die, this should rather inferre that the soule may die, because it is that which is the feeler of the paine.

But seeing that this is absurd & false, how then can it follow that those bodies which shall be in paine, shall therefore be subiect vnto death? Some (*d*) *Platonists* hold that those parts of the soule wherein feare, ioye, and grieue were resident, were mortall, and perished: wherevpon *Virgil* sayd, *Hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent, gaudent*, hence (that is, by reason of those mortall parts of the soule) did feare, hope, ioye, and grieue possesse them. But touching this wee prooued in our foureteenth booke, that after that their soules were purged to the vttermost, yet remained there a desire in them, to returne vnto their bodies: and where desire is, there grieue may be. For hope being frustrate and missing the ayme, turneth into grieue and anguish. Wherefore if the soule which doth principally, or onely suffer paine, be notwithstanding (*e*) after a sort) immortal, then doth it not follow that a body should perish because it is in paine. Lastly, if the bodie may breed the soules grieue, and yet cannot kill it, this is a plaine consequent that paine doth not necessarily inferre death. Why then is it not as credible that the fire should grieue those bodies and yet not kill them, as that the body should procure the soules anguish and yet not the death? Paine therefore is no sufficient argument to proue that death must needs follow it.

## L. VIVES.

**T**Here is (*a*) no body] A common proposition of *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Epicurus*, *Zeno*, *Cicero*, *Seneca*, & all the ancient Philosophers. (*b*) Whether the deuills] The *Platonists* dispute among themselves whether the bodies of the *Damones* haue feeling. Some say thus, the feeling lieth onely in the Nerues and sinewes.

The



The *Damones* haue now sinewes : *ergo*. Others (as the old Atheists) say that the feeling is not in the sinewes but in the spirit that engirteth them, which if it leaue the sinew, it becommeth stupid, and dead : therefore may the bodies of these *Damones* both feele and be felt, and consequently bee hurt, and cut in peeces by a more solid body, and yet notwithstanding they doe presently reioyne, and so feele the lesse paine, though they feele some, the more concrete and condensate that their bodies are, the more subiect are they to suffer paine, and therefore they doe some of them feare swords, and threatnings of casting them downe headlong. *Mich. Pfell. and Marc. Cherronof.* Hence it is (perhaps) that *Virgil* maketh *Sibylla* bid *Aeneas* draw his sword, when they went downe to hell. *Aeneid. 6. (c) Violence* ] Paine (saith *Tully Tusq. quest. 2.*) is a violent motion in the body, offending the senses, which if it exceede, oppresseth the vitalls and bringeth death : whether it arise of the super-abundance of some quality of the bodie, of heate, moysture, the spirits, the excrements, or of the defect of any of them, or *ab externo*, which three are generally the causes of paine. *(d) Some Platonists* ] *Aristotle* affirms as much *De anima lib. (e) After a sort* ] For it was not from before the beginning, and yet shalbe euerlasting : it shall neuer be made nothing though it shall suffer the second death, and endure, eternally dying.

*Natures testimonies that bodies may remaine vndiminished  
in the fire. CHAP. 4.*

**I**F therefore the *(a)* Salamander liue in the fire (as the most exact naturalists record) and if there bee certaine famous hills in *(b)* Sicily that haue beene on fire continually, from beyond the memory of man, and yet remaine whole & vnconsumed, then are these sufficient proofes to shew that all doth not consume that burneth, as the soule proueth that all that feeleth paine, doth not perish. Why then should we stand vpon any more examples to prouue the perpetuity of mans soule and body, without death, or dissolution in euerlasting fire and torment? That **GOD** that endowed nature with so many seuerall and *(c)* admirable qualities, shall as then giue the flesh a quality whereby it shall endure paine and burning for euer. Who was it but hee, that hath made the flesh of a *(d)* dead Peacock to remaine alwaies sweete, and without all putrefaction? I thought this vnpossible at first, and by chance being at meate in Carthage, a boyled Peacock was serued in, and I to try the conclusion, tooke of some of the Lyre of the breast and caused it to be layd vp. After a certaine space (sufficient for the putrefaction of any ordinary flesh) I called for it, and smelling to it, found no ill taste in it at all. Layd it vp againe, and thirty daies after, I lookt againe, it was the same I left it. The like I did an whole yeare after, and found no change, onely it was somewhat more drie and solide? Who gaue such cold vnto the chaffe, that it will keepe snow vnmelted in it, and withall, such heate, that it will ripen greene apples? who gaue the fire that wonderfull power to make althings that it burneth blacke, it selfe beeing so bright, and to turne a shining brand into a black coale? Neither doth it alwaies thus. For it will burne stones vntill they bee white, and though it bee redde, and they whitish, yet doth this their *(e)* white agree with the light as well as blacke doth with darkenesse. Thus the fire burning the wood, to bake the stone, worketh contrary effects vpon objects which are *(f)* not contrary. For stone and wood are different but not opposite, whereas white and blacke are, the one of which colours the fire effecteth vpon the stone, and the other vpon the wood, enlightning the first, and darkening the later, though it could not perfect the first but by the helpe of the later.

And

And what strange things there are in a cole ? it is so brittle, that a little blow turnes it to powder, and yet so durable that no moysture corrupteth it, no time wasteth it, so that they are wont to (g) lay coales vnder bounders, and marke-stones for lands, to conuince any one that should come hereafter and say this is no bound-stone. What is it that maketh them endure so long in the earth; where wood would easily rot, but that same fire that corrupteth althings ? And then for lyme, besides that it is whitened by the fire, it carrieth fire in it selfe, astaken from the fire, and keepeth it so secret, that it is not discoverable in it by any of our senses, nor knowne to bee in it but by our experience. And therefore wee call it quick lyme, the inuisible fire being as the soule of that visible body. But the wonder is that when it is killed it is quickned. For, to fetch out the fire from it, wee cast water vpon it, and being cold before, that enflameth it, that cooleth all other things being neuer so hot. So that the lumpe dying as it were, giueth vppe the fire that was in it, and afterward remaineth cold if you water it neuer so: and then for quicke-lyme wee call it quenshed lyme. What thing can bee more strange? yes. If you power oyle vpon it in stead of water, though oyle bee rather the feeder of fire, yet will it neuer alter, but remaine cold still. If wee should haue heard thus much of some Indian stone, that wee had not, nor could not get to proue it, wee should surely imagine it either to bee a starke lie, or a strange wonder.

But things occurrent vnto dailie experience, are debased by their frequency, in so much that wee haue left to wonder at some-things that onely India (the farthest continent of the world) hath presented to our viewe. The diamond is common amongst vs, chiefly our Jewellers and Lapidaries: and this is (i) so hard that neither fire, stone, nor steele can once dint it, but onely the bloud of a goate. But doe you thinke this hardnesse so much admired now as it was by him that first of all descried it? Such as know it not, may peradventure not beleue it, or beleueing it, one seeing it, may admire it as a rare worke of nature: but dayly triall euer taketh off the edge of admiration. Wee know that (k) the loadestone draweth Iron strangely: and surely when I obserued it at the first, it made mee much agast. For I beheld the stone draw vppe an Iron ringe and then as if it had giuen the owne power to the ring, the ring drew vppe an other and made it hang fast by it, as it hung by the stone. So did a third by that, and a fourth by the third, and so vntill there was hung as it were a chaine of rings onelie by touch of one another, without any inter-linking. Who would not admire the power in this stone, not onely inherent in it, but also extending it selfe through so many circles, and such a distance? Yet stranger was that experiment of this stone which my brother and fellow Bishoppe *Seuerus*, Bishoppe of Mileuita shewed me.

Hee told mee that hee had seene *Bathanarius* (some-times a Count of Affrica) when hee feasted him once at his owne house, take the sayd stone and hold it vnder a siluer plate vpon which hee layd a peece of Iron: and still as hee mooued the stone vnder the plate, so did the Iron mooue aboue, the plate not moouing at all, and iust in the same motion that his hand mooued the stone, did the stone mooue the Iron. This I saw, and this did I heare him report, whom I will beleue as well as if I had seene it my selfe. I haue read further-more of this stone, that (l) lay but a diamond neare it, and it will not draw Iron at all, but putteth

it from it as soone as euer the diamond comes to touch it. These stones are to bee found in India. But if the strangeness of them bee now no more admired of vs, how much lesse doe they admire them where they are as common as our lyme, whose strange burning in water (which vseth to quench the fire,) and not in oyle (which feedeth it) we doe now cease to wonder at because it is so frequent.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) Salamander ] Of this creature you may read in *Aristotle* and *Pliny*. I haue written of it else-where. It quensth fire with the touch, and is in shape like a Lizart. (b) *In Sicily* ] As *Aetna*, and *Hiera*, commonly called *Volcania*, as also in *Theon Ochema* in *Aethiopia*, *Vesuuus* in *Campania*, *Chimæra* in *Lycia*, and in certaine places about *Hercules* pillars, besides *Hecla* in *Island*, &c. (c) *Admirable qualities* ] Truly admirable, for they are easie to bee wondered at, but most intricate to bee searched out. (d) *A dead peacock* ] Many of these examples here are beyond reason; and at the most but explainable by weake coniectures, which wee will omit, least wee should seeme rather to oppose *Saint Augustine* then expound him. (e) *White agree* ] It is a light colour, and offends the eye as much as the light; black is the darkest, and strengthens the power visuall, like the darkeness. (f) *Not contrary* ] Contraries are two opposites of one kinde, as blacke and white, both colours; moist and drie, both qualities, &c. but Substances haue no contraries in themselves. (g) *To lay coales* ] As *Ctesiphon* did vnder the foundations of *Diana's* temple in *Ephesus*. *Plin. lib. 36*. I thinke it should be *Cherisiphon*, and not *Clesiphon*. For so say all the Greekes, and *Strabo lib. 14*. (h) *Quick lyme* ] *Sen. Nat. quest. li. 3*. (i) *So hard that neither* ] *Plin. lib. vlt. cap. 4*. Notwithstanding *Bernard Valdaura* shewed me diamonds the last yeare that his father broake with a hammer. But I thinke they were not Indian nor Arabian diamonds, but Cyprians, or Syderites, for there are many sorts. (k) *The Load-stone*. ] Hereof reade *Pliny. lib. 36. cap. 16*. *Sotacus* maketh fise sorts of it: the *Aethiopian*, the *Macedonian*, the *Bzotian*, the *Alexandrian*, and the *Androlitian*. This last is much like siluer, and doth not draw Iron. There is a stone (saith *Pliny*) called the *Themamedes*, iust opposite in nature to the load-stone expelling all Iron from it. (l) *Lay but a diamond* ] *Plin. lib. vlt.* (m) *In India* ] And in other places: also. But in *India* they say there are Rocks of them that draw the ships to them if they haue any Iron in them, so that such as saile that way, are faine to ioyne their ships together with pinnes of wood.

Bernard  
Valdaura.

*Of such things as cannot bee assuredly knowne to bee such, --  
and yet are not to be doubted of.*

## CHAP. 5.

**B**Ut the Infidels hearing of miracles, and such things as wee cannot make apparant to their sence, fall to aske vs the reason of them, which because it surpasseth our humane powers to giue, they deride them, as false and ridiculous; but let them but giue vs reason for all the wondrous things that wee haue seene, or may easly see hereafter, which if they cannot doe, then let them not say that there is not, nor can bee any thing without a reason why it should bee; thus seeing that they are conuincid by their owne eye sight, I will not therefore runne through all relations of authors, but try their cunning in things which are extant for any to see, that will take the paines, (a) The salt of *Agrigentum* in *Sicily*, beeing put in fire melteth into water, and in water, it crackleth like the fire. (b) The

(b) The Garamantes haue a fountaine so cold in the day that it cannot bee drunke off: so hot in the night that it cannot bee toucht. (c) In Epyrus is another, wherein if you quensh a torch, you may light it againe thereat. The Arcadian (b) Asbest beeing once enflamed, will neuer bee quenshed. There is a kinde of fig-tree in Egypt whose wood (e) sinketh, and being thoroughly steeped, (and the heauier, one would thinke) it riseth againe to the toppe of the water.

The apples of the country of (f) Sodome, are faire to the eye, but beeing touched, fall to dust and ashes. The Persian (g) Pyrites pressed hard in the hand, burneth it, wherevpon it hath the name. (h) The Selenites is another stone wherein the waxing and waning of the Moone is euer visible. The (i) Mares in Cappadocia conceiue with the winde, but their foales liue but three yeares. The trees of (k) Tilon, an Ile in India, neuer cast their leaues. All these, and thousands more, are no passed things, but visible at this daie, each in their places; it were too long for mee to recite all, my purpose is otherwise. And now let those Infidels giue mee the reason of these things, those that will not beleue the scriptures, but hold them to bee fictions, in that they seeme to relate incredible things, such as I haue now reckned! Reason (say they) forbiddeth vs to thinke that a body should burne, and yet not bee consumed, that it should feele paine, and yet liue euerlastingly. O rare disputers! You that can giue reason for all miraculous things, giue mee the reasons of those strange effects of nature before named, of those fewe onely; which if you knew not to bee now visible, and not future, but present to the viewe of those that will make triall, you would bee (l) more incredulous in them, then in this which wee say shall come to passe hereafter. For which of you would beleue vs if wee should say (as wee say that mens bodies hereafter shall burne and not consume, so likewise) that there is a salt that melteth in fire, and crackleth in the water? of a fountaine intollerably hot in the night, and intollerably cold in the day? or a stone that burneth him that holdeth it hard, or another, that beeing once fired, neuer quensheth; and so of the rest? If wee had sayd, these things shalbe in the world to come, and the infidells had bidden vs giue the reason why, wee could freely confesse wee could not, the power of GOD in his workes surpassing the weakenesse of humane reason: and yet that wee knew that GOD did not without reason in putting mortall man by these, past his reason: Wee know not his will in many things, yet know wee that what hee willeth is no way impossible, as hee hath told vs, to whome wee must neither impute falsenesse nor imperfection. But what say our great Reasonists vnto those ordinary things which are so common, and yet exceed all reason, and seeme to oppose the lawes of nature? If wee should say they were to come, then the Infidells would forth-with aske reason for them, as they doe for that which wee say is to come. And therefore seeing that in those workes of GOD, mans reason is to seeke, as these things are such now, and yet why, no man can tell, so shall the other bee also hereafter, beyond humane capacity and apprehension.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) salt] Hereof read *Pliny, lib. 21.* (b) *The Garamantes]* *Plin. lib. 5.* Neare vnto this fountaine  
Cccc 2

fountaine is *Hammons* well, of which you may read more in *Diodorus*, *Lucret.* & *Mela*, *Ouid*, *Silius*, *Solinus* &c. (c) *In Epirus*] *Pomp.* *Mela* lib. 2. and *Plin.* lib. 2. It is called the fountaine of *Iupiter Dadonaus*. (d) *Asbest*] A stone of an Iron collour. *Plin.* l. 38. (e) *Sinkeith*] *Plin.* lib. 13, cap. 7. (f) *Sodome*] Fiue citties perished in the burning of *Sodome*. *Sodome*, *Gomorra*, *Adama*, *Seborin* and *Segor*, whereof this last was a little one but all the rest were very large. *Paul. Oros.* herof you may read in *Solinus* his *Polyhistor*, as also of these *upples*. *Tacitus* seemeth to giue the infection of the earth and the ayre from the lake, for the reason of this strange effect vpon the fruites. lib. ultimo. Vide *Hegeſip.* lib. 4. *Ambroſ.* interprete. (g) *Pyrites*] So saith *Pliny*, lib. vlt. *Pur.* in greeke, is *fire*. Some call the *Corall pyrites*, as *Pliny* wittneſſeth. lib. 36. but there is another *Pyrites* besides, of the collour of *brasse*. (h) *The Selenites*] *Plin.* lib. vlt. out of *Dioſcorides*, affirmeth this to bee true. (i) *Mars*] So saith *Solinus* in his description of *Cappadocia*. And it is commonly held that the *Mares* of *Andaluzia* doe conceiue by the south-west winde, as *Homere*, *Varro*, *Columella*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus*, *Plinies* Ape doe all affirme. (k) *Tilon*] *Pliny* and *Theophrastus* affirme that it lieth in the read sea. *Pliny* saith that a ship built of the wood of this Island, will last two hundreded yeares. lib. 16. (l) *More incredulous*] For some will beleue onely what they can conceiue, and hold althings else, *ſictions*, nay some are so mad, that they thinke it the onely wisdome to beleue iust nothing but what they see, despising and deriding the secrets of *GOD* and nature, which are wisely therefore concealed from the vulgar, and the witleſſe care.

*All strange effects are not natures: some are mans  
deuſes: some the deuills.*

CHAP. 6.

PERhaps they will anſwere, Oh, these are lies, wee beleue them not, they are false relations, if these be credible, then beleue you also if you list, (for one man hath related both this and those) that there was a temple of *Venus* wherein there burned a lampe which no winde nor water could euer quench, so that it was called the *inextinguible* lampe. This they may obiect, to put vs to our plunges, for if wee say it is false, wee detract from the truth of our former examples, and if wee say it is true wee shall seeme to avouch a *Pagan* deity. But as I sayd in the eighteenth booke, we need not beleue all that *Paganisme* hath historically published, their histories (as *Varro* witnesseth) seemeing to conspire in voluntary contention one against an other: but wee may, if we will, beleue such of their relations as doe not contradict those bookes which wee are bound to beleue. Experience, and sufficient testimony shall afford vs wonders enow of nature, to conuince the possibility of what we intend, against those *Infidells*. As for that lampe of *Venus* it rather giueth our argument more scope then any way suppresseth it. For vnto that, wee can adde a thousand strange things effected both by humane inuention and *Magical* operation. Which if wee would deny, we should contradict those very bookes wherein wee beleue. Wherefore that lampe either burned by the artificall placing (a) of some *Asbest* in it, or it was effected by (b) art magike, to procure a religious wonder, or else some deuill hauing honour there vnder the name of *Venus*, continued in this apparition for the preferuation of mens misbeleefe. For the (c) deuills are allured to inhabite some certaine bodies, by the very creatures of (d) *God* and not their delighting in them, not as other creatures doe in meates, but as spirits doe in characters and signes ad-adapted to their natures, either by stones, herbes, plants, liuing creatures, charms and ceremonies.

And

And this allurement they doe sutly entice man to procure them, either by inspiring him with the secrets thereof, or teaching him the order in a false and flattering apparition, making some few, schollers to them, and teachers to a many more. For man could neuer know what they loue, and what they loathe but by their owne instructions, which were the first foundations of arte Magike. And then doe they get the fastest hold of mens hearts (which is all they seeke and glory in) when they appeare like Angells of light. How euer, their workes are strange, and the more admired, the more to be avoided, which their owne natures doe perswade vs to doe; for if these foule deuills can worke such wonders, what cannot the glorious angells doe then? Nay what cannot that GOD doe, who hath giuen such power to the most hated creatures? So then, if humane arte can effect such rare conclusions, that such as know them not would thinke them diuine effects: (as there was an Iron Image hung (e) in a certaine temple, so strangely that the ignorant would haue verely beleued they had seene a worke of GODS immediate power, it hung so iust betweene two loadestones, (whereof one was placed in the rooffe of the temple, and the other in the floore) without touching of any thing at all, ) and as there might be such a trick of mans art, in that inextinguible lampe of *Venus*, if Magicians, (which the scriptures call forcerers and enchanterers) can doe such are employtes by the deuills meanes as *Virgil* that famous Poet relateth of an Enchanresse, in these words.

(e) *Hæc se carminibus præmittit saluere moentes  
Quæ uelit, ast aliis duras immittere curas,  
Sistere aquam fluminis, & uertere sidera retro,  
Nocturnosq; ciet manes, mugire uidebis  
Sub pedibus terram, & descendere montibus Ornos.*

She said her charmes could ease ones heart of paine,  
Euen when she list, and shake him grieue againe;  
Stop fouds, bring back the stars; and with her breath,  
Rouse the black fiends, vntill the earth beneath,  
Groan'd, and the trees came marching from the hills &c.

If all this bee possible to those, how much more then can the power of GOD exceed them in working such things as are incredible to infidelity, but easie to his omnipotency, who hath giuen vertues vnto stones, witte vnto man, and such large power vnto Angells? his wonderfull power exceedeth all wonders, his wisdom permitteh and effecteth all and euery perticular of them, and cannot hee make the most wonderfull vse of all the parts of that world that hee only hath created?

### L. VIVES.

**P**Lacing (a) of some *Asbest* | Or of a kinde of flaxe that will neuer bee consumed, for such there is. *Plin. lib. 19. Piedro Garza* and I saw many lampes of it at Paris, where wee saw also a napkin of it throwne into the middest of a fire, and taken out againe after a while more white and cleane then all the sope in Europe would haue made it. Such did *Pliny* see also, as hee saith himselfe. (b) *By art magique* | In my fathers time there was a tombe found, wherein there burned a lampe which by the inscription of the tombe, had beene

lighted therein, the space of one thousand five hundred yeares and more. Being touched, it fell all to dust. (c) *Devills are allured*] Of this reade more in the eight and tenth bookes of this present worke, and in *Pfell. de Dem.* (d) *And not theirs*] The Manichees held the devills to bee the creators of many things, which this denieth. (e) *In a certaine temple*] In the temple of Serapis of Alexandria. *Ruffin. Hist. Eccl. lib. 21.* (f) *Hae se*] *Aeneid. 4.*

*Gods omnipotency the ground of all beleeve in things admired*

CHAP. 7.

**W**Hy then cannot (a) GOD make the bodies of the dead to rise againe, and the damned to suffer torment and yet not to consume, seeing hee hath filled heauen, earth, ayre and water so full of innumerable miracles, and the world, which hee made, beeing a greater miracle then any it containeth? But our aduersaries, beleeving a God that made the world and the other gods, by whom he gouerneth the world, doe not deny, but avouch that there are powers that effect wonders in the world, either voluntarily, or ceremonially and magically, but when wee giue them an instance wrought neither by man nor by spirit, they answer vs, it is nature, nature hath giuen it this quality. So then it was nature that made the Agrigentine salt melt in the fire, and crackle in the water. Was it so? this seemes rather contrary to the nature of salt, which naturally dissolueth in water, and crackleth in the fire. I but nature (say they) made this perticular salt of a quality iust opposite. Good: this then is the reason also of the heate and cold of the Garamantine fountaine, and of the other that puts out the torch and lighteth it againe, as also of the Asbeste, and those other, all which to rehearse were too tedious: There is no other reason belike to bee giuen for them, but, such is their nature. A good briefe reason verely, and (b) a sufficient. But GOD beeing the Authour of all nature, why then doe they exact a stronger reason of vs, when as wee in proouing that which they hold for an impossibility, affirme that it is thus by the will of Almighty GOD, who is therefore called Almighty because hee can doe all that hee will; hauing created so many things which were they not to bee seene, and confirmed by sufficient testimony, would seeme as impossible as the rest, whereas now wee know them, partly all, and partly some of vs. As for other things that are but reported without testimony, and concerne not religion, nor are not taught in scripture, they may bee false, and a man may lawfully refuse to beleeue them. I doe not beleeue all that I haue set downe, so firmly that I doe make no doubt of some of them, but for that which I haue tried, as the burning of lyme in water and cooling in oyle; the load-stones drawing of Iron and not moouing a straw; the incorruptibility of the Peacocks flesh, whereas *Platoes* flesh did putrefie; the keeping of snow and the ripening of apples in chaffe; the bright fire making the stones of his owne colour, and wood of the iust contrarie, these I haue seene and beleeue without any doubt at all: Such also are these, that cleare oyle should make blacke spots; and white siluer drawne a black line: that coales should turne black, from white wood, brittle of hard ones, and incorruptible of corruptible peeces: together with many other which tediousnesse forbiddeth me heere to insert. For the others, excepting that fountaine that quensheth and kindleth againe, & the dusty apples of Sodome, I could not

not get any sufficient proofes to confirme them. Nor mett I any that had beheld that fountaine of Epyrus, but I found diuerse that had scene the like, neere vnto Grenoble in France. And for the Apples of Sodome, there are both graue authors, and eye-witnesses enow alieue, that can affirme it, so that I make no doubt thereof. The rest I leaue indifferent, to affirme, or deny; yet I did set them downe because they are recorded in our aduersaries owne histories, to shew them how many things they beleue in their owne bookes, with-out all reason, that will not giue credence to vs, when wee say that *God Almighty* will doe any thing that exceedeth their capacity to conceiue. What better or stronger reason can be giuen for any thing then to say, *God Almighty* will doe this, which hee hath promised in those bookes wherein he promiseth as strange things as this, which he hath performed. He will do it, because he hath said hee will: euen hee, that hath made the incredulous Heathens beleue things which they held meere impossibilities.

### L. VIVES.

**W**hy then (a) cannot God] Seeing the scope of this place is diuine, and surpasseth the bounds of nature, as concerning the resurrection, iudgment, saluation, and damnation, I [No word wonder that *Aquinas*, *Scotus*, *Occam*, *Henricus de Gandano*, *Durandus* and *Petrus de Paludo* of this indare define of them according to *Aristotles* positions, drawing them-selues into such labyrinthes of naturall questions, that you would rather say they were Athenian Sophisters, then uaine Christian diuines.] (b) *Sufficient*] Mans conceipt being so slender and shallow in these causes pie.] of things, in so much that *Virgil* said well, *Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*: (c) *Grenoble*] It was built by *Gratian*, and called *Gratianopolis*, *Valens* being Emperour of the East. It standeth in *Daulphine*, and reteineth part of the old name.

*That the alteration of the knowne nature of any creature, vnto a nature vnknowne, is not opposite vnto the lawes of nature.*

### CHAP. 8.

**I**f they reply that they will not beleue that mans body can endure perpetuall burning, because they know it is of no such nature, so that it cannot bee said of it, that nature hath giuen it such a quality, we may answer them out of the scriptures, that mans body before his fall was of such a nature that it could not suffer death: and yet in his fall was altered vnto that mortall misery wherein now all man-kinde liueth, to dye at length: and therefore at the resurrection it may vndergoe such another alteration, vnknowne to vs as yet. But they beleue nor the Scriptures that relate mans estate in Paradise, if they did, we should not neede to stand long with them vpon this theame of the paines of the damned: whereas now wee must make demonstration out of their owne authors, how it is possible that there may bee a full alteration of nature in any one object, from the kinde of being that it had before, and yet the lawes of nature be kept vniolated. Thus wee read in *Varro's* booke, *De Gente Pop. Rom.* *Castor* (saith hee) relateth, that in that bright starre of *Venus* (a) which *Plautus* calles *Hesperugo* and *Homer* the glorious (b) *Hesperus*, befell a most monstrous change both of colour, magnitude, figure and motion: the like neuer was before nor since: and this saith *Adrastus Cyzicenus*, and *Dion Neapolites* (two famous Astronomers) befell in the reigne of *Ogyges*. A monstrous change, saith *Varro*, and why, but that it seemed contrary to nature: such we say, all portents to be, but wee are deceiued: for how



can that be against nature which is effected by the will of *God* the Lord and maker of all nature? A portent therefore is not against nature, but against the most common order of nature. But who is hee that can relate all the portents recorded by the Gentiles? Let vs seeke our purpose in this one. What more decretall law hath *God* laide vpon nature in any part of the creation, then hee hath in the motions of the heauens? what more legall and fixed order doth any part of nature keepe? and yet you see, that when it was the pleasure of Natures highest soueraigne, the brightest starre in all the firmament, changed the coulour, magnitude and figure, and which is most admirable, the very course and motion. This made a foule disturbance in the rules of the Astrologians (if there were any then) when they obseruing their fixed descriptions of the eternall course of the starres, durst affirme that there neuer was, nor neuer would bee any such change as this of *Venus* was. Indeed we read in the Scripture that the Sunne stood still at the prayer of *Iosuah*, vntill the battle was done, and went back to shew *Hezechias* that the Lord had added fiteene yeares vnto his life. As for the miracles done by the vertues of the Saints, these Infidels know them well, and therefore auerre them to be done by Magicke: where vpon *Virgil* saith as I related before of the witch, that she could

Virg. Enid.

*Stetera aquam flumini & vertere sydera retro:*

Stop floods, bring back the starres, &c.

For the riuer Jordan parted, when *Iosuah* lead the people over it, and when *Heliah* passed it, as likewise when his follower *Helsseu* deuided it with *Heliah* his cloake, and the sunne as wee said before went back in the time of *Hezechiah*. But *Varro* doth not say that any one desired this change of *Venus*. Let not the faithlesse therefore hood-wince them-selues in the knowledge of nature, as though *Gods* power could not alter the nature of any thing from what it was before vnto mans knowledge, although that the knowne nature of any thing bee fully as admirable, but that men admire nothing but rarities. For what reasonable man doth not seee, that in that greatest likenesse and most numerous multitude of one worke of nature; the face of man; there is such an admirable quality, that were they not all of one forme, they should not distinguish man from beast, and yet were they all of one forme, one man should not bee knowne from another? This likenesse and difference are both in one object. But the difference is most admirable, nature it selfe seeming to exact an vniformity in the proportion thereof, and yet because it is rarities which wee admire, wee doe wonder farre more when wee see two (e) so like that one may bee easily and is often times deceiued in taking the one for the other. But it may bee they beleeuie not the relation of *Varro*, though hee bee one of their most learned Historians, or doe not respect it, because this starre did not remaine long in this new forme, but soone resumed the former shape and course againe. Let vs therefore giue them another example, which together with this of his, I thinke may suffice to conuince, that *God* is not to bee bound to any conditions in the allotting of particular being to any thing, as though he could not make an absolute alteration thereof into an vnknowne quality of essence. The country of *Sodome* was whilom otherwise then it is now: it was once like the rest of the land, as fertile and us faire, if not more then the rest, in so much that the Scripture compareth it to *Paradise*. But being smitten from heauen (as the Paynim stories themselues record, and all trauelers confirme) it now is as a field of foote and ashes, and the apples of the soyle being faire

faire without are naught but dust within. Behold, it was not such, and yet such it is at this day. Behold a terrible change of nature wrought by nature's Creator? and that it remaineth in that foule estate now, which it was a long time ere it fell into. So then, as God can create what hee will, so can hee change the nature of what he hath created, at his good pleasure. And hence is the multitude of monsters, visions, portents, and prodigies, for the particular relation whereof, here is no place. They are called (*d*) monsters, of *Monstro*, to shew, because they betoken somewhat: And portents and prodiges of *portendo*, and *porro dico*, to presage and fore-tell some-what to ensue. But whether they, or the deuills, whose care it is to inueigle and intangle the minds of the vnperfect, and such as deserue it, do delude the world either by true predictions, or by stumbling on the truth by chance, let their obseruers & interpreters looke to that. But we ought to gather this from all those monsters & prodiges that happen or are said to happen against nature (as the Apostle implied when he spake of the (*e*) engrafting of the wild Oliue into the Garden Oliue, whereby the wild one was made partaker of the roote and fannesse of the other,) that they all do tell vs this, that God will do with the bodies of the dead, according to his promise, no difficulty, no law of nature can or shall prohibit him. And what hee hath promised, the last booke declared out of both the Testaments, not in very great measure, but sufficient (I thinke) for the purpose and volume. Rom. II.

## L. VIVES.

**V**enus (*a*) with.] Hereof already. Some call this starre *Venus*, some *Inno*. *Arist. De mundo*. Some *Lucifer*, some *Hesperus*. *Higin. lib. 2*. It seemeth the biggest starre in the firmament. Some say it was the daughter of *Cephalus* and *Proeris*, who was so faire that she contended with *Venus*, and therefore was called *Venus Erasthen*. It got the name of *Lucifer* and *Hesperus* from rising and setting before and after the Sunne. *Higinus* placeth it about the Sunne the Moone and *Mercury*, following *Plato*, *Aristotle* the Egiptians, and all the Old Astronomers. (*b*) *Hesperus*.] So doth *Cynna* in his *Smirna*.

*Te matutinis flentem conspexit Eous,*

*Et flentem paulo vidit post Hesperus idem.*

The day-starre, saw thy cheekes with teares bewet,

So did it in the euening, when it set.

That this was both the day-starre and the Euening-starre, *Pythagoras*, or (as some say) *Parmenides* was the first that obserued. *Plin. lib. 2. Suidas*. (*c*) *Two so like*.] Such two twins had *Seruilus. Cic. Acad. Quest 4*. Such were the *Menechmi* in *Plinatus* supposed to be, whome their very mother could not distinguish, such also were the Twins that *Quintilian* declameth of. And at *Mechlin* at this day *Petrus Apostolius*, a Burguer of the towne, mine host, hath two toward, and gracious children, so like, that not onely strangers, but euen their owne mother hath mistooke them, and so doth the father like-wise to this day, calling *Peter* by his brother *Iohns* name, and *Iohn* by *Peters*. (*d*) *Monsters*.] Thus doth *Tully* expound these words. *De diuinat*. (*e*) *Engrafting*.] The wild oliue is but a bastard frute and worse then the other: but it is not the vse to engraft bad slips in a better stocke, to marre the whole, but good ones in a bad stocke to better the fruit. So that the Apostles words seeme to imply a deed against nature.

*Of Hell and the qualities of the eternall paines therein.*

CHAP. 9.

**A**S God therefore by his Prophet spake of the paines of the damned, such shall they

they be: *Their worme shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched.* Our Sauour to  
 Is. 66. 24. cōmend this vnto vs, putting the parts that scandalize a mā, for mans right mem-  
 bers, and bidding him cut them of, addeth this: *better it is for thee to enter into life*  
 Mat. 9. 47. *maimed, then hauing two hands to go into Hell into the fire that neuer shalbe quenched,*  
*where their worme dieth not, and their fire neuer goeth out,* and likewise of the foote:  
*Better for thee to goe halting into life, then hauing two fete to bee cast into Hell. &c.*  
 And so saith he of the eye also, adding the Prophets words three seuerall times.  
 O whom would not this thunder from the mouth of God strike a chill terror in-  
 to, founding so often? Now as for this worme and this fire, they that make them  
 only mental paines; do say that the fire implieth the burning of the soule in griefe  
 and anguish, that now repenteth to late for being seuered from the sight of God:  
 after the maner that the Apostle saith: *who is offended and I burne not?* And this  
 I. Cor. 11. 29. anguish may be meant also by the worme, say they, as it is written, *As the moth is*  
*to the garment, and the worme to the wood, So doth sorrow eat the heart of a man.*  
 Now such as hold them both mentall and reall, say that the fire is a bodily plague  
 to the body, and the worme a plague of conscience in the soule. This seemeth  
 more likely in that it is absurd to say, that either the soule or body shalbe cleare  
 of paine; yet had I rather take part with them that say they are both bodily, then  
 with those that say that neither of them is so; and therefore that sorrow in the  
 Eccl. 7. Scriptures though it be not expressed so, yet it is vnderstood to bee a fruitlesse  
 repentance conioyned with a corporall torment, for the scripture saith: *the ven-*  
*geance of the (flesh of the) wicked is fire and the worme:* hee might haue said more  
 briefly, *the vengeance of the wicked,* why did hee then ad *of the flesh,* but to shew  
 that both those plagues, *the fire and the worme,* shalbe corporall? If hee added  
 it because that man shalbe thus plagued for liuing according to the flesh,  
 (for it is therefore that hee incurreth the second death, which the A-  
 postle meaneth of when hee saith, *If yee liue after the flesh yee die:*) but euery  
 man belecue as hee like, either giuing the fire truely to the body, and the  
 worme figuratiuely to the soule, or both properly to the body: for we haue fully  
 proued already that a creature may burne and yet not consume, may liue in  
 paine and yet not dye: which he that denyeth, knoweth not him that is the au-  
 thor of all natures wonders, that God who hath made all the miracles that I  
 erst recounted, and thousand thousands more, and more admirable, shutting them  
 all in the world, the most admirable worke of all. Let euery man therefore choose  
 what to thinke of this, whether both the fire and the worme plague the body,  
 or whether the worme haue a metaphoricall reference to the soule. The truth  
 of this question shall then appeare plaine, when the knowledge of the Saints  
 shall bee such as shall require no triall of it, but onely shalbe fully satisfied and  
 resolued by the perfection and plenitude of the diuine sapience. We know but  
 now in part, vntill that which is perfect be come, but yet may wee not beleue  
 those bodies to be such, that the fire can worke them no anguish nor torment.

## L. VIVES.

**T**Heir (a) worme. ] Is. 66. 24. this is the worme of conscience. Hierome vpon this place.  
 Nor is there any villany (saith Seneca) how euer fortunate, that escapeth vnpunished,  
 but is plague to it selfe by wringing the conscience with feare and distrust. And this is Epi-  
 curus his reason to proue that man was created to avoyd sinne, because hauing committed it,  
 it

it scourgeth the conscience, and maketh it feare, euen without all cause of feare. This out of *Seneca, Epist. lib. 16.* And so singeth *Iuuenall* in these words :

*Exemplo quodcunque malo committitur, ipse  
Difficet auctori : prima est hec ultio, quod se  
Iudice nemo nocens absolvitur. — &c.*

Each deed of mischief first of all dislikes  
The authour : with this whip Reuenge first strikes,  
That no stain'd thought can cleare it selfe, — &c.

And by and by after :

————— *Cur tamen hos tu  
Eua fuisse pntes, quos diri conscia facti  
Mens habet : tonitos, & surdo verbere cadit,  
Occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum.  
Pœna autem vehemens, & multo sanior illis,  
Quas & Ceditius grauis inuenit, & Rhadamanthus  
Nocte dieque sumis gestare in pectore testem.*

————— But why should you suppose  
Them free, whose soule blackt ore with ougly deeds  
Affrights and teares the conscience still, and feeds  
Reuenge, by nouling terrour, feare and warre,  
Euen in it selfe. O plagues farre lighter farre,  
To beare guilts blisters in a brest vnfound,  
Then *Rhadamant*, or *sterne Ceditius* found.

Nay the conscience confoundeth more then a thousand witnesses. *Tully* holdes there are no other hell furies then those stings of conscience, and that the Poets had that inuention from hence. *In l. Ps. & Pro Rose. Amerin.* Hereof you may read more in *Quintilians* Orations.

*whether the fyre of hell if it be corporall, can take effect  
upon the incorporeall deuills.*

#### CHAP. IO.

**B**Vt here now is another question: whether this fire, if it plague not spiritually, but onely by a bodily touch, can inflict any torment vpon the deuill and his Angels? they are to remaine in one fire with the damned, according to *our Saniours* owne words: *Depart from mee you cursed into euerlasting fire, which is prepared for the deuill and his Angels.* But the deuills according as some learned men suppose, haue bodies of condensate ayre, such as wee feele in a winde; and this ayre is passible, and may suffer burning, the heating of bathes prooueth, where the ayre is set on fire to heate the water, and doth that which first it suffereth. If any will oppose, and say the deuills haue no bodies at all, the matter is not great, nor much to be stood vpon. For why may not vnbodyed spirits feele the force of bodily fire, as well as mans incorporeall soule is now included in a carnall shape, and shall at that day be bound into a body for euer. These spirituall deuills therefore or those deuillish spirits, though strangely, yet shall they bee truly bound in this corporall fire, which shall torment them for all that they are incorporeall. Nor shall they bee so bound in it, that they shall giue it a soule,

as

as it were, and so become both one living creature, but as I sayd, by a wonderfull power shall they be so bound that in steed of giuing it life, they shal fro it receiue intollerable torment, although the coherence of spirits and bodies, whereby both become one creature, bee as admirable, and exceede all humaine capacitic. And surely I should thinke the deuills shall burne them, as the riche glutton did, when hee cryed, saying, *I am tormented in this flame*, but that I should be answered that that fire was such as his tongue was, to coole which, hee seeing *Lazarus* a farre of, intreated him to helpe him with a little water on the tippe of his finger. Hee was not then in the body but in soule onely; such likewise (that is incorporeall) was the fire hee burned in, and the water hee wished for, as the dreames of those that sleepe and the vision of men in extasies are, which present the formes of bodies, and yet are not bodies indeed. And though man see these things onely in spirit, yet thinketh he him-selfe so like to his body, that hee cannot discerne whether hee haue it on or no. But that hell, that lake of fire and brimstone, shall bee reall, and the fire corporall, burning both men and deuills, the one in flesh and the other in ayre: the one in the body adhærent to the spirit, and the other in spirit onely adhærent to the fire, and yet not infusing life, but feeling torment for one fire shall torment both men and Deuills, *Christ* hath spoken it.

*whether it bee not iustice that the time of the paines should be proportioned to the time of the sinnes and crimes.*

CHAP. II.

**B**Vt some of the aduerfaries of *Gods city*, hold it iniustice for him that hath offended but temporally, to be bound to suffer paine eternally, this (they say) is vtterly vniust. As though they knew any law that adapted the time of the punishment to the time in which the crime was committed. Eight kinde of punishments doth *Tully* affirme the lawes to inflict: Damages, imprisonment, whipping, like for like, publicke disgrace, banishment, death, and bondage, which of these can be performed in so little time as the offence is, excepting (a) the fourth, which yeelds euery man the same measure that hee meateth vnto others, according to that of the law, *An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth*? Indeed one may loose his eye by this law, in as small a time as hee put out another mans by violence. But if a man kisse another mans wife, and bee therefore adiudged to bee whipt, is not that which hee did in a moment, paid for by a good deale longer sufferance? is not his short pleasure repaide with a longer paine? And what for imprisonment? Is euery one iudged to lye there no longer then hee was a doing his villanie? Nay, that seruant that hath but violently touched his maister, is by a iust law doomed vnto many yeares imprisonment. And as for damages, disgraces, and banishments, are not many of them datelesse, and lasting a mans whole life, wherein they beare a proportion with the paines eternall. Fully eternall they cannot bee, because the life which they afflict is but temporall, and yet the sinnes they punish are all committed in an instant, nor would any man aduise that the continuance of the penalty should be measured by the time of the fact, for that, be it murder, adultery, sacriledge, or what villany so-euer, is quickly dispatched, and consequently is not to be weighed by the length of time, but by the foulness of the crime. And as for him that deserues death by an offence, doth the law hold the time that hee is a dying, to bee the satisfaction for his guilt, or his beeing taken

taken away from the fellowship of men, whether? That then which the terrestri-  
all *Citty* can do by the first death, the celestiall can effect by the second, in clearing  
her selfe of malefactors. For as the lawes of the first, cannot call a dead man back  
again into their society, no more do the lawes of the second call him back to sal-  
uation that is once entred into the second death. How then is our *Saviours* words  
(say they) *With what measure yee mete, with the same shall men mete to you againe:* Luc. 6.  
if temporall finnes be rewarded with eternall paines? O but you marke not that  
those words haue a reference to the returning of euill for euill in our nature, and  
not in one proportion of time: that is, hee that doth euill, shall suffer euill, with-  
out limitation of any time: although this place be more properly vnderstood of  
the iudgments and condemnations whereof the *Lord* did there speake. So that he  
that iudgeth vniustly, if he be iudged vniustly, is paid in the same measure that hee  
meated withall, though not what he did: for he did wrong in iudgment, and such  
like he suffreth: but he did it vniustly, may he is repaid according to iustice.

## L. VIVES.

*Excepting the (a) fourth*] This was one of the Romanes lawes in the twelue tables, and here-  
of doth *Phavorinus* dispute with *Sep. Caelius*, in *Gellius lib. 20.*

*The greatnesse of Adams sinne, inflicting eternall damnation vpon  
all that are out of the state of Grace.*

## CHAP. 12.

**B**ut therefore doth man imagine, that this infliction of eternall torment is vn-  
iustice, because his fraile imperfection cannot discerne the horriblenesse of  
that offence that was the first procurer thereof. For the fuller fruition man had  
of *God*, the greater impiety was it for him to renounce him, and therein was hee  
worthy of euer-lasting euill, in that he destroyed his owne good, that otherwise  
had bene euerlasting. Hence came damnation vpon all the stock of man, parent  
and progenie vnder-going one curse, from which none can be euer freed, but by  
the free and gracious mercy of *God*, which maketh a seperation of mankinde, to  
shew in one of the remainders the power of grace, and in the other the reuenge  
of iustice. Both which could not bee expressed vpon all man kinde, for if all had  
tasted of the punishments of iustice, the grace and mercy of the redeemer had  
had no place in any: and againe, if all had bene redeemed from death, there had  
bene no obiect left for the manifestation of *Gods* iustice: But now there is more  
left, then taken to mercy, that so it might appeare what was due vnto a I; with-  
out any impeachment of *Gods* iustice, who not-withstanding hauing deliuered so  
many, hath herein bound vs for euer to praise his gracious commiseration.

*Against such as hold, that the torments after the iudgement shall bee but  
the meanes whereby the soules shall bee purified.*

## CHAP. 13.

**S**ome *Platonists* there are who though they assigne a punishment to euery  
sinne, yet hold they that all such inflictions, be they humane or diuine, in this  
life or in the next, tend onely to the purgation of the soule from enormities.  
Where-vpon *Virgil* hauing said of the soules;

Dddd

Hinc

*Hinc metunt cupiuntque, &c.*  
Hence feare, desire, &c,

And immediatly :

*Quia ut supremo cum lumine vita reliquit,  
Non tamen omnis malum miseris, nec funditus omnes  
Corporea excedunt pestes, penitusque necesse est,  
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.  
Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumq; malorum  
Supplicia expendunt, alia panduntur inanes  
Suspensa ad ventos, aliis sub gurgite vasto  
Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni.*

For when the soules do leaue the bodies dead,  
Their miseries are not yet finished :  
Nor all their times of torment yet compleate :  
Many small crimes must needes make one thats great.  
Paine therefore purgeth them, and makes them faire  
From their old staines : some hang in duskie ayre,  
Some in the deepe do pay the debt of sinne,  
And fire is chosen to cleanse others in.

They that hold this, affirme that no paines at all are to be suffered after death, but onely such as purge the soules, and those shall be cleared of all their earthly contagion by some of the three vpper elements, the fire, the ayre, or the water. The ayre, in that he saith, *Suspensa ad ventos*: the water, by the words *Sub gurgite vasto*, the fire is expresly named, *aut exuritur igni*. Now indeed wee doe confesse that there are certaine paines during this life, which do not properly afflict such as are not bettred but made worse by them, but belong onely to the reforming of such as take them for corrections. All other paines, temporall and eternall are laid vpon euery one as *God* pleaseth, by his Angells good or bad, either for some sinne past, or wherein the party afflicted now liueth, or else to excercise and declare the vertue of his seruants. For if one man hurt another (a) willingly, or by chance, it is an offence in him to doe any man harme, by will or through ignorance, but *God* whose secret iudgement assigned it to be so, offendeth not at all. As for temporall paine, some endure it heere, and some here-after, and some both here and there, yet all is past before the last iudgement. But all shall not come into these eternall paines, (which not-with-standing shall bee eternall after the last iudgment, vnto them that endure them temporally after death.) For some shal be pardoned in the world to come that are not pardoned in this, and acquitted there and not here from entring into paines eternall, as I said before.

#### L. VIVES.

**W**illingly (a) or by ] Willingly, that is, of set purpose, or through a wrong perswasion that he doth him good when he hurteth him, as the torturers and murtherers of the martyrs beleueed. These were all guilty, nor was their ignorance excuseable: which in what cases it may be held pardonable, *Augustine* disputeth in *Quest. vet. & Non. Testam.*

*The temporall paines of this life afflicting all man-kinde.*

CHAP. 14.

**B**VT fewe there bee that endure none of these paines vntill after death.  
Some

Some indeed I haue known & heard of that neuer had houres sickenes vntil their dying day, and liued very long, though notwithstanding mans whole life bee a paine *in that it is a temptation and a warre-fare vpon earth* as *Holy Job* saith, for ignorance is a great punishment, and therefore you see that little children are forced to auoyde it by stripes and sorrowes, that also which they learne being such a paine to them, that some-times they had rather endure the punishments that enforce them learne it, then to learne that which would auoyde them (a). Who would not tremble and rather choose to die then to be an infant againe, if he were put to such a choyce? We begin it with teares, and therein preface our future miseries. Onely (b) *Zoroastres* smiled (they say) when hee was borne: but his prodigious mirth boded him no good: for hee was, by report, the first inuention of Magike, which notwithstanding stood him not in a pins stead in his misfortunes, for *Ninus* King of *Assiria* ouer came him in battel and tooke his Kingdome of *Bactria* from him. So that it is such an impossibility that those words of the Scripture, *Great trauell is created for all men and an heauy yoke vpon the sonnes of Adam from the day that they go out of their mothers wombe, vntill the day that they returne vnto the mother of all things*, should not be fulfilled, that the very infants, being Baptised, and therein quite from all their guilt, which then is onely originall, are notwithstanding much and often afflicted, yea euen sometimes by the incursion of Deuills, which notwithstanding cannot hurt them if they die at that tenderneffe of age.

## L. VIVES.

**W**Ho (a) would.] Some would thinke them-selues much beholding to God if they might begin their daies againe, but wise *Cato* in *Tully* was of another minde. (b) *Zoroastres* smiled.] He was king of *Bactria*, the founder of Magique. Hee liued before the *Troian* warre 5000. yeares saith *Hermodotus Platonicus*. *Agnaces* taught him. Hee wrot 100000. verses, *Idem*. *Eudoxus* maketh him liue 5000. yeares before *Plato* his death, and so doth *Aristotle*. *Zanthus Lydus* is as short as these are ouer in their account, giuing but 600, betweene *Zoroastres*, and *Xerxes* passage into *Greece*. *Pliny* doubts whether there were many of this name. But this liued in *Ninus* his time; hee smiled at his birth, and his braine beate so that it would lift vp the hand; a preface of his future knowledge. *Plin*. He liued twenty yeares in a desert vpon cheefe, which hee had so mixed, that it neuer grew mouldy nor decayed.

*That the scope of Gods redeeming vs is wholly pertinent to the world to come.*

## CHAP. 15.

**B**Ut yet notwithstanding in this heauy yoke that lieth vpon *Adams* children from their birth to their buriall, we haue this one meanes left vs, to liue sober, and to weigh that our first parents sin hath made this life but a paine to vs, and that all the promises of the New-Testament belonge onely to the Heritage layd vp for vs in the world to come: pledges wee haue here, but the performance due thereto we shall not haue till then. Let vs now therefore walke in hope and profiting day by day let vs mortifie the deeds of the flesh, by the spirit, for God knoweth all that are his, and as many as are led by the spirit of God, are the sons of God, but by grace, not by nature, for Gods onely sonne by nature, was made the sonne of man for vs, that we being the sons of men by nature might become

Dddd

the



the sonnes of God in him by grace, for hee remayning changelesse, tooke our nature vpon him, and keeping still his owne diuinity, that wee being changed, might leaue our frailety and apness to sinne, through the participation of his righteousnesse and immortality and keepe that which hee had made good in vs, by the perfection of that good which is in him: for as wee all fell into this misery by one mans sinne, so shall wee ascend vnto that glory by one (deified) mans righteousnesse. Nor may any imagine that hee hath had this passe, vntill hee bee there where there is no temptation but all full of that peace which wee seeke by these conflicts of the spirit against the flesh, and the flesh against the spirit. This warre had neuer beene, had man kept his will in that right way wherein it was first placed. But refusing that, now hee fighteth in himselfe, and yet this inconuenience is not so bad as the former, for happier farre is hee that striueth against sinne then hee that alloweth it soueraynty ouer him. Better is warre with hope of eternall peace, then thraldome without any thought of freedome. Wee wish the want of this warre though, and God inspireth vs to ayme at that orderly peace wherein the inferiour obeyeth the superior in althings: but if there were hope of it in this life (as God forbid wee should imagine) by yeelding to sinne, (a) yet ought we rather to stand out against it, in all our miseries, then to giue ouer our freedoms to sinne, by yeelding to it.

### L. VIVES.

**Y***Et (a) ought we.*] So said the Philosophers, euen those that held the soules to be mortall: that vertue was more worth then all the glories of a vicious estate, and a greater reward to it selfe: nay that the vertuous are more happy euen in this life, then the vicious, and therefore Christ animates his seruants with promises of rewards both in the world to come, and in this that is present

*The lawes of grace, that all the regenerate are blessed in.*

### CHAP. 16.

**B**Vt Gods mercy is so great in the vessells whome hee hath prepared for glory, that euen the first age of man, which is his infancy, where the flesh ruleth without controll, and the second; his child-hood, where his reason is so weake that it giueth way to all enticements, and the mind is altogether incapable of religious precepts; if notwithstanding they bee washed in the fountaine of regeneration, and he dye at this or that age, he is translated from the powers of darknes to the glories of Christ, and freed from all paynes, eternall and purificatory. His regeneration onely is sufficient cleare, that after death which his carnall generation had contracted with death. But when he cometh to yeares of discretion, and is capable of good counsel, then must he begin a fierce conflict with vices least it allure him to damnation, Indeede the fresh-water soldiour is the more easily put to flight, but practise will make him valourous, and to persue victory with all his endeouour, which he must euermore assay by a weapō called *the (a) loue of true righteousnesse*, and this is kept in the faith of Christ, for if the command be present, and the assisting spirit absent, the very forbidding of the crime enflameth the peruerse flesh to run the sooner into it, sometimes producing open enormities, and sometimes (b) secret ones, farre-worse then the other, in that pride, and ruinous selfe conceit perswades men that they are vertues.

Then

Then therefore sin is quelled, when it is beaten downe by they loue of God, which none but he and that he doth only, by Iesus Christ the mediator of God and man, who made him-selfe mortall, that we might bee made eternall: few are so happy to passe their youth without taynt of some damnable sinne or other, either in deed, opinion, or so; but let them about all, seeke to suppress by the fullnesse of spirit all such euill motions as shall be incited by the loosenesse of the flesh. Many, hauing betaken them-selues to the law, becomming preuaricators thereof through sinne, are afterwards faine to fly vnto the law of grace assistant, which making them both truer penitents, and stouter opponents, subiecteth their spirits to God, and so they get the conquest of the flesh. Hee therefore that will escape hell fire, must be both Baptized and iustified in Christ, and this is his only way to passe from the Deuill vnto him. And let him assuredly belecue that there is no purgatory paines but before that great and terrible iudgement. Indeede it is true that the fire of Hell shalbe (c) more forcible against some then against others, according to the diuersity of their deserts, whether it be adapted in nature to the quality of their merits, or remaine one fire vnto all, and yet bee not felt alike of all.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He (a) *loue of.*] This made *Plato* aduise men to vse their children onely to vertuous delights, and to induce a hate of bad things into their mindes, which were it obserued, our loue would then be as much vnto vertue as now it is vnto carnall pleasures, for custome is another nature: and a good man liketh vertue better then the voluptuary doth sensuality. (b) *Secret ones far worse.*] *Plato* hauing feasted certaine Gentlemen, spread the Roome with mats and dressed his banqueting beds handsomely. In comes *Diogenes* the Cynicke, and falls presently a trampling of the hangings with his durty feete. *Plato* comming in, why how now *Diogenes* quoth he? Nothing said the other, but that I tread downe *Platoes* Pride. Thou dost indeed (saith *Plato*) but with a pride farre greater, for indeed this was a greater vaine-glory and arrogance in *Diogenes* that was poore, then in *Plato* that was rich, and had but prepared these things for his friends. So shall you haue a many proud beegers thinke them-selues holier then honest rich men, onely for their name sake, as if God respected the goods, and not there mindes. They will not be rich, because they thinke their pouerty maketh them more admired. *Diogenes* had wont to doe horrible things to make the people obserue him, and one day in the midst of winter hee fell a washing himselve in a cold spring, whither by and by there gathred a great multitude, who seeing him, pittied him, and praied him to for-beare: O no, saith *Plato* aloud, if you will pittie him, get yee all gone: for he saw it was not vertue, but vaine-glory that made him do thus. (c) *More forcible.*] According to the words of Christ, *It Mat. 11:12* shalbe easier for Tyre and Sydon. &c.

*Of some Christians that held that Hells paines should not be eternall.*

## CHAP. 17.

**N**OW must I haue a gentle disputation with certaine tender hearts of our own religion, who thinke that God, who hath iustly doomed the damned vnto hel fire, wil after a certaine space, which his goodnesse, shal thinke fit for the merit of each mans guilt, deliuer them from that torment. And of this opinion was (a) *Origen*, in farre more pittiful manner, for he held that the diuells themselues after

a set time expired, should bee loosed from their torments, and become bright Angels in heauen, as they were before. But this, and other of his opinions, chiefly that rotation and circum-volution of misery and blisse which hee held that all man-kinde should runne in, gaue the church cause to pronounce him *Anathema*: seeing he had lost this seeming pittie, by assigning a true misery, after a while, and a false blisse, vnto the Saints in heauen, where they (if they were true) could neuer be secured to remaine. But farre other-wise is their tenderneffe of heart, which hold that this freedome out of hell shall onely be extended vnto the soules of the damned after a certaine time appointed for euery one, so that all at length shall come to bee Saints in heauen. But if this opinion bee good and true, because it is mercifull, why then the farther it extendeth, the better it is: so that it may as well (b) include the freedome of the deuills also, after a longer continuance of time. Why then endeth it with man kinde onely, and excludeth them? nay but it dares goe no farther; they dare not extend their pittie vnto the deuill. But if any one doe so, hee goes beyond them, and yet sinneth in erring more deformedly, and more peruersly against the expresse word of GOD, though hee thinke to shew the more pittie herein.

## L. VIVES.

**O**rigen (a) in ] *Periarch lib.* Of this already. (b) *Include the freedome* ] So did Origen, and likewise made good Angels become deuills in proesse of time, according to his imaginary circum-uolutions.

*Of those that hold that the intercession of the Saints  
shall saue all men from damnation.*

## CHAP. 18.

**I** Haue talked with some that seeme to reuerence the Scriptures, and yet are no good liuers, who would make God farre more mercifull then the other. For as for the wicked, they confesse, that they deserue to bee plagued, but mercy shall haue the vpper hand when it comes to iudgement: for God shall giue them all vnto the prayers and intercession of the Saints, who if they prayed for them when they insulted ouer them as enemies, will doe it much more now when they see them prostrate at their feete like slaues. For it is incredible (say they) that the Saints should forget mercy when they are most holy and perfect, who prayed for their foes, when they were not without sinne themselves: Surely then they will pray for them being now become their suppliants, when as they haue no sinne at all left in them. And will not God heare them, when their prayers haue such perfection? Then bring they forth the testimony of the Psalme which the other, that held the sauing of all the damned after a time, doe alledge also, but these affirme that it maketh more for them: the words are these: *Hash God forgotten to be mercifull, or will he shut vp his mercies in displeasure?* His displeasure (say they) condemneeth all that are vnworthy of eternall life, to eternall torment. But if this condemnation continue, little or long, how can it be then that the Psalme should say right, *will hee shut vp his mercy in displeasure?* It saith not, *will hee shutt them vp long,* but implieth that hee will not shutt them vp at all. Thus doe they prooue that the iudgment of GOD is not false, although hee condemne none,

no

no more then his threatenng to destroy Niniuy was false, though it was not effected (say they) notwithstanding that he promised it without exception. Hee sayd not, *I will destroy it unlessse it repent*, but plainly without addition, *Niniuy sha be destroyed*. This threatenng doe they hold true, because GOD fore-told plainly what they had deserued, though he spake not that which he meant to doe. For though hee spared them, yet knew hee that they would repent: and yet did hee absolutely promise their destruction. This therefore (say they) was true in the truth of his seuerity, which they had deserued, but not in respect of his mercy, which he did not shut vp in displeasure, because he would shew mercy vnto their prayers, whose pride hee had threatned to punish. If therefore he shewed mercy then (say they) when he knew hee should thereby grieue his holy prophet, how much more will hee show it now when all his Saints shall intreate for it? Now this surmise of theirs they thinke the scriptures doe not mention, because men should bee reclaimed from vice by feare of tedious or eternall torment, and because some should pray for those that will not amend: and yet the scriptures (say they) doe not vtterly conceale it: for what doth that of the Psalme intend, *How great is thy goodnesse which thou hast layd vppe for them that feare thee! Thou keepest them secret in thy tabernacle from the strife of tongues*. That is, say they, this great sweetnesse of GODS mercy it kept secret from vs, to keepe vs in the more awe, and therefore the Apostle sayth *GOD hath shue vppe all in vnbeleefe, that hee might haue mercy on all* to shew that hee will condemne none. Yet these Opinionists will not extend this generall saluation vnto the deuills, but make mankinde the onely obiekt of their pity, promising impunity to their owne bad lines wichall, by pretending a generall mercy of GOD vnto the whole generation of man: and in this, they that extend Gods mercy vnto the deuill and his angels, doe quite exceed these later.

*Of such as hold that heretiques shalbe saued, in that they haue partaken of the body of CHRIST.*

CHAP. 19.

**O**thers there are, that cleare not hell of all, but onely of such as are baptized and partakers of *Christs body*, and these (they say) are saued, bee their liues or doctrines whatsoever, wherevpon CHRIST himselfe sayd, *This is the bread which commeth downe from heauen that he which eateth of it should not die. I am the liuing bread which came downe from heauen*. Therefore (say these men) must all such be saued of necessity, and glorified by euerlasting life.

*Of such as allow this deliuerance onely to wicked and renouled Catholikes.*

CHAP. 20.

**A**nother sort restraine the former position onely to Catholikes, liue they neuer so vilely, because they haue receiued CHRIST truly and bin ingrafted in his body: of which the Apostle saith; *We that are many, are one bread, and one body, because wee all are partakers of one bread*. So that fall they into

neuer so bad heresies afterwards, yea euen into Paganisme, yet because they receiued the Baptisme of *Christ* in his Church, they shall not perish for euer, but shall receiue eternall life, nor shall their guilt make their torments euer-lasting, but onely temporall, though they may last a long time, and bee extremly painefull.

*Of such as affirme that all that abide in the Catholique faith, shall be sau'd for that faith onely, be their liues neuer so worthy of damnation.*

## CHAP. 21.

**Mt. 24.** **1. Cor. 3.** **T**Here are some, who because it is written, *Hee that endureth to the end, hee shall bee sau'd*, doe affirme that onely they that continue Catholiques (how-soeuer they liue) shall be sau'd by the merite of that foundation, whereof the Apostle saith. *Other foundation can no man try, then that which is laide, which is Christ Iesus.* And if any man build on this foundation, gold, siluer, precious stones, timber, haye or stubble; euery mans worke shall bee made manifest, for the day [ of the Lord ] shall declare it, because it shall bee reuealed by the fire, and the fire shall try euery mans worke, of what sort it is. If any mans worke that hee hath built vpon, abide, hee shall receiue wages. If any mans worke burne, he shall lose, but hee shall bee safe him-selfe, yet as it were by fire. So that all Christian Catholiques (say they) hauing *Christ* for their foundation ( which no heretiques haue, being cutt off from his body ) bee their liues good or bad, (as those that build timber, haye, or stubble vpon this foundation ) shall neuer-the-lesse be sau'd by fire, that is, shall bee deliuered after they haue endured the paines of the fire which punisheth the wicked in the last iudgment.

*Of such as affirme that the sinnes committed amongst the workes of mercy, shall not bee called into iudgement.*

## CHAP. 22.

**1. Ima. 2. 13.** **Mt. 6. 14.** **A**Nd some I haue mette with, that hold that none shall bee damned eternally, but such as neglected to satisfie for their sinnes by almes-deedes: alledging that of *James*: *There shall bee iudgment mercilesse vnto him that sheweth no mercy.* Wherefore he that doth ( say they ) though hee amend not his life, but liue sinfully euen in these mercifull workes, shall neuer-the-lesse haue so mercifull a iudgment, that hee shall either not bee punished at all, or at least bee freed from his paine after his sufferance of them for some certaine space, more or lesse. And therefore the iudge of quicke and dead would mention no other thing in his words to those on both sides of him, for the saluation of the one part, and the damnation of the other, but onely the almes-deedes which they had either done or neglected. To which also ( say they ) doth that part of the Lords prayer pertain. *Forgiue vs our trespasses, as wee forgiue them that trespasse against vs.* For he that forgiueth an offence done to him, doth a worke ( a ) of mercy: which *Christ* so approued, that hee sayd: *If yee doe forgiue men their trespasses, your heauenly father will also forgiue you, but if yee doe not forgiue men their trespasses, no more will your heauenly father forgiue you your trespasses.* So that here-vnto belongeth also the aforesaid place of *Saint James*: *There shall bee iudgement mercilesse, &c.* The  
Lord

LORD sayd not, *Your small trespasses* (say they) *nor your great*, but, generally, *your trespasses*, and therefore they hold that those that liue neuer so viciously vntill their dying day, haue notwithstanding their finnes absolutely pardoned euery day by this praier vsed euery day, if withall they doe remember, freely to forgiue all such as haue offended them, when they intreate for pardon, when all those errors are confuted, I will GOD willing make an end of this present booke.

## L. VIVES.

**A** (*a*) *Workes of mercy* ] For ελεημοσυνη, is the properly, mercy of αγαθη, to haue mercie, as ελεημοσυνη, come of ελεος, and in diuers more examples.

*Against those that exclude both men and deuills  
from paines eternall.*

CHAP. 23.

**F**irst then wee must shew why' the church hath condemned them that affirme that euen the very deuills after a time of torment, shalbe taken to mercy. The reason is this, those holy men, so many and so learned in both the lawes of GOD, the Old and the New, did not enuy the mundification and beatitude of those spirits, after their long, and great extremity of torture, but they saw well, that the words of Our Sauour could not bee vnttrue, which hee promised to pronounce in the last iudgement, saying: *Depart from mee yee cursed into eueralasting fire, which is prepared for the deuill and his Angells.* Hereby shewing Mat. 25 that they should burne in eueralasting fire: likewise in the Reuelation; *The deuill that deceiued them was cast into a lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet shalbe tormented euen day and night for euermore.* There hee saith, Apos. 20 eueralasting, and here for euermore, in both places excluding all termination and end of the time. Wherefore there is no reason either stronger or plainer to assure our beleefe that the deuill and his angells shall neuer more returne to the glory and righteousnesse of their Saints, then because the scriptures, that deceiue no man, tell vs directly and plainly, *that GOD hath not spared them, but cast them downe into hell, and deliuered them vnto chaines of darkenesse, there to bee kept vnto the damnation in the iust iudgement, then to bee cast into eternall fire, and* 2 Pet. 2 *there to burne for euermore.* If this bee true, how can either all, or any men bee deliuered out of this eternity of paines, if our faith whereby we beleeu the deuill to bee eueralastingly tormented, be not hereby infringed? for if those (either all or some part) to whome it shalbe sayd, *Depart from mee yee cursed into eueralasting fire which is prepared for the deuill and his angells,* shall not continue for euer in the fire, what reason haue wee to thinke that the deuill and his angells shall? Shall the word of GOD spoken alike both to men and deuills, be prooued true vpon the deuills and not vpon the men? So indeed should mans surmises be of more certainty then Gods promises. But seeing that cannot bee, they that desire to escape this paine eternall, must cease to argue against GOD, and take his yoake vpon them while they haue time.

For

For what a fondnesse were it to value the paines eternall by a fire only of a long continuance, but yet to beleue assuredly that life eternall hath no end at all, seeing that the LORD in the same place including both these parts in one sentence, sayd plainely, *These shall goe into everlasting paines, and the righteous into life eternall.* Thus doth he make them parallels: here is everlasting paines, and there is eternall life. Now to say this life shall neuer end, but that paine shall, were grosly absurd. Wherefore seeing that the eternall life of the Saints shall bee without end, so therefore is it a consequent that the everlasting paine of the damned shalbe as endlesse as the others beatitude.

*Against those that would prooue all damnation frustrate  
by the praers of the Saints. CHAP. 24.*

**T**HIS is also against those who vnder collour of more pittie, oppose the expresse word of GOD: and say that GODS promises are true in that men are worthy of the plagues he threatens, not that they shalbe layd vpon them. For he will giue them (say they) vnto the intreaies of his Saints, who wilbe the readier to pray for them then, in that they are more purely holy, and their praers wilbe the more powerfull, in that they are vtterly exempt from all touch of sinne and corruption. Well, and why then in this their pure holinesse, and powerfullnesse of praier will they not intreate for the Angells that are to be cast into everlasting fire, that it would please GOD to mitigate his sentence, and set them free from that intollerable fire? Some perhaps, will pretend that the holy Angells will ioyne with the Saints (as then their followes) in praier both the Angells and men also that are guilty of damnation, that God in his mercy would be pleased to pardon their wicked merit. But there is no sound christian that euer held this, or euer will hold it: for otherwise, there were no reason why the Church should not pray for the deuill and his Angells, seeing that her LORD GOD hath willed her to pray for her enemies. But the same cause that stayeth the Church for praying for the damned spirits (her knowne enemies) at this day, the same shall hinder her for praying for the reprobate soules, at this day of iudgement, notwithstanding her fulnesse of perfection. As now, shee prayeth for her enemies in mankinde, because this is the time of wholesome repentance, and therefore her chiefe petition for them, is, *that GOD would grant them penitence and escape from the snares of the deuill, who are taken of him at his will,* as the Apostle saith. But if the church had this light that shee could know any of those who (though they liue yet vpon the earth, yet) are predestinated to goe with the deuill into that everlasting fire; shee would offer as few praers for them, as shee doth for him. But seeing that shee hath not this knowledge, therefore praierth shee for all her foes in the flesh, and yet is not heard for them all, but onely for those who are predestinated to become her sonnes, though they bee as yet her aduersaries. If any shall die her impenitent foes, and not returne into her bosome at all, doth shee pray for them? No, because they that before death are not ingrafted into CHRIST, are afterward reputed as associates of the deuill: And therefore the same cause that forbids her to pray for the reprobate soules as then, stoppeth her for praying for the Apostaticall Angells as now: and the same reason there is why wee pray for all men liuing, and yet will not pray for the wicked, nor Infidells, being dead. For the praier either of the Church, or of

some

some Godly persons is heard (a) for some departed this life: but for them which being regenerat in Christ, haue not spent their life so wickedly, that they may be iudged vnworthy of such mercy: or else so deuoutly, that they may bee found to haue no neede of such mercy. Euen as also after the resurrection there shalbe some of the dead, which shall obtaine mercy after the punishments, which the spirits of the dead do suffer, that they be not cast into euerlasting fire. For otherwise that should not be truly spoken concerning some. *That they shall not be forgiven neither in this world, nor in the world to come: vnlesse there were some, who al-* Math. 12, 32

though they haue no remission in this, yet might haue it in the world to come. But when it shalbe said of the Iudge of the quick, and the dead. *Come yee blessed of my father, possesse the Kingdome prepared for you from the beginning of the world: and to others on the contrary, Depart from me, yee curssed into euerlasting fire, which is prepared for the deuill, and his angells:* it were too much presumption to say, that any of them should escape euerlasting punishment, whom the Lord hath condemned to eternall torments, & so goe about by the perswasion of this presumption, either also to despaire, or doubt of eternall life. Let no man therefore so vnderstand the Psalmist, when he saith, *Will God forget to haue mercy, or will he shut vp his louing kindnesse in displeasure:* that hee suppose that the sentence of GOD is true concerning the good, false concerning the wicked, or that it is true concerning good men, and euill angells: but concerning euill men to be false? For that which is recorded in the Psalmie, belongeth to the vessells of mercy, and to the sonnes of the promise, of which the Prophet himselfe was one, who when he had sayd, *Will God forget to haue mercy: will he shut vp his louing kindnesse in displeasure?* straigh-way addeth *And I sayd, it is mine owne infirmity, I will remember the yeares of the right hand of the highest.* Verely hee hath declared what hee meant by these words. *Will the LORD shut vp his louing kindnesse in displeasure?* For truly this mortall life, is the displeasure of God, wherein *man is made like vnto vanity, and his daies passe away like a shadow.* In which displeasure neuertheless GOD will not forget to bee gracious by causing his sunne to shine vpon the good, and the euill, and the raine to fall vpon the iust, and vniust: and so he doth not shut vp his louing kindnes in displeasure, and especially in that, which the psalme expresseth here saying. *I will remember the yeares of the right hand of the highest:* because in this most miserable life, which is the displeasure of God, he changeth the vessells of mercy into a better state, although as yet his displeasure remaineth in the misery of this corruption: because he doth not shut vp his mercies in his displeasure. When as therefore the verity of this diuine song may be fulfilled in this manner, it is not necessary, that it should bee vnderstood of that place, where they which pertaine not to the City of GOD, shalbe punished with euerlasting punishment. But they which please to stretch this sentence euen to the torments of the damned, at least let them so vnderstand it, that the displeasure of GOD remayning in them which is due to eternall punishment, yet neuertheless that God doth not shut vp his louing kindnesse in this his heauy displeasure, and causeth them not to bee tormented with such rigor of punishments, as they haue deserued: [Yet not so that they may (b) escape,] or at any time haue an end of those punishments, but that they shalbe more easie then they haue deserued. For so both the wratch of GOD shall remaine, and hee shall not shut vppe his louing kindnesse in his displeasure. But I doe not confirme this thing, because I doe not contradict it.

But not onely I, but the sacred and diuine Scripture doth reprove, and conuince



since them most plainly and fullie, which thinke that to bee spoken rather by  
 the way of threatening, then truely, when it is said. *Depart from mee ye wicked,*  
*into everlasting fire,* and also. *They shall goe into everlasting punishment: and their*  
*wormes shall not die, and the fire shall not bee extinguished.* &c. For the Niniuites  
 did sowe a fruitfull repentance in this life as in the field, in which GOD would haue  
 that to bee sowne with teares, which should after-ward bee reaped with ioye. And  
 yet who will deny that to bee fulfilled in them which the LORD had spoken be-  
 fore, vnlesse hee cannot well perceiue, that the Lord doth not onely ouerthrow  
 sinners in his anger, but likewise in his mercy? for sinners are confounded by  
 two manner of waies, either as the Sodomits, that men suffer punishments for  
 their sinnes, or as the Niniuits, that the sins of men, bee destroyed by repenting.  
 For Niniuy is destroyed which was euill, and good Niniuy is built, which was  
 not. For the walls, and houses standing stil, the Citty is ouerthrowne in her wick-  
 ed manners: And so though the Prophet was grieved, because that came not to  
 passe, which those men feared to come by his prophcy: neuertheless that was  
 brought to passe, which was fore-told by the fore-knowledge of God: because  
 he knew, which had fore-spoken it, how it was to be fulfilled in a better manner.  
 But that they may know who are mercifull towards an obstinat sinner, what  
 that meaneth which is written. *How great, oh LORD, is the multitude of thy sweet-*  
*nesse, which thou hast hidden for them that feare thee?* let them also read that, which  
 followeth. *But thou hast performed it to them which hope in thee.* For what is, *Thou*  
*hast hidden for them which feare thee, Thou hast performed to them which hope in thee:*  
 but that the righteousnesse of GOD is not sweet vnto them because they know  
 it not which establish their owne righteousnesse for the feare of punishments,  
 which righteousnesse is in the law? For they haue not tasted of it. For they  
 hope in themselues, not in him, and therefore the multitude of the sweetness of  
 GOD is hidden vnto them, for truely they feare GOD but with that seruile  
 feare, which is not in loue, because perfect loue casteth away feare. Therefore  
 hee performeth his sweetness to them which hope in him by inspiring his loue  
 into them, that when they glory with chaste feare, not in that which loue casteth  
 away, but which remaineth for euer and euer, they may glory in the LORD.  
 For Christ is the righteousnesse of God. *Who vnto vs of GOD,* (as the Apostle  
 saith) *is made wisdome, and righteousnesse, and sanctification, and redemption.* That  
 as it is written. *Let him which reioyceth, reioyce in the LORD.* They which will  
 establish their owne righteousnesse, know not this righteousnesse, which grace  
 doth giue without merrits, and therefore they are not subiect to the righteous-  
 nesse of GOD which is CHRIST. In which righteousnesse there is great a-  
 bundance of the sweetness of GOD, wherefore it is sayd in the Psalme: *Taste*  
*and see how sweet the Lord is.* And we truely hauing a taste, and not our fill of it  
 in this our pilgrimage, doe rather hunger, and thirst after it, that wee may bee sa-  
 tisfied with it afterward, when we see him as he is, and that shall be fulfilled which  
 is written. *I shall be satisfied when thy glory shall be manifested.* So CHRIST ef-  
 fecteth great abundance of his sweetness to those which hope in him. But if  
 God hide that sweetness which they thinke to bee theirs for them which feare  
 him, because hee will not condemne the wicked, that not knowing this thing,  
 and fearing to be damned they might liue well, and so there may bee some which  
 may pray for the wicked, how then doth hee performe it to them which hope in  
 him? seeing, that, as they dreame, by this sweetness he will not condemne them  
 which doe not hope in him. Therefore let vs seeke that sweetness of his, which  
 he

Math. 15

Apoc. 10

Esaia. 66

Iona. 3

1 Cor. 1,

30

2 Cor. 10,

17

Psal. 34, 8,

Psal. 17, 15

he performeth to them which hope in him, and not that which hee is thought to effect vnto them which contemne and blaspheme him. (c) In vaine therefore man inquireth that, when he is departed out of the body, which hee hath neglected to obtaine to himselfe beeing in the bodie. That saying also of the Apostle, (d) *For God hath shut vp all in vnbeliefe, that he may haue mercy on all*, is not spoken to that end that he will condemne none, but it appeareth before in what sence it was spoken. For when as the Apostle spake vnto the Gentiles, to whom now beleeuing, he wrote his Epistles, concerning the Iewes, who should afterward beleeue: *As yee, (saith hee) in time past haue not beleued GOD. Yet now haue obtained mercy through their vnbeliefe: euen so now haue they not beleued by the mercie shewed vnto you, that they may also obtaine mercy.* Then he addeth, whereby they flatter themselues in their errors, and sayth, *For GOD hath shut vpp all in vnbeliefe, that hee may haue mercy on all.* Who are they all, but they of whom he did speake, saying, as it were *Both yee and they?* Therefore GOD hath shut vp both Gentiles, and Iewes all in vnbeliefe, whom hee fore-knew, and predestinated to bee made like the Image of his Sonne: that beeing ashamed and cast downe by repenting for the bitternesse of their vnbeliefe, and conuerted by beleeuing, vnto the sweetnesse of the mercies of GOD, might proclaime that in the Psalme. *How great is the multitude of thy sweetnesse, Oh Lord, which thou hast laid vp for them which feare thee: but hast performed it to them which hope, not in them-selues, but in thee.* Therefore he hath mercy on all the vessells of mercy, What meaneth of all? That is to say, of those of the Gentiles, and also of those of the Iewes whom hee hath predestinated, called, iustified, glorified, not of all men, and will condemne none of those.

## L. VIVES.

**F**Or (a) *some departed this life.*] In the ancient bookes printed at Bruges and Coline, those tenne or twelue lines which follow are not to bee found: for it is written in this manner, For the prayer either of the Church or of some godly persons is heard for some departed this life, but for them whose life hath not bene spent so wickedly being regenerate in *Christ, &c.* Those things which follow are not extant in them, neither in the copies printed at Friburge. Neuer-the-lesse the stile is not dissonant from *Augustines* phrase; peradventure they are eyther wanting in some bookes, or else are added heere out of some other worke of *Augustine*, as the first *Scholion*, afterward adioyned to the context of the speech. *Yet not so that they may (b) escape.*] The particle of negation is to bee put formost, that wee may read it, yet not so that they may vnder-goe those punishments at any time. *In vaine (c) therefore man*] In the Bruges copie it is read thus. In vaine therefore doth man inquire that after this body which hee hath neglected to get in the body. (d) *For GOD hath shut vp all in vnbeliefe.*] Commonly wee read all things in the Greeke *warra*, that is to say, *all men.* *Paul* signifieth that no man hath any occasion to boast that hee is glorious vnto GOD by his owne merits, but that it is wholly to be attributed to the goodnesse and bounty of GOD.

*Whether that such as beeing baptized by heretiques, become wicked in life, or amongst Catholiques, and then fall away into heresies and schismes, or continuing amongst Catholiques, be of vicious conuersation, can haue any hope of escaping damnation, by the priuiledge of the Sacraments.*

## CHAP. 12.

**N**OW let vs answer those, who doe both exclude the deuills from saluation,  
Eccc (as

(as the other before doe) and also all men besides whatsoever, excepting such as are baptized in CHRIST, and made partakers of his body and blood, and these they will have saved, bee their lives neuer so spotted by sinne or heresie. But the Apostle doth plainly controule them, saying, *The workes of the flesh are manifest, which are adultery, fornication, uncleannesse, wantonnesse, idolatry, &c. and such like whereof I tell you now as I told you before that they which doe such things shall not inherite the Kingdome of GOD.* This were false now, if that such men should become Saints, at any time whatsoever. But this is true scripture, and therefore that shall neuer come to passe. And if they bee neuer made partakers of the ioyes of heauen, then shall they bee euer more bound in the paines of hell, for there is no *medium*, wherein hee that is not in blisse, might haue a place free from torment.

Ioh. 6

And therefore it is fitte, wee see how our Sauours words may bee vnderstood, where hee sayth: *This is the bread that came downe from heauen that hee that eateth of it, should not die. I am the liuing bread which came downe from heauen, if any man eate of this bread, hee shall liue for euer &c.* Those whome wee must answer by and by, haue gotten an interpretation for these places, somewhat more restrained then those whome wee are to answer at this present. For those other doe not promise deliuey to all that receiue the Sacraments, but onely to the Catholikes (of what manner of life soeuer) for they onely are those that receiue the bodie of CHRIST, not onely sacramentally, but truelie also, (say they) as beeing the true members of his bodie, whereof the Apostle saith, *Wee that are many are one bread and one bodie.* Hee therefore that is in this vnity of CHRISTs members in one bodie, the sacrament whereof the faithfull doe daylie communicate, hee is truely sayd to receiue the bodie, and to drinke the blood of CHRIST. So that Heretiques and Schismatiques who are cut off from this bodie, may indeed receiue the same Sacrament, but it doth them no good, but a great deale of hurt, in that great iudgement, where it will both make their paines more heauy, and their continuance eternall. For they are not in that vnity of peace, which is expressed (a) in this Sacrament.

1 Cor.

But now these that can obserue, that hee that is not in CHRIST, cannot receiue his body truely, doe ouer-shoote themselues in promising absolution (at one time or other) to all the sectators of superstition, Idolatry, or heresie. First, because they ought to obserue how absurd, and farre from all likely hood it is, that those (bee they more or lesse) that haue left the church and become arch-heretiques, should bee in better estate then those whome they haue seduced to bee heretiques with them, before that they were Catholikes, and in the church, if to bee baptized, and to receiue CHRISTs body in the church, bee the causes of those arch-heretiques deliuey. For an *Apostata*, an opposer of the faith hee hath once professed, is worse then hee that opposeth what hee did neuer professe. Secondly, in that the Apostle himselfe controlleth them, concluding of the workes of the flesh, that, *They which doe such things shall not inherite the Kingdome of GOD.*

Let not sinners therefore, and wicked men, secure themselues by their continuance in the church, in that it is written. *He that endureth to the end, hee shall be saved;* nor by their iniquity renounce Christ, their iustice, in committing fornication, and either all or any part of those fleshly workes which the Apostle recounteth,

counteth, or such vncleanesses as hee would not name: for of all such, hee saith expressely, *they shall not inherite the Kingdome of GOD*. Wherefore the doers of such deeds cannot but bee in eternall paines, in that they are excluded from the euerlasting ioyes. For this kinde of perseuerance of theirs, is no perseuerance in CHRIST, because it is not a true perseuerance in his faith, which the Apostle defineth, *to bee such as worketh by loue*. And loue (as hee sayth elsewhere) *worketh not euill*. So then these are no true receiuers of CHRIST'S bodie, in that they are none of his true members. For (to omit other allegations) they cannot bee both the members of CHRIST and the members of an harlot. And CHRIST himselfe saying *hee that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me & I in him*, sheweth what it is to receiue Christ (not onely sacramentally, but) truly: for this is *to dwell in Christ and Christ in him*. For thus hee spoke as if hee had sayd *Hee that dwelleth not in mee, nor I in him, cannot say hee eateth my flesh, or drinketh my blood*. They therefore that are not members of CHRIST, are not in him: they that make themselues the members of an harlot, are no members of CHRIST, vnlesse they purge away their badnesse by repentance, and returne to his goodnesse by a true reconciliation.

## L. VIVES.

**E**xpressed (a) in this sacrament. ] For all pertake of one bread, which is a great bond of vni-ty. Againe, this mysticall bread is made of many graines of corne, loosing their proper formes to bee all incorporated into one masse or body. So, many are receiued into the church, and at their entrance, they put off their owne proper enormities, and being linked to the rest in loue, and charity, seeme now no more what they were before, but are incorporate into one body, the church. Baptisme maketh vs both bretheren, and one also: and mutuall charity giueth forme, collour, taste, and perfection to the whole body. So that there could not haue bin giuen a more fit type of the Church, then that which CHRIST gaue in his institution.

*What it is to haue CHRIST for the foundation: who they are,  
that shalbe saued (as it were) by fire.*

## CHAP. 26.

**I** But christian Catholiques (say they) haue CHRIST for their foundation, from whom they fell not, though they built badly vpon it, in resemblance of timber, straw, and stubble. So that faith is true, which holds CHRIST the foundation, and though it beare some losse, in that the things which are built vpon it, burne away, yet hath it power to saue him that holdeth it, (after some time of suffrance.) But let Saint James answere these men in a word; *If a man say hee hath faith, and haue no workes, can the faith saue him? Who then is that (say they) of whom Saint Paul sayth: Hee shalbe safe himselfe, neuertheless (as it were) by fire? well, wee will see who that is: but surely it is no such as these would haue it, for else; the Apostles condradict one another. For if one faith, though a man haue liued wickedly, yet shall hee bee saued by faith, through fire: and the other, if hee haue no workes, can his sayth saue him? Then shall we soone find who it is that shalbe saued by fire, if first of all, wee finde what it is to haue Christ for the foundation.*

To gather which, first, from the nature of the simyly, there is no worke in building before the foundation. Now euery one hath CHRIST in his heart thus farre, that his affect of temporall things, ( and some-times of things vnlawfull ) still pretendeth Christ for the foundation thereof. But if hee preferre these things before CHRIST, though hee seeme to hold his sayth, yet CHRIST is no foundation vnto him, in that hee preferres those vanities before him. And if hee both contemne good instructions, and profecute badde actions, how much the sooner shall hee bee conuincd to set Christ at nothing, to esteeme him at no value in vainer respects, by neglecting his command and allowance, and in preuarication of both, following his owne lustfull exorbitances: wherefore, if any christian loue an harlot, *and become one body with her by coupling with her*, hee hath not Christ for his foundation. And if a man loue his wife, according to Christ, who can denie but that hee hath Christ for his foundation? Admit his loue bee carnall, worldly, concupiscentiall, as the Gentiles loued; that knew not Christ: all this the Apostle doth beare with, and therefore still may Christ bee such a mans foundation. For, if hee preferre not these carnall affects before Christ, though hee build straw and stubble vpon his foundation, yet Christ is that still, and therefore such a man shalbe saued by fire. For the fire of tribulation shall purge away those carnall and worldly affections, which the bond of marriage doth acquit from beeing damnable: and vnto this fire, all the calamities accident in this kinde, as, barrenesse, losse of children, &c. haue reference. And in this case, hee that buildeth thus, shall loose, because his building shall not last, and these losses shall grieue him in that their fruition did delight him. Yet shall the worth of his foundation saue him, in that if the persecutour, should put it to his choice, whether hee would haue Christ, or these his delights, hee would choose Christ, and leaue all the rest. Now shall you heare Saint Paul describe a builder vpon this foundation with gold, siluer, and precious stones. *The unmarried (saith hee) careth for the things of the LORD; how hee may please the LORD. And now for him that buildeth with wood, straw and stubble. Hee that is married, careth for the things of the world, how hee may please his wife. Euery mans worke shalbee made manifest, for the day of the LORD shall declare it, that is the daie of tribulation, for, it shalbe reuealed by the fire.*

1 Cor. 6

Cor. 7:32

1 Cor. 3

Ecol. 27

This tribulation hee calleth fire, as wee reade also in another place. *The furnace proueth the potters vessell, and so doth the temptation. [ of tribulation ] trie mans thoughts.* So then, the fire shall trie euery mans worke: and if any worke abyde ( as his will, that careth for the things of the LORD, and how to please him ) *hee shall receiue wages*, that is, hee shall receiue him, of whome the thought, and for whome hee cared. *But if any mans worke burne hee shall loose*: because hee shall not haue his delights that hee loued; yet shall hee bee safe, in that hee held his foundation, maugre all tribulation: but as it were by fire, for that which hee possessed in alluring loue, hee shall forge with afflicting sorrowe. This ( thinke I ) is the fire, that shall enrich the one and endamage the other, trying both, yet condemning neither. If wee say that the fire spoken of heere is that whereof CHRIST spake to those on his left hand, *Depart from mee yee cursed into everlasting fire*; and that all such as builded tyMBER, strawe, and stubble vpon their foundation, are part of the sayd cursed, who notwithstanding after a time of torment, are to bee deliuered,

deliuered by the merit of their foundation; then can wee not thinke that those on the right hand, to whome hee shall say, *Come you blessed, &c.* Are any other sauing those that built gold, siluer and precious stones vppon the said foundation. But this fire of which the Apostle speaketh, shall bee as a tryall both to the good and the bad: both shall passe through it, for the word sayth, *Euery mans worke shall be made manifest, for the day of the Lord shall declare it, because it shall bee reuealed by the fyre, and the fire shall try euery mans worke of what sort it is.* If the fire trye both, and he that hath an abiding worke, be rewarded, and hee whose worke shall burne, shall bee indamaged, then cannot this be that euerlasting fire. For into that shall none enter but the cursed, on the left hand, in the last iudgement, whereas the blessed shall passe through this, wherein some of them shall be so tryed, that their building shall abide vnconsumed, and other-some shall haue their worke burned, and yet shall bee saued them-selues, in that their loue vnto *Christ* exceeded al their carnall imperfections. And if they bee saued, then shall they stand on *Christes* right hand, and shall bee part of those to whome it shall bee said, *Come you blessed of my father inherite the kingdome, &c.* and not on the left hand amongst the cursed, to whome it shall bee sayd, *Depart from me, &c.* For none of these shall be saued by fire, but all of them shall be bound for euer in that place where the worme neuer dyeth, there shall they burne world without end. But as for the time betwene the bodily death, and the last iudgement, if any one say that the spirits of the dead are all that while tryed in such fire as neuer moueth those that haue not built wood, straw, or stubble, afflicting onely such as haue wrought such workes, eyther hete, or there, or both; or that mans worldly affects (beeing veniall) shall passe the putging fire of tribulation onely in this world, and not in the other; if any hold thus, I contradict him not, perhaps he may hold the truth. To this tribulation also may belong the death of body, drawne from our first parents sinne, and inflicted vppon each man sooner, or later according to his building. So may also the Churches persecutions, wherein the Martyrs were crowned, and all the rest afflicted: For these calamities (like fire) tryed both sorts of the buildings, consuming both workes and worke-men, where they found not *Christe* for the foundation; and consuming the workes onely (and sauing the worke-men by this losse) where they did finde him, and stubble, &c. built vppon him: but where they found workes remaying to eternall life, there they consumed nothing at all. Now in the last dayes; in the time of Antichriste shall be such a persecuti-on as neuer was before: And many buildings both of gold and stubble, being all founded vppon *Christe*, shall then bee tryed by this fire, which will returne ioy to some, and losse to others, and yet destroy none of them by reason of their firme foundation. But whosoever hee bee, that loueth (I do not say his wife, with carnall affection, but euen) such shewes of pyety as are vtter alliens from this sensuality, with such a blinde desire that hee preferreth them before *Christ*, this man hath not *Christ* for his foundation, and therefore shall neither bee saued by fire, nor otherwise, because hee cannot bee conioyned with *Christ*, who saith playnely of such men, *Hee that loueth father or mother more then me, is unworthy of me. And he that loueth sonne or daughter more then me, is not worthy of mee.* But hee that loueth them carnally, & yet preferreth *Christ* for his foundation, and had rather loose them all, then *Christ*, if hee were driuen to the losse of one, such a man shall bee saued, but as it were by fire, that is his grieve in the loosing of them must needs bee as great as his delight was in enioying them. But hee that loues father, mother, &c. according to *Christ*, to bring them vnto his Kingdome, or bee

delighted in them because they are the members of *Christ*, this loue shall neuer burne away like wood, straw, stubble, but shall stand as a building of gold, siluer, and precious stones: for how can a man loue that, more then *Christ*, which he loueth for *Christes* sake onely.

## L. VIVES.

**T**He day of (a) the Lord ] Where-vnto all secrets are referred, to be reuealed, and therefore they are worthy of reprehension that dare presume to censure acts that are doubtfull and demonstrable onely by coniectures, seeme they neuer so bad.

*Against those that thinke those sinnes shall not be laid to their charge, where-with they mixed some workes of mercy.*

## CHAP. 27.

**N**OW a word with those that hold none damned but such as neglect to doe Mat. 2. 13. workes of mercy worthy of their sinnes, because *S. James* saith, *There shall be iudgement mercyleffe to him that sheweth no mercy*: he therefore that doth shew mercy (say they) be his life neuer so burdened with sin and corruption, shal notwithstanding haue a merciful iudgement, which wil either acquit him from al paines, or at least deliuer him after a time of sufferance. And this made *Christ* distinguish the elect from the reprobate only by their performance, and not performance of workes of mercy, the one wherof is rewarded with euerlasting ioy, and the other with eternal pain: and as for their daily sins, that they may be pardoned through these workes of mercy, the *Lords praier* (say they) doth sufficiently proue: for as there is no daie wherin a christian saith not this praier, so likewise is ther no daily sin, but is pardoned when we say, *And forgine vs our trespasses as we forgine them that trespas against vs*, if we perform this later clause accordingly: for *Christ* (say they) did not say *If ye forgine men their trespasses, your heavenly father will forgine you your smal and daily ones, but he said generally, hee will forgine you yours*. Bee they therefore neuer so great, neuer so ordinary, neuer so continual, yet workes of mercy wil wash them al away: wel, they do wel in giuing their aduice, to perform workes of mercy worthy of their sins: for if they should haue said that any workes of mercy may obtain pardon for the greatest and most customary sins, they should bee guilty of much absurdity. for so might the richest man for his (a) ten pence a day, haue a daily quittance for al his fornications, homicides, and other sins whatsoever: But if it be an absurdity beyond comparison to affirm this, then questionles Mat. 23. if we make inquiry what those works are that are worthy of pardon for sin, and wherof *S. Iohn Baptist* spake, saying, *Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of amendmēt of life*, assuredly we shal find that such as itab their owne soules by continuall sin, haue no such works as are meant of in this place: first because they do take violently from others far more then they bestow charitably on the poore, and yet in bestowing a little, they thinke they feed *Christ* (b) and purchase liberty of sinning from him: thus run they carelessly vpon their damnation, who if they should giue away al their whole estate vnto the poore members of *Christ* to redeem one onely sinne, yet if loue that doth no euil did not restrain them from any more such enormities, they should hereby reape no good at all: he therefore that will cleare his

his sins by his works, must begin first at him-self: for it is vnfit to do that to our neighbour which we wil not do to our selfe, Christ himselve saying, *thou shalt loue* Mat. 22.  
Eccl. 30.  
*neighbour as thy selfe*: and againe, *Loue thine owne soule (if thou wilt please God)*  
he therefore that doth not this worke of mercy (that is the pleasing of God) to Eccl. 14.  
his owne soule, how can hee bee said to do workes of mercy sufficient to re- Eccl. 21.  
deeme his sinnes? for it is written, *Hee that is wicked to him-selfe to whome will hee  
bee good? for almesdeedes do lift up the prayers of men to God.* What saith the Scrip-  
tures? *My sonne, hast thou sinned? do so no more, but pray for thy sinnes past, that they  
may bee forgiven thee*, for this cause therefore must wee do almesdeedes, that  
when we pray, our prayer may bee heard, that wee may leaue our former vices,  
and obtayne refreshment for our selues by those workes of mercy. Now Christ  
saith that hee will impute the doing and omission of almesdeedes vnto those of  
the iudgement, to shew how powerfull they are to expiate offences past, not  
to protect the continuers in sinne, for those that will not abiure the courses Mat. 25. 45  
of impiety, cannot bee sayd to performe any workes of mercy. And these  
words of Christ, *In as much as you did it not vnto one of these, you did it not  
vnto me*, imply that they did no such workes as they imagined; for if they  
gaue bread vnto the hungred Christian, as if it were vnto Christ him-selfe;  
for GOD careth not to whome you giue, but with what intent you giue.  
Hee therefore that loueth Christ in his members, giueth almes with intent to  
ioyne him-selfe to Christ, not that hee may haue leaue to leaue him without  
being punished, for the more one loueth what Christ reproveth, the farther Ioh 3  
of doth he depart from Christ, for what profiteth Baptisme vnlesse iustifica-  
tion follow it? doth not hee that sayd, *Vnlesse a man bee borne againe of water  
and of the spirit, hee shall not enter into the Kingdome of GOD*; say also, *vnlesse  
your righteousnesse exceed the righteousnesse of the Scribes and Pharises, yee shall  
not enter into the Kingdome of heauen*? why do men runne to Baptisme for  
feare of the first, and do not draw neare to righteousnesse for feare of the later?  
Therefore as hee that checketh his brothers sinne, in charity, by telling him  
hee is a foole, notwithstanding all this, is not guilty of Hell fire: so, on the  
other side, hee that loueth not Christ in his members, giueth no almes to a  
Christian (as vnto a Christian) though he stretch forth his hand vnto one of  
Christ's poore members: and hee that refuseth to bee iustified in Christ, doth  
not loue Christ in any respect.

But if one call his brother foole, in reprochfull contempt, rather then with  
intent to reforme his imperfection, all the almesdeedes this man can do, will  
neuer benefit him, vnlesse hee bee reconciled to him whome he hath iniured, Mat. 5.  
for it followeth in the same place. *If then thou bringest thy gift vnto the altar,  
and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leaue there thine of-  
fring, and go thy way: first be reconyled to thy brother and then come and offer thy  
gift.* So that it is nothing worth to do workes of mercy to expiate any sinne,  
and yet to continue in the sinne still. As for the *Loras prayer*, it doth indeed blot  
out our dayly sinnes, it being dayly said, *And forgive vs our trespases*, if withall  
the following clause bee not onely said, but performed also. *As wee forgive  
them that trespasse against vs.* But indeed, wee say this prayer because wee do  
sinne, not that wee might sinne, for *Our Saniour* sheweth vs in this, that liue  
wee neuer so carefull of shunning corruption, yet do wee euery day fall into  
some sinnes for the remission of which we ought both to pray, and to pardon  
such as haue offended vs, that wee may be pardoned our selues.



Wherefore Christ saith not this, *If yee forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly father wil also forgive you yours*, to giue hope to any man to perseuer in daily crimes (whether we be borne out by authority, or commit them by sleight and furtlety:) but to instruct vs, that we are not without sinne, though wee may bee without crime, as God aduised the priests in the *Old-Testament* first to offer for their owne sinnes, and then for the peoples. Let vs marke these words of our great Lord and mai-ster with attenticon and diligence. He doth not say, *your heavenly father will forgive you any sinne whatsoeuer*, but, *he will forgive you yours*, for in this place he taught his disciples ( being already iustified ) their daily prayer, what meaneth he then by this same (*yours*) but such sinnes as the righteous themselues cannot be without? wherefore whereas they that would hereby take occasion to continue in sin, affirme that Christ meant the greatest sins, because he said not, *your smaller sinnes*, but *yours in generall*: wee on the contrary side considering vnto whome he spake, do vnderstand his words to concerne small sinnes onely, in that they to whome they were spoken were now cleared of their greater.

Nor are those great sinnes indeed ( which euery one ought to reforme him-selfe, and avoyde ) euer forgien, vnlesse the guilty do fulfill the foresaid clause, *As we forgive them that trespassse against vs*, for if the least sinnes ( where- vnto the righteous them-selues are prone ) cannot bee remitted but vpon that condition, then muchlesse shall the great and Criminous ones haue this pardon, though they that vsed them, do cease ther further practife, if they continue inexorable in forgiuing such as haue offended them, for the Lord saith, *If yee do not forgive men their trespasses, no more will your Heavenly father forgive you your trespasses*. And *Saint James* his words are to the same purpose: *there shall be iudgment mercilesse to him that sheweth no mercy*. Remember but the seruant whome his maister pardoned of a debt of 10000. talents, and yet made him to lie for it afterwards, because he would not forgive his fellow a debt but of an hundred pence. Wherefore in the vessells of mercy; and the sonnes of promise the same Apostles words are truly effected, *mercy reioyceth against ( or above ) iudgement*, for those that liued so holily that they receiued others into the euerlasting habitations, who had made them their friends with the riches of iniquity; they themselues were diliuered by his mercy who iustifieth the sinner by rewarding him according to grace, not according to merit. He that professed this, *I was receiued to mercy ( that I might bee one of the faithfull ) was one of this iustified number*. Indeed such as are receiued by this number into the euerlasting habitations, are not of that merit that they could bee saued without the intercession of the Church triumphant, and therefore in them doth mercy more evidently eleuate it selfe above iudgement. Yet may wee not thinke that euery wicked man ( being without reformation ) can bee admitted thether, though hee haue bene beneficiall to the Saints and afforded them helps from his riches, which whether hee had gotten by sinister meanes, or otherwise, yet are no true riches (but only in the thoughts of iniquity) vnto him, because he knoweth not the true riches wherewith they abound that helpe such as he is into those eternall mansions. Wherefore there must bee a certaine meane in the liues of such mercy that it bee neither so bad, that the almes deeds done vnto those who being made friends to the doers, may helpe them to Heauen be altogether fruitlesse, nor yet so good, that their owne sanctity without the mercies and suffrages of those whom they haue made there friends, can possesse them of so hie a beatitude. Now I haue often wondred that *Virgill* should haue vp this sentence of Christ, *Make you friends of the riches*

Mat. 6.

Luke, 9

of

of iniquity, that they may receiue you into the everlasting habitations. Where vnto this is much like. He that receiveth a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, shall haue a Prophets reward, &c. for this Poet, in describing of the (c) Elysiac fields, which they held the blessed soules to inhabite, doth not onely place those there whose proper merits haue deserued it, but also addeth this: *Quia sui memores alios fecere merendo*, that is, such as respecting their owne future estate, deserued to be remembered by those others. Just as it hee had said, as euery humble Christian faith commonly in commending him selfe to some holy man or other. *Remember me*, and endeoureth to procure this remembrance by desert. But what the meane is here, and what those sinnes are, which hinder a man from heauen, and yet are remitted by the intercession of his holy friends, it is both difficult to finde, and dangerous to determine. I haue sought thus long my selfe, and yet could neuer finde them out. Perhaps they are concealed to stirre vs the rather to auoyde all sinne. For if we knew for what sinnes we might expect the intercession of Saints, our naturall idlenesse would drawe vs on securely in them, and make vs relie so wholly vpon the helpe of others, that wee should neuer seeke to auoyde them by reforming our selues, but trust onely to those our friends whom wee had procured by the vnrighteous *Mammon*: whereas now, although our veniall sinne continue with vs, and in what measure we know not, yet our study to profit by prayer, is both more feruent, and our desire to win vs friends of the Saints, better performed. But both these deliueries, both by our selues and others, tend wholly to keepe vs out of the fire eternall, not to free vs after we once bee in it. For such as interpret that place of scripture: *Some fell in good ground, and brought forth fruite, some thirty-fold, some sixty, some an hundred*; by the Saints, according to the diuersity of their merite, that some should deliuer thirty men, some sixty, some a hundred, neuer the lesse doe suppose that this deliury shall bee at the iudgment, and not after it. By which opinion one obseruing what occasion diuerse tooke to liue in all loosenesse and exorbitance, supposing that by this meanes all men might be saued, is said to giue this witty answer: *Wee ought for this cause rather to liue uprightly to increase the number of the intercessors, least otherwise there should be so few, that euery one might saue his thirty, his sixty, or his hundred, and yet an infinite company might remaine vsaued*: of which, why might not he be one that noursled him selfe in his rash hope of helpe from another? And thus much against those who not contemning the authority of our Scriptures, doe not-with-standing wrest them to euill meanings, following their owne fantasies, and not the holy ghosts true intention. But since we haue giuen them their answer, we must now, (as we promised) giue an end to this present volume.

## L. VIVES.

**H**is (a) *ten pence*] Behold here *Saint Augustine* reckneth ten pence a day for a small almes: but how many haue we now that giue so much? how many potentates see you giue foure pence a day to the poore: nay they thinke much with a peny or two pence. But after the Dice, let Ducates goe by thousands, their fooles and iesters shall haue showers of their beneficence powred vpon them, 'tis a great mans part, an embleame of Noblesse: but aske them a peny for *Christs sake*, and they are either as mute as stones, or grieue at the sight of the gift they part from. Respect of vertue now is low laid. (b) *They purchase*] So you shall haue diuerse, take vp freely they care not where, nor of whom, nor in what fashion; and then breake, turne counterfeite banquerupts, and satisfie their creditours with ten at the hundred, and thinke they haue made a good hand of it, and shall redeeme all with a little almes. *O fooles that thinke thus*

God

*God is taken with pence!* no, it is the minde that hee respecteth, such as is resident onely in honest brettis.

Theeues and villaines haue now and then money good store, and disperse it bountifully. But let no man trust in his wealth, or to purchase heauen with a peece of siluer. (c) *The Elyfian fields* *Seruius* deriues the name from *lovis*, a dissolution of the soule from the body. Where these fields are it is vncertaine. *Plato* placeth them in the firmament, full of all delights that can bee imagined. Others place them in the hollow spheare of the Moone (*Seru.*) where the ayre is pure, and vndisturbed. Of this opinion *Lucane* seemeth to bee. *Phars. 9.* *Pythagoras* also, and *Plato* were of opinion that this part of the ayre was inhabited with *Damones*, *Demi-gods* and *Heroes*. Heare what *Lucane* saith of the spirit of *Pompey*:

————— *Sequitur conuexa tonantis,*  
*Qua niger astriferis conuellit in axibus aen,*  
*Quodq; patet terras inter Iunaeque uentus,*  
*Semidei manes habitant, quos ignea virtus*  
*Innocuos vita patientes etheris imi*  
*Fecit, & aternos animam collegit in ignes.*

————— Vp to that round it hyes,  
 Where the darke ayre doth kisse the spangled skies.  
 For in that region twixt the Moone and vs,  
 The Demi-gods, and spirits generous  
 Of those whom vertuous ardor guided well  
 (On earth) in euer-lasting glory dwell.

*Homer* saith, that the Elyfian fields are in the farthest parts of Spaine, whence the Fauonian winde blowe. Witnesse *Strabo*, who saith also that the Riuer *Limza*, (now called *Liuis*) was whilom called *Lethe*. So doth *Silius* and *Mela* call it: when *Decimus Brutus* lead the Romaine souldiours that way, they were afraide to passe it, lest they should haue forgotten their country, wiues, friends, them-selues and all. The translation of *Strabo* calleth it *Essenea*, but it is an errour. *Silius* saith it runnes amongst the *Graniis*. *Mela*, amongst the *Celtici*. Indecide the *Insula fortunata* (a second Elyfium) are not farre from this part of Spaine.

Finis lib. 21.

THE

# THE CONTENTS OF THE TWO and twentieth booke of the City of God,

1. Of the estate of Angels and of Men.
2. Of the eternall and unchangeable will of God.
3. The promise of the Saints eternall blisse, and the wickedes perpetuall torment.
4. Against the wise-men of the world that hold it impossible for mans body to bee transported up to the dwellings of ioy in heauen.
5. Of the resurrection of the body, beleueed by the whole world, excepting some few.
6. That Ioue made the Romaines desire their founder Romulus, and faith made the Church to loue her Lord and master Christ Iesus.
7. That the beleefe of Christs deity was wrought by Gods power, not mans perswasion.
8. Of the miracles which haue bene, and are as yet wrought, to procure and confirme the worlds beleefe in Christ.
9. That all the miracles done by the Martyrs in the name of Christ, were onely confirmations of that faith, whereby the Martyrs beleueed in Christ.
10. How much honour the Martyres deserue in obtaining miracles for the worship of the true God, in respect of the Demills, whose workes tend all to make men thinke that they are Gods.
11. Against the Piatonists, that oppose the eleuation of the body up to Heauen by arguments of elementary ponderosity.
12. Against the Infidels calumnies, cast out in scorne of the Christians beleefe of the resurrection.
13. Whether Abortiues belong not to the resurrection, if they belong to the dead.
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15. Whether all of the resurrection shall bee of the stature of Christ.
16. What is meant by the confirmation of the Saints vnto the Image of the Sonne of God.
17. Whether that women shall retaine their proper sexe in the resurrection.
18. Of Christ the perfect man, and the Church, his body and fulnesse.
19. That our bodies in the resurrection shall haue no imperfection at all, whar-so-euer they haue had during this life, but shall bee perfect both in quantity and quality.
20. That euery mans body, how euer dispersed heere, shall bee restored him perfect, at the resurrection.
21. What new and spiritmall bodies shall bee giuen vnto the Saints.
22. Of mans miseries drawne vpon him by his first parents, and taken away from him, onely by Christs meritts and gracions goodnesse.
23. Of accidents, seuered from the common estate of man, and peculiar onely to the iust and righteous.
24. Of the goods that God hath bestowed vpon this miserable life of ours.
25. Of the obstinacie of some few in denying the resurrection, which the whole world beleueeth, as it was fore-told.
26. That Porphiries opinion that the blessed soules should haue no bodies, is confuted by Plato him-selfe, who saith that the Creator promised the inferiour Deities, that they should neuer loose their bodies.
27. Contrarieties betweene Plato and Porphyry, wherein if either should yeeld vnto other, both should finde out the truth.
28. What either Plato, Labco or Varro might haue auailed to the true faith of the resurrection, if they had had an harmony in their opinions.
29. Of the quality of the vision, with which the Saints shall see GOD in the world to come.
30. Of the eternall felicity of the City of GOD, and the perpetuall Sabboth.

FINIS.

THE  
**TWVO AND TWVENTITH**  
**BOOKE OF THE CITTIE OF GOD:**

Written by *Saint Augustine* Bishop of *Hippo*,  
 vnto *Marcellinus*.

*Of the estate of Angels and of men.*

CHAP. I.



Luc. 1

HIS present volume, being the last of this whole worke, shall containe a discourse of the eternall beatitude of the *Citty of God*. Which Citty is not called eternall, as if it should continue for the space of so many, or so many thousand ages, and then haue an end, but as it is written in the Ghospell, *Of his kingdome there shall bee none end*. Nor shall this perpetuities preferue the forme by succession, as a Baye tree seemeth to keepe a continuall verdure, though one leafe fall of, and another spring vp; but euery Cittizen therein shall bee immortall, and man shall attaine to that which the Angells haue neuer forgone. This *God* the founder of this *Citty*, will effect: for so hee hath promised, who cannot lye, and who to confirme the rest hath effected part of his promises already.

Hee it is that made the world, with all things sensible and intelligible therein, whose chiefe worke the spirits were, to whome hee gaue an vnderstanding, making them capable of his contemplation, and combining them in one holy and vnitied society, which wee call the *Citty of God*, holy and heauenly, wherein *God* is their life, their nutriment, and their beatitude. Hee gaue a free election also vnto those intellectuall natures, that if they would forsake him, who was their blisse, they should presently bee enthralled in misery. And fore-knowing that certaine of the Angells, proudly presuming that them-selues were sufficient beatitude to them-selues, would forsake him, and all good with him, hee did not abridge them of his power, knowing it a more powerfull thing to make good vse of such as were euill, then to exclude euill for altogether. Nor had there beene any euill at all, but that those spirits (though good, yet mutable) which were formed by the omnipotent and vnchangeable Deitie, procured such euill vnto them-selues by sinne: which very sinne, prooued that their natures were good in them-selues. For if they had not beene so (although inferiour to the maker) their apostacie had not fallen so heauie vpon them. For as blindnesse being a defect, prooueth plainly that the eye was made to see, the excellencie of the eye being heereby made more apparent (for other-wise blindnesse were no defect) so those natures enjoying *G O D*, prooued them-selues to bee created good, in their very fall, and that eternall misery that fell vpon them for forsaking *G O D*, who hath giuen assurance of eternall perseuerance vnto those that stood firme in him, as a fite

reward

reward for their constancy. He also made man, vpright of a free election, earthly, yet worthy of Heauen, if he stuck fast to his Creator, otherwise, to pertake of such misery as sorted with a nature of that kinde: and fore-knowing likewise, that he would break the law that he bound him to, and forsake his Maker, yet did hee not take away his freedome of election, fore-seeing the good vse that hee would make of this euill, by restoring man to his grace by meanes of a man, borne of the condemned seed of man kinde, and by gathering so many vnto this grace as should supply the places of the false Angels, and so preserue ( and perhaps augment ) the number of the heauenly Inhabitants. For euill men do much against the will of God, but yet his wisdom fore-sees that all such actions as seeme to oppose his will, do tend to such ends as hee fore-knew to be good and iust. And therefore, whereas God is said *To change his will*, that is to turne his meeknesse into anger, against some persons, the change in this case is in the persons, and not in him: and they finde him changed in their sufferances, as a fore eye findeth the sun sharp, and being cured, findes it comfortable, whereas this change was in the eie and not in the sun, which keeps his office as he did at first. For Gods operation in the hearts of the obedient, is said to be his will, where-vpon the Apostle saith, *It is God that worketh in you both will and deed.* For euen as that righteousnesse wherein both God him-selfe is righteous, and whereby also a man that is justified of God is such, is termed the righteousnes of God; So also is that law which hee giueth vnto man, called his law, whereas it is rather pertinent vnto man then vnto him. For those were men vnto whom Christ said, *It is written also in your law;* though we read else-where, *The law of his God is in his heart:* and according vnto his wil, which God worketh in man, him-selfe is said to wil it, because he worketh it in others who do will it, as he is said to know that which hee maketh the ignorant to know. For whereas S. Peter saith, *We now knowing God, yea rather being knowne of God* we may not hereby gather that God came but as then to the knowledg of those who hee had predestinate before the foundations of the world, but God as then is said to know that which he made knowne to others. Of this phraze of speach I haue spoken ( I remember ) heretofore. And according vnto this *will*, wherby we say that God willeth that which he maketh others to will, who know not what is to come, hee willeth many things, and yet effecteth them not.

*The promise of the Saints eternall blisse, and the wickeds perpetuall torment.* CHAP. 2.

FOR the Saints doe will many things that are inspired with his *holy will*, and yet are not done by him, as when they pray for any one, it is not hee that causeth this their praier, though he do produce this *will* of praier in them, by his holy spirit. And therefore when the Saints do *will*, and pray according to God, wee may well say that God willeth it and yet worketh it not, as we say hee willeth that him-self, which he maketh others to wil. But according to his *eternall wil*, ioined with his fore-knowledge, therby did he create al that he pleased, in heauen and in earth, and hath wrought al things already, as well future as past or present. But when as the time of manifestation of any thing which God fore-knoweth to come, is not yet come, we say, *It shal be when God wil:* & if both the time be vncertaine, and the thing it selfe, then we say, *It shall be if God will:* not that God shall haue any other will as than, then hee had before, but because that shall bee then effected, which his eternall, vnchanging *will*, had from al eternity ordained.

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*The promise of the Saints eternall blisse, and the wickeds perpetual torment.*

## CHAP. 3.

**V**Vherefore (to omit many wordes) As we see his promise to *Abraham*. In *thy seed shall all nations be blessed*, fulfilled in *Christ*, so shall that be fulfilled hereafter which was promised to the said seed by the Prophet, *The dead shall liue, euen with their bodies shall they rise*. And whereas he saith, *I will create new heauens and a new earth, and the former shall not be remembred, nor come into minde; But be you glad, and reioice in the things I shall create; For behold I will create Hierusalem as a reioicing, and her people as a ioy, &c.* And by another Prophet, *At that time shall thy people be deliuered, every one that shall bee found written in the booke of life, and many that sleepe in the dust of the earth, shall awake, some to euerlasting life, and some to shame and perpetuall contempt: And againe, they shall take the kingdome of the Saintes of the most High, and possesse it for euer, euen for euer and euer.* And by and by after, *His Kingdome is an euerlasting kingdome. &c.* Together with all such places as I eyther put into the twentieth booke, or left vntouched; All these things shall come to passe, and those haue already which the infidels would neuer beleue. For the same **GOD** promised them both, euen hee whome the pagan goddes do tremble before, as *Porphyry* a worthy Phylosopher of theirs confesseth.

Gen. 12.  
Ilay, 26.  
Ilay, 65

Dan. 12.

*Against the wise men of the world that hold it impossible for mans bodie to be transported up to the dwellings of ioy in heauen.* CHAP. 4.

**B**Vt the learned of the world thinke that they oppose this all-conuerting power very strongly, as touching the resurrection, when they vse that place of *Cicero* in his third booke *de repub.* Who hauing affirmed that *Romulus* and *Hercules* were both deified, yet were (a) not their bodies (saith hee) translated into heauen, for nature will allow an earthly body no place but in the earth. This is the wise mans argument, which **GOD** knowes how vaine it is: for admit that wee were all meere spirits, without bodies, dwelling in heauen, and beeing ignorant of all earthly creatures, and it should be told vs, that one day we should be bound in corporal bodies, might we not then vse this obiection to more power, and refuse to beleue that nature would euer suffer an incorporeall substance to bee bound or circumscribed by a corporeall one? Yet is the earth full of vegetable soules, strangely combined with earthly bodies. Why then cannot God that made this creature, transport an earthly body into heauen, as well as he can bring a soule (a purer essence then any celestiaall body) downe from heauen, and inclose it in a forme of earth. Can this little peece of earth include so excellent a nature in it, and liue by it, and cannot heauen entertaine it, nor keepe it in it, seeing that it liueth by an essence more excellent then heauen it selfe is? Indeed this shall not come to passe as yet, because it is not his pleasure who made this that we daily see and so respect not, in a far more admirable manner then that shall be which those wise men beleue not: for why is it not more strange that a most pure and incorporeall soule should be chained to an earthly bodie, then that an earthly bodie should bee lifted vppeto heauen, which is but a body it selfe? Onely because the first wee see daily

in

in our selues, & the second we haue yet neuer seen. But reason wil tel one that it is a more diuine work to ioyne bodies and foules, then to ioyne bodies to bodies though neuer so different in natures, as if ſome be heauenly & the other of earth.

## L V I V E S.

**Y**Es were not (a) their bodies ] But *Romulus* his body was not to bee found, and therefore the vulgar beleued that it was gone vp to heauen. And the Greekes say that *Esculapius* restored *Hercules* his body to the former soundnesse, and so it was taken vp into the skies.

*Of the resurrection of the body, beleued by the whole world excepting some few.* CHAP. 5.

**T**His was once incredible. But now wee see the whole world beleeueth that *Christ's* body is taken vp to heauen. The resurrection of the body, and the ascension vnto blisse is beleued now by all the earth, learned and vnlearned embrace it, only some few reiect it: If it be credible, what fooles are they not to beleue it: if it be not, how incredible a thing is it, that it should be so generally beleued! These two incredible things, to wit the resurrection, and the worldes beleefe thereof, *Our Lord Iesus Christ* (a) promised should come to passe, before Mat. 27. that he had effected either of them. Now one of them (the worldes beleefe of the resurrection) we see is come to passe already; why then should wee dispaire of the other, that this incredible thing which the world beleueth, should come to passe as well as that other? Especially seeing that they are both promised in those scriptures, whereby the world beleued. The maner of which beleefe is more incredible then the rest; That men ignorant in all arts, without Rhetorike, Logike or Grammar, plaine Fishers should be sent by Christ into the sea of this world, onely with the nets of faith, and draw such an innumerable multitude of fishes of al sorts, so much the stranger, in that they took many rare Philosophers. So that this may well bee accounted the third incredible thing, and yet all three are come to passe. It is incredible that Christ should rise againe in the flesh, and carry it vp to heauen with him. It is incredible that the world should beleue this: and it is incredible that this beleefe should bee effected by a small sort of poore, simple, vnlearned men. The first of these our aduersaries beleue not: the second they behold, and cannot tell how it is wrought, if it bee not done by the third. Christ's resurrection and ascension is taught and beleued all the world ouer: if it be incredible, why doth all the world beleue it? If many noble, learned and mighty persons, or men of great sway had said they had seene it, and should haue divulged it abroad, it had bin no maruaile if the world had beleued them, and vnbeleuers should haue bin thought hardly off. But seeing that the world beleueth it from the mouths of a few, meane, obscure and ignorant men, why do not our obstinat aduersaries belieue the whole world which beleued those simple, mean, and vnlearned witnesses, because that the deity it selfe in these poore shapes did work the more effectually, and far more admirably: for their proofs & perswasions lay not in words, but wonders: and such as had not seene Christ risen againe, and ascending, beleued their affirmations thereof, because they confirmed them with miracles: for whereas they spake but one language, or (at the most) but two, before, now of a sodaine, they spake all the tongues of all nations. They cured a man that had bin forty yerres lame, euer from his mothers breasts, only by the very name of *Iesus Christ*. Their handkerchiefs helped diseases; the sicke persons got them-selues laid in the way where they should passe, that they

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might



might haue helpe from their very shadowes, and amongst all these miracles done by the name of *Christ*, they raized some from the dead. If these things be true as they are written, then may al these be added to the three former incredibles: thus do we bring a multitude of incredible effects to perswade our aduersaries but vnto the beleefe of one, namely the resurrection, and yet their horrible obstinacy will not let them see the light: If they belieue not that the Apostles wrought any such things for confirmation of the resurrection of *Christ*, sufficeth then that the whole world beleued them without miracles, which is a miracle as great as any of the rest,

## L. VIVES.

**C** *Hrist* (a) promised ] In the house of *Simon* the leaper, and when he went out his Apostles to preach. *Mat.* 27. and promised that his Gospell should passe throughout the world, and that he would rise againe the third day.

*That Loue made the Romanes despy their founder Romulus, and Faith made the Church to loue hir Lord and maister Christ Iesus.*

## CHAP. 6.

**L**et vs heare what *Tully* saith of the fabulous deity of *Romulus*: it is more admirable in *Romulus* (saith he) that the rest of the deified men liued in the times of ignorance, where there was more scope for fiction, and where the rude vulgar were far more credulous. But *Romulus* we see liued, within (a) this 600. yeares, since which time (and before also) learning hath bin (b) more common, and the ignorance of elder times vtterly abolished. Thus saith *Tully*: and by and by after, Hereby it is euident, that *Homer* was long before *Romulus*, so y<sup>e</sup> in the later times, men grew learned, and fictions were wel neare wholly excluded, whereas antiquity hath giuen credence to some very vnlikely fables: but our moderne ages being more polished, deride and reiect al things that seeme impossible. Thus saith the most learned and eloquent man, that *Romulus* his diuinity was the more admirable, because his times were witty, and kept no place for fabulous assertions. But who beleued this deity, but Rome, as then a litle thing (god knowes) and a yong<sup>e</sup> posterity indeed must needs preferue the traditions of antiquity, euery one suckt superstition from his nurse, whilest, the city grew to such power, that seeming in soueraignty to stand aboue the nations vnder it, shee powred the beleefe of this deity of his, throughout hir conquered Prouinces, that they should as firme *Romulus* to be a god (how-soeuer they thought) least they should scandalize the founder of their Lady and mistresse, in saying other wise of him then error of loue (not loue of error) had induced hir to beleue. Now *Christ* likewise though he founded the *Celestiall City*, yet doth not she thinke him a God for founding of her, but she is rather founded for thinking him to be a God. Rome beeing already built and finished, adored her founder in a temple: but the *Heauenly Hierusalem* placeth *Christ* hir founder in the foundation of hir faith, that hereby shee may bee built and perfited. Loue made Rome beleue that *Romulus* was a god: & the beleefe that *CHRIST* is *GOD*, made his *City* to loue him, So that euen as Rome hadde an obiect for hir loue, which shee was ready to honour with a false beleefe: So the *Citie of GOD* hath an obiect for her sayth which

which shee is euer ready to honour with a true and rightly grounded loue. For as touching Christ, besides those many miracles, the holy Prophets also did teach him to be God, long before his comming: which as the fathers beleueed should come to passe, so that we do now see that they are come to passe. But as touching *Romulus*, wee read that hee built Rome, and raigned in it, not that this was prophesyed before: but as for his deifying, their bookes affirme that it was beleueed, but they shew not how it was effected, for there were no miracles to proue it. The shee Wolfe that fedde the two brethren with her milke, which is held so miraculous, what doth this proue as concerning his deity? If this shee Wolfe were not a strumpet, but a brute beast, yet the accident concerning both the brotheren alike, why was not (*d*) *Remus* deified for company? And who is there that if hee bee forbidden vpon paine of death, to say that *Hercules*, *Romulus*, or such, are deities, had rather loose his life, then leaue to affirme it? What nation would worship *Romulus* as a God, if it were not for feare of Rome? But on the other side, who is hee that can number those that haue suffered death willingly in what forme of cruelty soeuer, rather then deny the deity of Christ? A light and little feare of the Romaine power, compelled diuers inferior citties to honour *Romulus* as a god: but neither feare of power, torment, nor death could hinder an infinite multitude of Martyrs, all the world through, both to beleue and professe that Christ was God. Nor did his Citty, though shee were as then a pilgrime vpon earth, and had huge multitudes within her, euer go about to (*e*) defend her temporall estate against her persecutors, by force, but neglected that, to gaine her place in eternity. Her people were bound, imprisoned, beaten, rackt, burnt, torne, butchered, and yet multiplied. Their fight for life, was the contempt of life for their Saviour. *Tully* in his 3. *De rep.* (Or I am deceiued) argueth that a iust Citty neuer should take armes, but either for her safety or faith. What he means by safety, he sheweth else where. From those paines (saith hee) which the fondest may feele, as pouerty, banishment, stripes, imprisonment or so, do priuate men escape, by the ready dispatch of death. But this death which seemeth to free priuate men from paines, is paine it selfe vnto a citty. For the ayme of a cittyes continuance, should bee eternity. Death therefore is not so naturall to a common wealth as to a priuate man, hee may often times bee driuen to wish for it: but when a citty is destroyed, the whole world seemes (in a manner) to perish with it. Thus saith *Tully* holding the worlds eternity with the *Platonists*. So then hee would haue a citty to take armes for her safety, that is, for her continuance for euer here vpon earth, although her members perish, and renew successiuelly, as the leaues of the Oliue and lawrell trees, and such like as they are: for death (saith hee) may free priuate men from misery, but it is misery it selfe vnto a common-wealth. And therefore it is a questiō whether the *Saguntines* did well, in choosing the destruction of their citty, before the breach of faith with the common-wealth of Rome; an act which all the world commendeth. But I cannot see how they could possibly keepe this rule, that a Citty should not take armes but cyther for her faith or safety. For when these two are ioymtly endangered, that one cannot bee saued without the others losse, one cannot determine which should bee chosen. If the *Saguntines* had chosen to preferue their safety, they had broken their faith: If their faith, then should they lose their safety, as indeed they did. But the safety of the Citty of GOD is such, that it is preferued (or rather purchased) by faith, and fayth beeing once lost, the safetie cannot

possibly but perish also. This cogitation with a firme and patient resolution, crowned so many Martyrs for *Christ*, when as *Romulus* neuer had so much as one man that would die in defence of his deity.

## L V I V E S.

**V** *W* *It* *in* *this* *(a)* *600.* *yeares* ] *Tully* speaketh not this of his owne times, but in the person of *Scipio Africanus* the yonger, and *Laelius*, which *Scipio* liued about 602. yeares after the building of Rome, which was not 600. yeares after the death of *Romulus*. *(b)* *More common* ] For in those times liued *Orpheus*, *Musaeus*, *Linus*, *Philammon*, *Thamyris*, *Orius*, *Demodocus*, *Aristheas*, *Proconnesius*, *Pronesidas* of Athens, *Enculus* of Cyprus, *Phenius* of Ithaca, *Homer*, &c. *(c)* *Otherwise* ] That is in saying, he was but a man, whereas the Romanes held him for a God. *James Passanant* playeth the foole rarely in this place, but it is not worth relating. *(d)* *Why was not Remus* ] Hee had a little Temple vppon Auentine, but it was an obscure one, and rather like an *Heroes* temple then a gods. *(e)* *To defend* ] She might haue repulsed iniuries by force and awed her aduersaries by power, but shee deemed it fitter for such as professed the *Ghospell of Christ*, to suffer, then to offer, to die then to kill, to loose their body rather then the soule.

*That the beleefe of Christes Deity was wrought by Gods power, not mans perswasion.*

## CHAP. 7.

**B** *V* *t* *it* *is* *absurd* *to* *make* *any* *mention* *of* *the* *false* *Deity* *of* *Romulus*, *when* *wee* *speake* *of* *Christ*. *But* *if* *the* *age* *of* *Romulus*, *almost* *600.* *yeares* *before* *Scipio*, *were* *so* *stored* *with* *men* *of* *vnderstanding*, *that* *no* *impossibility* *could* *enter* *their* *beleefe*: *how* *much* *more* *wise* *were* *they*, *600.* *yeares* *after*, *in* *Tullies* *time*, *in* *Tiberius* *his*, *and* *in* *the* *daies* *of* *CHRISTES* *comming*? *So* *that* *his* *resurrection* *and* *ascension* *would* *haue* *beene* *reiected* *as* *fictions* *and* *impossibilities*, *if* *either* *the* *power* *of* *God* *or* *the* *multitude* *of* *miracles* *had* *not* *perswaded* *the* *contrary*, *teaching* *that* *it* *was* *now* *shewne* *in* *Christ*, *and* *hereafter* *to* *be* *shewne* *in* *all* *men* *besides*, *and* *auerring* *it* *strongly* *against* *all* *horrid* *persecutions* *throughout* *the* *whole* *world*, *through* *which* *the* *blood* *of* *the* *Martyrs* *made* *it* *spread* *and* *flourish*. *They* *read* *the* *Prophets*, *observed* *a* *concordance*, *and* *a* *concurrence* *of* *all* *those* *miracles*, *the* *truth* *confirmed* *the* *noueltie*, *beeing* *not* *contrary* *to* *reason*, *so* *that* *at* *the* *last*, *the* *World* *imbraced* *and* *professed* *that* *which* *before* *it* *had* *hated* *and* *persecuted*.

*Of the miracles which hath beene and are as yet wrought to procure and confirme the worlds beleefe in Christ-*

## CHAP. 8.

**B** *V* *t* *how* *commeth* *it* *(say* *they)* *that* *you* *haue* *no* *such* *miracles* *now* *adaies*, *as* *you* *say* *were* *done* *of* *yore*? *I* *might* *answer*, *that* *they* *were* *necessary*, *before* *the* *world* *beleeued*, *to* *induce* *it* *to* *beleue*: *and* *he* *that* *seeketh* *to* *bee* *confirmed* *by* *wonders* *now*, *is* *to* *bee* *wondred* *at* *most* *of* *al* *him* *selfe*: *in* *refusing* *to* *beleue* *what* *al* *the* *world* *beleueth* *besides* *him*. *But* *this* *they* *object*, *implyeth* *that* *they* *beleue* *not* *that* *there* *were* *any* *miracles* *done* *at* *al*? *No*? *why* *then* *is* *Christes* *ascension* *in* *the* *flesh* *so* *generally* *auowed*? *why* *doth* *the* *world* *in* *such* *learned*

ned and circumspect times, beleue such Incredible things, without seeing them confirmed by miracles? were they credible, and therefore beleued? why then do not they them-selues beleue them? Our conclusion is brieft: either this incredible thing which was not seene, was confirmed by other incredibles which were seen, or else this being so credible that it need no miracle to proue it, condemneth their own grosse incredulity, that will not beleue it. This I say to silence fooles: for we cannot deny but that the miraculous *Ascension of Christ* in the flesh was ratified vnto vs. by the power of many other miracles. The Scriptures doe both relate them, and the end where-vnto they tended. They were written to work faith in men, & the faith they wrought hath made them far more famous. They are read to induce the people to beleue, & yet should not be read but that they are beleued: and for miracles, there are some wrought as yet, partly by the Sacraments, partly by the memories and prayers of the Saints, but they are not so famous, nor so glorious as the other; for the Scriptures which were to bee divulged in all places, hath giuen lustre to the first, in the knowledges of all nations, whereas the later are knowne but vnto the citties where they are done, or some parts about them. And generally, there are few that know them there, and many that do not, if the *Citty* be great; & when they relate them to others, they are not beleued so fully, & so absolutely as the other, although they be declared by one christian to another. The miracle that was done at Millayne when I was there, might well become famous, both because the *Citty* was of great largenesse, and likewise for the great concourse of people that came to the Shrine of *Protafius* (a) and of *Geruase*, where the blinde man obtained his sight. The bodies of these two Martyrs lay long vnkown, vntil (b) *Ambrose* the Bishop had notice of them, by a relation in a dreame. But that at Carthage, whence *Innocentius*, one that had bin an aduocate of the neighbor state, receiued his health, was vnkown vnto the most, whereas notwithstanding I was present, and saw it with mine eyes, for he was the man that gaue intertainment vnto mee & my brother *Alipius*, not being Clergy-men as yet, but onley lay christians, and wee dwelt as then in his house: he lay sicke of a many fistulaes bred in his fundament, & those secret parts of the body: the Chyurgions had lanced him, and put him to extreme and bitter paines, whereas notwithstanding they had left one part vntouched which they must perforce make incision into ere they could possibly cure him: but they cured al the rest, only that, being omitted troubled them exceedingly, and made all their applications tend to no purpose. *Innocentius* marking their protraction, and fearing another incision (which a Physitian that dwelt in his house had told him they would be driuen to make, whome they would not suffer to see how they cut him, wher-vpon *Innocentius* had angerly barred him his house, & could scarcely be brought to receiue him again) at last he burst forth, saying, *wil you cut me again? wil it come to his sayings, whom you wil not haue to see your tricks?* But they mocked at the ignorance of the Physitian and bad *Innocentius* be of good cheare, there was no such matter. Well the time passed on, but no helpe of the malady could be seen: the Chyurgions did still promise fayre, that they would cure him by salue & not by incision. Now they had got an old man and a cunning Chyurgion called (c) *Ammonius* to ioin with them, & he viewing the sore, affirmed as much as they; which assurance of his did satisfie *Innocentius* that he him-selue did now begin to gibe and least at his other Physitian that laid hee must bee cutte againe. Well to be brieft, when they had spent some weekes more, they all left him, shewing (to their shame) that hee could not possible bee cured but by incision. This, and

A blinde man recovereth his sight,  
Innocentius,

the excessive feare thereof stricke him immediately beyond his senses, but recollecting of him-selfe he bad them begon, and neuer more come at him, being enforced now by necessity, to send for a cunning Surgeon of Alexandria, one that was held a rare Artift to performe that which his anger would not let the others do. The man comming to him, and (like a worke-man obseruing the worke of the others by the scarrs they had left) like a honest man, aduised him to let them finish the cure who had tane that great paines with it, as hee had with wonder obserued, for true it was, that incision was the onely meanes to cure him, but that it was farre from him to depriue those of the honor of their industry whose paines in the cure hee saw had beene so exceeding great. So the former Surgeons were sent for to performe it, and this Alexandrian must stand by, and see them open the part which was other-wise held to be vncurable. The businesse was put off vntill the next day. But the Surgeons being all departed, the house was so filled with sorrow for the grieft of their maister, that it shewed more-like a preparation for a funerall then any thing else, and was very hardly suppressed. Now he was dayly visited by diuers holy men, and namely by *Saturminus* (of blessed memory) the Bishoppe of viali, and *Gelosus* Priest, and Deacon of the Church of Carthage, as also by Bishop *Aurelius*, who onely is yet liuing of all these three: a man of worthy respect, and one with whome I now and then had conferred about the wonderful workes of God, I haue often taken occasion to speake of this, and found that he remembered it exceeding wel. These men visiting him towards the euening, hee prayed them all to come againe the next day to be spectators of his death, rather then his paines, for his former suffrings had so terrified him, that he made no question but that hee should immediately perish vnder the Surgeons hands. They on the other side bad him bee comforted, trust in God, and beare his will with patience. Then went we to prayers, and kneeling of vs downe, hee threw him-selfe forcibly on his face, as if one had thrust him on, and so began to pray, with such passion of mind, such floods of teares, such grones and sobbes (euen almost to the stopping of his breath) that it is vtterly inexplicable. Whether the rest praied, or marked him, I know not; for my selfe, could not pray a iot, onely I said in my heart, *Lord whose prayers wilt thou heare, if thou heare not his?* for me thought his prayer could not but procure his sute: well we rose, and being blessed by the Bishop, we departed the roome, he in the meane time intreating them to come to him in the morning, and they strengthening his spirit with as good consolations as they could giue him. The feared morning was now come, the holy men came, according to their promises: so did the Surgeons, the terrible Irons were made ready, and all things fit for such a worke, whilest all the company sat silent in a deepe amazement. The chiefe and such as had more authority then the rest, comforted him as well as they could, his body was layd fit for the hand of him that was to cut him, the clothes vntyed, the place bared, the Surgeon veweth it with his knife in his hand ready to lance it, feeling with his fingers where the vlcrous mater should lye: at length, hauing made an absolute triall of all the part that was before affected, hee found the orifice firmly closed, and euery place thereof as sound and as solid as it was first created. Then ioy & prayses vnto God (with teares of comfort) were yeilded on al sides beyond the power my pen hath to describe them. In the same towne, one *Innocentia*, a deuout woman, and one of the chiefe in the citty had a canker on her brest, a kind of sore, which the Surgeons told her is vtterly (d) incurable: wherefore they vse either to cut the infected part away, or for the prolonging of the life (as

*Hypocras*

*Hippocrates* they say doth aduise) to omit all attempt of curing it. This a skillfull Phisician (her familiar friend) told her, so that shee now sought helpe of none but the Lord, who told her in a dreame, that at (e) Easter next (which then drew neare) shee should marke, on the womans side by the fount, what woman shee was that (being then Baptized) should first meete her, and that shee should intreat her to signe the sore with the signe of the crosse. She did it, and was cured. The former Phisician that had wished her to abstaine from all attempt of cure, seeing her afterwards whole and found whome hee knew certainly to haue had that vncurable vlcer before, earnestly desired to know how shee was cured, longing to finde the medicine that had frustrated *Hippocrates his Aphorisme*.

Shee told him: Hee presently with a voyce (as if hee had contemned it, in so much that she feared exceedingly that hee would haue spoken bla(phemy) replied: *Why I thought you would haue told me some strange thing,* (the standing al amazed, John. 21. *why is it so strange,* (quoth hee) *for CHRIST to heale a Canker, that could rayse one to life that had beene foure dayes dead?* When I first heard of this, it greued mee that so great a miracle wrought vpon so great a personage should bee so suppressed, where-vpon I thought it good to giue her a checking admonition thereof, and meeting her and questioning the matter, shee told mee shee had not concealed it, so that I went and enquired of her fellow matrons, who told mee, they neuer heard of it. Behold (sayd I to her, before them) haue you not concealed it, when as your nearest familiars do not know of it? Where-vpon shee fell to relate the whole order of it, vnto their great admiration, and the glorification of GOD. There was also a Phisician, in the same towne, much troubled with the Goute, who hauing giuen vp his name to bee Baptised, the night before hee should receiue this sacrament, in his sleepe was forbidden it by a crue of curled headed *Negro* boyes, which he knew to bee *Deuills*, but hee refusing to obey them, they stamped on his feete, so that they put him to most extreame payne, yet hee keeping his firme resolute, and being Baptised the next day, was freed both from his paine and the cause thereof, so that hee neuer had the Goute in all his daies after. But who knew this man? wee did, and a few of our neighbour brethren, other-wise it had beene vtterly vnkowne.

A Phisician  
sicke of the  
Goute  
Baptised.

One of (f) *Curubis* was by Baptisme freed both from the Palsie, and the excessiue tumor of the Genitories, so that he went from the font as sound a man as euer was borne. Where was this knowne but in *Curubis*, and vnto a few besides? But when I heard of it, I got Bishop *Aurelius* to send him to Carthage, notwithstanding that it was first told mee by men of sufficient credite. *Hesperius*, one that hath beene a Captaine, and liueth at this day by vs, hath a litte Farme, called *Zubedi*, in the liberties of *fussali* which hee hauing obserued (by the harme done to his seruants and cattle) to bee haunted with euill spirits hee entreated one of our Priests, (in mine absence) to go thether and expell them by prayer. One went, prayed, and ministred the Communion, and by GODS mercy the *Deuill* was quit from the place euer after. Now hee had a litte of the earth wherein the Sepulchre of CHRIST standeth, bestowed vpon him by a friend, which hee had hung vp in his Chamber for the better a voydance of those wicked illusions from his owne person.

Hesperius

Now they being expelled, hee knew not what to do with this earth being not willing,

willing, for the reuerence hee bore it, to keepe it any longer in his lodging. So I, and my fellow *Maximus* Bishoppe of Synica, being at the next towne, hee prayd vs to come to his house, wee did, hee told vs all the matter, and requested that this Earth might bee buried some-where, and made a place for prayer, and for the Christians to celebrate Gods seruice in, and it was done accordingly.

*Geruale & Protasius*

Now there was a country youth that was troubled with the Palsie, who hearing of this, desired his Parents to bring him thether: They did so, where hee prayed, and was presently cured. Victoriana is a towne some thirty miles from *Hippo regium*. There is a memoriall of the two Martyres of Millayne. *Geruale* and *Protasius*, and thether they carried a young man who bathing him-selfe in summer, at noone day was possessed with a Deuill. Being brought hether, he lay as one dead, or very neare death: meane while the Lady of the village, (as custome is) entred the place vnto euening prayers, with her maydes and certaine votareffes, and began to sing Psalmes, which sound, made the man start vp as in an afright, and with a terrible rauing hee catched fast hold vpon the Altar, whence hee durst not once moue, but held it as if hee had beene bound to it. Then the Deuill within him began mournefully to cry for mercy, relating how and when hee entred the man, and lastly saying that hee would leaue him: hee named what parts of him hee would spoyle at his departure, and saying these words, departed. But one of the mans eyes fell downe vpon his cheek, and hung onely by a little string, all the puple of it (with is naturally blacke) becomming white, which the people (whome his cries had called: seeing, they fell to helpe him with their prayers: and though they reioyced at the recouery of his wittes, yet sorrowed they for the losse of his eye, and aduised him to get a Surgeon for it. But his sisters husband, who brought him thether, replied, saying, *the GOD that deliuered him from the Diuell, hath power to restore him his eye*; which sayd hee put it into the place as well as hee could, and bound it vp with his napkin: wishing him not to loose it vntill seauen daies were past, which doing, hee found it as sound as euer it was. At this place were many others helped, whome it were to long to rehearse particularly.

I knew a Virgin in Hippon, who was freed from the Diuell, onely by anoynting with oyle mixed with the teares of the Priest that prayed for her. I know a Bishoppe who by prayer dispossessed the Diuell being in a youth that he neuer saw. There was one *Florentius* here of Hippo, a poore and Godly Old man, who getting his liuing by mending of shooes, lost his vpper garment, and being not able to buy another, hee came to the shrine of the twenty Martires and praied aloud vnto them, to helpe him to rayments. A sort of scoffing youthes ouer-heard him, and at his departure, followed him with mockes, asking him if hee had begged fifty (*s*) halfpence of the martirs to buy him a coate withall. But he, going quietly on, spied a great fish, new cast vp by the sea, and yet panting, which fish, by their permission that were by, hee tooke, and caried it to one *Carchofus* a cooke a good Christian, and sold it to him for 300. halfe pence, intending to bestowe this mony vpon woll for his wife to spinne, and make into a garment for him. The Cooke cutting vp the fish, found a ring of gold in his belly, which amazing him, his conscience made him send for the poore man, and giue him the ring, saying to him: behold how the twenty Martyrs haue apparelled you. When Bishop *Proiectus* brought

brought Saint *Steuens* reliques to the Towne called *Aque Tibilitane*, there were a many people flocked together to honour them. Amongst whome there was a blinde woman, who prayed them to lead her to the Bishoppe that bare the holy reliques. So the bishoppe gaue her certaine flowers which hee hadde in his hand, shee tooke them, putte them to her eyes, and presently hadde her sight restored, in so much that shee passed speedily on, before all the rest, as now not needing any more to bee guided. So Bishoppe *Lucillus* bearing the reliques of the sayd Martyr, inshrined in the castle of (*b*) Synice, neare to Hippo, was thereby absolutely cured of a fistula where with hee hadde bene long vexed, and was come to that passe that he euery day expected when the Chyurgion should lance it: but hee was neuer troubled with it after that daie. *Eucherius* a Spanish Priest, that dwelt at Calame, was cured of the stone by the same reliques, which Bishoppe *Pofidius* brough thether, and beeing afterwarde layd out for dead of another disease, by the helpe of the said Martyr (vnto whose shrine they brought him) was restored vnto his former life and soundnesse.

There was one *Martialis* a great man, of good years, but a great foe to **CHRISTE**, who dwelt in this place. This mans daughter was a Christian, and married vnto a Christian. The father beeing very sicke was intreated by them both with praier and teares, to become a Christian, but hee vnterly and angerly refused. So the husband thought it good to go to Saint *Steuens* shrine, and there to pray the **LORD** to send his father in law into a better minde, and to imbrace **CHRISTE IESVS** without further delay. For this hee prayed with great zeale and affect, with showers of teares, and stormes of religious sighes, and then departing, hee tooke some of the flowers from off the Altar, and in the night laid them at his fathers head, who slept well that night, and in the morning, called in all haste for the Bishoppe, who was then at Hippo with me. They tolde him therefore so: hee forth-with sendes for the Priestes, and when they came tolde them presently that hee beleued, and so was immediatly baptized, to the amazement of them all. This man all the time hee liued after, hadde this saying continually in his mouth. **LORD** *Acts. 7. 59.* **IESVS** receiue my spirite: These were his last wordes, though hee knew them not to bee Saint *Steuens*, for hee liued not long after. At this place also were two healed of the Gowte, a cittizen and a stranger: The cittizen knewe by example what to doe to bee ridde of his payne, but the stranger hadde it reuealed vnto him.

There is a place called *Andurus*, where *S. Steuen* hath a part of his body remaining also. A child being in the Street, certaine Oxen that drew a cart, growing vnruely, left the way, and ouer-run the child with the wheel, so that it lay all crushed, and past all hope of life. The mother snatched it vppe, and ran to the shrine with it, where laying it downe, it recouered both life and full strength againe in an instant, beeing absolutely cured of all hurt what-soeuer. Neare this place, at *Caspalia*, dwelt a *Votaresse*, who beeing sicke and past recovery, sent her garment to the shrine, but ere it came backe, shee was dead, yet her parents covered hir with it, which done, she presently reuiued and was as sound as euer. The like happened to one *Bassus*, a Syrian that dwelt at Hippo. Praying for his sicke daughter at Saint *Steuens*, and  
hauiing



hauing her garment with him, worde came by a boy that shee was dead. But as hee was at prayer, his friendes mette the boy, (before hee hadde beene with him) and bad him not to tell him there, least hee went mourning through the streetes. So hee comming home, and finding all in teares, hee layd her garment vpon her, and shee presently reuiued. So like-wise *trenus* his sonne, a Collector, being dead, and readie to go out for buriall, one aduised to anoynt him with some of Saint *Stephens* oyle. They did so, and hee reuiued. *Elusinus* likewise a Caprayne, seeing his sonne dead, tooke him and laid him vpon the shrine that is in his farme in our Suburbes; where after hee had prayed a while, hee found him reuiued? What shall I doe, my promises bindes mee to bee breefe, whereas doubtlesse many that shall read these things, will greue that I haue omitted so many that are knowne both to them and mee.

But I intreat their pardon that they would consider how tedious a taske it is, so that my promised respect of breuity will not allow it. For if I should but beleue all the miracles done by the memorialles of Saint *Stenen*, onely at Calama and Hippo, It should bee a worke of many volumes, and yet not bee perfect neither; I could not relate all, but onely such as are recorded for the knowledge of the people, for that we desire, when wee see our times produce wonders like to those of yore, that they should not be vtterly in vaine, by being lost in forgetfulnesse, and obliuion.

It is not yet two yeares since the shrine was built at Hippo, and although wee our selues doe know many miracles done there since, that are recorded, yet are there almost seauenty volumes written of those that haue beene recorded since that time to this. But at Calama, the shrine is more ancient, the miracles more often, and the bookes farre more in number. At Vzali also, neare Vtica haue many miracles beene wrought by the power of the said Martyr, where Bishoppe *Euodius* erected his memoriall, long before this of ours. But there they didde not vse to record them, though it may bee they haue begunne such a custome of late. For when wee were there, wee aduised *Petronia* (a Noble woman who was cured of an olde disease which all the Physitians had giuen ouer) to haue the order of her miraculous cure drawne in a booke (as the Bishoppe of that place liked) and that it might bee read vnto the people: And shee did accordingly. VVherin was one strange passage, which I cannot omit, though my time will hardly allow me to relate it.

A certaine Iew hadde aduised her to take a ring, with a stone sette in it that is found (*i*) in the reines of an Oxe, and sowe it in a girdle of haire which shee must weare vpon her skinne, vnder all her other rayments. This girdle shee hadde on, when shee sette forth to come to the Martyrs shrine, but hauing left Carthage before, and dwelling at a house of her owne by the Riuer (*k*) Bagrada, as shee rose to go on the rest of her iourney, shee spied the ring lye at her feete: VVhereat wondering, shee felt for her girdle, and finding it tyed, as shee hadde bound it, shee imagined that the ring was broken, and so worne out: But finding it whole, then shee tooke this as a good presage of her future recouery, and loosing her girdle, cast both it and the ring into the Riuer. Now they that will not beleue that *I E S V S C H R I S T E* was borne without interruption of the virginall partes, nor passed into his Apostles when the dores were shutte, neyther will they beleue this.

But

But when they examine it, and finde it true, then let them beleeue the other. The woman is of noble birth, nobly married, and dwelleth at Carthage: so great a Citty, so great a person in the Citty cannot lye vnknowne to any that are inquisitiue. And the Martyr by whose prayer shee was cured beleueed in him that was borne of an eternall virgin, and entred to his Disciples when the doores were shutte: And lastly (where-vnto all hath reference) who ascended into heauen in the flesh, wherein hee rose againe from death: for which faith this Martyr lost his life.

So that wee see there are miracles at this day, wrought by GOD, with what meanes hee liketh best who wrought them of yore: but they are not so famous, nor fastned in the memory by often reading, that they might not bee forgotten. For although wee haue gotten a good custome of late, to read the relations of such as these miracles are wrought vpon, vnto the people, yet perhaps they are read but once, which they that are present doe heare, but no one else: nor doe they that heare them, keepe them long in remembrance, nor will any of them take the paines to relate them to those that haue not heard them. Wee had one miracle wrought amongst vs, so famous, and so worthy, that I thinke not one of *Hippon* but saw it, or knoweth it, and not one that knoweth it that can euer forget it.

There were seauen brethren, and three sisters (borne all of one couple in *(l)* Cæsarea, a city of Cappadocia) their parents were noble; Their father being newly dead, and they giuing their mother some cause of anger, shee laide an heauy *(m)* curse vpon them all, which was so seconded by GODS iudgement, that they were all taken with an horrible trembling of all their whole bodies: which ougly fight they them-selues loathing that their country-men should behold, became vagrant through most parts of the Romaine Empire. Two of them, *Paul* and *Palladia* came to vs, being notified by their miseries in many other places. They came some fiftene dayes before Easter, and euery day they visited *Saint Steuens* shrine, humbly beseeching GOD at length to haue mercy vpon them, and to restore them their former health. Where-so-euer they went, they drew the eyes of all men vpon them, and some that knew how they came so plagued, told it vnto others, that all might know it. Now was Easter day come, and many were come to Church in the morning, amongst whome this *Paul* was one, and had gotten him to the barres that enclosed *Saint Steuens* reliques, and there was praying, hauing holde of the barres: Presently hee fell flatte downe, and laye as if hee had slept, but trembled not as hee had vsed to doe before, euer in his sleepe.

The people were all amazed, some feared, some pittied him, some would haue raised him, and other some say nay, rather expect the euent: presently hee started vp, and rose as sound a man as euer hee was borne. With that, all the Church resounded againe, with lowde acclamations and praises to GOD. And then they came flocking to mee, who was about to come forth to them, euery one telling mee this strange and miraculous euent. I reioyced, and thanked GOD within my selfe: Presently enters the young man, and fallerth downe at my knees, I tooke him vp, and kissed him, so foorth wee went vnto the people, who filled the Church, and did nothing but crye, *GOD bee thanked, GOD bee prayfed*. Euery mouth vttered this: I saluted them, and then the crye redoubled.

At length, silence being made, the Scriptures were read, and when it was Sermon time, I made onely a briefe exhortation to them, according to the time, and that present ioy. For in so great a worke of GOD, I did leaue them to thinke of it them selues, rather then to giue eare to others. The young man dined with vs, and related the whole story of his mother and brethrens misery. The next day, after my Sermon, I told the people that to morrow they should heare the whole order of this miracle read vnto them: which I dooing, made the young-man and his sister stand both vpon the steps that go vp into the chancell, (wherein I had a place aloft, to speake from thence to the people) that the congregation might see them both. So they all viewed them, the brother standing sound and firme, and the sister trembling euery ioynt of her. And they that saw not him, might know *Gods mercy* shewen to him by seeing his sister, and discerning both what to giue thanks for in him, and what to pray for in her. The relation being read, I willed them to depart out of the peoples sight, and began to dispute of the cause of this, when as suddenly there arose another acclamation from about the shrine. They that hearkned vnto mee, left mee, and drew thether, for the maide when shee departed from the steps, went thether to pray, and as soone as shee touched the grate, shee was so wrapt as he was, and so restored to the perfect vse of all her limmes. So while I was asking the reason of this noyse, the people brings her vnto the Quire to mee, being now fully as sound as her brother. And then arose such an exultation, that one would haue thought it should neuer haue end. And the maide was brought thether where shee had stood before. Then the people reioyced that shee was like her brother now, as had lamented that shee was vnlike him before, seeing that the will of the Almighty had preuented their intents to pray for her. This their ioy was so lowdly expressed, that it was able to strike the strongest eare with stupor. And what was in ther hearts that reioyced thus, but the faith of CHRIST, for which *Saint Steuen* shed his blood.

## L. VIVES.

**P**rotasius (a) and Gernase } Sonnes to Vitalis, a Gentleman of Rome, and a Martyr, and Valeria his wife. Fredericke the first translated their bodyes from Millaine to Brisach in Germany. (b) Ambrose } That famous Father of the Church, and Bishop of Millaine. (c) Ammonius } Not that famous Platonist, Origenes maister. (d) Uncurable } Yet Galen and Auicenna teach the cure: marry it must not then bee at the finlesse of the maleuolence, for then it cannot bee rooted out. Celsus reckons three kindes of Canckers. First *Cacoethes*, with a small rooted vlcere, swelling the parts adioyning: the second, with no vlcere at all: the third is called *Thymius*, arising from melancholy burnt by choller. (e) At Easter next } It was a custome as then, betweene Easter and Whitsontide to Baptise persons of discretion, and such as required it. There are many additions in this Chapter (I make no question) foysted in by such as make a practise of deprauing authors of authoritie: some I will cut off, and other some I will but touch at. (f) *Urubis* } A free towne in Africa, nere to Mercury his promontory, beyond Carthage. *Plin. lib. 4. Ptolom.* (g) Halfe-pence } The Latine word is *Pbollis*, which is either a weight, conteining three hundred & twelue pound, and sixe ounces, or it is a kind of tribute, or (when it is vsed in the masculine gender, as it is here) it is the same that *Obolus* is with vs, an half-peny. *Alciat. Hesich de temp. diuis. l. 6. Suidas, &c.* (h) Since } It may be put for Thirissa, a place which *Ptolomy* placeth nere Hippo. Diarrhytus, the same y *Pliny* corruptly calleth

calleth Ticifa, and Tirifa. *lib. 5.* Or perhaps it is Sitifa, for there were such a people in *Mauritania Cesariensis.* (i) Found in the reines } Of this I neuer read. *Pliny* (*lib. 30.*) saith there is a little one in the head of an Ox, which hee casteth out when hee feareth death, and that (if one can get it) it is wonderfull good to further the growth of the teeth, beinge worne about ones neck. But I see no reason why a stone should not grow in an Oxes kidney sooner then in a mans. His heat is more, his bloud and humours farre groser. (k) *Bagrada* } It riseth out of *Mapsar*, a mountaine of *Lybia* the farther, and passing through *Pysick*, falleth into our sea at *Vtica.* *Strabo.* (l) *Cesarea, a City of Cappadocia* } *Cappadocia* is a part of *Asia minor*, bounded on the west with *Galatia* and *Paphlagonia*, on the east with *Armenia* the lesse, and on the north with the *Euxine sea*, it hath the name from the riuer that passeth betweene it and *Galatia*. For it was before called *Leuco Syria*, white Syria, in respect of that Syria by the mount *Taurus*, whose people are of swarty and sunne-burnt complexions, *Strabo.* They were called *Syrians* of *Syrus*, sonne to *Apollo*, and *Sinope*, who gaue the name also to *Sinope* where *Diogenes* the Cynike was borne. *Herodot. Plutarch.*

Now amongst the other citties of *Cappadocia*, there was *Diocæsarea*, *Neocæsarea*, vpon the riuer *Lycus*, and *Cæsarea* by mount *Ægeus*: as witnesseth *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Ptolomy*, and *Ammianus*. This towne (saith *Sextus Rufus*) was called *Cæsarea*, in honor of *Augustus Cæsar*. But *Eusebius* saith that *Tiberius*, hauing expelled *Archelaus*, gaue it this name, whereas it was called *Mazaca* before, as the forenamed authors do affirme. Perhaps he did so in memory of his father *Augustus*. This *Mazaca* was called the mother of the *Cappadocian* citties. *Solinus*, *Martianus Capella.* *Strabo* saith it was called *Eusebia*, and maketh it the *Metropolitane* city of *Cappadocia*. There were excellent horses bred in this liberty, as *Claudian* saith. And *Basil*, that great father, was borne in this towne.

(m) *An heauy curse* } Children ought euer to auoide their parents curses, as ominous, and confirmed by many horrible examples. (n) *Chancell* } The text calleth it *Exedra*, which signifieth a place full of seates, such as the ancient Philosophers disputed in. *Vitru. lib. 5.* But I wonder much that *Vitruuius* saith there were none in Italy, when as *Tully* saith that *Crassus* the Orator, and *Cotta* the Arch-flamine had such, belonging to their houses. But those in Churches, wee doe vsually call the *Quiers*, or *Chancell*, as *Augustine* vseth the word here: and such the Monkes, and Chanons haue in their Cloysters. *Budens in Pandectas.*

That all the myracles done by the Martyrs in the name of CHRIST,  
were onely confirmations of that faith, whereby the  
Martyrs beleued in CHRIST.

#### CHAP. 9.

AND what doth all this multitude of miracles, but confirme that faith which holdeth that CHRIST rose againe in the flesh, and so ascended into heauen? For the Martyrs were all but Martyrs, that is, witnesses of this; and for this, they suffered the malice of the cruell world, which they neuer resisted, but subdued by sufferance. For this faith they dyed, obtraying this of him for whom they dyed. For this, their pacience made the way for the power of these so powerfull miracles to follow. For if this resurrection had not bene past; in CHRIST, or had not bene to come, as CHRIST promised, as well as those Prophets that promised CHRIST; how commeth it that the martyrs that dyed for this beleeve should haue the power to worke such wonders? For whether GOD him-selfe, (who beinge eternall can effect things temporall by such wondrous meanes) hath wrought these things of himselfe, or by his ministers, or by the soules of the martyrs, as if hee wrought by liuing men, or by his Angels ouer whome hee hath an inuisible, vnchangeable, and meereley intellectuall

command, ( so that those things which the Martyrs are said to doe, bee onely wrought by their prayers, and not by their powers ): bee they effected by this meanes, or by that; they doe neuer-the-lesse in euery perticuler, tend onely to confirme that faith which professeth the resurrection of the flesh vnto all eternity.

*How much honor the Martyrs deserue in obtaining miracles for the worship of the true God; in respect of the Deuills, whose workes tend all to make men thinke that they are Gods.*

CHAP. IO.

Exod 8

**B**Vt it may be, here they will say, that they Gods haue also wrought wonders: very well, they must come now to compare their deities with our dead men. Will they say ( thinke you ) that they haue gods that haue beene men, such as *Romulus, Hercules, &c.* Well, but wee make no Gods of our Martyrs, the Martyrs and wee haue both but one *God*, and no more. But the miracles that the Pagans ascribe vnto their Idolds, are no way comparable to the wonders wrought by our Martyrs. But as *Moyse* ouer-threw the enchanter of *Pharao*, so do our martyrs ouer-throw their deuills, who wrought those wonders out of their owne pride, onely to gaine the reputation of Gods. But our Martyrs ( or rather *GOD* him-*selfe* through their prayers ) wrought vnto another end, onely to confirme that faith which excludeth multitude of Gods, and beleeueth but in one. The Pagans built Temples to those Deuills, ordeining Priests and sacrifices for them, as for Gods. But we build our martyrs no temples, but onely erect them monuments, as in memory of men departed, whose spirits are at rest in *God*. Wee erect no altars to sacrifice to them, we offer onely to him who is both their *God* and ours, at which offering those conquerors of the world as men of *God*, haue each one his peculiar commemoration, but no inuocation at all. For the sacrifice is offered vnto *God*, though it be in memory of them, and he that offereth it, is a Priest of the *Lord*, and not of theirs, and the offering is *the body of the Lord*, which is not offered vnto them, because they are that body them-selues. Whose miracles shall wee then beleue? Theirs that would be accounted for Gods by those to whom they shew them; or theirs which tend all to confirme our beleefe in one *GOD*, which is *CHRIST*? Those that would haue their filthiest acts held sacred, or those that will not haue their very vertues held sacred in respect of their owne glories, but referred vnto his glory, who hath imparted such goodnesse vnto them? Let vs beleue them that doe both worke miracles, and teach the truth: for this latter gaue them power to performe the former. A chiefe point of which truth is this. *CHRIST* rose againe in the flesh, and shewed the immortality of the resurrection in his owne body, which hee promised vnto vs in the end of this world, or in the beginning of the next.

*Against the Platonists that oppose the eleuation of the body up to heauen, by arguments of elementary ponderosity.* CHAP. II.

Plat. 93.

**A**Gainst this promise do many (whose thoughts *God* knoweth to be vaine) make opposition out of the nature of elements: *Plato* (their *M<sup>r</sup>*) teaching them that the

two

two most contrary bodies of the world are combined by other two meanes : that is, by ayre, and water. Therefore (say they) earth being lowest, water next, then ayre, and then the heauen, earth cannot possibly bee contained in heauen, euery element hauing his peculiar poise, and tending naturally to his proper place. See with what vaine, weake, and weightlesse arguments mans infirmity opposeth *Gods* omnipotency ! Why then are there so many earthly bodies in the ayre, ayre being the third element from earth ? Cannot he that gaue birds (that are earthly bodyes) fethers, of power to sustaine them in the ayre, giue the like power to glorified and immortall bodies, to possesse the heauen ? Againe, if this reason of theirs were true, all that cannot flie, should liue vnder the earth, as fishes doe in the water. Why then doe not the earthly creatures liue in the water, which is the next element vnto earth, but in the ayre, which is the third ? And seeing they belong to the earth, why doth the next element about the earth presently choake them, and drowne them, and the third feed and nourish them ? Are the elements out of order here now, or are their arguments out of reason ? I will not stand heere to make a rehearfall of what I spake in the thirteene booke, of many terrene substances of great weight, as Lead, Iron, &c. which notwithstanding may haue such a forme giuen it, that it will swimme, and support it selfe vpon the water. And cannot *God almighty* giue the body of man such a forme like-wise that it may ascend, and support it selfe in heauen ? Let them stick to their method of elements (which is all their trust) yet can they not tell what to say to my former assertion. For earth is the lowest element, and then water and ayre successiuelly, and heauen the fourth and highest, but the soule is a fifth essence about them all. *Aristotle* calleth it a fifth (*a*) body, and *Plato* saith it is vtterly incorporeall. If it were the fift in order, then were it about the rest : but being incorporeall, it is much more about all substances corporeall. What doth it then in a lumpe of earth, it being the most subtile, and this the most grosse essence ? It being the most actiue, and this the most vnweeldy ! Cannot the excellencie of it haue power to lift vp this ? Hath the nature of the body power to draw downe a soule from heauen, and shall not the soule haue power to carry the body thither whence it came it selfe ? And now if we should examine the miracles which they parallell with those of our martyrs, wee should finde proofes against themselves out of their owne relations.

One of their greatest ones is that which *Varro* reports of a vestall votaresse, who being suspected of whoredome ; filled a Siue with the water of Tiber and carried it vnto her Iudges, with-out spilling a drop. Who was it that kept the water in the siue, so that not one droppe passed through those thousand holes ? Some *God*, or some *Diuell*, they must needs say. Well, if hee were a *God*, is hee greater then hee that made the world ? if then an inferiour *God*, *Angell*, or *Deuill* had this power to dispose thus of an heauie element, that the very nature of it seemed altered ; cannot then the *Almighty maker of the whole world*, take away the ponderosity of earth, and giue the quickned body an hability to dwell in the same place that the quickning spirit shall elect ? And where-as they place the ayre betweene the fire aboue, and the water beneath, how commeth it that wee often-times finde it betweene water and water, or betweene water and earth ; for what will they make of those watry clouds, betweene which and the sea, the ayre hath an ordinary passage ? What order of the elements doth appoint, that those fouds of raine that fall vpon the earth below the ayre, should first hang in the clouds about the ayre ? And why is ayre in the midst betweene the heauen

Gggg 3

and

and the earth, if it were (as they say) to haue the place betweene the heauens and the waters, as water is betweene it and the earth? And lastly, if the elements bee so disposed as that the two meanes, ayre and water, doe combine the two extremes, fire and earth, heauen being in the highest place, and earth in the lowest, as the worlds foundation, and therefore (say they) impossible to bee in heauen; what doe wee then with fire here vpon earth? for if this order of theirs bee kept inuiolate, then, as earth cannot haue any place in fire, no more should fire haue any in earth: as that which is lowest cannot haue residence aloft, no more should that which is aloft haue residence below. But we see this order renuerfed: We haue fire both on the earth, and in the earth: the mountaine tops giue it vp in abundance, nay more, wee see that fire is produced out of earth, namely of wood, and stones, and what are these but earthly bodies? yea but the elementary fire (say they) is pure, hartlesse, quiet, and eternall: and this of ours, turbulent, smoakie, corrupting, and corruptible. Yet doth it not corrupt nor hurt the hills where-in it burneth perpetually, nor the hollowes within ground, where it worketh most powerfully. It is not like the other indeed, but adapted vnto the conuenient vse of man. But why then may we not belecue that the nature of a corruptible body may bee made incorruptible, and fitte for heauen, as well as we see the elementary fire made corruptible, and fitte for vs? So that these arguments drawne from the sight and qualities of the elements, can no way diminish the power that *Almighty God* hath, to make mans body of a quality fitte and able to inhabite the heauens.

### L. VIVES.

**A** Fifth (a) body] But *Aristotle* frees the soule from all corporeall being, as you may read *De anima, lib. 1.* disputing against *Democritus, Empedocles, Alcmaeon, Plato* and *Xenocrates*. But indeed, *Plato* teaching that the soule was composed of celestially fire taken from the starres, and with-all, that the starres were composed of the elementary bodies, made *Aristotle* thinke (else-where) that it was of an elementary nature as well as the starres whence it was taken. But in this hee mistooke him-selfe and miss-vnderstood his maister. But indeed *Saint Augustine* in this place taketh the opinion of *Aristotle* from *Tully* (for *Aristotles* bookes were rare, and vntranslated as then) who saith that hee held their soule to bee *quintam naturam*, which *Saint Augustine* calleth *quintum corpus*, a fift body, scuerall from the elementary compounds. But indeede it is a question whether *Aristotle* hold the soule to bee corporeall or no, hee is obscure on both sides, though his followers hold that it is absolutely incorporeall, as wee hold generally at this day. And *Tullyes* words were cause both of *Saint Augustines* miss-prision, and like-wise set almost all the Grecians both of this age and the last, against him-selfe, for calling the soule *ψυχή*, whereas they say *Aristotle* calleth it *ψυχή*, that is, *habitus perfecta*, and not *motio perennis*, as *Tullyes* word implieth. But alas, why should *Tully* be so baited for so small an error? O let vs bee ashamed to vpbraide the father of Latine eloquence with any misprision; for his errors are generally more learned then our labours!

*Against the Infidels calumnies, cast out in scorne of the Christians beleefe of the resurrection.*

### CHAP. 12.

**B**Vt in their scrupulous inquiries, touching this point, they come against vs with

with such scoffes as theſe : Whether ſhall the Ab-ortive births haue any part in the reſurrection ? And ſeeing the L O R D ſaith, *there ſhall not one haire of your head periſh*, whether ſhall all men bee of one ſtature and bigneſſe or no ? If they bee, how ſhall the Ab-ortives ( if they riſe againe ) haue that at the reſurrection which they wanted at the firſt ? Or if they doe not riſe againe becauſe they were neuer borne, but caſt out, wee may make the ſame doubt of infants, where ſhall they haue that bigneſſe of body which they wanted when they died ? for they you know are capable of regeneration, and therefore muſt haue their part in the reſurrection. And then theſe Pagans aſke vs, of what height and quantity ſhall mens bodies be then ? If they bee as tall as euer was any man, then both little and many great ones ſhall want that which they wanted here on earth, and whence ſhall they haue it ? But if it bee true that *Saint Paul ſaith, that wee ſhall meete vnto the meafure of the age of the fulneſſe of CHRIST*, and againe if that place, *Hee predeſtinated [ them ] to bee made like to the Image of his Sonne*, imply that all the members of Chriffs Kingdome ſhalbe like him in ſhape and ſtature, then muſt many men ( ſay they ) forgoe part of the ſtature which they had vpon earth. And then where is that great protection of euery haire, if there bee ſuch a diminution made of the ſtature and body. Beſides, wee make a queſtion ( ſay they ) whether man ſhall ariſe withall the haire that euer the Barber cut from his head. If hee doe, who will not loath ſuch an ougly fight ? for ſo likewise muſt it follow that hee haue on all the prings of his nayles. And where is then that comelineſſe, which ought in that Immortality to bee ſo farre exceeding that of this world, while man is in corruption ? But if hee doe not riſe with all his haire, then it is loſt, and where is your ſcriptures then ? Thus they proceed vnto ſarneſſe and leanneſſe. If all bee a like ( ſay they ) then one ſhall bee fatte and another leane. So that ſome muſt looſe fleſh, and ſome muſt gaine : ſome muſt haue what they wanted and ſome muſt leaue what they had. Beſides, as touching the putrefaction, and diſſolution of mens bodies, part going into duſt, part into ayre, part into fire, part into the guttes of beaſts and birds ; part are drowned and diſſolued into water, theſe accidents trouble them much, and make them thinke that ſuch bodies, can neuer gather to fleſh againe. Then paſſe they to deformities, as monſtrous births, miſſe-shapen members, ſcarres and ſuch like, inquiring with scoffes what formes theſe ſhall haue in the reſurrection. For if wee ſay they ſhall bee all taken away, then they come vpon vs with our doctrine that CHRIST aroſe with his woundes vpon him ſtill. But their moſt difficult queſtion of all, is, whoſe fleſh ſhall that mans bee in the reſurrection, which is eaten by another man through compulſion of hunger ? for it is turned into his fleſh that eateth it, and filleth the parts that famine had made hollow, and leane.

Whether therefore, ſhall hee haue it againe that ought it at firſt, or hee that ate it and ſo ought it afterwards ? Theſe doubts are put vnto our reſolutions by the ſcorners of our faith in the reſurrection, and they themſelues doe either eſtate mens ſoules for euer in a ſtate neuer certaine, but now wretched and now bleſſed ( as *Plato* doth ) or elſe with *Porphyry* they affirme that theſe reſolutions doe toſſe the ſoule along time, but notwithstanding haue a ſmall end at laſt, leauing the ſpirit at reſt, but being vtterly ſeparated from the body for euer.



*whether Ab-ortiuues, belong not to the resurrection, if they belong to the dead.* CHAP. 13.

**T**O all which obiections of theirs, I meane by GODS helpe to answer, and first, as touching Ab-ortiuues, which die after they are quick in the mothers wombe, that such shall rise againe, I dare neither affirme nor deny. Yet, if they bee reckned amongst the dead, I see no reason to exclude them from the resurrection. For either all the dead shall not rise againe; and the soules that had no bodies, sauing in the mothers wombe, shall continue bodilesse for euer: or else all soules shall haue their bodies againe, and consequently they whose bodies perished before the time of perfection: Which soeuer of these two, be receiued for truth, that which we will now (by and by) affirme concerning Infants is to be vnderstood of Ab-ortiuues also, if they haue any part in the resurrection.

*whether Infants shall rise againe in the stature that they died in.*

CHAP. 14.

**N**OW as touching infants, I say they shall not rise againe with that littlenesse of bodie in which they died: the sudden and strange power of GOD shall giue them a stature of full growth. For Our Sauours words, *There shall not one haire of our heads perish*, doe onely promise them all that they had before, not excluding an addition of what they had not before. The infant wanted the perfection of his bodies quantity (as euery *(a)* perfect infant wanteth) that is, it was not come to the full height and bignesse, which all are borne to haue, and haue at their birth, potentially (not actually) as all the members of man are potentially in the generatiue sperme, though the child may want some of them (as namely the teeth) when it is borne. In which hability of substance, that which is not apparant vntill afterwards, lieth (as one would say) wound vppe before, from the first originall of the sayd substance. And in this hability, or possibility, the infant may bee sayd to bee tall, or low already, because hee shall prooue such hereafter. Which may secure vs from all losse of body or part of body in the resurrection: for if wee should be made all a like, neuer so tall, or giantlike, yet such as were reduced from a taller stature vnto that, should loose no part of their bodie: for Christ hath sayd *they should not loose an haire*. And as for the meanes of addition, how can that wondrous worke-man of the world want fit substance to ad where he thinketh good?

L. VIVES:

**E**VERY *(a)* perfect infant ] Every thing hath a set quantity which it cannot exceed, and hath a power to attaine to it, from the generatiue causes whereof the thing it selfe is produced: by which power, if it be not hindered, it dilateth it selfe gradually in time, till it come to the fullnesse, where it either resteth, or declineth againe as it grew vppe. This manner of augmentation proceedeth from the qualities that nature hath infused into euery thing, and neither from matter nor forme.

*whether*

*whether all of the resurrection shalbe of the stature of Christ.*

CHAP. 15.

**B**Vt Christ himselfe arose in the same stature wherein hee died: nor may wee say that at the resurrection hee shall put on any other height or quantity, then that wherein he appeared vnto his disciples after hee was risen againe, or become as tall as any man euer was. Now if wee say that all shall bee made equall vnto his stature, then must many that were taller, loose part of their bodies against the expresse wordes of CHRIST. Enery one therefore shall arise in that stature which hee either had at his full mans state, or should haue had, if hee had not died before. As for Saint Pauls words of the measure of the fulnesse of CHRIST, they either imply that all his members as then being ioyned with him their head, should make vp the times consummation, or if they tend to the resurrection, the meaning is that all should arise neither younger, nor elder, but iust of that age whereat CHRIST himself suffered and rose againe. For the learned authors of this world say that about thirty yeares, man is in his full state, and from that time, hee declineth to an age of more grauity and decay: wherefore the Apostle saith not, *vnto the measure of the body, nor vnto the measure of the stature, but, vnto the measure of the age of the fulnesse of CHRIST.*

*What is meant by the conformation of the Saints vnto the Image of the Sonne of GOD.*

CHAP. 16.

**A**Nd whereas he saith that the predestinate shalbe made like to the Image of Rom. 8 the Sonne of GOD, this may be vnderstood of the inward man; for he saith *elsewhere, fashion not your selues like vnto this world, but bee yee changed by the re- Rom. 12 newing of your minde.* So then, when wee are changed from being like the world, wee are made like vnto the Image of the Sonne of God. Besides, wee may take it thus, that as hee was made like vs in mortality, so wee should bee made like him in immortality, and thus it is pertinent to the resurrection. But if that it concerne the forme of our rising againe, then it speaketh (as the other place doth) onely of the age of our bodies, not of their quantities. Wherefore all men shall arise in the stature that they either were of, or should haue beene of in their fulnesse of mans state: although indeed it is no matter what bodies they haue, of old men or of infants, the soule and bodie being both absolute and without all infirmity. So that if any one say that euery man shall rise againe in the same stature wherein hee died; it is not an opinion that requireth much opposition.

*whether that women shall retaine their proper sexe in the resurrection*

CHAP. 17.

**T**Here are some, who out of these words of Saint Paul, *Till wee all meete toge- Eph. 4 ther in the vnitie of faith and knowledge of the Sonne of GOD, vnto a perfect man.* and

and vnto the measure of the age of the fulnesse of IESVS CHRIST, would proue that no woman shall retaine her sexe in the resurrection, but all shall become men: for GOD (say they) made man onely of earth, and woman of man. But I am rather of their minde that hold a resurrection in both sexes. For there shall be none of that lust, which caused mans confusion. For our first parents before their fall, were both naked, and were not ashamed. So at the later day, the sinne shalbe taken away, and yet nature still preserued. The sexe in woman is no corruption, it is naturall, and as then shalbe free both from child-birth, nor shall the female parts be any more powerfull to stirre vp the lusts of the beholders (for all lust shall then be extinguished) but praise and glory shalbe bee giuen to GOD for creating what was not, and for freeing that from corruption which hee had created. For, In the beginning when a rib was taken from Adam being a sleepe, to make *Eue*, this was a plaine prophecy (a) of Christ and the Church. Adams sleepe was CHRIST'S death, from whose side beeing opened with a speare as hee hung vpon the crosse, came bloud and water, the two Sacraments whereby the church is built vp. For the word of the text is not *formauit*, nor *finxit*, but *Edificauit eam in mulierem* hee built her vppe into a woman. So the Apostle calleth the church, *the adification of the body of CHRIST*. The woman therefore was GODS creature as well as man: but made of man, (b) for vnity sake. And in the manner thereof was a plaine figure of Christ and his Church. Hee therefore that made both sexes will raise them both to life. And IESVS himselfe, beeing questioned by the Sadduces, that deny the resurrection, which of the seauen bretheren should haue her to wife at the resurrection whom they had all had before, answered them saying, *Ye are deceiued, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of GOD*. And whereas he might haue sayd (if it had bene so) see whom you inquire of shalbe a man at that day, and not a woman, he sayd no such matter, but onely this, *In the resurrection they neither marry wiues nor wiues, are bestowed in marriage, but are as the Angells of GOD in Heauen*: That is, they are like them in felicity, not in flesh: nor in their resurrection, which the Angells need not, because they cannot die. So that CHRIST doth not deny that there shalbe women at the resurrection, but onely mariage: whereas if there shoul'd haue bene none of the female sexe, hee might haue answered the Sadduces more easily by sauing so: but hee affirmed that there should bee both sexes, in these wordes, *They neither marry wiues*, that is, men doe not, *nor wiues are bestowed in marriage*, that is, women are not. So that there shalbe there both such as vse to marry, and such as vse to be married here in this world.

## L. VIVES.

**P**rophecy (a) of Christ, Ephes. 5. (b) For vnity sake ] That their concord might bee the more, the one knowing that hee brought forth the other, and the other that she came of him. So should man and wife thinke themselues but one thing, nothing should diuide them, and this is the preferuation of peace in their family.

Of CHRIST, the perfect man, and the Church, his body,  
and fulnesse. CHAP. 18.

**N**OW touching Saint Pauls words, *Till wee all meete together &c. vnto a perfect man,*

man, were to obserue the circumstances of the whole speech, which is this. *Hee that descended, is euen the same that ascended, farre above all heauens that hee might fill all things. Hee therefore gaue some to bee Apostles, and some Prophets, and some* <sup>Eph. 4</sup> *Euangelists, and some Pastors and teachers, for the gathering together of the Saints, and for the worke of their ministry and for the edification of the body of CHRIST, till we all meete together in the vniety of faith and knowledge of the Sonne of GOD, vnto a perfect man and vnto the measure of the age of the fulnesse of CHRIST: that we may hence-forth bee no more children, wavering and caried about with euery winde of doctrine, by the deceit of men, and with craftinesse, whereby they lie in waite to deceiue.*

But let vs follow the truth in loue, and in althings growe vppe into him, which is the head, that is, CHRIST, by whome all the bodie beeing coupled and knit together by euery ioynt, for the furniture thereof according to the effectuall power which is in the measure of euery part, receiueth increase of the body vnto the edifying of it selfe in loue. Behold heere the perfect man, head and bodie, consisting of all members; which shalbe comp'ete in due time. But as yet the bodie increaseth daily in members, as the church enlargeth, to which it is sayd, *ye are the bodie* <sup>I Cor 12</sup> *of CHRIST, and members for your part: and againe; for his bodies sake, which is* <sup>Coloss. 1</sup> *the Church: and in another place: For wee beeing many, are one bread, and one body.* <sup>Ephel. 4</sup> Of the edification whereof you heare what Saint Paul saith heere: *for the gathering together of the Saints, and for the worke of the ministry, and for the edification of the bodie of CHRIST.* And then hee addeth that which all this concerneth: *Till wee all meete together &c. vnto the measure of the age of the fulnesse of Christ.* Which measure, vnto what bodie it pertaineth, hee sheweth, saying, *Let vs in all things growe vppe into him which is the head, that is CHRIST, by whome all the bodie &c.*

So that both the measure of the whole bodie, and of each part therein, is this measure of fulnesse whereof the Apostle speaketh here, and also else-where, saying of Christ, *Hee hath giuen him to bee the head ouer all the Church which is his bodie, his fulnesse, who filleth all in all.* But if this belong to the forme of the resurrection, why may wee not imagine woman to be included by man, as in that place, *Blessed is the man that feareth the LORD,* giueh the same blessing also to such women as feare him.

*That our bodies in the resurrection shall haue no imperfection  
at all, whatsoeuer they haue had during this life, but  
shall be perfect both in quantity and quality.*

#### CHAP. 19.

**N**OW what shall I say concerning mans haire, and nayles? vnderstand but that then no part of body shall perish, yet so as no deformity shall abide, and it includeth, that such parts as doe procure those deformities shalbe resident only in the whole lump, not vpon any part where they may offend the eye. As for example, make a pot of clay; marre it, and make it againe: it is not necessary that the clay which was in the handle before should bee in the handle now againe, and so of the bottome and the parts: sufficeth that it is the same clay it was before.

Wherefore

Luc. 12

Wherefore the cut haire, and nayles, shall not returne to deforme their places, yet shall they not perrish (if they returne) but haue their congruent places in the same flesh from whence they had their being. Although that our Sauours words may rather bee vnderstood of the number of our haire, then the length, wherevpon hee saith else-where, *All the haire of your head are numbered.* I say not this to imply that any essentiall part of the body shall perish, but that which ariseth out of deformity, and sheweth the wretched estate of mortality, shall so returne that the substance shall bee there, and the deformity gone. For if a statuary hauing for some purpose made a deformed statue, can mold, or cast it new and comely, with the same substance of matter, and yet without all the former misshapenednesse; neither cutting away any of the exorbitant parts that deformed the whole, nor vsing any other meanes but onely the new casting of his mettall, or molding of his matter; what shall wee thinke of the Almighty Molder of the whole world? Cannot hee then take away mens deformities of body, common or extraordinary (being onely notes of our present misery, and farre excluded from our future blisse) as well as a common statuary can reforme a misshapen statue of stone, wood, clay or mettall? Wherefore the fatte, or the leane neede neuer feare to bee such hereafter, as if they could choose, they would not be now.

Gen. 19

For all bodily beauty, (a) is a good congruence in the members, ioyned with a pleasing collour. And where that is not, there is euer-more dislike, either by reason of superfluity, or defect. Wherefore there shall be no cause of dislike through incongruence of parts, where the deformed ones are reformed, the defects supplied, and the excesses fitly proportioned. And for collour, how glorious will it bee! *The iust shall shine as the Sunne in the Kingdome of their Father.* And this lustre was rather hidden from the Apostles eyes at CHRISTs resurrection, then wanting in his bodie. For mans weake eyes could not haue endured it, and CHRIST was rather to make them to know him then to shew them his glory, as hee manifested by letting them touch his woundes, by eating, and drinking with them, which hee did not for any neede of meate or sustenance, but because hee had power to doe it. And when a things is present thus, and not scene, with other things that are present and scene (as this glory was, vnscene, being with his person, which was scene) this in greeke, is called *ἀσπασία*, the Latines translate it in Genesis, *caecitas*, blindnesse. The Sodomites were smitten with it, when they sought *Lots* dore, and could not finde it. But if it had bene direct blindnesse, they would rather haue sought for guides to lead them home, then for this dore which they could not finde.

## L. VIVES.

**B**Eauty (a) is] So sayth *Tully Tusculan. quest. 3.* who maketh beauty of two sorts: one, wherein dignity excelleth, another wherein comelinesse. *Aristotle* giueth euery part of mans life a severall beauty. *Rhetoric. 1.*

That

*That euery mans body, how euer disperfed here, shall bee  
restored him perfect, at the Resurrection.*

## CHAP. 20.

**O**ur loue vnto the Martyrs is of that nature that wee desire to behold the  
scarres of their wounds (borne for the name of Christ) euen in their glori-  
fication, and perhaps so wee shall. For they will not deforme, but grace them  
as then, and giue out a lustre of their vertue, not bodily, albeit in the body. But  
if any of them lost any member for his Saviour, surely hee shall not want that  
in the resurrection; for vnto such was it sayd, *not an haire of your heads shall* Luck. 21  
*perish.*

But if CHRIST'S pleasure bee to make their scarres apparant in the  
world to come, then shall those members also that were cut off haue visible  
markes in the place whence they were cut, and where they are reioyned, for al-  
though all their miserable hurts shall not bee their visible, yet their shall be  
some, which neuertheless shall be no more called hurts, but honours. And farre  
bee it from vs to thinke (a) GOD'S power insufficient to recollect and vnite eu-  
ery *atome* of the bodie, were it burnt, or torne by beasts, or fallen to dust, or  
dissolued into moysture, or exhaled into ayre. GOD forbid that any corner  
of nature (though it may bee vnknowne to vs) should lie hid from the eye and  
power of the almighty. (b) Tully (their great author) going about to define  
GOD, as well as hee could; affirmed him to be. *Mens soluta & libera, secreta  
ab omni concretionem mortali, omnia sentiens & mouens ipsaq; motu predicta sempiterno.*  
A free and vnbounded intellect, separate from all mortall composition, moou-  
ing and knowing althings and moouing eternally in himselfe. This hee found  
in the great Philosophers. Now then to come vp to them, what can lie hid from  
him that knoweth all? what can auoide his power that mooueth all? And now  
may wee answere the doubt that seemeth most difficult: that is, whose flesh  
shall that mans bee at the resurrection, which another man eateth? (c) Anci-  
ent stories, and late experience haue lamentably enformed vs, that this hath  
often come to passe that one man hath eaten another: in which case none will  
say that all the flesh went quite through the body, and none was turned into  
nutriment: the meager places becomming by this onely meate, more full and  
fleshy doe prooue the contrary. Now then my premises shall serue to resolu-  
e this Ambiguity.

The flesh of the famished man that hunger consumed, is exhaled into ayre,  
and thence (as wee sayd before) the Creator can fetch it againe. This flesh  
therefore of the man that was eaten, shall returne to the first owner, of whome  
the famished man doth but as it were borrow it, and so must repay it againe.  
And that of his owne which famine dried vppe into ayre, shall be recollecte,  
and restored into some conuenient place of his body, which were it so consu-  
med that no part thereof remained in nature, yet GOD could fetch it a-  
gaine at an instant, and when hee would himselfe. But seeing that the ve-  
rie heires of our head are secured vs, it were absurd to imagine that famine should  
haue the power to deprive vs of so much of our flesh.

These things beeing duely considered, this is the summe of all, that in the  
Resurrection euery man shall arise with the same bodie that hee had, or should

Hhhh

haue

haue had in his fullest growth, in all comeliness, and without deformity of any the least member. To preferue with comeliness, if some what bee taken from any vnshapely part, and decently disposed of amongst the rest (that it bee not lost, and withall, that the congruence bee obserued) wee may without absurdity beleue that there may be some addition vnto the stature of the bodie; the inconuenience that was visible in one part, beeing inuisibly distributed (and so annihilated) amongst the rest. If any one avow precisely that euery man shall arise in the proper stature of his growth which hee had when hee died, wee do not oppose it, so that hee grant vnto an viter abolishing of all deformity, dulnesse and corruptibility of the sayd forme and stature, as things that befit not that Kingdome, wherein the sonnes of promise shalbe equall to the Angells of GOD, if not in their bodies, nor ages, yet in absolute perfection and beatitude.

### L. VIVES.

**T**O thinke (a) Gods power] The Gouvernor of a family (if hee bee wise and diligent) knowes at an instant where to fetch any thinke in his house, be his roomes neuer so large, and many; and shall we thinke that GOD cannot doe the like in the world, vnto whole wisdom it is but a very casket? (b) Tully] *Tusc. quæst. lib. 1.* (c) *Ancient stories*] Many Cities in strait sieges haue bene driuen to this. There is also a people, called *Anthropophagi*, or Caniballs, that liue vpon mans flesh.

*What new and spirituall bodies shalbe  
giuen vnto the Saints.*

### CHAP. 21.

**E**Very part therefore of the bodies, perishing either in death, or after it, in the graue, or wherefoeuer, shalbe restored, renewed, and of a naturall, and corruptible bodie, it shall become immortall, spirituall and incorruptible. Bee it all made into pouder, and dust, by chance, or cruelty, or dissolved into ayre, or water, so that no part remaine vndilpersed, yet shall it not, yet can it not, bee kept hidden from the omnipotency of the Creator, who will not haue one haire of the head to perish. Thus shall the spirituall flesh become subiect to the spirit, yet shall it bee flesh still, as the carnall spirit before was subiect to the flesh, and yet a spirit still.

A prooue of which, wee haue in the deformity of our penall estate. For they were carnall in respect of the spirit indeede, (not meere of the flesh) to whom Saint Paul sayd, *I could not speake vnto you as vnto spirituall men, but as vnto carnall.* So man in this life is called *spirituall*, though hee bee *carnall* still, and haue a lawe in his members, rebelling against the law of his minde. But hee shalbe spirituall in bodie, when hee riseth againe, *so that it is sowne a naturall bodie, but raised a spirituall bodie*, as the sayd Apostle sayth. But of the measure of this spirituall grace, what and how great it shalbe in the bodie, I feare to determine: for it were rashnesse to goe about it.

But

But seeing wee may not conceale the ioy of our hope for the glorifying of GOD, and seeing that it was sayd from the very bowells of diuine rapture, *Oh LORD, I haue loued the habitation of thine house!* wee may by GODS helpe, Psal. 26. 8 make a coniecture from the goods imparted to vs in this transitory life, how great the glories shalbe that wee shall receiue in the other, which as yet wee neither haue tried, nor can any way truly describe. I omit mans estate before his fall; our first parents happinesse in the fertile Paradise, which was so short, that their progeny had no taste of it. Who is hee that can expresse the boundlesse mercies of GOD shewen vnto mankinde, euen in this life that wee all trie, and wherein we suffer temptations, or rather a continuall temptation (be wee neuer so vigilant) all the time that we enjoy it?

*Of mans miseries, drawne vpon him by his first parents, and taken away from him onely by CHRIST S merites, and gracious goodnesse.*

CHAP. 22.

Concerning mans first originall, our present life (if such a miserable estate bee to bee called a life) doth sufficiently prooue that all his progeny was condemned in him. What else doth that horred gulfe of ignorance confirme, whence all error hath birth, and wherein all the sonnes of *Adam* are so deeply drenched, that none can bee freed without toyle, feare and sorrow? what else doth our loue of vanities affirme, whence there ariseth such a tempest of cares, sorrowes, repinings, feares, madde exultations, discords, altercations, warres, treasons, furies, hates, deceipts, flatteries, thefts, rapines, periuries, pride, ambition, enuy, murder, parricide, cruelty, villany, luxury, impudence, vnchastnesse, fornications, adulteries, incests, feuerall sorts of sinnes against nature, (beastly euen to bee named) sacriledge, heresie, blasphemy, oppression, calumnies, circumuentions, counsages, false witnesses, false iudgements, violence, robberies, and such like, out of my remembrance to reckon, but not excluded from the life of man? All these euills are belonging to man, and arise out of the roote of that error and peruerse affection which euery Sonne of *Adam* brings into the world with him. For who knoweth not in what a mist of ignorance (as wee see in infantes) and with what a crue of vaine desires (as wee see in boies) all man-kinde entreth this world? so that (a) might hee bee left vnto his owne election, hee would fall into most of the fore-sayd mischiues.

But the hand of GOD bearing a raine vpon our condemned soules, and powring our his mercies vpon vs (*not shutting them vppe in displeasure*) law, and instruction were reuealed vnto the capacity of man, to awake vs out of those lethargies of ignorance, and to withstand those former incursions, which notwithstanding is not done without great toyle and trouble. For what imply those feares whereby wee keepe little children in order? what doe teachers, rods, *ferulaes*, thongs, and such like, but confirme this? And that discipline of the scriptures that sayth that our sonnes must bee beaten on the sides whilest they are children, least they waxe stubborne, and either past, or very neere past reformation? What is the end of all these, but to abolish ignorance, and to bridle

Hhhh a

corruption



corruption both which we come wrapped into the world withall ? what is our labour to remember things, our labour to learne, and our ignorance without this labour ; our agility got by toyle, and our dulnesse if wee neglect it ? doth not all declare the promptnesse of our nature (in it selfe) vnto all viciousnesse, and the care that must bee had in reclayming it ? Sloath, dulnesse, and negligence, are all vices that avoide labour, and yet labour it selfe is but a profitable paine.

But to omit the paines that enforce childeren to learne the (scarcely vsfull) bookes that please their parents, how huge a band of paines attend the firmer state of man, and bee not peculiarly inflicted on the wicked, but generallie impendent ouer vs all, through our common estate in misery ? who can recount them, who can conceiue them ? What feares, what calamities doth the losse of childeren, of goods, or of credite, the false dealing of others, false suspect, open violence, and all other mischieues inflicted by others, heape vpon the heart of man ? beeing generally accompanied with pouerty, imprisonment, bandes, banishments, tortures, losse of limmes or sences, prostitution to beastly lust, and other such horred euent ? So are wee afflicted on the other side with chances *ab externo*, with cold, heate, stormes, shoures, deluges, lightning, thunder, earthquakes, falls of houses, furie of beasts, poisons of ayres, waters, plants, and beasts of a thousand sorts, stinging of serpents, byring of madde dogges, a strange accident, wherein a beast most sociable and familiar with man, shall sometimes become more to bee feared then a Lion or a Dragon, infecting him whom hee biteth, with such a furious madnesse, that hee is to bee feared of his family worse then any wilde beast ? what misery doe Navigators now and then endure ? or traouellers by land ? what man can walke any where free from sudden accidents ? (b) One coming home from the court, (beeing so and enough of his feete) fell downe, broke his legge, and died of it, who would haue thought this that had seene him sitting in the court ? *Helz* the Priest, fell from his chaire where hee fate and brake his neck. What feares are husband-men, yea all men subiect vnto, that the fruites should bee hurt by the heauens, or earth or caterpillers, or locusts or such other pernicious things ? yet when they haue gathered them and layd them vp, they are secured: notwithstanding I haue knowne granaries full of corne borne quite away with an invndation.

Who can bee secured by his owne innocency against the innumerable incursions of the deuills, when as wee see that they doe some-times afflict little baptized infants (who are as innocent as can bee) and (by the permission of GOD) euen vpon their harmelesse bodies, doe shew the miseries of this life, and excite vs all to labour for the blisse of the other ? Besides, mans body wee see how subiect it is to (c) diseases, more then phisick can either cure or comprehend. And in most of these, we see how offensiu the very medicines are that cure them, nay euen our very meate we eate, during the time of the maladies domination. Hath not extremity of heate made man to drinke his owne vrine, and others too ? Hath not hunger enforced man to eate man, and to kill one another to make meate of ; yea euen the mother to massacre and deuowre her owne child ? Nay is not our very (d) sleepe (which wee tearme rest) some-times so fraught with disquiet, that it disturbs the soule, and all her powers at once, by obiecting such horred terrours to the phantasie, and with such an expression, that shee cannot discern them from true terrours ? This is ordinary in some diseases : besides that the deceitfull fiends some-times will, so delude the

the eye of a sound man with such apparitions, that although they make no farther impression into him, yet they perswade the sence that they are truly so as they seeme, and the devills desire is euer to deceiue. From all these miserable engagements, (representing a kinde of direct hell) wee are not freed but by the grace of *IESVS CHRIST*, For this is his name; *IESVS IS A SAVIOUR*, and he it is that will saue vs from a worse life, or rather a perpetuall death, after this life: for although wee haue many and great comforts by the Saints in this life, yet the benefits hereof are not giuen at euery ones request, least wee should apply our faith vnto those transitory respects, whereas it rather concerneth the purchase of a life which shalbe absolutely free from all inconuenience. And the more faithfull that one is in this life, the greater confirmation hath hee from grace, to endure those miseries without saynting, where-vnto the Paynin authors referre their true Philosophy, which their Gods, (e) as *Tully* saith, reuealed vnto some few of them (f) *There was neuer* (saith hee) *nor could there bee a greater gift giuen vnto man, then this.* Thus our aduersaries are faine to confesse that true Philosophy is a diuine gift: which beeing (as they confesse) the onely helpe against our humane miseries, and comming from aboue, hencethen it appeareth that all mankinde was condemned to suffer miseries. But as they confesse that this helpe was the greatest gift that *GOD* euer gaue, so doe wee avow and beleeue, that it was giuen by no other God but he to whom euen the worshippers of many gods, giue the preheminance.

## L. VIVES.

**M**<sup>[ght (a) hee bee left]</sup> There was neuer wild beast more vnruly then man would bee, if education and discipline did not repress him: hee would make all his reason serue to compasse his appetites, and become as brutish and fond as the very brutest beast of all (b) *Of comming*] Of such accidents as this read *Pliny lib. 7. cap. 4.* and *Valer. Max. lib. 9.* (c) *Diseases*] As the poxe, (call them French, Neapolitane, Spanish, or what you will, they are indeed, Indian, and came from thence hether. Childeren are borne with them, in the Spanish Indies.) or the pestilent sweare that killeth so quickly: the ancient writers neuer mention these. Such another strange disease a Nobleman lay sicke of at Bruges, when I was there, the Emperor *Charles* beeing as then in the towne, *John Martin Poblatis* told mee that hee had neuer read of the like, and yet I will auouch his theory in phisicke so exact, that either the ancient phisitions neuer wrote of it, or if they did, their bookes are lost and perished. (d) *Sleepe*] So *Dido* complayneth to her sister of her frightfull dreames. *Urg. Aeneid.* (e) *As Tully saith*] But where, I cannot finde, vnlesse it bee in his *5. de finibus.* (f) *There was neuer*] The words of *Plato* in his *Timaeus* translated by *Tully* towards the end of the dialogue. *Tully* hath it also in his fifth *de Legib.*

*Of accidents, severed from the common estate of man,  
and peculiar onely to the iust and righteous.*

## CHAP. 23.

**B**ESIDES those calamities that lie generally vpon all, the righteous haue a peculiar labour, to resist vice, and be continually in combat with dangerous temptations. The flesh is some-times furious, some-times remisse, but alwaies rebellious against the spirit, and the spirit hath the same sorts of conflict against the

flesh : so that wee cannot doe as wee would , or expell all concupiscence, but wee striue (by the helpe of GOD) to suppress it by not consenting, and to curbe it as well as we can, by a continuall vigilance : least we should bee deceiued by likelihoods, or subtleties, or involued in errors, least wee should take good for euill and euill for good , least feare should hold vs from what wee should doe, and desire entice to vs do what we should not : least the sunne should set vpon our anger: least enmity should make vs returne mischiese for mischiese ; least ingratitude should make vs forget our benefactors ; least euill reports should molest our good conscience; least our rash suspect of others should deceiue vs, or others false suspect of vs, deiect vs : least sinne should bring our bodies to obey it : least our members should bee giuen vppe as weapons to sinne : least our eye should follow our appetite : least desire of reuenge should draw vs to inconuenience: least our sight or our thought should stay too long vpon a sinfull delight : least we should giue willing eare to euill and vndecent talke : least our lust should become our law : and least that wee our selues in this dangerous conflict should either hope to winne the victory by our owne strength, or hauing gotten it, should giue the glory to our selues, and not to his grace of whom Saint Paul saith: *Thanks bee vnto GOD, who hath giuen vs victory through our Lord Iesus Christ: and else-where : In all these things we are more then conqueror through him that loued vs.*

1. Cor. 15  
Rom. 8. 37

But yet wee are to know this , that stand wee neuer so strong against sinne, or subdue it neuer so much : yet as long as wee are mortall, wee haue cause euery day to say, *Forgiue vs our trespasses.* But when wee ascend into that Kingdome where immortality dwelleth, wee shall neither haue warres wherein to fight, nor trespasses to pray for, nor had not had any heere below, if our natures had kept the guifts of their first creation. And therefore these conflicts, wherein wee are endangered, and whence we desire ( by a finall victory) freedome, are part of those miseries where-with the life of man is continually molested.

*Of the goods that GOD hath bestowed vpon this  
miserable life of ours.*

CHAP. 24.

**N**OW let vs see what goods the Great Creator hath bestowed in his mercy vpon this life of ours made miserable by his iustice. The first was that blessing before our Parents fall, *Increase and multiply, fill the earth, &c.* And this hee reuoked not, for all that they sinned, but left the guift of fruitfulnessse to their condemned off-spring : nor could their crime abolish that power of the ( seede-producing ) seed inherent, and as it were wouen vppe in the bodies of man and woman : vnto which neuerthelesse death was annexed, so that in one and the same current ( as it were ) of man-kinde, ranne both the euill merited by the parent, and the good, bestowed by the creator. In which originall euill, lieth sinne, and punishment : and in which originall good, lieth propagation, and conformation or information. But of those euills, the one whereof (sinne) came from our owne audaciousnesse, and the other, (punishment) from the iudgement of GOD, we haue sayd sufficient already.

This

This place is for the goods which GOD hath giuen, and doth still giue to the condemned state of man. In which condemnation of his GOD tooke not all from him that he had giuen him, (for so hee should haue ceased to haue had any being) nor did hee resigne his power ouer him, when hee gaue him thrall to the Deuill, for the Deuill him-selfe is his thrall, he is cause of his subsistence, he that is onely and absolutely essentiall, and giueth all things essence vnder him, gaue the Deuill his being also.

Of these two goods therefore which wee sayd that his Almighty goodnesse had allowed our nature (how euer depraued, and cursed) hee gaue the first (propagation) as a blessing in the beginning of his workes from which hee rested the seauenth day. The second, (conformation) hee giueth as yet, vnto euery worke which hee as yet effecteth. For if hee should but with-hold his efficient power from the creatures of the earth, they could neither increase to any further perfection, nor continue in the state wherein hee should leaue them. So then GOD creating man, gaue him a power to propagate others, and to allow them a power of propagation also, yet no necessity, for that GOD can depriue them of it, whome hee pleaseth: but it was his giuft vnto the first parents of man-kinde, and hee hauing once giuen; hath not taken it any more away from all man-kinde.

But although sinne did not abolish this propagation, yet it made it farre lesse then it had beene if sinne had not beene. *For man being in honour, understood not, and so was compared vnto beasts, begetting such like as him-selfe:* yet hath hee a little sparke left him of that reason whereby hee was like the image of GOD. Now if this propagation wanted conformation, nature could keepe no forme nor similitude in her seuerall productions. For if man and woman had not had copulation, and that GOD neuer-the-lesse would haue filled the earth with men, as hee made *Adam*, with-out generation of man or woman, so could hee haue made all the rest. But man and woman coupling, cannot beget vnlesse hee create. For as *Saint Paul* saith in a spirituall sence, touching mans conformation in righteousnesse: *Nesther is hee that planteth, anything, nor hee that watereth, but GOD that giueth the increase:* so may wee say heere; Neyther is hee that soweth any thing; nor shee that conceiueth, but GOD that giueth the forme. Psal. 49.  
I. Cor. 3.

It is his dayly worke that the seed vnfoldeth it selfe out of a secret clew as it were, and brings the potentiall formes into such actuall *decorum*. It is hee that maketh that strange combination of a nature incorporeall (the ruler) and a nature corporeall (the subiect) by which the whole becommeth a liuing creature. A worke so admirable, that it is able to amaze the minde, and force praise to the Creator from it, being obserued not onely in man, whose reason giueth him excellence aboue all other creatures, but euen in the least flye that is, one may behold this wondrous and stupendious combination. It is hee that hath giuen mans spirit an apprehension (which seemeth, together with reason, to lye dead in an infant, vntill yeares bring it to vse) where-by hee hath a power to conceiue knowledge, discipline, and all habites of truth and good quality, and by which he may extract the vnderstanding of all the vertues, of prudence, iustice, fortitude, and temperance, to be thereby the better armed against viciousnesse, and incited to subdue them by the contemplation of that high and vnchangeable goodnesse: which height, although it doe not attaine vnto, yet who can sufficiently declare how great a good it is, and how wonderfull a worke

of the Highest, beeing considered in other respects? for besides the disciplines of good behaiour, and the wayes to eternall happineffe ( which are called vertues ) and besides the grace of GOD which is in IESVS CHRIST, imparted onely to the sonnes of the promise, mans inuention hath brought forth so many and such rare sciences, and artes ( partly ( *a* ) necessary, and partly voluntary ) that the excellency of his capacity maketh the rare goodnesse of his creation apparant, euen then when hee goeth about things that are either superfluous or pernicious, and sheweth from what an excellent guift, hee hath those his inuentions and practises. What varieties hath man found out in Buildings, Attyres, Husbandry, Navigation, Sculpture, and Imagery? what perfection hath hee shewen in the shewes of Theaters, in taming, killing, and catching wilde beasts? What millions of inuentions hath hee against others, and for him-selfe in poysons, armes, engines, stratagems, and such like? What thousands of medecines, for the health, of meates for the weasand, of meanes and figures to perswade, of eloquent phrascs to delight, of verses to disport, of musicall inuentions and instruments? How excellent an inuention is Geography, Arithmetique, Astrologie, and the rest? How large is the capacity of man, if wee should stand vpon particulars? Lastly, how cunningly, and with what exquisite witte, haue the Philosophers, and the Heretiques defended their very errors: it is strange to imagine? for heere wee speake of the nature of mans soule in generall, as man is mortall, without any referenceto the tract of truth, whereby hee commeth to the life eternall.

Now therefore seeing that the true and onely GOD, that ruleth all in his almighty power and iustice, was the creator of this excellent essence him-selfe; doubtlesse man had neuer fallen into such misery, ( which many shall neuer bee freed from, and some shall ) if the sinne of those that first incurred it, had not bene extremly malicious. Come now to the body: though it bee mortall as the beasts are, and more weaker then many of theirs are, yet marke what great goodnesse, and prouidence is shewen herein by GOD Almighty. Are not all the sinews and members disposed in such fitte places, and the whole body so composed, as if one would say, *Such an habitation is fittest for a spirit of reason?* You see the other creatures haue a groueling posture, and looke towards earth, whereas mans vpright forme bids him continually respect the things in heauen. The nimblenesse of his tongue and hand, in speaking, and writing, and working in trades, what doth it but declare for whose vse they were made so? Yet ( excluding respect of worke, ) the very congruence, and parilitie of the parts doe so concurre, that one cannot discern whether mans body were made more for vse, or for comliness. For there is no patt of vse in man, that hath not the proper decorum, as wee should better discern, if wee knew the numbers of the proportions wherein each part is combined to the other, which wee may perhaps come to learne by those that are apparant. As for the rest that are not scene, as the courses of the veines, sinews, and arteries, and the secrets of the spiritualls, wee cannot come to know their numbers: for though some butcherly Surgeons ( *b* ) ( Anotamists they call them ) haue often cut vp dead men, ( and liue men sometimes ) to learne the posture of mans inward parts, and which way to make incisions, and to effect their cures; yet those members whereof I speake, and whereof the ( *c* ) harmony and proportion of mans whole body doth consist, no man could euer finde, or durst euer vndertake to enquire, which if they could bee knowne, we should finde more reason, and pleasing contemplation in the forming  
of

of the interior parts, then wee can obserue or collect from those that lye open to the eye. There are some parts of the body that concerne *decorum* onely, and are of no vse: such are the pappes on the breasts of men, and the beard, which is no strengthening, but an ornament to the face, as the naked chins of women (which being weaker, were other-wise to haue this strengthening also) do plainly declare. Now if there be no exterior part of man that is vse-full, which is not also comely, and if there bee also parts in man that are comely and not vse-full, then GOD in the framing of mans body, had a greater respect of dignity then of necessity. For necessity shall cease, the time shall come when wee shall doe nothing but enjoy our (lustlesse) beauties, for which we must especially glorifie him, to whom the Psalme saith; *Thou hast put on praise, and comelinesse*. And then for the beauty and vse of other creatures, which God hath set before the eyes of man (though as yet miserable, and amongst miseries) what man is able to recount them? the vniuersall gracefulness of the heauens, the earth, and the sea, the brightnesse of the light in the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, the shades of the woods, the colours and smells of flowres, the numbers of birds, and their varied hewes and songs, the many formes of beasts and fishes, whereof the least are the rarest (for the fabrike of the Bee or Pismier is more admired then the Whales) and the strange alterations in the colour of the sea, (as beeing in seuerall garments) now one greene, then another; now blew, and then purple? How pleasing a sight sometimes it is to see it rough, and how more pleasing when it is calme? And O what a hand is that, that giueth so many meates to asswage hunger? so many tastes to those meates (with-out helpe of Cooke) and so many medecinall powers to those tastes? How delightfull is the dayes reciprocation with the night? the temperatenesse of the ayre, and the workes of nature in the barks of trees, and skinnes of beasts? O who can draw the perticulars? How tedious should I be in euery peculiar of these few, that I haue heere as it were heaped together, if I should stand vpon them one by one? Yet are all these but solaces of mans miseries, no way pertinent to his glories.

What are they then that his blisse shall giue him, if that his misery haue such blessings as these? What will GOD giue them whome hee hath predestinated vnto life, hauing giuen such great things euen to them whome hee hath predestinated vnto death? What will hee giue them in his kingdome, for whome hee sent his onely sonne to suffer all iniuries, euen to death, vpon earth? Where-vpon *Saint Paul* sayth vnto them; *Hee who spared not his owne sonne, but gaue him* Rom. 8. *for vs all vnto death*, how shall hee not with Him giue vs all things also? When this promise is fulfilled, O what shall wee bee then? How glorious shall the soule of man bee, with-out all staine and sinne, that can either subduer or oppose it, or against which it need to contend; perfect in all vertue, and enthroned in all perfection of peace?

How great, how delightfull, how true, shall our knowledge of all things be there, with-out all error, with-out all labour, where wee shall drinke at the spring head of GODS sapience, with-out all difficulty, and in all felicity? How perfect shall our bodies bee, beeing wholly subiect vnto their spirits, and there-by sufficiently quickned, and nourished with-out any other sustenance? for they shall now bee no more naturall, but spirituall, they shall haue the substance of flesh, quite exempt from all fleshly corruption.

L. VIVES.

## L. VIVES.

**P**Artly (*a*) *necessary*] Such as husbandry, the Arte of Spinning, weaving, and such as man cannot liue without. (*b*) *Anatomists*] that is, cutters vp; of *τομή*, a section, incision, or cutting. (*c*) *Harmony*] The congruence, connexion, and concurrence of any thing may be called so: it commeth of *ἀναμόρφωσις*, to adapt, or compose a thing proportionably.

*Of the obstinacie of some few in denying the resurrection, which the whole world beleeueth, as it was fore-told.*

## CHAP. 25.

**B**V T as touching the goods of the minde, which the blessed shall enioy after this life, the Philosophers and wee are both of one minde. Our difference is concerning the resurrection which they deny with all the power they haue: but the increase of the beleeuers hath left vs but a few opposers; CHRIST, (that disprooued the obstinate euen in his proper body) gathering all vnto his faith, learned and vnlearned, wise and simple. The world beleued GODS promise in this; who promised also that it should beleue this. It was (*a*) not *Peters* magick that wrought it, but it was that GOD, of whome (as I haue said often, and as *Porphyrus* confesseth from their owne Oracles) all their Gods doe stand in awe and dread. *Porphyrus* calles him *GOD the Father, and King of GODS*: But GOD forbid that wee should beleue his promises as they doe, that will not beleue what hee had promised, that the world should beleue. For why should wee not rather beleue as the world doth, and as it was prophesied it should, and leaue them to their owne idle talke that will not beleue this that the world was promised to beleue? for if they say wee must take it in another sence; because they will not doe that GOD whome they haue commended, so much iniury, as to say his Scriptures are idle things; Yet surely they iniure him as much, or more, in saying they must bee vnderstood other-wise then the world vnderstandeth them, which is, as GOD both promised and performed. Why cannot GOD raise the flesh vnto eternall life? Is it a worke vnworthy of God? Touching his omnipotencie, whereby hee worketh so many wonders, I haue sayd enough already. If they would shew mee a thing which hee cannot doe: I will tell them hee cannot lye. Let vs therefore beleue onely what hee can doe, and not beleue what hee cannot. If they doe not then beleue that hee can lye, let them beleue that hee will doe what hee promiseth. And let them beleue as the world beleues, which (hee promised) should beleue, and whose beleefe hee both produced, and praised. And how prooue they the worke of the resurrection on any way vnworthy of GOD? There shall be no corruption there-in, and that is all the euill that can be-fall the body. Of the elementary orders, wee haue spoken already: as also of the possibility of the swift motion of the incorruptible body. Of mans bodily health in this world, and the weakenesse of it in respect of immortality, I thinke our thirteenth booke containeth what will satisfie. Let such as haue not read this booke, or will not rehearse what they haue read, read the passages of this present volume already recorded.

L. VIVES.

## L. VIVES.

Not (a) *Peters Magick*] He toucheth at *Porphyrus* slandering of *Saint Peter* with forcery and Magicall enchantments : as you may read in the end of the eighteenth booke.

*That Porphyrus opinion that the blessed soules should have no bodiss, is confuted by Plato himselfe, who saith that the Creator promised the inferiour deities, that they should neuer loose their bodies.*

## CHAP. 26.

Yea but (saith *Porphyrus*) a blessed soule must haue no body : so that the bodies incorruptibility is nothing worth, if the soule cannot bee blessed vnlesse it want a body. But hereof wee haue sufficiently argued in the thirteenth booke : onely I will rehearse but one onely thing. If this were true, then *Plato* their great Maister must goe reforme his bookes, and say that the GODS must goe and leaue their bodies (for hee saith they all haue celestiall bodies) that is, they must dye, ere they can bee blessed : how-so-ener that hee hath made them, promised them immortality, and an eternall dwelling in their bodies, to assure them of their blisse : and this should come from his power-full will, not from their natures. The same *Plato* in the same place, ouer-throws their reason that say there shall be no resurrection, because it is impossible for GOD the vncreated maker of the other Gods, promising them eternity, saith plainly that hee will doe a thing which is impossible : for thus (quoth *Plato*) hee said vnto them. *Because you are created, you cannot but bee mortall and dissoluble : yet shall you neuer dye, nor be dissolued : fate shall not controule my will, which is a greater bond for your perpetuity, then all those where-by you are composed.* No man that heareth this, (bee hee neuer so doltish, so hee bee not deafe) will make any question that this was an impossibility which *Platoes* Creator promised the deities which hee had made. For saying, *You cannot bee eternall, yet by my will you shall bee eternall,* what is it but to say, my will shall make you a thing impossible? Hee therefore that (as *Plato* saith) did promise to effect this impossibility, will also raise the flesh in an incorruptible, spirituall and immortall quality. Why doe they now crye out that that is impossible which GOD hath promised, which the world hath beleued, and which it was promised it should beleue, seeing that *Plato* himselfe is of our minde, and saith that GOD can worke impossibilities? Therefore it must not bee the want of a body, but the possession of one vtterly incorruptible, that the soule shall be blessed in. And what such body shall bee so fitte for their ioy, as that wherein (whilest it was corruptible) they endured such woe? They shall not then be plagued with that desire that *Virgil* relateth out of *Plato*, saying :

*Rursus & incipiunt in corpora velle reuerti.*

Now gan they wish to liue on earth againe.

I meane, when they haue their bodies that they desired, they shall no more desire any bodies : but shall possesse those for euer, without beeing euer soueted from them so much as one moment.

*Contrarieties*



*Contrarieties betweene Plato and Porphyry, wherein if eyther should yeeld vnto other, both should find out the truth.*

CHAP. 27.

**P**lato and Porphyry held diuers opinions, which if they could haue come to reconcile, they might perhaps haue prooued Christians. Plato said, *That the soule could not bee alwayes without a body: but that the soules of the wisest, at length should returne into bodyes againe.* Porphyry sayd, *That when the purged soule ascendeth to the father, it returnes no more to the infection of this world.* Now if Plato had yeilded vnto Porphyry, that the soules returne should bee onely into an humaine body: and Porphyry vnto Plato, that the soule should neuer returne vnto the miseries of a corruptible body, if both of them ioyntly had held both these positions, I thinke it would haue followed, both that the soules should returne into bodies, and also into such bodies as were besitting them for eternall felicity. For Plato saith, *The holy soules shall returne to humane bodyes:* and Porphyry saith; *The holy soules shall not returne to the euills of this world.* Let Porphyry therefore say with Plato, *They shall returne vnto bodyes:* and Plato with Porphyry, *they shall not returne vnto euills:* And then they shall both say; *They shall returne vnto such bodyes as shall not molest them with any euills; namely those wherein GOD hath promised that the blessed soules should haue their eternall dwellings.* For this I thinke they would both grant vs; that if they confessed a returne of the soules of the iust into immortal bodies, it should bee into those wherein they suffred the miseries of this world, and wherein they serued GOD so faithfully, that they obtained an euerlasting deliury from all future calamities.

*What either Plato, Labeo, or Varro might haue auailed to the true faith of the resurrection, if there had bene an Harmonie in their opinions.*

CHAP. 28.

**S**ome of vs liking and louing Plato (a) for a certaine eloquent and excellent kinde of speaking: and because his opinion hath bene true in some things, say, that he thought some thing like vnto that which we doe, concerning *the Resurrection of the (b) dead.* Which thing Tully so toucheth in *lib. de rep.* that hee affirmeth that hee rather spake in sport, than that he had any intent to relate it, as a matter of truth. For (c) he declareth a man reuiued and related some things agreeable to *Platoes* disputations. (d) *Labeo* also saith, that there were two which dyed both in one day, and that they met together in a crosse-way, and that atterward they were commanded to returne againe to their bodies, and then that they decreed to liue in perpetuall loue together, and that it was so vntill they dyed atterward. But these authors haue declared, that they had such a resurrection of body, as they haue had, whome truly wee haue knowne to haue risen againe, and to haue bene restored to this life: but they doe not declare it in that manner, that they should not dye againe. Yet *Marcus Varro* recordeth a more strange, admirable, and wonderfull matter, in his bookes which hee wrote of a Nation

of

of the people of Rome. I haue thought good to set downe his owne words. Certaine *Genethliaci* ( wifards ) *Haue written*, (saith he) *that there is a regeneration, or second birth in men to bee borne againe, which the Greekes call ( f )* *γενεσις*. They haue written, that it is brought to passe, and effected in the space of foure hundred and fortie yeares: so that the same body and soule which had bene foretime knit together, should returne againe into the same coniunction and vnion they had before. Truly this *Varro*, or those *Genethliaci* ( I know not who they are For he hath related their opinion concealing their names) haue said something, which although it be false, because the soules returning into the bodies, which they haue before managed, will neuer after forsake them: not withstanding it serueth to stoppe the mouth of those babblers, and to ouerthrow the strong hold of many arguments of that impossibility. For they doe not thinke it an impossible thing which haue thought these things, that dead bodies resued into aire, dust, ashes, humors, bodies of deuouring beastes, or of men themselves, should returne againe to that they haue bene. Wherefore let *Plato*, and *Porphyry*, or such rather, as doe affect them and are now liuing, if they accord with vs, that holy soules shall returne to their bodies, as *Plato* saith, but not to returne to any euils as *Porphyrie* saith, that that sequelle may follow, which our Christian faith doth declare, to wit, that they shall receiue such bodies, as they shall liue happily in them eternally without any euill: Let them (I say) assume and take this also from *Varro*, that they returne to the same bodies in which they had bene before time, and then there shall bee a sweete harmony betweene them, concerning the resurrection of the flesh eternally.

## L. VIVES.

FOR ( a ) certaine. ] Three things moued not only Greece, but the whole world to applaud *Plato*, to wit, integritie of life, sanctity of precepts, and eloquence. The ( b ) dead ] *Euseb lib. 11.* thinketh that *Plato* learned the alteration of the world, the resurrection and the iudgement of the damned, out of the bookes of *Moyse*: for *Plato* relateth that all earthly things shall perish, a certaine space of time being expired, and that the frame of the worlde shall be moued and shaken with wonderfull and strange motions, not without a great destruction, and ouerthrow of all liuing creatures: and then that a little time after, it shall rest and bee at quiet by the assistance of the highest God, who shall receiue the gouernment of it, that it may not fall and perish, endowing it with an euerlasting flourishing estate, and with immortalitie. ( c ) For he declareth ] *Herus Pamphilus*, who dyed in battell ( *Plato in fine in lib. de rep* ) writeth y he was restored to life the tenth day after his death. ( *Cicero saith, macrob. lib. 1.* ) may be grieued that this fable was scoffed at, although of the vnlearned, knowing it well ynough him-selfe, neuerthelesse auoyding the scandall of a foolish reprehension, hee had rather tell it that he was raized, than that he reuiued. ( d ) *Labeo* ] *Plin, lib. 7.* setteth downe some examples of them which being carried forth to their graue reuiued againe, and *Plutarch in 1. de anima* relateth that one *Enarchus* returned to life againe after hee died, who said that his soule did depart indeed out of his bodie, but by the commandement of *Pluto* it was restored to his bodie againe, those hellish spirits being grieuouly punished by their Prince, who commaunded to bring one *Nicandas* a tanner, and a wrafter, forgetting their errant and foulie mistaking the man went to *Enarchus* in stead of *Nicandas* who dyed within a little while after. ( e ) *Genethliaci* ] They are mathematicall pettie sooth-sayers, or fortune-tellers, which by the day of Natiuitie presage what shall happen in the whole course of mans life. *Gellius* hath the Chaldeans and the *Genethliaci* both in one place *lib. 14.* Against them (saith he) who name themselves *Caldæans*, or *Genethliaci*, and professe to prognosticate future things by the motion and posture of the stars. ( f ) *γενεσις* ] Regeneration or a second birth, *Lactant. also*

lib. 7. rehearseth these wordes of *Chrysippus* the stoicke out of his booke *de prouidentia*, by which he confirmeth a returne after death. *ὅτι ἡμᾶς, inquit, κατα, &c.* And wee (saith hee) certaine revolutions of time being complet and finished, after our death, shall be restored to the same figure and shape which we haue now.

*Of the quality of the vision, with which the Saintes shall see GOD in the world to come.*

## C H A P. 29.

**N**OW lette vs see what the Saintes shall doe in their immortall and spirituall bodies, their flesh liuing now no more carnally but spiritually: so far forth as the Lord shal vouchsafe to enable vs. And truly what maner of action or (a) rather rest and quietnesse it shall be, if I say the truth, I know not. For I haue neuer seene it by the senses of the bodie. But if I shall say I haue seene it by the mind, that is by the vnderstanding, (alasse) how great, or what is our vnderstanding in comparison of that exceeding excellencie? For there is, *the peace of God which passeth all vnderstanding*, as the Apostle saith, what vnderstanding, but ours, or peradventure of all the holy Angels? For it doth not passe the vnderstanding of God. If therefore the Saintes shall liue in the peace of G O D, without doubt they shall liue in that peace, *which passeth all vnderstanding*. Now there is no doubt, but that it passeth our vnderstanding. But if it also passe the vnderstanding of Angels, for hee seemeth not to except them when hee saith, *All vnderstanding*; then according to this saying wee ought to vnderstand that we are not able, nor any Angels to know that peace where-with G O D him-selfe is pacified, in such sort as GOD knoweth it. But wee beeing made partakers of his peace, according to the measure of our capacity, shall obtaine a most excellent peace in vs, and amongst vs, and with him, according to the quantity of our excellency: In this manner the holy Angels according to their measure do know the same: but men now doe know it in a farre lower degree, although they excell in acuity of vnderstanding.

**1 Cor, 13.** Wee must consider what a great man did say, *Wee know in part, and we propheticie in part, vntill that come which is perfect. And wee see now in a glasse in a darke speaking: but then wee shall see him face to face.* So doe the holy Angels now see which are called also our Angels, because we beeing deliuered from the power of darkenesse, and translated to the kingdome of God, hauing receiued the pledge of the Spirit, haue already begunne to pertaine to them, with whome wee shall enioy that most holy and pleasant *Cittie of God*, of which wee haue already written so many books. So therefore the Angels are ours, which are the Angels of God, euen as the *Christe of God*, is our *Christe*. They are the Angels of G O D, because they haue not forsaken God: they are ours, because they haue begunne to account vs their Cittizens. For the Lord Iesus hath sayd, *Take heed you doe not despise one of these little ones: For I say vnto you, that their Angels doe alwayes beholde the face of my father, which is in heauen.* As therefore they doe see, so also we shall see, but as yet wee doe not see so. Wherefore the Apostle saith that which I haue spoken a little before. *We see now in a glasse in a dark speaking: but then wee shall see him face to face.* Therefore that vision is kept for vs beeing the reward of faith, of which also

also the Apostle *John* speaking saith; *When hee shall appeare, wee shall bee like vnto him, because wee shall see him as hee is.* 1. Iohn. 3.

But wee must vnderstand by the face of GOD, his manifestation, and not to bee any such member, as wee haue in the body, and doe call it by that name. Wherefore when it is demanded of vs, what the Saints shall doe in that spirituall body, I doe not say, that I seenow, but I say, that I beleuee: according to that which I read in the Psalme. *I beleueed, and therefore I spake.* I say Psal. 115 therefore, that they shall see GOD in the body, but whether by the same manner, as wee now see by the body, the Sunne, Moone, Starres, Sea and Earth, it is no small question.

It is a hard thing to say, that then the Saints shall haue such bodyes, that they cannot shutte and open their eyes, when they will. But it is more hard to say, that who-so-euer shall shutte their eyes there, shall not see GOD, For if the Prophet *Heliseus* absent in body, saw his seruant *Giezi* receiuing 4. King. 5. the gifts which *Naaman* gaue vnto him, whome the afore-said Prophet had cleaned from the deformitye of his leprosie, which the wicked seruant thought hee had done secretly, his maister not seeing him: how much more shall the Saints in that spirituall body see all things, not onely if they shutte their eyes, but also from whence they are absent in body? For then shall that bee perfect of which the Apostle speaking, saith, *Wee know in part, and Prophecie in part: but when that shall come which is perfect, that is which in part, shall bee done away.*

Afterward that hee might declare by some similitude, how much this life doth differ from that which shall bee, not of all sortes of men, but also of them which are endewed heere with an especiall holynesse, hee saith. *When I was a childe, I vnderstood as a childe, I did speake as a child, I thought as a child, but when I became a man, I put away chilsish things. Wee see now in a Glasse in a darke-speaking, but then wee shall see face to see. Now I know in part, but then shall I knowe, euen as I am knowne.* 1. Cor. 13. If therefore in this life, where the prophesie of admirable men is to bee compared to that life, as children to a young man: Not-with-standing *Heliseus* sawe his seruant receiuing gifts where hee himselfe was not: shall therefore the Saints stand in neede of corporall eyes to see those things which are to bee scene, which *Heliseus* beeing absent needed not to see his seruant? For when that which is perfect is come, neither now the corruptible body shall any more aggravate the soule: and no incorruptible thing shall hinder it?

For according to the LXX. interpreters, these are the words of the Prophet to *Giezi*: *Did not my heart goe with thee, and I knew that the man turned backe from his charriot to meete thee, and thou hast received money, &c.* But as *Hierome* hath interpreted it out of the Hebrew: *Was not my heart, (saith hee) in presence, when the man returned from his Charriot to meete thee?* Therefore the Prophet sayd, *That hee sawe this thing with his heart,* wonderfully ayded by the diuine powre, as no man doubteth. But how much more shall all abound with that gift, when GOD shall bee all things in all? Neuertheless those corporall eyes also shall haue their office, and shall bee in their place, and the spirit shall vse them by the spirituall body. For the Prophet did vse them to see things present, though hee needed not them to see his absent seruant, which present things hee was able to see by the spirit, though

hee did shut his eyes, euen as hee saw things absent, whete hee was not with them. GOD forbid therefore, that wee should say that the Saints shall not see GOD in that life, their eyes being shut, whome they shall all alwayes see by the spirit. But whether they shall also see by the eyes of the body, when they shall haue them open, from hence there ariseth a question. For if they shall bee able to doe no more, in the spirituall body by that meanes, as they are spirituall eyes, than those are able which wee haue now, with-out all doubt they shall not bee able to see GOD: Therefore they shall bee of a farre other power, if that incorporate nature shall bee seene by them, which is contained in no place, but is whole euery where. For wee doe not say, becaule wee say that GOD is both in heauen and also in earth. (For hee saith by the Prophet, *I fill heauen and earth*) that hee hath one part in heauen, and another in earth, but hee is whole in heauen, and whole in earth, not at feuerall times, but hee is both together, which no corporall nature can bee. Therefore there shall bee a more excellent and potent force of those eyes, not that they may see more sharply then some serpents and Eagles are reported to see: for those liuing creatures by their greatest sharpnesse of seeing can see nothing but bodies, but that they may also see incorporat things. And it may be, that great powre of seeing was granted for a time to the eyes of holy *Iob*, yea in that mortall body, when hee saith to GOD. *By the hearing of the care I did heare thee before, but now my eye doth see thee, therefore I despised my selfe, consumed, and esteemed my selfe to bee earth and ashes.* Although there is nothing to the contrary, but that the eye of the heart may be vnderstood, concerning which eyes the Apostle saith: *To haue the eyes of your heart enlightened.* But no Christian man doubteth, that GOD shall be seene with them, when hee shall be seen which faithfully receiueth that which GOD the maister saith: *Blessed are the pure in heart, because they shall see GOD.* But it now is in question, whether hee may bee seene there also with corporall eyes. For that which is written; *And all flesh shall see the saluation of God*, without any knotte, or scruple of difficulty. may so bee vnderstood, as if it had beene sayd. *And euery man shall see the CHRIST of GOD*, who as hee hath beene seene in bodie shall likewise bee seene in bodie, when hee shall iudge the quicke, and the dead. But that hee is the Saluation of GOD, there are also many other testimonies of the Scriptures.

But the wordes of that worthie and reuerent old man *Simeon* declare it more euidentlie: who, after hee had receiued the Infant CHRIST into his hands, *Now (say:h hee) lettest thou thy seruant, O LORD, depart in peace, according to thy worde: because mine eyes haue seene thy saluation.* Also, that, which the aboue recited *Iob* saith, as it is found in many coppies taken from the Hebrew: *And I shall see GOD in my flesh.* Verelic hee prophecied the Resurrection of the flesh without all doubt, yet hee sayd not, *By my flesh.* For if hee had sayd so, GOD CHRIST might haue beene vnderstood, who shall be seene in the flesh by the flesh: now indeed it may also be taken, *In my flesh, (b) I shall see GOD:* as if hee had sayd. *I shall be in my flesh, when I shall see GOD.* And that which the Apostle saith, *Face to face:* doth not compell vs that wee belecue that wee shall see GOD by this corporall face, where there are corporall eyes, whome wee shall see by the spirit without intermission. For vnlesse there were a face also of the inward man, the same Apostle would not say. *But wee beholding the glorie of the LORD with the face*

face vnuayled are transformed into the same Image from glory into glory, as it were to the spirit of the LORD. Neither doe wee otherwise vnderstand that which is sung in the Psalme. *Come vnto him and bee enlightened; and your faces shall not bee ashamed.* For by faith wee come vnto GOD, which as it is euident, *belongeth to the heart and not to the body* (vniuersally). But because wee know not now how neare the spirituall body shall approche; for wee speake of a thing of which wee haue no experience, where some things are, which can not otherwise bee vnderstood, the authority of the diuine Scriptures doth not resist, but succour vs: It must needs bee that that happen in vs which is read in the booke of *Wisdome: The thoughts of men are fearefull, and our fore-sights are uncertaine.* For if that manner of arguing of the Philosophers, by which they dispute that intelligible things are so to bee seene by the aspect of the vnderstanding; and sensible, that is to say, corporall things, so to bee seene by the sence of the body, that neither the vnderstanding can bee able to behold intelligible things by the body, nor corporall things by them-selues, can bee most certaine vnto vs, truly it should likewise be certaine, that God could not be seene by the eyes of a spirituall body. But both true reason, and propheticall authority will deride this manner of disputing. For who is such an obstinate and opposite enemy to the truth, that hee dare say, that God knoweth not these corporall things? Hath hee therefore a body by the eyes of which he may learne those things? Further-more doth not that, which wee spake a little before of the Prophet *Helisens*, declare sufficiently also, that corporall things may be seene by the spirit, not by the body? For when his seruant receiued rewards, though it was corporally done, yet the Prophet saw it, not by the body but by the spirit. As therefore it is manifest, that bodies are seene by the spirit: what if there shall be such a great powre of the spirituall body, that the spirit may also be seene by the body? For God is a spirit. More-ouer, euery man knoweth his owne life, by which hee liueth now in the body, and which doth make these earthly members growe and increase, and maketh them liuing, by the inward sence, and not by the eyes of the body. But hee seeth the liues of other men by the body, when as they are inuisible. For from whence doe wee discern liuing bodyes from vn-liuing, vnlesse wee see the bodyes and liues together. But wee doe not see with corporall eyes the liues with-out bodyes.

Wherefore it may bee, and it is very credible, that then wee shall so see the worldly bodyes of the new heauen, and new earth, as wee see GOD present euery where, and also gouerning all corporall things, by the bodyes wee shall carry, and which wee shall see, where-so-euer wee shall turne our eyes, most euidently all cloudes of obscurity beeing remooued; not in such sorts as the inuisible things of GOD are seene now, beeing vnderstood by those things which are made, in a glasse, darkly and in part, where faith preuaileth more in vs, by which wee beleue, than the obiect of things which wee see by corporall eyes. But euen as, so soone as wee behold men amongst whome wee liue, beeing aliue, and performing vitall motions: wee doe not beleue that they liue, but wee see them to liue, when wee cannot see their life with-out bodyes: which not-with-standing wee clearly behold by the bodyes, all ambiguity beeing remooued: so where-so-euer wee shall turne about these spirituall eyes of our bodyes, wee shall like-wise see incorporate GOD gouerning all things by our bodyes.

GOD therefore shall eyther so bee seene by those eyes, because they haue

some-thing in that excellencie, like vnto the vnderstanding whereby the incorporall nature may be seene, which is either hard or impossible to declare by any examples or testimonies of diuine Scriptures: or that which is more easily to be vnderstood, God shall be so knowne, & conspicuous vnto vs, that he may be seene by the spirit of euery one of vs, in euery one of vs, may be seene of another in another, may be seene in him-selfe, may be seene in the new heauen and in the new earth, and in euery creature, which shall be then: may be seene also by the bodies in euery body, where-so-euer the eyes of the spirituall body shall be directed by the sight comming thether. Also our thoughts shall bee open, and discovered to one another. For then shall that bee fulfilled which the Apostle intimateth when hee said. *Judge not any thing before the time, vntill the Lord come, who will lighten things that are hid in darknesse, and make the counsels of the hearts manifest, and then shall euery man haue praise of GOD.*

## L. VIVES.

**O**R (a) rather rest. For there shall be a rest from all labours, & I know not by what meanes, the name of rest is more delightfull and sweet than of action: therefore Aristotle nominateth that contemplation, which he maketh the chiefest beatitude, by the name of Rest. Besides the Sabbath is that, to wit, a ceassing from labour and a sempeternall rest. (b) *I shall see God* ] It is read in some ancient copies of *Augustine*. *I shall see God my saviour*. But we doe neither read it in *Hieromes* translation, neither doth it seeme to be added of *Augustine* by those words which follow. For he speaketh of *God* with-out the man-hood. Further if he had added *Saviour*, hee should haue seemed to haue spoken of *Christ*.

*Of the eternall felicity of the City of God, and the perpetuall Sabbath.*

## CHAP. 30.

**H**OW great (a) shall that felicity be, where there shall be no euill thing, where no good thing shall lye hidden, there wee shall haue leasure to vtter forth the praises of God, which shall bee all things in all? For what other thing is done, where we shall not rest with any slouthfulnesse, nor labour for any want I know not. I am admonished also by the holy song, where I read, or heare. *Blessed are they oh Lord, which dwell in thy house, they shall praise thee for ever, and ever.* All the members and bowels of the incorruptible body, which we now see distributed to diuerse vses of necessity, because then there shall not bee that necessary, but a full, sure, secure, euer-lasting felicity, shall be aduanced and go forward in the praises of God. For then all the numbers (of which I haue already spoken) of the corporall Harmony shall not lye hid, which now lye hid: being disposed inwardly and out-wardly through all the members of the body, and with other things which shall be seene there, being great and wonderfull; shall kindle the reasonable soules with delight of such a reasonable beauty to sound forth the praises of such a great and excellent workman. What the motions of those bodies shall be there, I dare not rashly define, when I am not able to diue into the depth of that mystery. Neuertheles both the motion & state, as the forme of them, shal be comly & decent, whatsoever it shall be, where there shall bee nothing which shall not bee comly. Truly where the spirit wil, there forth-with shall the body be: neither will the spirit will any thing, which may not beseeme the body, nor the spirit. There shall be true glory, where no man shall be praised for error or flattery. True honor, which shall be denied vnto none which is worthy, shall bee giuen vnto none vnworthy. But neither shall any vnworthy person couet after it, where none is permitted to bee, but hee which is worthy. There is true peace, where no man suffereth any thing which may molest him, either of him-selfe, or of any other. Hee him-

selfe

selfe shall bee the reward of vertue, which hath giuen vertue, and hath promised  
 himselfe vnto him, then whom nothing can be better and greater. For what other  
 thing is that, which he hath sayd by the Prophet: *I wil be their GOD, and they shall* Leu. 26  
*be my people: but I wil be* whereby they shall be satisfied: *I wil be* what-soeuer is  
 lawfully desired of men, life, health, food, abundance, glory, honor, peace, and all  
 good things? For so also is that rightly vnderstood, which the Apostle sayth. 1. Cor. 15  
*That GOD may be all in all,* He shall be the end of our desires, who shall be scene  
 without end, who shall be loued without any satiety, and praised without any re-  
 dioutnesse. This function, this affection, this action verily shall be vnto all as the e-  
 ternall life shall be common to all. But who is sufficient to thinke, much more Degrees of  
 to vtter what degrees there shall also be of the rewardes for merits, of the ho- rewards.  
 nours, and glories? But wee must not doubt, but that there shall be degrees. And  
 also that Blessed Citty shall see that in it selfe, that no inferior shall enuy his su-  
 perior: euen as now the other Angells doe not enuie the Arch-angells: as eue-  
 ry one would not be which he hath not receiued, although hee be combined with  
 a most peaceable bond of concord to him which hath receiued, by which the fin-  
 ger will not be the eye in the body, when as a peaceable coniunction, and knit-  
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 not by the possibility of his owne nature. For it is one thing to be GOD, another  
 thing to be partaker of GOD. GOD cannot sinne by nature, but hee which is  
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 degrees to be obserued of the diuine gift, that the first free-will might be giuen,  
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 ward. But because that nature sinned, when it might sinne, it is freed by a more  
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 For as the first immortality, which *Adam* lost by sinning, was to be able not to  
 die. For so the will of piety and equity shall be free from being lost, as the will of  
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Truly is GOD himselfe therefore to be denied to haue free-will, because hee  
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For a most skilfull Phisition also knoweth almost all diseases of the  
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 euills: one, by which they are not hidden from the power of the vnderstanding, knowledges  
of euills.



the other, by which they are infixed to the senses of him, that feeleth them (for all vices are otherwise knowne by the doctrine of wisdom, and otherwise by the most wicked life of a foolish man) so there are two forgetfulnesses of euils. For a skilfull and learned man doth forget them one way, and hee that hath had experience and suffered them, forgetteth them another way. The former, if he neglect his skill, the later, if hee want misery. According to this forgetfulness, which I haue set downe in the later place, the Saints shall not be mindefull of euils past. For they shall want all euils, so that they shall be abolished vtterly from their senses. Neuerthelesse that powre of knowledge, which shalbe great in them, shall not onely know their owne euils past, but also the euerlasting misery of the damned. Otherwise if they shall not know that they haue beene miserable, how, as the psalme sayth, *Shall they sing the mercies of the LORD for euer?* Then which song nothings verily shalbe more delightfull to that Citty, to the glory of the loue of CHRIST, by whose blood we are deliuered. There shalbe perfected, *Bee at rest and see, because I am GOD.* Because there shalbe the most great Sabbath hauing no euening. Which the LORD commended vnto vs in the first workes of the world, where it is read. *And GOD rested the seauenth day from all his workes he made, and sanctified it, because in it hee rested from all his workes, which GOD began to make.* For we our selues also bee the seauenth day, when wee shall be replenished, and repaired with his benediction and sanctification. There being freed from toyle wee shall see, because hee is GOD, which wee our selues would haue beene when we fell from him, hearing from the Seducer: *Ye shall be as gods:* and departing from the true GOD, by whose meanes we should be gods by participation of him, not by forsaking him. For what haue wee done without him, but that we haue sayled from him and gone back in his anger? Of whom we being restored and perfected with a greater grace shall rest for euer, seeing that he is GOD, with whom we shall be replenished, when hee shall be all in all: for our good workes also, although they are rather vnderstood to be his then ours, are then imputed vnto vs to obaine this Sabbath: because if wee shall attribute them vnto our selues, they shalbe seruite, when it is sayd of the Sabbath. *Ye shall not doe any seruite worke in it.* For which cause it is sayd also by the Prophet Ezechiel. *And I haue giuen my Sabbaths vnto them for a signe betweene mee, and them, that they might know, that I am the LORD, which sanctifie them?* Then shall wee know this thing perfectly, and wee shall perfectly rest and shall perfectly see, that he is GOD. If therefore that number of ages, as of daies bee accompted according to the distinctions of times, which seeme to be expressed in the sacred Scriptures, that Sabbath day shall appeare more euidently, because it is found to be the seauenth, that the first age, as it were the first day, bee from Adam vnto the flood, then the second from thence vnto Abraham, not by equality of times, but by number of generations. For they are found to haue a tenth number. From hence now, as Mathew the Euangelist doth conclude, three ages doe follow euen vnto the comming of CHRIST, euery one of which is expressed by foureteene Generations. From Abraham vnto David is one, from thence euen vntill the Transmigration into Babilon, is another, the third from thence vnto the incarnat Natiuity of CHRIST. So all of them are made five. Now this age is the sixt, to be measured by no number, because of that which is spoken. *It is not for you to know the seasons, which the father hath placed in his owne powre.* After this age GOD shall rest as in the seauenth day, when GOD shall make that same seauenth day to rest in himselfe, which wee shalbe. Furthermore it would

Psal. 88

Psal. 45

Gen. 2

Gene. 3

Deut. 5

Ezech. 20

Three ages  
before the  
comming  
of Christ.

Act. 1

would take vp a long time to discourse now exactly of euery one of those seuerall ages . But this seauenth shalbe our Sabbath, whose end shall not be the eue-ning, but the LORDS day, as the eight eternall day, which is sanctified and made holy by the resurrection of CHRIST, not onely prefiguring the eternal rest of the spirit, but also of the body . There we shall rest, and see, wee shall see, and loue, wee shall loue, and we shall praise: Behold what shalbe in the end without end! For what other thing is our end, but to come to that Kingdome of which there is no end. (b) I thinke I haue discharged the debt of this great worke by the helpe of GOD . Let them which thinke I haue done too little, and they which thinke I haue done too much, grant mee a fauorable pardon : But let them, which thinke I haue performed enough, accepting it with a kinde congratulation, giue no thanks vnto me, but vnto the LORD with me. Amen.

### L. VIVES.

How (a) great shall that felicity be ] Innumerable things might be sayd, but *Augustine* is to bee imitated in this, and wee must neither speake, nor write any thing rashly of so sacred and holy a matter; neither is it lawfull for vs to search out that by Philosophy and disputations of men, which the LORD hath commaunded to be most secret, neither hath vnuailed to the eies, nor vttered to the eares, nor hath infused into the thoughts and vnderstandings of mortall men. It is his will, that we should beleeeue them to bee great, and admirable, and onely to hope after them, then at last to vnderstand them, when we being made partakers of our desire, shall behold openly all things being present, and with our eyes, and so conioyned and affixed vnto our selues, that we may so know, as we are now knowne: neither ought we to enquire, whether that blessednesse be an action of the vnderstanding, or rather of the will: whether our vnderstanding shal behold all things in GOD, or whether it shalbe restrained from some things: least if we enquire these things ouer contentiously there be neither blessednesse of our vnderstanding, nor of our will, nor wee see any thing in GOD. All things shalbe full of ioyes, and beatitudes, not onely the will and vnderstanding, but the eyes, eares, hands, the whole body, the whole minde, the whole soule. Wee shall see all things in GOD, which wee will, and euery one shalbe content with the degree of his owne felicity: nor will enuy another, whom hee shall behold to bee nearer vnto GOD, because euery man shalbe so blessed, as hee shall desire. I thinke (a) I haue discharged the debt of this great worke. ] And I likewise thinke that I haue finished, no lesse worke and disburdened my selfe of no lesse labour then *Augustine* thinketh hee hath done. For the burden of these meane and light Commentaries hath bene as heauy to our imbecillity and vnskilfullnesse; as the admirable burden of those volumes was to the vigor and strength of his wit, learning, and sanctity. If I haue sayd any thing which may please, let the Reader giue thanks vnto GOD for mee; if any thing which may displease let him pardon me for GODS sake, and let things well spoken, obtaine fauour for things il-spoken. But if he shall kindly amend and take away the errors, he shall deserue a good turne of me and the Readers, which peradventure relying vpon me might be decciued.

## FINIS.





An alphabeticall Index pointing out memorable matters contained in these bookes of the  
Citty of God.

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Folio, 24, l, 2 r, example for exmaple. f, 25, l, 3 r, forgo for forge. f, 32, l, 26 r, shifst after glory for this of glory. f, 38, l, 22 r, seeing for beeing. f, 40, l, 3 r, her for his. f, 43, l, 18 r, it for if. f, 53, l, 17 r, hands for heads. f, 62, l, 25 r, worshippers for worships. f, 69, l, 27 r, this for is. f, 88, line 24, read prouiso for prouision. f, 108, line 1, read perjury for pruity. l, 26 r, the for their. f, 109, l, 18 r, leuing for lining. l, 118, l, 6, sifit for first. f, 128, l, 23 r, field for filed. f, 224, l, 3 r, to be. f, 230, l, 9, cryings for cringes. l, 251, r, call for all. f, 259, l, ult. r, and Diana for Diana and. f, 240, l, ult. Soothsayers left out. f, 321, l, 4 r, forbid for forbad. f, 324, l, 16 r, wife for wife. f, 339, l, 29 r, nor for not. f, 342, l, 15 r, not for nor. f, 352, l, 3 r, then was he also for then we also. f, 396, l, 22 r, then f r the. f, 430, l, 28 r, milliry for milliry. f, 453, l, 40 r, worlds for words. f, 464, l, 3 r, them for then. f, 503, l, 8 r, whuch for with. f, 558, l, 3 r, fift for fit. f, 580, l, 18, read swim for some. f, 608, line 34 r, desired for edisred. f, 632, l, 32, read euent for euen. f, 734, l, 34, read reparing for repaying. f, 760, line 7 r, man for many. f, 767, line 9 r, cruelty for cruelly. f, 798, l, 8 r, may for many. f, 809, l, 2 r, dead for death. f, 810, l, 4 r, gaue for waue. f, 811, l, 4 r, we for were. f, 815, l, 36 r, then for them. f, 827, l, 34 r, of the for the of. f, 852, l, 5 r, then for them. f, 898, l, 33 r, laying for laung. f, 906, l, 6 r, vs to for to vs.



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