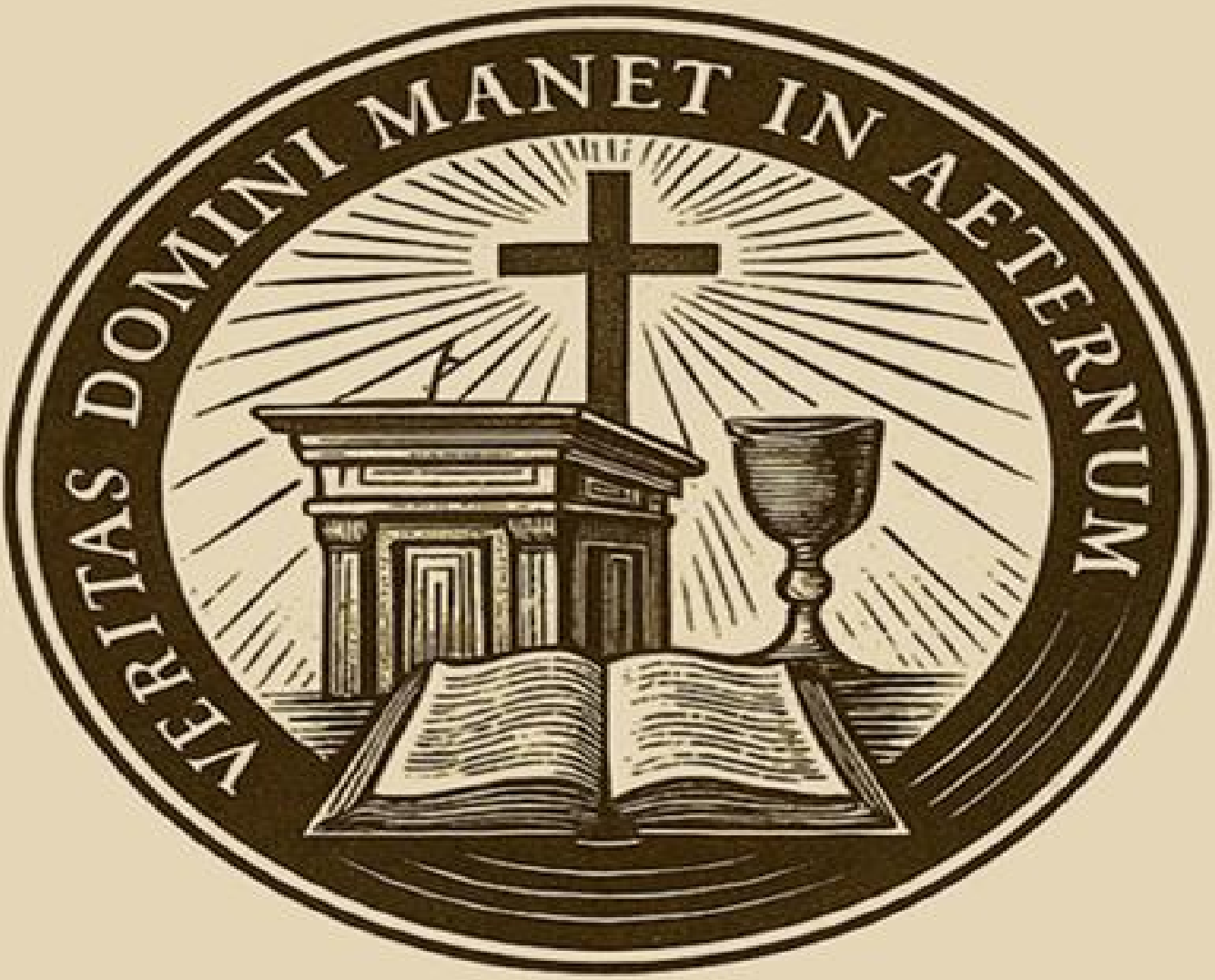
PART IV



THE COMMON PLACES

THE OUTWARD MEANS OF FELLOWSHIP WITH CHRIST

PETER MARTYR VERMIGLI

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Part IV. The Outward Means of Fellowship with Christ

Peter Martyr Vermigli

Monergism Books

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CHAP. I. Of the Church, and of the functions, Calling, Office, Dignity and efficacy of the Ministry and Ministers in the same Church.

The name of a Church is derived of the Greek Verb, καλεῖν, that is, to call. For none can be partakers thereof, which come not thereunto by the calling of God. And to define it, we say, that it is a company of believers, and regenerate persons, whom God gathereth together in Christ, by the word and the holy Ghost, and by his Ministers governeth the same with pureness of doctrine, with lawful use of the Sacraments, and with discipline. And it is everywhere called the body of Christ, because all the members thereof have him for their head, of whom by the joints and sinews they take their growing, and attain unto life by the inspiration of the holy Ghost. And these members are so thoroughly joined unto the head, as they are called flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones. It is the soul of Christ, and we confess the same in the Creed, when we say: I believe in the holy Church. And we add straight way by exposition: The Communion of Saints. For they alone truly and before God are of the Church: the which otherwise hath mingled therewith very many which be strangers from Christ: and these in show only, not in deed do belong unto the Church. Wherefore of

them John said: They went out from us, but they were not of us. And it is in the Gospel that when the goodman of the house and his servants were asleep, the devil sowed tares upon the good seed. And Paul in the first to the Corinthians the first Chapter, after he had saluted the Church of God, added by exposition: Unto them that are sanctified by Christ Jesus, being called Saints, that we may understand that the wicked appertain not in very deed unto the Church, although they be always conversant therein: and that (as we said a little before) we may confess that to be the Church which we call the Communion of Saints. But and if thou wilt conclude hereby that the Church shall be unknown, we will deny it to be a firm conclusion; because there be proper marks assigned, by which the same may be very well known, and be discerned from profane conventicles. For wheresoever the pureness of doctrine flourisheth, the Sacraments are purely ministered, and discipline exercised, thou hast a congregation whereunto thou mayest safely join thyself, although the honesty of every particular man is not sufficiently known unto thee. Neither is it of necessity required, that the godly should be discerned of men what manner of persons they be while they live here. Christ, while he lived here among mortal men was not known. And we (as the Apostle hath declared unto the Colossians, the third Chapter) have our life hidden in God: and when Christ which is our life shall appear, then we also shall be made manifest with him in glory. Again we read in the first of Samuel: It is God that looketh into the heart: but men only know those things which are apparent. I know there is a fable spread abroad, that the wicked be members of Christ, howbeit dead members, which nevertheless may be quickened. But this is even as true as if thou shalt say that a dead man is a man. We will confess in deed, that by Christ and by the holy Ghost, they may be restored unto life, but in the meantime, while that is not

done we will not grant them to be the members of Christ, unless we shall judge according to the form and outward show. Neither do we for this cause say, that evil men at every man's judgment should be separated or excluded from the Church, when they have secretly sinned and have not been as yet cut off by excommunication from the body of Christ. Nay rather while they be permitted, if so be they administer the word of God or Sacraments unto the people, divine things are not polluted by their wickedness: but this only we affirm now, that such manner of men in very deed and before God are not members of the Church. Thou mayest perhaps doubt how Paul might truly call the Church of the Corinthians, the Church of God, the which was infected with so many vices. But it must be understood, that all they which were there, were not utterly corrupted, many good men remained. Further they were as yet instructed with pure doctrine, and they retained the Sacraments whole and perfect, neither were they altogether without discipline, and those things that were wanting, were not laid aside without regard: nay rather, the godly labored much about the correcting of them. For we know, that Paul was admonished by them which were at Cloas, that he should prevent the evils that were breaking forth. Besides this, Paul had a respect to the testimony of God, who had said unto him, that in the same city he had much people. Over this thou must understand, that the Church of God doth not so fall away for every blemish, as that it should no more be called the Church of God. It is not presently without spot or wrinkle, but in the day of Jesus Christ it shall be.

2. But they exceedingly err which account only the Romish Church for the Church. We deny not but that there is an order among Churches, but we grant it not to be the same which dependeth of the wealth and dignities of this world. Wherefore among Churches, that must be taken for the better,

which doeth most flourish in spirit, doctrine, and holiness. But at this day only successions and Cathedral seats are had in great estimation; whereas notwithstanding Christ hath not tied his grace unto these things. And if so be that at Rome or Constantinople doctrine be polluted, the Sacraments mangled, and discipline corrupted, how can we ask counsel of those Churches as more excellent than the rest? Verily this should be nothing else but to seek grapes of thorns, and figs of thistles. In ancient time the Apostolical Churches were, Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Corinth, and other such like: but what is there at this day? Alas there be many errors and superstitions: and there is little wanting but that they degenerate into Turkish wickedness. Let the Church be Catholic, for places do not separate believers; even as the place in like manner, (as saith Chrysostom) although it be one, doth not join them together. For if in one and the same place there be two Lord's which command things repugnant, doubtless their servants will be divided: for as Christ hath taught, We cannot in one and the self-same work serve two.

3. But it is perpetually objected against us by Hosius and Staphylus, and other persecutors of the Gospel, that we agree not among ourselves as touching the matter of the Sacrament, Free will, and other things. We cannot deny it: but shall we therefore say, that the reformed Church is no Church? Indeed the spirit of the Lord is the spirit of peace. It would possess us all wholly if we were wholly regenerate: howbeit as yet we are not so. The Church is instituted, that it may be without wrinkle hereafter: now it is not, one day it shall be, when Christ shall have overcome all his enemies. I think there be none but do like of a consenting together, but yet, saving the truth, otherwhile it cannot be had. Dissensions in the Church are never forthwith rooted out. These men when they declare these things, do seem to set forth

mere wonders, as though that there hath never been dissensions in the Church. But (I beseech you) let them consider the beginnings. The people of Israel, which was the Church of God, would often times have killed Moses in the wilderness. Core, Dathan, and Abiram raised a tumult, and contended for the Priesthood, which by the express word of God was assigned to Aaron. What turmoils were there between David and Saul? Yet was there an express word of God as touching the kingdom. The house of Judah had the kingdom at the hands of God, and yet there became a schism under Rehoboam. After that age, the Prophets succeeded: on the one side they were true, on the other side they were false: they spake things that were repugnant. That which one affirmed, the other denied. The Israelites being returned out of captivity, were rent into sundry sorts: into the sects of the Essei, Pharisees and Sadducees. Who will say that a church was not there? And so it is no new thing; where the Church of God is, there dissensions to be. If they shall deny this to be done in the New Testament, I know not whether they err wittingly or unwittingly. What happened between Peter and Paul in the time of the Apostles? Peter followed the Jewish custom to the hinderance of the Ethnics which were converted. Paul reproved him. Paul and Barnabas (whom the holy Ghost had joined together in the ministry) so disagreed, as they departed one from another. The time of contention for the retaining or not retaining of Judaism continued a long time. The contention was passed over unto Augustine and Jerome. The one would, that even in the holy Scriptures certainties might be grounded by dispensation, the other earnestly denied it. In the time of the Apostles and a little after, the Christians had many sectaries among them: namely the Cerinthians, the Marcionites, the Gnostics, the Carpocratians. Admit that the Ethnics had taken our Argument and had said: You cannot agree as

touching your Christ: We have holy ordinances of our God's. Which shall I believe, these or those? They all say that they be Christians. I beseech you let us consider of the Church among the Corinthians, the which is very much commended by Paul, saying: that they were instructed in all wisdom and in the word. Were they quiet among themselves? There were Schisms among them: They said, I hold of Peter, I of Paul, I of Apollo. But thou wilt say they disagreed not as touching matters of weight. Many were at that point, that they thought simple fornication no sin: So as it behooved Paul to instruct them concerning the same. Of the resurrection itself, they judged amiss. If there be errors in the Anabaptists or in others, we agree not with them. In the latter age the Arians did shake the Church for the space of 150 years: and there were Ethnics which were aggrieved thereat. For Themistius wrote of this matter unto the Emperor Constantius. Grant me that the Ethnics which then were, reasoned against the Church: How are ye Christians divided among yourselves? In one Church was a Catholic Bishop, in another a Novatian: as at Constantinople was Chrysostom and Agelius. In Africa also well near throughout every Church were two Bishops, a Catholic and a Donatist. A part would have Images: Epiphanius counted it as a thing detestable. What shall we say as touching the Supremacy of the Pope? They would have it to be an article of necessity unto salvation: but have they all received the same? Gregory said that this is the title of Antichrist. The Bishop of Constantinople sued against the Bishop of Rome. At length the whole East part acknowledged not the Roman Bishop: and yet they said that it was the Church. They say that they have the Popedom joined thereunto: God he knoweth. But to deal frankly with them, let us grant them this: It is a token that they are wholly carried unto

lewdness, and it is rather a conspiracy than a verity. David had the kingdom of God, yet was it not quiet: Such is the Church.

Of diverse Ministries of the Church.

4. But now let us observe that the Apostles were to that end chosen, that they should institute the service of the Gospel, and should publish unto the believers the things which they had heard of Christ: But the Bishops were ordained to this purpose, that they should defend those things which are contained in the Gospel and the holy scriptures: which they should so receive to be defended, as they must not ad unto them any new things, and forge traditions at their own will. Further the holy fathers which were Bishops, when they take in hand to write, do confess themselves to be handlers of the holy scriptures, and would not, that those things which they write should be accounted of so great authority as we attribute unto the Cannon of the Scriptures. Nay rather they forbid that any credit should be given unto them, if they speak anything against the holy Scriptures. Thirdly, to the Apostolical doctrine were adjoined many miracles, whereby their authority is confirmed: which we see was not done in the traditions of the Elders. Again we are sure that the Apostles wrote by the inspiration of the holy Ghost: which we dare not affirm of our Bishops. Whereupon we conclude, that the Apostles could not err in those things which they wrote: but we see that the Bishops have oftentimes decreed amiss as concerning the rules of Religion: as it appeareth in the Council of Ariminum, and also in the second Synod of Ephesus, and also in many other: yea and they erred very much also in their Actions. At Chalcedon and Constantinople were Synods gathered together, in which Chrysostom was condemned and deposed, which also was done in the name of those Bishops which were accounted Catholic. And there might be alleged many examples of this sort.

Also Paul writing unto Timothy prayeth him to save that which was given him to keep, declaring that he ought neither to ad nor diminish anything of the doctrine of the Gospel received: This is to preserve the thing given him to keep. Add hereunto that the Apostles be so unto Bishops and ordinary Pastors, as in old time the Prophets were unto the high Bishops and Priests. For the Prophets might bring books and mix them with the Canonical Scriptures: For Samuel added his books unto the Scripture: Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the other Prophets added their monuments unto the Scripture, which the Scribes, high Priests and Bishops might not have done. The Apostles called the Gentiles, abrogated the Ceremonies of the law, which was beyond the compass of the high Bishops and Priests. Therefore the Apostle setteth forth himself by sundry titles, that when we read him, or hear him, we may think that we hear not the words of a man, but oracles poured out of heaven.

5. But in the Scriptures there be many places by which it may be proved that the doctrine of the Gospel should be published throughout the whole world by the ministry of the Apostles. As in Isaiah the 24th and 59th chapters, and in Malachi, and almost everywhere in the Prophets. And if so be, the Gospel were published throughout the world, then could not the Jews cavil that they had not heard of it: especially when as Preaching began at them, according to that saying: Out of Zion shall go the law, and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem. Neither did the Apostles turn unto the Gentiles until they had now seen the obstinacy of the unbelieving Jews. For then they went unto the Gentiles, who nevertheless also had Ministers of the word of God before, although not in such plenty, and ordinary succession as the Jews had. Among the Gentiles lived Melchizedek, Balaam, Job, and the Sibils, whose testimonies as touching Christ are revealed of old writers.

Joseph lived in Egypt: Jonah was sent unto the Ninevites: Daniel and his companions preached in Babylon: Nehemiah's and Esdras lived among the Persians: all which men kindled some light of true godliness amongst the Gentiles, but at length the doctrine was made fully complete by the Apostles. The Jews therefore are confuted by an argument taken *a minori* [*that is, of the less.*] If the Gentiles being far off, and at the ends of the world did hear, how have you Jews not heard? And this manner of exposition doeth Chrysostom follow. Neither is it any marvel that Paul in the tenth Chapter to the Romans writeth, that the Gospel is published everywhere, for he testifieth the self-same thing unto the Colossians the first Chapter, and that twice. First he saith: In the truth of the Gospel, which being preached throughout the world bringeth forth fruit. And towards the end of the same Chapter he saith: The Gospel which is preached unto every creature under heaven. Also in the fifteenth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, he declareth with how great endeavor he labored to publish abroad the Gospel in all places. From Jerusalem (saith he) unto Illyricum have I filled all the countries round about with the Gospel. And now seeing I have no more place in these quarters, as I go into Spain I will come unto you. If one Apostle did so much, what do we think that the rest of the Apostles and Evangelists did? Matthew preached unto the Ethiopians which were in the furthermost parts, and Thomas unto the Indians, which even they themselves at this day testify. And in the first Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, it is written, that the faith of the Romans was spoken of through the whole world. And this diligence of the Apostles ought to stir up men of our time, by continual preaching to restore Religion now decayed. Wherefore that commandment of the Lord which he gave unto the Apostles, to go into the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature, ought

also to be of force in our time, that every man in his place which he is appointed unto, should by preaching not suffer sound doctrine to be abolished.

6. That the Gospel in the Apostles time was carried abroad into all the parts of the world, some expound it by the figure Synecdoche, namely that it was now preached in the most principal Provinces and Dominions: and that at the leastwise the fame and renown of this doctrine went from thence unto the Nations adjoining. And of this mind was Ambrose, who saith: Where the person of the preacher wanted, there the fame was present. And this he proveth by a similitude. The wonderful works, which God had wrought in Egypt to preserve the Israelites, were by fame known in Jericho, as Rahab testified to those messengers or spies whom Joshua sent. No nation as yet in the Apostles time by public authority of the magistrates professed Christ. For this came to pass only in the times of Constantine and Theodosius. And hereby is easily perceived, what they meant which wrote that certain nations were newly converted unto the gospel: which doubtless they affirm of English men, as though in Gregory's time they came unto Christ by means of Augustine his legate, and Bishop of Canterbury: and also of the Saxons, that they in the time of Charles the great, received the faith of the Gospel. This indeed might be as touching the public profession of Cities and Regions, when nevertheless, Christ was long time before preached in those places. And as touching England, it had preachers of the Gospel even from the beginning, namely in the time of Eleutherius the first, and had them in such sort as those Bishops continued unto the time of that Augustine which was sent by Gregory. And that Island as touching the feast of Easter, observed the old manner of the East Church, and specially of the Church of Ephesus, for they did celebrate it the 14th day of March.

Wherefore the same Augustine (as I think) rather brought in a Tyrannical subjection under the Pope, than pure Christian Religion: And thus must we judge of the Saxons and such other like nations. Augustine in his book *de natura & Gratia*, the 2nd chapter, affirmeth, that in his time there were some countries far off, although very few, unto whom the Gospel was not as yet preached: which I thus understand; that the word of God was not publicly received and believed. He writeth also of this matter in an Epistle to Hesychius, which is in number the 80th. But Chrysostom most manifestly maketh on my side in his 10th Homily upon Matthew, and also upon the 24th chapter of Matthew, when he interpreteth these words: This Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached throughout the whole world for a witness, and then shall be the end. No doubt but the Gospel was preached before the destruction of Jerusalem: for the end in that place must be referred unto the public government of the Jews, which was destroyed in the time of the Apostles: for John lived even unto the time of Trajan. The Gospel then was in that first time preached almost everywhere, but not everywhere received: nay rather the Preachers were in every place grievously persecuted, as Christ had foreshowed. For They shall deliver you (saith he) and shall scourge you in Councils and Synagogues, and ye shall be brought before Kings and Rulers.

7. So as there were very few or in a manner none, which either heard not the preaching of the Gospel, or at the leastwise heard not of the noble and excellent fame of Christ: And yet it may be, that in process of time the name of Christ was by negligence and incredulity abolished: as the Portingales report of places found out by them in their journey, wherein they sailed from the Gades into India. Whereupon some are wont to move a curious question: what is to be thought of those which are born either in

wild woods out of the company of men, or in those places where Christ is not preached, and his name not heard of? Unto whom we may answer, that those men (if any such be found) are indeed somewhat excused, neither shall their damnation be so grievous, as shall theirs be which have heard the Gospel and contemned it: yet nevertheless they obtain not the benefit of salvation, seeing they have in themselves the cause of their damnation, namely, original sin and many other sins the which undoubtedly have been added of them. That God without the outward ministry can reveal Christ unto them we doubt not, and perhaps he sometimes of his mercy doeth so (but not of desert as wicked Sophisters affirm, if so be they do what lieth in them: as though they were able to merit it (as they say) of congruity.) But of this, thus much by the way. Howbeit that must be attentively considered, that it was no light miracle, yea rather it was wonderful, that in so short a space of time, the doctrine of Christ could be spread abroad throughout the world, when as it had so many adversaries; the devil, wicked persons, and also tyrants, the high Bishops and Priests, and the wise men, both of the Jews and also of the Gentiles, and when as otherwise, as touching human arts, the simplicity and rudeness of the preachers was great. Within the space of 20 or 30 years, the preaching of Christ was in a manner everywhere heard, as Chrysostom writeth: but it was very long before the wise and learned Philosophers could spread abroad their doctrines further than Greece. And in such sort were they at the length published in some places, that very few understood them or gave credit to them. The doctrine of Mahomet perhaps may seem to have been published with wonderful expedition: but we must consider that those things which he preached as touching the effect, were no new opinions. For he denieth not the Creator of heaven and of earth; he believeth that the souls be immortal: he

commendeth Christ as a Prophet: he affirmeth the resurrection of the dead; he setteth forth also eternal punishments and eternal felicity, and very many other things which are contained in the Old and New Testament. Wherefore it may justly be called a heresy. And in deed they be fragments of the Arians. For he commendeth Christ but yet as a creature, he built therefore upon another man's foundation. But Christ and the Apostles when they began to preach the Gospel, found all things utterly strange from their doctrine: so that it was an incredible miracle that the heavenly doctrine could be published abroad in so short a time, and that in some part it remained of long time well near in all places. For there came unto Christ some families of believers almost throughout all provinces and Cities.

8. But prophesy is a power given from God through the inspiration of the holy Ghost, whereby the secrets and counsels of God may be known and expounded unto others for the edifying of the church, whether those things be present or past or to come. And God revealeth his counsels for the commodity of the Church. Therefore saith Solomon in the 29th of Proverbs: Where there is no prophesy the people shall be scattered; for prophesy is of great force to keep men in their duty. They prophesied in Musical instruments. For in the first book of Chronicles the 25th chapter, they are appointed which should prophesy in Cymbals and Harps. Paul in the 14th chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, teacheth that Prophesy must be done to edifying, he that prophesieth speaketh to men to edifying, to exhortation, and comfort. And if so be that all do prophesy and there come in one that believeth not, or is unlearned, he is rebuked of all men, and is judged of all, and so the secrets of his heart are made manifest, and so falling down upon his face he will worship God, confessing that God of a truth is in you. The devil also as he is an Ape of God would have also his

divine worshippers and fantastical Priests of Sibil, who did fret and fume in their ceremonies, not to edification, but to destruction. God in Deuteronomy doth earnestly forbid, that none should ask counsel of a Magician, Soothsayer, or Diviner. I (saith he) will raise unto you a Prophet, him ye shall hear. And by two signs he saith ye shall know him to be the Prophet of God, both if the things come to pass which he hath foreshowed, and also if he lead not the people to Idolatry. I know that place of St. Peter in the Acts of the Apostles, is most truly applied unto Christ, yet also it may be understood not amiss, as touching the Prophets, of whom the people should ask counsel: yea and in the Psalm, the people complain that prophesy ceased. We see not say they our signs. At this day also the Jews are miserably destitute of all kind of prophesy. But in the Primitive Church, when prophesy flourished, what difference was there between a Prophet and a Doctor? I answer, that although the office of them both were all one, yet Doctors were instructed by Masters: but Prophets spake upon the sudden, being moved by the inspiration of the holy Ghost without any help of man.

9. But yet it is to be thought that Prophets in old time were of the tribe of Levi, for all administration and care of holy services pertained unto that tribe. Wherefore they that were chosen out of that tribe, were brought that after they had been well and godly instructed, they should afterward offer sacrifice and teach the people. And they were taught even from their childhood, that godliness being planted betimes, it might fasten with the more continuance and steadfastness. They were exercised unto no other trade of life, than to teach the law, to offer sacrifice, and to pray for the people. But thou wilt say: these be the gifts of God, why then should they be learned of a Master? In deed I grant they are the gifts of God, yet there is no let but that young men may adorn their minds with good arts, the which

afterward, the holy Ghost may use. They were called the children of the Prophets, because they held and reverenced instead of fathers the elder Prophets, of whom they were taught. Also disciples and hearers in the holy scriptures are oftentimes called children. Paul to the Galatians, My little children (saith he) of whom I now travel in birth. And unto the Corinthians: Children lay not up for parents, but parents for children. Also in John Christ oftentimes calleth his Disciples, Children. And John in his Epistles, Little children (saith he) beware of Idols. Isaiah in the 8th chapter saith: Seal the law in my Disciples. And straight way he addeth: I and the children which the Lord hath given me. Unto these children of the Prophets the Nazarites of other tribes did oftentimes sort themselves, those were utterly severed from the common people, and they carried some show of our Monks, who also might have been suffered, if all things among them had not been contaminated with superstitions. For they had vows, invocations of the dead, Masses and whatsoever else rather than that which behooved. Undoubtedly godly Kings erected Schools and Colleges, that in them young men should be brought up to good learning and godliness. Neither was there any Cathedral Church, but a School was joined thereunto. At Alexandria and Antioch did Pantenus, Clemens, Origen, and other most learned men, publicly profess. At this day also among the Canonists a place is assigned for the Schoolmaster: but he doeth nothing less than teach the youth. And hereof cometh so great darkness everywhere in the Popes government, either because the youth are not taught at all, or else because they are taught wicked things. Samuel was president of this College. Before his time there is no mention made in the holy scriptures of any such fellowship of Prophets.

Of taking a spiritual charge, look the Oration that beginneth: Those causes.

10. But when as God chose Deborah unto the Ministry of judging, being weak in Sex, he straight way made her very famous, and honorable through the gift of prophesying. By which grace, and perhaps many other miracles more, she was constituted by God, and confirmed by miracles, as a woman chosen to so great an office. Neither was only this woman endued with the spirit of prophesy: for in the holy scripture we read of other women also which were in such sort instructed by the holy Ghost. Mary the sister of Moses, Hanna the mother of Samuel, Holda in the time of Josiah the king were Prophetesses. And in the New Testament (to speak nothing of Mary the virgin, of Elizabeth the mother of John, and of Anna the daughter of Phanuel:) the daughters of Phillip the Deacon, (as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles) were Prophetesses. Neither think I it ought to be denied, that some of those women, endued with the gift of prophesy, did openly teach the people, in declaring of those things unto them which had been showed them of God: seeing the gifts of God are not therefore given that they should lie hidden, but to the intent they should further the common edifying of the Church. And yet hereby it followeth not, that what God doeth by some peculiar privilege, we should forthwith draw it into an example unto us: because according to the rule of the Apostle, we are bound unto an ordinary law, whereby both in the Epistle to Timothy, and in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, he commandeth that a woman should keep silence in the Church. And of the silence commanded, he assigneth causes, namely, for that they ought to be subject to their husbands: but the office of a teacher doeth declare a certain authority over those which are taught, which must not be attributed unto a woman over men. For she was made for man,

whom to obey she ought always to have a respect, which thing is also appointed her by the judgment of God, whereby he said unto the woman after sin was committed, Thy disposition shall be towards thy husband. Further the Apostle derived a reason from the first fault, wherein he saith that Eve was seduced, and not Adam. So as if women should ordinarily be admitted to the holy ministry in the Church, men might easily suspect that the devil by his accustomed instrument would deceive the people, and for that cause they would the less esteem the Ecclesiastical function if it should be committed unto women, wherefore by the ordinary right, and by the Apostolical rule, it ought to be appointed unto men. Howbeit if God do otherwise sometime, yet can he not be justly accused, for so much as all laws are in his power. If then sometime he send a Prophetess, and adorn her with heavenly gifts, the same woman speaking in the Church, must undoubtedly be hearkened unto, but yet so, as her state be not forgotten. Therefore the two testimonies of Paul, which seem to be repugnant one to another, may easily be reconciled. In the first Epistle to Timothy he writeth, That a woman ought to be silent in the Church. Which toward the end of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, he most manifestly confirmeth. Howbeit in the same Epistle he commandeth that a man prophesying or praying, should have his head uncovered, but the woman while the prophesieth, should have it covered: whereby doubtless he teacheth, that it is lawful for a woman, both to speak, and also to prophesy in the Church. For it would not seem, that so doing she should have been commanded to cover her head, if she were utterly to keep silence in the holy assembly. After this sort the matter must be expounded, namely, that the precept of silence is a general precept, but the other, which is for covering of the head when they pray or prophesy, pertained only to those which were Prophetesses. They verily are not

forbidden to prophesy, for the common edifying of the Church: but least they forgetting the property of their own state (by reason of the extraordinary office committed unto them) should wax proud, they are commanded to have their head covered: whereby they might understand that they have yet the power of man above them. Moreover where in the 2nd chapter to Titus, it is commanded that the elder women should admonish the younger women of temperance, and that they should love their husbands and children, and should likewise be diligent housewives in their family: this must not be understood as touching public doctrine or Ecclesiastical Sermons, but of private exhortations, which are meet to be used by the elder sort unto the younger.

11. When Paul saith in the 12th to the Romans, He that distributeth let him do it with sincerity: he touched the office of Deacons as they were at that time, and ought also to be in our time. Their office was to distribute to the poor the Alms and oblations of the faithful. Let them do their office (saith he) with simplicity, let them withhold nothing by craft and ill practice. For naughty and deceitful men, when they have dealing in public receipts, do nothing sincerely, but use wonderful guiles and subtleties. These things would Paul have to be removed from this kind of ministry. Others think that In giving with simplicity, he meaneth; without any respect unto worldly praise, which some seek for in the bestowing of other men's Alms. But the first interpretation in my judgment seemeth most fit. And whereas he addeth: He that ruleth let him do it with carefulness: although I doubt not but that there were many kind of governments in the Church, yet to confess the truth, this me thinketh is most fitly to be understood of Elders: not in very deed of them which had the charge of the word and of doctrine; but of those which were appointed as assistants unto the Pastors.

They, as being the discreter sort, and endued with a greater zeal and godliness, were chosen out from among the laity. Their office was chiefly to attend unto discipline, and to take heed what every man did, and in every house and family to see what need everyone had, as touching that which belonged to the soul or to the body. For the Church had her ancients; or, if I may so say, her Senate, which according to the time provided for profitable things. Paul describeth this kind of Ministry, not only in this place, but also in the first to Timothy. For thus he writeth, The Elders are worthy of double honor, especially they which labor in the word and doctrine. In which words he seemeth to signify, that there be some Elders, which teach and set forth the word of God: and there are others, which although they do not this, yet as ancients and Elders they do govern in the Church. This did not Ambrose leave untouched, when he did expound that place. Yea he complaineth, that even then, either through pride, or through the slothfulness of the Priests, they were in a manner worn away. For while they, which have the government of the Church seek to draw all things unto themselves, they provide as diligently as they can, that they may have no fellow officers joined with them in that room. Wherefore Paul willeth that they which have this charge, should do their endeavor, and remove sloth and sluggishness. Further he addeth: He that showeth mercy, let him do it with cheerfulness. And this seemeth to have been the office of widows and of old men, which were to that end maintained by the Church, that they should take care of strangers and of them that were sick. For good cause he commandeth these to have cheerfulness. For men that be weak and afflicted, are much relieved, if they see their necessities are ministered unto with cheerfulness. For they, which with a frowning countenance and heavy cheer do these things, seem to add sorrow unto them that be sorrowful: for thereby they misdoubt that

they be chargeable and troublesome to their brethren. By means whereof, they are oftentimes brought to that point, as they count death much better than such a life. Thus much spake Paul concerning the public ministries of the Church, which he upon just cause calleth χαρίσματα, to wit, free gifts. For all these things, although it seemeth that they may be gotten by human art and industry, yet shall we never bring to pass anything in that kind by our own labor, unless we be holpen by the grace of God, whereby those things which we do are made profitable and effectual. For they which are occupied in these offices, may indeed without the help of God, obtain the praise of men and well liking of the people, but they cannot further the salvation of souls and commodity of the Church. And as touching this matter, they oftentimes have God favorable and gracious unto them, which nevertheless obey him not with a sincere will. But this is to be exceedingly lamented, that this governance of the Church is so miserably decayed, that at this day, not so much as the names of these functions are anywhere extant. In the stead of these they have put Taper Bearers, and I know not what Acoluthes and Subdeacons, which serve for trifling and vain actions, about that superstitious Altar of theirs.

12. And in the first Epistle to the Corinthians the 16 Chapter, we have a notable place as concerning the visitation of Churches. For Paul for the same cause would return to the Corinthians, and first survey the Churches of Macedonia: and because he could not straight way travel to Corinth, he devised to send thither Timothy. And how necessary the visitation of Churches is, the state of human things doeth declare: by the which we easily perceive that things do oftentimes decay and fall to ruin, unless they be now and then revoked to their first order and institution. Wherefore we are not to doubt that this is no human but an apostolical invention. But it

behooveth, that they which visit, should be men of great authority, of honest and godly life, and also well instructed in the holy Scriptures. For if so be they shall not by the word of God perceive those things to be perverse which they would amend, they shall bring nothing to pass. Peradventure thou wilt say: seeing all Churches have their own Pastors, what need is there that other men should come unto them to visit? We answer, that it oftentimes happeneth, that the men of any Church do not so greatly esteem their own Pastors, being otherwise good men, because through continual conversation they grow in contempt: but when they shall come before three or four which be of other Churches, being men of great name and authority, they may be a great deal more easily corrected, and the ordinances of the Pastors, if they be good ordinances, may be maintained by the authority of these men: if they be not good, they may be amended. Now it is grown to a use, that this office of visiting is assigned unto Primates and Archbishops: because those men which were endued with the more ample gifts of God and which did excel others in learning and holiness, were wont to be preferred to the higher places, to the chief seas, and more notable Cities. But forasmuch as we see, that in the most places at this day such high degrees are by the favor of princes and by perverse election, commended unto unmeet men, what profit can these men bring by their visitation? Verily not a whit, but oftentimes no small inconvenience.

Of calling, and especially unto the Ministry.

13. Very ill do they gather, which thus say: Things happen not to this or that man according to his mind: therefore his calling is not of God. For who suffered either more or more grievous things, than did our Savior Christ? And yet was his calling most lawful. Wherefore a great comfort is here offered to the ministers of the Church, and to lawful magistrates, that

although they see many troubles laid before them, yet that they should not despair; for those things proceed of the Devil: He verily hateth all lawful calling. For he seeth, that God will bless it, and that his strength shall be diminished by the same. And seeing such manner of impediments be of two sorts, some in the minds of men, and some which happen outwardly, both kinds are laid in our way by the Devil. For in the minds he worketh that men may despair and become of faint courage, and think that they shall not be able to bear so great a charge and so to become negligent. But if he prosper not this way, he from elsewhere offereth enmities, hatreds, seditions and troubles. But and if there be some which are neither lawfully called, nor yet do their duty, the Devil doth nothing at all disquiet them, for he suffereth them safely and soundly to sleep on both sides. But God putteth himself among these troubles, and many ways comforteth them that be his. First by his word: For he foreshoweth that they are to suffer many things. Secondly also he layeth before them the examples of such as suffered many things in the following of their vocation. Furthermore against the first impediment he giveth strength and stableness of minds. And if any man do withstand him, he discourageth him and maketh him feeble. Thus the kingdom of Christ standeth and shall stand forever. Thus the kingdom of David, though it be shaken with many violences, yet it shall stand. Wherefore every man ought to abide in his calling, and not to despair and become afraid of adversities.

14. First ye must understand, that God doth oftentimes immediately (as they speak) by his own self choose and call some men, and that sometime he doth the same by men. And that immediate calling of God, is either general; as unto justification, life, salvation; or else particular, as to teach, to marry a wife, to bear an office. But whatsoever it be, we ought straight

ways to obey, after we understand that we be called of God. Howbeit every man must be assured of his calling. For oftentimes the Devil shifteth in himself, and deceiveth men under the show of God. But in that other calling which is done by men, many things must be diligently considered. And especially these four causes: the Matter, the Form, the Efficient cause, and the End. The matter is, the nature itself of the function, the same must be just and honest, and agreeing to the word of God. And therefore mercenary soldiers and bauds cannot be said to have a lawful calling. In the form must be taken heed, that money, ambition, or affection of the flesh be no mean therein. In the efficient we are to see, that it be done by them to whom it belongeth: to wit, by the magistrate, or people, or elders of the Church. But by force nothing at all must be attempted. And as touching the end, because it is a voluntary taking on him, it doth behoove that the will have respect to some good thing: Namely, that the kingdom of God be holpen, that no man seek his own gains or commodities, or other means against justice and goodness and the word of God. They which choose must regard, not only that he which is chosen be willing, but also that he have skill and be able. For what shall he do, if he be ignorant? And he must not only have skill, but also have strength to be able. And these things doubtless ought men have a respect unto. But God when he calleth any man inquireth not after these things, for he can bring them all to pass and give them. But he which is chosen must not judge of his own strength. For many being most unmeet, think themselves fit, and many on the other side when they be sufficiently furnished and apt, yet being led by some shamefastness or modesty, do think themselves unfit. Wherefore the judgment ought to rest in the commonwealth or in the Church. Howbeit if he perceive himself to be altogether unfit for that function, he must make protestation what he

judgeth of himself. But yet at the last, if they will not change their mind, he ought to give place. Whereupon there ariseth a doubt, how in the first to the Cor. the 16th chapter, they which were of the family of Stephana, can be said to have ordained themselves, seeing the same maketh a show of Ambition and disorder. For by this means perhaps ordinary means would be contemned, and each one at his own pleasure might usurp ecclesiastical offices. Of which opinion are the Anabaptists. And this place among others they cite. Howbeit if we weigh those words which be written unto Timothy, these men are soon discharged from the suspect of ambition. He that desireth a Bishopric, desireth a good work. But whatsoever he be that desireth a Bishopric, let him thoroughly weigh whether he seek for riches and honors, rather than for the functions and labors of a Bishop. Neither doth Chrysostom otherwise understand it (when it is said that these men ordained themselves) but that they chose this kind of life and wholly addicted themselves to the ministry of the Saints. But against the fury of the Anabaptists, we are confirmed by many places taken out of the Scriptures, that we should observe an order in Ecclesiastical callings, and that every man at his own pleasure should not break out and make the offices of the Church common unto all men. Paul being desirous to have credit given to his Apostleship, confirmeth the same by his vocation, and mentioneth everywhere that he is called to be an Apostle. And what need had it been for him in the Epistles unto Timothy and unto Titus to have reckoned up with so great diligence the properties of a Bishop, Elder, and Deacon, if every man might obtrude himself at his own will? Those things declare, that there ought in any wise to be had some choice of men. Yea and the Apostle writeth unto Timothy, That he should not suddenly lay hands on any man. Where thou seest that to the ordaining of a minister, is required to have

hands laid on. Which because he would not have to be done rashly, he teacheth that there be some which may be chosen before others. Neither will it easily stand, which we read unto the Ephesians, that God placed in the Church some to be Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists &c. Of which thing there is mention made both in the Epistle to the Romans, and in the Epistle to the Corinthians. For if a man intrude himself and usurp Ecclesiastical offices, he is not appointed by God, but he appointeth himself to be both Pastor and teacher. Furthermore, the Apostles have left unto us a form and example. Matthias was chosen. Paul and Barnabas by the commandment of the holy Ghost were put apart to be sent unto the Gentiles. And when they had traveled over diverse Cities and Regions, as we be taught in the Acts, that they ordained Elders in the Churches. And also we read of Aaron in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that he did not intrude himself, but was called by God, whom others also should imitate. At length the Church would fall to ruin and be overcharged with expenses. For such is the ambition and temerity of men, as an innumerable sort would take the ministry upon them. And whereas by the law of God sustenance is due unto them that labor in the word, it were not possible to have sufficiency for all that should labor. And whereas all things, according to the commandment of the Apostle, ought to be done in order, these men would mingle and confound all things, which is the only endeavor of the Devil, who misliketh not anything so much (especially in divine things) as a right and well-ordered institution.

15. But let us see now what reasons they bring for themselves. First of all is that place which we have cited. Secondly they allege out of the first Epistle of Peter, namely, that we are now a kingdom and priesthood, to set forth the virtues of God. Furthermore they say, that the keys are not given

unto one or to another, but unto the whole Church, and so each one may use them. Besides, they lay blame unto us, as though we observe not the commandment of Christ in preferring pastors to the government of the Church: because Christ for bad, that we should be called masters, chief rulers, or Rabbi. And it appeareth plainly enough, that brotherly correction belongeth unto all men, which is not done without the administration of the word of God. Moreover Parents and householders are bound to instruct their Children and household servants in the fear of the Lord: which is nothing else but to preach and publish the Gospel. Nor doth it make any matter whether this be done within the walls of a private house, or else openly abroad. For the Apostles did not always preach in the streets, but they did it also in private houses. The lame, the blind, and lepers obtained health of Christ: they went their ways publishing his name without expecting to be appointed by order. Also women have otherwhile exercised the holy ministry of preaching, and yet were they not instructed before. And Magdalene declared the resurrection of Christ unto the Apostles. And the woman of Samaria preached him unto her Citizens. The Daughters of Philip were Prophetesses. And in the Old Testament Deborah, Mary the sister of Moses, and Anna the mother of Samuel openly sang thanks unto God. Martyrs being called unto the Tribunal seat, openly confessed Christ, and set him forth with all the power they had. Over this Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians said, that two or three should Prophesy, so as if it were revealed to any one that stood by, he that spake should hold his peace and give place to the other. Where it appeareth, that it sufficeth to receive a revelation to exercise the office of preaching. And finally Paul would That while any doeth prophesy, the standers by should judge, unto whom seeing judgment is attributed, there seemeth also power to be given, that they

themselves in like manner may preach, seeing, to judge, is more than to speak.

16. For answer unto these things, first consider we that it is one thing when a Church is not yet settled, and another when the same is now ordained and planted. For when it is not as yet built, and that men be ignorant of Christian religion, whosoever by chance and fortune shall be there, which know Christ, they are bound to set him forth, and to win men unto him. Neither must ordaining be expected when as it cannot be had. For then he which is heard and doeth preach Christ, hath, of his election, the secret voices of them which do come and consent. Nor is he uncalled of God, seeing he is bound by commandment to do that which he doeth, so that (as we have said) he well understand Christ and his religion. Which must be understood; If he can in no wise attain unto them which should ordain him. For if he may have access unto any which may ordain him after the usual manner by laying on of hands, he ought not to neglect that ordinance. But where the Church is now instituted (because all things by the admonition of the holy Ghost must be done in order) therefore express and manifest voices of election and laying on of hands, are required for the avoiding of disorder and confusion of things. Besides these, we affirm that there is a certain ordinary function, and a certain function extraordinary. Elias, Elisha, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and those kind of Prophets, were extraordinarily sent of God. They neither were of the stock of Levi nor yet Priests: wherefore they should never have been put into the ministry by the high Priests: nevertheless they were sent from God when all things were corrupted and marred, and might not be restored by the ordinary Ministers. And of these vocations God was sometimes author by himself, as it came to pass in Moses and in many of the Prophets: sometimes they were called by

man, as Elisha was anointed by Elias. And we at this present deal not otherwise than by ordinary function of the ministry. For those things that be done extraordinarily by God, we are to wonder at them, but not always to follow them. For there be laws prescribed unto us which we ought to obey. Lastly, we would have it testified and confirmed, that there is a certain general vocation which is common unto all, and hath place in all those things whereof there be commandments extant in the law of God. But there is another vocation private, whereby every one of the faithful is appointed to his own proper degree, office, state, and function. For there is none found in the Church of Christ, that is not placed in some particular calling.

17. These things being now determined, let us confute their Arguments. First as touching Stephana and his fellows, we therefore say that they ordained themselves, because they offered themselves to the holy ministry of their own accord, and chose to themselves this kind of life, the which is both troublesome and laborious. And this exposition doeth Chrysostom follow. Neither do we so understand those things that be spoken, as though they despised the laying on of hands and the custom of right due ordering. Nor do I doubt but that either Paul or Apollo did lawfully ordain these men, and admitted them unto the holy ministry. That which Peter saith is true, that we by Christ are made both a kingdom and priesthood. And the same sentence we read in Exodus uttered according to this sense unto the Israelites: that God of his bountifulness promoted the Nation of the Jews unto excellent honors, that in their commonwealth they might have kingly honor and Priesthood, whereby their affairs both in Religion and civil state might be in good case. The very which thing Christ hath bestowed upon us Christians, seeing we have even himself in the Church, to be both King and Priest. But hereof we must not conclude, that each one private man, either

then among the Hebrews, or now among us, might use these functions at his own pleasure: but it sufficeth that everyone be partaker of those functions: because although these things be not exercised by all men, yet do they profit all men. We might also understand, that we are all spiritually both kings and Priests. For they which be regenerated by Christ, do as Priests offer unto God Prayers and giving of thanks, Alms, mortification of the flesh, and other sacrifices of this kind. They be also kings, because they are not subjected unto naughty affections, but do reign over them. Wherefore this place nothing at all serveth the Anabaptists. Further we grant, that the keys are given unto the whole Church: but yet least a confusion should happen, it is meet that some should be chosen among all, which should use the keys, the use of which may redound unto all that believe in Christ. That there should be Rulers of the Church, Paul hath admonished more than once, and Christ hath not forbidden it: who when he gave commandment that we should not be called Masters and Rabbi, he repressed ambition, and would that none of us should hunt after these things: but he forbad not that we should have in honor and honorably count them whom the Lord hath set over us: Nay rather Paul wrote unto Timothy that he was appointed to be the Master of the Gentiles.

18. As to brotherly correction, and householders which instruct their family, and also of them which were restored unto health by Christ, and finally of Martyrs which confessed Christ before the tribunal seats of the Judges, we think it must be answered all after one manner, because these things pertain unto the general vocation which consisteth in the commandments of God. For the Lord commanded, That we should correct our brother, that parents should instruct their family, and that those which had received benefit should be of a thankful mind unto their benefactors,

and that they should not suffer the benefits which they have received of God to lie hidden, but should publish them, whereby the Author may be the more glorified. Moreover we are commanded not only To believe, but also to confess with the mouth. So as the Martyrs were bound by duty when they were examined by the Judges, to confess Christ openly, otherwise they had denied him. As touching the holy women and other Prophets which exercised the ministry without attending till they were called, those we say had extraordinary vocations, the Church either being as yet not planted, or else so fallen to decay as it might not otherwise be repaired. And as concerning Paul, when he saith, that he that prophesieth ought to give place if it shall be revealed unto another. We have spoken at large before, and now we briefly answer, that then the gifts of the holy Ghost flourished by miracle, neither ought it to have been extinguished or hindered, but rightly ordered. But now the matter is otherwise. There is someone man which preacheth, and he cometh instructed and prepared to teach: Wherefore he must not rashly be interrupted by others. Howbeit if there shall be any among the number of the faithful, to whom it may seem otherwise, and that hath better perceived the matter, whereof the other entreated (if we will conform the Church unto the decree of the Apostle as much as our state wherein we have no miracles will suffer) he shall not be despised, in respect that he is a lay man, or unlearned, but ought to be had in convenient manner, place, and time: Nor shall this be to attribute unto him the public function of the ministry. Furthermore, that which they last of all affirm earnestly, that to judge is more than to speak, is not true. For there be few that can speak very well, of which talkers nevertheless there be infinite that can judge: especially as touching the principal and general pointes of Religion. Again, we affirm not, that all which stand by can judge aught of

those things that be spoken, when as notwithstanding they do all judge. Besides this, the judgment is not pronounced according to the opinion of all but according to them which determine most soundly.

19. But the election of Paul and such other ought not to move us, but that in choosing the Ministers of the Church, we must follow the doctrine of the same Apostle taught us in the Epistle unto Timothy, where he will that those which be novices in religion should not be chosen, but they which have a good testimony. But it must be considered that the rules described unto Timothy, were given unto men, from whom seeing other men's minds be hidden, and that they be utterly ignorant what is in them, it behooveth that they use the cautions described by the Apostle, least they err in their elections. But God rightly chooseth his without those rules. For he trieth the reins and the hearts, and changeth the wills of men at his own pleasure. Albeit some have said, that Paul in Judaism was of very honest conversation, as he himself testifieth unto the Philippians. And in the latter Epistle to Timothy he writeth, that he had served God from his forefathers with a pure conscience. But I hold not with these men. For I will not diminish his fault in persecuting of the Church, seeing Paul did so greatly after a sort reproach himself with the same. Wherefore when I allow of the solution now brought, this cometh to mind that the Canons which the Apostle delivered unto Timothy are not always kept even as touching men. For Ambrose the Bishop of Millaine, when he was yet a Novice, and youngling in the faith, was placed in the Sea of the Church. For he was sent from the Emperor to execute the office of Praetor. Here the adversaries vaunt against us, that it is lawful sometimes to deal against the holy Scriptures, and that the words of God are not most steadfast. But we must note, that the precepts of God sometime have not their own strength, neither

in very deed be precepts. For when two precepts meet together, so as they cross one another, whereof the one is more excellent than the other, and God would have that chiefly to be done: then the other which is of less excellency, and as touching the will of God, inferior, giveth place unto the first and hath not the authority of a commandment: because God would not have it to be done in that place and at that time. Even as Christ taught as touching the drawing of an Ox and an ass out of a pit on the Sabbath day. By which means he excused his Disciples who had plucked off the ears of the corn on the Sabbath day, and had rubbed out the grain. And he often times testified that he would have mercy and not sacrifice. The Church of Millaine therefore was greatly molested by the Arians: it had need of a Bishop, and specially of a teacher that should be of great authority. These things were perceived to be in Ambrose. Neither was there any other fit man presented. Whereby that Church was quit from the other precept which was of less excellency, wherein it was commanded to beware of Novices, or those which were not fully instructed. And of this matter it seemeth to be enough to have spoken somewhat by the way.

20. Moreover the rite of the old consecration is set forth in the book of Numbers. It behooved that the Levite should change his garment and wash his body, and shave all his hair. Further that he should come into the Tabernacle unto Aaron, and by him to be consecrated before God the Lord. After the same manner also it behooved the Priests to be consecrated, namely that they should put on new garments, that they should be sprinkled with holy oil and blood. This outward means was to this purpose effectual, that the people might understand, that they were now ministers assigned unto them by God. But these shadows being taken away, there is nothing left unto us but the laying on of hands. But the Papists, as I suppose to the

intent they might be of more solemnity, have transferred all those rites and Ceremonies of Moses unto themselves. They are clipped, they are shaven, they are washed, they are anointed, they have garments put on them: And I marvel not a little why they be not also circumcised. But they add that these things of theirs are endued with much greater virtue than those rites of Moses: For that they imprint a mark which cannot be raced out: and that it consisteth not only in the flesh, but that it pierceth also even unto the soul. Paul saith that he beareth the marks of the Lord upon his body. But these good men would lay up those things in their mind. For what they do in their body, all men see.

21. Moreover oil in the old time was an outward ceremony appointed by God, and therefore it was not destitute of the word of God. And it signified the gift of the holy Ghost, whereby God instructed them whom he would promote, either unto ecclesiastical or public offices. Moreover by that sign, they which were promoted, were advertised of their duty: Wherefore it was a sacrament, but not general, because all the believers in God were not anointed, but only the men of that order which we have mentioned before. But some man will say: we read not that Elisa was anointed by Elias with outward oil, for as the holy History saith, he only cast his cloak unto him. Neither was Azael consecrated by Elisa with outward unction. Some answer that indeed the same was used, although the holy scriptures make no mention thereof. Certainly many things have happened which the holy History otherwhile speaketh not of. But I would say, that seeing it cometh to pass many times in the Sacraments, that outward signs take their name of the things: as bread and wine in the holy Supper are called the body and blood of Christ, because they be the signs and Sacraments of those things. In like manner the very body of Christ, as we read in the 6th chapter of John

is called bread: that even so Elias, although he had not the outward ointment, yet it may be said, that he did anoint, because by his ministry (God working the same) he bestowed the grace and free gifts of Prophesy, the which are signified by the outward unction. The very which form of speaking David used when in the Psalm under the person of God he said: Touch not mine anointed. And he spake of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, whom he calleth anointed, whenas notwithstanding they had not the outward unction. But so they be called, because they were replenished with the spirit and with graces, the which were signified by the oil. Yea and our Savior Jesus himself is called Christ, that is anointed, because he hath had the grace of God, and that indeed beyond the measure of other men. And John in the first Epistle, the 2nd chapter, speaketh of the ointment of Christians: And he addeth: The ointment shall teach you all things. Furthermore we are to consider that the word of anointing is metaphorical, and signifieth the institution or promoting unto the functions already rehearsed. Wherefore it is said that Elias anointed Elisa, because he instituted him a Prophet. And it is said that Azael was anointed by Elisa, because in the name of God he foreshowed that he should be King, although he used not the outward anointing.

22. But seeing we speak now of such anointings whereunto the word of God was peculiarly applied, I cannot marvel enough why the same have been translated unto the Kings and Emperors of Christians. I know that some say that the same thing is political, and therefore may be retained. But they which thus answer, both are deceived themselves and do deceive others. For it is counted for a religious ceremony, and therefore it is done in the temple: and is exercised by no other, but by Bishops and Cardinals. Indeed I allow that Kings and Emperors should be consecrated openly, by

the voices and acclamations of the people, and especially godly prayers to be used therein: but I do not think that anointing should be called back from the Jewish Ceremonies. And much less do I commend that whereby the Priests and Bishops are anointed. And verily the Church of Christ of long time was ignorant of these anointings as by a sure argument may be confirmed by a certain rescript or letter of the Roman Bishop in the decretals, in the title *De sacra unctione*. Innocentius the third answereth the Patriarch of Constantinople, and among other things saith that Bracharensis the Bishop came unto him, whom he perceived not to be anointed when he was created Bishop: and he addeth a cause, namely that in your Regions Bishops were not accustomed to be anointed. If then until that age this unction was not used in Greece and in the East, the Church of Christ above the space of a thousand and two hundredth years was destitute of the same throughout those Regions. Which nevertheless the same Innocentius thought to be so necessary, as he caused the same Bracharensis to be anointed at Rome. But we read not in any place, that the first Christian Emperors were anointed. I read that Leo the first, successor unto Martianus was crowned by the Patriarch of Constantinople; yet not that he was anointed. Certainly he received not the Empire of the Patriarch, but by that rite confessed himself to belong unto the Church, and to agree unto the sound and received doctrine. But at what time the anointing of Princes first began within the Christian dominion, I cannot for a certainty perceive, but I think it to be a new thing. I am not ignorant of the fable that is carried about of the holy oil of Remigius, wherewith the kings of France are sacred: but thereof we must not take a firm and sure testimony. But I return to the decree of Innocentius: according as he there teacheth, they observe two sorts of oil in Popery. One they call the oil of the *Cathecumen*i, and of the

sick: which is pure and mere oil. Whereunto they put nothing but that which they commonly call blessing. And this they call the oil of the *Cathecumeni* or of the sick. There is another oil which they call Chrisma, and it consisteth of common oil and of Balm: the which Balm being not had at this day otherwise than supposed and counterfeit, they are found to lie and deceive the simple people. With this oil they anoint Bishops upon the head and hands. Of which rite he rendereth a reason, namely, that by anointing of the head they signify the authority and honor of a Bishop: and by that which is done upon the hands, they note the office and ministry of a bishop. Further he addeth: After the coming of Jesus Christ, who was anointed above his fellows, the anointing of a king was translated to the Arm or shoulder, but that in bishops the anointing of the head was still retained as though kings cannot resemble Christ so much as bishops do. But, as they be ambitious, they would have Bishops to be preferred above Princes and magistrates: whereas the Scriptures testify, that they be the Vicars of God. Yea and they use their Chrism oil for the anointing of Bishops and not for Kings, whom they only anoint with their blessed oil, because they will have a great difference to be between themselves and these. In the same rescript of Innocentius we read withal that all Christians are twice anointed: namely, before baptism they anoint with the oil which they call blessed, the breast and the shoulders of the Infant that shall be baptized: but after baptism is taken, they anoint the crown of the head and the forehead with ointment: Which thing is also done in Confirmation. They transferred also these their oils unto men at the point of death: then also unto walls, altars and bells: in like manner unto Chalices and such other things: the which we perceiving to proceed from a superstitious zeal, are to be disallowed being taken from the old Judaism. That same Innocentius excuseth the Church that in this

doing they use not the Jewish rites, because these things in the New Testament do signify other things than in the Old Testament: As who should say, it were in their power to ordain Sacraments, and to make a certain new signification of them. And these things have I said by the way as concerning unction's.

Of the authority or contempt of Ministers.

23. But how grievous a thing it is to contemn Prophesy, and to deride the ministers of God, it may be declared by many Arguments. First of all two points of the law are violated, to wit, that, wherein it is said: Honor thy father and thy mother. For the ministers of God are instead of parents. For Paul said, that he was in travel again of the Galatians, and that he begat the Corinthians by the Gospel. Another law is broken, whereby God commanded that honor should be done unto Elders. And Elisha was not only an Elder, but he was also of that sort which labored in the word: And therefore according to the doctrine of the Apostle, They be worthy of double honor. And Christ said unto the Apostles, He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you, contemneth me. And the Lord answered unto Samuel: They have not contemned thee, but me. Wherefore ministers are not to be weighed of as they be in their own nature, but God through them is to be beholden, who speaketh and dealeth in them, and whose Embassy they execute. So that if their Lord see them to be contemned and to have injury done unto them, he is present and revengeth their contumelies. He destroyed Core, Dathan and Abiram, he revenged the false craftiness of Ananias and Sapphira, neither did he suffer that they should mock Peter. Again, he punished Elimas the Sorcerer, who both hindered and scorned the Preaching of Paul. By reason whereof, seeing the children which did outrage against Elisha grievously sinned, it must be no

marvel if they suffered due punishment. No doubt but they were instructed by the il education of their parents. And no marvel, seeing they were Idolaters. Whereby we may perceive, that the Parents by the ill bringing up of their Children do procure death unto them. Nor is there want of expositors which think that the children were provoked by their Parents to mock the Prophets of God whom they hated. Furthermore it should be the part of the Magistrate, to take care that the ministers of the word of God should not be afflicted with contumelies, which thing these men did not seeing they were strangers from sound religion. But Princes, when they had embraced Christ, sinned on the other part: For to the intent that the Prelates of the Gospel might be had in estimation and honor, they bestowed principalities upon them: They ordained Bishops to be Earls, Marquises, Dukes, yea and Kings also. And by this means they plucked them away from ministering the word of God, from studying of the holy Scriptures: and entangled them with the affairs of this world. Now they being adorned with wealth and temporal renown, addicted themselves wholly unto pride, riot, pleasures and voluptuousness. The children's mocking was the reproach of baldness, which was no sin, but only a light imperfection of the body. But the world so hateth evermore the ministers of the truth, as men have been accustomed for the most part to take exceptions even to the smallest blemishes.

24. And as the children of Bethel railed at Elisha, so at this day the Papistical people do mock godly men, and especially the ministers of the Gospel. But we may not a little rejoice that even as they could not reprove Elisha of just crimes and very sins, but only they objected baldness: even so the Papists are not able to lay any grievous sins to the charge of our Preachers which truly bend themselves to their office, but only they object

certain matters of small weight, I will not say, that may be laughed at. They say that our Pastors have not the laying on of hands: and thereof they endeavor to conclude, that they are not to be counted for just governors of the Church, and that the congregations which be taught and ruled by them, be not true churches but conventicles of Runagates. And these things they speak, as though the laying on of hands were so necessary, as without the same there can be no ministry in the church. Whereas Moses notwithstanding consecrated Aaron his brother and his children, offering diverse kinds of sacrifices: upon which men there was no hands laid before by any. Also John the Baptist brought in a new Rite of Baptism, and gave the same unto the Hebrews, when nevertheless there was no hands laid on him, and he did minister baptism, when he himself was not baptized by any. Paul also being long called in his journey by Christ, went not immediately unto the Apostles that they might lay their hands upon him, but taught throughout Arabia by the space of three years, and ministered unto the Churches before that he went unto his predecessors the Apostles, as it is testified in the Epistle to the Galatians. We despise not the laying on of hands, but we retain the same in many Churches: Which if we have not of their Bishops, it must not be imputed a fault unto us; for they would not vouchsafe this unto us, unless we should depart from sound doctrine, and therewithal to bind ourselves by oath unto the Roman Antichrist. But we for conscience sake cannot submit our ministry to the power of them, from whom we further disagree than heaven from the earth. Further whereas they say that we want a just succession, that is the smallest matter of all, seeing it ought to suffice that we have most manifestly succeeded that Apostolic doctrine which is truest and hath been received of the godly fathers in the best times. They also object against us, that in the holy service we use

profane garments, and after the common use do not put on graver apparel. We in very deed confess, that we imitate Christ and his Apostles, who used not apparel differing from other men. We have no garments wholly of silk, no broidered or purple garments. What then? Are we not therefore the ministers of Christ? These things which they lay against us, are no grievous crimes or sins. But they cavil against us even as did the Children of Bethel: they say, Go up thou bald pate, go up thou bald pate. Howbeit even as the baldness did not pollute the mind of Elisha: so also these slender objections hinder not our ministry.

Of the office of Pastors.

25. But a mean must be observed, that neither we attribute too much or too little unto Pastors, least that either they should grow too proud, and tyrannically oppress the people, and by their precepts, and inventions obscure the commandments of God: or else if they should be over much dejected, not only themselves should be contemned, but also the word of God and Sacraments ministered by them might lie neglected. They are appointed governors of Churches between Christ and the people. They be the ministers of Christ, because he useth their labor: They are our ministers also, because as stewards and disposers of the Lord, they distribute unto us those things which of him they have received. Wherefore they ought to receive those things which they set forth unto us from no other place than from the words of Christ and the holy Scripture. This did Moses: first he ascended unto the mount, and there spake with God: and afterward when he was come down unto the people, he showed them what he had heard of God. The very which thing Christ seemed to do: not as though this was necessary for him, but because he might give an example unto ministers. In the night season he gave himself to prayers upon the mount and was

conversant with his father: and descending from them in the morning unto the Temple, taught those things which he had heard of his Father. And Paul wrote unto Timothy, that he should attend unto reading: not for any other cause than for that he should draw out of the holy Scriptures those things which he was to preach: and by that means save both himself and also them which should hear him. And if they be the ministers of Christ, they ought to submit themselves altogether unto him, Not to bear dominion over the Clergy or people of God: which thing Peter did expressly forbid. For they are showed to be stewards and disposers not over-rulers or Tyrants. And Peter declared that they ought rather to be patterns to the flock, which is to be understood as touching the soundness of doctrine and example of life. And when they hear themselves to be the ministers of Christ, let them consider that they do not their own work, but the work of the Lord. So that it behooveth that they show themselves to be more attentive in those affairs than if they should deal in their own.

26. Furthermore they be called disposers of the mysteries of God. And a mystery we distribute into the word of God, and sacraments. Oeconomy [*or household government*] as appeareth by Aristotle's Politics hath three societies: namely of a husband and Wife, of a Parent and children, of a Lord and Servants: Which degrees are also found in the Church which is the household of Christ. And whereas the governor of a house hath certain instruments which be without soul and be void of reason: as be fields, pastures, vineyards, herds of cattle, and flocks, of the which it behooveth him to have a care: he hath also instruments which both have life and are capable of reason; of which kind be servants, in the instructing of whom (as the learned governors of households have taught) a great deal of diligence must be bestowed. Crassus said in Plutarch, that other things may be

governed by other men, but the master himself must take heed unto the Servants that they be rightly instructed: Wherefore Crassus himself would be present when they should be taught. But our governors of household, which be rulers of the family of Christ, are to care for living instruments, to wit, the servants of Christ, [*which*] not only be reasonable creatures, but are also citizens of the kingdom of heaven, being redeemed by the blood of the Lord. So as it appertaineth to them to deal both very warily and diligently. And their actions may thus be described. First come they which are to be adopted together into the family of Christ. It is the part of the governor of the household to chastise and instruct them in the faith. Further he baptizeth them which is the cognizance of the household. Afterward he instructeth them of their vocation, and teacheth that according to their state and degree, they should endeavor to be beneficial to their brethren: And he commandeth that they should do some certain work least they be idle. And because wars and temptations be imminent, he ministereth armor: namely, the word of God; and with the meat of the communion he confirmeth and strengtheneth them to the battle. Whereupon Cyprian in his first book the second Epistle, judged that unto them which were fallen, and had repented them when as persecution was now at hand, the communion should be restored, that so they might be the stronger to make war: And he saith: how can we think them meet for the cup of Martyrs, whom we shall not admit to drink the cup of the Lord's blood? Also the ministers of Christ shall minister livelihood unto them that be poor, of the Church goods and of the store of oblations which the faithful do give. The Elders in times past had near unto the Temples many Hospitals, where the poor were nourished, not unto idleness, but that they should serve to good and godly occupations, and that if their

strength would serve, They should labor with their hands, according to the doctrine of Paul.

27. The end of this household government is appointed, that in them which belong unto the family should be restored the Image of God well near clean defaced through sin. For which cause the Apostle wrote unto the Ephesians, that they should lay away the old man, which is corrupted according to the concupiscence's, and should be renewed in the spirit of the mind, putting on the new man, which is created according to God in righteousness and holiness of truth. Neither is it otherwise which is written to the Colossians: and the wise governor of a household will use his endeavor that all things may be ordered according to the receivers capacity: so as they which have need of milk may have it distributed unto them, and they which shall have need of strong meat, he will set the same before them. Finally, he will be careful that they which live unpurely and naughtily shall be excluded from his household, and that if they repent themselves, he may again receive them. And all things that we have spoken of he will do, not at his own pleasure, but according to the will of the Lord, who would have nothing to be changed of those things that he hath prescribed. Nadab and Abiu which offered strange fire, were consumed by the same. Core, Dathan, and Abiron would otherwise have done than was appointed by God: and they perished miserably. And King Ozias who against the law would administer the holy function, was taken with the leprosy. He also that entereth into this office must take heed that he hinder not himself with other cares and business, as Paul saith unto Timothy. No man being in the warfare of God troubleth himself with the business of this life. This function is of so great moment, as it requireth the whole man. Neither shall he do a little that shall be able to perform this as he ought to do. Aristotle in his first book of

Politics saith, that everyone instrument is meet for one only work: Wherefore it is not meet for the ministers of Christ to play the part of soldiers, huntsmen, Merchants, or Mariners. Further it is to be noted, that seeing they be called the ministers of Christ, they ought in any wise to be distinct from others. Which thing John the Baptist very well distinguished when he said: Myself baptize you with water, but he standeth in the midst of you whom ye know not, he shall baptize you with the spirit and fire. And John the Evangelist wisely did put a difference between Christ and his forerunner, when he said: He was not the light, but that he might bear witness of the light. Neither is it the part of ministers to live idly: for they be hired to labor in the vineyard, to the end that they may afterward have their reward, which they should the oftener have respect unto seeing they exercise a work, both troublesome to the flesh and full of labor. But in the meantime, while we live here, there is no cause why they should dream of a better estate than either the Apostles or Christ himself had experience of in their ministry. The Apostles were accompted as the offscourings of the world. Paul boasted that he was reviled as a babbler, and was reported of the Jews to be unworthy to live, as though he were an offscouring and heinous offender. And was not Christ derided in every place? There was no want of contumelies and reproaches. They rose against him with stones. They endeavored to cast him down headlong from the mount. Oftentimes they would have laid hold upon him, whom at the last when they had taken, they crucified with great ignominy. The same lotte must they look for: because it is enough for the scholar to be like his Master, and the servant if he be as his Lord.

28. They be called the dispensers of the gifts of God, but not sacrificers or sacrificing Priests: not that all kind of sacrifices be taken away from them.

For praises and confessions (by the which the goodness and mercy of God is declared) are an acceptable sacrifice of God. No less are prayers, confession of sins, offering of Alms, and repentance (by which the heart is made contrite and humble) and finally the sacrifice of our own bodies, which we offer up unto God as a lively and reasonable sacrifice: we deny not but that these things are done by the ministers of the Church. And last of all it is a sacrifice, whereby unbelieving people are brought unto Christ, as it is plainly showed in the 15th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans: in the which Evangelical ministration the Ministers of Christ are most of all busied. But the favorers of superstitions brag that they sacrifice the son of God, which is most absurd: because Christ offered up himself, nor needed he another Priest. By one oblation did he finish and make perfect whatsoever was to be done for our redemption. Nor meet it is that man should be had as a sacrificer in so great an oblation. For it behooveth always that he which offereth, be either equal or more excellent than the thing that is offered: which we to imagine of ourselves, being compared unto Christ, is plain sacrilege. Further how can we offer the son of God, seeing he is perpetually in the sight of his father, where he is our propitiation and our Advocate? But if by sacrifice, they understand thanksgiving for his death, and because he would give his body to be crucified and his blood to be shed for our salvation, such a sacrifice we will not deny to be offered to God in the Lord's Supper as well by the Minister of the Church, as also by all them that stand by. And happily the Fathers after this manner understood this word *To Sacrifice*, which in their writings they often use: albeit I may not commend their advise, seeing thereof is grown an intolerable abuse. Neither must we forget that offerings were accustomed to be done by the faithful when they approached to the Supper

of the Lord, as Cyprian most plainly witnesseth. And of these oblations, there is mention made in the Collects which are read after the Offertory in the Mass. But of these things elsewhere. Only this warning we would give, least it should be thought that they are called the Ministers of Christ, because in the Mass they sacrifice his body and blood unto God the father.

29. As to the rest. It is required in Stewards That everyone be found faithful: The Apostle requireth not the eloquence of the world, Nobility, Favor, the power of Kings, but a faithful administration only. Unto this Christ added, Wisdom: when he said in Matthew: A faithful servant and a wise whom the Lord hath set over his family. Howbeit these two qualities be so joined in themselves, as the one of necessity followeth the other. Neither shall the servant escape free, if he behave himself otherwise than is prescribed unto him, seeing in the Gospel we read, that If the servant when his Lord shall delay his coming, wax cruel to his fellow servants, so as he striketh them and oppress them with tyranny, the Lord shall come at a time unlooked for, and shall destroy and slay him, and appoint his part with Hypocrites, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Also of the wise and prudent householder, we have heard that he bringeth out of his treasury things both new and old. Even so he that maketh a banquet for the flock of Christ, setteth before them both the New and Old Testament, that he may daintily and plentifully feed them. The goodman of the house hath both new fruits, and layeth up also in store for many years.

30. And it very much furthereth the wise and faithful governing of the Lord’s business, if the Minister have always circumstances before his eyes. Let him first of all consider what himself is. He is not a private man. Wherefore let him set apart his own proper affections. The Minister of Christ is a public person, whereby it is convenient that in the Church he

should do the business of God with singular gravity. Again let him take heed what he hath taken in hand to deal in, namely the word of God and Sacraments of Christ, which to have corrupted or falsely to have taught is a grievous sin. And let him no less consider, who they be which are committed unto him: for they be no vulgar men, but the sons of God, the sheep of Christ redeemed by his blood. It behooveth also that he have consideration of the time, and that he observe the opportunity of time, in which he judgeth that he may the more conveniently attain his purpose. And although he ought to deal as the Apostle hath commanded in season and out of season, yet nevertheless he must endeavor with great diligence, that he over-slip not occasion. Also he must thoroughly weigh and consider with himself for what cause he hath entered into or doeth sustain the charge which he hath, and beware that he serve not in the Church in respect of gain: but rather follow that which Paul said in the latter Epistle to the Corinthians, We seek not the things which be yours, but you: for children must not lay-up treasure for their parents, but the parents for their children. Therefore (saith he) I will offer myself and will be offered for your souls. Over this, respect must be had unto the manner and form wherein he shall do it, which may not otherwise be taken in hand, then of this purpose, that provision should chiefly be made for all those that come unto his Church.

31. And those things which we have now spoken as touching the word of God, our meaning is that they should be understood in the same manner of the Sacraments. First concerning himself, let him repent for his sins without which this life is not led: and let him so refrain from those grosser sort of vices for the which the holy scripture commandeth That we should not once communicate in common bread, much less in the Sacraments with such as shall be guilty of these vices, least he should procure destruction to himself

and offense to others. And let him weigh with himself the nature and dignity of mysteries, least he should think that he giveth the Bread, Wine, or Water as bare elements of the world. Neither let him delay to search out and thoroughly to know them unto whom he must distribute the Sacraments: that if so be he shall perceive them to be dogs, he may remove them from him; but if they be godly and such as fear God, let him invite them and persuade them thereunto. As touching the time also, let him take such order as he suffer not his flock to want their food of the Communion during the whole year: as though it were lawful for them to communicate at Easter only: And let him take heed that he be not constrained to the administration of the sacraments either of a custom, or that he do it not only for avoiding of accusation, or for filthy lucre sake. And finally let him retain and keep the form which he knoweth to be taught him by the Lord out of the Scriptures. Which is not observed by them, who, whereas Christ hath instituted, that we should take, eat and drink, they have been more diligent to hang up the bread consecrate by them; to set it forth to be worshipped, to prostitute the same to an infinite number of superstitions. Christ instituted a common supper: but they with their liftings up, and bearings about, make a show of the same, worthy to be laughed at. Christ said of the Cup, Take and drink you all thereof: but they drive the laity from the Cup. Christ said: This do: but they besides have added many things which do make to superstition. So as they neither faithfully nor yet wisely administer the holy Sacraments.

32. If at this day under the kingdom of Antichrist, some godly man should come unto a sacrificing Priest, and say unto him: I pray thee say a Mass for me, but so as I may plainly understand the confession of sins and absolution: Expound unto me the praises of God which thou hast at the entrance of the Mass, and the Himme, and *Gloria in excelsis*, in such sort as

I may together with thee both magnify God and give him thanks: neither hide thou from me the meaning of thy prayers, so that I may answer Amen. Teach me the Epistle and the Gospel, that thereby I may learn wholesome doctrine and admonition of thee: let us pronounce together the Creed of the Catholic faith: and when thou comest to the blessing or consecration of the mysteries, put me not back, for because those words do also pertain unto me, and even in the breaking of the bread, and drinking of the Cup, communicate thou with me, that finally we may give thanks together unto our God: and for as much as thou hast no want neither of wealth nor food, all this as thou hast freely received; so bestow thou freely upon me. He that shall crave these and the like things of a Massing Priest, I beseech you after what sort shall he be entertained of him? He shall be excluded with taunts of Lutheranism, and shall be uncourteously railed upon with the reproach of heresy. But let there come in like manner another man, which would say: Go to, I must hunt today, but because this being the Lord's Day, I will not be without the Sacrament, take this money to thee, and now betimes in the morning say Mass for me, and dispatch thou forthwith and with all speed: believe me there will be no delay made by the Massing Priest. Doest thou think, that this is to do the faithful part of a Minister in such sort as the Apostle hath now commanded? I think not. On the other side hear what example of faithfulness the Ministers of our time have. Some one of them hath three or four Parishes, and is not able to take the charge of all, yea rather he will not dwell at one of them, but be absent the greater part of the year as long as he can from them all. In the meantime if a man reprove him, he saith, that he hath appointed another there in his place. But this so faithful a Minister considereth not that Christ, when he was by his coming and death to redeem mankind, did send none in his place, nor substitute

another unto the Cross in his stead. He himself came, he himself labored, he himself died for us. Might we have God, and cannot have his vicars to attend upon the office committed unto them? They say it is lawful for them, so that they live within any university or School, whereby they may procure unto themselves good arts and learning. But Christ when he said unto Peter, Feed my sheep, excepted no such thing. But and if they shall not be as yet meet and sufficiently learned, they ought not to take the charge of a pastor in the Church. Perhaps they think it sufficient for them if they have the vocation, title, and possession. But this is to play masking and counterfeit parts. For it behooveth, as the Apostle teacheth that the Rulers of Churches should both minister faithfully and faithfully dispense the mysteries of God, that is, the sacraments.

33. There be three things then required unto the lawful minister of a Church. The first is, that the Pastor should be justly called: secondly, that he should feed in very deed: last of all, that he should do it faithfully and with great discretion. I speak not of the sincerity of life (which is required to be more than ordinary) both because it ought to be common unto all Christians, and also that all men understand how necessary it is. I pass over also of how small faithfulness they be of, which hide the gifts that God hath bestowed upon them, and will not communicate them with others: for because these men are sufficiently condemned in the parable of Christ under the person of that servant which buried in the ground the Talent that was committed unto him. Neither doeth he less unfaithfully deal, who hath made the graces which he hath obtained of God so proper unto himself, as he ascribeth them not unto God: and he that is such a one, is by Chrysostom compared unto him that receiving a purple robe of the king to be kept, nevertheless was bold to wear the same as his own garment. Doubtless such

a one shall be accounted guilty of treason. So that if we will be faithful unto God, we must ascribe all good things unto him. In the Acts, Peter said of the lame man which was already healed by him. Ye marvel as though we of our own power have healed this man, when as the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob would glorify his son Jesus. Unto this faith also it belongeth that A good Pastor even as Christ did, should give his life for his sheep, which in peril must not be forsaken, unless perhaps the persecution shall be of a particular Pastor: for which cause it was lawful for Athanasius to fly because of the cruelty of the wicked prince, for so much as in the Church of Alexandria there were very many which could minister in his place. Augustine unto Honoratus in his 180th Epistle disputeth at large of flying away. And furthermore many things hard enough hath Tertullian, the which are not at this time in this place to be recited. The duty of a Pastor is, so faithfully to behave himself, that through his default he may not suffer the least silly sheep (though it be an abject) to perish in the Church. He rather ought to follow Christ, who said, that He came to seek that which was lost, and to save that which had perished. And in these excellent actions, Christ forsaketh not good Pastors, he defendeth them, and oftentimes revengeth for their sakes with great severity. We know how displeasingly he took it that Samuel was rejected, he revenged that injury, and in his fury gave the people a king, under whom they lived in small felicity. And he that shall peruse the Histories [*shall find*] that they were sore afflicted under the greatest part of the kings. And when as Saul in the City of Noba had slain many of the Priests, he also with his son Jonathan upon Mount Gilboa lamentably perished. God revenged Moses and Aaron, and executed unaccustomed punishments upon them that conspired against him. So we

see likewise that the Jews which sieve Christ the high Priest, and did ill entreat his Apostles, were thrown headlong into destruction.

Of the Efficacy of the Ministry.

34. And first of all whereas the Corinthians are by Paul reproved because they made men their Authors, let the faithful Ministers of Christ learn not to make disciples or followers unto themselves but unto Christ, unto whom only the Church doth belong. This did the Ethnic Philosophers seek: namely, to distinguish the scholars which they had by their own names: so that some were called Platonians, others Pythagorians, others Epicureans. But Socrates seemed more modest than the rest, because he made not himself Author of the doctrine that he taught: as he that affirmed himself to be like a midwife, which should bring help unto parents: so he thought good to be present at his questions among young men, to the intent he might bring to light the sciences which they had in their mind. Much rather doeth this take place in Christ's affairs. For although that a man teach cunningly, unless that the holy Ghost do inwardly stir up the hearers, he looseth his labor. It is the spirit which truly maketh the minds fruitful. Wherefore it is said there: Who is Paul, and who is Apollo? John the Baptist very well declared this, when being demanded of himself what he was, said that he was not Christ, nor Elias, nor yet a Prophet, but only, A voice of a crier in the wilderness, prepare the way of the Lord. The ministers of God have very ample gifts, which like faithful servants, they ought to use to the commodity of other servants, and to the glory of their Lord: neither must they bend them either unto gain or unto preferments.

35. And although Paul seem after a sort to abase the ministry, yet if thou diligently observe what he saith, thou wilt confess that there is nothing taken from the worthiness thereof. For indeed he leaveth unto it a notable

commendation, when he saith, that they be Ministers, by whom they believed. Faith, Remission of sins, reconciliation with God, and the right of eternal life are knit together: of which things they be called ministers which have the government of the Church. If that they be appointed as Organs and Instruments of our faith, who will not have them in honor and estimation? The Anabaptists reject and despise Ministers, therefore hitherto they have had no true Church. For it cannot continue, neither can the divine worshipping be openly retained, if so be that consideration of ministers be not had. Nevertheless take thou heed that neither thou attribute over much unto them, nor yet put over much trust in them. For it is written: Cursed is he that trusteth in man, and that maketh flesh his arm. For (as Ambrose writeth) they do notable contumely unto God, which give unto them being but creatures, the honors due unto God: which little differeth from the wickedness of the Gentiles, whereby they gave divine honors unto things created. The very which thing must be taken heed of, that it be not done towards the Saints, whom we rob of their own good reputation, while we adorn them with divine Titles. For then when as we with our ornaments and dignities cannot make them equal unto God, we deprive them as much as lieth in us, of the ministry of God which is most agreeable to their nature. How shall we excuse them who commonly call the blessed Virgin the mother of mercy, which is proper to God, who in the holy scriptures is called The father of mercy? And they name her to be their life, whereas Christ unto the Colossians is called Our life: and he himself said of himself: I am the way, the truth, and the life. Also in that song she is called our sweetness, as though in her were laid up the consolation of the godly. Howbeit God is the father of our consolation and comfort. Finally they call her their hope, as if they would put hope in a creature. Show unto us (say

they) Jesus Christ thy son. But this pertaineth only unto the father, according as it is written, None cometh unto me unless the father draw him. Much doubtless is attributed unto ministers, when they be accounted the ministers and servants of God. For even Christ himself as touching men, took upon him this name of a Minister. Unto the Romans we read: I say that Jesus Christ was a Minister of the circumcision. Also in the Epistle to the Romans, a Magistrate is called the Minister of God. Wherefore we must not pass over that Magistrates and Prelates of the Church are defined much in like sort: I would to God their minds were as well united as their offices and charges do in a manner concern one another. In the Epistle to the Hebrews a high Priest is defined, that he is taken from among men, and for men is appointed in those things which pertain unto God, that he may offer gifts and sacrifices for sins. And if thou wilt define a Magistrate, thou shalt perceive how near he cometh unto the nature of a high Priest. He also is taken from among men, and for men is ordained unto those things which pertain unto civil good, that is to say, that we may live under them a peaceable and quiet life unto godliness and temperance: as is gathered out of the Epistle unto Timothy. Then seeing the Magistrate also is accounted the minister of God, we owe great honor unto him: but yet so, as we attribute not those things which be of God unto him: and that when he shall command those things which be against God, let him not be hearkened unto.

36. But to return unto Paul: In the first to the Corinthians the 3rd chapter, in the two words of planting and watering he comprehendeth all the works of husband men. God giveth the increase so as that which hath been planted and watered may live. And that under the name of increasing, he meaneth life, hereof I suppose it may be gathered, seeing plants have no life, except

that, which they commonly call Vegetative, because they be moved unto nourishments whereby cometh greater increasing's. For although they seem to change place, or to vary in qualities, all these things happen unto them because they receive increase or nourishment. The similitude of the Apostle doth very well concur. Because although the husbandmen do diligently employ their labor, yet the increase is to be expected from heaven. But and if so be it shall not come to pass after their mind, they have lost their labor. Albeit we must ascribe the whole matter not unto heaven, but rather unto God himself. He it is that maketh his sun to rise both upon the good and bad: and raineth upon the just and unjust. And that he doth rule and moderate these things after his own pleasure, it appeareth out of Leviticus: where he threateneth the Israelites when they grievously sinned, that he would give them a heaven of Iron and an earth of brass. In like manner we read in Deuteronomy: where he addeth also a promise, that if they shall abide in his commandments, he would open his treasures unto them, giving rain in due season. Wherefore that the Metaphor of the Apostle is most profitable, thereby it is declared in that he not only teacheth the thing which he hath in hand, but also with fruit expoundeth that nature from whence it is derived. For it is no less profitable to know that the successes of human labors in all arts and enterprises, and in like manner in the increase of natural things, must be expected to come from God, than so to understand that by the ministry of the Church nothing is brought to pass, but so much as the power and goodness of God shall further. Therefore in the Acts of the Apostles the 16th chapter, we read that the woman which sold Purple heard the Apostolic doctrine, whose heart the Lord opened, that she might understand those things which were spoken by Paul. Apollo, of whom there is mention there, succeeded Paul in the Church of the Corinthians: therefore

he is said to water those things which Paul had planted. The word of planting answereth unto milk, but the word of watering answereth unto stronger meat. Albeit Ambrose understandeth planting to be the first doctrine of the Apostle, and watering to be Baptism: perhaps alluding unto this, because it is ministered by water. Finally the increase that is said to come he referreth unto the holy Ghost. Howbeit the first interpretation is the more plain.

37. And how strange of themselves the husband men of Churches be from these labors, it is sufficiently declared in the Gospel: where those which be negligent to labor in the vineyard, are thrust forth by the goodman of the house. Neither is it to be doubted, but that Moses, Jeremiah, and Jonah, withstanding after a sort, were drawn unto it. Which thing we may believe hath happened unto many others, seeing that in this vocation, labors only, grievous dangers, hatred and persecutions are to be expected, the which things our flesh doeth marvelously abhor. Yea and Plato in his first book of a commonwealth saith, that men were wont to be invited to take offices upon them, partly with money, partly with honors, and partly with punishments. But they which be honest are not moved for money sake, seeing they are not infected with covetousness. And the same men are not led for honors sake, because they be not ambitious. Only they may be allured through punishment, least they being called to the government of the commonwealth and would not come, they themselves also together with others should be subjected to the government of wicked men, who would intrude themselves into the offices: and the commonwealth falling to ruin, neither might they themselves be safe. So also must a Christian man do that shall perceive himself to be furnished by God with gifts profitable for the Church. When he shall be called to the government or ministry thereof, let

him beware that he obstinately refuse not the charge that is laid upon him. In deed it is lawful for him to give unto that Church a testimony of his weakness, and to admonish them to seek for one that should be more fit: but he ought not to contend with an obstinate mind, least afterward by the severe judgment of God, he together with the whole Church be committed to the pernicious government and charge of naughty rulers which shall thrust in themselves. But at this day there is no danger imminent on this behalf, seeing we see that benefices and dignities Ecclesiastical are procured with great ambition: which therefore cometh to pass because these ambitious men do not lay before their eyes the work which they do in the Church, but the riches and honors which they abuse at their pleasure. Thereof it is gathered by Plato, that if the Commonwealth consisted of good men, the strife and contention would no less be between the Citizens for the not taking of offices, than now the labor is to obtain them.

38. But Paul teacheth that it is God that giveth the increase: and certainly it behooveth that God do prosper the work. Yet nevertheless the ministers have their works also which should not be contemned of any man, seeing by those God worketh in us the things which belong unto salvation. He could easily by himself without his ministers have wrought the very same things: which he would not do, to the intent that a greater conjunction might happen among the faithful. So as those words which Paul addeth: I have planted, &c. are not said as though the Ministers without God either plant or water: But these two things are attributed unto them, because in these things they be workers together with God, and have their parts. To quicken, is said to come of God, because he doeth that only by himself. And if perhaps it shall come to thy mind that the holy Ghost is also given through godly Sermons, (For while Peter yet spake, the holy Ghost fell upon them: and the

same seemeth to be given at the laying on of hands: for when the Apostles had laid their hands upon certain persons, the holy Ghost came down upon them) give ear unto Ambrose, who saith, that this comes not always to pass. For because neither were hands put upon Paul: neither did he hear the preaching of man, when he was converted unto Christ by the way: neither do all they which hear the holy doctrine, nor they upon whomsoever hands are laid, receive the holy Ghost, which in any wise should be if these were the true and proper causes why the spirit should be given. Howbeit we must understand, that the holy Scripture doeth sometimes attribute unto Ministers those things which pertain unto God. As when Paul saith, I have begotten you through the Gospel: As also, I am again in travel of you. And the same Apostle wrote unto Timothy: And thou shalt save thyself and those that hear thee. And Peter in marvelous wise joined the holy ministry with God: who said unto Ananias: How hath the Devil tempted thee, that thou shouldest lie unto the holy Ghost? For thou hast not lied unto men but unto God. Yea and Christ himself said, Whose sins ye shall loose they are loosed, and whose sins ye retain they are retained.

39. Unto all these things on this wise confirm thyself. The ministers of the Church, if thou accept them as they be of themselves, undoubtedly they can do none of all these things. They are only means and instruments the which God useth, and is present with while he planteth and watereth. And so must it be understood which the Apostle addeth in that place: Neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth, but God which giveth the increase. But if thou consider them as they be joined unto God, and as he is of efficacy in them; and as the action of the holy Ghost is coupled with the action of the Ministers, so that after some sort one is made of those two, that which belongeth unto the one part is by the figure Synecdoche

attributed unto another. And after this manner the ministers of the Church are said to work those things which we have declared. And that which we have set down touching the Ministers, must also be judged of the Sacraments: for if thou wilt regard them as simple and bare figures, thou shalt very much err if thou ascribe either the forgiveness of sins or thy salvation unto them. But if in thy mind thou refer these things unto that which they signify, and the same embrace by faith as thou oughtest to do, assuredly thou shalt draw from thence both salvation and remission of sins, and thou shalt receive and reverence them as excellent gifts of God. Wherefore let Ministers take heed that they continually pray unto God, and beseech him that his ministry through the holy Ghost, may be of efficacy towards them which be committed unto their trust, and let them to their power apply themselves unto God, that they may be his apt and meet instruments. Nor let them ambitiously go about to wrest great honors of the people. Christ so humbled himself, that when he was in the form of God took upon him the form of a servant: and he acknowledging the weakness of human nature said, The father is greater than I. Of that day and hour none knoweth, neither the Angels, nor the son himself. Peter forbad the Centurion that he should not worship him. The same did Paul and Barnabas when the Ethnics were minded to do divine honor unto them. Yea and the Angel (as it is in the Apocalypse) forbad John that he should not worship him. At this day the Pope is most shamefully adored of all men. And how the world doteth upon the Ministers of the Church, hereby it is easily gathered, that it hath bestowed such honors upon them as God hath not required to be given them. I mean Kingdoms, Dukedoms, Earldoms, Marquesships, and other such like, which was no hard matter to give when Monarchies abounded in them more than enough. But on the other side is

denied them the obedience and subjection due unto them by the will of God, to wit, that place should be given unto Ecclesiastical discipline, and to be obeyed when they command us out of the word of God to reform our life, to repent and to avoid them whom the church hath pronounced excommunicate, and whatsoever things else be of this sort. But because in these things the alteration of life and sincere holiness is furthered, the devil provideth with great care and diligence that with deaf ears they may be heard: whereby it falleth out that all goeth to wrack because the Prelates of Churches are come to that pass, that not being content to have immoderate riches and principalities, do altogether busy themselves in the affairs of this world, neglecting the charge which they have to feed the people of God. And the people in like manner, think, that they have very well performed their duty, if they heap up upon their Pastors the goods of this world, being nothing careful in the meantime to be nourished with doctrine and the word of God. The sentence of the Apostle when he saith, that Neither he that planteth, neither he that watereth is anything, may be understood by Hyperbole or excessive speech, namely that they are said to be nothing, if they be compared unto the divine Action.

40. But because all the Pastors of the Church do serve one and the self-same high God, and do appoint unto themselves one and the same end, they are all means and instruments of God for the salvation of men. Which they have in common with all the creatures: for the which in the scriptures God is called The God of Hosts, for that all things do no less serve God, than soldiers do their Captain. Which comparison in very deed Aristotle made mention of in his Metaphysics. Wherefore as touching those things, the ministers of the Church are among themselves all one: and yet would not Paul therefore take away from the Church the degrees of ministers. For in

better place is he which preacheth the Gospel, than he which baptizeth: And in the Church we have known some to be Pastors, some Teachers, some Prophets, &c. They be all one also because they serve one another, because they all consent in one thing even as inferior arts are joined with that which is called Architecture. Further they be one because albeit the greater be preferred before the lesser, that is not done either in neglecting or contemning of the lesser. They be one also, because of themselves they have no other thing as touching the office wherein they be conversant, but so much as God hath distributed unto them. So that in this they be equal, that whatsoever they have, that have they received of him: neither have the things which they use in their ministry proceeded of nature. And as a living creature is said to be one because the members thereof being diverse are knit together, and are stirred up in their actions, and quickened with one life wherewith they are formed: even so the ministers of the Church are by the bonds of charity knit together with the other members of Christ, and they also are drawn with the same spirit wherewith the whole Church is moved; that they might further the commodity of the sheep of Christ. One of the ministers indeed is holier than another, that is nothing to thee, mark then the doctrine, and take thou heed that they be not defiled with those most gross vices, for the which Paul commandeth that we should not so much as eat with them. Neither persuade thou with thyself, that their infirmity or blemish of vices can hurt those things that are holy. Jerome against Jovinian hath two proper similitudes, by the which he excuseth God that giveth a soul unto the children begotten in adultery. For (saith he) if corn be stolen away, the sin remaineth not in the seed, but in him that soweth it. And therefore the seed sown springeth, neither doeth another man's sin hinder it. Furthermore if the hand of him that soweth shall be defiled and polluted,

the seed is not therefore so infected, as it cannot grow: Even so holy things cannot be corrupted with the sin of them that minister. And Augustine in an Epistle to Jerome: The corn that is to be purged in the Lord's flower is borne by the stalk: and although the husks be unprofitable, yet they do the Wheat good; even so the vices of the ministers do not so hurt the believers in Christ, that the Sacraments distributed by them, and the word ministered by them should become of no force.

The mighty simpleness of the Ministry.

41. And whereas Paul teacheth that our faith is not of the wisdom of men, but of the power of God, this doeth chiefly commend our faith, whose root is not in the earth but in heaven. Whereby thou mayest gather for persuading unto faith, that there is no need of those things which agree with human judgment, our sense and reason: whereas rather the things which men judge likely to be true are not without suspicion. The faith of Christ is not to be taught by man's wisdom. This is very greatly against them which will therefore confirm human traditions and rites invented by men, because our wisdom liketh well of them. Which the Apostle hath manifestly reproved in his Epistle to the Colossians, when he saith: According to the doctrines and traditions of men, which verily in words have a show of wisdom. ἐν ἐθελοθρησκεία that is, in a will worshipping and that is invented of men, the nature whereof he expoundeth a little after as touching the mind under the name of ταπεινοφροσύνης. Often times they speak of their inventions, that they make the mind humble and lowly, and for this cause they commend their clothing and apparel. He also addeth, The not sparing of the body, not in any honor to the satisfying of the flesh. Hitherto belongeth the choice of meats, the sleeping upon the ground, and unprofitable consuming of a man's self under a show of the worshipping of

God: in such sort as neither is honor done unto the body, neither yet is the flesh nourished as it ought to be. The Apostle confesseth in these words that there is a show of wisdom: wherein nevertheless our faith must not rest, although they seem things goodly and godly: It cleaveth fast to the only foundation of the word of God. For as it is unto the Romans: Faith cometh of hearing, and hearing by the word of God. But and if so be that our faith should cleave unto man's wisdom, it might easily be dissolved, seeing that godly things, profitable things, and true things are not evermore accounted all one. And it may oftentimes come to pass that the things which did please be cast away. Wherefore not without a cause did Christ say unto Peter: Blessed art thou Simon the son of Jonah, because flesh and blood hath not revealed unto thee, but the spirit of the father which is in heaven. And this constancy and steadfastness of faith (as Chrysostom saith in his second Homily upon Matthew) is that rock, upon the which Christ built his Church. But if that man's wisdom cannot be the cause of our faith, the very same is not to be expected of our works: seeing that wisdom doth a great deal excel all other works.

42. And this is a cause why the wisdom of God pleaseth perfect men, but unto others it is not acceptable, because it is not of this world. It is called the wisdom of the world which is attained unto by natural power and light, and which is able to govern, defend, and administer the things of the world: as things pertaining to medicine, things civil, Logic, Rhetoric and such like. These faculties we have need of in this world, the which also shall have an end therewith. For in the world to come there shall be no place for those things. Now do we teach that the wisdom of this world must not be shunned, so it keep it self within her own bounds, for so hath its commodities belonging thereto, Only this is not permitted thereunto, that by

the guiding thereof it should presume to bring man unto Salvation. Also it must be terrified from adventuring to measure divine things with the reasons which it hath. Yea that must be rejected which many do falsely think: namely, that the wisdom of Paul and of the Gospel doth either take away or weaken the wisdom of this world. Many have said, that through the receiving of the Gospel the Roman Empire was after a sort destroyed, and that Christian discipline greatly hindered public affairs. And Augustine in an Epistle unto Marcellinus doth excellently well resist these errors and slanders: and showeth, that these evils (of which these men complain) happened not through fault of the Evangelical wisdom: and he saith, that the Calamities must be ascribed to the fault either of the Emperors, or of them, without whom the Emperors can do nothing. Salust ascribeth the ruin of the Roman Empire unto Ryot and lust: for that the Roman host began to be amorous, to fall to drunkenness, to marvel at miracles, to pill and poule provinces. And the same man writeth: O City set forth to sale and shortly to perish, if it find a chapman! And Juvenal complained, that now riot revenged the conquered world. Wherefore the wisdom of the Gospel bringeth not in these evils, but doeth rather redress them. What doeth more serve to confirm the state of Cities, Provinces, and kingdoms, than peace and concord? The same doeth the Evangelical doctrine both command and preach. A merciful prince is wanting which forgetteth injuries: such a one as Cicero commendeth Caesar to be. But this clemency is nowhere more persuaded than in the Gospel. Also for the preservation of a commonwealth, nothing is more worth than godliness, obedience, chastity, temperance, justice, fortitude, and virtues of this sort, which the Gospel doth not drive out of the world, but doeth rather convey them into the world with the Chariots of the spirit. So that it is manifest, that the wisdom of the Apostle,

whereof we now speak, doeth not take away the wisdom of this world, seeing it rather furthereth the same and maketh it better. For there be no civil virtues, which having godliness added unto them, are not made more profitable, both as touching this life and the life to come. Let there be given unto us soldiers, Emperors, Magistrates, people, and pastors of Churches, such as the Gospel doeth frame, and then if the commonwealths flourish not, let men justly complain. And now the wisdom of the world is not condemned by Paul, unless it be because the false Prophets did so mingle the same with Religion, as they forsake Christ, disturbed the Church, and ascribed unto it the first and principal place of judgment as touching godliness.

43. But now whether eloquence may be convenient for the Gospel, or whether it be altogether repugnant unto the same, I think it best to reason after this manner. The chiefest degree of eloquence is granted unto none, seeing those things which Cicero attributed unto a perfect Orator, he did not therefore write, because that so many or so great things may be found in any one man, but to the intent that such as be studious, might understand whereunto they should direct their mark. There be very few that have but even a mean force of eloquence. Wherefore God chose not to himself so rare, hard, and laborsome an instrument, that he might thereby teach the Gospel unto mankind. For it was needful to have many ministers, who would not easily have been found out, if it had been needful for them to have had so great a furniture. Furthermore, whereas this healthful doctrine, should be set forth unto all men, if it should be handled with so great Art, the vulgar and ignorant men, into whose capacity it might not descend, would not perceive the same. Hereunto add, that so great Art and exquisite diligence in speaking is not without suspicion. Wherefore the excellent

Rhetoricians have wisely taught, that as much as may be, Art must be hidden. Again, so great light is joined with the divine wisdom, as it needeth not be lighted with the candle or torch of man's eloquence. Neither yet do we affirm this, that the holy Scriptures have not their certain eloquence. For to speak of Paul, he useth his proper words, and frameth his speech most effectual of all other, which pierceth even to the most inward parts of the heart. And so that force of eloquence is not wanting in him: which Augustine unto Cresconius the Grammarian defined on this wise: Eloquence is the power of expressing fitly those things which we perceive. Neither ought Ecclesiastical men commit under the pretense of an unpolished speech that they should speak rudely of a set purpose, but let them rather take heed that they take to themselves a pure and single kind of speaking.

44. Perhaps thou wilt demand, that seeing the power of speaking, which is corrupted through original sin, even as be the other powers of man, is renewed by eloquence, how it comes to pass, that Paul seemeth so to be against it. We say, that in this respect only it agreeth the less with the Gospel: because God would not that men should seem to be directed unto faith by the force thereof. And as touching the renewing of man's powers which were decayed at the first sinning of man, we condemn it not, but wish that it may be done, yet in a right order, least light matters should prevent things of more weight. For since renewing must be had, first let us restore the mind, to wit, the better part of the soul in adorning the same with faith, but the will with hope and charity. And finally all the other powers of the soul, let us instruct with sound and sincere virtues. Then if the time will serve, let us by Art beautify and reform the powers of speaking, singing, running and wrestling. But we must in no wise commit that the care and

endeavor about those things which we have now last recited, should exceed the diligence which ought to be used in restoring the better and more pleasant powers of the mind. This were to do contrary unto order. We grant that it is the gift of God to speak well and wisely. For it is also written, that it is given by the holy Ghost, Some to have the word of understanding, and others the word of discretion. So that if these things be given by the spirit, they must needs be good, although that the spirit be not wont to inspire these things unto all men after one manner. For this he doth otherwhile upon the sudden, that the thing may be by miracle: As in the day of Pentecost it happened unto the Apostles. But sometime he giveth these things by little and little, we applying our own diligence and endeavor: Wherefore since we be careful to challenge unto ourselves good Arts, let us remember this, that God hath no need of these Arts for the building of his Church, but yet that he may use them when it seemeth good unto him. Therefore when as men come unto the very administration of the word of God, it is not meet that we should be careful about the precepts of Rhetoric, otherwise the whole action would wax cold. Let us rather at that time, suffer ourselves all wholly whatsoever we be, to be ordered by the holy Ghost. And while we teach the Gospel, although we be furnished with these Arts, yet is it not meet that we should trust to them, seeing the whole power of persuading those things which be divine, must be placed in the power of the word and efficacy of the spirit. And this must be taken heed of, that a man being lawfully called to Preach the Gospel (so he sufficiently understand those things that be necessary) he should not step back from the office committed unto him, although he perceive himself after a sort destitute of these Arts, but shall rather strengthen and confirm his mind with that sentence of God wherein he said unto Moses: Who hath fashioned the

mouth of man? Who hath made the blind, the seeing, the deaf and the dumb? Is it not I? And it was answered to Jeremiah the Prophet when he alleged that he was as a child for that he could not speak I will give my words in thy mouth: fear not, because I am with thee. And Christ thus promised his Apostles: In the same hour it shall be given unto you what you shall speak. So great is the Majesty of the word of God, that no man, although he be eloquent, ought to persuade himself that he is able either to better it or to be equal unto it, much less is able to beautify or deck the same. And as touching those things which are under man's eloquence, it very well agreeth, that they should both be handled and handsomely set forth. And finally they that have the Art of eloquence, let them carefully take heed, that they incur not into those vices whereof ill preachers are accused by Paul, as Ambrose testifieth, because they vaunted of their eloquence, neither sought they the glory of Christ: and further because they did not urge nor enforce those mysteries of religion which were less plausible unto the wisdom of man, yea rather they could scarcely allow of them. The things are these: namely, that the son of God was born in the Virgins womb: also was fastened to the cross, was dead, and buried in the grave. These things did they marvelous cunningly dissemble, and digressed into arguments more likely to be true in man's reason. Erasmus doeth not a little inveigh against them which under pretense of this place, rail against good arts, as though the word of the Cross, as Paul now saith, should be abolished by them. And among other things he warneth these men, that the word of the Cross is no less obscured when contrariwise they pretend that with force, riches, titles, and arms, they would defend religion. But the just complaint of this great learned man I now pass over: whereunto this only I add, that the word of the Cross is no less weakened by superstitious abuses,

most cold Ceremonies, and mere traditions of men, (by which the favorers of the Pope at this day think that Christianity is to be upholden) than now when Paul speaketh against them, who through the wisdom of man and the eloquence of speech, were an exceeding great harm unto the Church of Christ.

CHAP. II. Of the receiving and not receiving of rewards, gifts, and offices. And also of goods Ecclesiastical, and the immunity of Ecclesiastical persons.

That which is propounded cannot in one answer be determined, seeing it is a thing in its own nature indifferent, as that which sometime is rightly and sometime naughtily done. But that it is lawful for Prophets and Ministers of the word of God to receive rewards and gifts, wherewith they may maintain their life, many reasons do confirm. For in a common proverb it is said, The laborer is worthy of his reward. Which proverb being true, Christ and his Apostles used the same. Further Paul saith (which thing he gathereth out of the New Testament) He that serveth at the Altar, liveth of the Altar. And Christ did more largely expound the same in saying: He that laboreth in the Gospel, let him live of the Gospel. Neither ought such an exchange seem to be unjust, That they which sow spiritual things, should reap carnal things: yea rather it may be called the change of Diomedes and Glaucus, seeing a great deal less is received than that which is given. Of this doeth the Apostle purposely treat in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, where among other things he expressly writeth: Who goeth a warfare at his

own charges. But it is no obscure thing, that the ministry is a certain holy kind of warfare. Wherefore we ought not to defeat it of his wages. Furthermore he allegeth out of the Law: Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the Ox that treadeth out the corn. And if so be that meat must be freely given unto the Cattle which labor for our living, why shall not things necessary for their living be also given unto Ministers, that labor day and night for the salvation of souls? Pastors also have fruit and living of their flock. Are not husbandmen and planters of vines maintained by their labors and fruits? So that the Prophets and ministers of the Church, when they feed the children of God, and husband them as the spiritual husbandry, they have a right to be nourished and sustained thereby. Yea and Paul who received nothing of the Corinthians: and among the Thessalonians labored with his hands, And was oftentimes in hunger, thirst and nakedness, yet did he receive those things which were sent from other Churches: and he so praised that sacrifice of theirs, as he called them a sweet fragrant smell. Christ also commanded his Disciples that they should eat such things as were set before them, asking no question for conscience sake. And Pharaoh, otherwise an Ethnic Prince, fed Priests from his own table. Wherefore in the time of a grievous dearth, when as other men were constrained to sell their inheritance, they still retained those things unto them. And in the first Epistle unto Timothy we read, that The Elders should have double honor done unto them: especially they which labor in the word and doctrine. The Lord himself also had purses of Alms, which he committed unto Judas, and he was maintained by the wealth of the holy women which accompanied him. And the Apostles received their living of the faithful, not only for themselves, but also for their wives which they led about with them, as Paul unto the Philippians testifieth. Joseph as it is written in the Book of Genesis,

received rewards of Pharaoh: by the which he honorably maintained not only his own life, but had also for his father and brethren which went down into Egypt unto him. Moreover Solomon when he gave gifts, did also receive gifts of the Queen of Saba. Neither did Abraham refuse oxen, sheep, gold, and silver, which were given unto him by Pharaoh, when he had restored unto him his wife Sara, who nevertheless refused to receive anything of the King of Sodom, least it should have been thought that he had been enriched by him. Yea and let us call to mind the history of the holy Prophet, namely of Elisha, who, when he would receive nothing of Naaman, yet did he not reject the gift of that man which came from Baal Shalishah: a gift I say of the first fruits, that is, of 20 barley loaves and of new wheat corn. Also Elias refused not to be fed by the widow of Sarepta. Yea and the children of the Prophets which hid themselves in the dens by fifty and fifty, received daily sustenance of that godly man Abdias, which was the steward of Ahab the King. Wherefore we have examples and testimonies enough, in the holy Scriptures, whereby it is confirmed, that it is lawful for Prophets and Ministers of the word of God, to take a living of them whom they bring up and instruct in godly doctrine. Hitherto also pertaineth the Law given by God as concerning the honoring of parents: and the maintenance of the whole Tribe of Levi by tithes. Lastly, the reason that persuadeth this is very plain: all men know, that the ministry of the Church is a thing very laborsome, which exerciseth and requireth the whole man, if he will do his duty. So that he hath no leisure to exercise other Arts and functions, whereby he might get his living. For the which cause, unless he should receive a living of his flock, he should be constrained to die with hunger. Neither must he rashly attempt so to do, least while he seek to live

by any other means, the flock of Christ should be defrauded of spiritual nourishment.

2. But thou wilt say: what if peradventure he shall have whereof to live either by Patrimony or by inheritance, or that he hath enough wherewithal both by occupation to maintain himself, and by ministry to govern and feed well the Church? Which the Ecclesiastical history teacheth to have happened unto some. For they say that Spiridion received little or nothing of his Church: when as nevertheless he executed the office of a Bishop, and therewithal exercised the Art of a Pastor. Which also Paul and Barnabas sometime did. The matter is hard to be judged, for dangers are not wanting of each side. For if he take a living of the Church, such a one perhaps shall offend his flock, which will think him to be too much addicted unto gain, for that he seeketh to live by other means, when he can be maintained of his own charges. But on the other part, if he receive not the ordinary profit, he shall grieve and cause to be envied such as receive stipend of the Church to live by. And it will easily come to pass, that men of his Parish, when they have not yielded unto him the accustomed stipend, they being allured by such a custom, would afterward deny the same to the successor. So that such a man in my judgment may receive the usual profits, but to bestow the same among the poor, and convert it into good uses, that it may be provided as much as is possible that the weaker sort take no offense. Besides this I think it meet to consider that Christ himself seeing he was God, might easily have taken both offices upon him: namely to execute perfectly the office of preaching, and therewithal also to have gotten his living with his hands: which nevertheless he did not, but as we said before, lived upon the Alms of the godly. Yea and the Apostles which were plentifully replenished with the holy Ghost, nor needed great study, might easily have taken both

charges upon them: yet they did it not. Which I suppose was therefore done, because it should not be thought that this custom ought to be required of ministers. Seeing therefore it hath been showed, that it is lawful for them, both to enjoy their right and to receive food and raiment, it is to be added, that they on the other side with a good courage ought to do their duty, least they be justly accused of negligence. For Paul took his arguments from those duties and arts which be very laborsome: namely from warfare, husbandry, and from shepherd's craft. No man is ignorant how many and how great be the labors of warfare. And the troubles which shepherds have, Jacob expressed when he was at variance with Laban his father in law. For there he made mention of the watching's, cold, heat, violence of Lions, Wolves and thieves. But as touching husbandry, how hard that is, we have no need to declare, seeing we have the afflictions and vexations thereof continually before our eyes. So as Prophets and ministers are hereby admonished that they receiving food and sustenance, should not be dainty of their labors, but should diligently and with courage behave themselves, while that they be able in respect of their age and health: which thing I therefore speak because that even they which have lost their strength, and who are vexed with grievous diseases, ought to be excused, nourished and cherished as though they labored.

3. These things thus concluded, it is requisite to see how grievously they sin, which either deny or unwillingly yield sustenance unto the Prophets and ministers of God. Which not only some of the Anabaptists do, but also very many of them which would seem Gospellers. And of the causes of this envy (I will not say ungraciousness) towards ministers of the Church, I see that there be many roots. For some be moved with covetousness, and think it to be lost whatsoever is given to the ministers of the Church. Others seem

to be moved of an unskillful zeal: for they hearing that Paul and Barnabas labored and received no relief of the faithful, are of the opinion, that all the ministers of the Church should do the same. But the argument is naught: for of a particular and private fact, they bring in a universal law, when as rather it should be concluded on the contrary, neither should all ministers be charged by one example. So it is said to be done at this day in that part of Polonia where the Waldensian brethren do govern the Churches: for they put the people to no charges for their living, but they live of their own labors, and those things that remain they bestow upon the poor. Hereof it cometh that the noble men of that province, which triumph over others, have Evangelical Pastors, and (as meet it is) do maintain them, saying, that they have true Pastors, and that others be rather belly gods than ministers of the Church. The third root is, that certain hypocrites crept into the Churches, and the more to allure the minds of the people, they fain that they would yield of their own right, and that neither they would have yearly rents nor certain revenues. Which doubtless at the first show abused simple men: for they were persuaded that they would live of their own. But the crafty men began afterward to beg from door to door. Wherefore when they had gotten large living, they were by wise men called not beggars but belly gods. Another occasion was given unto this disease, in that they lived idly: neither took they care of the Lord's flock, by whom they were maintained instead of ministers: as at this day there do an innumerable sort of Monks and Abbots, Carthusians, Benedictines, and such like. Against whom all things agree by rule and squire, which Augustine hath written in a little book of the institution of Monks whom he would have altogether be constrained to labor with their hands. Lastly the incredible abuse of Ecclesiastical goods, and the immeasurable greatness of them is an offense

unto men. For there is no equal partition made of them. There be of them which have a thousand, ten thousand, a hundredth thousand, and two hundredth thousand crowns, which they lavish, waste and spend upon most wicked uses. And thus for the most part, we see it come to pass that they which have most, do labor least, nay rather they vex the Church of Christ, and in miserable wise afflict the same, when as notwithstanding by the office of Justice distributive much reward should not be given, unless it be to them that deserve well of the commonwealth: and that Justice, which is called commutative, forbiddeth anything to be received, unless altogether so much be rendered again.

4. There remaineth that we declare when it shall not be lawful to receive. First if they that give and receive gifts and stipends of this kind, think them to be a hire and reward of spiritual gifts, as though it should be lawful to buy and sell them: such merchandise is unjust. For Christ said, That which ye have freely received, give you freely. Further in planting of Churches and in spreading of the Gospel, if men should be burdened with this kind of charges, and so burdened, as they will not embrace the heavenly doctrine: it must not be taken of them, but Paul must be followed, who preached freely unto the Corinthians: and judged that all things ought to be suffered, least the work of God should be dissolved. Also the living of the minister must not be extorted from them which are pressed with extreme poverty. Which I therefore speak, because in Popery there were many Testaments made, by which simple men (I will not say foolish, fond and superstitious men) bequeathed such and so many of their goods unto Monks, unto the built buildings of Temples, unto the ornaments of Altars, unto Masses, and foundations, as they brought their Children or right heirs unto extreme poverty. Such Testaments were against duty, and without controversy

should have been cut off. There were also many Tyrants, who, when they had most unjustly taken away by violence the goods of the poor, would enrich the Ministry of the Church with some part of that pray. Briefly they must not be taken, when as the glory of Christ is obscured, or else where manifest offense doth hinder the course of the Gospel. Howbeit when such dangers are to be feared or not to be feared, if man's reason do not attain unto it, the spirit of Christ doeth readily suggest. As touching the greatness of charges, let there be used a certain and just measure, that there be no more taken than is meet. And these cautions must be used, in certain cases, and not only in these cases which I have rehearsed, but also in the like. But by an ordinary and usual custom, and where the Gospel is received, and the Churches are rightly ordered it is a just law, and the commandment of God requireth it that we should provide living for Ministers, and that no base living, but such as thereby they may honestly maintain themselves and theirs. But there can be no general rule without exception determined of: for as we said at the beginning, sometime it is rightly received and sometime wrongfully. The Pope prescribed to himself a general rule without all exception: namely that he may take always and of all men, and that he may wring from whomsoever he can, that he may draw all manner of goods unto him: so as he may justly be called the shipwreck of Patrimonies, and the insatiable gulf of possessions.

5. As touching the receiving of gifts and stipends by Ministers of the Church, I think it hath been sufficiently spoken. Now is it meet to speak of rewards and gifts in Civil affairs. And I think it needless to dispute whether it be lawful for private men to give gifts one to another, neither is it doubtful, whether it be lawful for private men to give anything unto their Magistrates, so it be not done for corrupting of justice. Nor do we contend,

whether on the other side a Magistrate may give anything unto private men and their subjects, for these things be lawful, and perpetually have been lawful, so it be done with reason and honesty. But this cometh now into controversy, whether the subjects of any Magistrate may lawfully take pensions and gifts of strange Princes, and whether that be for the commonwealth. Unto this I answer, that it is a dangerous and very hurtful thing to the commonweal. For such manner of men serve not one but two Masters: and those oftentimes requiring things contrary, which they cannot do both together. And whereas men owe more unto their own Magistrates than unto strangers, yet they being overcome with the sweetness of gain, and having more care unto private commodity than unto public, forsake their allegiance which they owe unto their own Prince, and do more diligently obey strange Magistrates: and thus both Kingdoms and the commonwealth, falls to decay. This happened at Athens, when the Rhetoricians, who by their eloquence governed the commonweal were corrupted with the liberal gifts of the Kings of the Macedonians or Persians, whereby the Athenian affairs went to wrack. And so the Roman commonwealth perished, when the dignities and offices were not committed unto the more excellent men, but unto them which bestowed most rewards upon the people. But why bring we old examples, seeing if need be, we may use present examples? No safety can Magistrates and Kings look for, which have Counselors, hired with the money of strange princes: they that so receive money, have already lost the liberty of frank speech in those things which seem good unto them. And such now and then is the covetousness of those kind of men, as they fear not to receive gifts on both sides, yea and those of princes at variance one with another: namely to the end they may betray them both. Wherefore I affirm, that these princes and public-wealth's

are well advised, which by laws, and those most penal, forbid these stipends and gifts: and that subjects which obey those laws be well advised. And let this much suffice for the question propounded.

6. But passing over these things, two things come now to mind to be examined which serve to our purpose. For there be two things, which pertain not to our right and power, and yet are they sometime required of princes: therefore we must see whether it be in our hand to give them. There be certain goods which be called Ecclesiastical goods: of the which the Bishops and Ministers of the Church be disposers and have the charge; but are not free and absolute lords. For they be assigned for the living of the Ministers, and for sustenance of the poor. Nevertheless, this doeth Princes oftentimes require, that they should be given to them and to their nobility. There is also a Catholic and sound faith, which is not ours, but must only be agreeable to the doctrine of the holy Scriptures, and oftentimes notwithstanding, it is required by Monarchs and Tyrants, that we should bend and apply the same to their will and pleasure. Wherefore it is demanded, whether in those things we should always follow the constancy of Nabaoth, whereof there is mention made in the 21st chapter of the first book of Kings. As touching the first, to wit, Ecclesiastical goods, the opinion of all men is not one, and reasons are found for both parts. They that will not have those things to be given, say that these goods be not the goods of the ministers, but of the Church, so as it is not lawful for them to pluck away those things that be none of their own. Leo the first of that name, writing unto a Bishop near Sicilia said: these goods are not ours, but are committed unto us. Further they say, that those things being given unto kings and princes, are not converted unto good uses, but serve unto riot and courtly pomp: and they think it rather the part of a Magistrate to provide

that those be well distributed and bestowed. And that if he shall perceive that Ecclesiastical men perform not the same, both they may and ought to drive them to do their office. Verily Ambrose would not deliver the Church unto Valence the Emperor when he required the same. Laurence also would not deliver the Treasures of the Church unto the most cruel Emperor Decius, but bestowed them upon the poor: Further he showed unto the Tyrant the lame, the blind, the afflicted and needy, and those he said are the treasures of the Church. On the other side Augustine being a man of a gentle and meek nature, was not austere and strait in defending of those things: Nay rather as Possidonius the Bishop of Calamensis reporteth in his life the 33rd chapter, when some of his Clergy were envied by reason of certain Farms and possessions which they had, said openly unto his people, that he had rather live of those things which should be given by the people, than to take upon him the charge of possessions and lands, of the which he with his might be maintained, and that he was ready to give place that they themselves and the Ministers should be maintained by the oblations of the Altar, as they were in the old Testament. And this he not only spake in words, but performed it by a certain deed, which differeth not from this his saying. For upon a time a certain noble man of Hippo, who notwithstanding lived at Carthage, frankly and of his own accord gave to the Church of Hippo, (whereof Augustine had the charge) a possession by writings made and sealed, which writings he delivered to Augustine and his clergymen, only reserving unto himself the profit of the land during his life. But after a certain time, when he had repented him of his grant, he sent his son unto Augustine to require the writings of the grant, and in the meantime he would give a hundredth shillings to be bestowed upon the poor. These things being heard, Augustine lamented and sorrowed, not for the

possession demanded again, but for the inconstancy of men. For he reproved him by letters, but he restored the writings of the gift, neither would he receive those hundredth shillings. And yet nevertheless he feared not to alienate from the Church that right of Donation which he then possessed. The question is difficult; in the resolving whereof, I was first of this opinion, that if the Magistrate and Prince would take away those goods, they should not be resisted by force. Howbeit if they would compel me to deliver those things, I should not easily yield unto it.

7. But oftentimes it cometh to pass that Princes and Magistrates will not take away those goods by force, but they would have them delivered by writings of exchange or alienation made and sealed. And unless this be done, there is a danger least their minds should be alienated from the Church and from the reformation thereof. And whereas they may seem after a sort to favor religion and if they be rejected, they will hinder the same, and through them the Church shall want good Ministers, and Papists shall be called in, the people shall be destitute of sincere and pure doctrine, neither shall the same have a due administration of Sacraments. When the cause then cometh into so great danger; then if that any goods of the Church be delivered, to the end that the Church may be redeemed from such vexations, they which so do; must not in my judgment be thought to sin. For if it be lawful to sell the goods of the Church for redeeming of the believing captives, why should it not also be as lawful for the redemption of the Church itself? That the goods of the Church may be sold to that use, Ambrose declareth, who in his second Book of Offices chapter 28th saith, that he sometimes for this cause incurred the envy of the Arians, for that he melted the Chalices of gold and the holy vessels, whereof he might make a benefit, for the redeeming of captives: further, that he defended that the

souls of the Captives which were redeemed be more acceptable unto God, than vessels of gold, and other ornaments of Temples. Beside this, he rehearsed the example of Laurence of whom we spake a little before, adding that the Church hath gold, not to keep it, but to bestow it. That the very same is lawful, Gratian in the decrees *12th Quaest. 2. Can. Apost*. And it is out of the sixth Synod. And the same thing is in the same place in the Canon: *Et Sacrorum Can*. Therefore if it be lawful to redeem captives with the Church goods alienated away, it shall be much more lawful to redeem the Church itself being captive. Another argument also may be drawn from the civil laws, which grant unto a guilty man in peril of his life, and that should fall into extreme punishment, to redeem for a price, even his own blood, namely by making agreement with the accuser that he should surcease his action. And this is in the *Code De Transact*. in the law *Transigere*. And in the *Digestes De eorum bonis, qui ante sententiam latam mortem sibi consciverunt*, in the first law. And if it be lawful for a man through the abandoning of goods and possessions, to redeem his own blood, why may it not be lawful for Churches which belong unto eternal life, to redeem by their outward goods, seeing these things are more of value than corporal life.

8. But they say: no man can give these things, because they appertain unto the Church, and are not in the power of any particular men. I answer. Neither would I that a Bishop or Minister of the Church do this by his own only counsel and will, but that the Church should be privy and consenting to the same. Over this let us imagine that there is some steward which governeth the goods and possessions of his master. If it happen that he cometh into the danger of his life or be taken prisoner, who will blame the good steward if by selling some of his master’s goods he redeem him and

deliver him from calamity? If it be lawful to give skin for skin, and all that we have for the soul, that is, for the life: doubtless it is much rather to be done that we may have the pure Gospel, and may obtain eternal life. Let us put the case that there is some Pope created (which nevertheless is not to be looked for) but for example sake let one be imagined, that will say unto our men: permit ye me that I may possess these Cities and Castles: and I will suffer that ye shall have the Gospel free, that ye shall reform the Churches as ye will, I will not trouble you: nay rather, I will be favorable to your endeavors. Who would not give these things unto him? Wherefore if any being put in such or in the like danger, do deliver any goods of the Churches unto Princes, they are not straight ways to be accused as though they have sinned: nay rather if they obstinately delay to do it, they may incur the suspicion of covetousness. Yet this must they take heed of, namely that they being moved through Ambition to attain unto dignities or Bishoprics or other spiritual promotions, show not themselves ready either to give or alienate such goods. This also must be foreseen, that they give not unto their near kinsfolk and friends those things which they fain that they would not grant unto Magistrates and Princes. But as things now are in Popish religion, I cannot tell what profit it may be to the Church, that so many and so great riches are possessed by Ecclesiastical men (as they will be called) seeing they abuse those goods, especially against the Gospel and profession of true religion. The effect is, that in this difficult and hard cause, I would allow that if it might possibly be, they which have the government of Churches should not resist Magistrates which pluck away such things by force, and yet that they should not by their own proper assent deliver them. Howbeit if the same be done at any time in manner and form as it is now described, in my judgment it cannot be blamed.

9. But as to the other kind of good, that is to wit, the true and right faith: because the same is the vine of God, it is lawful for no man to yield that unto any. For nothing must be added or diminished at princes pleasures. In this matter very many at sundry times departed from the constancy of Nabaoth. Verily there were some weak men in the time of Dioclesian and Maximinianus, which delivered even the very holy books to be burned. Of which offense Coecilianus Bishop of Carthage was greatly accused by Donatus, whereupon arose the heresy of the Donatists. Moreover under Constantius some which otherwise were good Bishops, being forced by fear, subscribed to the opinions of the Arians, among whom was the father of Gregorius Nazianzenus. Also many revolted what time as Julianus the Apostate obtained the Empire: neither did they faithfully keep the vine of the Lord: I mean the inheritance of their parents.

10. But in very deed the Clergy and Ecclesiastical men contend, that they by the benefit of Princes are exempted from tributes and customs. Doubtless Christ used not this privilege, for he provided to pay tribute both for himself and for Peter. Again if we look upon the Civil laws, they are not exempted from all burden of tributes. Iustinianus in deed willed that they should be free from personal offices, as it is in the *Code de Ecclesijs & episcopes*. And those are called personal offices, which we execute giving hereunto industry and labor only. For if the ministers should be bound to them, it could not be chosen but that they should be hindered from their function. And the same Justinian seemeth also to have exempted them from extraordinary, and not from ordinary exactions. Yea they are bound to the mending of common high ways and to repairing of bridges. Neither doeth the law of charity suffer, that when as they possess lands and many other things, they should withdraw themselves from civil burdens, and lay the

whole weight upon others, that there should be a burden upon all others and they only discharged. Boniface the 8th a man (as the Papists themselves confess) over proud and arrogant in his decrees, as we have *De Immunitate ecclesiarum*, made a decree, wherein he ordained, that Ecclesiastical men be altogether free from all payment of tributes: yea rather he straitly forbiddeth them that without the commandment of the Roman Bishop none should be so hardy as to pay anything to profane Princes. A most grievous constitution of a most outrageous man: from whence have sprung well near infinite garboil's and endless quarrels. Howbeit, some have patched it up with a goodly interpretation: namely, that somewhat notwithstanding may be exacted of them, if Church matters, or Religion, or commonwealth, be in any extreme danger. As though (for sooth) these men ought not to succor the commonwealth except when it is in extreme necessity. I remember a very witty saying of Dioclesian to a certain Philosopher that desired immunity. Thy profession (said he) much differeth from thy petition. For thy Philosophy teacheth that affections ought to be overcome: but thou plainly declarest thyself to be overcome with greedy desire and covetousness. So the clergy when as above all other they profess Religion and charity, do yet nevertheless desire not to be compelled to obey Magistrates, or to succor the commonweal.

11. Thomas Aquinas thinketh that this exemption of the clergy came by the privilege of Princes: Howbeit he saith that it is agreeable with the law of nature: and he citeth a place out of the book of Genesis, where it is written, that the lands of the Priests were free from the pension of the fifth part: but if a man diligently consider the whole matter, he shall easily find, why their lands were free from that fifth part. Namely because they were not sold to the King when the famine was very great. For the priests had corn of the

King, so that they were not compelled to buy corn. Wherefore the possession of their lands abode whole unto them: which nevertheless might at the pleasure of the king be charged with other customs and tributes, although they were not comprehended in that general pension of the fifth part. Others object that it is written in Esdras, that King Artaxerxes commanded that no tributes should be laid upon the Priests. But this was no marvel, seeing they possessed not lands among the children of Israel, but only lived of oblations and sacrifices. Caesar also writeth that the Druids among the Frenchmen paid neither tributes nor customs as other did, but that they were altogether frank and free. But Pliny in his 16th book and 44th chapter writeth that those Druids had nothing: wherefor it is no marvel if they paid no tribute. I speak not these things because I think that Princes may not remit some of their tributes to ecclesiastical men, which diligently execute their office, and keep hospitality, and succor the necessities of others, so that a regard be had that this turn not to the harm of others, and that such indulgence do nothing else but maintain their pomp. I grant in deed that princes may not do this, howbeit I affirm that Ecclesiastical men cannot by any law of God claim unto themselves any such immunity, and that they cannot in conscience deny tribute unto princes if it be demanded. Neither ought Pope Boniface by any means to have challenged unto himself a right to make that mad decree. It is already concluded by Paul, that all people do owe obedience and subjection to public governors. Neither ought the godly (saith Chrysostom) to take it in ill part to be subject unto Magistrates, although they themselves are the children of God, and appointed to the kingdom of heaven. But their glory is not in the state of this life: they wait until Christ appear, in whom their life is as yet hidden. In the meantime, they ought not to count it a thing grievous, if they rise up, if

they uncover the head, if they give the upper hand, if they obey Magistrates. Here is nothing unmeet or uncomely, nay rather whatsoever is done by them according to the prescript of the word of God, is a full decent and worthy thing.

CHAP. III. Whether two heads may be in the Church, one visible and another invisible.

They do not (saith God unto Samuel) reject thee but me. And Gideon in the Book of Judges, when the kingdom was offered unto him: I (saith he) will not reign over you, but the Lord shall reign over you. Here it may be demanded whether when he was chosen King, God ceased to govern his people, or whether he persevered to govern together with kings, that there should be one king to be looked upon, and another that might not be seen? Hereof also ariseth another question: For if this be true, why also can there not be two heads in the Church. For if God may be king together with a visible king, why may he not together with a visible head be an invisible head? But these two questions cannot be resolved both after one manner. As to the first: the rule of a king doeth not exclude the Empire of God: nay rather a king is the minister of God and executeth his office: for God ruleth together with good kings, why then doeth the Lord say: They have not rejected thee, but me? Wherefore said Gideon, I will not reign over you, but the Lord shall reign over you. These things are therefore said, because the people would innovate the state of the commonwealth by God prescribed.

For this was to despise God himself. For if God described this state of the commonwealth, why should the same be changed by the people? But yet God did not for that cause depart with his governance which he before had over the people. On the other part they seemed to reject God, because they went about to change the commonwealth without the commandment of God. Further God reigneth together with good kings, because they nowhere else receive the form of governing the commonwealth than by the law of God. Again, because they be not only careful that the bodies and goods of subjects should be well provided for: (For that is the office of a herdsman and shepherd, not of a king) but that men may live rightly and with virtue and godliness. But they be not always godly, nor they do not always desire the rule of governing by the law of God. Whether doeth God reign also with these men? These things it behooveth to distinguish wisely. There is no government so evil, that hath not also many goods things. Who was ever worse than Nero? Yet public peace was maintained under him: there were presidents in the provinces. The law was executed. Paul by using of Nero's name, brought to pass, that he was not delivered to the will of the Jews. When he was to be beaten with rods, He cried out that he was a Citizen of Rome, and so he escaped: He was also dismissed out of prison. These things being good, cannot be denied to be of God: For every good thing is of the father of light from above. But if thou ask of the wickedness of ungodly kings, those things they have of themselves, neither is there any need that because of them men should complain of God. For God doeth blame, reprove, punish and condemn those things, yet as they be punishments of sins, it cannot be denied but that they are of God. For they have a respect of Justice. For so doth God oftentimes for the sins of the people raise up an ungodly Prince. But although he be ungodly he must be

obeyed, howbeit so far forth as Religion shall permit. And if he shall command ungodly things, he must not be heard. Neither is it lawful with silence to dissemble anything that the King doeth perversely and ungodly. We ought to warn, counsel, reprove, chasten and amend him, for so did the Prophets. Also for defense of the commonwealth we must obey without exception. Therefore Cicero, Cato, Pompeius, and others must not be blamed who took wars in hand against Caesar. But when he had once attained to the Empire, no private man ought to have taken arms against him. Therefore when Augustus Caesar, had heard railing words to be spoken against Marcus Cato being now dead, because he dealt tyrannously against Julius, answered, that Cato was a good Citizen in that he would not have the present state of the commonwealth to be changed. So that God reigneth together with kings, whether they be good or evil. And kings may be called the heads of the commonwealth. For so David writeth of himself. Thou hast set me to be the head of the Nations. Yet are they not properly but Metaphorically called heads. For even as from the head is derived all the sense and motion into the body, so the senses by good laws, and motions, by edicts and commandments are derived from the prince unto the people. And this strength exceedeth not the natural power.

2. Now as touching the other question, none may after this manner be called the head of the Church, for here the consideration is far otherwise than in a commonwealth. For the Church is a celestial, divine, and spiritual body; Sense can be given unto her by no mortal man. For those things which pertain to the sense of the Church be of such sort as neither ear hath heard, nor eye hath seen, neither have they ascended into the heart of man: for all quickening of the Church proceedeth from the holy Ghost. So as they which will raise up unto us a new head of the Church, are not well advised

what they say. For regeneration and remission of sins do flow from the spirit of Christ, and not from man. Also the Scriptures do sufficiently testify, that Christ alone is given to be head of the Church. Paul unto the Ephesians saith: Christ is the head of the Church, by whom all the members by order of assistance make increase of the body. And unto the Colossians, speaking of hypocrites: They hold not (saith he) the head whereby all the body is knit together by sinews and joints. And again unto the Ephesians: Let us therefore grow up in him which is the head: namely Christ. So that every sense and moving of the Church floweth from Christ alone, not from any mortal man. But thou wilt object: that Princes undoubtedly cannot engender civil virtues in the minds of their people. Wherefore the reason on both parts is a like. Yes verily they can: for that doth not exceed the power of nature. For virtue springeth of frequented Actions. So when as princes by laws and edicts drive their subjects unto actions, they also drive them unto virtues. But the spirit of God and regeneration is not attained by many actions, but only by the blessings of God. For these gifts of God flow unto the Church, by joints and sinews, that is, by preachers and ministers. For their part is to teach the people to minister the Sacraments, to excommunicate offenders, and to reconcile the penitent. For albeit that Christ is the only head of the Church, yet doth he use the ministry of these men.

3. But thou wilt say, that although the inward senses and moving's of the Church be of Christ, yet there may be an outward head to rule ministers, and to keep them all in their duty. There may not be, neither undoubtedly is it lawful to change the order appointed by God. For God would that in the Church there should be a government of the best men, that Bishops should take the charge of all these things, and should choose Ministers, yet so, as

the voices of the people should not be excluded. But even as the Israelites cast away the government of God, that they might make themselves a king, even so they that would have the Pope to be the Head of the Church, have cast away Christ the true head of the Church. Paul unto the Ephesians saith: that Christ Gaue some to be Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Pastors, some Teachers, for edifying of the Church: neither addeth he that he set one over all these persons. Who commanded these men to alter this order? Further when Matthias was to be substituted in the place of Judas, and when Deacons should be created, the matter was referred, not unto the Pope, but unto the people. Besides this, if the Pope were head of the Church, he should be the bishop of bishops or the universal bishop: which thing no reason would bear. But least that the Papists should think that there is small weight in my words, let them hear Gregory the chief of all Popes. He in the fourth book of the register in the Epistles unto Mauricius the Emperor, unto Constantia the Empress, unto the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and unto John of Constantinople, writeth at large of this matter. I will comprise his arguments in as few words as I can. There cannot (saith he) be one head of the whole Church. For if peradventure that head should fall into any heresy, it would of necessity be, that the whole Church should be corrupted. And that the same head may be corrupted, Nestorius, and Macedonius may be a trial, who sometimes governed the Church of Constantinople. The one of these affirmed distinct persons to be in Christ, the other denied the holy Ghost to be God. Furthermore if there might be one only head of the Church, he saith it would of necessity be, that the authority of all other Bishops should be derived unto him. But that would be absurd. Therefore Cyprian saith, that there is one Bishopric whereof a part is wholly holden in gross of everyone.

He addeth further, that whosoever will arrogate this title unto himself is Antichrist. Here we will add the Minor: But the Pope challengeth unto himself this title: Wherefore the Papists must bear it with an indifferent mind if we call the Pope Antichrist. Lastly in the Epistle unto John of Constantinople: What answer (saith he) wilt thou make before the tribunal seat of Christ, whose office thou hast so arrogantly usurped? Here Gregory confesseth that this title is meet for Christ only. But the foundation and strength of these reasons is, that it is not lawful to reverse the order which Christ hath appointed.

4. Yea verily say they, Christ himself appointed one head in the Church: For he saith, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock, &c. But these men lean to a ruinous foundation. Peter confessed Christ to be the son of God: Then Christ: Thou (saith he) shalt be Peter, because thou hast confessed the rock that is me, being the foundation of the Church: And upon this rock which thou hast confessed I will build my Church. But now saith Paul, none can lay any other foundation, but that which is laid, Christ Jesus. But if at any time we read among the Fathers, that the Apostles be foundations, as in the Apocalypse we read that there be twelve foundations of new Jerusalem, foundation is not here put for the root of the building, but for the xii. stones which are next unto the foundation. For otherwise Christ is the foundation even of the Apostles. But they object that the keys were committed unto Peter: Yea rather they were given to all the Apostles without difference. For Christ gave the holy Ghost unto all, and said unto all: Go ye, preach ye: The which in very deed be the keys of the Church. But unto Peter it was said: Feed, feed: Yea rather they were all bidden, and they ought to feed. And Peter in his Epistle writeth unto the other Bishops: Feed ye as much as in you lieth the flock of Christ. Why then was it chiefly said unto Peter before

others, Feed thou? Because when he had thrice openly denied Christ, he might have seemed to have fallen from his first dignity. Wherefore Christ as though he had restored him into his place, bad him by name to feed. Howbeit what he spake unto him alone, he spake unto all. By this also he signified, that he which will teach in the Church ought to be endued with singular love towards Christ. Paul, although after the death of Christ he were made an Apostle, yet he saith, That he learned nothing of Peter, or conferred anything with any of the Apostle. But if so be that Peter had been the prince and head of the Church, nothing ought to have been done without his authority and sufferance. Nay rather Peter and Paul so allotted the Provinces between them, as Peter taught among the Jews, and Paul among the Gentiles. Further Peter admonisheth the Bishops that they should not reign over the Clergy. Therefore how may any one obtain the kingdom over others and bear himself as head? But this reason is first of all to be noted: John the Apostle lived until the time of Domitian: Peter died at Rome under Nero. Him did Linus, Cletus, and Clemens succeed. Now if they will the Pope to be head of the Church, they must of necessity confess that John the Apostle was subject unto Clement. So then let them either deny the Popes to be heads of the Church, or if they will not, let them subject the Apostles-unto them. The Epistles of Clemens although they be manifestly feigned and invented, yet are they oftentimes cited and highly esteemed by them. Then let it be lawful for us also to consider, what he writeth. His Epistle unto James the Apostle hath this inscription: Clemens unto James, the brother of the Lord, the Bishop of Bishops, ruling all the Churches of God which are founded everywhere by his Providence. Wherefore Rome the head of the Church shall be translated to Jerusalem. To this, how may the universal Church be ruled by one man? Sometime the Roman Empire was

the greatest, yet could it not embrace the Parthians, Scythians, Indians, and Ethiopians: and although it obtained not the whole world, yet (as Titus Linius saith) it was weary of his own burden: Even so these men when they saw that no one man might embrace the whole Church, they instituted as it were a Quadrumvirate, that is, that the world should be ruled by four Patriarchs: Namely, that the Patriarch of Antioch should be over Syria, the Patriarch of Alexandria over Egypt, and Ethiopia: The Patriarch of Constantinople over Asia, Greece and Illyricum: The Patriarch of Rome, over all the West part. But what came to pass at the length? Verily this, that they strove among themselves and rent the world in sunder: for each one would reign over all. And this well near is wont to be the end of human counsels. But Paul said, that he took care of all the Churches: I grant, but yet he said, he had a care, not a dominion: and that therefore he rather wrote unto, admonished, counseled, and reproved the Churches: but never called nor could have called himself the head of the Church.

5. But we are sometimes wont to say: If the Church should have one head in heaven and another in earth, it should be double headed, and so seem a monster. This argument the Bishop of Rochester derideth: For a wife also hath both her own head and her husbands; so by this means every wife should be a monster. But I marvel at Rochester, being so great a Logician, that he noted not a false argument in that which he reporteth of the wife. For those two heads of the wife be not of one and the same order, for one is natural and other is Economical. But it would be a monstrous thing if a wife should have two natural heads, or two Economical heads, or two husbands. But they add: The Pope is only a ministerial head, he poureth not into the Church senses and spiritual motions, for that is only the part of Christ. Wherefore the Pope and Christ be not two heads of one and the same kind.

If thou require of Papists, they will never grant that their Pope is only the civil head of the Church: Nay rather they will have them to be called spiritual fathers: So as they have two heads of one and the same kind. For they will never suffer themselves to be enclosed within these bounds. For they dispense against the word of God: they forbid marriages, they apply the merits of Christ and of the saints, they ordain new Sacraments, they sell Pardons. This pertaineth not to a civil head. Wherefore let them grant that their Church hath two heads, and that it is a monster. But I will deal frankly. Admit the Pope be a civil head, yet do ye fall into the self-same error. For seeing the Magistrate also is a civil head, ye shall be constrained to confess that in the Church there be two civil heads both of one order, and that so your Church is a monster. But these men as they be importunate, dream of two heads: First that the Pope is the civil head of his ministers, and so is one head of the Church. For they will have ministers to be exempted from the power of the civil Magistrate. But this is a vain conceit. For Paul commandeth that every soul should be subject unto the Civil power: he exempteth none. Yea and Chrysostom saith that neither the Apostles, nor Evangelists ought to be excepted. Peter also exhorteth ministers, that they should obey the civil power. Wherefore in vain do they babble, and ridiculously do they adjoin two heads unto their ministers. What then wilt thou say? Shall the Magistrate bear rule over ministers and Preachers? I answer: that the word of God and the Sacraments are subject to no potentate. But ministers are subject two manner of ways; both in respect of manners, and of their function: For if either they live wickedly or do not their duty, they may be both rejected by the Magistrate and deprived.

6. But these men still dream of one civil power that is Ecclesiastical, and of another that is profane. The one of the which they attribute unto the

Pope, and the other unto the Magistrate: but all in vain: For as much as pertaineth unto Ecclesiastical power, the civil Magistrate is sufficient. For he, as saith Aristotle in his Politics, must provide, that all men do their duty: both lawyers, Physicians, husband men, Apothecaries: among whom we may also reckon ministers and Preachers. What need have we here to multiply heads? Solomon, David, and Josiah, being civil Magistrates, yet did they not think religion to be without the compass of their charge. Constantine, Theodosius, and Justinian thought upon nothing more than to set in order the true church of God. So then there was no need that these men should raise up a new head unto themselves in the Church: and especially for the setting up of tyranny. For the Church hath Elders, who must provide in what order all things ought to be done, and that all things be in order the Magistrate ought to provide. But what if the Magistrate be wicked? Yet there is a Church, there be Elders, there be Bishops: by these it must be decreed and appointed what ought to be done in Religion. And this perhaps is it, why the king of England would be called head of his own Church next unto Christ. For he thought that that power which the Pope usurped to himself was his, and in his own kingdom pertained to himself. The title indeed was unwonted, and displeased many godly men: Howbeit if we consider the thing itself, he meant nothing else but that which we have now said.

7. But they object, that after the Pope, once became a Monarch, and that we see that Christ is not thereby excluded, he must not rashly be removed. For so the Israelites, although they had made themselves a king without the commandment of God, he being once appointed, they did not afterward revolt from him. I answer: The reason is not alike, For the Israelites in creating their king had the voice of God: which thing if these men can show

of their Pope, we will confess that the reason on both parts is alike. But they cannot do it, nay rather they have the contrary out of the holy Scriptures. Wherefore we conclude first, that it is not agreeable for the Church to have a double head. Secondly, that although it might be agreeable, yet that one mortal man cannot rule and regard the whole world, for that doth far exceed man's strength. But thou wilt say, If this reason be of force, even a civil Monarch ought not to be suffered, who hath more Provinces than he is able to take the charge of. Wherefore if a king be not able to provide for all that be his, shall we revolt from him as ye have done from the Pope? I answer, that these Empires largely extended, cannot be without fault: For seeing the kings cannot deal in all things themselves, they commit their Provinces unto insatiable and greedy cormorants, by whom the people is miserably drawn dry and sucked out. And in ancient times, when things were better, several cities had several kings. We read that Nynus first made war upon the nations adjoining, and amplified his borders. So we read of so many kings, that were in the land of Canaan being no very great Region. Indeed it is an ill thing to have so large a dominion, yet must not the people for that cause revolt from their kings. Howbeit, if they will command anything against God, they must in no wise be heard. Christ came not to change the order of commonwealths. For my kingdom (saith he) is not of this world. Neither did Paul at any time persuade, that there should be any defection from Nero. So as we have the word of God that we should obey the Magistrate whosoever he be, but we have no word to obey the Pope.

8. But admit that there may be someone head of the Church, why should he rather be at Rome than elsewhere? Because Peter, say they, sat in Rome. First that doth not sufficiently appear: For by some it is denied. But be it he was at Rome: he was also at Antioch and Jerusalem: Why then should not

the Bishops of these Cities be heads of the Church? But Peter, say they, died at Rome. And Christ died at Jerusalem which is more. We declared at the first, that the Pope hath no word of God whereby he should appoint his kingdom: then, that no one man can be overseer of the whole world: lastly if he might, yet he ought not anymore to be the Bishop of Rome, then any other Bishop. Besides this, the authority which they boast of, either they have it of God or of men: if of God, let them bring forth some testimony of the word of God that we may believe: But if they will say of men: yet men cannot nor ought not determine of the kingdom of God. For that were to usurp upon another man's kingdom. Neither do we only shake off this power, but also in a manner all the elder Fathers. In the time of Cyprian there were such as would appeal out of Africa unto Rome. Of that matter Cyprian wrote unto Cornelius: Let causes be heard where they be committed. There is one Bishopric, a part whereof is thoroughly possessed by each one. Apiarius the Priest being condemned of his own bishops, appealed to the bishop of Rome: who commanded that he should be wholly restored. The council of Carthage had decreed that if any man had appealed beyond the sea, he should be excommunicated. And so the Bishops of Africa receive not Apiarius: and answer that this is not lawful unto the Roman Bishop. Unto them was sent Potentinus a bishop. The Africans demand from whence the Pope challengeth so great authority: he answereth not of Christ, not of Peter (for as yet they became not so shameless) but of the Synod of Nice. The Africans desired the original copy. The Pope made delay: for he had not what to show. They send to Alexandria, Constantinople, and Antioch, in the Libraries of which Cities they doubted not but that all decrees of the Nicene council were extant. But no such thing is there to be found. Afterward the Pope by no very faithful dealing instead

of the council of Nice foisted in the council of Sardis. But the authority of that council was over light. Gregory writeth, that this title in in the council of Chalcedon, was tendered unto Leo the Bishop of Rome, but that he would not accept the same. But now as touching doctrine, we shall find, that the Pope doeth teach in a manner all things contrary unto Christ: Justification by works, invocation of the dead, maiming of the Sacraments, prayers in a strange and foreign language. By these Arguments which we have spoken of, is sufficiently proved, that there is no head in the Church besides Christ.

9. Now will we weigh the four strongest Arguments of our adversaries, what force they bear. First they say: Christ went into heaven, therefore the Church hath need of a visible guide. Further, Christ loveth his Church, therefore to the intent that the same might be the better governed, he would have it to be provided for by one head. For even as the body cannot be governed without the soul, so neither the Church without a head. Thirdly they say, that the old Fathers had always refuge to the Roman Church, as unto the head. Lastly they say, The ministers be not equal among themselves. Therefore least the matter should grow to a tumult, one must be chosen, who should be preferred among others, and have a preeminence of voice in councils. As touching the first Argument: Christ so went his way, as he nevertheless remaineth perpetual lie in his Church: not in body, but in spirit, grace, and providence. For so he promiseth: Behold I am with you even to the end of the world. And wheresoever two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I. Wherefore Christ is always with us, that is in our hearts. Further he left his word, from whence the form of governing the Church must be sought. But so, thou wilt say, as he cannot be seen: I grant it. And your Pope also when is he seen of the Indians or Ethiopians?

But thou wilt say: The Pope hath his legates: As though Christ hath not likewise his Legates. To the second Argument: Christ would have the Church to be provided for, therefore he would have one head thereof. The Argument followeth not. For the Church may be otherwise provided for. The Roman and Athenian commonwealths were best administered, and were most flourishing when they were ruled by Senators. Wherefore in the Church there may be *Aristocratia*, that all things be ordered and ruled in councils: as in times past it was done among the Apostles, and in the ancient Church. For what? Cannot Helvetia be safe without a king? Yet so strong are the Arguments of Pighius, although to himself he may seem very sharp. Thirdly, the ancient Bishops being wronged, repaired always unto the Roman Church: therefore it was the head. I deny the Argument. For in the commonwealth, if perhaps a man receive injury, he flieth unto some Senator, whom he believeth to be a good man: shall it therefore follow that the same Senator is the head of the commonwealth? In those days the Roman Bishop was more holy, more learned, and less corrupt than others: he was of great authority and in great place about the Emperor, therefore Athanasius, Chrysostom and others went unto him for refuge; not that they took him for the head of the Church. And in that government of the four Patriarchs, of which we have spoken before, the west part did not so commit itself unto the Roman Bishop as unto their head, but took his advice in doubtful causes: and afterward referred the matter unto a council.

10. Unto the fourth, Ministers be not all equal among themselves: Therefore least there might be a confusion of all things, it were necessary there should be one head. I answer. He that is better learned and more spiritual, let him be above the rest. So was there very much ascribed to Athanasius and Basil, not for the worthiness of the seat, but for doctrine and

holiness sake. Many in all parts, for learning sake, took counsel of Augustine: but the posterity bound all the dignities unto certain chairs, namely of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome, because they hoped that in these seats there would always be most learned and holy Bishops. But it fell out otherwise; for afterward the Emperors chose Bishops, not the worthiest, but those whom they most favored. Augustine being most learned, was a Bishop of Hippo, being a place of no great name. Aurelius being a man much more unlearned, was Bishop of Carthage a famous City. But since they fear confusion, let the Roman Bishop sit in the first place in Councils, the Bishop of Constantinople in the second place, and afterward others in their place: but let not one reign over all. Let the government be *Aristocratia*, which order seemed always the best. For it is harder to corrupt many than one. For even blind men may see that the Popes are most shamefully corrupted by those their flatterers and parasites. For *De electione & electi potestate* in the *Chapter Fundamentum*, in the Gloss it is written, that the Pope is no man. In the Proem of the Epistles of Clement in the gloss it is written, that he is neither God nor man: Wherefore he is directly opposite to Christ. For Christ was both God and man: he is neither God nor man. Therefore he is either an Angel or a beast: but he is no Angel, therefore he is a beast. In the *Extravagants de verborum significatione* in the chapter *Ad Conditorem*, it is written, that the Pope is no pure man. This I easily believe, for he is oftentimes an impure Ruffian. Gelasius in the *Decret the 9th Quaest*. *3*. chapter *Cuncta per orbem*: The Roman seat (saith he) ought to judge of all men: none of it. It is lawful for all men to appeal unto it: and from it, it is not lawful. The same may condemn those that be absolved in Councils, and absolve them that be condemned. In the *Extravagants De concessione Praebendarum*, in the chapter *Ad*

Apostolorum: None ought to say unto the Pope: Sir why doest thou this? And in *Quaest. 2.* in the chapter *Abtulisti*, and they be the words of Anacletus: God is the father because he hath made, The Church is the mother because it hath regenerated. Here of Panormitanus in the treatise of the council of Basil. Therefore (saith he) the Pope is the son of the Church, therefore he must obey the Church. Which nevertheless Eugenius, and Paul the third in the council of Trent would not. But I of these words do also gather another thing: He is the son of the Church, therefore he is not head. He is the son, therefore he is not the spouse, unless he will confess himself to be incestuous.

CHAP. IV. Of Ecclesiastical laws, of Traditions, of the discerning of spirits, of Councils, Fathers, and of the Canons, which they call the Canons of the Apostles.

Here are three things to be considered of us. The first is, whether it be lawful for Bishops and Ecclesiastical men to set forth such manner of laws and decrees. Secondly, if it be lawful, what manner of laws those ought to be. Thirdly, what force they may have to bind the conscience. As touching the first, we know that all godly men are bound to obey Princes and Magistrates, And that as Paul saith for conscience sake. Peter and Paul command servants to obey their Masters, even though they be froward. Christ himself paid tributes and customs, and was never against the laws. We are commanded to obey parents. And the Magistrate is instead of a parent as unto whom our parents have referred all their power and authority. Solomon in the proverbs saith. Fear God and honor the king, and meddle not with Seditious men, for their destruction is at hand. But this is true so long as they command nothing against the Lord. For if that happen, we must obey God rather than men. Albeit in the Civil laws there be certain things belonging unto the necessity of a City: some unto decency only. It is

for necessity, that men should punish offenders: unto decency, that it may not be lawful for a matron to marry in the time of mourning: which was provided for by the Roman laws. Further his purpose also is to be considered who made the Law. For some things he would have to be straitly and thoroughly observed: and that some things should be certain provocations and admonitions. Lastly in these lighter sorts of decrees we must take heed, that nothing he violated by contempt. The effect is, that men seeing they be not born to themselves, but to the commonwealth, should endeavor with all their care to obey laws.

2. But some think that Bishops may not make laws. And thus to say they are moved by no small or obscure Reasons. For first they demand from whence they should have that part: I speak here of Bishops so far forth as they be Ministers of the word, not in respect that they be civil Princes: for the consideration of that matter is otherwise. That power they have not of Christ, for he neither made laws, nor yet ever gave such commandments to his Apostles. Wherefore, if Bishops be so sent from Christ, as he was sent from the father, they cannot make laws. Further it behooveth that they which make laws should have dominion. But Peter warneth Bishops that they should not bear rule over the Clergy. Besides, he that writeth laws, it behooveth he have an interest to punish: as it is in the *Pandects de legibus & Senatus consultis* out of Demosthenes. For he saith, that the law is ἐπανόρθωμα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων καί ἐκουσίων καὶ ἀκουσίων, that is, the law is a lawful correction of offenses committed willingly or unwillingly. But the Church hath not the sword or power of punishing. Moreover where the law is, there of necessity must follow transgression: such is the infirmity of our nature. But Paul would not ensnare any man. And James saith, in the 4th chapter: There is one lawmaker who can save and destroy. And Isaiah in

the 33rd chapter: Thou art our King, Thou art our Judge, thou art our Lawgiver. But the Canons decree far otherwise. Yea and when they speak of them which may make laws, they give the first place unto the Pope: the second, unto the Councils and Bishops: the third, unto Emperors. And of this mind be the Schoolmen, as Thomas in *Secunda Secundae de Jejuni*: saith, that the Church cannot decree: at what time and in what manner we should fast. For even as (saith he) civil Magistrates may declare and ratify those things which be confusedly and obscurely shadowed in the law of nature: so the Church may define and determine those things which be confusedly taught in the holy Scriptures. And *Ostiensis de vi Constitutionum* saith, that such decrees ought to be of that force, that he which contenmeth them should be excommunicated. And we read in the histories that Victor would have excommunicated all the East part, for no other cause but for that they did not solemnize the feast of Easter after the Roman use: Albeit that matter was somewhat repressed by the Counsel of Irenaeus. The reasons that are brought for the contrary, they think that they be able easily to refell. For whereas it is said, that the Bishops received not authority of Christ to make laws, they answer, that that is nothing. For they say that laws do belong unto doctrine: For the law (as Cicero saith) is a commanding of honest things and a repelling of things shameful. So that seeing the Church hath the authority to teach, if hath also (say they) authority to make Laws. And albeit Peter saith that a Bishop ought not to bear rule, yet that he ought to have oversight in the Church and to have the power of the keys. And whereas it is alleged that the Church hath no right to punish, they say it is false: for the Church may bind, loose, and excommunicate. And whereas Paul writeth that he will not cast any man into a snare, they say he writeth this particularly of virgins, because chastity

is not commonly given unto all men: And that it is a weak argument for a man thus to gather: It is not lawful to make a law of virginity, therefore it is not lawful for any cause. And that whereas Isaiah saith: Thou art our lawmaker and king: that is true as touching the last judgment and eternal damnation: Or by the figure Antonomasia, because whatsoever is, is of him. For otherwise by the same reason every civil magistrate should be taken away.

3. But whether these be Laws or no, I will not contend, because it maketh not much to purpose. Wherefore let it be set down, that it is lawful for the Church to make to itself, either Canons, or laws; or decrees, or statutes, or call them by what name thou wilt. For the Church is a company, and must be ruled by the word of God, especially because it belongeth to the salvation thereof, and to the worshiping of God. But there be other things which belong only unto outward discipline. For there is need of certain outward bonds, to the end that the fellowship of the people may be retained. So the Apostle decreed, that women ought to pray with the head covered, and men uncovered. And the Apostles in the Acts, decreed that we should abstain from blood, from strangled, and from things dedicated unto Idols. And always in Councils after they had done with doctrine, they began to entreat of discipline. Finally so did all the Fathers as Tertullian, Origen, Basel, Augustine and Jerome. The end of these laws must be edifying and good order. But for so much as they be not of necessity, they may be changed according to the times and places: as in Baptism, concerning the three times dipping, of sprinkling of them that are diseased: of the time of Easter and Pentecost: at which times only Baptism was wont to be given. Of the Eucharist, in what place, at what time, after what manner, whether we ought to communicate standing or sitting, in the morning or at evening:

unless that these things shall be determined of, there will never be any tranquility of the Church. For one man will hear a Sermon at one time, and another at another time: one in this place, and another in that. So as it is lawful to appoint such decrees if it be done with the peace of the Church. Others reason thus: The people is unlearned and unskillful, therefore to be held in Ceremonies. But this difference is between us and them of old time: They had many Ceremonies: we, as saith Augustine, have very few. And Christ saith that God will have a people of whom he shall be called upon in spirit and in truth. Yet Paul teacheth the Corinthians, that it behooveth that there should be some things which may serve unto order and comeliness. Howbeit this order consisteth not in great pomp, in apparel, in songs, in the noise of bells, and organs, but in that which may serve unto modesty and gravity, which may remove lightness, confusion, and barbarousness.

4. Now that we may understand, of what sort such laws should be, we ought to remember, that some there be, which pertain to doctrine, and some to governance. Unto doctrines nothing ought to be thought necessary, but that which is gathered either expressly or by manifest and sound reason out of the holy Scriptures: such as is of the baptizing of Infants, and of Homoousion, that is [*that Christ is of one substance with his father*.] For God expressly commanded in Deuteronomy, that there should not anything be added unto his law. Again, those things which pertain to governance, are distinguished two manner of ways. For some be necessary and serve unto salvation: of which sort none must be thought, unless they be taught in the holy Scriptures. Others there be indifferent in their own nature, the which we may use either well or ill. Unto this part only belongeth all this discourse: In this kind we must specially take heed; that nothing be thought to be done to the worshipping of God. For divine worshiping dependeth not

of the will of men, but of the counsel of God. Therefore Christ in Matthew saith out of Isaiah: In vain do they worship me, teaching doctrines being precepts of men. For the worshipping of God must remain simple and pure. Therefore God saith in Isaiah, that he would send fury and madness upon them of whom he is worshipped according to the precepts of men. And in deed so we see it commonly come to pass, that they which are wholly occupied in this, are after a sort given up to a reprobate sense: they dote, they are mad, and they cannot see, even those things that be most clear. Paul unto the Colossians saith: If ye be dead with Christ, why are ye yet as it were living held with decrees? And unto the Galatians: Stand you in the same liberty wherein Christ hath delivered you. And to the Colossians he utterly condemneth all voluntary worshipping's. These things in deed have a show of holiness and wisdom, but that show standeth in superstition, in humility, in ἀφειδία, that is, neglecting of the body, and in the revelation of Angels, but in very deed they be rebuked, as Christ saith in Matthew. But now if these things be neither necessary, nor yet belong to the worshipping of God, they may be changed: neither is it necessary that they should be after one sort in all Churches. In these things saith Jerome let every Province abound in his own sense. And Ambrose, as he is cited by Augustine to Januarius: If ye will not err do you (saith he) as I am wont: for I unto what Church soever I come, do apply myself unto the ceremonies thereof. Neither undoubtedly ought the Church be deprived of that liberty, which Christ would have evermore remain whole unto it. Yet do I not therefore speak these things, to the intent I would have Ceremonies to be every day altered in the Church, for nothing must either be changed or abolished without great counsel and grave deliberation. Further we must take heed, least these ceremonies do grow to an exceeding number, and so

do overturn all things. Augustine in his 119th Epistle unto Januarius saith, that in his time the number of observations was so great, as the condition of the Jews seemed much more tolerable than did the condition of the Christians. All things (saith he) be full of presumptions: so as he may seem to sin more grievously, which during their Octaves treadeth on the ground with his bare feet, than he that drinketh drunk. And what do these things profit in the end? Verily they will make ill men nothing the better. For as we have said, they are only effectual unto good order, for so much as many of these kind of things are invented for filthiness, and gains sake: for by these arts the Papists kitchings are made fat. It also happeneth oftentimes, that by these small matters men are led away from the true worship of God. This did Christ reprove in the Pharisees, that for their traditions they contemned the precepts of God. Wherefore such inventions and decrees of men must be taken away so often as they begin to hinder holiness to Godward. For so Hezekiah took away the brazen Serpent when the people had once begun to honor it for God, although it was erected by Moses. Ceremonies therefore are to be suffered so long as they serve to good order and to any use of the Church: but whereas there shall be no more use of them, they must without all doubt be taken away.

5. Now let us see as touching the third part, which fit the best our purpose, what force such decrees should have for the binding of consciences, and what difference there is between these things and civil decrees. First of all those things bind not, if contempt and offense be renewed, and that we do not either through pride and of set purpose abolish those things that be well instituted, or else trouble the common quiet of the Church. These things being observed, the conscience is nothing bound. For example sake: The Apostles decreed that the gentiles converted unto Christ should abstain

from strangled, from blood, and from the thing dedicated unto Idols. Wherein they had respect unto nothing else but the tranquility of the Church: for otherwise the Jews could never have agreed with the Ethnics. If any man had eaten those things, preserving the common quiet of the Church, he had nothing at all sinned against conscience. For otherwise Peter saith: Why tempt you God, in putting on a yoke &c? And Paul unto the Colossians: Let no man judge you in meat and drink. And if so be we ought not to be judged of our brother much less ought we to be judged of ourselves. And Christ saith, That which goeth in at the mouth, defileth not the man: and so he defended his disciples when they had eaten with unwashed hands, and when as they journeyed, they rubbed out the ears of corn in their hands. The same doeth Paul prove in the Epistle to the Corinthians, saying: Whatsoever shall be set before you, that eat without asking any question. But if any man shall declare unto thee, that that meat is dedicated to an Idol, eat not for conscience sake, not thine own conscience, but his that showed it unto thee. But a far other there is in civil precepts. For we are commanded to obey, not only because of wrath, but also for conscience sake: the conscience I mean not of another man, but our own. Therefore great is the difference between Ecclesiastical decrees and political. So then it is of necessity that those things do not bind the consciences. For in Ecclesiastical things, good order must be regarded, but in civil things we must obey, although thou perceive not that good order.

6. In fine we must always hold that common rule, To obey is better than sacrifice: and to hearken, is better than the fat of rams. Samuel disputing of sacrifices and obedience, useth a double comparison. For first he saith, that those things are not of like estimation. Further he saith, that obedience is better than all sacrifices. Ben Gerson showeth this reason thereof. Because

sacrifices (saith he) are invented to take away sins, but obedience maketh a man not to sin at all. And much better is that which causeth us not to sin, than which purgeth sin committed. Another reason is, because, that must needs be less which is sometime refused by God, than that which is always required: but sacrifices are often rejected of God; obedience, never: wherefore this must needs be the better. For Jeremiah saith in the 7th chapter: When I brought your fathers out of Egypt, I spake not a word unto them of sacrifices, but only that you should obey my word. And Isaiah, Why offer ye (saith he) so many sacrifices unto me? I am full of burnt offerings and of the fatness of fed beasts. And David in the 50th Psalm: I will take no calves out of thy stall, nor he goats out of thy flocks, for all the wild beasts of the forest are mine, and so are the cattle upon a thousand hills. I know all the fowls of the mountains, and the wild beasts are with me. If I be hungry I will not tell thee. I might cite many other places for the confirmation hereof, but it sufficiently appeareth by these few, that sacrifices were sometimes refused: but God never refused obedience.

7. But here by the way, somewhat must be spoken of those words of Jeremiah, how it can be said, that God spake not to the old Jews as touching sacrifices. Jerome referreth this unto the ten commandments, because in it there is no mention made of sacrifices, but that afterward, when they had made unto themselves a Calf, God commanded, that if they would needs do sacrifices, they should rather do them unto him than unto Idols. Albeit there may be another reason no less probable gathered by the History itself. For when the people was brought forth into the wilderness, when the tabernacle was consecrated and that now the Priests were appointed, there was instituted a most plentiful sacrifice upon mount Sinai. But after that time, so long as they remained by the space of forty years in the wilderness, they

neither had circumcision nor sacrifices. Hereunto it seems that Jeremiah had respect, rather than unto the Levitical law. A third exposition may be: that God required not these things, that is to wit, chiefly and especially: For this kind of speech is usual in the holy Scriptures, that that which is not chiefly done, is absolutely denied to be done. So Paul saith: Christ sent not me to baptize. Whereas yet he said unto all the Apostles: Go ye and baptize. But because that seemed to be the least part of the Apostolical office, therefore Paul denieth utterly that the same belonged to his office. Otherwise he baptized Gaius and Stephanas, in the doing whereof he had swerved from his vocation, if he had not been sent to baptize. So as God commanded not sacrifices unto the old Jews: that is, he did not specially and chiefly command them. Also we may say, that God required not sacrifices of them, namely after such a manner as they were done of them: that is to wit, with dissimulation and hypocrisy, when as their heart was altogether strange from God. For sacraments be seals of the promises of God, and confirmations of our faith. But if faith be absent, what can either be sealed or confirmed? Moreover God requireth no such kind of sacrifices, which for the very work sake should be thought to purge sins; or which should be gathered of robbery of poor men's oblations. In sacrifices, the thing signified did please, that is to wit, Christ, unto whom those things, and the mortification of affections stirred up the minds of men. So Paul saith: I beseech you my brethren that ye will give your bodies a lively sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable serving of God. Without these things, sacrifices were nothing else but dead bodies without life. The third reason why obedience is to be preferred before sacrifices, is, that sacrifices may be common unto God and unto Idols, but obedience is peculiar unto God. Lastly in sacrifices, a man may make much of the belly

and of good cheer: but obedience is reserved unto God alone. But that sacrifices are of some estimation, it appeareth by the very words of Samuel, to obey (saith he) is better than sacrifice: therefore sacrifices are good, so that they be done rightly and in order. This place do the Papists wrest unto that obedience, which they cry out to be due unto them and their traditions. Howbeit Samuel spake not of this obedience, but of that which is due unto the commandment of God. So Paul saith: that he received grace and Apostleship to the obedience of faith, that all the Gentiles might be brought unto Christ. But Christ (say they) saith: He that heareth you, heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me. These things indeed agree unto you, but yet so as you must allege the word of God.

Of Traditions.

8. Moreover false Apostles are by Paul reproved, because they brought in manners and doctrine altogether without Christ. Let them consider therefore how far they stray which earnestly affirm that traditions should be urged, seeing the same be not taught everywhere in the Church, neither were always received: and yet are they called Apostolical. There was a tradition in Tertullian's time, that milk and honey should forthwith be given to them that were baptized, that so (as he speaketh) they might he fed like infants. Also it was a tradition, that the Eucharist, and that under both kinds, should be given to Infants in the time of Augustine and Cyprian, and should so be given as things necessary unto salvation. Epiphanius in *Doctrina compendiaria contra heresies*, saith, that it was an Apostolical tradition, that they should fast the day before the Sabbath, which is called Friday, because Christ as that day suffered. Also the fourth day of the weak, because Christ on that day was assumpted into heaven. And when he lived on the earth he said that the Apostles should not fast so long as they had the

bridegroom with them. But that they should then fast, when the bridegroom should be taken from them. It is there added and confirmed by Augustine, in an Epistle to Cassulanus, that there is a tradition, that we should not fast from Easter unto Pentecost: There is also a tradition, as Basil confirmeth in his book *de spiritu Sancto*, that during all those days we should not worship upon our knees. The very which he affirmeth of the Lord's Day. The tradition was Apostolical at Ephesus and in Asia, that the feast of Easter should be kept after the fashion of the Jews. In the Church of Rome that the tradition of the Apostles was said to be otherwise. Seeing therefore they be so diverse and are repugnant in themselves, they cannot be the ways of Paul or of the Apostles. For he saith, that he himself taught everywhere and in every place one and the self-same thing. Wherefore Cyprian writeth unto Pompeius, that he alloweth not of traditions, unless it be those which are in the Gospels, Apostolical Epistles, and Acts of the Apostles, whereto I add those which necessarily are inferred out of the holy Scriptures. Whatsoever things else are brought they be uncertain and not everywhere received. So as if a due consent ought to be preserved in the Church, it is necessary that we firmly and constantly stay ourselves in the holy Scriptures.

Of discerning of Spirits.

9. But the discerning of spirits is a gift, by which the difference of them which are moved by an evil spirit is known from them which are inspired with the holy Ghost. Which, how necessary it is, Christ admonished, when he said, Beware of false Prophets which come unto you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they be ravening wolves. And Paul unto the Thessalonians, Prove all things and keep that which is good. But how spirits are to be known, John teacheth in his first Epistle when he saith: If a man confess that the Lord Jesus is come in the flesh: he is of God: and he that denieth

that the Lord Jesus is come in the flesh, is not of the Lord, but is of Antichrist. Augustine treating on these words, marveleth, that many Heretics be very pernicious, which confess the Lord Jesus to have come in the flesh, who nevertheless be not of God: but he answereth to this effect: that they confess the Lord Jesus to be come in flesh, which with a sound faith receive all those doctrines which either go before or follow this article. If Christ come, in the flesh, he was before his coming: he took very flesh upon him to this end, that he should verily die, and that afterward he should rise again, whereby he might also give us the hope of resurrection. And many other things are knit unto that principle, the which as well heretics as infidels do refuse, either in whole or in part. Wherefore John would not distinctly reckon up everything which we ought to confess unto salvation, to the end that our spirit might be approved, but he only spake of that which was the chief, unto which in a manner all other things necessary to salvation are adjoined. But if thou wilt say: Admit there be some which rightly and faithfully hold all those opinions, is he therefore thought to have the spirit of Christ, if he live unpurely? Augustine answereth, that there is a certain confession which is in outward words only, and another which is true, and hath good works with it. And this he proveth out of the Epistle unto Titus: They confess that they know God, but in deeds they deny him. Therefore by contraries he saith: there be some which in deeds confess God himself: therefore he affirmeth that confession, of which John speaketh, is no vulgare confession, but such a one as hath deeds. But through these things which are spoken by this godly man, we have as yet no certain rule by the which spirits are discerned. For there be many Heretics, which in outward show have had their life garnished with works notable enough, but the same in the meantime was contaminated with the endeavor of human glory, and

we being ignorant of the purpose of their mind, can judge nothing of the goodness of the works which they make semblance of: for this judgment pertaineth only to the conscience. Wherefore John in the same Epistle writeth: And if so be our heart accuse us, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things. As if he had said: Although thou shalt behave thyself notably in outward show, and shalt have an evil mind, think not that thou art hidden: for God also understandeth the perverseness of thy mind, seeing he is greater than our heart. So as to God must be left the secrete judgment of perfect uprightness of works: because he being the judge, it may be, that he which shall give his body to be burned, seeing he is without charity, it is nothing: and that those things which he seemeth to do very well, are condemned: Only we can judge of those things which appear manifestly.

10. Wherefore there remaineth two rules for to judge of spirits. One is, if the opinions, as touching faith be retained perfect and pure. And this meant John when he said: If any man confess the Lord Jesus, &c. And this confession of opinions must be examined by the holy Scriptures: the which seeing they had not in the Church at the beginning, as concerning the New Testament, they were examined by the words and doctrine of the Apostles. Therefore John a little after saith: He that is of God heareth us, and he that heareth not us is not of God. Then he addeth, that thus we do prove the spirit. Another rule is of manners and life: This did Christ express when he said: By their fruits ye shall know them. And as opinions are known by examining of them with the Scriptures, so life and manners should be tried by the discipline of the Church. Howbeit either rule of examination is at this day waxen cold. For the life of the faithful is not looked upon, but the sheep of Christ do miserably perish and are neglected. Further the holy Scripture is less red than meet it should; neither is it carefully and diligently handled.

And the Papists will that the opinions should be examined, not by the Scriptures, but by the councils and fathers. Thereof it cometh to pass, that the Church hath these many years been deceived. In the Primitive Church a gift was extant, whereby it might easily be known with what spirit they which did speak were led. By these means Satan was resisted when he transformed himself into an Angel of light.

Of Councils.

11. Wherefore let them take heed which in diverse places boast of the Councils, in which it hath been judged as touching religion, what men it behooved there to be, namely spiritual, for so much as the judgment only of divine things is brought to them: But at this day the greatest part of a Council, is so over-fraught with gross imperfections, as in very deed it is not lawful to take meat with them. They say that they be the Church: howbeit although they be baptized, and have taken orders in the Church, yet do they not therefore prove themselves to be spiritual, seeing it is proved that they do the works of the flesh and not of the spirit. And although some spiritual men may perhaps agree with them, very few they be and are overmatched both in number and authority of the carnal sort, neither deal they always valiantly as they ought to do. And in truth as the case now standeth it is the Pope which governeth the council. For he summoneth, suspendeth, alloweth, and refuseth the same at his own pleasure. Who, how truly he may be called spiritual, all men understand. Besides further seeing the holy Scriptures be inspired by God and therefore most spiritual, none that be spiritual can decree in councils anything against them. For spirits are not one against another. But in Councils they have sundry times defined against the decrees of the holy Scripture. There the communion was mangled: Matrimony was forbidden the ministers of the Church:

Innumerable abuses were brought in of masses: namely Invocation of Saints, the use of Images: the superstition of Purgatory and infinite pestilences of this kind were confirmed. And what authority a council should have, Augustine showeth in the 3rd book against Maximinus the bishop of the Arians, when he saith: But now neither ought I allege the council of Nice, nor thou the Council of Ariminum as though we would prejudice one another, neither must I be tied to the authority of this, not yet thou to the authority of that: Let thing with thing, cause with cause, reason with reason strive together by the authorities of the scriptures, not being each man's own testimonies, but by those which be common to both parts. Where thou seest, that this father doth appeal from the Councils unto the Scriptures. The same father in the 2nd book against the Donatists the 3rd chapter, saith: The letters of bishops and the decrees of Provincial councils give place to the greater councils, but the Canonical Scripture giveth place to none. And the same father writing unto Jerome with whom he disputed as touching the reprehending of Peter which is spoken of to the Galatians, he most manifestly appealed from the Fathers which Jerome cited, unto the words of the holy Scripture.

12. Neither must we pass upon that which they often times object unto us: namely, that Christ said unto his Apostles: I have many things to speak unto you, but ye cannot now bear them away. Whereof they will gather, that many things as touching the worshipping of God and Religion, may be appointed by them, which the holy Scriptures have not taught: As though Christ in those words had spoken of worshipping's and Ceremonies. Might not the Apostles then abide such things, who both had been born and were conversant from their childhood in ceremonies and rites? Was Moses able to teach those things to the ignorant people, and could not Christ teach the

Apostles those things which be of the same kind? The case doeth not so stand: but those many things were the same which he had already told them: and they were more expressly and effectually to be expounded unto them and to be printed in their minds, by the power of the holy Ghost which he promised unto them. For a little after he saith: When the comforter shall come, he shall prompt you in all things that I have showed you. Moreover he testified, that all things which he heard of his father, he told it unto them: All things (saith he) which I have heard of my father, I have made them known unto you. So as there shall be nothing left necessary unto salvation which is lawful for these men to decree. Neither are these things spoken, to the intent that the authority of councils should be utterly rejected. For if so be they shall reprehend, excommunicate, or absolve by the word of God, and shall pray together by the power of the spirit, these things shall not be in vain and without fruit. Yea and Paul went to Peter and to the Apostles unto Jerusalem, not to derive doctrine from them, but least he should run in vain, he went for the commodity of others, that they might understand, that his kind of doctrine did not disagree from the opinions of the Apostles as some boasted that it did. If Councils were otherwhile had for this purpose, that all Churches might acknowledge a consent in the verity of the Scriptures, they might very well be borne withal. But when they decree against the testimonies of the holy Scriptures, they are not to be suffered. For Paul if he had perceived anything to have been defined, either by Peter or by the other Apostles, otherwise than he himself had heard of Christ, he would not have given his assent, no verily Not to an Angel, if he had showed from heaven anything other than the Gospel which he had received: so as we also must esteem none to be spiritual, nor yet to judge aright, if they have decreed against the scriptures.

13. Wherefore that which Paul writeth of the Corinthians judgment, we must retain, if we be judged either by a Council or by the Papistical Church, against the scriptures, we may boldly say with Paul, we esteem it least of all to be judged by you. Neither must our adversaries be heard, who say, that the judgment of the Church must be preferred above the Scriptures: and they think that they have proved it by a sufficient reason, when they say: the Church hath judged of the Scriptures, by receiving some and refusing some: which it might not have done unless the judgment thereof had excelled the Scriptures. But these men must consider, that there hath been even from the beginning some men replenished with the spirit of God, by whom God hath set forth his Oracles unto men, the which he would have to be registered in writings. These words of God, when as others either heard or read, it happened by the benefit of the spirit, that the faithful acknowledged those to be the natural and sincere words of God. Hereof it came to pass that the holy scriptures be admitted. But and if they which being illuminated with the holy Ghost, acknowledged the holy scriptures to be the word of God, had been demanded, whether they would not have their own authority to be preferred above them, they would not have suffered it: but on the other side, those being known and received, they altogether submitted themselves, and agreed that they should be reputed for the most sure rule of their faith and life. Wherefore it is but a weak consequent: The fathers accepted and discerned the holy Scriptures from other writings, therefore they ought to be preferred above them. Because we also acknowledge one very God, and admit Jesus Christ, we dissever him from Idols and from the Devil: yet for all that we cannot infer, that we are more excellent either than Christ or God. Also our mind admitteth the persuasions and motions of the holy Ghost unto reading and praying, unto chaste living, and them discerneth

from the enticements of the devil, the flesh and the world: yet shall not our mind for that cause be called, either superior or better than the holy Ghost. Further also, a man endued with the knowledge of Philosophy, when as he shall receive Aristotle or Galen or noble Philosophers, and shall place them above Epicurus, Aristippus or Democritus: dare he therefore because he hath so judged as touching Philosophy, prefer his own authority either above Aristotle or Galen? Wherefore men have by faith and illumination of the holy Ghost known that those things which the Patriarchs, Prophets, Christ, and the Apostles have spoken are the words of God. Which things being so known and received, they did not accompt themselves either greater or better than the Scriptures of them: nay rather (as we said at the first) they committed themselves to be governed and ruled by them. There was also another manner of judging of the Scriptures, that those things which the latter Canonical writers did speak or write did not disagree with the first, but they agreed very well with them. The Prophets, agree unto the law in all things. The Evangelists and Apostles borrowed the Testimonies of their sayings, as well of the law as of the Prophets. Whereby thou seest that the law is allowed by the Prophets, and the Prophets are confirmed by the Apostles and by the Evangelists. And when they demand how it came to pass that Luke and Mark being writers of the Gospel were received, whereas the Gospel of Bartholomew, of Thomas, of Thaddeus, and of the Nazarites, was excluded: we will answer, that the holy Ghost did not persuade the hearts and the minds of faithful men that these were the words of God, as were those which be written both of Luke and also of Mark. To this, there were many yet remaining in those days which had heard Christ, and had been much conversant with him: as Peter, John, and many others of the Disciples, who bare faithful witness unto the writings of Mark and

Luke; and did not so unto the monuments of others, who perhaps erred, not only from the truth of the History, but also pieced in many things, which sounded to be contrary to the old Testament and to the other Evangelists.

What authority the Fathers are of.

14. Finally as touching this, to wit, the judgment of Fathers, I protest that it seems unto me not the part of a Christian man, to appeal from the Scriptures of God to the judgments of men: For this is to do injury to the holy Ghost. For faith cometh of hearing, and hearing, of the word of God, and not of the Fathers. And unto the Corinthians: That your faith (as he saith) may be yours, not through the wisdom of men, but by the power of God. And unto Timothy: The whole Scripture (saith he) given by the inspiration of God, is profitable to teach, to convince, to correct, and to instruct in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect and instructed to every good work. These words must be diligently noted. For there be four things necessary in Ecclesiastical doctrine; to wit, that we should teach true things, that we should confute false things, that we should instruct unto virtues, and reprove vices. And all these things are to be sought out of the holy Scriptures. And to speak more manifestly hereof: whatsoever the minister doth unto the people; that belongeth either unto doctrine or unto manners. And either must the opinions be taught which are true, or else be confuted which are false: and either must manners which be good be taught, or which be evil be corrected. So shall the man of God be perfect, that nothing can be wanting unto him, as touching either doctrine or manners. There is also another place in the same Chapter: Thou hast learned the holy scriptures, out of which thou mayest have salvation. These things manifestly teach, that we must not appeal from the Scriptures unto the Fathers: for that would be to appeal from certainties to uncertainties, from

manifest things to obscure from strong to weak. For although fathers being wise and learned, saw much, yet were they men, and might err. And that which I have said is most of all to be considered: namely that the Fathers do not always agree among themselves: and other whiles not one of them indeed doeth agree with himself. But here the adversaries answer: But they must be heard, when they all agree among themselves. But we say that they must not therefore be heard because they agree among themselves, but for that they consent with the word of God: so as that may be said unto them which was spoken unto the Woman of Samaria: Now do we not believe because of thy word, but because we ourselves have seen. For albeit that all the Fathers shall consent among themselves, yet will we not do this injury to the holy Ghost, that we should rather give credit to them, than to the word of God. Yea and the Fathers themselves would never have themselves to be so believed: and that have they sufficiently testified by their writings, that they will not have that honor to be given unto them, but to the holy Scriptures only. So as he that appealeth from the Scriptures to the Fathers, appealeth unto the Fathers against the Fathers.

15. This hath Augustine in many places confirmed: That when Cyprian in his treatise *de baptismo Haereticorum*, was objected, he answered, that he accounted not the Epistles of Cyprian for Canonical, but that he attributed that to the word of God only. And he oftentimes reproved them which yielded more unto his own writings than was meet. And when as Jerome had cited three or four fathers as touching the reproving of Peter, he answereth, that he also can cite fathers, but that he had rather appeal unto the holy Scriptures. Basil in his *Morals Summa 80, chapter 22* saith: If all that is not of faith be sin, and faith is of hearing, and hearing by the word of God, then whatsoever is not of the word of God is sin. And in a certain

oration of the confession of faith: It is a fall (saith he) from faith, and a crime of exceeding great pride either to start back from that which is written, or to admit that which is not written. And he addeth a proof: Because my sheep hear my voice. Neither are we bound (saith he) to hear others than the shepherd. And that he might affirm his saying the more, he brought a place unto the Galatians: No man altereth a man's Testament, or addeth thereunto: And if so great honor (saith he) be done to the testament of a man, how much greater must be done to the Testament of God? And in the exposition of the Creed which is attributed unto Cyprian, after the recital of the Canonical Scriptures: By these things (saith he) are gathered whatsoever is necessary to salvation. And against the Aquarians, he always appealeth from custom unto the holy Scriptures, and unto those things which Christ himself did. And in an Epistle unto Pompeius he hath many things to the same purpose. Jerome also upon Jeremiah the 9th chapter: The Elders (saith he) must not be followed as touching errors, but faith must be sought for out of the holy scriptures. Chrysostom upon the 7th chapter to the Hebrews: Even as they which give rules have no need to teach a thousand verses, but a certain few by which the rest may be understood: even so if we would only hold fast the Scriptures of God, not only we should not fall ourselves, but we should also call them back which be fallen. And this he proveth by that which Christ said: Search ye the Scriptures, in which ye think there is eternal life. Again, Ye err, not knowing the Scriptures. And he citeth the place of Paul: Whatsoever things are written, are written for our learning that by patience and consolation of the Scriptures we may have hope. Lastly he bringeth all those places the which are cited by me a little before, and in his *oratione de profectu Euangelij*, upon the place of Paul unto the Philippians. Whether by occasion or by

envy, &c. If ye would hold fast these words (saith he) ye may encounter with heretics. But upon the Epistle to the Galatians *de Divite & Lazaro* he hath many things much more evident. Abraham answereth: They have Moses and the Prophets. Here Chrysostom showeth (saith he) that greater credit ought to be given to the scriptures, than if a man should rise again from the dead. And he addeth, that we ought not only to give more credit to the word of God than unto dead men, but also more than unto the Angels, as Paul hath admonished. Also if an Angel from heaven shall teach you another Gospel than that which we have taught, let him be accursed.

16. Furthermore it is certain, that the liberty of the Church must not be taken away. But the Church hath always judged by the word and the spirit: Therefore it is now meet also that it should judge as it list. For what did those most ancient writers, when as yet there were no fathers? If then the Church judged by the word and the spirit, why may it not now also judge in the same sort? For the Fathers undoubtedly meant to help the Church, and not to deprive the same of her liberty. But they are wont to say, that in the Apostles times was only an infancy of the Church, and that afterward the same grew more and more to perfection. These things are not to be confuted but to be laughed at. For would to God that we could attain to the lowest step of the Church which was in the Apostles time. Howbeit, admit that the same were the infancy of the Church as ye affirm: but if so be that they were then able to advance the Church by the word and the spirit, why cannot we now also promote it after the same sort? For there be many things always in the Church which ought either to be renewed or taken away, judging by the spirit and holy scriptures those things which the fathers ordained, either by giving consent unto them, or dissent from them, according as we are now in a riper age of the Church than they were. But

how do these men esteem of the Fathers? If for age sake: we also shall one day become fathers: and those schoolmen which were five or six hundredth years past, shall now be fathers: And so there will never be any certain number of the fathers. But they say, that the Scriptures are obscure, and therefore, that there is need of Fathers to be interpreters. But the fathers were also obscure, and therefore there was need of the Master of Sentences. But seeing the Master of sentences himself might seem to be obscure, there was need in a manner of infinite commentaries. And hereof arose very many sects disagreeing in opinions one from another: so that some were called *Scotists*, others *Thomists*, others *Occamists*: others were called by other names. Neither certainly can it be denied, but that the fathers erred often times. Cyprian erred as concerning the baptism of Heretics, Tertullian as touching *Monogamia*, that is the Marriage of one wife: and others after another sort. Councils also did oftentimes err, as we have above declared at large. Lastly the traditions do other while err and are repugnant in themselves. The tradition of Ephesus was, that the Christians should celebrate Easter upon the 14th day of the month, as the Jews did: and they ascribed the same unto John the Apostle and Evangelist. But contrariwise the Roman tradition was, that the Christians should not celebrate Easter but after the 14th day of the month, least they might seem to agree with the Jews. And of this tradition they make Peter and Paul to be authors. Either of both is Apostolical yet both of them may not be allowed. But Panormitanus *de electionibus* in the chapter, *Significasti*, saith that the unlearned, if they bring the Scriptures must be more believed, than the Pope and the whole Council if they deal without the scriptures. A man that was a Canonist, although he oftentimes erred in many other things, yet could he see this. Paul saith: When any man prophesieth, let the rest sit still and judge. The

fathers when they interpret the scriptures, do not they Prophesy? Wherefore we must as it were sit and judge of their sayings.

17. But they say that then at the leastwise the Fathers are to be allowed, when they agree among themselves. No verily not then always. For the consent of the Council of Chalcedon took away the consent of the second council of Ephesus. In the Synod of Constantinople under Leo the Emperor, there was a consent to take away Images. But that consent in the Synod of Nice, under Irene was taken away by another consent: And that selfsame consent was afterward also taken away by the Council of Germany, under Charles the great. But I will add a proof by induction that we must not always judge of the scriptures by the Fathers, but we must rather judge the Fathers by the Scriptures. Other Fathers say, that justification is of Faith, and not of works. Others do affirm that works do much avail unto justification. Who shall decide this controversy? The word of God. Paul unto the Romans saith. We judge that a man is justified without the works of the law. Neither can it be said, that Paul in that place doeth only treat of Ceremonies, for he treateth in that place as touching that law which showeth sin and worketh wrath: and he addeth that we be justified freely, and he mentioneth the Decalogue: I had not known lust (saith he) unless the law had said: Thou shalt not lust. Peter was reproved by Paul, because he dissembled and withdrew him from the Table. Here doeth Jerome contend with Augustine, Jerome saith that Peter so dealt with Paul as though that matter had been done of set purpose: that by the reproving of Peter, the Jews which were present might the better understand the whole matter. Augustine cannot abide any dissembling or lie in the scriptures. Who shall here be the Judge? The word of God. Paul to the Galatians: He was (saith he) to be reprehended or blamed, because he did not walk uprightly

according to the truth of the Gospel. Upon these words: Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, others understand: upon the rock, that is upon Christ, and upon the faith, and confession of Peter: but others: upon Peter himself. Who shall judge this controversy. The word of God. Paul saith, An other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, even Jesus Christ. In the Scriptures the dead are oftentimes said to sleep. That do some refer unto the body, others unto the soul. Who shall judge this case? The word of God. Christ saith unto the thief: This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise. And Paul saith, I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ. Daniel confesseth his sins. In which place, Origen saith, that he doeth not sustain his own person, but the person of others. Augustine citeth this very place against the Pelagians and teacheth, that none is innocent. Who shall judge these things? The word of God. Paul saith: All have sinned and need the glory of God. And John: If we shall say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. Paul saith: Who shall deliver me from this body subject unto death? This do Ambrose and Augustine interpret of Paul regenerate. Others think it was spoken of others not regenerate, and that it cannot be applied unto Paul. Who shall judge of these sayings but the word of God? In the same place it is written, I serve the Law of God in my mind: But those that be not regenerate serve not the law of God in mind. And he addeth, The good which I would, that I do not. But those that be not regenerate, those cannot will that which is good. And he addeth through Jesus Christ our Lord. It is not the part of a man not regenerate to give thanks unto God: the Heretics called *Millenarii*, thought that Christ would return unto the earth, and reign among men for the space of a thousand years. And of this mind was Papias, Lactantius, Apollinarius, Irenaeus, Justinus and others: those doeth Jerome flout and calleth it a Jewish fable.

This controversy doeth the word of God easily decide. Paul saith: The word of God is not meat and drink. And Christ saith: My kingdom is not of this world. And in the kingdom of my Father they are neither married nor do marry. In the times of Cyprian and Augustine, the Eucharist was delivered unto Infants. This is not done in these days, but which is the better the word of God shall judge. Paul saith: Let a man try himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup. But Infants cannot try themselves. I might besides recite many things in which the fathers disagree among themselves, where it should be necessary to refer the judgment to the word of God. Wherefore let Smith consider how wisely he might write thus: According to the rule and level of these fathers let us examine the sense of the holy Scriptures: let us follow the judgment of these men in reasoning of things pertaining to the holy scriptures.

18. But our adversaries, while they thus obtrude the Fathers, seek no other thing but to bear rule over our faith. But this would not Paul. We will not (saith he) bear rule over your faith: That is, under that pretense that we teach you faith, we would not bear rule over you in taking away your substance. Wherefore it is not meet that the Fathers (in respect that they taught faith in the Church) should so far overrule, as whatsoever they have said or written, it should not be lawful to judge the contrary: for that would not be to bear rule, but to exercise tyranny. Augustine in his second book to Cresconius Grammaticus. We (saith he) do injury unto Cyprian when we sever any of his writings from the authority of the Canonical Scriptures. For it is not without cause that the Ecclesiastical Canon was made with so wholesome care, whereunto certain books of the Prophets and Apostles do belong, the which we ought not in any wise to judge, and according unto which we may freely judge of other men’s writings whether they be faithful

or unfaithful. And Constantine in the Synod of Nice, exhorted the Bishops that they should decide all controversies by the Canonical Scriptures, by the scriptures Prophetical and Apostolical and inspired by God: As Theodoretus testifieth in his history. And Augustine against Faustus the Maniche in the 15th book and 5th chapter: The scripture (saith he) is set as it were in a certain seat aloft, to the which every faithful and godly understanding should humble itself. Therein if anything as absurd, shall move us, it is not lawful to say: the author of this book held not the truth, but either the book is faulty, or the Interpreter erred, or else thou doest not understand it. But in the works of them that came after, the which are contained in innumerable books, but are in no respect made equal unto that most sacred excellency of the Canonical scriptures, yea in which soever of them is found one and the same truth, yet the authority is far unequal. Wherefore if perhaps any things in them are therefore thought to dissent from the truth, because they be not understood as they be spoken, yet the reader or hearer hath there a free judgment, whereby he may allow that which shall please him, or disallow that which shall offend him: And all, which be of that sort, unless they be by sure reason, or else by that Canonical authority defended, so as it may be plainly showed, that that which is either there disputed or declared, is altogether so, or that it might be so; if it shall displease any man or that he will not believe it, he is not blamed. And in the 19th Epistle unto Jerome: This free service I owe unto the divine Scriptures, whereby I so follow them alone, as I doubt not but that the writers of them erred nothing at all, nor put anything guilefully in them. And there is no antiquity or dignity of person so great as can prescribe unto the word of God. Whether we ourselves (saith Paul) or an Angel from heaven shall preach unto you any other gospel than we have preached, let him be accursed.

19. But our adversaries continually make much a do of years, of times, and of the holiness of fathers: But all these things ought to be of none importance against the word of God. Christ and the Apostles never cited the Rabbins and Fathers, although many were very well learned, but they taught all the things out of the law and the Prophets. Jerome upon Isaiah the 18th book and 65th chapter. That they should not hasten to believe without reason, let them follow Nathanael, who was praised by the mouth of the Lord: Behold a true Israelite in whom there is no guile. He sought Christ by the authority of the scriptures, and was desirous to have knowledge of the Prophets, saying: Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth? And the sense is: why bring ye me Messias out of Galilee and from Nazareth, whom I know was sent before out of Bethlehem Judah? Wherefore the Apostles and Apostolical men will so beget their children as they may instruct them in the holy scriptures. The same father upon the 23rd chapter of Matthew upon these words: And upon you shall come all the blood which hath been shed from the blood of Abel the just, until the blood of Zechariah, dealeth with the place in controversy, who was that Zechariah that was slain between the Temple and the Altar. And he allegeth the opinion of them which would have him to be the father of John the Baptist, who was slain because he had preached Christ. Whereof he thus speaketh: Because this thing hath no authority of the Scriptures, it is as easily rejected as it is proved. And by these words he closely quippeth Basil, who was of the same mind. So in the seventeenth cha. of the Acts, when Paul had preached Christ to the Thessalonians, they did not straight way give credit to his words, but they took counsel of the scriptures whether the thing were so or no. And unto the Corinthians when he had said: Another foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, even Christ Jesus: he addeth, that some, but not all,

do build upon it gold and silver or precious stones, but othersome hay, others stubble.

20. When I read Augustine in the third book *de Doctrina Christiana* in many places, where he entreateth of the interpretation of the Scriptures, I never see him send the reader unto the fathers: If saith he there happen any obscure or hard place in the scriptures, confer the same with another place in the scriptures, either more manifest, or with the like. Then if out of one place many senses may he gathered, chiefly embrace thou that, which shall most seem to edify. Thirdly endeavor (saith he) that being instructed in the tongues thou mayest come to the interpretation of the scriptures. For it oftentimes cometh to pass, that what thou understandest not in one language thou mayest understand in another. Fourthly, let it not green thee to take counsel of sundry interpreters: for that which one hath expounded somewhat obscurely, another hath expressed oftentimes more plainly. Fifthly, all circumstances must be diligently considered. Sixthly, thou must see what went before, and what followeth: but specially (saith he) never remove thine eyes from the purpose of the writer. By this way and means Augustine thought that we might most easily attain to the sense and understanding of the Scriptures. Although I disallow not but that young men may also take counsel of men better learned and of interpreters. Howbeit this let them remember, that they whosoever they be, although never so well learned, cannot prescribe against the manifest word of God. There is an excellent Epistle of Cyprian unto Caecilius the 2nd book, the 3rd Epistle. We must not regard (saith he) what this man or that man shall judge, but what Christ shall do and teach. In that place was disputed against the Aquarian heretics who in the celebration of the Lord's supper, used water instead of wine. Those did Cyprian blame, because they did it against the

word of God. At this day the Papists use not water indeed instead of wine, but they tear and mangle the Sacrament, and the one part they pluck away from the people: neither do they consider in the meantime, what Christ taught or did, but only what some men have decreed against the word of God. Even so in those ancient times of the Jews, when all things were weighed according to the Scriptures, all things were sound and perfect. But when the controversies were revoked unto the Rabbins, who sat in the chair of Moses, all things were marred and corrupted: And therefore the Pharisees were reproved by Christ, because for their own traditions they violated the commandments of God.

21. Further what else is there sought, but that the mind may be in quiet? But the mind cannot be in quiet, unless it be in the word of God. But the word of God (say they) is obscure. Admit it be: and the Fathers also be oftentimes obscure. Wherefore they must needs waver always in mind and conscience, which take away this anchor from themselves. This order also the Ethnic writers followed. For from things (say they) that be better known, we must go to things that be less known. But those things which belong unto religion, are only known by faith and not by the sense. But unto faith the Scriptures are better known than be the fathers. For faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God, and not by the word of the Fathers. But we must specially note, that which Paul hath in the first to the Corinthians: Comparing spiritual things with spiritual things, for a carnal man doeth not perceive those things which belong to the spirit of God. So then a comparison must be made, that our spirit may be confirmed by spiritual things. What is so spiritual as be the divine Scriptures? For they proceeded (as I may say) immediately from the spirit of God. But they say, that the fathers also are spiritual. I confess: for they were faithful and

regenerate. But how were they spiritual? Verily not in that they were fathers, but in that they were Christians: and this is a thing common to all the faithful. And be it they were spiritual fathers, yet were they not so altogether of the spirit as they had nothing of the flesh or human affection, for they did not always speak, or write, or judge according to the spirit, they are even at variance sometime among themselves. So be not the holy Scriptures. I add, that in Christ there is neither man nor woman, neither bond nor free, but only a new creature. For the spirit of God is not bound to persons that it should be in this man because he is a king, or in that man because he is a subject: for it is common unto all men. A father hath the spirit of God, but not in that respect that he is a father. A young man hath the spirit of God, yet not therefore because he is a young man. Augustine against the Donatists the 2nd Book and 3rd chapter: Who knoweth not that the holy Canonical scripture, as well of the Old Testament as of the New, is contained within his own certain bounds, and that the same is so preferred before all the latter writings of Bishops, as thereof may in no wise be any doubt or disputation? But the writings of Bishops which after the Canon confirmed either have been written, or now are in writing, we know, if that anything in them have perhaps scaped the truth, must be reprehended both by a speech perhaps more wise, of some man that is more skillful in that matter, and by a graver authority of other Bishops, and also by the wisdom and counsels of them that be better learned. And these Councils which are made by particular Regions or Provinces must give place (without casting any doubts) to the authority of more fuller councils, which are held by the whole Christian world. And that the more full Councils themselves being the former are oftentimes mended by the latter: when that which was closed up is by some experience opened, and that which was hidden is known. And

against Maximinus the Arian Bishop: Now (saith he) neither I ought to allege the Council of Nice, nor thou the Council of Ariminum, as it were to give judgment beforehand. Neither must I stay myself upon the authority of this, nor thou upon the authority of that. Let us contend by the authority of the Scriptures, which are not each man's own, but common witnesses of both, so that matter with matter, cause with cause, reason with reason, may encounter together. And in his treatise *De bono viduitatis*: what should I more teach thee than that which we read in the Apostle? For the holy Scripture joineth a rule with our doctrine: that we should not presume to understand more than we ought to understand, but that (as he saith) we should understand according to sobriety, even as the Lord hath dealt unto every man the measure of faith.

22. But they object unto us that Paul in the Epistle unto Timothy, calleth the Church the pillar of truth. I grant it, it is indeed the pillar of truth, but not always, but when it is stayed up by the word of God. And it is called a Church of the Greek word, ἐκκαλεῖσθαι, which is to stir up: and it is stirred up and called forth by the word of God: and as long as it doth according thereunto, so long it is the pillar of truth. What then? Do we reject the fathers? No not at all. But as concerning the authority of the Fathers, we diminish the superstition of many, who account their words in the same place and number, as if they were the words of God. In very deed they wrought and found out many things, which we peradventure should never have found out. Yet have they not so written all things but that we must judge and weigh what they have written. But in judging of things obscure we must set forth two marks. The one of which is inward, that is the spirit: the other is outward, that is the word of God. Then if unto these things, there come also the authority of the fathers, it shall be very much worth. So

in civil causes, Orators, when the thing is confirmed do add other agreements taken from things already judged, and those otherwhile are of very much weight: howbeit the Judge pronounceth not according to those things: for we live by laws (as saith Demosthenes) not by examples. Hereby is understood that saying of Augustine *Contra Epistolam Fundamenti*. I would not believe the Gospel (saith he) unless the authority of the Church should move me. Here do the adversaries marvelously boast themselves, and cry out, that the authority of the Church is greater than is the authority of the word of God. And they bring forth the rule of Logic, *Propter quod unumquodque est tale, illud ipsum est magis tale*: that is, That whereby anything is such as it is, that itself is more such: but for the Churches sake (say they) we believe the Gospel, therefore much rather we must believe the Church. Let us examine that rule, and see how much it maketh for them. A schoolmaster was the cause why Virgil should be a Poet, therefore his master was more a Poet than Virgil. By reason of wine a man is drunk or furious, therefore wine is more drunken and furious. Why do not these things follow? Because in efficient causes this rule doeth not hold, unless it be both the whole cause and the next cause, not the removed or instrumental cause. But the Church is not the whole cause why we believe the Gospel, the spirit helpeth also, without which we never believe. In deed the scriptures are preserved in the Church, and the Testaments are kept safe by the Bishop or Magistrate: but neither the Bishop nor Magistrate may alter them. A Notary or Scrivener writeth acts and bargains, and otherwhile retaineth the writings in his office: yet must not greater credit be given to the Notary than to the testator or to them that make the bargains.

23. But they are wont to say, that Heretics believe not the Scriptures: but that is their own fault and not the fault of the Scriptures. And the obstinate

Jews would not believe, no not Christ or the Apostles. But this must be imputed to their own fault and not to Christ nor to the Apostles. What; will they say that they will not believe, no not the Church? For after the Synod of Nice the Arians both were more in number and more obstinate than ever they were before. But why do they place the Church above the Scriptures? Let themselves go unto the Turks, that by the authority and name of the Church they may bring them unto the faith. Cyprian, *De singularitate Clericorum* hath an excellent place: If (saith he) all that we do, we do it only to the end that we may please the Lord, undoubtedly, whatsoever the Lord, whom we seek to please shall will and command and allow, that only shall be just. For seeing that servants cannot know of themselves, what will please their lords, unless they follow the commandments of their lords, and that men doubtless are not able to know the minds of men like unto themselves, unless they have received that which they should observe: much rather mortal men cannot comprehend the righteousness of the immortal God, unless he himself vouchsafe to declare the judgments of his righteousness. Wherefore they which shun the scriptures and make much of the Fathers, seem to me not to be students of divinity, but of Fathers. But we will say, that which in old time a certain Ethnic answered, that he cared not for those dimi-gods, so he might have Jupiter to be favorable. Even so we make not so great account of the sayings of the Fathers, so the Scriptures make of our side. So as we see that in old time it was a laudable custom, that nothing should be read in the Church besides the Canonical Scriptures: and this was decreed in the third Council of Carthage. And in the Synods when the controversies were disputed both of the one side and of the other, at the last, the Bishops pronounced sentence out of the holy scriptures, whereof we have a most manifest example in Cyprian. For when

there was a controversy in the Council as touching the Baptism of Heretics, every Bishop proved his opinion by the testimony of the Scriptures. Again, seeing we would restore the Church in which the adversaries themselves confess many things to be corrupted, there is no better counsel than to revoke all things to the first beginnings of the Church, and to the first originals of Religion. For so long as we stay in Councils and Fathers, we shall always dwell in the same errors. So in the commonwealths, where anything is decayed, good Citizens give their endeavor, that the same may be revoked to the first beginnings and foundations of the City if so be that those were good.

A judgment touching the Canons ascribed to the Apostles.

24. But Smith keepeth a great stir for Canons of the Apostles, and vehemently accuseth us because we will not by public teaching receive them as Canons of the Apostles. But I would have him to tell me whether they themselves receive them or no. Perhaps, as he is willful, he will say: yea. But in the 9th Chapter, it is there commanded, that a Bishop and any else of the Catalogue of Priests, which standeth at the ministration of the holy mysteries, if he will not communicate, either let him show the cause, or let him be excommunicate. Verily if he will admit this law, he himself shall be a thousand times excommunicate, seeing he is very often present at his idolatrous Mass, and doeth neither communicate nor yet show a reasonable cause why he abstaineth from the communion. In the 10th chapter also it is there commanded, that faithful men which enter into the Church, should hear the scriptures, should persevere in prayers with others, and should communicate; otherwise they ought to be deprived of the Communion. Let this fellow say, whether at this day his Papistical Churches will have this Canon to be of force, or whether they do receive it for a

Canon or no. In the 6th Canon it is commanded that no Bishop or Priest under the pretense of Religion, should put away his own wife, and that if he should put her away, he should be excommunicate, and finally if he persevere, he should be deprived. Doeth not this place sufficiently prove that they which were called to be Bishops, might lawfully retain the company of their own wives? And again it appeareth hereby, that Matrimony is not so repugnant to the holy Ministry as these men imagine. Which thing is now declared by Paul: and therefore for the confirmation of this, there is no need of these unwritten Canons. But let us yet proceed further, and see whether these Canons do so greatly please Smith. In the 38th chapter we read that the Councils of the Bishops should be celebrated twice in the year: namely at the feast of Pentecost, and in the month of October. Here would I know, whether the Papistical Church receive this Canon. It receiveth it not, seeing the Councils of Bishops are rare therein. Woe be to Gregory Nazianzen if this Canon were true: who not only conveyed himself away from the Council of Bishops, but as it is in a certain Epistle of his, he durst write that he never in a manner saw any good end of the Councils of Bishops. Certainly these Canons, if they were written by the Apostles (as this man would bear me in hand) they should no less be reckoned within the account of the divine scriptures, than be the Epistles of the Apostles. For what privilege should be more assigned unto the Epistles than unto the Canons, if the Apostles had been authors alike of both sorts of Scripture? Did ever any man reckon these Canons among the Catalogue of the Scriptures? But yet I mind to add that which is written in the 8th Canon. If any Bishop, or Priest, or Deacon shall with the Jews celebrate the holy day of Easter before the winter Equinoctial, he shall be deprived. This Canon if it had been made by the Apostles, what place could have been left

for the contention which happened in the time of Victor, Policrates and Irenaeus? The Ephesians did celebrate Easter after the manner of the Jews, alleging the tradition of John the Apostle. The Romans did otherwise, and made vaunt of an old institution of Peter their Apostle. Undoubtedly the Canons of the Apostles if they had been now sprung up had defined this vain question. Hereby this cometh to my mind, that, as the self-same Canon citeth, they make mention both of the readers and singers, as though in the time of the Apostles either readers or singers were reckoned among the holy orders: these orders (believe me) were brought in after the Apostles. There is never any mention made of these orders in the holy Scriptures of the New Testament. Thou mayest find Bishops, Elders, and Deacons. The rest be put in and invented by men, not that there were not in the Apostles time those which read or recited something in the holy congregation, or those which did sing somewhat, but thou canst never show, that these things belonged to the holy orders. Wherefore seeing the Apostolical Canons have made mention of these orders, they bewray themselves to be counterfeit. Further I pass over that Zepherinus the Bishop of Rome in his decretal Epistle, maketh these Canons of the Apostle to be seventy; when as there are only reckoned fifty. Which so great a diversity of number, declareth them not to be of the right sort. For if they had been properly and lawfully set forth by the Apostles, we should have them preserved with singular diligence, and there would be a certainty of their number, according as the Canonical Epistles of the Apostles are extant: neither is there any doubt of their number.

CHAP. V. Of discipline and government of the Church, and namely of Excommunication: Of order Ecclesiastical: Of Temples and their ornaments.

Ecclesiastical discipline is nothing else but a power granted to the Church by God, by which the wills and actions of the faithful, are made conformable to the law of God: which is done by doctrine, admonitions, correction, and finally by punishments, and also by excommunication if need require. They that cannot abide this kind of medicine, speak ill of their Pastors for doing well their office. Howbeit of God whose messengers they be, they are not nor ever shall be forsaken. Wherefore let us set before our eyes, what things must be observed in brotherly correction. We must take heed that we avoid two extremities, and keep the mean. On the one part, that we use not a fair and flattering speech, whereby we rather nourish vices than remove them. On the other part, that we use not over rough and raw admonition: least we rather turn a man from salvation, than lead him unto it. The mean must be kept which Christ will have to be kept in the 18th chapter of Matthew: If thy brother trespass against thee (saith he) go and reprove him between thee and him only. But

if he shall not hear thee, take yet with thee one or two. And if he refuse to hear them, tell the Church, the which is very necessary, as well in the Church as in the commonwealth, and in every family: forsomuch as the same being taken away, all goeth to wrack. For even as there shall never want poor folks whom we may help with our liberality, so there will never lack vices of men, the which by reproving we may heal: so as reproving is an action pertaining to discipline, whereby of charity we are earnest with them that are fallen as touching their sins, warning them to repent according to the manner and form set forth by Christ, to the intent that evil may be taken away from among us. In this definition, action is placed as the general word: the efficient cause is charity, for that it is no just correction, if it proceed of hatred, wrath, or injury. But the matter wherein it is occupied, be sins, and those grievous sins, seeing lighter faults pertain not to this kind of correction. The form is the manner prescribed by God. The end is, that evil may be taken away from among the faithful: which is every godly man's part to have a care of in the Church, so much as possibly may be. Yet nevertheless correction containeth not discipline generally, because neither a Father, neither an Ecclesiastical Pastor, nor yet a civil Magistrate ought to suffer sins to pass, for that there be many with whom brotherly admonition is of no force. Wherefore the father if his offending son, and the Magistrate if stubborn Citizens will not amend their lives, ought to punish them more sharply than by admonitions. A Pastor shall correct with the greater discipline, a brother that goeth foreward in disordinate life. Neither is this kind of Action invented by men, but established by the law of God. Christ, as it is written in the Gospel, saith: If thy brother trespass against thee, reprove him between thee and him alone. And Paul unto the Galatians: If thy brother be suddenly taken in any offense, ye that be spiritual, instruct

him with all gentleness. And in the 2nd to the Thessalonians: Ye shall not esteem them as enemies, but admonish ye them as brethren. And in Leviticus the 19th chapter it is written: Hate not thy neighbor, but bear with him, correct him when he sinneth, least thou bear his sin: Revenge not nor keep hatred against him, but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. So we are commanded not only by the Gospel but also by the law to admonish and rebuke our brother. And undoubtedly if we be commanded to lift up the asse of our enemy falling down under his burden: how much more is it commanded that we should help our brother when he falleth? Also in another place, to wit, in the 19th chapter of Leviticus God hath charged by the law, that a man should not lay a stumbling block in his way that is blind, but should rather bring him into the way again: but brethren which do sin grievously, are blinded with covetousness and do stray out of the way: so as they cannot be overpassed of us without a fault.

Of Excommunication.

2. Excommunication, as concerning the Etymology of the word, is that, whereby we make any void of the fellowship of communion. The Grecians call it ἀνάθεμα. And under that name is signified something severed from common things for Religions sake, and that as well in the good as in the evil part. For even great offenders be called Anathemata or accursed. And in this sense Paul would have been accursed from Christ for his brethren's sake. Among the Hebrews it is called Cherem, that is, perdition, prohibition, or a thing prohibited. And it may be also defined by those things which are taught of the Apostle, after this manner: Excommunication is the casting out of a godless man from the fellowship of the faithful, by the judgment of them which be chief and the whole Church consenting, by the authority of Christ, and rule of the holy Scripture, to the salvation both of him that is

cast out, and of the people of God. Now let us see how necessary this punishment is. Secondly what things ought to go before. Afterward who is to be excommunicated. Further from whence he should be cast, whither he should be cast, by what degrees, by whom, when, why and by what motion or inspiration, and what we should at the length do with him that is excommunicate.

3. By the Gospel we easily know how necessary this ought to be accounted in the Church. In the 18th of Matthew when Christ had taught as concerning brotherly correction, he added: But and if he shall not hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an Ethnic and Publican. Again, Whatsoever ye shall bind upon the earth, shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever ye loose upon the earth, shall also be loosed in heaven. Wherefore seeing it is the Gospel of Christ, as touching all the parts, it ought to be received of the Church, and credit everywhere to be given unto it. So as they are to be wondered at, which would profess the Gospel, and yet do exclude this particle. We read in the 13th of Deuteronomy: Take away the evil from among you. And in Jeremiah it is written concerning Babylon: Fly you from the midst of her. Moreover the Israelites were forbidden to touch impure things: and if they had perhaps touched those things, they became so unclean as they were severed from the company of others. The lepers were banished from the Camp. And the Lord expelled out of the garden of pleasure, the first parents when they had sinned. Cain also after the killing of his brother, went as a runagate from the sight of his parents. Finally if there were no other testimony extant: that which we have out of Paul to the Corinthians, to the Thessalonians and elsewhere, ought to be sufficient. Also John in the second Epistle, the which Irenaeus in his first book confirmeth to be the Apostles, (although some think the same to be the

Epistle of one John a Priest) saith: If any man come and bring not this doctrine, him receive ye not into your house: neither say ye unto him: God speed, and do not ye communicate with evil works. In like manner doeth the Apostle seem to have written unto the Ephesians: Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness.

4. Before excommunication, goeth brotherly correction. For Christ said: If thy brother shall have sinned against thee. Neither is he to be thought that he sinneth not against us, which sinneth against God, seeing we be his children and the members of Christ, yea verily, the Saints are so prepared, as they easily neglect that which is committed against themselves, and soon forgive their own injuries, except so much as they perceive them to redound against God. But and if the sin be common and known to all men, shall it have need of brotherly correction? No verily, let it be brought and made manifest unto the Church. But it shall be needful that the mind of the sinner be searched out, whether he have minded to repent and return into the way. This being purposed, he which sinneth openly, must be exhorted and admonished. Whereby it appeareth that in all sin as well secret as public, there is need of brotherly correction. The which behooveth not to be done softly and slackly: but very earnestly must be laid before the eyes of the sinner the weight of his transgression, the wrath of God kindled and stirred up against him, the punishment that remaineth for him: finally the offense whereby he hath hurt the Church: But let the rebuke be gentle, as proceeding from a friendly mind. Otherwise if he shall think thee to be his enemy, thou shalt rebuke him without any fruit. This unto the Galatians is commended: You that be spiritual rebuke your brother in the spirit of gentleness. Excommunication must not be rash. Let space be given to the sinner to think with himself, that he may the easilier repent. A Physician

doth gently handle sores: he doth not straightway prepare an Iron and fire: And all ways and means must be attempted, if it be possible without impairing the word of God, to retain him that hath sinned in the Church, before that excommunication be used. If he which was fallen, give place to admonitions, and promise faithfully, that he will change his life, and with tears and confession of sin do testify a repentance and sorrow of mind, and do take away the offenses and occasions of sins, there let admonition cease. For now the brother is won unto Christ. But if he shall despise to hear, being warned twice or thrice before witnesses, let him be brought to the rulers of the Church, of whom also he shall be admonished. But if he shall make light of them, let the Elders refer the matter unto the people of Christ, and by the institution of the Apostle, unless he shall first repent, let him with the consent of the whole Church be excommunicated. These things ought to go before this judgment.

5. Now remaineth to see who he is that must be excommunicated. He must be (as Paul taught) among the number of the brethren, who although he confess Christ in words, yet in deeds (as it is written unto Titus) denieth him. Neither is the exposition of Augustine allowed, that ὀνομαζόμενος, that is, the party named to be excommunicate should be referred to an adulterer, a drunkard, and to other great crimes which follow after. For sins also which be not so public and known unto all men, when they shall be stirred up through brotherly correction, are by accusing to the Church, made public. Also they that be infected with ill doctrine are excommunicated. As unto the Romans it is written: Beware of them which bring discords and offenses among you, besides the doctrine which ye have learned, and shun ye them. It is also said unto the Galatians: He that shall preach any other Gospel than that which we have preached, let him be accursed. Unto Titus:

After one or two admonitions avoid a Heretic. The self-same thing also hath John, whom we alleged a little before, that for false and corrupt doctrine sake we should not say unto him that cometh unto us: God speed. And unto this have all those vices respect, of the which Paul saith: They that do such things shall not possess the kingdom of Heaven, of the which thou hast a particular enumeration as well to the Corinthians, as also unto the Ephesians, and Colossians, and elsewhere. And when thou hearest reckoned up evil speakers, drunkards, covetous, &c. Under these names understand them, who are not penitent at all, but be of an obstinate mind, neither will amend those things which they have committed, but rather make vaunt and boast of these vices. But in the Epistle which is written unto the Thessalonians, when he had spoken of them which labor not with their hands, but be idle and deal curiously, he added a general particle, when he saith: And every man walking inordinately. And he is said to walk inordinately, which dealeth against the word of God. Neither must it be suffered that one should be excommunicated for another, unless perhaps he also have offended, and is entangled in the same vice or gave his consent unto him that offended. Augustine in an Epistle unto Auxinus a Bishop wrote: The whole house must not be comprehended within the curse for the sin of the goodman of the house: as the same Auxinus unwisely did. Unto the Galatians it is said: Every man shall bear his own burden.

6. Now presently will we show from what things he who is severed from the Church by excommunication is excluded. This if we shall express in a word, is the fellowship of the faithful, among whom there is a conjunction, forsomuch as company is not eschewed in respect of Religion. But it is meet that we distinguish what fellowship is. One is inward and as touching God, unto whom we are coupled by our spirit in faith, hope, charity and all

virtues, together with all the believers in Christ. But another is outward, whereby we are partakers, as well of the Sacraments as also of the conversation with the members of the Church. From that first conjunction, excommunication doeth not cast us out, as the first and principal cause: but from thence every man falleth away by his own sin, while he doeth against faith, is enemy unto charity, and resisteth other virtues. But from the latter, excommunication driveth us, least we should be partakers of the Sacraments and fellowship of the faithful: and the latter dependeth altogether of the first. For a man is excommunicated for no other cause, but that he is now for some grievous sin that is known and manifest, declared a stranger from God and from the charity of his neighbors. But because Paul wrote: For then ye should gone out of the world, he signified that all fellowship with excommunicates is not taken away: because it is lawful to communicate with them in those things without which we cannot live. For if by chance a Magistrate should be excommunicate and something in the meantime should happen whereby there ought to be treating and dealing with him, we must not refuse to deal with him, least the commonwealth should be troubled. And the very same must be judged, if a father or a husband shall be excommunicated. The wife or children are not for this cause set a part from living with him, neither be they excommunicated by reason of the conversation with him, unless they consent and be partakers all in one crime. Neither is it to be otherwise judged of the buying of Merchandise of them that be excommunicate, if that necessaries unto life cannot otherwise be had: for if all evil men should be avoided in bargains and civil contracts, we should of necessity go forth of the world. Albeit I confess, that seeing at this day the Churches be most large, we are not so

greatly urged with this necessity. For that which we cannot get of some, we shall easily attain of others.

7. And when we be demanded to what purpose the excommunicates be driven forth: We will answer not doubtless to the intent they should despair or think themselves to be without remedy of salvation. For while we be in this life, we must never lay away the hope of salvation, unless the sin against the holy Ghost shall happen, which seeing it is not understood unless it be showed by a certain private revelation, hope must not be cast away. In ancient time the Church had the gift of trying of spirits, whereby peradventure this kind of sin was known. But at this day, seeing we have no trial when any man is detained therewith, we must hope well of all men: And albeit that the excommunicate man, as touching himself, is divided from the Church, yet the Church is not destitute of that which it should deal towards him. For it will exhort him, comfort him, and pray for the conversion of him. And finally, as being desirous of his salvation, doth bear great charity towards him. But the degrees of them which be renewed from the Sacraments, are found sundry and manifold among the Fathers. Cyprian maketh mention of Abstinents. For so he calleth them, which for a certain time are driven from the Sacraments. They also be excommunicate, who do not yet repent, unto whom the Sacraments are forbidden, not for a definite time as to the abstinents. Thirdly there be those which be accursed of whose salvation there is no more hope. Chrysostom wrote a Homily of the accursed, and showed that neither the living, nor the dead shall be punished with this kind of punishment. For of the living we must perpetually hope well, and the dead stand now at the tribunal seat of God. It is lawful (saith he) to curse opinions, but not men. A part of this saying we willingly allow, wherein it is said that we must not cast away hope of them that be on live.

But whereas he saith that no man must be punished with a curse, it agreeth not with the sayings of other fathers and Councils, which cursed Arius, Manicheus, and many Heretics. Further it seemeth to agree but little with the holy Scriptures: seeing it is said unto the Galatians: If an angel from heaven shall preach any other Gospel than we have done, let him be accursed. In the Synod of Nice there seem also some degrees to be appointed in the Church. In the first place were hearers, because they were suffered to be present at the holy preaching. Wherefore none were utterly driven away, unless there were some open derider and contemner. There were also men that prostrated themselves, who desired pardon of the ministers of the Church for their sins committed. There be also suppliants reckoned, who notwithstanding they were driven from the sacraments, yet when the faithful prayed, they were suffered to be present: unto which degree it seemeth that the abstinents did pertain. Finally they are reckoned which communicated in the Sacraments with the whole Church. Among these degrees it was accounted the smallest to be driven from the Eucharist for a time: more grievous to be put apart from the company of them that prayed, but most grievous of all to be removed from them that lay prostrate. But as touching the Council of Nice, many thought that these articles were counterfeit, and that they are not to be reckoned for the lawful decrees of that Synod, seeing they are almost nowhere observed: yet out of Cyprian we manifestly gather, that there were some degrees, unto them which were fallen into Idolatry, (as he saith) there was given no peace by the Church, unless it were about the hour of death: but unto adulterers it was granted after a long repentance. But unto the Libellatists (for so were they called which for money redeemed themselves in the time of persecution) pardon

was somewhat easilier granted. So as out of the Fathers are easily gathered these degrees, which nevertheless cannot be proved by the holy scriptures.

8. Now are we to entreat, who they be which ought to exercise excommunication. Separation from God and from the members of Christ, the which (as we said) happeneth through infidelity and other sins, cannot be laid upon us by any creature: we separate ourselves from God. Wherefore Isaiah said: Sins have made a separation between me and you. And Paul said that he certainly knew that no creature could pluck him away from that love wherewith God and Christ loveth theirs. But Excommunication which is a token of this inward Apostasy (in deed not a certain and necessary token, yet a great one and greatly to be feared) must be inflicted by the Church of Christ. And therefore I have said, that it is no certain and necessary token of the separation from God, and the members of Christ, because it may sometime be, that a good and innocent man may be excommunicated by the corrupt judgment of the rulers in the Church, as we have known it to be done more than once in the councils and among the Fathers which were otherwise accounted holy. Wherefore by excommunication we are not properly said to be separated from God, but are showed and discerned to be separated: as in the old law, a priest when he judged any Leaper, did not infect him with leprosy, but pronounced him to be already infected. Neither is it against this sense that the Church is said to bind and loose: because this judgment when it concurreth with the word of God, is not in vain. And seeing God worketh together with them, the separation which had already happened to the poor wretch, is become more grievous. But now this only we say, that in excommunication it perpetually happeneth, that Apostasy and falling away from God goeth before the same: and so God worketh together with this judgment of the Church, when

according to the rule of the holy scriptures it decreeth that he may send scourges and unclean spirits for to vex them that be excommunicate. We read of Ambrose, that the Scribe of Stellico, when as he had excommunicated him, began to be grievously vexed with an ill spirit. And these things doth God to the intent he may declare, that he confirmeth that in heaven which in earth shall be justly bound.

9. But that we may rightly understand, who ought to be excommunicate, it is needful to discuss in what sort the society of the Church is. It is not simple, but it is compounded of one alone, of many good governors, and of the government of the people. For from it must be removed pernicious kinds of commonwealths, I mean, Tyranny, the government of a few, and the Lordship of corrupt people. If thou respect Christ, it shall be called a Monarchy: For he is our king, who with his own blood hath purchased the Church unto himself. He is now gone into heaven, yet doeth he govern this kingdom of his, indeed not with visible presence, but by the spirit and word of the holy scriptures. And there be in the Church which do execute the office for him: Bishops, Elders, Doctors, and others bearing rule: in respect of whom it may justly be called a government of many. For they which are preferred to the government of Churches, only because of the excellent gifts of God, as touching doctrine and pureness of life, must be promoted unto these degrees. These offices are not committed unto them, according to the estimation of riches and revenues, not for favor, beauty, or nobility sake, but in respect of merits and virtues: but if it be otherwise, it is done against the rule. But because in the Church there be matters of very great weight and importance, referred unto the people, (as it appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles) therefore it hath a consideration of politic government. But of the most weight are accounted excommunication, absolution, choosing of

ministers and such like: so as it is concluded, that no man can be excommunicated without the consent of the Church. On this wise it stood with the commonwealth of Rome: In the miserable and most dangerous times. It created a Dictator, who behaved himself as a Monarch. It appointed also a Senate, having respect unto virtues and merits. By reason whereof it might be called a government of many. Howbeit in the most weighty affairs and in confirming of laws and decrees, the matter was brought unto the common people of Rome, by means whereof it was judged to be a government of the people.

10. Cyprian writeth unto Cornelius the Bishop of Rome, that he labored much with the people that they which are fallen might have pardon. Which if it might have been given by himself, there had been no need that he should so greatly have traveled in persuading of the people. And Augustine against the Donatists showeth the same, when he saith: We must then cease to excommunicate, if the holy people shall be infected with one and the self-same vice. For it will not (saith he) consent to excommunication, but will defend and maintain him whom thou shalt excommunicate. Wherefore this right pertaineth unto the Church, neither ought it to be plucked from the same: against which opinion they chiefly are, which would have the same to be committed unto one Bishop or Pope, because they say that a bishop is the universal Church, (as they speak) virtually. But at this day we see that he is oftentimes the whole Church, as I may so say, viciously. This understand thou of them that be evil and that deal tyrannously. They are wont to say that this is therefore to be done that tranquility may be kept. For if so be that consent of voices should be left unto the multitude, there will be tumults and seditions raised up. But these men ought to consider that the City of Rome was in better state, when it suffered those broils of the

Tribunes and people, than afterward when it was come unto Tyrants. For in those turmoils of the people, thou mayest perceive some good and wholesome laws continually to be made: and many wicked were condemned. By means whereof, the Roman commonwealth flourished and stood. But when it was come to the Tyranny of one, it suffered Nero's, *Domitians*, *Caligulaes* and *Commodoes*, and other like pestiferous persons. Even so, when excommunication was turned to one man, thou mayest often times see him with great abuse excommunicate others, who is himself excommunicated, and cut off, both from Christ and from the true Church: which thing is in no wise convenient to be done. For he that commandeth a man to be banished, it is necessary that he himself have the right of the City. And that the Bishops of Rome be excommunicate and be strangers from the Church, the Epistle to the Galatians doth sufficiently teach: where it is said: If any man shall preach any other Gospel than we have done, let him be accursed. And that they do teach otherwise than do the holy Scriptures it is so evident as it needeth no proof. Further it is required, that they which be excommunicate should be present: neither can it therefore be, that they which be in England or in Spain should be condemned by them which be at Rome. Of this matter as we have above declared, did the council of Africa complain; And Cornelius the Bishop of Rome, in the time of Cyprian sent back to be absolved into Africa those which were there excommunicated. And Tertullian in *Apologetico* chapter 39, writeth that judgments were given in the Church with great consideration, as with them that were assured of the sight of God, and that there was a singular providence of the judgment of God the elders or Priests sitting as chief, who attained unto the degree and honor, not by reward but by testimony: that is to wit, because they were allowed for their life and manners.

11. There is a saying of some, that in times past, seeing Magistrates were Ethnics, excommunication might take place: but not at this day when as the Magistrate is a Christian, who with the sword and civil punishments, taketh away evil from among the Cities and Church. But let these men know, that there be many vices whereat the civil laws do wink, as adulteries, drunkenness, evil talk and such like kind, yet cannot those things be suffered of the Church. Again, the Magistrate doth oftentimes punish by money, by a certain exile and prisonment for a time: which punishments being performed, he restoreth them to be citizens, neither requireth he any repentance: but the Church cannot reconcile unless they be such as be penitent. Wherefore let not jurisdictions be confounded. Let one be civil and another Ecclesiastical. Yet do we not deny, but that princes or a Magistrate hath that principal power, by which, although he exercise not all offices and all Arts in a commonwealth, yet doeth he provide that all things be done in due order: And if so be that the ministers of the Church behave not themselves well he correcteth them, as David, Joash, Hezekiah, and Josiah reformed the religion and Priests.

12. Now let us see, when excommunication must be used. Augustine in the 3rd book against the Epistle of Parmenianus and in many other places against the Donatists writeth that the same must be used when there is no danger of schism. The Donatists did urge him, objecting that the Catholics have no Church, because they wanted excommunication. On the other side Augustine objected Cyprian, who in his *Sermone de lapsis*, complaineth, that certain bishops of his time were greatly corrupted, who notwithstanding the poor did starve, they would possess plenty of silver, they drew lands unto them by crafty practices, and by manifold increasing of usuries they made their gain the greater: from whom nevertheless Cyprian did not

separate himself: and yet nevertheless we must not believe but that he had a Church. Therefore Augustine said: If it may be done without schism, let it be had: if otherwise let us stay ourselves: For that would be to seek destruction, and that which was invented for charity sake, would be repugnant unto charity. He also bringeth the parable of the tares, wherein Christ would not have the tares plucked up, least the wheat should be destroyed together with it. And he calleth to mind the example of Christ, who forbear Judas whom he knew to be a thief, and did communicate with him in the institution of the supper. Let us excommunicate (saith he) the faults: the which seeing no man dare defend, we shall run into no danger. Let us also excommunicate men when we perceive it may be done. But and if we shall perceive that the greater part of the Church is infected with one and the same vice, it remaineth that we sorrow and lament. And he maketh mention of the 9th chap. of Ezekiel, where it is read: They which in the midst of the people did lament the iniquities of the people, were noted with a sign in their foreheads, and so they escaped from the destroyers. So (saith he) it will sometimes without separation be enough, among the midst of wicked men, to lament and bewail the iniquities which are committed. And where as the Apostle saith: Take ye away the evil from among you, he sometimes meaneth that each one should drive away sin from himself. And because that Paul (as we have noted) speaketh of the taking away of an evil man, he interpreteth his words of the inward evil man, which each one should put off. And he interpreteth that which Paul saith: If any that is called a brother: He saith not: If many brethren, or if the greatest part be such: but, If any man in the singular number: as though he had said: If one or two shall so be. And he allegeth out of the second to the Corinthians: I fear if I shall come unto you, the Lord will humble me, and I shall be

constrained to bewail many, which have not repented them of whoredom, uncleanness, and wantonness: I will not spare you. Behold saith Augustine, seeing many were infected Paul saith, that there remained nothing over and above unto him, except weeping and mourning. And in that he added I will not spare, he referreth it to any scourge and punishment whatsoever is to be laid upon them. For the Apostle would, that they also should after some sort be afflicted, to the intent they should be made more apt to repent. Many times are wholesome admonishments heard, when we be vexed with scourges and afflictions. Wherefore saith Cyprian: He spake those things in the time of persecution, and as we think not without fruit; the which things he first forbear to speak, because he should have spoken them unprofitably. So as the blessed Martyr cited the sentence of David: If they keep not my precepts, and walk in my commandments: If they profane my righteousness, I will visit their wickedness with the rod, but I will not take away my mercy from them: So that in that case, there remained only sighing and mourning. For which cause he left men that were so corrupted, to the chastising of God: and whatsoever separation from them thou shouldest attempt, it would be vain and unprofitable.

13. But this fear of Augustine seemeth to be overmuch, as though we ought to leave the word of God, for the avoiding of schisms and tumults. Let us follow that which God commandeth, and commit the events unto his providence. The parable of tares serveth not to this purpose. For God showeth by the same, why he himself who is able, doeth not pluck up the tares, nor yet destroyeth evil men whom he with so great patience seemeth to suffer among the Saints. And he declareth that he suffereth this, for the commodity of them that be perfect, to the intent that they should want no exercise, and matter unto virtues. But we are not bound in all things to

follow and imitate God. He causeth his sun to rise alike upon the good and bad: but we must not bestow benefits without making of difference, but must do it specially to the household of faith. God revengeth sins: neither behooveth it that everyone of us pursue his own injuries. When we have a certain and special commandment, we are not to appeal from thence to the general imitation of God. And as touching Judas, his sin was not known and manifest, nor yet convicted by any judgment. The very which thing perhaps may be said of the evil Bishops, whom Cyprian doth so describe: Their crimes were not pursued in judgment, or detected by Ecclesiastical accusation: or else (which seemeth more likely unto me) by reason of persecutions, which daily waxed more grievous, Councils and Synods could not easily be had, by which those corrupt Bishops might be excommunicate and deposed. Further, admit that Cyprian bare with them, we must see whether he did it well. No man's example must lead us to be against the commandments of God. And that interpretation of Paul, to wit, that an evil man should be taken from among us, is not very fit. For the Apostle expressly maketh two kinds of evil men: the one is of brothers, and the other is of infidels. And as touching the ungodly, I confess that we have need to depart from their vices in mind and inward man, neither is it required of us, that we should be separated from them. But from brothers that be infected and corrupted, the Apostle requireth that we should be divided both in mind and in familiarity. Neither are those interpretations very likely to be true: If any man being named a brother, &c. Because in this place, Paul had respect neither to few nor many. Only he would describe who should be punished by excommunication. Also in the same place: I fear least if I come unto you the Lord will humble me, &c. Because seeing he saith: I will not spare: it might as well have respect to the

judgment of excommunication, as to the inflicting of the pains and punishments. Now must we think that the Apostle disagreeth from himself, who elsewhere forbiddeth that we should not so much as take meat of them. I know that Augustine answereth, that every godly man can do this of himself: namely to withdraw himself from evil men least evil talk should corrupt good manners. But if this be left unto every man's own will, that he may have the power of departing and separating himself from whom he will, there will arise privy hatreds, contentions, and discords far more grievous, than if we should use public excommunication. It is better to have less Churches, than so great and populous, which nevertheless are polluted and infected on every side.

14. Wherefore some men seem to be somewhat afraid of turmoil's and troubles, that they provide for their own quietness and fain and dream unto themselves a certain tranquility and peace in the Church: the which it is impossible to have, if they will rightly feed the flock of Christ. For they cannot have all things at rest and quietness, unless they will wink at faults. The Synod of Nice assuredly had no respect unto these things, when it condemned Arius and his favorers, whereas yet a great part of the learneder and mightier sort of the world favored him: whereby afterward much troubles followed in the Church, in such sort as well near the whole world was shaken. Neither did the Lord, when (many were offended because he spake hard things, and difficult to be understood) desist therefore from preachers of the truth, but turning to the twelve, said: Will ye also go away? They say that we set forth things impossible, because if the greater part of the Church be corrupted, who shall excommunicate? We answer, that that which our adversaries understand is impossible, to wit, that the whole Church or the greatest part thereof should be all infected with one and the

same kind of vice, so as there should not many times happen repentance and amendment in the mean while. Over this why are not vices which grow resisted at the beginning? We must not expect till a disease invade the whole body. Neither cometh it otherwise that in so populous a Church the multitude should be corrupted, but because they intermitted this discipline. If the Elders and principals of the Church had not ceased, but continually had delivered unto the people to be excommunicated those whom they perceived to be past amendment, the whole Church should not so well near wholly have been defiled.

15. And when they demand: What shall be done if it happen not that excommunication of the offenders is not obtained by the consent of the people? I will answer, that this at the leastwise must be regarded, that the Pastor distribute not the Sacraments unto them that be condemned and convicted of manifest crimes. Chrysostom said that he would rather spend his own body than impart the Sacraments unto polluted men. And in the meantime he ceaseth not to persuade by all means that this censure should be restored. And it will (as saith Augustine) be a most fit time to obtrude the same, when the Church is afflicted with calamities: for then the minds of the people are more ready to receive sound doctrine. Wherefore although we have this fear of these fathers in suspect: yet do we not discredit this father, as though he had not by firm and strong reasons contended against the Donatists. For they said that the universal state of Christianity had no Church, because betrayers of the holy books were admitted to the communion of the Church and polluted all things: Further who in comparison of themselves condemned all other Christians: released their own from the severity of the Censure, and in their congregations suffered most impure men: such as were the Optatians, the Gildonians, and the

Primians. In fine, they were not able to convince those whom they had accused of betraying the holy books as Caecilianus and others of like sort: and in the Acts before Constantine the great they did nothing.

16. Now must we entreat to what end excommunication must be used. First of all, least the Church should have evil report. Secondly, that he being so cast out might be amended. Further, that others should not be corrupted: in like manner as by one scabbed sheep, the rest also are infected. Fourthly, that the severity of this judgment might terrify from sinning. Finally, that the wrath and punishments which are sent by God, may be avoided. For while man doth chasten, the hand of God withdraweth punishments: but if that they cease, God prosecuteth his injuries. And excommunication was chiefly invented, for the restoring of his principal and inward communion with God. And we ought always to remember with ourselves, that authority is given, not to destruction but to edification of the Church. They are envious to these grave and lawful causes, which only for the payment of a little coin and money do bring in excommunication, and oftentimes use this divine sword against them, which are not able to pay, seeing such are rather to be accounted worthy of mercy than of punishment. Again, because in commonwealths there be civil tribunal seats of Magistrates, therefore this punishment should seem to be less in this kind of crime than in others. Nor do I speak this, as though I thought that the Censure of the Church hath no place against those which deceive, circumvent, and withhold other men's goods, especially when they will not be amended. But this only I lament, that they persecute this kind of fault only, and leave unpunished, adulterers, drunkards, backbiters, and other such like wicked persons. Besides forth, because many being paid, they absolve from excommunication, when as they have had no trial of repentance or change of life. The sword must not

be drawn out for light causes. Therefore Irenaeus, not without a cause reproved Victor the bishop of Rome, for that he would excommunicate many Churches of Asia, for no other cause but because they would not consent with the Roman Church for the celebrating of Easter. Which example must not so be taken, as though for the fear of a schism we should not use excommunication, seeing it is therefore recited by us, for that the causes of this censure must be great.

17. But of what affection they ought to be which do excommunicate, this we may say: that doubtless, great pity and mercy ought to be used, and that they ought so to be prepared in mind as if they should pluck out their own eye, and cut off their own hand or foot. For if we be members all of one body, how shall not we wonderfully sorrow, when one member is to be pulled away from the rest of the body? When Tiberius should subscribe to the death of any condemned person, he was wont to say, I would I could write never a letter. Which thing if it were, men would be the more careful, neither should there so many unjust sentences in excommunication be suffered. Hereby appeareth how grievously the Jews sinned, who being provoked through anger and hatred, caused Christ and his disciples, and as many as followed him, to be cast forth of the Synagogue. But excommunications of this kind, seeing they be wicked and unwise, are not prejudicial unto the godly and innocent, but they do exceedingly hurt the Ministers, and executors of them, who in doing perversely, do harm unto God, to Christ, to the Church, and to themselves: and at length so far as in them lieth, they murder the little flock of Christ. For although God be present with him that is unjustly excommunicated, yet the authors of this unrighteousness for their part drive him out of the Church being oppressed with slanders, and cast him forth to be devoured of wolves, for whom Christ

died. But against the cruelty of these men, Christ comforteth us when he saith: Fear ye not them which kill the body, seeing they cannot kill the soul. Let these men excommunicate as much as they will, they shall not separate us from God, from Christ, and from the Church. A certain foolish Suffragan, disgraded as they speak a certain Priest after a while to be bound, because he preached the Gospel, and said that he did separate him from the Church of Christ militant and triumphant. Unto whom that prudent, and constant Martyr answered: What showest thou me of the triumphant and militant Church of Christ? No creature can pluck me from thence. And thou having the room of a Bishop in vain attemptest to cut me off from the body of Christ against the word of God.

18. Lastly it shall not be hard, by these things which we have spoken, to see how we ought to behave ourselves towards him, which is already excommunicate. The familiar conversation which is done for affection sake must be withdrawn from him, yet so, as children, wife, and subjects, be not exempted from their due obedience towards the Magistrate, least all things be confounded. But in the meantime let heed be taken least in this conversation they give assent unto the same crime. But as to others let the excommunicates be avoided, let not meat be eaten with them, let it not be said unto them, God speed, but let them be accounted as Ethnics and Publicans. Yet must we not cease from admonishing, teaching, and reproving, neither from giving meat and drink, if necessity shall urge. Because excommunication can no further be extended, than charity and other holy commandments of God will suffer. We need not to fear the hatred of him that is excommunicate. For if he will justly weigh what is done towards him, he shall perceive that the faithful are stirred up against him, not through envy, but through charity. Theodosius being corrected by

Ambrose ceased not to love him, to honor him, and to commend him. And again, they which be excommunicate, ought not for that cause to step back from the Gospel, or to desist from the faith thereof. Further, when they shall repent, he which was separated from the Church let him be reconciled, as Paul exhorteth in the second Epistle to the Corinthians: which thing should be done mildly with great good will and charity. These things I meant to say as touching excommunication, being always ready to hear better matter. For I perceive that many things herein be obscure which do oftentimes trouble the weak. And for this am I very sorry that it seemeth to me, I have spoken of Utopia, and the commonwealth of Plato, the which although of many they be praised as goodly things, yet are they nowhere to be found.

Of Comeliness, and order in the Church.

19. But Paul in the first to the Corinthians the 14th chapter, added a very excellent conclusion; to wit, That all things be done decently and in order. But that particle, Decently, must be rightly understood, least we should think that this comeliness consisteth in instruments of silk, in vessels of gold and silver, in cups set with precious stones, in the ringing of Bels, in sweet perfumes, and in the shining of lights. They which boast of these things as decent, fall into the false argument which Aristotle calleth A secundum quid ad simpliciter, that is, From that which is in some respect, to that which is absolute. Comely we grant these things to be: howbeit unto the eyes of the body, unto the sense of the flesh, and to the judgment of the world: which things we must rather deny than follow. The comeliness which in these things is required, consisteth in mortification, holiness, modesty, contempt of the world, and especially in edification. Let it not be objected unto us, that God in the Old Testament required of us these outward ornaments: as gold, silver, precious stones, &c. For these things

were convenient for that time and age, when the people of God was unskillful, and were detained as infants under the rudiments of this world. Now hath Christ brought a more perfect state, therefore in his Church we must retain those things which of themselves be decent, not those which for some certain time were meet for the people of God being newly sprung up. Also he willeth that all things should be done in order, that is, without confusion. For it is order where some things do fitly go before and follow one another. For Augustine *De Civitate Dei* defined it: Order is a disposing of things that be like and unlike, giving to everyone their proper places. In a Church let there be Doctors, Disciples, People, a Pastor, Elders. And in rites, let some things be set before, and other things follow after, so that in every place nothing be done unorderly or confusedly.

Of Temples or Churches.

20. David although he be commended to be an acceptable and godly King, yet is he forbidden by God, that he should not build a Temple unto him, because he was exercised in warlike affairs, and had put his hands to the blood and slaughter of many men. Let us further consider, that God showed marvelous vengeance upon the Philistines, in vexing them with most foul diseases, for that they took away the Ark of the covenant. Neither did it well happen unto the Chaldeans at the length, for that they burned the Temple, and took away the holy vessels into captivity: forsomuch as their Monarchy not long after was overthrown. The Macedonians also, who most contemptuously violated the temple repaired, had an evil end. And that we pass not over the holy houses of the Christians, Augustine giveth warning, who declareth in the first Book *De Civitate Dei*, that when Alaricus the king of the Goths had surprised the City of Rome, so many as fled unto the great Church of Peter through a wonderful work of God were preserved by the

Barbarians. Which thing the Romans in old time did not show unto Idolatry, whereunto they had bond-slaved themselves. For their Emperors when they conquered the world by war, spared not the temples of the gods, that they would any whit the less either lead away captives, or slay those which fled for succor unto them. The very which thing Augustine perfectly reciteth out of the second Book of the Aeneads of Virgil, and out of the history of Salust: whereupon that which happened in the time of Alaricus, he altogether ascribeth to divine miracle and to the power of Christ.

21. But the temples of the Christians, albeit they ought not with so many outward ornaments nor yet so curiously be trimmed, as God commanded in the Old Testament to be garnished, yet are they no less dedicated to the service of God than they were, so as if any such house amongst us be erected, it is meet that we should give thanks unto God, who hath given a place unto his people, wherein they may meet together for the exercise of holy things. And prayers ought to be made, whereby a right and perfect use of that place may be obtained. But now to the consecration of Churches they have brought in sensing, painted crosses, wax candles, burning oil, salt, and holy water, and they write in the dust the Alphabet both in Greek and Hebrew: and use well near innumerable signs, and yet are not able to yield a sound reason for them: how superstitious these things be, everyone as I think doeth by this time perceive, therefore they should be abandoned at the last if we would embrace pure religion. The works which become our temples, as in number they be few, so in worthiness they excel all the rest: First, the praises of God: Secondly, the confession of sins, the administration of holy doctrine, prayers, receiving of the Sacraments, exercise of Ecclesiastical discipline, and offerings for the poor. Wherefore an argument *a minori* [*that is, from the less*] may thus be made: Seeing

there appeareth so great a dignity of the outward temple, be it of our times or of the Jews, what then should be said of the true, lively, and entire Temple of God, the which we are?

Of the Ornaments of Churches.

22. If a man will demand what should be the meaning of so much gold in the temple of God; I answer, that many reasons may be given thereof. One of them I showed before: namely, that God had then to deal with men both rude and prone unto Idolatry: therefore seeing they had those extern ornaments in more admiration than was meet, God would call them away from idolatry, and retain them in his service: for if they were delighted with the garnishing of Temples, there was no cause why they should run about unto idols, for God found means, that they had a Temple and Tabernacle so artificially trimmed, that in those days there were none in the world so goodly and excellent. And verily, while men of that time saw so much Gold in the house of God, they should have remembered, that God himself whom they worshipped, is both the author and giver not only of spiritual things, but also of goods and of gold, who distributed those things at his own pleasure, so that we must seek this kind of good things, not elsewhere but from God only. Neither must we use riches and gold, but according to the will of God: seeing it is his true and lawful possession. But at this day the Papists, of a certain blind zeal, are careful to furnish their temples with precious stones, with gold also, and with silver, that all things may glister on every side: which neither is necessary, neither is at this day meet for the faithful: neither are the things which are commodious for one age profitable for another. Besides, we must consider that these golden and silver ornaments which are now rehearsed, had in the Old Testament their just use. For if there were in the temple the Candlestick of gold, with the brightness

thereof it made the place beautiful: If the table of show bread, loaves were set thereon: If the Censures, both the appointed and certain incense were made therein. The Goblets and Boules and vials, served to receive the blood of the sacrifice, and to sprinkle and offer. And other instruments served for mending and cleansing of the fire. And because God decreed that they should have such ceremonies, therefore it behooved that such instruments should also be ready at their hands. But when after the coming of Christ, such kind of ceremonies were abolished, what need have our Churches of so many kinds of golden ornaments? Beatus Rhenanus upon Tertullian in the book *De Corona militis*, reporteth, that among the riches and treasures of the Church of Mense, there were two silver Cranes, in the belly of which was put fire, whereupon were sweet perfumes poured, the which being kindled, gave out a sweet savor by the open beak. And also that there was certain silver pipes by the which, profane men whom they call the laity sucked out of the Chalice in the holy supper: as though (forsooth) out of the Chalice itself the faithful might not drink, or that there was need of cranes for making a perfume not necessary. Wherefore we cannot otherwise determine, but that the sacrificers devised to themselves certain ornaments of Temples altogether superfluous.

23. I know also, that in the time of the fathers there were certain golden Ornaments in the temple, but before the age of Constantine the Great, I suppose they were very rare. Further they had those things, to the intent they might sometime be bestowed upon the use of poor wretches: which our men do not at this day. Ambrose in his treatise *De officijs*, teacheth that the gold of the Church is justly molten for the redemption of captives. And Decius the Emperor when he would wrest away the treasures of the Church from Laurence, understood that they were already distributed unto the poor.

Let them show, if they can, that the Lord or the Apostles commanded any of these things. Doubtless no other thing did they commend than the sound preaching of the word of God, than the use of the Sacraments, and innocence of life. And of such ornaments have some of the good Fathers made no account, whereupon (as Jerome showeth) Exuperius Bishop of Tholosa ministered the holy Supper with a cup of glass, and with a wicker basket. And in the Triburien Council, they began to dispute whether golden or wooden vessels should be had for the use of the Sacraments. There Boniface the Martyr being demanded of his opinion, said: When they were golden Priests they had wooden cups, now being wooden Priests they will have golden Chalices. And after this manner he derided the question put forth. Yea and Persius and Ethnic Poet taunted this vanity of men, writing: Tell me ye Bishops, what doeth gold in your sacrifice? Which verse Bernard something changed, when as already in his age the Bishops had gold in the furniture of their horses, and said, Tell me ye Bishops what doeth gold in your bridle? But the adversaries say, that by these rich metals and precious stones, their ministry is beautified. Let them be holy of life and manners, let them teach, reprove, and feed the people committed unto them. It is very diligently taught by Paul in the Epistles unto Timothy and Titus, with what ornaments the holy ministry should be decked.

24. But they still say: it cannot be denied, but that such things were used in the Old Testament: why is not the same lawful for us? But if they have determined to revoke all things which were done in the Old Testament, why do they not also renew the sacrifices of Moses? Let them confess that they have the spirit of children, not of men; and of bondage, not of freedom. They that be delighted with this kind of worshipping, had need to devise to themselves another Christ: For true Christ never required such things. We

grant that in the Old Testament, God would have the Jews to have these things, but of the Christians he hath not required them. So as they which at this day give unto him without asking, do ill. We live now in that age, wherein God must be worshipped, not in this place, nor upon that mountain, but in spirit and truth: as we read in the 4th chapter of John. Wherefore the charges which are lavished upon these things, should much rather be bestowed for the maintenance of the poor, and advancement of learning, and especially divine learning. Further that the ornaments of Solomon in that time also were not so necessary, but that God might be worshipped without them, it is thereby declared, that by the will of God they were taken away by the Chaldeans. Moreover if we calculate the times, we shall easily perceive, that this gold of Solomon was not long kept in the temple, because Rehoboam his son took away the greatest part thereof, to deliver it unto Shishak the King of Egypt, whose prisoner he became. And again Abias gave no small part of that gold unto the King that besieged him. Hezekiah also did the like. But let us return to our own. Constantine the first Emperor of that name, opened the window unto this so great a charge, who (as Eusebius writeth in the third book of his life) dedicated a temple at Jerusalem, which he magnificently garnished with offerings, with gold, silver, and precious stones. Furthermore I know that Optatus the Bishop of Millaine, in the first book against Parmenianus, made mention of such Ornaments, and so also did other of the Fathers. But whatsoever they either affirm or decree, if it should be received by us, it ought to be allowed by the testimony of God.

CHAP. VI. Of Schism, and whether the Gospellers be Schismatics because they have alienated themselves from the Papists.

I will divide this defense into three principal pointes. First I will show that there happened most just causes of our separation. Secondly, I will prove that this separation was necessary for us. Thirdly, I will make it plain, that we have not departed from the Church, but have rather returned to the same. But before I enter to the explaining of these things, I mind to speak somewhat of Schism. The word is a Greek word derived in Greek ἀπό τοῦ σχίζειν, which is, to divide, to cut and hew in sunder. But between Schisms and Heresies, Augustine against Cresconius Grammaticus so distinguisheth, as a Schism is called a late separation of the congregation, by reason of some diversity of opinions, the which when it hath waxed old, is called a heresy. Howbeit it seems not very likely to be true, that these should differ one from another by the difference of newness and oldness. This doth rather agree, that men may be infected with schism, who nevertheless retain the self-same faith as it hath oftentimes happened in the papacy. And the property of heresy is, that it taketh some opinion to be defended severally from others, the which is repugnant as well to the word of God, as to the

common faith. Yet doth Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians seem to confound these two. For he accuseth them both of Heresy and Schism.

2. It must not be passed over that Augustine affirmeth hatred against the neighbor to be the cause of Schism. And of this hatred there may be showed four chief parts: namely, that men among themselves, as touching the principal points do not consent: and therefore Paul wished that the Corinthians were agreed and joined together in one mind. Secondly, they oftentimes jar in those things, which are derived and concluded of principles: and therefore the Apostle added: That they may be knit together in one and the same opinion. It also happeneth sometime, that although they agree in mind and opinion, yet are some so in love with their own phrases and form of speech, and so obstinately maintain the same, as rather than they will forsake them they will be separated from their brethren: therefore Paul wished that they might speak all one thing. Lastly they therefore hate their brethren, because some made one their guide and some another, as it happened among the Corinthians: of whom some said: I hold of Cephas, I of Paul, and I of Apollo, and everyone hated another which held not with that guide with whom he held: and as it appeared in the Church of Rome when two or three Popes lived at one time. These things being marked, it may easily be gathered, what is Schism, that is to wit, it is a separation of a congregation through the hatred of brethren, because of the diversity either of mind, or opinion, or speeches, or election of governors, which things do both breed and increase that hatred.

3. Howbeit we must understand, that all Schism is not good or evil. For there is, which thou mayest not condemn, and which thou mayest justly allow. It is no separation except it be of the parts from the whole, which whole when it shall become evil, if certain parts divine themselves from it,

because they will not be corrupted and infected, the departing shall be commendable. So is Abraham commended, because he departed from the Chaldeans and from his own country. A good separation also there was of the Proselytes, who sundering themselves from idolatry, went unto the people of God. Also the departing of Christ and of the Apostles from the Jews is altogether commendable, especially seeing Christ himself said, that he came not to send peace but a sword, and to sever men from their own household. It also happeneth sometimes that all the parts of some whole be evil. And it profiteth the godly that those be drawn one from another, to the intent they may languish and be enfeebled. And to that purpose, Paul when he was come into great danger, set the Pharisees and Sadducees at debate one against another. It was profitable also, for preaching of the Gospel, when the Jews disagreed among themselves as concerning Christ. A part said of him: He is good, seeing he doeth so many signs: but others affirmed that he was evil, and that he could not be of God, seeing he brake the Sabbath day. But if the whole itself be good, and some parts being putrefied and defiled are departed away, such a schism must be detested, and we affirm it to be evil. Wherefore it is a pernicious thing, because the nature neither of the parts, nor yet of the whole is preserved. Which that we may understand, a certain distinction of the whole must be considered as it is taught of the natural Philosophers. One is called ὁμοιομερές and it consisteth of like parts: as is water, blood, earth and such like. If a division be made, doubtless the powers of the whole do after a sort perish, for by that plucking in sunder it is weakened, but in the parts the nature of the whole is preserved. For every part of water is water, and every part of blood is blood. Another whole there is found which they call ἑτερογενές, which consisteth of the diversity of parts: Such be living creatures made of diverse

members: yea and plants consist of diverse parts. These things if a man divide, neither the whole nor the parts will stand. A man being drawn asunder into parts ceaseth to be a man, and his parts be no more the members of a man. And the Church seeing it is a body of diverse parts when it is divided, both itself after a sort is ruined, and the parts thereof being distracted do perish, seeing they fall from eternal life. So as they that separate themselves in an evil Schism, both destroy themselves, and as much as in them lieth destroy the Church, unless that Christ be present to restore and preserve the same. Wherefore the vice must be shunned as a pernicious thing.

4. Now must we see whether our separation be evil or good. I affirm that it is good; First because it hath most just and very good causes, the which I will in this order recite. The first cause is: In the Church, there can be no conjunction between them which retain not the faith. Our adversaries have cast away, and retain not the faith, so as there can no knitting together happen between them and us. That they have departed from the faith, hereby it appeareth, in that they have cleaved to traditions, neglecting the word of God. But faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God, as Paul testifieth. Further there can be no fellowship with them, which by a mighty, and well near tyrannical violence, obtrude unto us heavy and intolerable burdens, a great deal more than false prophets would lay upon the Gentiles being converted unto Christ. What may we here do? In times past the Lacedemonians said unto the Athenians: If ye shall command things that be more hard than death, we will rather die than do them. Thirdly, our adversaries usurp more unto themselves than Paul thought did appertain unto himself. He wrote in the 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians the first Chapter, Not as though we have dominion over your faith. By which

words he testifieth, that faith is subject unto none but unto the word of God, so as the ministers of the Church have no dominion over it: but (as Peter saith in the first Epistle the fifth Chapter,) They ought by admonishing and teaching to be helpers of the joy of the faithful, that is, of their eternal felicity. And he had said before: Not as though ye bare rule over the Clergy: by the Clergy he understandeth the people of God. The Church if it be generally considered, is one certain body of Christ: but it hath many parts, to wit, particular Churches, all which be called the lots and inheritances of God. Wherefore Peter would not that Ministers and Pastors, should behave themselves towards them like Lord's. Fourthly, Papists suffer us not to worship God purely and sincerely, if we be conversant with them. Because they neither suffer that the Gospel should be preached by us: neither grant they the pure administration of the Sacraments, as they be instituted of Christ. Fifthly, they curse us and pronounce most horrible execrations against us, especially upon Thursday in the great week. Seeing then they have so excommunicated us, and every year renew their excommunication, what should we deal with them when as they have so cruelly abandoned us? Sixthly, if we should join ourselves unto them, we should be pulled away from the greater part of the world. In so much as they account for Schismatics, the Churches of Africa, Egypt, Syria, the East-Church, the Churches of Asia, and the Greek Churches, in respect (forsooth) that they will not be subject to the seat or rather the Tyranny of Rome. Seventhly, they being not content with excommunications and execrations by which they curse us being faithful men and professors of the Gospel, do most cruelly persecute and destroy us with sword, violence, prisons, banishments, confiscation of goods, and finally with flames and fires. Eighthly, it is meet that godly men should be conversant together with

sinners, so long as there is any hope of them remaining, and while they abide to hear those which warn them. But these men have stopped their ears like Adders, neither can they abide any word of men admonishing them. They have been cried upon of long time, and they compelled of force, confess that many great errors are crept in into the Church, yet do they not either show or amend any. Certain Councils have been held, namely of Constance, Basel, Florence and Trent, well near within our age, or the age of our Fathers, yet is there not corrected in the Church so much as one trifling thing, or error, or abuse. So as they seem now past hope of salvation. And experience teacheth that in living with them the truth is rather hidden and weakened than that they are become the better: wherefore it is no marvel if we depart from them. For the Apostles for the very same cause departed from the Jews, seeing they cast away the word of God. Ninthly, many have hoped, and yet hold opinion, that the only remedy which remaineth for the relief of the miserable state of things, is a general Council which should be freely held, where the cause on both parts might be discussed. But they never abide themselves to be brought thereunto. With grief, they hear mention made of a Council. Moreover least they should seem over wicked, they permit a Council after a sort, but such a Council as consisteth of them that conspire against the word of God: and seeing the ground and state of all depends wholly upon the Pope, they will abide none there but such as be sworn unto him.

5. Tenthly, in the Church, there be three kinds of things: For some be necessary, others be free, and othersome be wicked. Among things necessary are appointed doctrine and administration of Sacraments, as also holy and honest life, namely, that men should behave themselves godly, modestly, and justly, towards God, themselves and their neighbors, all

which in very deed belongeth unto discipline. This being so, let us consider how these men behave themselves in all these things. Doctrine out of all doubt they have corrupted. For they teach that we are not justified by faith only, (as the scriptures do appoint) but that we be also justified by works. They preach worshipping of Images and the adoring of creatures: They defend invocation of the dead and such like things, which be mere corruptions of heavenly doctrine. And as touching the administration of Sacraments, they have so defaced by adding too and mangling of the Sacraments, as they are now scarcely known. Further as to manners and life, they have so exceedingly loosed the reins of discipline, as they call good, evil: and evil, good. And all things are taken hand over head: and so great a confusion there is of things as there be no difference perceived of justice: And things that be free now they suffer not to be free. They have ordained a choice of meats, when as in meat and drink (as testifieth the Apostle) none ought to judge us. They observe days with great superstition. Also they suffer not fasting's to be free, but they will have appointed times, as the year goeth about. They have decreed to fast upon Friday and Saturday in the time of Lent, in the Vigils, and Imber days. Matrimony, which among other things is most free they have forbidden to all the clergy. Also there be garments prescribed by them to be so necessary, as without them Mass cannot be had. They will not that leavened bread should be consecrated, but sweet or unleavened. Ceremonies and rites they will have to be so common, that all men may use them. Briefly they have made things that be free to be of necessity. Things that be naught and corrupt they will not cut off, they retain them obstinately, and he that will admonish them thereof, they grievously pursue him.

6. Furthermore, they will have none to be of their fellowship, that profess not the Roman Church to be the Catholic Church, and they endeavor to make the universal Church to be particular: For the Roman Church is one certain Church, as is the Church of Alexandria, Milan and Ephesus. But the Catholic is universal: for it is there found, wheresoever the believers and true members of Christ live well: It is not bound to places and chairs. They straight way revolted from the Catholic church when the Popes kingdom was erected by them. For they which would not go under the yoke were by the Romanists expulsed from the Church. They sought not that the name of Christ might be largely spread, but that they might bear rule far and wide. Paul unto the Romans wrote, that we be one body in Christ and members everyone of another. But and if he said that we be one in Christ, it ought to be enough to profess Christ, not the Roman Church. The Donatists are reproved by many of the Fathers, and especially by Augustine, because they had straitened the Catholic Church, into a small corner of Africa, affirming that the Church was nowhere else to be found. But do not the Papists the very same, when as they acknowledge none for the Churches of Christ, which follow not the Roman Church as their head and Prince? Let them prove if they can that the Gospel sprang up at Rome. It cannot be said. For it came from Jerusalem as well unto the Greeks as Latins. Whereby it cometh to pass, that the Roman Church is not by the right of antiquity the first of all. Further it is gathered, that the Catholic Church was before the same. And if it could then be without it, what let is there but that now also it may be without it? But if so be (to speak after the manner of the Logicians) the Roman Church, first of all and by it self had been the Catholic Church, all Churches by it should be named, and should be called and become Catholic through her. Which how false it is, I have already showed, in that

the Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, and diverse others, were catholic before the Roman Church was planted. Besides forth let us consider that the Catholic church was in old time called the Church of Christ, not the Roman Church. From whence came this addition? What mortal man hath made this article of the faith? We say and profess in the Creed that We believe one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. These words have they transformed into the Roman Church. But by what license and power they have done this, unless they confess their own ambition, they are not able to show. And as to men's arguments, if this title should be given unto any, it had been convenient for the city of Jerusalem, seeing Christ did their teach and was fastened to the cross, from thence ascended into heaven, and from thence sent his Apostles to preach. But there were many causes, for the which that Church was not appointed the first of all. The Apostolic men, which at the first time flourished therein were godly and modest, and therefore sought not after such primacy. Again there happened a certain emulation, I will not say hatred, between the Jews and Ethnics which were converted unto Christ. And as the Jews were most sure holders of the ceremonies of their forefathers, so attempted they to obtrude them upon the Gentiles: which endeavor being perceived, the estimation of that Church was obscured. Besides these things, that place, after the destruction brought in by Titus and Vespasian was not famous nor noble, for so much as no kings and Monarchs had any abiding there. And it is manifest enough, that the primates of Churches followed the civil magnificence. To this, the Patriarchs of Jerusalem in process of time were not constant in the true faith, but did pollute themselves with heresies. Wherefore they were the less famous. And therewithal penury and poverty was adjoined which was a great hindrance unto the primacy. That Church was not so plentifully

enriched, as were the Churches of Rome, Alexandria, and Constantinople. But to return whence I came: If antiquity, if the conversation of Christ and his Apostles, and the original of the Gospel, wrought not that the Church of Jerusalem should be or be called Catholic, how can they imagine that the Roman church had it? Perhaps they will say: Of Peter. But of this I will speak hereafter. And to the matter now in hand, let us affirm that all churches, as touching the thing itself, so they retain faith and the word of God with just sincerity, be Catholic and also equal. But if we shall behold not the thing, but the accidents, to the judgment of ignorant men that excelleth others which exceedeth in riches, and great estate of princes. And as for godly men, that Church is more excellent than the rest which is more honorable in the gifts of God and graces of the spirit.

7. Further our adversaries are most manifestly found to be plunged in those crimes of which the Apostle hath pronounced, that they which do such things, have no part in the kingdom of God. What place therefore shall we give them in the Church? Undoubtedly they be Simonites, Sorcerers, blood suckers, raisers of wars, men given to lust, they abound in more than Persian or Sybaritical riotousness: They have no leisure for the word of God, they preach not, they feed not the flock, nay rather they fill all things full of offenses. And in the mean they did nothing but jangle of Peters and Paul's, from whom they are more distant than heaven is from earth. Lastly they will not suffer us to deal with them, unless we communicate with them in the mass, wherein do hang so many faults, as in this place cannot be declared. But it maketh no matter. The faults and corruptions thereof, in these our days are so manifest, as they have no more need of one to set them forth. One thing only I will allege, that they propound bread and wine there to be adored, which if a man shall refuse to worship, he is utterly

undone both in life and goods. Wherefore seeing there be so just and so many causes of our departing from the Papacy, our separation seemeth very much worthy to be praised, not to be disallowed. But least we should dissemble anything, now let us bring those things, which they are wont to object against such causes.

8. First they say, that it is neither rightly nor orderly done by us, who measure the Church by the word of God, when as we should deal otherwise: namely that the word of God should be established by the authority of the Church. Briefly they would that the virtue and power of the Church should be preferred above the word of God. To confirm this, Hosius, the buckler of the Papists in our time, allegeth that which was spoken by Christ, If they will not hear thee, tell the Church. Now thou seest (saith he) that there was a Church of the New Testament, when there was no written word thereof. Some men answer, that Christ meant this of the Church that was to come, and should be gathered by the preaching of the Apostles, but not of that which was extant at that time. This answer I allow not, seeing the Church was even then: neither did it want the word written as this man feigneth: that is to wit, the books of the Old Testament. Out of those doubtless did Christ and the Apostles confirm their doctrines. Wherefore Paul in the Epistle to the Romans speaking of the Old Testament, saith, Whatsoever things are written before time are written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope. Unto Timothy he saith: The whole Scripture given by the inspiration of God, is profitable to teach and convince, to correct and instruct, that the man of God may be perfect, &c. Unto the same man also he writeth: Attend thou unto reading, &c. Of the Thessalonians it is said in the Acts of the Apostles, that they having heard Paul, searched out of the Scriptures whether the things were

so as he had taught. But our adversaries fetch their Argument further, and affirm, that the Church of God was before Moses which nevertheless had no Scriptures: for they account the books of Moses to be most ancient of all. Which I would easily yield unto, if they would speak of those that be now extant. But how do they know whether that old Church had any divine books or no? Moses undoubtedly citeth the Book of the Just, and the Book of the wars of the Lord. And it may be that Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, wrote those things which belonged to their times, so as Moses afterward by the inspiration of God's spirit did gather and digest those things. Certainly Jude in his Epistle did insert certain things out of the Book of Enoch. Nor doeth it make any matter, if thou say that the Book is Apocryphus, because that Book perhaps was Apocryphus which was carried about after the Apostles time. But those things with Judas brought, were both firm and certain. But let us imagine that there was no words of God before Moses, except such only as were given forth by mouth, and delivered by hands. What serveth this to the present matter? For the very same words when they were afterward put in writing, ought to be kept and retained, so as nothing in them should be changed by men. Seeing the Church is gathered together by the word of God, the same of necessity must be latter than it, neither can the Church by her own authority be against the words of God, because the spirit of God doeth not strive with itself. But that it is in word or in writing, it maketh no matter, for these be accidents, and not the proper and true nature thereof. And therefore the word of God, whether it be delivered by word or by writing, it is inviolable, neither can it speak things contrary.

9. Over this, Hosius is against us, and saith, that the holy Ghost speaketh with faithful men, as well by the Church, as by hand-writers who wrote the

holy scriptures, and thereby concludeth (as he thinketh) that the Church should equivalently be heard as the holy Scriptures. But we say that the spirit of God speaketh unto us both ways: yet (as we are warned before) things in no wise repugnant one to another. Wherefore when as the same spirit delivereth anything by the Church, that is not repugnant with the written Oracles. Furthermore of the hand-writers we be certain: for our forefathers which then lived, did manifestly know that the holy books were set forth by them. So as there is no cause to fear that they are counterfeit. Again, the spirit of God is present with the faithful, whereby they perceive the writings of them to be divine and not counterfeit by men. But as touching the Church we stand oftentimes in doubt. For the Bishops which represent the same, do not always come together in the name of the Lord. And although they be godly and holy, yet are they men, and have much of the flesh, whereby their minds and affections are oftentimes troubled. I doubt not but that Cyprian with his Bishops met together with a good and godly mind, yet nevertheless he erred as concerning the rebaptizing of heretics which should return to the Church. Besides this in Councils, the voices be not weighed but numbered: whereby it cometh to pass, that oftentimes the greater part prevaileth above the less, and the worse above the better. So as we cannot determine that the Church is without error as the scripture is. Verily in the Synod of Nice, although it was rightly decreed concerning one substance of the Father and the son, yet was there much seed of impiety inserted as touching satisfactions and times of repentance. But how those fathers were moved and driven by affections, thereby it is sufficiently declared, in that like furies and mad men they raged one against another, and with their infamous Libels and slanders stirred up and inflamed the good Emperor against their fellows, that it is a wonder he could abide

their untemperance. They were called together to deal about a principal point of religion; and setting this aside, they gave over themselves only unto choler and stomach. In the second Synod of Ephesus, they not only erred shamefully in doctrine, but they also came to blows: so as Flavianus the Bishop of Constantinople was there spurned to death. I know that some say, that that assembly was not a lawful Council. Howbeit this moveth me but little. For I demand what might be wanting thereunto that is required unto due and true Councils? The Bishops were called together by the authority of the Emperor, no less than unto the Synod of Nice. The legates of the Bishop of Rome were present, and the Bishop of Alexandria, sat as chief by his own right. The Council of Chalcedon although it justly condemned Eutyches, yet is it reproved by Leo the Bishop of Rome, that esteeming less the Seat of Alexandria, it gave the second place to the Seat of Constantinople, and abolished that which was decreed in the Council of Nice: which could not be done without note of inconstancy.

10. But they say, that this belongeth not to the doctrine or Articles of the faith. Against whom we reply by the latter Synod of Ephesus, which allowed the error of Eutyches, and absolved him whom afterward the Council of Chalcedon condemned: and further, that the Synod of Constantinople, the which was held under Leo the Emperor took away images. Again that the seventh Council which was gathered together under Irene allowed as well of Images as of the worshipping of them. Seeing these Councils vary and be contrary in the chief points of faith, who shall give judgment of them? Certainly none but the word of God: according whereunto it behooveth that the answers of the Church or Councils be examined. The church otherwhile doeth err, if we speak of that Church which is visible, and sitteth in Councils. The Lord saith, that the false

Christ's and false Apostles shall so prevail, as the very elect, if it were possible, should be deceived. Daniel also testified, that Antichrist should sit in the very Temple of God: that is, among them which are named the Church. Let us consider the meetings of the old Church, and we shall perceive that they went so far astray that amongst them Jeremiah the Prophet was overthrown, and Micah, who was beaten when the 400 Prophets were come together before the kings Ahab and Jehoshaphat. Finally Christ and his Apostles were condemned by the Council of the Jews: yea, and Nazianzen (to return to our own Councils) in a certain Epistle of his, said, that he never saw good end of the Bishops Councils. To conclude, this controversy is between us and our adversaries: namely, whether the Church can err: We join thereunto the word of God: by which if it deal and define, we will grant that the same doeth not err. But the Papists judge that it is so greatly ruled by the holy Ghost, that although it decree anything besides or against the word of God, it doeth not err: and therefore they will, that the same should rather be believed than the Scriptures of God. But while they stand to that opinion, they dissent the whole world over from the fathers, who always in their Councils confirmed their decrees by divine Oracles.

11. Our adversaries proceed and craftily assault the truth with a certain saying of Augustine *Contra Epistolam Fundamenti*. There the man of God writ: I should not believe the Gospel unless the authority of the Church moved me withal. Unto these words they add a rule of Logic, wherein it is said, that for the which everything is like, that thing itself is more like. But they ought to have known, that if we should deal by Logic, that rule is true only in final causes. For if a man for health's sake use a medicine, health is rather desired of him, than the medicine. But in efficient causes nothing is

this way concluded, unless the whole and full cause shall be brought. For if one will say that a man is made drunken with wine, he cannot thereby prove that the wine is more drunk, because the whole cause of drunkenness is not in the wine. For it is required that it should be digested in the stomach, and that vapors be stirred up to trouble the brain. Further if one should learn of his master the eloquence of an Orator, it should not therefore be concluded that his master is better than he in making of Orations, because the master is not the whole cause of his learning. There is besides required a wit, and also a study and diligence. But the Church, of which we now speak, is not the whole cause of our faith: it only publisheth, preacheth and teacheth. Also there is need of the holy Ghost, to lighten the minds of the hearers, and to bend their wills to embrace those things which be spoken. Therefore Augustine wisely wrote: Unless the authority of the Church had moved me withal: and did not put simply, moved.

12. They are wont also to prattle unto us that the Church hath given judgment of holy writ, allowing some part and rejecting other some. For it disallowed the Gospel of Nicodemus, the Acts of Peter, diverse Revelations of the Apostles, the Book of the shepherd, and such like. And on the other side it embraced the four Evangelists which we now have, and the writings of the Apostles which are at this day read in the Churches. By which judgment they decree that the authority of the Church excelleth the holy scriptures. Howbeit this kind of reasoning derived from judgment is weak, because there be men of sharp wit found, which can discern between the right verses of Virgil and the wrong, and between the natural works of Aristotle and the counterfeit: who nevertheless are a great deal less learned than Virgil or Aristotle. We are also commanded, To try the spirits, and to put a difference between God and the devil, and yet we be not equal or

greater than God, how then doeth the Church of God behave itself towards the words of God put in writing? It preserveth and faithfully keepeth them, it publisheth, defendeth and maintaineth them: it is like a Notary which faithfully retaineth testaments with him, whereas he is able to do nothing beyond the last will of the Testator: for if he should change or invert the same, he should not be counted a faithful Notary, but a falsifier and counterfeiter of testaments. The Church in no otherwise hath and preserveth with it the holy Scriptures, when as nevertheless it may not either change or invert or amplify them. But seeing they contend with an obstinate mind, that the authority of the Scriptures dependeth of the Church; why do they not produce some Canon or decree of some Council, by which the holy Scriptures be ratified? The primitive Church of the Christians found the writings of the Old Testament to be firm, and by them allowed and established the articles of our faith. After this succeeded the Books of the Apostles written by the inspiration of God, the which Books no decree of men hath fortified. For the words of God are not subject to the will of men: but on the other side, whatsoever thing the Councils of the Church have decreed, they always were careful to confirm them by the words of God, even as it may be proved by all the Synods which were of best note. I am not ignorant that certain Councils made rehearsal of the Books of God, which also some of the old Fathers did: howbeit the faith of the divine Scriptures was of force among the Christians long before the recital which they made. Moreover in their Catalogue are found certain books either past or abolished: the which our enemies affirm to be most Canonical. For out of the history of the Maccabees, they seek to prove their Purgatory, when as nevertheless it is easily showed out of the writings of the old Fathers that that book is not in the holy Canon.

13. Some being overcome by the force and power of the truth, prefer the word of God above the Church, but they will overrule tyrant like, and retire themselves to interpretations: which they will have to belong only unto the Church: namely the Roman Church: so that in very deed they are not subject to the word of God, but do account it to be subject unto their decrees. But how faithful interpreters they be, and how just expositions they make, everyone may perceive by these things which I will here add. Anacletus said, that Peter was called Cephas of the Greek word κεφαλή, because he was head of the Church. But how strange a thing it is that the Hebrew or Syrian word should take his derivation of the Greek tongue, all men perceive. Christ reaching out the cup in his supper, Drink ye all of this (saith he.) The Romanists in their interpretation say, Drink not ye all of this: Let the lay men or unlearned be content with the bread: let only the Priests receive both kinds. In the Epistle to the Hebrews Matrimony is called honorable amongst all men. And unto the Corinthians it is written, They that do not contain, let them marry: And it is better to marry than to burn. But they by their decrees and expositions exclude a great part of the world from marriages: namely all the holy Ministry. The Law of God commandeth that we should not make unto ourselves images to worship them: these men command that images should be had and worshipped. Paul saith: Let no man judge you in meat and drink. These in their interpretations have perverted this liberty, and have brought in a most severe, or rather ridiculous and superstitious choice of meats. The holy scripture hath decreed That we by faith are justified without works: They by their exposition affirm, that we are also justified by works. Therefore their glosses be very much against the text. Neither are their interpretations anything else than corruptions: Where the word of God commandeth that

we should set our minds on high, their interpretations draw us downward. This power of expounding the scriptures have the Popes therefore drawn only unto themselves, or unto the Councils, to the intent that they might after their own pleasure bring in strange opinions into the Church, and contend against the word of God howsoever they thought good. Neither did the Jewish high Priests, Scribes and Pharisees otherwise behave themselves: But Christ received not their perverse interpretations. God commanded in the Law that children should obey their parents: But the Priests being driven by covetousness took away the strength of this commandment, in absolving of children from the burden of maintaining their parents, persuading them to offer excellent and rich gifts, the which should profit their parents much more than sustenance. The Lord hath cried out also against this crafty interpretation: he testified that the commandment of God is made void. Also by their exposition they have lessened the strength of others, and have taught that some are of strength and some feeble. Here also the Lord hath gainsaid, and hath confuted their Sophistical interpretations. They also taught, that men satisfy the Law, if only they conform themselves unto the same: Christ rejecting these perverse glosses, hath declared, that the law requireth not only outward works, but also good motions of the mind. Wherefore there is no cause why the adversaries should compel us without judgment to repose ourselves in their expositions. Augustine wrote books of Christian doctrine, where he teacheth many ways to interpret the Scriptures: but among them there is not one wherein he sendeth us unto the Pope, or unto the church. In obscure things he willeth us to use the skillfulness of tongues; to consider those things which go before, and which follow: to expound a doubtful place, by another place which is more easy and manifest: and such like things. Thou canst nowhere find in the Fathers that

the Scriptures are in such sort that this or that Council hath interpreted the same after this or that manner.

14. But hereat they cry out that it is sufficient that Christ hath said: If he will not hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an Ethnic and Publican. Unto this I answer, that it may seem that Christ spake not there as touching the exposition of the scriptures, but of brotherly correction. But setting this answer aside, I say that the Church must be heard so far forth as it answereth or speaketh out of the word of God, but if it bring forth only the devises and traditions of men, we must with deaf ears pretermit the same; and specially then, when it setteth forth things that be against the word of God. To conclude, we include the true Church in the word of God, the which as a firm and certain rule is fixed unto it. But as concerning power above the Scriptures, which these men challenge to themselves, the old Fathers neither acknowledged, nor sought. In the Council of Nice, as the History of Theodoretus showeth, Constantine commanded the Fathers that were assembled together, to define the controversy (as touching one substance of the Father and the Son) by the Scriptures of the Prophets and Apostles: there none withstood him, in saying that the Church of her own authority ought to judge the controversy, because the same should not be subject to the Scriptures, but should rather have them in her power. Neither did they complain, that the Emperor plucked anything from the Church, seeing it subjected the same to the rule of the Scriptures.

15. But they cry out that the Church is the pillar and ground of the truth, as it is written in the first Epistle unto Timothy. Here I say, that the words of the Apostle must not so be understood as though the Church doeth urge, confirm, and compare her authority with the word of God. The case doeth not so stand. The word of God is of itself most firm, it endureth forever:

neither hath it any need to be propped up by men: nay rather it sustaineth all things: Heaven and earth passeth, the words of God do not pass. But the Church is the pillar and ground of the truth, so far forth as it hath the word of God with it, as it preacheth, retaineth, and keepeth it within itself, as it defendeth and maintaineth it; neither is the word heard without it: but not as though that ground did yield strength or authority unto the word wavering or like to fall. So far forth then as it speaketh out of it, it erreth not, nor cannot err: but speaking or dealing without it, not only it can err, but it doeth err. But our men (on God's name) do also attribute this unto Popes, that in the matter of faith, as they call it, they cannot err. When as nevertheless it most certainly appeareth that John the 21st, most shamefully fell, seeing he affirmed that the souls of men perish together with the body, or (as some more modestly say) do sleep, and shall finally be raised up when as our bodies also shall rise again from the dead at the latter day. Neither did the Bishops nor Cardinals, whom they say do represent the Church, resist the Pope that erred so foully and shamefully. The school of Paris resisted him, and so informed the French king of his error, as he forbad all his the Communion of the Pope, unless he would repent, and so he drove the Pope to recant. I speak not of Peter, who (as testifieth the Epistle to the Galatians) was justly and of due desert reproved, because he together with certain others went not the right way unto the Gospel. If thou wilt ask these men wherefore they think that Popes cannot err as touching the faith: they will answer, that Christ said: I have prayed for thee Peter, that thy faith do not fail. If they would transfer this unto the Church, it might after a sort be borne with, seeing the faith of the Church, which Peter did represent, should endure even unto the end. But when as they apply that saying unto the Popes, they deal too impudently. Why do they not also

apply unto their Popes all things which are found to be said of Peter in the Scriptures? Undoubtedly Christ said unto him, when he persuaded him to be favorable unto himself: Get thee behind me Satan, thou art an offense unto me, because thou understandest not the things that be of God, but the things that are of the flesh. He also called him when he should have been drowned in the water, A man of little faith. And in the transfiguration the Evangelist testifieth, that he knew not what he said. Also the Lord commanded him that he should put up his sword into the sheath. Which if the Popes would observe, the world perhaps should be quiet from wars. Paul also unto the Galatians in express words testifieth of Peter and certain others that they went not the right way unto the Gospel. All these things should most manifestly be applied unto the Popes, seeing they do notably agree unto them. But these fellows gather flowers unto themselves, and only unto that purpose derive those things which after a sort seem to make unto the establishment of power, honor, and tyranny: and thus they endeavor to lead away the faithful from the word of God, that they should not believe it, but the Popes and Councils. Thus did not Augustine deal with Maximinus an Arian Bishop, unto whom he said when he disputed with him: Neither object thou unto me the Council of Ariminum, nor I unto thee the Council of Nice, seeing neither I am bound unto this, nor thou unto that: but let us deal by the common testimonies of the Scriptures: let matter contend with matter, cause with cause, and reason with reason.

16. But of this part shall be said enough when I shall have added this, to wit, that the three marks of the Church which are wont to be showed by men of our side: namely doctrine, the right administration of the Sacraments, and the care of discipline (which these men cry out to be feigned by us and cannot be confirmed by the word of God) are very

manifestly found in the Epistle to the Ephesians: whereof in the 5th chapter it is written that Christ loved the Church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it, being cleansed by the washing of water through the word, that he might make it unto himself a glorious Church not having spot or wrinkle. Hereof is gathered, that besides an inward cleansing, which consisteth of the forgiveness of sins, and of the saving power of the holy Ghost, there is required an outward word and Sacraments, which the Apostle expressed, saying: By the washing of water through the word. And the exercises of holy life he noted when he added: That he might make it unto himself a glorious Church without spot or wrinkle. For by living godly the faithful do daily lay away the affections and filthiness of the flesh.

17. Hosius when he perceived that by these notes our Churches might easily be approved, he maketh small account of them. Because (saith he) it is brought to pass by Heretics, that they cannot be the marks of true Churches. For he seeth that among us the pure word of God is exercised, the sacraments according to the institution of Christ administered, and discipline not altogether neglected. So as leaving those marks, he bringeth in others, all which he cannot find in the Scriptures of God. He saith moreover, that we unjustly complain of councils, in that he will have them to be assembled of Bishops only, and that therein they will admit no place, for lay men. It hath always (saith he) been done after this sort: Whereupon of the fathers, the Councils are oftentimes called *Episcopalia*, [*that is, Bishops Councils.*] Indeed so are they oftentimes called, because the greater part of them that meet together are Bishops: And if they be compared with others, they have the preeminence, seeing they be esteemed as better learned in the scriptures, and more skillful of Ecclesiastical matters. Yet are they not always called after this manner. For oftentimes they be called

Councils of the Church, Christian Synods &c. Neither is it soundly proved, that by reason of the name or joining together, only Bishops were in the councils, and lay men excluded. Oftentimes the Emperors were present, and not only were present, but also subscribed together with Bishops unto things that were concluded. Constantine in the 6th Synod, and Basil in the 8th who said, he subscribed that he might imitate the godly princes Constantine the great, Theodosius and Martianus, all which (as he saith) subscribed unto the councils. Theodoritus in his history recordeth that Constantine the great commanded the Fathers that they should discuss the controversy then in hand, by the Scriptures of the Apostles and Prophets. Who seeth not that it is a far greater matter to prescribe unto judges the form of dealing, than to subscribe unto things that be judged? There is also extant a certain Epistle of Eusebius Pamphili in the volume of the council of Nice, which he wrote unto the men of Caesarea. He saith, that the Emperor was present at the council, and commanded the Bishops that they should subscribe: and he saith, that he diligently examined the matter, and declared that the son is begotten by the father being of one substance with him, not by natural reason or by partition. To do these things is not to be present in the council like a stock or looker on, but he did his part among the Bishops. Did not Panormitan also write, that we must rather believe a lay man that speaketh out of the Scriptures, than the Pope if he deal without the word of God. But against us they object the act of Augusta Pulcheria, which was sister unto Theodosius the younger: also the wife of Martianus being a wise woman and well commended. She in her Epistle unto Strategus in the Proems of the council of Chalcedon, commanded that out of Nice, a city of Bithinia (where she would have had the council, which afterward was translated to Chalcedon) should be expelled all the clergy men and Monks,

to the intent that they might leave the place void and free unto the Bishops, and that the matters might not be molested by them. The Argument is of an Act or example, which is not of force. In very deed that woman was in other things godly and wise, but in this act she cannot be allowed: Neither is it thus done by our adversaries at this day. In the council of Trent and in many other, together with Bishops, there sat Abbots and general Masters of the Franciscans, of the Carmelites, and of other orders which were not bishops.

18. Fricius also a Polonian, an excellent learned man, judgeth, that the Legates of the kingdoms and Provinces of Christianity should be admitted unto these kinds of Actions of the church. But setting aside the reasons of men, I think we must have a regard unto the first council, which is in the 15th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. This for so much as it was holy and Apostolical ought to be accounted for a law and rule to all councils. There the Apostles establishing the decree of Christ, said: So it seemed good to the Apostles and Elders with the whole Church. Afterward they being minded to write thereof to the Antiochians, wrote letters after this manner: The Apostles, Elders, and brethren, &c. These things do plainly testify, that not only the bishops but the other members of the Church have place in councils. And as to that which we complained of the Church of Rome, they allege that the same hath always had singular authority among the Christians. Unto this we answer, that whatsoever power the church hath, the same ought to be unto edifying. Let now the Romanists themselves take heed that they edify the body of Christ. They have raised up infinite contentions for the maintenance of their primacy, and for that cause they stir up most bitter contentious troubles, to the intent they may obtain and keep the same. They diminish the Church of Christ, they shorten it, and contrive it in a narrow room: For all those which will not acknowledge their

primacy, they excommunicate and cast out from the communion of the faithful. Furthermore they lay upon men an intolerable burden of men's traditions. Besides the Canons of the Councils they have adjected innumerable decrees and decretals, their Sext, their Clementines and their Extravagant constitutions. Thus the Church is charged by them with most grievous burdens, so far is it from being eased. Augustine in his time complained that the Church of Christ was more charged than in old time the Church of the Hebrews was. I beseech you what would that father now say, if he should behold our times, which is now so grievously pressed with superstitious rites, and manifold traditions, as it is altogether oppressed? Of the Roman Church, it may fitly be said, In vain do they worship me, teaching the doctrine and precepts of men. But let us consider to what end they so extol the power of the Roman Church. Certainly for no other cause but that they may easily obtrude their traditions and every feigned thing: so as with hearing the name of a decree, letter, or tradition of the church of Rome, we should straightway give a blind consent.

19. When we demand of them how so great a power happened unto the Church of Rome, they say, and especially Cardinal Caietanus, that it came by Peter. For Christ (as they say,) when he knew that he should go from hence into heaven, left that Apostle to be his vicar upon the earth. But we demand why had not other Churches the Popedom from Peter? Because (say they) they were not properly or peculiarly appointed or joined unto Peter. They fain that before Peter was anywhere Bishop, the Popedom was a wandering and flittering thing, namely that there it should be wheresoever Peter abode. At the last as they trifle, he settled himself in the Church of Rome. But seeing they judge also, that Peter before he went to Rome, was also Bishop of Antioch, why do they not attribute the Popedom unto that

seat, especially seeing they celebrate every year the feast of Peters chair, whereby they declare that they renew the memory of his being bishop in Antioch? Yet must we not believe that the Church of Antioch was planted by Peter. For it was before that Peter went thither. He no doubt was at Jerusalem with the rest of the Apostles, as it is in the 15th of the Acts, when that great contention sprang up among the believers of Antioch as concerning the Legal ceremonies of Moses, whether they should be observed or refused. All which cause was referred to the Apostles at Jerusalem.

20. But they fain that Peter went afterward unto Rome, and forsaking the bishopric of Antioch, took upon him the bishopric of Rome. But how know they that Peter going to Rome, kept not to himself the bishopric of Antioch? As though we see not daily that the Bishop of Paris, London, Artois, and Augusta do go to Rome, and yet do not renounce their bishopric. But let us grant them that they desire, let them at the least wise show why they gave not the second place unto the Church of Antioch next unto Rome. Truly they made the Patriarch of Alexandria to be chief, seeing that Church was founded and planted by Mark an Evangelist, not an Apostle. Further in the Council of Chalcedon they deprive the Patriarch of Alexandria from his place, giving unto the Bishop of Constantinople the second place next unto the Roman Bishop, whenas neverthelessly it appeareth that the Church of Constantinople was founded by none of the Apostles: whereby is gathered that Churches have not gotten their honor or degree of the founders: otherwise the Churches of Ephesus, Jerusalem, Corinth, and Thessalonica, and such like, which had the Apostles their master builders, should be preferred above Alexandria, Constantinople, and many other famous Churches, than that which they by the decree of the Canons have been less

esteemed. And as touching Peter it is very uncertain to the most learned men whether he came to Rome. But forasmuch as the Fathers and the greatest part of the Ecclesiastical historiographers affirm it, I will not deny it. But this I will boldly affirm, that he lived not 25 years bishop of Rome as they would: and that this is altogether against the course of times and against the holy Scriptures.

21. But that is of very small weight and ridiculous which they feign: namely that the Popedom of the Church of Rome ought to be preferred above the Church of Antioch and other Churches where Peter lived, because he died at Rome and nowhere else. Therefore say they all those which are created Bishops of Rome, do not only succeed Peter in the bishopric, but also in the Popedom. What of this, shall there be more attributed unto the death and Cross of Peter than of Christ? If Peter were slain at Rome, Christ was fastened to the cross at Jerusalem. I would moreover hear of these men, how it comes to pass that the bishops of Rome succeed Peter in the Popedom, and that the bishops of Jerusalem succeed not James in the Apostleship, and become not Apostles in like manner as the Roman bishops be Popes. Here they feign a difference out of man's reason, but not out of the holy Scriptures: that the Apostleship was a dignity of persons, which together with the persons themselves was extinguished, but that the Popedom is a function so necessary in the church, as the same ought to be continued and endure perpetually. When we afterward demand of them whether they think that by the will of God, or by the will of Peter the Church of Rome hath the Popedom: and we say that that seemeth to be done by him, because if he would have gone away from Rome and have gone to another Church, and there have died, doubtless the Popedom should have been there appointed and not at Rome: Here they chase while they will

that the Popedom should by the law of God be tied to the seat of Rome. But setting aside the holy Scriptures, out of which they have nothing to make on their side: they fly unto feeble traditions, I will not say unto fables, and they say that Peter when he was at Rome, and the Christians there were most cruelly tormented under Nero: at the last was persuaded by the brethren to go from thence. Who being come unto the gate of the City, saw Christ come to meet him. When he had seen him, he said: Lord, whither goest thou? And he made answer unto him: I come to Rome, that I may be there crucified again. By which answer, they say that Peter knew he should die at Rome. Hereof therefore these pleasant follows gather, that the Popedom was confirmed to the seat of Rome, and not to any other Church. And they allege an example of Marcellus Bishop of Rome, in very deed not true but counterfeit, wherein he writing unto the men of Antioch saith, that the seat of Peter was sometime with them, the which was afterward by the will of God translated unto Rome. These things are brought by them which they utter being destitute of better arguments. They have not one out the holy Scriptures, but they only devise wily subtleties to confirm false doctrine. They did feign that God chose Rome, as the most mighty and most noble City of all the world, wherein he might place the Popedom. Neither do they see that it was his old manner and property to choose things base and abject, as Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and the holy Scriptures in many places testify.

22. But as to this matter, it seemeth much more likely, that the Apostles were never Bishops, for their charge was to travel throughout the world, to preach Christ, and to raise him up Churches in cities and towns. But the office of bishops is to reside in their Churches, and continually to feed the sheep committed to their charge. The Apostle Paul in the Epistle to the

Ephesians put a difference between Pastors and Apostles, but they of Apostles make Bishops. I am not ignorant that it is declared by certain of the most ancient writers, that James the Apostle the brother of our Lord, was Bishop of Jerusalem. This indeed they say, but the holy scriptures teach no such thing. I suppose he was a great while at Jerusalem, and from thence with his Council, study and pains taking did help the Churches near about, I mean the Churches of Syria and Palestine, but that he lived bishop in that Church I am not persuaded. For the very which cause I think that John remained a good while at Ephesus, to the intent he might both confirm and instruct the Churches of Asia, which undoubtedly were very many. And to speak that of James (which cometh to mind by the way,) Clement the Bishop of Rome, and as they will have it, the successor of Peter, calleth and saluteth him by the name of Bishop or Pastor of all the Churches of Christ. But as touching this matter I will not contend overmuch. But if I shall grant that the Apostles were Bishops, I will ask our adversaries where was the Bishops seat of Paul. It cannot be denied but that they also ascribe the same unto the city of Rome. How say you? Was Paul also made Bishop of that city when as Peter lived Bishop there? It is not meet that two should be Bishops at one time of one and the self-same city. Cardinal Pole writing against Henry the 8th King of England, feigneth that the bishops See or seat Apostolic of Paul was set as a graft in the Bishops See or Apostolic seat of Peter, so as both together grew up into one function. All men see these things to be lies, and therefore feigned because our adversaries wanted other just defenses of their lies. If the thing might be done after this sort, wherefore did the Synod of Nice afterward charge, that no Bishop in any Church should be ordained while the former Bishop were yet living? And it grieved Augustine very much he having no knowledge of that Canon, while

Valerius the bishops of Hippo was yet living that he was appointed bishop of that Church. But to return to Paul: We which from the Gentiles are converted unto Christ ought rather to have respect unto Paul than unto Peter: seeing (as it is in the Epistle to the Galatians) the Apostleship of Peter had respect unto the circumcised, and the Apostleship of Paul unto the uncircumcised. Such verily was the society between these Apostles.

23. But setting these reasons aside, I perceive plainly that this power which they say is given only to the Bishop of Rome by the succession of Peter, is overthrown by the Canons of the Fathers: forsomuch as in the Synod of Nice some certain limits were prescribed unto the Patriarchs of Rome, of Alexandria, and to the rest: which might not have been done if the Roman Patriarch had at that time been head of all Churches. How rightly they did, which appointed four Patriarchs to be the principal of all Bishops throughout the Church of Christ, I will not at this present declare. But this only I affirm, that they in the Church which is Aristocrasia or a kind of commonwealth, did institute a Quadrumvirate, whose fellowship nevertheless in process of time they observed with small fidelity. For Leo the first of that name complained, that the Patriarch of Alexandria, would make himself the universal Bishop of the Church of Christ. The very same contention had Gregory with John Bishop of Constantinople. And Socrates in the 7th book and 10th chapter writeth, that the Bishops of Rome and Alexandria went beyond the limits of their jurisdiction, especially in that they turned themselves to an outward dominion: which is a most sure token that the Bishop of Rome had not in times past, as they will have it an infinite power.

24. But to return to Peter himself, by whose labor they boast that they have obtained so great and so excellent an authority of their Popedom, as it

may be judged by none upon the earth whosoever he be. But good Peter as it is in the Acts of the Apostles when he was accused because he went in to the Ethnics, declared the cause, purged himself, neither did he fly from judgment, under that pretense that he was Pope, and that he would be judged by none upon the earth as they would have it, He was sent together with John by the Church of Jerusalem into Samaria, whereby it cometh to pass, that he is of less authority than the same. For it is evident that he which is sent is inferior unto him whose messenger he is made. Moreover Paul ordained Bishops, and that by Titus, neither did he in that thing ask counsel of Peter, or thought it requisite to use his authority therein. The same Paul (as we have to the Galatians) reproved him, and that openly before the Church of Antiochia, undoubtedly not as an inferior unto him, but as one equal and of like dignity. Cyprian and others of the most ancient fathers, and also Councils, especially those which were celebrated in Africa, when they wrote letters unto the Bishop of Rome, professed not the subjection towards him, which they imagine should be given him: they called him brother, or else honorable, or worshipful fellow in office, or such like. In the 4th chapter to the Ephesians are reckoned the ecclesiastical degrees: and God is declared to have put in the Church, some Apostles, some Prophets, some Pastors and teachers &c. But of so great a matter, namely of the Popedom we have no mention there made. There is also a remembrance of one body, one spirit, one hope of vocation, one faith, one baptism, but this ministerial head of the Church is utterly silenced.

25. But they make great outcries, that they have a perpetual succession of these their high Bishops, and that the same is greatly accounted of by Tertullian, Augustine and other fathers: as though the Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria cannot even unto this day show their

successions. As though perhaps also we would defraud of those successions the Churches of Corinth, Ephesus, and very many other Apostolical seats. And what? Did not also the high priests of the Jews, in the time of Christ and the Apostles, brag of their successions even from Aaron? But yet that might be no impediment but that it should be lawful for the Apostles to depart from them, when they saw them reject the Gospel of the son of God. Stephen also said unto them, (although they sat in very honorable place, and might make vaunt of their successions) and that verily with great boldness: You have always resisted the holy Ghost. So that succession no whit availeth them which depart from godliness and from the word of God. And that it is sometime lawful for just causes to depart from a continual succession, the example of Charles the great declareth. The Emperors of Greece had a continual succession: but whenas now through succession of time, they were become slothful and of small courage, the Roman Empire revolted from them, and they ordained Charles the son of Pipin to be Emperor. Moreover Augustine teacheth us for what cause the fathers sometimes allege those successions. In his 165th Epistle unto Generosus dealing against the Donatists as touching this matter, he writeth many excellent things, and among the rest he rehearseth the Roman Bishops even unto Anastasius which in his time sat at Rome, and at length saith: Ye will not be so bold to say that any one of these was a Donatist, so as it appeareth that ye enterprise new matters in the Church, and bring in new opinions utterly unknown to the ancient time, seeing unto your doctrine you are not able to show any succession or continuance with the ancient fathers. Wherefore the argument of this father was very evident and plain against the Donatists: neither will we therefore despise the same, but being instructed thereby, will contend against the Papists. Let us make a

reckoning of the Roman bishops in their order and course until we come to Boniface the 3rd which first erected the Popedom. Certainly we may perceive that amongst them there were many excellent and holy men, and valiant confessors of Christ: yet let our adversaries say if they can of any one of them: This was a Papist. Let them take heed then to which of those men they will apply their doctrine, so as they may say that he received it by this or that succession. Undoubtedly this doctrine of theirs is new, in no wise taught by those godly fathers, but by the devil, and by Boniface the third, and brought into the Church by the Emperor Phocas the author of their Popedom. But on the other side, we beholding those better sort of Roman Bishops may easily say of them, that they were gospellers. And we may show that our doctrine doth very well agree with their faith and meaning. And seeing there is no new thing ordained by us, but that we have recourse to the wellsprings and principal pointes of sincere and Apostolic doctrine, we have and do hold fast a succession, communion, and fellowship with all those godly fathers and true faithful Bishops.

26. Besides forth, let us demand of them, what they understand by this their succession, and whether they think that thereunto it be enough and enough again that one, I know not who, (whosoever finally he shall be) should be placed in the seat of Rome wherein very many godly men in times past have sitten. Assuredly the place and chair doth not sanctify men, nor yet maketh them like unto their predecessors. If carnal generation work not this, much less shall it be done by the local mutation of the seat. Abraham begat of himself such posterity, as Christ called them not the children of Abraham, but children of the devil: even because they did the works of the devil: so as the succession is of no force to warrant the power of his Popedom. No man doubteth but that out of the Church of Jerusalem,

which otherwise was most holy, there went false Apostles, who by their legal observations, troubled everywhere the Churches of the Gentiles. Paul foretold the Elders and Bishops of Ephesus, that from among themselves Wolves should go out, who would not spare the flock. Wherefore, if it be lawful to fly from Wolves, undoubtedly it was lawful to withdraw themselves from the wicked successors of the Ephesian Pastors. In deed we deny not but that the Bishops of Rome in old time were good and holy, but we say that a generation of vipers did afterward succeed them. So as it seemeth true which is spoken in the proverb: Dangerous is the issue of nobility. Let them prove themselves to be the true successors of the godly fathers whom the faithful do justly honor, but they are not able, seeing they have nothing common with them: neither life, nor labors, nor preaching, nor doctrine. In old time there was in the Roman Church plenty of light, simplicity, and knowledge: Now in the place of these things reign darkness, deceit, and ignorance. That Church was highly commended by the fathers, who if they might now see it as it is, they would exceedingly detest the same. They gave unto it at that time a certain preeminence: I grant, but it was a preeminence of order and not of power. It is meet when men meet together, that in sitting and declaring of opinions a beginning should be made by someone man. I will not deny that that was sometime granted to the Bishops, but I cannot therefore grant that the Roman Bishop had preeminence over all Bishops of Christendom. It is not unknown that at Rome there was someone man among the number of the Senators, which was called president of the Senate, because he sat in the first place and first of all declared his mind, whenas nevertheless he had no power at all over the rest of the Senators. And among the electors of the Empire someone is reckoned chief, yet are not the rest of the elector’s subject unto him.

Athanasius of good right was chief of the Synod of Nice, seeing he was Patriarch of Alexandria, which had the second place next unto Rome. The Patriarch of Rome was not there, although he sent his Legates. And although Athanasius was there the chief, yet had he not power over the Bishops which were present. The same thing is apparent in the Trinity, where the person of the Father as touching order is the first, yet doth it not thereof follow, that the Son and the holy Ghost, be less than he or subject unto him, as though they have not altogether as much divinity, when as they have one essence and equal substance with him. So then we may grant a primacy of order without a primacy of power, which these men so greatly affect. Doubtless great is the impudency of them, which tie Christ and the holy Ghost unto the chair of Rome and to their Popes, whenas nevertheless they themselves will be tied within no bounds and limits, but usurp unto themselves an infinite liberty. But we include the Church in the word of God, so as the power thereof may be bound and comprehended in it as within certain limits.

27. Howbeit to urge them somewhat further, seeing they say that the Church of Rome had the Popedom of Peter, and that Peter received the same of the Lord, I will demand of them by what place or Oracle of the scripture they can show that the Popedom was given to Peter. I know that they thunder without measure and without end that Christ said: Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church. But why do they not mark in that place, that Christ demanded the question of all his Apostles and not of Peter alone by himself, and that Peter answered not only for himself, but for all his fellows? And therefore the words of Christ not only belong unto him, but also unto all the Apostles. Wherefore Origen an ancient writer saith, that the answer of Christ not only belongeth unto Peter, and unto the

rest of the Apostles, but also unto all them which follow the faith and confession of Peter. But what do I speak of Origen? Christ himself elsewhere gave unto all the Apostles that which he seemeth in that place which they allege to have granted only unto Peter. He said (as we have it in John:) Even as my father sent me, I send you. He breathed upon them and said: Receive ye the holy Ghost. And whose sins ye shall forgive, they be forgiven: and whose sins ye shall retain, they be retained. In these words may be noted that Christ said: I send you: you I say, not thee only or any other. And that he gave the keys not to one or another, but unto all. What then hath Peter above the rest? They answer: This above the others he hath: that he not only received the power and keys in general, and in common together with others, but also particularly and severally. They that thus say seem not to have read very attentively those things which the Fathers have written of this matter, who affirm that these words belong to the Ministers, which were spoken particularly unto Peter: and they yield a certain and plain reason, why they were severally spoken unto Peter. Cyprian *de simplicitate Praelatorum* saith, that Christ in the person of one man gave the keys unto all, that he might have a respect unto unity: and that all Churches dispersed throughout the world, although they be reckoned many, yet may be accounted for one: and he affirmed that all the rest of the Apostles were the very same that Peter was: endued I say in the fellowship of equal honor and power. Augustine in his 50th Homily upon John testifieth that these things were spoken by Christ unto Peter, because in him was the mystery and figure of the Church. For if (saith he) the keys were given unto Peter, the Church hath them not. But these things were spoken unto Peter, because the Church was noted in him. But I return to Cyprian, who in the same place *de Simplicitate Praelatorum* which I alleged a little

before, writeth that there is one Bishopric of Christ, whereof every one of the Bishops wholly holdeth a part in gross. Jerome also unto Nepotianus saith: All bishops, all principal Elders and Archdeacons, and every Ecclesiastical order dependeth upon their governors. Neither did he write, it dependeth upon one ministerial head, or upon the Roman bishop. The same Father writing unto Evagrius doubteth not but that the bishop of Eugubium and certain others, I know not who, were equal unto the bishop of Rome both in power and merits.

28. Over this it is to be considered, that Christ in his speech put no particle exclusive. He said, I will give unto thee: but he said not to thee only and alone. Howbeit although he had spoken after this manner, our men might not thereby have had what they would, because the particle exclusive should have been understood to put a difference between the Apostolical and Judaical or Heathenish ministers: but to avoid all ambiguity, he would abstain from the exclusive particle. Thou art Peter (saith he.) He did not then first call him Cephas, but when he called him at the beginning he would so name him, foreshowing by that name that he through the grace of God should be promoted to a sound and strong faith: And the sense of the words is: Thou by an excellent confession hast honored me, in calling me Christ the son of the living God. I on the other side give this testimony unto thee, that thou art a rock and a firm and steadfast stone. But to avoid all ambiguity, the Lord said not, Upon this Peter: Which in very deed he might have said, seeing the names of Peter and a rock in Greek do signify all one thing: but he said, Upon this rock, whereby he would give us to understand, that besides Peter there is some other foundation to be sought after upon which the Church should be built. But what foundation that is, all the Fathers do not establish after one sort. Augustine in the hundredth and

twentieth treatise upon John judgeth that Rock which is the foundation of the Church, to be Christ, unto whom Paul agreeth when he writeth unto the Corinthians: None can lay any other foundation besides that, which is already laid, that is Christ Jesus. He saith also in the same Epistle: And the rock was Christ. And Isaiah said that Christ is a sound and precious stone in Zion, that is, in the Church founded by God. Whereunto also Peter had respect in his first Epistle and second chapter. So Paul said unto the Ephesians, We are no Aliens and strangers, but are built upon the foundation of the prophets and Apostles. And Christ affirmeth that he is not only the foundation of the church, but also the head corner stone, whereby the walls of that building are joined together. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Christian Priesthood is after this manner distinguished from the Priesthood of Aaron: that Aaron's Priesthood might not endure forever, but therein the latter succeeded the former one after another: But the Priesthood of the New Testament abideth in Christ only, without interruption forever more. By this doctrine we may know, that in the New Testament we must not establish such a Popedom or Priesthood, as a foundation of the Church, because it is renewed and hath always need of new successors, otherwise it should not be a Christian Priesthood, but a priesthood of Aaron. Add hereunto, that in the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, they be blamed which would be of Paul of Apollo or of Cephas For it is not meet that Christians should be built upon men. Hitherto of Augustine's opinion.

29. There is another opinion which showeth the rock being the foundation of the Church, to be the faith or confession wherewith Peter confessed Christ to be the son of the living God. This exposition doeth Hilary follow plainly and in many words in his seventh book *de Trinitate*. Cyril also in his *Dialogues de Trinitate* the fourth book is of the same mind. Chrysostom is

of sundry minds, and although in his Commentary upon Matthew, he referreth the words of Christ unto Peter, yet in the Homily *de Pentecosta sieve de adorando spiritu Sancto*, entreating of those words, inferreth them not unto Peter, but unto his faith or profession. No otherwise doeth Theophilact. Yea and Erasmus in his annotations is of the same mind: and saith, that he wondereth that the same speech should be wrested unto the Roman bishop. But least perhaps he should be counted a heretic, he granteth that it agreeth with him specially, yet not with him alone, but withal them that be faithful, even as Origen hath excellently well expressed. Here I gladly common with our adversaries, and request them, that they will not hold us for heretics if we refer not those words of Christ either unto Peter or unto the Pope. We follow the interpretation of the Fathers which we have alleged, that which they must condemn as heretical before they condemn us as heretics. Undoubtedly so long as they bear with them, they cannot justly banish us. But of this will I admonish the Reader, that he think not the former opinion and the latter to be diverse, but to be all one. For Christ is the foundation of the Church, not simply and absolutely, but so far forth as the believers by faith apprehend him and confess him. But what shall we say unto Cyprian, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine, which sometime apply those words of the Lord unto Peter, as though the Church were built upon him? Augustine in his first book of Retractations, maketh mention particularly of both expositions, namely as touching Christ and Peter, and leaveth the opinion free unto the reader, although he incline more willingly unto the former interpretation touching Christ. Erasmus, and that (as it seemeth to me) not unlearnedly, excuseth them after this manner: namely, that they accepted not of Peter otherwise than as he was the figure of the Church, and also of his own faith and confession.

30. Reginald Pole a Cardinal of England endevoreth to confute the latter exposition which hath respect to the faith and confession of Peter, because it appointeth accidents without a subject, and upon those would have the Church to be founded. But these things belong rather unto shifting sleights, than unto sound arguments. We know indeed that the nine predicaments differ from the predicament of substance, but we are not ignorant that those also have their proper natures and essences, so as of them are sometimes spoken those things which cannot be affirmed of substance. Knowledge undoubtedly being an accident, cannot be found anywhere but in the mind of man: which nevertheless is certain and infallible. Whereas man notwithstanding is a thing inconstant, feeble, and deceivable. Cogitation in like manner is in man, who in the like sort cannot be in all places at once. What let is there then but that the truth, faith, and confession which was in Peter, may be called the foundation of the Church: and that Peter himself (being otherwise a frail and mortal man) should be denied to be this foundation? Assuredly Peter did sometimes doubt and waver whenas nevertheless that faith and truth which he professed remaineth firm and unshaken. Jerome expounding this place saith, that Christ doeth liberally communicate his properties with his Apostles and members. He said on a time, that he is the light of the world: but the very same he pronounced of his Apostles. And whereas in very deed he himself is the stone, he also calleth them stones. Whereby it cometh to pass, that seeing he himself is truly and properly the foundation of the Church, it is not absurd, that he will also have his Apostles after that manner to be the foundations of the Church: namely, because they be lively and great stones, who have cleaved unto him in the first place in the building of the Church. Peter himself also in his first Epistle, willeth us to be such lively stones who should be built in

Christ. So many as are the more excellent in faith, and do the more constantly profess Christ, do the more nearly cleave unto that foundation of the Church. In the Apocalypse, the heavenly city is fitly and magnifically described: whose wall is said to stand upon twelve foundations, and there the names of the 12 Apostles are written: not that they are truly and properly the foundation of the Church, but because by their doctrine, word and preaching, they show the same unto all the faithful. I myself was sometimes of the opinion that whereas it is said, ἐπί ταύτῃ πέτρᾳ, that the Greek preposition ἐπί is a note of the cause, I mean not of the principal, but of the instrumental cause: that it might be signified that Christ determined to build the Church by Peter, by the Apostles and such like who should profess the true faith and confession which Peter made. Neither is it dissonant from the Hebrew, that the particle or preposition Aal, which they have translated, Upon, is nothing else than By, that it might signify a means and instrument. But this interpretation I dare not so seriously affirm, because I very little favor mine own devises. I note besides that that preposition ἐπί being joined to a dative case, is seldom used by the Grecians in this signification, wherefore I will not depart from the other interpretations of the fathers. Neither do I think it meet to be suffered, that the Church should be said to be built upon the Popes. Yet is their impudency so great, as they not only call themselves heads of the Church, but they will be called the spouses thereof: whereas Paul said unto the Corinthians, I have betrothed you to one man to present you a chaste spouse unto Christ. And John the Baptist testified, that he in deed was not the bridegroom, but the bridegroom's friend.

31. But passing over this place, now let us turn to another, which they oftentimes object lewdly against us. We have in John that Christ asked

Peter, and that thrice, whether he loved him: and that when he had affirmed it, the Lord thrice commanded him to feed his sheep: as though it should be all one thing to feed the sheep of Christ, and to bear rule over all the Churches in the world. Why do they not consider, that there be also other Apostles sent to feed the flock of the Lord? Undoubtedly Christ said unto them all: As my father sent me, so I send you. He breathed upon them all. He gave the holy Ghost unto them all. And finally he opened all their minds, that they might understand the scriptures, which as a spiritual food they should offer unto all mortal men. Also he gave commandment unto them all, that they should go into all the world, and preach the Gospel unto every creature. Yea and Peter himself in his first Epistle and v. Chapter saith: I do exhort the Elders who am also a fellow Elder (so he speaketh: neither doeth he name himself a Prince or head, but equal to them) that they feed the flock which is among you. While our adversaries abuse this place, we should reply upon them by a rule very much used of the Lawyers and Canonists: A benefit is given for doing a duty. Which proposition if we turn on the contrary part, we may very well prove, that a benefit is not bestowed upon them that do not their duty. Let them therefore cease to boast that they be Pastors, Bishops and Popes, seeing they nothing at all feed the Lord's flock. At this day their Popedom or Bishopric standeth only, in lead, Wax, Bulls, Writs, Oracles of lively voice, proper motions, the chest of the breast, Indulgences, Dispensations, and such like gawds.

32. They boast also of that saying of Christ: I prayed for thee Peter that thy faith should not fail. As though the Lord prayed not for others also. Assuredly he prayed as it is in John for others also, not only for the Apostles, but also for all men that should believe. But I return to the place, Of feeding the sheep, and I answer them which demand why those words

were severally spoken by the Lord unto Peter, and I say that Christ would take away the infamy of Peters thrice denial. And as Augustine saith: It was provided that the tongue of Peter should no less serve to the loving, than to the fearing of the savior: to the intent that death being at hand, he should speak no otherwise than in the life present he did. And the same in a manner hath Cyril. So as the Lord dealing after this manner with Peter caught as it is commonly said, two hares at one leap. First he endeavored that all the Apostles should know, that Peter was received into favor, and restored to his former place. Secondly, that they might understand, that there is no need of singular love to the feeding of the flock of Christ. For he that from the heart and sincerely loveth the Lord of the flock, cannot but feed it with exceeding faithfulness. But least that unto any man it may seem somewhat hard, which we affirm, either that Peter spake for the rest of his fellows, or else that those things which were spoken unto him, pertain also unto others, this will be easily proved by the usual speeches in the scriptures. Certainly Zwingli labored very well in that Argument. He in his Treatise *De vera Religion*, in the Chapter where he entreateth of the keys of the Church, gathered many places which make well for the present purpose. In the 6th chapter of John when the seventy Disciples were gone, Christ turning unto the 12 said unto them, Will ye also go away? There Peter in the stead of all answered: Lord, unto whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. We know and believe that thou art Christ the son of God. Seeing he speaketh in the plural number, he manifestly showeth, that he answered in the name of his fellow Disciples, neither did the confession which he uttered differ from that which a little before both we brought and uttered out of the 16th chapter of Matthew. But sometime it cometh to pass, that one man doeth not answer for all men, but all men for themselves: as when the

Lord demanded in the 22nd of Luke whether they wanted anything while they lived together with him: they answered nothing. Again in the same Evangelist he said unto the Apostles, Give them to eat. Unto whom they answered: We have no more but five loaves and two fishes. There this answer is ascribed unto all: whereas nevertheless in John it is assigned only unto Andrew the brother of Simon Peter. Moreover unto Peter and Andrew, is said that which belonged unto all the Apostles: to wit, I will make you fishers of men. But to come more near unto that place in the 16th chapter of Matthew, of which I spake before: it is easily gathered by the other Evangelists, that Peter answered under the name and person of all. For we have it in the 8th of Mark, and in the 9th chapter of Luke: The Lord rebuked them and threatened them, that they should not tell it unto others. Our adversaries do not weigh these things. They are only very desirous to speak, but what they do speak they consider not. They are exceeding careful for the defense of their dominion and primacy: whereas the Lord forbad the same to his Apostles, and commanded that they which would be the greater, should behave themselves as the lesser: and he warned that such Ambition was proper unto the Kings and Princes of the Ethnics, and that it did not appertain unto his Disciples.

33. Because we have said that they deal very wickedly and shamefully, here also they set themselves against us and say, that the foul and reproachful life of ministers is no cause of separation and departing from the Church: because Christ said unto his Apostles of the Scribes and Pharisees, which sat upon the chair of Moses, that they should do those things which were spoken by them, but not those things which they did. We also confess that we ought not to depart from the Church for the filthy manners and vicious life of Clergy men: although it behooveth all godly

men and members of Christ to endeavor that either they may be amended, or else if they shall be obstinate in their sins, to be removed from their place. But while this cannot be done, let us hear them when they shall speak out of the books of Moses: I mean out of the law of God, out of the Prophets, and out of the writings of the New Testament. But if under the pretense of the holy Ministry, they will obtrude the traditions of men, and especially such as be repugnant to the word of God, we may not hear them, neither shall we violate the commandment of Christ, by withstanding them. They are wont also to object that which is in the 17th chapter of Deuteronomy, where God commandeth that the high Priest should be heard by the people of God. But why do they not mark in like manner that it is commanded the Priest, that he should answer according to the law? Whereby it is gathered that he must in the meantime be obeyed, while he declareth his opinion, not out of his own head, but out of the law of God. To this they allege against us the examples of the blessed Virgin, of John the Baptist, of Elizabeth, Joseph and Simeon, who being not ignorant that the Priests and Levites of their times were corrupted, yet did not withdraw themselves from the Church. Unto this we answer: First that the precepts of the law urged them to sacrifice for the time of that age, and that for sundry causes. Again they were enforced that they should not sacrifice, wheresoever they thought good, but in some certain place which God had chosen. But we by the benefit of Christ are not bound to those precepts. Further, the Priests and Levites although they were corrupt and infected, yet did they not compel any man unto wicked rites and ceremonies. For as yet by the ordinances of Moses they retain the sacrifices and Ceremonies: and no man was constrained to give assent unto their false opinions. But we are forced by the Popes and Bishops to profess wicked doctrines: neither can

we by reason of them receive the Sacraments according to the institution of Christ, and sincerely call upon the name of the Lord. Wherefore the consideration of both parts is not alike: neither can the example which they have brought be applied unto the present cause. They accuse us also that we have broken charity with them: neither do they remember that charity dependeth of faith. And so seeing they retain not the same, but have renounced it, we cannot (as touching Ecclesiastical communion) exercise brotherly charity with them: nevertheless we withdraw not Christian love from them: we continually wish and pray for their bettering: namely that they may convert to the Gospel of the son of God, and that they will at length correct and reform those things which they have marred and corrupted in the Church. Further they disquiet us, for that we are departed, not by public but by private authority. Neither consider they that God commanded every man to have a care of his own salvation. What if others will not assent unto the truth, and avoid the corruptions of Religion, shall he that is bound to the study of God's commandments and glory of Christ, neglect to do what he can, and that which belongeth unto him? Moreover all men may see, that our Churches are not without public authority, seeing in them dwell both Magistrates and Princes. Neither doeth that subtlety which they often use, hinder us, in saying that it is not the part of this or that commonwealth, or of this or that Prince thus to do, but that we must expect the consent of all Christendom. Here do they exceedingly err, seeing God hath commanded both every Magistrate and every Prince, that they should with singular diligence and watchful study be careful for the salvation of them which be committed to their charge. Over and besides, Constance and Constantine when they had embraced Christ, they did not expect a consent in Christian Religion of Dioclesian, Maximianus, Licinius, and of their

Emperors or Caesar's, which were their fellow Magistrates, and had then the rule in their hands. And ill came to Tiberius, for that he expected the consent of the Senate in appointing of Christ to be among the number of the God's.

34. Hitherto I have taught, how just causes they be for the which we have departed from the communion of the Papists: and as I think have sufficiently to the nature of this place answered their arguments wherewith they rent and tear us. So then remaineth that I should descend to the other point of the treatise, whereby I may declare that this was altogether necessary: Which shall three ways appear. First shall be showed that the commandment of God which is the strongest weapon unto godly minds did urge us. Further that it behooved us to fly, least our minds and consciences should be polluted by the unpureness of doctrine and idolatry of our adversaries. And finally least we should be in danger of the wrath and punishments of God which they be in danger of. As to the first: there be very many and sundry precepts of God extant in the holy scriptures, which command this separation. Yet all those I will not recite, because it would be over long, but I will only repeat some. Christ said, Beware ye of false Prophets: for although they be in sheep's clothing, they be ravening wolves. Wherefore even as we should fly from Wolves, so should they be avoided which destroy souls by perverse doctrine and religion. He in like manner (as we read in John) said: My sheep hear my voice, and follow not the voice of strangers. Therefore seeing the adversaries have alienated themselves from Christ, we cannot cleave unto them unless we will cease to be the sheep of Christ. The same Lord said: If the blind follow the blind, both of them shall fall into the ditch: so as we have renounced the conduct of the Papists, least we should fall headlong together with them. It is also written in John that

many of the Princes believed in Christ, who nevertheless because of the Pharisees confessed not Christ, least they should be estranged from the Synagogues, because they rather sought the glory of men than of God. Wherefore if we had tarried with our adversaries, it had been also needful for us to have feared, least we should have more hunted for glory and honor at their hands, than to have entirely loved the sincere truth of the Gospel. We have heard also that Christ said: I came not to send peace but a sword, and to separate every faithful man from his own household which would hinder them from the doctrine of the Gospel. Then seeing our enemies, study and earnestly endeavor nothing more than to turn us away from the truth received, we have upon just cause departed from them. But in the Epistle to the Galatians the first Chapter, there appeareth a most plain testimony of this matter: for there the Apostle commandeth, that whosoever shall bring another Gospel than that which he had preached unto them, he should be accursed unto us: and he goeth so far, as he testifieth the very same thing of himself, and he ascendeth from himself even to the Angels. Nor doeth ἀνάθεμα in that place signify any other thing than a malediction or curse. And who seeth not that it behooveth every Christian man specially to beware that he run not into the curse of God? And if so be that Paul once wished to be accursed for the brethren, he saw that it redounded to the glory of God. But in this cause by adjoining ourselves to the Papists, we should become accursed together with them: doubtless not unto their salvation, but through our consenting they would be more and more hardened in their errors. Whereof would proceed not the glory of God, but rather the dishonor of his name. Augustine expounding this place in the Epistle to the Galatians, brought in an excellent exposition of the Apostles meaning: namely, that the truth for itself is worthy to be desired, but not for their

sakes which set forth and publish the same. For if it should be admitted for fear of them, it might easily be, that we would also receive lies for dread of them. And we are not to think that the Apostle in that place rashly used a repetition, because the matter was both weighty, and doubtful: for even the adversaries themselves will seem to preach the Gospel of Christ. But it is our part to inquire, whether their Gospel agree with that, which the Apostle preached. If we shall compare these one with another, we shall easily find that the Papistical Gospel differeth very much from the Apostolical. For the Apostle taught that forgiveness of sins is freely given by God for Christ his sake unto the believers, and that man is justified by faith only without works. But the Papists threap upon the world such things as do utterly disagree from these. Wherefore they ought not to be heard, but to be avoided as men accursed, unless that we also together with them will be made accursed.

35. The same Apostle wrote in the last Chapter to the Romans: Mark them diligently, which cause divisions and offenses contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid ye them. But none have given cause of greater divisions in the Church than the Romanists have: partly for their decrees and traditions, partly for the usurping and defending of their primacy. Offences also have proceeded from them without measure and end, while they lay most grievous burthens upon the people, and live in corrupt manners: whereby men are exceedingly turned away from the religion of Christ: so far are they off from turning to embrace the same. Paul yet more manifestly discovering them addeth, Those which by fair speech and flattery seduce the hearts of the simple. There is none but seeth how much the Pope flattereth the Princes of Christendom, and how fairly he speaketh them: whenas he calleth the Emperor his first begotten son, and

the French king his second born child. One, the most Christian, another, the Catholic, and another, the defender of the faith. And thus he setteth forth his smoke to be sold to the unlearned and simple. But of such like men there is a perpetual mark given. They that be of this sort (saith the Apostle) serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly. And certainly whosoever shall somewhat narrowly look upon the crafts, frauds, and guiles of the Papists, they all tend to this end, that they may serve to their gain and belly. There is nothing sought that may soundly make to the glory of Christ. It is also written in the first Epistle to the Corinthians: If any named a brother among you shall be a covetous person, an extortioner, a whoremonger, an evil speaker, a drunkard, with such eat not meat. But whether they be infected with such faults, all the world knoweth. In the same Epistle we read: Shall I take the member of Christ and make it the member of a harlot? Hereby we are admonished to beware, that seeing we be the members of Christ, we join not ourselves to a Harlot. And we must not be ignorant that the whoredom of the mind, (which is Idolatry) is a far more grievous sin than bodily fornication. Wherefore the Church of the Hebrews is reproved by the Prophets, not in one place but everywhere because it maketh herself common to sundry Idols. And seeing in the Popedom Images are worshipped: and that also bread and wine and dead men are called upon, their congregations are justly convinced of whoredom. Wherefore we may not by any right cleave unto them, for otherwise we should make the members of Christ to be the members of a harlot. And in the latter Epistle to the Corinthians, commandment is given to the faithful that they should not draw the yoke with the unbelievers, because there is no participation of righteousness with iniquity, neither communion of light with darkness, nor fellowship of Christ with Belial, nor of the temple of God with Idols.

Afterward it is added, Go ye out from among them and separate yourselves. Further hereunto appertain those things which are written of shunning things offered unto Idols. But shall we (saith he) provoke God? Be we stronger than he? Moreover the whole matter is concluded in this plain commandment: Fly you from Idolatry. And unto the Ephesians: I would not have you communicate with the unfaithful works of darkness, but rather reprove them. In the first Epistle to Timothy, there is mention of men corrupt of mind, from whom the truth is taken away, and who think that lucre is godliness. And Timothy is commanded that he should separate himself from that flock. In Isaiah the 52nd chapter it is written: Go you out, separate yourselves, touch no unclean things ye that bear the vessels of the Lord. The Prophet spake unto the priests, but that which he speaketh unto them belongeth also unto us, because we bear the vessels of the Lord, and we ourselves be the vessels of the Lord which we ought to keep pure from all uncleanness. Jeremiah in the 50th chap. saith, Fly you from out of the midst of Babylon and every man save his own soul. And the self-same thing in a manner is in the same Prophet in the 51st chap. Further in the Rev. chap. 18, we read: Fly you from the midst of Babylon, least ye be polluted with the sins thereof, and receive of her plagues. Yea and David in the Psalms pronounced of himself that he hated the congregations of the malignant, and entered not into the council of the wicked.

36. Further we are to consider that this separation is a kind of confessing of the Evangelical truth. And it behooveth that every faithful man not only in words but also in deeds profess that which he believeth. And as Gellius saith: When the city is troubled with sedition, it is no point of a good citizen to say that he is of neither part, but he must join himself unto that which he thinketh to be the more lust. It serveth also unto this purpose that the

controversies of our times be of so great importance, as they ought not to be dissembled: neither will God suffer them any longer to lie in darkness. Neither must we omit the commandment of Christ wherein he said: If thine eye offend thee pluck it out and cast it from thee. The like he commandeth of the head and foot. By which figurative speech he willeth that we should cast away all things although they be profitable, pleasant, and new unto us, rather than suffer ourselves to be called away, or hindered from the profession of the Gospel. He also commanded his Apostles that if they should not be heard of any congregation or City, they shaking off the dust should depart from thence. The people of Rome in times past departed from the Senators, because they afflicted them with most grievous injuries, and would not return unless there should be provisoes made for the power of the Tribunes. The displeasures which the common people suffered by the Nobility were temporal, and belonged to the maintenance and safety of the body: but those things which the Papists bring in upon us, have respect unto eternal salvation. But letting pass the example of Ethnics, another thing cometh to mind, which is mentioned in the Ecclesiastical History. Paphnutius a Bishop of Egypt, and a very noble confessor of the Lord (whose right eye the Emperor Maximianus put out and hocked his left ham, whereby he might live half blind and lame) when he was in the Synod of Tyrus where also sat Maximus a worthy Bishop of Jerusalem, and he himself a confessor of Christ: and perceived that nothing else was sought by his fellow Bishops but that Athanasius might be oppressed by deceits, ill reports, and naughty practices: rose up, and taking Maximus by the hand which sat in the midst of the rest, said: It is not lawful for thee to sit among these men. And having spoken these words, he led him away with him. Also Christ admonished, that we should beware of the Leaven of the Pharisees.

And Paul said: A little leaven marreth the whole lump. Yea and experience itself teacheth, that they which having knowledge of the truth are withheld through an affection to their friends or kin, love of their country, covetousness of riches and goods, they become colder every day more than other as touching godliness, and are so frozen together at the length, as the feel of religion is extinguished in them, and sometime of friends and brethren, they become most cruel enemies. And it is found to be most true which the wise man said: He that toucheth pitch shall be defiled therewith. Neither can it otherwise be, but (as the Apostle said out of Menander) that ill speech will corrupt good manners.

37. Let us see what happened unto the Israelites in the time of Jeroboam when Idolatry was erected. Verily, they which had but a crumb of godliness, leaving the confines of the kingdom of Israel, joined themselves to the house of Judah, to the intent they might not sacrifice unto the Idols which were erected, but that they might worship the true God, according to the prescript of the Law, in the place which he had chosen unto himself. Which whoso did not, they not only contaminated themselves with Idolatry, but together with the wicked they were afflicted with manifold and grievous punishments. There was even at the beginning of the world a separation made between the posterity of Seth and Cain (for these had departed from the true worship of God) wherein they soundly continued. And assuredly the punishment of the flood was so long deferred as that holy posterity continued free from Idolatry: but whenas afterward the sons of God, being allured with the beauty of women, had joined themselves with the ungodly, all things went to confusion and horrible shame: wherefore God destroyed the world by a flood of water. In which destruction neither Noah himself with his family had been saved unless by going into the Ark he had severed

himself from the ungodly. Lot likewise escaped the fire, because he was led forth from the fellowship of wicked men. The Lord also commanded as we have it in the book of *Numeri*, that the Israelites should separate themselves from Dathan and Abiram, unless they were more willing to perish together with them. He also called forth the Israelites which were remaining in Babylon after the liberty given unto them by Cyrus and Darius, for that grievous punishments were at hand unto the Babylonians by reason of their Idolatry and shameful wickedness. In fine if the first Adam, by the instinct of God's spirit, truly said of his wife: For this cause, shall man leave his father and mother and shall cleave unto his wife; why also were not all things to be left of us for retaining the truth of Christ, seeing that even the wife herself and the children must be left for religion sake? But if we seem not to our adversaries to have done well, let them declare the cause, why they have separated themselves from all other Churches, being the greater part of the world. They are not able in very deed to show such just and evident causes as ours be, which we have before alleged. Let not their slanders terrify us, especially those, which they have always in their mouth, saying that we are disturbers, These be no new things: They have been oftentimes upbraided to the servants of God. Did not Ahab the king of Samaria rebuke Elias the man of God, and said: Art thou Elias which troublest Israel? But the Prophet constantly returned the rebuke upon him: I trouble not Israel, thou rather doest altogether with thy wife Jezebel. The Jews also accused Christ before Pilate, that he troubled all Jury, beginning at Galilee. Of the Apostles also (as it is in the Acts) it is said, that they troubled men. Yea and Tertullus the Orator thus spake unto Portius Festus, that he should punish Paul, because that they might by his conduct and government, enjoy excellent peace and tranquility, if only Paul were not a

let, who troubled all things by perverse and new doctrine. But now I cease to urge anymore the second point: namely that we might not otherwise do but depart from the Popedom. For three sorts of necessity urged us: namely of obeying the commandments of God, of shunning sins, and flying Idolatry and also for the escaping of pains and punishments which remain for the wicked. Neither must it seem any marvel, that these necessities are laid upon us, seeing that in the civil laws, the companies and assembly, which unlawfully assemble together are condemned to grievous punishments, as it is in the Title *de Collegijs & corporibus illicitis*: the which are not only forbidden by the Commonwealth or Emperor, but they which frequent the same, are accounted of even as if they had occupied the public place or temple with armed men. For they are thought to abuse such corporations and fellowships, for the working of their naughtiness. Wherefore God doeth rightly and in order, when by his commandments he reconcileth us from such assemblies.

38. But now I come to the third member of this treatise wherein I will show that we departed not from the Church but are rather come unto it. Which that it may evidently appear, we must consider that our adversaries are very much deceived, forsomuch as they think that things are continually preserved, after one order, as though they may in no wise be changed, where nevertheless it may be, and daily cometh to pass, that those things which in old time were good, do utterly degenerate. The Church of the Hebrews in the old time was very acceptable unto God, so long as right religion flourished therein: but when that was afterward polluted, that which was the temple of God was turned into a den of thieves, which they not considering, trusted unto it more than was meet, always crying on this wise: The Temple of the Lord, &c. as though their commonwealth should not

perish so long as the Temple remained. Even so our adversaries think, so that the name of the bishop's church and the outward pomp and show of the ministry be at Rome, there the Church is, when as they have subverted all things which make to the nature of the Church of Christ. It is a grievous crime to depart from the Church: but when that is called the Church which is not, who will disallow the departing from thence? The Hebrews in the time of the Apostles, boasted that they had the Church, but seeing they refused the Gospel of the son of God, the Apostles upon just cause departed from them. And this did Ezekiel beforehand declare in the tenth chapter, when he saw the majesty of God lifting itself up into heaven and forsaking the Temple of Jerusalem. Besides this, Josephus testifieth, that when the Roman war was at hand, there were voices heard from the secret places of the Oracle, who oftentimes repeated: Let us depart from hence. And the ecclesiastical history bewrayeth that the Christian Church which was at Jerusalem was translated to Pella when the war was at hand. Again into Chaldea the Church of the Jews removed under Nebuchadnezzar. So as there is no cause why these men should assure themselves that the continuance of the Roman Church is unchangeable.

39. But some of them say that among the people of Israel changes were easily made: but after the coming of Christ, and that the seat of Peter was settled in the City of Rome, it is not to be thought that these alterations would at any time happen. But let them tell us what assurance they have above other Churches. If they go about openly to persuade, that the Churches of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch are subverted, wherefor be they exempted from the like mutations? Assuredly Paul did not so think. For unto the Romans (speaking unto the nations converted unto God) he saith, that they should diligently take heed to themselves, because

God who spared not the natural branches, would in like manner not spare them. Wherefore they err as far as heaven is wide, if they affirm that Christ and the holy Ghost are so bound to the seat of Rome, as they will never go from thence. So long they tarried there, as that Church did lean unto the true foundation. But when it began to be founded upon the sand of man's traditions, it was subverted. Neither can it be said that it is of God, seeing Christ prescribed a rule: that they be of God which hear the word of God. And afterward of them which boasted themselves to be the Church he boldly pronounced: ye hear not those things because ye be not of God. And what congregation can there be of the Church if it be not of God? And the cause why the Romanists admit not the word of God, is, for that they perceive it to be wonderfully against them. Furthermore what Church I pray you can that be which judgeth not itself to stand safely, unless that Christ and his word be driven away? He that believeth not those things, let him more narrowly behold their dealings. They have transformed the Church into a court or place of judgment (for so they speak among themselves, and these words they use everywhere) and moreover, a far greater labor is used in the style of Chancery, which consisteth altogether of frauds and guiles, than in any studies of divine things. Gregory in the register the 4th book in the epistle 251 and 55, writing of the holy ministry, faith, that seeing it is fallen within, it cannot long stand without. This did he judge 800 years past. And shall we think that that Church hath truly stood hitherto? Malachi in the second Chapter saith: Because ye have gone out of the way and have caused many to fall, therefore have I made you to be despised. Wherefore in going from the Romanists we have not forsaken the Church, but have fled from an intolerable yoke, and from the conspiracy against the Evangelical doctrine. It is a wonder that these men would persuade Christians that it

should be permitted them by God without any limit, yea continually, to waste the vineyard of the Lord, to yield no fruit for it, but to murder the servants of the Lord which are sent unto them to demand any fruit. Undoubtedly they be much more foolish than the Hebrews, which answered Christ when he had put forth the parable of the vineyard: He will cruelly destroy those wicked men, and will let out his vineyard unto other husbandmen. Why do not these men remember that it was said of the very truth itself unto the Jews: The kingdom of God shall be taken from you? Seeing then they be in the same faults, seeing the cause is all one, seeing he is the son of God. I see no cause why we should doubt, but that the power, dignity, and true nature of the Church is taken away from them. But to disprove this our departure, they bring a place out of the epistle of Jude, which blameth the wicked because then have separated themselves. But the answer is ready, because it ought not to be ascribed unto us that we have departed from the Pope, God hath severed us from him, as it hath been showed by his Oracles and precepts: neither could we forget the saying of the Apostle, that we must rather obey God than men. Even as when there is a just divorce for adultery, man divideth not them whom God coupled together, but God himself by his word and law severeth man and wife in that case.

40. Also they enforce against us (as they think) a very strong reason, in demanding whether all men that were before us, and have lived under the obedience of Rome, are perished: ye (say they) are new men and lately sprung up, seeing ye were scarcely to be seen 30 years past or thereabouts. But there be above 900 years past since Boniface the 3rd whom ye make author of the Popedom. It were most absurd to be said that all Christendom during all that time were damned. Hereunto we say, that there never wanted

men in all that space which repugned the lies and deceits of Popery, and that they of the East parts and the Greeks resisted that tyranny: Neither as yet do they acknowledge the dominion of the Church of Rome. So then, not all Christendom as these men fain have perished for that cause. Yea and in our West regions the liberty of the Church stood after a sort until the time of Pipin and Charles the Great. We will add moreover, that as touching the predestinate, none of them have perished in any age. The thief at his last hour embraced Christ: And it is not unlikely but that which happened unto him, happened unto very many others. The spirit of Christ wanteth not ways by the which he can reduce the wandering sheep unto the fold. Great, yea most large is the embracing of God's mercy, whereby he draweth unto him even those that be at the point of death. Neither is it therefore brought to pass that men should not now follow the truth being laid open. But why do they so often weary us with telling of the salvation or perdition of our forefathers? It had been lawful for the Hebrews to have objected the very same unto the Apostles. So the seely woman of Samaria said unto Christ: that the fathers worshipped God upon the mountain or place. So might the Ethnics ask the preachers of the Gospel of the son of God, whether all their forefathers which had not heard such doctrine did perish everlastingly. It is none of our part, when as the revealing of God's will is brought, to make inquiry upon his judgments. Let us ourselves do our duty unto him, leaving to the judgment of God to give sentence of our forefathers and of all men by the decrees of his justice. If that all things have not been revealed unto our fathers in such sort as they have been unto us, and not in general, yet shall they partly be excused for their ignorance: But our cause shall be much the worse, if we knowing the things that have been showed in our times, do not embrace them, so far is it off that the error of the fathers shall be defended

by us. But because the force of this argument is common to both parts, we may fitly return the same again upon our adversaries. Let them say, Before Boniface the third, when as in Christendom the Popedom was unknown, (which they would should appertain to the articles of the faith,) whether all men perished which embraced not the same by faith, nor obeyed the seat of Rome? And whether be they also condemned and judged to the pains of hell, so many as were ignorant of the transubstantiation of the bread and wine of the Euchariste before Innocentius the third? Be they also damned all which in the time of Epiphanius and Jerome judged that Images should be taken out of the Temples? They have not what to answer: and so let them cease to object that unto us, which no less presseth them than it doth us.

41. They demand moreover where the Church of Christ hath been so long: you (say they) as yet were not: And as you affirm, the Church was not among us, therefore it was nowhere. Which thing is most absurd, and must not in any wise be admitted. But if we will say, That where two or three were gathered together in the name of Christ, they were the Church: and that it never happened but that such have been in the world, they again contend against this in saying that the Church ought to be visible which the faithful may have access unto, because Christ said, Tell the Church. To answer hereunto, we think good and that in few words and grossly to speak somewhat of the Church. The Church is the body of Christ: And least that any should deride this naming of it, we will search how many kinds of bodies are found. Pomponius a notable Lawyer in the *Digestes De usis Capione L. Rerum mixtura*, made three bodies: The first is that which is contained in one spirit: as man, wood, stone, and that naturally groweth in itself. Another is that which consisteth of a certain knitting together, wherein the parts do one touch another: as a house, a ship, a storehouse, and

this is called ὑφημμένον. Finally the third is that which hath parts distant one from another which nevertheless are joined together in one name and communion of order, as a people, a company, a legion &c. In the third kind is comprehended the Church, which is a fellowship of them that be distant in place one from another. For whether any faithful man be at home, or in the street, or in the country, yet he is reckoned to be in the Church. But there is a difference in defining of this body. For it is not defined by the Papists and by us after one manner. For they think that all they which profess Christ be the Church, so that they be not excommunicate, wherein they exceedingly err: because the Church, seeing it is the body of Christ, is lively, neither hath it any dead members. And it is said by John: They went out from us, because they were not of us: for if they had been of us, they had surely tarried. We grant in deed, that in the Church (which consisteth only of the elect of God which be justified by faith, and endeavor to express the word of God so far as they be able in godliness of manners) there dwell very many wicked and ungodly men: and that sometime it cometh to pass that therein they hold the chief places. Christ said, that the kingdom of heaven, which is the Church, hath fishes good and bad, virgins wise and foolish, Cockle and Wheat: although nevertheless it be not the Church in very deed. Assuredly they be conversant and be in it no otherwise saith Augustine than are corrupt and naughty humors in man's body. For even as those trouble and corrupt the health, so these vex and disquiet the Church. Therefore when it is demanded by the adversaries, whether their congregation advanced by the Popedom were the Church: I answer that it was then exceedingly fallen to decay, and daily more and more ruinated, so as now amongst us, there is no more left but certain rubbish, and pieces of walls, together with some beams or small joists, so as it is not properly the

house of God: howbeit as yet it retaineth certain steppes, although they be slender. Wherefore we acknowledge the baptism that is there given, neither do we rebaptize those which come from them to our Churches: and we reverence and read the self-same holy books which they use. And by this reason we understand Antichrist to fit in the temple of God, because undoubtedly such a one he was in times past, and so by many he is esteemed and called: and because he still retaineth (as I have said) some steppes of the Church.

42. When they urge us as touching a visible Church, we answer, that justified men which truly believe in Christ be bodily and visible, albeit that those differences, namely Faith and Hypocrisy, by which the true members of the Church differ from the wicked, cannot be discerned with eye. Whereof it comes to pass, that the parts of the Church cannot in sense be discerned from hypocrites. But as to that precept, Tell it the Church, we say that the same is in the order of affirmatives. Which kind (as the Schoolmen say) doth in deed bind men perpetually, but not so, as it requireth an execution in every place, moment, and case, but then only it ought to be when it is possible and profitable. They that are corrupted must be showed to the Church, where and when there is a Church, which may he come unto: Even as we judge of Baptism. For it must be provided that every faithful man if it be possible may be baptized: but when he cannot have a minister he is excused. When in the time of Constantius, well near all the Churches in the East were governed by the Arians, unto what Church should it have been told? If thou answer unto the West Church: I reply that all men could not go thither: neither would the Tyrant have permitted it. I will add moreover, that godly men, so long as they were constrained to be in the Popedom, and could not have their assemblies elsewhere (if they had

thought that they should have profited anything in correcting of manners and in procuring any way the glory of God or salvation of others, they should have showed that which was requisite unto the Bishops and Pastors for that time given, if they might not do it among their own. But now whenas it hath seemed good unto God to raise up famous men, such as were Luther and Zwingli, who have planted innumerable Churches, it was meet that godly men, setting aside the relics and remnants, and slender steppes of the Church, should repair thither where they might both deal and live according to the word of God: and by that means they should continue in themselves through succession, the faith and Apostolical life, conjoining themselves with their forefathers, which lived rightly and sincerely in the primitive Church.

43. Nor would I have them ignorant that the further they have gone, the worse always are their dealings become: which we may gather, not only by the former similitude of the decayed building, but also by another, namely of wine, the which at the first being of itself mighty and strong is praised of all men: wherewith if there be any water mingled afterward, the wine in deed remaineth still, although more imperfect: and the more that it is still delayed, the less it retaineth of the pureness of the wine. And if might be brought to such a pass, that in the end the wine would be overcome by the water, so as of the wine only the color after a sort might be perceived, and some token, although but small, of the first taste. Thus undoubtedly is it come to pass in the Church with the purity of the word of God and administration of the sacraments, since the traditions of men were begun to be blended, which as they have daily more and more increased, so have they made feeble the pureness of doctrine and mysteries. And at the last it is come to pass, that those things which most of all do establish a Church,

have after a sort vanished away. So as, whether the Church of Rome have ceased to be the Church, or else be so infected and corrupted, as nothing in a manner remaineth sound therein, we being separated from thence, are not worthy of blame but rather of praise: especially when we go unto the Catholic and Apostolic Church, because the Church from which we separate ourselves wanteth both. For it is no more Catholic, because it hath transformed the universal Church into the Roman Church: And Apostolic it is not, seeing it differeth most far from the doctrine and ordinances of the Apostles. We have departed from them which will be built upon Peter and his successors: and be come to that Church which leaneth only unto Christ the surest foundation. We have departed from them, which build chaff, hay and stubble, and that upon a strange foundation: and we are come thither, whereas silver, gold and precious stones are for the most part built upon Christ himself.

44. They press us much with multitude, and boast that France, Spain, and Italy make on their side: but herein they are double deceived, and deceive others. First of all the greater part of Christendom have departed from them, or take not part with them. Secondly the multitude is no certain note of the Church. In the most populous country of the Israelites, God saith unto Elias, that he had kept only seven thousand unto himself, which bowed not their knee unto Baal. And of the seed that was cast upon the ground, only the fourth part fell upon the good ground. And it was said by Christ: Fear not thou flock because thou art but little. This Nazianzen understanding in Sermon *de seipso aduersus Arrianos*, saith: Where are they now which defended the Church by multitude, and despised the small flock? He therefore spake these things, because the Arians by favor of the Monarchs had possessed the greatest part of Christendom, and mocked the right

believers as being most few. Nor must the Church be measured by nobility or worldly honor. For Christ warned us that it would come to pass, that the blind, the lame, and the poor, should be called out of the streets, and should be compelled to enter, when as others which were bidden had denied to come. Paul also in the first Epistle to the Corinthians testified, that not many mighty men, noble men, and wise men are called. Yea and Jerome in his proem to the Galatians the 3rd book, writeth that the Church is gathered out of the poor people.

45. And we must take heed that we suffer not ourselves to be deceived by the glorious titles which our adversaries abuse. For they call themselves Apostolic, Catholic, and the ancient Church. These things must be examined, and it must be diligently considered whether the things be answerable to the names: otherwise the devil himself transformeth himself into an angel of light. How be they Apostolic when as they corrupt the Apostolical doctrine? Nor can they be called Catholic, seeing they have separated themselves from the greater part of the Churches. And how they have fled from the old opinions, rites, and customs of the ancient Church, we need not declare, seeing the thing it self speaketh of itself. They would be counted pastors, when as they nevertheless seldom or never visit the flock of the Lord, which they brag to be committed to their charge: much less do they feed the same. They think that the Churches which either by violence or by tyranny they obtain, are nothing else but lands and farms, whereby yearly revenue may come unto them, by which they themselves may be fed and the flock of Christ be devoured. The Pope boasteth himself to be the pastor of all the sheep of the whole world, unto which he cannot have access and though he would, neither doth he labor to do it. He dwelleth at Rome, and continually giveth himself unto his delights. We are

taught by mistress experience and by common sense, that it is not possible for the whole world, to be fed and governed by someone man. In deed Christ said unto Peter, Feed my sheep: but he said not All: Nay rather he would that the rest of the Apostles should be fellows with him in the exercising of that function. But this is the more to be lamented, that the Pope with his members do disquiet the sheep of Christ and in miserable wise slay them, so far is he from feeding and fostering them. Even in like manner as did the Hebrews in old time: who while they boasted themselves to be the Church, oppressed Messias, and most grievously persecuted the Apostles, and had Herod to do as they would have him: For when he had killed James, and did perceive that it was acceptable unto the Jews, he laid hold upon Peter and cast him in prison, that he might destroy him. After the same manner, Kings, Emperors and princes at this day, because they may obey the Pope, do most cruelly afflict godly men. And it is no marvel that the Romanists, which succeeded the reverent and holy fathers did on this wise withstand the Gospel: seeing the Hebrews, (as Paul testifieth to the Romans) were Israelites: and the adoption, and the glory: yea and the testaments and lawgiving seemed to appertain unto them. They had the worshipping and the promises, and of them were the fathers, of whom Christ as touching the flesh was born: yet nevertheless they refused the Gospel, and were made altogether strangers from salvation.

46. But to come near to the showing of that which was promised: namely that we departed not from the Church, that congregation from the which we are separated must be described by the marks of the same: that all men may understand it to be nothing less than the Church: for so much as it is bent to the staying of the godly, it is infected with hatred of the brethren, it gathereth not, but rather scattereth Christ his members, it maketh more

account of men's traditions than of the word of God, it will have itself to be heard, not the scriptures, which with incredible boldness it would have to be subject unto the authority of it. Now of traditions (which they add and pluck away at their pleasure, seeing nothing of them abideth more than liketh themselves) they have after a sort made an Alcorom, like unto that of Mahomet, and the same they endeavor to defend by the sword, and by force, not by divine Oracles. And it is come to this pass that our Church is much more unhappy than the Church of the Jews. For unto that Church, the scriptures of God were sufficient unto salvation: but unto ours they are not sufficient unless the traditions of the Pope be added. But let them say what they will, they shall never prove but that the believers and liver's according to the prescript of the word of God, be happy. The congregation from which we have severed ourselves, layeth grievous and intolerable burdens upon men, which nevertheless, the authors of them will not so much as touch with their finger. Further the kingdom, which ought to be spiritual and heavenly, is transformed into temporal and worldly. Christ said, My kingdom is not of this world. They on the other side say that their kingdoms be of this world. And they dare usurp and stamp in their coin: The nation and kingdom that will not serve me, shall be rooted out. They seek nothing else but that the prerogatives of Emperors, kings, princes, and magistrates may be cast down at the Popes feet, and that they may be obtained and governed at the will of the seat of Rome. We have departed from that society which hath polluted the Sacraments, either by bringing in of others which were not instituted by Christ, or else by renting in sunder, and with many and sundry abuses defiling those which were given and devised by him. Over this, it forceth upon us idolatry towards bread and wine, and in like manner towards Images, and that which they commonly call relics of

saints, it dilateth their phylacteries, and enlargeth the fringes of their garments, while it ascribeth great power of divine religion unto garments, shavings, anointings, and outward ornaments. We have left them which build the sepulchers of the Prophets, in saying: Our fathers and ancestors have slain them, but we in this behalf follow not them, but do adorn, honor and worship the Prophets slain by them, whenas they themselves nevertheless do as great, yea they commit more grievous crimes. For it is incredible to be heard, how much innocent blood is shed by them, whenas notwithstanding they marvelously adorn and deck the monuments and bones of the ancient Martyrs. They endeavor to lay away the institutions of Christ, and to abolish the decrees of the Apostles, whereas all that be Christians ought to endeavor all their life long, that they may be most soundly preserved.

47. We have departed from her that would be accounted the mother of the faithful, whereas in very deed she is their stepdame. She is not content with Christ to be head, but appointeth herself another head upon the earth, which also she dare affirm to be necessary unto salvation. But I would fain hear of these men what manner of ministerial head as they term it the Pope hath upon the earth: for even he would be reckoned among the members of Christ. And this is certain that none is head of his own self: neither will they besides one Pope admit another. What head therefore shall he have? They will say: Christ. But we will reply unto them, that if Christ be sufficient for a head unto the Pope, how happeneth it that he may not suffice others also? We have departed from them, which challenge unto themselves another power and ability of forgiving sin than by preaching of the Gospel: and thus I know not what counterfeit keys, whereby they bind and loose, they have made unto themselves. They say, of Christ: Behold he is here, behold he is

there, behold he is in the secret places, while they offer unto us a small Wafer-cake to be worshipped in the Mass, in the Pix, and also in Pomp wherein they carry the same about. We have separated ourselves from them, which preach the merits of men, and brag of the works which they call works of Supererogation. And seeing they have revolted from Christ, let them cease to wonder that we are departed from them. The fellowship of them is now the pillar of lying, not the ground of truth. It is ruled and governed for the most part by Wolves covered with sheep skins. Neither is there among them the house of God, but the receptacle of Images. It is the property of the Church, (as saith Ambrose upon Luke the 2nd book and 3rd chapter) to be the mother of the living: but those men be the council or convent of the dead. We have departed from that Church which consisteth in walls, painted colors, and vizards, whereas the true seat thereof ought to be in the heart, as Lactantius in his 4th book *de vera sapientia* and 13th chapter hath written. There the corrupt and vicious man is worshipped, and Christ the Author of salvation is neglected. We forsake the adulterous Church, which besides Christ the lawful spouse, acknowledgeth the Pope for her husband. We have also departed from the old grown schism, wherein that multitude of Romanists have severed themselves from others, by turning away her ears from the word of God, and converting altogether unto fables: And because it hath forsaken the love of the truth, it is given over to a strong illusion of error. We are fallen away from them that go astray, and we go forward unto the way of truth, and unto the kings high way. We would not be with them which following the spirit of error, have their conscience marked with a hot iron, and forbid meats and marriages.

48. Now it appeareth by these marks, what manner of congregation it is from whom we have revolted: and it is sufficiently perceived, that it is not

the Church, unless perhaps thou wilt say, it is the Church of the malignant. Other marks also might be annexed, but I cease to reckon up anymore, because whosoever is but meanly acquainted with the holy scriptures may see them. And it is not needful that I should now describe that Church unto the which we have repaired, seeing it hath properties contrary unto those which we have now alleged. This one thing will I say, that it is the same which in the book of the Apocalypse is described to be like a woman, which brought forth a man child, and fled into the desert least it should be destroyed by the Dragon which persecuteth her. Our men are after a sort constrained to be in the desert, seeing the chief Prelates most cruelly rage against them: who nevertheless in the meantime do most earnestly complain that we leave them no form of a Church. Howbeit they ought not to ascribe this unto us, but unto themselves. For they have deceived godly men of that liberty, seeing that the true Church should be heard and reverenced and the faithful sort ought to obey it. But these men require such things as we ought in no wise to obey.

49. But they say, that the Church of Corinth was very much inserted and corrupted: which nevertheless Paul acknowledgeth and saluteth. The Corinthians were very much divided among themselves. One would be of Paul, another of Cephas, another of Apollo: and so they attributed as much unto their Ministers as unto Christ. They brought their contentions and strife's to the judgment seats of the Ethnics: they suffered an incestuous man who had the wife of his father to be conversant among them: they thought not whoredom to be sin: they did everywhere eat with the Ethnics things dedicated unto Idols: they celebrated the supper of the Lord with unquietness of mind: they abused the gift of tongues: neither did they judge truly and godly of the resurrection. These things no doubt be grievous

crimes, yet did they not therefore bring to pass but that among the Corinthians there was a Church. But we answer this doubt after the very same manner that we did before as touching the Church of the Jews: that although it were distained and corrupted, yet did it not constrain any to wicked opinions and rites: and it exercised the ceremonies according to the prescript of the law of Moses: wherefore seeing in many things they were good men, it was acknowledged as the Church of God. So likewise in the Church of Corinth, the word of God was openly published, and the Sacraments were soundly administered. And thus although many were infected with sins and grievous corruptions, yet did they not all stray from faith and holiness: wherefore the Church ceased not to be at Corinth. Where the two things which we have made mention of be soundly kept: (the word of God I mean and the Sacraments,) they are never without some fruit, but as it is elsewhere said, they be assured tokens and pledges of the true Church.

50. They also cry out against us, that we have broken the unity of the church. But what union I beseech you do they tell us of? No other verily but the unity of the Pope, of the seat of Rome, to which they are in miserable bondage; the unity of Idolatry and of the Mass, the unity of the mark of the beast which all they receive: and also the unity of the outward ceremonies: wherein all they in a manner communicate one with another. But this is not the union of the Church, which the holy Scriptures neither acknowledge nor testify. Paul unto the Ephesians writeth: Be ye careful to keep the unity of the spirit, through the bond of peace. Again: One body, one spirit, even as ye be called in one hope of your vocation. And again, One Lord, one faith, one Baptism, one God the Father of all, which is above all, through all, and in all. He saith also that we be one body of the flesh and of the bones of

Christ, that we be most nearly conjoined unto him, and the gifts which we have are derived unto us by God through the flesh of Christ given for our sake upon the Cross, and so by the flesh of Christ we be coupled and united unto God. And in the 17th chapter of John Christ prayeth the Father for the Apostles, and all that do believe and shall believe: Cause thou that they may be one, even as I am in thee and thou art in me. Wherefore he would that they should be one by communicating, I mean of one and the same spirit. The unity of the Church therefore by the places alleged consisteth in the spirit, in the word of God, in the Sacraments, and in a most near bond with Christ, who is the head of all the members of the Church. Such a unity have not we broken, but we wish every manner of way that it may be maintained safe and sound. Much more might be brought for the deciding of this controversy, but those things which are already spoken I think are sufficient unto godly minds, to confirm and comfort themselves against the cavillations of the Papists.

51. Lastly this remaineth, that seeing we have departed from that congregation, which persecuteth true godliness, let us show that we have done the same in good earnest, least we should seem only to be absent from them in body. Therefore let us with our whole heart and with all our endeavor, embrace sound and true godliness, and show forth plentiful and manifest fruits of our faith. In this vocation of ours, let us avoid the offenses by which the course of the Gospel may be hindered, and they called back from the going forward in Christ who as yet be somewhat tender therein. Let us rather labor to edify the brethren, and drive them so far as we are able to the purer religion. And let us remember that it is not sufficient to have put our hand to the plough: we must persevere unto the end. And since we stand in the right way, we must take very diligent heed of the fury and

sleights of the Devil. Let us not suffer ourselves, by perverse opinions and erroneous sects, to be led away from that truth which we perceive by faith. This if we shall do, we shall purge ourselves both to the godly and to the wicked: but if we behave ourselves otherwise, we shall be very much hated of both, not for the cause sake, but through our own fault.

CHAP. VII. Of Sacraments, and namely of Circumcision.

The word which signifieth a Sacrament in Hebrew is Sod and Razi. The first of these words is common unto all secretes and hidden things, and is more in use. And the other Isaiah used in the 24th chapter when he said: *Razi-li Razi-li*, that is, a secret unto me, a secret unto me. Daniel also in his second Chapter, setting down the interpretation of a mystery useth the selfsame word. Such is the nature and condition of Sacraments, that they contain things hid, known yet unto some, but not unto all. And from this Etymology the Greek word μυστήριον differeth not much, which is derived ἀπό τοῦ δεῖν μύσαντας τηρεῖν ἔνδον: that is, because we ought to keep things close inwardly. After such a sort were the mysteries of Ceres Eleusina in the Country of Athens, which were opened unto none but those who had been first instructed. And they are called μύσται, to whose secrecy these things are committed. Chrysostom when he interpreteth the 11th chapter of the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, where Paul saith, that he writeth a mystery of the Israelites, partly blinded and partly to be restored, saith, that a mystery signifieth a thing unknown, and

unspeakable, and which hath in it much admiration, and which is above our opinion. The same father when he interpreteth the second Chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, where it is said: We speak wisdom in a mystery, thus writeth: It should be no divine or perfect mystery, if thou shouldest add anything of thyself. By which words it is manifest, how much they are to be blamed which at their own pleasure and judgment ordain Sacraments, and from that which Christ himself hath ordained, pluck away what they will. Those words of Chrysostom do manifestly reprove them. Neither let them think themselves to be anything relieved, by saying that he speaketh of that mystery which is found in the holy scriptures, whereunto he saith nothing must be added nor taken away: Forsomuch as the Sacraments whereof we entreat are of no less weight than the holy Scripture. For they (as Augustine very aptly saith) are the visible words of God. Furthermore Chrysostom expounding the place before alleged saith, that we in the Sacraments see one thing, believe another thing, behold with our sense one thing, and understand in our mind another thing. Whereof it followeth, that all are not after one and the self-same manner affected towards these mysteries. For an Infidel when he heareth that Jesus Christ was crucified, thinketh it to be a thing foolish and of no value. But the faithful man acknowledgeth in that mystery, the most high power and wisdom of God. If an Ethnic hear that Christ was raised from the dead, he will think it to be a fable. But a Christian not only believeth that the same was done, but also will not doubt but that he himself as a member of Christ shall one day be raised up from the dead. Afterward Chrysostom cometh to the visible Sacrament, and saith: If an Infidel see Baptism, he will judge that there is but water only: but the faithful beholdeth the washing of the soul by the blood of Christ. And in the Eucharist by the senses is known

only the bread and wine: but the believers refer their mind to the body of Christ. Hereunto he applieth a similitude of a Book. For if an unlearned and rude man that cannot read a word, should light upon a Book, he only may behold and wonder at the pricks, figures and colors, but the sense and understanding of them, he cannot find out: but he which is learned, draweth from thence either Histories, or else other things pleasant and worthy to be known. Now that we have declared the interpretation of the Greek and Hebrew word, there resteth that we speak somewhat of the Latin word. Among the ancient writers *Sacramentum*, that is, a sacrament, signifieth a bond which passed between men by an oath. Wherefore we are accustomed to say, *Sacramento cum aliquo contendere*, that is, to contend with a man by an oath, and *Sacramentum militare*, that is, an oath which a man taketh when he goeth to warfare. And perhaps these our mysteries, are therefore called Sacraments, because in them God bindeth himself with covenants and promises, being after a sort sealed: and we on the other side bind ourselves unto him. Now then we treat not of a mystery or Sacrament generally, whereby (as Chrysostom saith) is signified anything that is unknown and unspeakable, which hath in it much admiration, and is beyond our expectation: for after that manner, there are a huge number of Sacraments. For so the Nativity of Christ, his Resurrection, the Gospel, the blinding of the Jews, the calling of the Gentiles, and many other things may be called Sacraments. But we speak of Sacraments after that manner that Paul speaketh of Circumcision.

2. Now because we have sufficiently spoken of the word, we will add the definition of a Sacrament, and this definition is most received. A Sacrament is a visible form, or visible sign of an invisible grace. And that is called a sign, which besides the form which it offereth unto the senses, bringeth

some other thing into our knowledge. And a sign (as Augustine writeth and the master of the sentences affirmeth) is divided into a natural sign and a sign given. Smoke is a natural sign of fire, and clouds a natural sign of rain. But a sign given and devised at our own will, is diverse, as Letters, Words, Gestures, Beckes, and many such like. And these signs may pertain to diverse and sundry senses. But consider that the things which are signified, are either past, present, or to come. The tables of the law, Manna, and the rod of Aaron which were kept, signified things past: for God would have them to remain as certain monuments of things past. Other signs betoken things to come, as the rainbow in the Clouds, which was given in the time of Noah, the fleece of Gideon, and the shadow of the sun, which in the time of Hezekiah the King, went backward. Sometimes things present are signified, as in the garments of the Priests, in the apparel of the Levites, in the ornaments of Magistrates, and in the miracles of Christ. For all these signified the present power of God. Our sacraments are visible signs, not in deed of their own nature, but given unto us by the will of God: and they pertain to many senses. For the words which are set forth in the Sacraments, are received with the ears, but the notes and outward signs are perceived either by sight or feeling, or smelling, or tasting, howbeit the matters themselves do make demonstration of things present, and things past, and things to come. For the death of Christ which is now past is represented in them: and so is the promise and gift of God, which in the mind and by faith is presently embraced, and so is the pureness of life, and mortification, and duties of charity, which are afterward to be performed of us. By these it is manifest, what manner of signs we account Sacraments to be. But it may seem to be better to take the definition out of Paul: namely to say, that sacraments are σφραγίδες, that is, sealings up of the righteousness of faith.

For they seal the promises, by which (so that faith be adjoined unto them) we are justified. If a man demand, what it is that God promiseth unto us: to answer briefly, it is, that he will be our God: the which when it comes to pass, saveth us, and maketh us blessed and happy. This is the promise, which is by diverse outward signs sealed in the Sacraments. And this we have in the Book of Genesis the 17th chapter, where circumcision is given, whereby was confirmed the covenant made between God and Abraham. The sum of that promise was (as we have said) that God would be his God, and the God of his seed. The very which thing Jeremiah also testified as touching the new covenant of the Gospel, where he saith, that the laws should not only be written in the bowels and hearts of the believers, but also that God would be unto them their God: and they again on the other side, should be unto him his people.

3. That also we will allow, which is commonly said, that the Sacraments consist of two things, namely, of outward signs, which the Schoolmen count for the matter: and of the thing signified, which is chiefly expressed by the words adjoined unto the signs, whence we may gather the form. Which is not so to be understood, as though those things which are signified, are bound to the outward signs or lie hidden under them: otherwise as many as should receive the outward elements, should together therewithal receive the things signified. And it is necessary, that between the sign and the thing signified, there be kept some analogy, that is, proportion and conveniency: for if signs had no similitude with those things that are signified, then should they not be signs of them. And yet notwithstanding, with this conformity is to be kept a diversity between that which is signified and those things which signify. Which Augustine most manifestly teacheth against Maximinus the Arian, in his third book, where he saith, that

Sacraments are one thing, and signify another thing: whereby oftentimes it cometh to pass, that those things which are attributed unto the signs, agree in no case with the nature of them, but only are to be referred unto the things by them signified. And he citeth a place out of the Epistle of John, where this matter is manifestly showed: for he saith, that there are three things which bear witness, Blood, Water, and the Spirit, and these three (saith he) are one. This can by no means be true, if we have a consideration to the nature of blood, water, and the spirit; for these indeed are not one (as they use to speak) in essence, or in kind. But this verily agreeth to the father, the son, and the holy Ghost, which are the thing signified: And that which Augustine here writeth we may easily perceive in the Sacraments which we now entreat of, wherein the outward sign and inward matter of the Sacrament have their properties ascribed one to another. Now that I have sufficiently spoken of the name, and definition, and also of the matter, and form of the Sacraments, there resteth to speak of the final and efficient cause of them. The end for which the Sacraments were instituted, is, that our mind being admonished by the senses, might be stirred up, and by faith take hold of the promises of God: and so be inflamed with a desire to attain unto them. For we see, that signs tend to no other end, but to transfer and to imprint those things, which we ourselves have in our minds, into the mind of another man: that thereby he may be made the more certain of our meaning and will. And this is not commonly done but in matters of great weight. For if they be but light matters, we are not accustomed to confirm them with signs: but in things of great importance, they are commonly used. As when princes are consecrated, when matrimonies are contracted, when bargaining's and gifts, or other like covenants of great weight are made: for

we desire to have them to the uttermost witnessed, and to be known, not only by reason, but also by the senses.

4. But there can be no other efficient cause of the Sacraments given, but either God, or our Lord Jesus Christ, who also is verily God: and of them ought we to have an evident testimony out of the holy Scriptures. Which is most plainly declared, by the definition which we have now set forth: for thus we defined them; namely that Sacraments are signs not in deed natural, but given and that by the will of God. And this his will cannot be made known unto us, but only out of the holy scriptures. And therefore it is no hard matter to know how many there are in number in the New Testament. We see that Christ instituted Baptism, and the Eucharist: but the other Sacraments with the school divines set forth, cannot by the word of God be proved to be Sacraments. We speak not this, as though we deny that matrimony is to be had in reverence, or that the institution of ministers is to be retained still, or the penance is to be done: although we reject auricular confession, and other the abuses thereof, and deny it to be a Sacrament, otherwise even we also do highly esteem those things, but not as Sacraments. Neither mislike we with that confirmation, whereby children when they come to age should be compelled to confess their faith in the Church, and by outward profession, to approve that which was done in Baptism when they understood nothing: but yet in such sort, that of such an action we frame not a Sacrament. But as touching extreme unction, it is manifest, that it nothing pertaineth unto us: especially seeing it had no longer any force, than whilst the gifts of healing were extant in the Church. And for as much as those gifts are now long since taken away, it were a folly to keep still a vain sign thereof. Neither yet did Christ command, that this unction should be perpetually used in the church. But those other

things, which we before spake of, although they may still be retained with profit, yet are they not properly Sacraments, either because they have not outward signs, or because they want manifest words of promises: which should by a visible sign be sealed: or else because there is no commandment of God extant, whereby we are bound to observe those things. Basilius in his book *de spiritu Sancto*, where he reckoneth up the traditions of the Church, maketh mention of the sign of the cross, wherewith we ought to defend ourselves: and that upon the Sunday, and from the resurrection unto the feast of Pentecost they should worship upright and standing. Among others also he reckoneth holy unction. Hereby we see that this father held not, that this unction is had out of the holy Scriptures, which our adversaries rashly do. Further by his words we gather of how great weight it is, since it is accounted but of the same value with those things which have now long since grown out of practice.

5. Now let us see, what be the effects of the Sacraments. The master of the sentences, in the fourth book, in the first Dist. putteth three effects of the sacraments: for he would, that as men for pleasure sake have made themselves subject unto things sensible and inferior unto themselves, so now they should for piety sake do the same, that of a certain modesty, or (as they speak) humility, they should suffer themselves to be made subject unto these visible signs of the Sacraments. But herein he seemeth not to say well. For by the Sacraments we are not made subject unto creatures, neither ought we to worship them: only the mind is there erected unto God, that man may be restored unto his old dignity: for he is set to be above all things, which are seen, and not to be subject unto them. The second effect he putteth, to be of instruction, that by the outward signs we should be instructed of heavenly things. Which also we undoubtedly affirm. Lastly he

saith, that therefore they were instituted, that we should not be idle: but be profitably exercised in true ceremonies, casting away superstitions. But this, unless it be declared, is not very plain: for we are sufficiently occupied in believing, praying, reading of the word of God, and doing good to our neighbors. But outward ceremonies, although they be instituted of God, yet without faith they nothing profit: wherefore the exercising of them doeth not of itself please God. Howbeit if faith be present superstition can take no place: For faith hath always a regard unto the word of God: And so after this manner they may be called exercises of faith, and of piety, and be counted acceptable unto God. But we will after a better sort, set forth these effects of the Sacraments. First we say, that they instruct us: which thing is already said. Secondly, that they kindle in us, faith, and a desire of the promises of God. Thirdly, that they knit us together in a more straighter bond of charity, for that we do all take upon us the selfsame mysteries. And to those may two other effects also be added: for by the sacraments we both are separated from other sects, and also are admonished to lead a holy life. But touching grace, whether it be given by the Sacraments or no, we shall afterward see. These things being thus set down, there are two things which are contrary and repugnant unto the nature of the Sacraments. The first is, if we attribute too much unto them: for by that means is Idolatry easily brought in: when that which belongeth unto God only, is ascribed unto a creature. And if at any time the sacraments are said either to save or to remit sins, or any such like things, the same ought to be understood, of the thing signified, and not of the signs: for these things only proceed of the promise and liberality of God, which is sealed unto us by visible signs. And oftentimes it happeneth, that both the scriptures and the fathers, seem to attribute unto the signs, those things which only belong unto the promises.

But now they which after this manner attribute more than is meet unto the sacraments, may be called *Sacramentaries*, because they put too much affiance in them. The other thing which we said is repugnant unto the nature of Sacraments, is, when we count them to be nothing but bare and naked signs. For by that means, they should nothing differ from Tragical and Comical significations, and from colors and garments. Neither are they only signs of our actions, but also of the promise, and of the will of God, and are sealings thereof. And the holy Ghost doth no less use these signs to stir up our hearts, than he useth the words of God which are in the holy scriptures. And hereby also we may see, that they likewise are against the Sacraments, which will have them to be sacrifices: for the nature of a sacrifice is, to be offered of us unto God: but the nature of a sacrament us, to be offered of God unto us. I confess in deed, that in the celebration of the Supper of the Lord, are contained thanksgiving, alms, prayers, and other such like things, which may have the consideration of a sacrifice. But we deny, that the very sacrament of the Eucharist may properly be called a sacrifice: and much less is that to be borne withal, which the sacrificing Priests make their boast of, namely, that they offer up unto God the body of Christ. Our Lord hath offered up himself, neither hath he need of any other to offer him up.

6. Now that we have well considered all these things, we need not many words to express the instrument, whereby the thing of the Sacrament is received. For Paul hath most manifestly declared it, when he said That circumcision is the seal of the righteousness of faith: for it is faith, whereby the righteousness, which is signified in the Sacrament, is received of us, for neither can our sense or reason thereunto attain. Augustine, expounding those words of John, Now ye are clean, because of my word, saith that in that the Sacraments do make us clean, they have it of the word of God: for

if thou take away (saith he) from the element, the word, there will nothing remain but water only. The word cometh unto the element, and it is made a Sacrament. For how cometh it (saith he) that water toucheth the body, and washeth the heart? He answereth, that the same cometh to pass through the force and power of the word, not because it is spoken, but because it is believed. By these things it is manifest, that faith is it, whereby we receive cleansing and sanctification. Which thing also is written in the Acts of the Apostles: By faith purifying their hearts. And Paul to the Ephesians saith, that Christ loved the Church, and cleansed it with the washing of Water. But there is added, In the word, that is, by the word: which (as Augustine saith) is understood to be done, because it is believed, and not because it is spoken: for by the pronunciation of the words, are neither changed the natures of the signs, nor the benefits of God given, for so it might seem an enchantment. Faith (I say) is the instrument, whereby we receive the words of God, and let them down into our minds. But now touching the manner of administering the sacraments, there ought none other manner to be brought in than that which Christ himself, the author of the Sacraments, hath commanded unto us. For if the Jews durst not deal otherwise in their Ceremonies of the old law, then was prescribed them of God, much more ought we to observe those Ceremonies which Christ hath prescribed unto us, after the self-same manner that he prescribed them. Further, for as much as those signs came from the will of God, and of their own nature signify nothing: what is more reasonable than to refer all things unto his will, which hath given them? But his will can by no other means be known but by the holy Scripture. And undoubtedly no man will presume to alter the letters patents of king's grants: much more ought the same to be taken heed of in the Sacraments of God. And the minister by whom these things ought

to be exercised, and distributed, although it be convenient, that he be godly and of an honest life: (For such a one is to be maintained, and when he behaveth himself otherwise, and is known so to do, he ought no longer to be suffered) yet though he be wicked, so long as he keepeth still that function, he cannot hurt the Sacraments, so he do those things which Christ commanded to be done. Augustine hath a very trim similitude, of a pipe of stone, through which water is brought into a garden. For although the Pipe be made nothing the more fertile by means of the running through of the water, yet is the garden by it watered, and made fruitful. The dignity of the sacraments dependeth not of the minister, but of the institution of God: which the Donatists not understanding, raised up many tumults against the Church. That is true which is commonly said of living creatures, that by a dried up member, the spirit of life can have no passage into the other member. For if the arm be dead and withered up, the life and spirit cannot come unto the hand. But in the Church there is no such great conjunction between men. For the power of the Sacraments is to us, as the light of the sun: which light although it be dispersed through vile and filthy places, yet is it not therefore defiled or corrupted.

7. But the times of the sacraments we will divide into two parts: For some were before the coming of Christ, and some after. And these differ the one from the other by outward notes and signs. Neither was that done rashly or without great consideration: for we also (as saith Augustine) do after one sort signify things to be done, and after another sort affirm things already done, and this do these two words now pronounced sufficiently declare. But here are two errors to be taken heed of us: as the same father against Faustus very well admonisheth us: first, that we think not, that though the signs be changed, therefore the things also are diverse, or that for as much

as the thing is one and the self-same, therefore the signs ought not, nor cannot be changed. For if a householder may command straighter things unto those servants whom he knoweth it expedient to be kept under with great servitude, and may lay easier burdens upon their necks, whom he will count as his children, why then may not God do the same towards men? Physicians also use according to the diversity of the diseases of the sick persons, to minister diverse and sundry medicines, of all which medicines yet the force is one and the same, namely, to restore health: But whether the signs of the Old Testament have now utterly ceased or no, Augustine answereth in his book *de vera religione*, that they remain by interpretation and faith, but are in very deed taken away. But touching the very things themselves, those which were set forth unto the Elders in their sacraments, and which are set forth unto us in our sacraments, were one and the same. And if thou demand, what were those things which were common unto the fathers and unto us, it may in few words be answered, God, Christ, Reconciliation, Grace, Remission of sins, and such other like matters. These things in times past were signified, and set forth to be believed in the sacraments of the old fathers, and the self-same are in our time signified in the New Testament, and set forth in our sacraments. But the signs and symbols, which the fathers used, were changed by the coming of Christ: at whose second coming also, those which we now have, shall in like manner be taken away. For when we have once the fruition of that chief felicity which we wait for, we shall then need no sacraments. Further besides the alteration of the signs, are also out of Augustine gathered some other conditions, whereby is declared that our sacraments are more excellent than were the sacraments of the forefathers. For ours (saith he) are in power greater, in profit better, in act easier, in number fewer, in understanding

most full of majesty, in observation most pure, and in signification most excellent. Those things in deed are great, but yet they alter not the nature of the things signified. Neither cause they, but that our sacraments and the sacraments of the old law are as touching the substance one and the same. Paul in his Epistle unto the Romans, saith, that the Jews as unprofitable branches were cut off from the holy tree, and we grafted in their place. And the root (saith he) carrieth thee, and not thou the root. Whereby it is manifest, that both we and the fathers as touching the substance of salvation, are in one and the same stock, and in one and the same root. So then the better and worthier part of the sacraments is one and the self-same. And whatsoever difference there is between us and them, the same consisteth wholly in the coming of Christ, past, and to come. Wherefore Augustine against Faustus saith, that our sacraments are signs of things now fulfilled, but the sacraments of the forefathers were signs of things to be fulfilled. And upon the 6th chapter of John he saith, that in signs, they were diverse from ours, but in signification of things, they were both alike.

8. I know in deed and I remember that the fathers are sometimes wont above measure to extenuate the sacraments of the old law. Chrysostom in his 27th Homily upon Genesis denieth, that circumcision anything profited unto salvation: but that the Israelites carried it about with them, as a token of gratitude and as a sign and seal, to the end they should not be defiled by mingling themselves with other nations. And in his 39th Homily he saith: that it was a bridle and a pair of fetters unto the Jews, that they should not mingle themselves with other nations. And he affirmeth that God commanded it unto Abraham and unto his posterity, that by an outward sign he might declare, that he was the possessor of him. And for that cause he changed his name. For so do we also when we take into our possession a

beast or bondman: for we give unto them a name, and we mark them with our sign or mark. And upon the same book in the 40th Homily, he saith, that the Jews by circumcision might be known. And hereunto may be added Ambrose: for he declareth that circumcision did only put a difference between the posterity of Abraham and other nations. Howbeit they do not everywhere speak after one manner. For the same Ambrose when he expoundeth that place in the 10th chap. of the first to the Corinthians: That the old fathers were baptized in the sea, saith, that their sins were not imputed, and that they were without doubt purified. These things are of much more excellency than to be separated, or to differ from other nations. And Augustine against Faustus in his 12th book and 19th chapter, expressly saith, that the sea, and the cloud was baptism consecrated in the blood of Christ, and by them the sins of the Jews were forgiven. All which things are common with our sacraments. Further all the school divines hold, that circumcision was a remedy against original sin: whereby we may perceive, they hold not, that circumcision was a bare and naked sign. There may also for proof hereof be brought places of scripture, which teach the self-same thing. For in the 10th chapter of the first Epistle unto the Corinthians, the old fathers are said to have been baptized, and to have eaten the self-same spiritual meat, and to have drunk the self-same drink which we at this day eat and drink. And again in the 2nd Chapter to the Colossians he saith, that we are circumcised with circumcision not made with hands: And he addeth: by the washing away of the sins of the flesh. Where he declareth, that in the sign of circumcision was through Christ given the washing away of sins. And in the book of Genesis the 17th chapter is most manifestly declared, that circumcision was the sign of the covenant, wherein God promised, that he would be the God both of Abraham and of his seed.

9. But against those things which have been spoken, is objected unto us out of the 10th chapter of the first to the Corinthians, that Paul there affirmeth not, that the sacraments of the old fathers were one and the same with ours: but only writeth this, that the elders and fathers had one and the self-same sacraments amongst themselves: and yet many of them shamefully perished, and were destroyed in the desert, although in the sacraments they had communicated with other godly men. Wherefore they say, that Paul of the lesser, or of the like would conclude, that we also if we live wickedly shall perish, although we be initiated in Christ, and use the self-same sacraments that the elect of God do. But against this exposition the words of the Apostle himself are most plainly repugnant: for he saith, that the old fathers had in their sacraments the self-same meat that we have, that is, Christ. For thus he writeth, And they drank of the spiritual rock following them: and the rock was Christ. Now if they had Christ, doubtless they wanted not the meat of our sacraments, which cannot be said to be any other thing than Christ. Further we see that the Apostle hath expressly appointed names unto our sacraments: for he nameth baptism, and spiritual meat and drink. Further if we follow the expositions of our adversaries, we shall make Paul's argument of small force. For he meant to reprove the security of the Corinthians, which seemed to promise unto themselves salvation. For this cause only, because they were Christians, and partakers of the holy mysteries: although in the mean time they lived loosely, and dissolutely. Wherefore he declareth that God would severally punish them, except they repented, as we read that he punished the fathers of the Old Testament, when he sundry ways afflicted them in the desert. And if their sacraments and ours were not one and the self-same, Paul concludeth nothing. For the Corinthians might have said: yea but our testament is a far

other thing, than was the testament of the old fathers, and our sacraments are far more excellent than were their sacraments. Wherefore God will not afflict us, neither oughtest thou to compare us with them. By this means is Paul's argument made of no force, if we take away the similitude and proportion which the things of our sacraments have with the things of the sacraments of the old fathers. Besides also Augustine in his 26th treatise upon John most plainly teacheth that the old fathers as touching the spiritual matter had in their sacraments the selfsame that we have. In outward form (he saith) one thing was given unto them, and another unto us: but as touching the thing signified, he acknowledgeth no difference at all. So that the place of the Apostle, which our adversaries have by their expositions gone about to wrest from us, is by these reasons to be defended.

10. They object moreover that the fathers in many places say that the sacraments of the old fathers were shadows and Images of that truth which is exhibited in our sacraments. Unto them we answer, that Images may two manner of ways be taken. For some are outwardly vain and void, and contain nothing: other Images have in deed the thing itself, but yet intricately and obscurely if they be compared with other Images more evident. In the second sort we will easily grant, that the sacraments of the old fathers were Images and shadows of ours, not that the old fathers had not in their sacraments the self-same things that we receive in ours, but because their sacraments more intricately and obscurely shadowed the same. For the better explication hereof Chrysostom seemeth to bring a very apt similitude, in his Homily which he made upon these words of Paul: Our fathers were baptized into Moses. And in his 17th Homily upon the Epistle to the Hebrews: Painters (saith he) when they intend to paint a king, first they draw out the proportion upon a table with shadows and dark colors: but

yet in such sort that a man may by these lines although it be somewhat obscure, easily perceive, that the image of the king is there painted, and horsemen, and chariots and such other like, which things yet are not straightway known of all men. But afterward, when the Painter hath laid on fresh colors, and hath finished the work, those things which before by those first lines appeared scarce begun and rude, are now manifestly and expressly perceived. Such (saith he) were the Sacraments of the old fathers, if they be compared with ours. By these words it is manifest, that Chrysostom was of the opinion, that one and the self-same thing is represented in our sacraments and in the sacraments of the old fathers, although in theirs more obscurely, and in ours more manifestly. But how great a nearness there is between both these kinds of Sacraments, Paul seemeth hereby to teach, in that he putteth the names of the one, for the names of the other, and maketh them common to both. For in the 10th Chap. of the first Epistle to the Corinth. he affirmeth, that the old fathers were baptized, and had one and the same spiritual meat, and one and the same spiritual drink, which we now have. And on the other side, to the Colossians, he calleth our baptism, circumcision: for he saith: that we are circumcised in Christ, but yet with a circumcision not made with hands, by putting off the body of the sins of the flesh. In which place he ascribeth unto circumcision, the putting off of sins. But they think that this maketh against us, which is read in the viii. Chapter to the Hebrews, In that he saith, New, he hath abolished that which was before. But that which is abolished and waxen old, is even ready to vanish away. Of these words they conclude, that the Old Testament is utterly abolished. And this (say they) could not be possible, if the substance thereof were one and the same with the substance of the new. But these men ought to have considered, that the substance of

the Old Testament is not abolished. In deed ceremonies are abolished as touching the outward signs, howbeit the signification of them abideth the self-same that it was. Judicial precepts also, although in our days they be not all had in use, yet the sum and principal scope of them, is still retained, namely that sins should be punished, and Justice preserved in commonwealths. But the sense and observation of moral precepts, remaineth still perfect and whole, although they no more either accuse or condemn the conscience, to the destruction of the elect.

11. But they say that Augustine also is against our opinion. For in his Preface upon the 73rd Psalm, thus he writeth: That the sacraments of the old Fathers promised a savior, but ours give salvation. But by these words Augustine meant only to put a distinction between the manner, whereby the Sacraments of the old Fathers signified Christ in one sort, and ours in another sort: for they so represented Christ, as him that should one day come: ours do so represent him, as now already come. For how could Augustine think, that the sacraments of the old Fathers did by no means give a savior, when as he most manifestly testifieth that the fathers in the Manna had the self-same Christ which we now have in the Eucharist. And in his Book *De nuptijs & concupiscentia ad Valerium*, and other places he oftentimes confesseth, that the old Fathers were by circumcision delivered from original sin. Bede also upon Luke affirmeth the self-same thing, and saith, that circumcision differed nothing from Baptism, as touching remission of sins, but only that it opened not the gates of the kingdom of heaven: for to the performance of that, the death of Christ was looked for. Touching this surely, I will not much contend, so that it be granted, that those fathers being dead, in what place soever they were, were in the presence and sight of God in happy state. For they had without all doubt the

fruition of God, neither is it to be thought, that they could be forsaken of him in whom they believed. But that they were carried up into heaven, before Christ ascended up, I know the Fathers do deny, neither do I therein anything contend against them. But let us return unto that, that these fathers of their own accord grant, namely, that circumcision took away original sin, how then can they say, that Christ by circumcision was not given at all? For what remission of sins could there be without Christ? The Master of the sentences very absurdly thinketh, that circumcision had the power of remitting of sins, but not of conferring of grace, as though forsooth remission of sins can be had without grace. They also feign that the sacraments of the Gospel had their force by the death of Christ, and forasmuch as this death is now accomplished, therefore are they of more efficacy and of more force than the sacraments of the old Fathers: as in whose time, the price of the death of Christ was not yet paid. But this their opinion, whereby they appoint the force of the merit of the passion of Christ, to be but for a time, cannot be but absurd. For of what more force to save, is the death of Christ now that it is already past, than it was in the old time, when it was looked for to come? Undoubtedly, on each side is required faith, whereby assuredly we do no less comprehend things to come, than we do things past. But if we will say, that God hath a respect unto the sacrifice of his son offered upon the Cross, undoubtedly this was from all eternity, and before the foundations of the world were laid, ratified, and most fully accepted of him. Of Christ also it is written in the Apocalypse: That the lamb was slain from the beginning of the world. And whereas they say, that circumcision had the power to take away original sin, from whence I pray you, had it such great power, but from the death of Christ? Doubtless our Baptism so agreeth with circumcision, that Augustine

against the letters of Petelianus in his second book and 72nd chapter, and in other places proveth, that the sacrament of Baptism ought not to be renewed, because circumcision in the old time was not renewed, if a man had received it of the Samaritans, and did afterward betake himself to the sincere Religion of Jerusalem.

12. But amongst other things, this seemeth not a little to have moved our adversaries, for that it is written unto the Galatians of the ceremonies of the old Fathers, that they were weak and beggarly elements of the world. But these words of Paul are to be understood of those old sacraments which are now abrogated by Christ. Or if this answer like not, then understand Paul so to speak of the sacraments of the old fathers, as he saw the Jews at that time used them: namely without Christ or his promise. But the first answer is both truer and plainer for that place. And if a man demand how it cometh to pass, that the sacraments of the old Fathers were more in number than ours, this question may be easily answered. Namely that the Church was than beginning, neither did they know so many things of Christ, as are made open unto us, now that he is come into the world and hath finished the sacrifice so long looked for. Wherefore it was requisite that God should at that time by many ceremonies and images shadow one and the self-same thing: but there is no need now of such painful instruction. For (as we have before said) the signs of the sacraments were therefore given, to confirm the promises of God, not as though those promises are not of themselves firm enough, but that our minds, being otherwise hard to believe, and wavering, should by sensible signs be strengthened. Chrysostom in his 60th Homily unto the people of Antioch: If (saith he) our nature had been utterly spiritual and without body, spiritual things should have been delivered us, without corporal signs. Hereby it is manifest, how absurdly they order the matter

which set forth the visible signs of the sacraments to be seen of all men: but the promise which should be confirmed by those signs, and ought to cleave unto our minds, they both pronounce in a strange tongue, and secretly mumble up, that it should not be heard of others. But that the sacraments of the Law, which were so many in number were seals of the promises of God, may by induction be easily known. The Tabernacle and Ark of the Lord sealed the promise, that God would dwell in his people, and that he would be in the midst of them. The consecration of the Priest, and the ornaments of his garments, shadowed Christ the only Priest, and the same perpetual and eternal, as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews proveth. And of this self-same promise, David most plainly maketh mention, when under the person of Christ he saith, Thou art a Priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek. The sacrifices also foreshowed the oblation of Christ upon the Cross. But here some man will peradventure say: Ergo the sacrifices were sacraments. How then do we say, that there is great difference between the nature of a sacrament, and the nature of a sacrifice? So in deed we said before, and now again constantly affirm it, but thereof it followeth not, but that the consideration of either, may sometimes light upon one and the same thing. The nature of a sacrifice and a sacrament may concur in one and the same thing, for there were two things to be considered in sacrifices, first that there was something offered unto God, and therein consisted the whole strength of sacrifices: secondly that the oblation which was killed and burnt, represented Christ, which was to be slain for us, by whom we should have God pacified and merciful. And after this manner we doubt not but that in them was a sacrament. And how all these things were scales of most certain promises, may easily be declared by every one of them particularly: as by the observation of the Sabbath, by circumcision, by choice of meats, by

washing and sprinklings of holy water, by the vow of the Nazarites, by the ceremony of them that were zealous, by the purification of the child-wife after her delivery, and by all such like kind of mysteries. But because we would be brief, we thought it sufficient to express those few now mentioned.

13. But there yet remaineth one doubt: whether the people of the Jews having such sensible ceremonies, understood also the promises of God, which were by them sealed. Augustine at large entreateth of this matter in his 4th Book against Faustus, and in his 3rd Book *De doctrina Christiana*, and saith, that the Patriarchs and Prophets, and the excellenter sort of men in the old Testament, being endued with a mighty spirit, know very well the signification of the ceremonies and of the sacraments: so that they took not the signs, for the things, which (saith he) is a miserable servitude: but he thinketh that the people and common sort of men used these signs as the things themselves, understanding only this, that there is one only God, whom they ought to honor with this kind of worshipping and service. For if there were any which when they knew those to be signs of other things, would yet notwithstanding interpret them after their own lust, that had been an error of an unsteadfast mind. By this doctrine of Augustine, may be affirmed three kinds of those men which use signs. For some there are which in very deed understand what is signified, and therefore stick not in the signs, but turn their eyes to the things signified. Others use the signs, but to what they are to be referred, they know not. And this Augustine thinketh to pertain unto servitude. Last of all there be others which are not ignorant, that those things which they use are signs, but yet notwithstanding they perversely, and as they lust themselves, interpret them. This is an error, and that not a little hurtful. As touching the first and the third, I am of the same

mind that Augustine is. But in the second as touching the common and vulgar people of the Jews, I do not so fully assent unto him, to grant, that the common people of the Hebrews knew nothing else of the Sacraments, and ceremonies of the law, but that by them they should worship the only and true God. For they were taught continually of the Scribes and of the Priests, and heard daily the Oracles of the Prophets. Whereby they might easily gather, at the least a general signification of their Sacraments, as well touching Christ, as all other things pertaining to the pureness of life and holiness of manners. The doctrine of the looking for Messias was so common amongst them, that as I suppose, it was hidden from none of them all. Philip (as it is written in the Gospel of John) thus spake unto Nathanael: We found the Messias, of whom Moses and the Prophets have written. And the common people of the Jews, being amazed at the miracles of Christ, said: We know that Messias shall come and teach us all these things.

14. Hereunto also serveth that the Prophets ever taught, that Ceremonies being only done outwardly and without faith, are displeasant unto God. And that faith, which was required to outward rites, unless it had a respect unto Christ, although not fully, yet someway, and that at the leastwise generally: of what force could it have been? And for as much as the Prophets were so diligent in obtruding, and everywhere beating into their heads the significations of the Ceremonies, do we think that they taught nothing of Christ? David most plainly speaketh of sacrifices, that God hath no delight in them. But a sacrifice unto God (saith he) is a troubled spirit, and a contrite and humble heart. Touching washings and cleansings, Isaiah instructeth them saying, Be ye washed and be ye clean. Jeremiah also, Wash (saith he) thy heart from iniquity. And Ezekiel showeth, that by those waters is signified the power of the holy Ghost, when he bringeth in God,

promising that he would pour clean water upon them. Touching circumcision also they are very often admonished in the holy scripture, to circumcise their necks and their hearts. And that they should not think, that they were able to do this of themselves, and by their own strength, Moses in the 30th chapter of Deuteronomy saith: God shall circumcise thine heart that thou mayest love him. Touching purification and washings of garments, and such other like things, they were thus admonished in Leviticus the 11th chapter: I am the Lord thy God, which brought the out of the land of Egypt: ye shall be holy unto me, because I am holy. Touching the Sabbath they were oftentimes told that in it was signified the rest of God, and their sanctification. And if so be all these things were so manifestly and plainly declared, which no man can doubt, but that unto them they were good and profitable, and that it was not possible for them to be ignorant that the attainment of every good thing came through Christ or the Messias: I cannot be persuaded, but that they saw that in their sacraments was signified Christ. Moreover this also is another reason, which Isaiah most manifestly testifieth, that God did lay upon Christ all our sins, and that we were healed only by his stripes and death: Wherefore seeing in the Sacraments mention is made, that God by sacrifices is made merciful unto us, they could not but call to remembrance the only mediator Christ, by whom only God is made merciful unto us. Howbeit we cannot affirm, that the common sort of Israelites knew all the mysteries particularly. Only this we say, that they had a certain general knowledge of Christ in the Sacraments of the Law, when as otherwise we ourselves cannot particularly render a reason of these Ceremonies. The Apostles have only given them set forth unto us generally. And if there have been some amongst us, as Origen, and a great many other like which have attempted to frame for every

particular Ceremony a proper allegory, yet have they in a manner but lost their labor, for their inventions could bring no profit at all unto us: for they most plainly want the word of God. Neither is it to be marveled at, that they so much delighted in such inventions, for even as everywhere our own devices wonderfully please us, so in this matter the curiosity of man exceedingly delighteth itself.

15. Now those things which we have spoken, most plainly declare, how far the sophistical men have missed of the mark, which have affirmed this difference to be between the old sacraments and the new, that the old Sacraments signified grace and Christ only, but ours largely and abundantly exhibit both. For the old fathers (say they) were holpen by the work of the worker. For when any man came with faith and a godly motion of the heart and of the mind unto these holy services, he had thereby merit. But the work wrought (as they call it) nothing profiteth them as touching salvation. But in our Sacraments (they say) it is far otherwise, that not only faith and the spiritual motion of the mind, which they call the work of the worker, helpeth us, but even the outward sacrament itself, and the institution of God, which they call the work wrought, giveth unto us both remission of sins and also salvation. But I will demand of these men, what that is which the outward work and visible Sacrament exhibiteth unto us, that we do not attain unto by faith? If they answer it is Christ: as for him we comprehend him by faith: if remission of sins, that also we obtain by faith: if reconciliation, whereby we return into favor with God, this also we cannot obtain without faith: if last of all, the increase of grace and of the spirit, neither undoubtedly do we by any other means obtain this, but by faith. What is there then remaining that this work wrought bringeth? This word is altogether strange, neither is it once mentioned of in the holy Scriptures.

Neither would I at this time have used it, but that I have to contend against the adversaries. But peradventure they will say: for as much as besides faith is also added the outward work, is there nothing to be attributed unto it? Yes undoubtedly, I attribute much, when it proceedeth of faith. For I know that such work pleaseth God, and that he useth to recompense many things unto such works. But what maketh that to this present purpose? Did not the old fathers unto their faith adjoin also these works, whereby they exercised and received the Sacraments of their law? And thus as touching this point, we see that they had in theirs as many things which pleased God, as we have in ours, unless peradventure they will contend, that the exercising and receiving of our sacraments, is either a better or nobler work, than was the exercising and receiving of the Sacraments of the old Fathers: which I will not grant unto them especially, seeing that the perfection of the work is to be considered by faith and charity from whence it proceedeth. Wherefore if Abraham and David had more faith when they received their sacraments, than any weak Christian, when he is baptized or communicateth, who will not judge but that their work is more notable and more excellent than the work of these men? And moreover as for that kind of speech which these men so often use, namely, that sacraments remit sins or give grace, we do not easily admit, unless peradventure in that sense wherein Paul affirmeth, that the Gospel is the power of God to salvation: and as unto Timothy, the reading of the holy scripture, is said to save. Which undoubtedly is nothing else, but that the might and power of God whereby he remitteth sins, giveth grace, and at the end saveth, doth use these instruments and means to our salvation. And even as to bring salvation, he useth the words of the Gospel, and the preaching of the holy scriptures, so likewise joineth he thereunto the sacraments. For by both of them is preached unto us the free promise of

God, which if we take hold of by faith, we shall obtain both salvation and also remission of sins. This is the true sense, according to which the fathers must be understood, when they say, that grace is the power of the sacraments. Which is all one, as if they had said, understanding and sense is the force of speech and of words.

16. And how unsafely the schoolmen speak of their stay or let, hereby it is manifest, for that they say, that he putteth not a stay or let, which although he have not the act either of loving or believing, yet objecteth nothing that is contrary or opposite unto grace, namely, the act of infidelity or of hatred. Then in such case (say they) the sacraments of the Gospel give grace: But this is nothing else than to attribute unto creatures the cause of our salvation, and to bind ourselves too much to signs and elements of this world. This ought to be certain and most assured, that no more is to be attributed unto the sacraments as touching salvation, than unto the word of God. Wherefore if sometimes we hear (as Augustine also saith) that our sacraments are better than the sacraments of the old fathers, this ought to be understanded, that it be referred unto perspicuity. For we grant that our sacraments both speak and preach more plainly of Christ, than did the sacraments of the old fathers. Now then seeing we are more clearly and plainly instructed, faith is more fuller, and bringeth unto us more grace and spirit. And we gladly admit that which the fame Augustine saith: That sometimes it cometh to pass, that the sacrament is received without the matter itself. For so the wicked and infidels using the sacraments receive only the outward signs, and are utterly void of salvation and of grace. Sometimes also it contrariwise happeneth, that the godly being excluded by any necessity from the use of the sacraments, yet are in no wise defrauded of the matter itself, and of the thing signified. Neither let any man here lay

to our charge that we affirm that sacraments depend of our faith: for neither teach we any such thing: yea rather we affirm that the sacraments are sacraments, although thy faith be either weak or none at all. And Augustine's judgment is very good concerning him, which only carnally receiveth the sacrament, when he saith: It doth not therefore cease to be spiritual, but unto them it is not spiritual. And now at length to make an end, we must never come to this point, to think that grace and our salvation is contained in the sacraments, as in bags, which may be poured out upon the communicants and receivers: for the sacraments are as certain messengers of our salvation which whoso giveth credit unto, obtaineth salvation. And thus much hitherto have I sufficiently spoken of sacraments in general.

Of Circumcision.

17. Now remaineth for us to speak somewhat of Circumcision. For the better understanding whereof we have spoken these things the more largely and with more words. But here we shall not need so long a treatise, for if we remember all those things which have generally been spoken of sacraments, it shall be no hard matter to understand all that which may be spoken of circumcision. And circumcision (not to go from the words of the Apostle) was the seal of the righteousness of faith, because it preached and confirmed the promise concerning righteousness, which the old fathers received by faith. And hereof it followeth, that the old fathers had by it remission of sins. For seeing that righteousness consisteth chiefly in the remission of sins, whosoever believes the promise set forth and by circumcision sealed, it followeth of necessity that he was partaker of the remission of sins. Some demand whether circumcision, and baptism which succeeded circumcision, bring remission only of those sins which are

already past, or also of those which are afterward committed. Let these men consider, that the use of circumcision and of baptism is not for a time but perpetual. For as the faithful oftentimes fail, so when they forthwith come again unto themselves, they think upon the promise of the Gospel, which is as touching the remission of sins. Wherein also even for this cause they are confirmed, for that they remember themselves to be either baptized or circumcised, and so by putting too of faith, they are delivered from sins, and are reconciled unto God. Hereby it is manifest, how they were in the old time deceived, which would not be baptized, but even when death approached, and that they were in a manner giving up the ghost. Neither let any man think, that this is repugnant unto the keys of the Church, whereby the penitent are received. For, that they may the better understand the matter, this they must needs grant, that those keys of the Church are nothing else, but the preaching of the Gospel, whereby the ministers do persuade the believers that their sins are forgiven them. But they which are to be persuaded, are by the benefit of the holy Ghost persuaded, and their faith concerning the promise is also hereby confirmed, for that they call to memory the sign of baptism or of circumcision, which in times past they received. And Paul when he said, For the remission of sins going before, meant that justification when it is applied unto us, always putteth away those sins which we have before committed. Yet that letteth nothing, but that the promise of the remission of sins, and sealing thereof, may oftentimes with profit be called to our memory. But so oftentimes as sin is so forgiven, it followeth of necessity, that the same sin went before: Howbeit that which we speak of, tendeth to this, to declare, that the utility of sacraments is not for a time, but pertaineth to the whole course of our life. Circumcision differed from our sacraments, for that it was the

beginning and first step and visible entrance to the covenant of God. And what manner of men the uncircumcised were accounted to be, the Apostle declareth in the Epistle to the Ephesians. Remember (saith he) that ye were sometimes Gentiles in the flesh, which were called uncircumcision of them which are called circumcision in the flesh made with hands: ye were ye say sometimes without Christ, aliens from the commonwealth of the Israelites, strangers from the covenants of the promises, without hope in the world, and without God. And in the Epistle to the Philippians he teacheth, which is the true and spiritual circumcision. For we (saith he) are circumcision, which serve the Lord in spirit, and glory in Christ, and have no confidence in the flesh. And to the Colos. he writeth: In whom (saith he) ye are circumcised with circumcision not made with hands, by putting off the sinful body of the flesh. By which place we see (as we have before also noted) that forgiveness of sins is to be put as well in circumcision as in baptism. Wherefore Augustine in his book against Julianus the Pelagian, (in that part wherein he heapeth up a great many of authorities of the fathers) reproveth the Pelagians by these words of the Apostle, for that notwithstanding they denied original sin, yet they baptized their infants: for seeing they affirmed that in them is no sin, how could that baptism (as Paul saith) be circumcision not made with hands, by the putting off of the sinful flesh? These places of the Apostle serve very much to expound the meaning and nature of circumcision. In Deut. the 10th chap. the Lord saith: Thou shalt circumcise the uncircumcision of thine heart, neither shalt thou harden thy neck. Instead of uncircumcision the Chaldey interpreter hath, *Tephashot*, that is, foolishness: thereby signifying, that the first ground of sin herein consisteth, that we are blind to all things pertaining to God, and that we are in all heavenly things blind and want the knowledge of God.

The 70 interpreters have σκληροκαρδίαν, that is, hardness of heart. The promises which are offered unto them that are circumcised, are those, that God is made our God, and the God of our seed: in which only thing we have the horn of plenty, that is, the sum of all good things. Hereof also springeth our felicity, and consolation in all affliction. They were thereby also put in mind of the mortifying of the flesh: that is, of the cutting away of superfluous pleasures. And moreover by it they professed true religion. And briefly thereby was signified the covenant made with God. These were the things signified, and the matter of this sacrament, and do pertain truly unto the nature and substance thereof.

18. Now are there two things remaining to be discussed. The one is, why circumcision was commanded to be marked in the member of generation: the second, why it was commanded to be done the eighth day. Out of Augustine in diverse places we gather, that therefore God would have it so to be, to put us in mind, that original sin, is by generation drawn from the parents unto us, and that even as the foreskin being cut off in the parent, doth notwithstanding return again in the child which is begotten, so original sin being remitted unto the parents, buddeth up again in the children which are brought forth. We are thereby also admonished (which we have now oftentimes said) that the league of God pertaineth not only unto us but also to our children which we beget. Finally by that sign was chiefly signified, that Christ should spring of the seed of Abraham. Neither ought we here to follow our own sense or human reason, to think that to be a thing ridiculous or of small force, which God himself hath instituted. For otherwise the cross of Christ and the Gospel are an offense unto the Jews, and foolishness unto the Gentiles. Neither ought we to judge of things divine according to that which is showed outwardly. Otherwise Julianus and Celsus made a

laughing matter, that the apple was forbidden our first parents. And Naaman the Syrian thought it a ridiculous thing, that he should be seven times washed in the river of Jordan. Neither doubt I, but that there were some which derided Moses, when he cast the wood into the bitter waters, to heal their bitterness. In our days also, very many marvel, how it cometh to pass, that the stealth of one halfpenny bringeth eternal destruction. But these men ought to remember, that these things are not to be considered according to their own force: but unto them must be added also the weight of the word of God, which undoubtedly is of so great weight, as it weigheth heavier than the whole world. Neither is there anything so vile and abject, but that when the word of God is added thereunto, it is made notable and excellent. In deed kings and princes of this world have a care to have goodly and honorable seals. But as touching the promises and gifts, which are by them sealed, they oftentimes deceive men. But God when he useth even the most abject signs, never deceiveth any man. Now will I speak in a word or two of the consideration of the eighth day. The Hebrews affirm, that such is the dignity of the seventh day, that of it all things obtain (I know not what) force and strength. Wherefore they think, that after the seventh day there cometh into the infant newly born so much strength, that he is able easily to abide the pain of circumcision. But let us leave unto them such feigned toys, and let us rather thus think, that in the eighth day was betokened the resurrection of Christ, and therewithal ours. Which may easily be perceived by Paul: for he saith, that in circumcision was signified the cutting off of the sins of the flesh. But the sins of the flesh can never be perfectly cut off from us, until we are come to the holy resurrection. All the whole time of this world, and the time of this whole life, representeth a week of days. But the eighth day signifieth the resurrection. There is moreover another reason not

to be contemned, namely, that a child being so newly born, is able to do nothing of himself as touching the attainment of righteousness. Wherefore hereby we be admonished that justification cometh not of our works. And although it were so in the right of circumcision, yet are not we in baptism bound to any certain number of days. For Christ hath made us free from this kind of observation. Howbeit there have been some, which have gone about in baptism also to compel Christians unto the eighth day. But those the counsel held by Cyprian, hath condemned.

19. Circumcision was for a time observed in the Primitive Church. And Augustine upon the Epistle to the Galatians saith, that not every circumcision after Christ was condemned, but only that circumcision wherein was put a hope of salvation: but that circumcision, which was received for this cause only, to retain peace in the Church, and the more to advance the preaching of the Gospel, might well be borne withal. For this cause Paul suffered Timothy to be circumcised. But if it be required to be done as necessary unto salvation, it is by no means to be permitted And therefore Paul earnestly resisted and would not suffer Titus to be circumcised, as it is in the Epistle to the Galatians. They say that even now very many Churches in the East or in the South retain still to this day Circumcision together with Baptism. How rightly they do it, let them see unto that. Doubtless it is most likely, that, forasmuch as they have retained it so long, and that so stiffly, they put some hope of their salvation in it. Wherefore they should do much better, if they would utterly omit it. But it shall be good, in the meantime to declare how Paul to the Galatians saith, That he which is circumcised is debtor to observe the whole law. For when Abraham received circumcision, the law was not yet given. Wherefore it seemeth that circumcision had not that of his own force, and nature, to bind

men to observe the law. But we ought to remember, that that which the Apostle saith, proceedeth out of another principle: namely that circumcision represented Christ as to come, and as to give himself upon the cross: and the law should so long be of force, until Christ came. Seeing then by circumcision they testified that he was not as yet come, it must needs follow, that they were kept still under the law, seeing the law could only by the coming of Christ be abrogated.

20. And with how great an observation God would have that sacrament to be kept, hereby it is manifest, for that in the Book of Genesis the 17th Chapter he testifieth: That the soul which is not circumcised the eighth day should be cut off from his people. Ambrose in his book of Abraham the Patriarch, seemeth to wonder at this so great severity. For God (saith he) appointed Cities of refuge, that if any had by chance or unawares killed a man, he might have a place whither to go, that the friends and kinsfolk of the partly slain should not kill him, so that he had not of set purpose and willingly, but by chance and unawares committed the murder. Wherefore seeing infants did not by their own will refuse circumcision, what reason was there why they should be cut off? He answereth, that therefore peradventure God would have the children to be deprived of their corporal life, that in them parents might be punished for their impiety. But he saith, that there were others which were of the opinion, that this sentence pertained not unto the infants: but unto those, in whose power they were, as if it had been said, that they should be cut off. But the very words of the Scripture are against this opinion: wherefore he turneth himself to an allegorical exposition, as though that threatening should pertain to those, which circumcise not the mind which is the strongest and most excellent portion of the soul. But such allegories satisfy not this question. Wherefore

it seems to me that two things may well be applied to the absolving of this doubt. The first is, that threatening pertained unto him when he came to full age, if he should then allow the negligence of his parents and not receive circumcision, unto the which he was by the law bound. The second is, that God is not to be accused of injustice, if sometimes he killed the infant being so brought up uncircumcised. For such severity might be of force to admonish men, in how ill part God taketh it, to have his sacraments contemned. And if peradventure thou demand what is to be judged of the soul of a child so killed, having not as yet received the sacrament: I answer, that we either as touching his salvation or condemnation, can affirm nothing on either side. For if he pertained to the number of the elect, so that he was predestinate to eternal life, there is no cause but that he may be saved: forasmuch as grace is not bound unto sacraments. But if he were a vessel to that end made of God, to show forth in him his wrath, and so to be condemned, what can we complain of the severity of God, especially seeing we are all born the children of wrath, and of condemnation? Howbeit in my judgment we ought to hope well of him. For seeing the promise was given unto the seed of Abraham, and he being an infant hath not by any actual sin of his own withdrawn himself from the promise, it is most likely that he is admitted to the kingdom of God. Neither ought we to think, that he was slain of God to eternal condemnation, but rather to salvation, that wickedness should not change his heart: and that by his death he might testify unto his parents and elders, and unto others, how grievously they sinned in neglecting his circumcision, and might profit the whole Church, carrying in him a token of the wrath of God against the contemners of the sacraments. Moreover it is no hard thing to be believed that godly men which lived before circumcision was instituted, had other certain notes,

whereby their righteousness which was had by faith, was sealed. For we read, that they both offered first fruits and also sacrificed: but by what sign, they noted their first regeneration, the holy Scriptures do not teach.

21. And the Hebrews in circumcising of their children used a knife made of a stone: which nevertheless God commanded not. But they were moved so to do, by the example of Ziphora the wife of Moses, which used such a knife in circumcising of her son, when he was in danger to have been slain of the Angel. And although this sacrament was diligently observed and kept among the Jews, yet it spread abroad also to foreign Nations. For if we may give credit to Ambrose in his second Book of Abraham the Patriarch: the Egyptians, Arabians, and Phoenicians are circumcised. And he thinketh that they did it, because they thought that by such first fruits of their blood, are driven away evil spirits, to the end that they should not hurt him which is circumcised. So the Devil hath always gone about to corrupt the sacraments of God. For it was superstition to ascribe the power of salvation or of the delivery from Satan, unto the nature of blood shed forth. And at this day the Jews seem not to be far from this kind of foolishness. For while they circumcise the infant, there standeth one by with a little vessel full either of earth or of dust, whereinto they thrust the foreskin being cut off: as though the devil might seem by that means to have his meat. For the Lord said unto the serpent even straightway at the beginning: Upon thy breast shalt thou creep, and earth shalt thou eat. They seem to think that the devil having thus gotten his meat, departeth from the child and will not trouble him anymore. Amongst the Ethnics also, as the same Ambrose affirmeth, was circumcision corruptly observed after another manner. For the Egyptians circumcised, not in the eighth day as God had commanded, but in the 14th year, in so much as Ishmael at that age received circumcision. Which

manner also it is most likely that the Arabians followed. For at this day the Turks are likewise circumcised at that age: although the Egyptians, as the same Ambrose affirmeth, were wont also to circumcise their women kind, and that in the 14th year, as they did their male children. And for the same they used this reason, because they might signify thereby, that lust must be restrained, which in both kinds at that age beginneth very much to be kindled. But God commanded that only the male kind should be circumcised. And yet were not the women of the Hebrews therefore counted either strangers from the Church, or from the covenant. For they are always numbered together with the men. They that are unmarried, with their fathers; and the married, with their husbands.

22. There have been some, which by deceitful arguments have spoken ill of circumcision, and after a sort reproved the God of the Old Testament. For first they said, that the foreskin which was cut off, is either according to the nature of the body, or else it is against the nature thereof. If it be according to the nature, why would God have it to be cut off? If it be against the nature, why doeth God suffer it to grow? Ambrose in his 77th Epistle to Constantius answereth, that that foreskin is according to the nature of our body: but it is not absurd, that those things which are agreeable with our body, or our flesh be cut off, if the spirit may thereby be holpen. Which we perceive to be done in fasting's and other mortification of the flesh, and in bearing of the Cross, which God hath laid upon all the faithful. In which we are compelled to suffer many things against the flesh. Further they say that God feared away the other nations from the law of Moses, when he laid upon them this yoke of circumcision. Which if it had been away, many strangers and outward nations would have come unto the religion of the Hebrews. But after the self-same manner also, they might cavil against

Christ himself, for that he seemed to fray away the world from his religion: partly by reason of the severity of his doctrine, and partly by reason of the persecutions and Martyrdom, which in the first time, the most part of the faithful were like to suffer. But they which truly pertain to the number of the elect, do in no wise start back for the difficulty of the calling. But they which go backward were not of us, and therefore they are fallen away. They marvel also, why God would in so tender an age, have such a ceremony exercised, which might oftentimes bring weak little bodies into danger. As touching age (saith Ambrose) As every age is subject unto sin, so likewise it is meet for the sacrament. And that Infants are subject unto sin, their diseases, weeping's, pains, and deaths abundantly declare. And if peradventure they were brought in danger of their life; yet was there no cause why they should complain, forasmuch as they ought the same all wholly unto God. And yet as they write, very few have by that occasion died. And that pain and danger brought some utility. For even as valiant soldiers when they remember that they have before suffered many things, for that they should not fly away, are the more animated to stand by it, least they should dishonor those scars and wounds which they before suffered, rather than they would forsake their place and standing. So would God that the Hebrews being now of full age and at man's state should defend the profession of their law, even against all dangers, when they called to remembrance that for religions sake, they had been wounded even from their infancy. But now he saith, Circumcision is worthily refused of Christians. For that seeing Christ hath shed his blood, the price of our redemption, there is now no need that every particular man should privately shed his own blood. And as touching the Sacrament of Circumcision, these things we think sufficient for this present purpose.

CHAP. VIII. Of Baptism, Baptizing of Infants, and holiness of Infants.

Baptism is a sign of regeneration into Christ, into his death, (I mean) and resurrection: which succeeded in the place of Circumcision, consisting of the fountain of water, in the word: wherein in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, remission of sins and shedding out of the holy Ghost is offered, and by a visible Sacrament, we are grafted into Christ and into the Church: and the right unto the kingdom of heaven is sealed unto us, and we on the other side profess that we will die unto sin, and from thence forward live unto Christ That the members or parts of this definition may the better be understood, we will plainly set them forth. First it is called a sign which word that it is common unto Baptism and unto all the Sacraments it is proved hereby, because Paul in the Epistle to the Romans taught that Abraham after he was justified did receive Circumcision, being a seal of the righteousness already obtained. And what thing Baptism sealeth, is sufficiently expressed, seeing it is called the sign of regeneration. For Christ manifestly enough taught Nicodemus in the third Chapter of John, that they which will be saved must be born again. That

Baptism is a sign of this regeneration, Paul teacheth unto Titus, saying: According to his mercy he hath saved us by the fountain of regeneration. And seeing that regeneration is a certain changing: that we may the better understand what it is, first must be declared the end whereunto it tendeth. And therefore we added: Into Christ, because the faith, the endeavors, and life of those that be regenerate, have respect unto nothing else, but wholly to pass into Christ. And seeing that all things which Christ did for our salvation, are comprehended in his death and resurrection: therefore in this definition we put, That we must be baptized into his death and resurrection. Which also Paul teacheth: For thus he writeth: Know ye that all we that are baptized into Christ, are baptized into his death. And straightway he maketh mention of the resurrection. But that baptism succeeded in the place of Circumcision, the Epistle unto the Colossians teacheth. Since then Circumcision was only once given unto each one, and that everyone hath but one only nativity, thereof it cometh that baptism must not be renewed. Which is also done to that end: that the holy Ghost will have us fully persuaded, that after baptism we ought no more to return to our old life, as though another regeneration might be granted unto us. For if any should so think (as we read in the Epistle to the Hebrews) he should tread underfoot the blood of the son of God. Paul therefore unto the Ephesians saith, One spirit, one faith, one Baptism. And that it consisteth of the fountain of water and of the word, we are taught out of the Epistle to the Ephesians in these words: Even as Christ also loved the Church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it, being made clean by the fountain of water through the word. This is the nature of sacraments, that they consist of a sign, an outward element, and of the word of God. Many ecclesiastical writers, treating of Baptism, set forth the praises and commendations of Water. But

here I rather praise the simplicity of Christian religion, which hath Sacraments annexed as in number few, so most easy to be celebrated. And as touching the signs: we have nothing but bread, Wine and Water, which are everywhere usual, and easy to be had. Doubtless the mysteries of Idols were celebrated with great cost, and were very sumptuous: but Christ in outward things always followed great simplicity. Albeit the Devil also as he imitateth God, would sometimes also have water to be joined with his services: As in the mysteries of Mitra and Isis. And the Romans in the plays of Apollo and Pelusius besprinkled the City with water: For by that means they thought it to be perfectly cleansed from perjuries, murders, injustice and public crimes. And such as had committed murder, did with great diligence seek after purging waters. But omitting these things, this we ought to consider, that the sign in Sacraments should have an affinity and similitude with the thing that is signified. Wherefore seeing that water washeth away the filthiness of the body, maketh the earth fruitful, and quencheth thirst, it aptly signifieth remission of sins, the holy Ghost whereby good works are made plentiful, and also grace which refresheth the anguishes of the mind. Neither did the Prophets in the Old Testament otherwise prophesy of the giving of the holy Ghost in regeneration. Joel saith, that God would pour clean water upon the sons and daughters of the Jews. And Isaiah saith: All ye that thirst come unto the waters. And the old Hebrews are said by Paul to have been baptized in the red sea, and in the cloud.

2. But what manner of word it is that ought to be joined to the element of water, we have noted: namely, wherein, In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the holy Ghost remission of sins, &c. Into this promise our faith is sealed: and as Tertullian saith: the Sacrament of Baptism is the garment

of this faith. These very express words are delivered by Christ in the last Chapter of Matthew. Neither can I persuade myself, that the Apostles changed this form of words, although Ambrose of that thing thought otherwise: It sufficeth us at this present, that by the element and by the word of God we have a manifest testimony of our regeneration and salvation. For even as there be three things (as saith John) which bear witness of Christ: the spirit, blood, and water, (For the father which is signified by the spirit, the Son which is declared by blood, and the holy Ghost which is noted by water, do bear witness of his divinity: and of his true human nature the spirit is a witness, which upon the cross he commended to his father, and also the blood and water which flowed out of his side) so have we a testimony of the holy Ghost, that we be the children of God. And we have the remission of sins by the blood of Christ, set forth in the word of promise, and the water outwardly poured upon the body. For by these witnesses, our faith is both raised up and also confirmed, because we are regenerate and now made the children of God. There is offered unto us remission of sins, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the holy Ghost. And yet ought we not to think that it is given by reason of the work wrought as they use to speak: as though a holiness, or the spirit lay hidden in the water, and that it can regenerate us by the outward touching. For it is not so, but by the word of God, and outward sign is signified unto us our reconciliation with God made by Christ: upon which reconciliation if we lay hold by faith, we are both justified and also sanctified. Wherefore Augustine upon John saith: From whence cometh this so great a virtue unto the water, that it should touch the body and wash the heart, unless the word wrought it: not in that it is spoken, but it that it is believed? But in Infants which by reason of age cannot yet believe, the holy Ghost worketh in their

hearts in the stead of Faith. The effusion also of the holy Ghost is promised in baptism, as it is expressly written in the Epistle to Titus, Who hath saved us by the fountain of regeneration and renewing of the holy Ghost which he hath plentifully poured upon us.

3. Neither are these two things in such manner offered unto us in Baptism, as though we in no wise might have them before baptism. For it cannot be denied, but that they which be of full age, if they believe, are justified even before they be baptized. For so Abraham believed and was justified: and after that he received the seal of Circumcision. And Cornelius the Centurion when he had heard Peter and believed, was not only, justified, but also visibly received the holy Ghost. Neither would we baptize Infants, but that we suppose that they already pertain unto the Church and unto Christ. And yet are not such baptized in vain. For we must obey the commandment of God, which if any man should contemn, though he boast never so much of his faith, yet should he sufficiently declare, that he neither believed, nor is justified, nor yet hath received remission of sins. Furthermore, although they believe, yet when these promises are again offered, and that by the appointment of the Lord, and they through faith and instinct of the holy Ghost, do effectually take hold of them, the benefits of God cannot but be increased in them. And why the holy Ghost is poured into the hearts of them that be regenerate, this is the reason: Because they must be made men again, and their stony heart (as the Prophet saith) must be turned into a heart of flesh, which is not possible to be done by man's reason. And that we are by the visible sacrament grafted into Christ and into the Church, is first declared out of Paul. For Paul saith that they which are baptized are grafted into Christ. And in the first to the Corinthians the 12th chap. By one spirit (saith he) all we are baptized into one body. And that this body is the

Church, he teacheth at large in the same chapter. We added [*in the definition*] by a visible Sacrament, because so soon as we be justified, we are verily in mind and in spirit, grafted both into Christ and into the Church. But because that is unknown unto men, it is afterward known when we are entered by the outward sacrament.

4. Also the right way unto eternal life is sealed unto us by baptism. So soon as we be justified, we have it given unto us: and it pertaineth unto us by right, not of desert, but of the liberal gift of God: and by baptism it is sealed. As the gifts of kings so soon as ever they be granted unto us, do without doubt pertain unto us: but afterward are sealed, that the will of the king, if it be needful may be testified unto others. Neither is this part, to wit, The right unto eternal life, so to be understood, as though they ought to be excluded out of the kingdom of heaven which were not baptized. For if they believed, and that there was no let in them that they were not baptized, there is no doubt of their salvation. For Christ saith: He that believeth in me hath life everlasting. And in another place, although he say: that he which believeth and is baptized shall be saved, yet straight way he added: He which believeth not, shall be condemned. By which words he gave us to understand that baptism is not of such necessity, but that a faithful man may be saved without it: so that there happen therein no contempt nor disobedience. The Schoolmen also confess that besides the baptism of water, the godly are sometimes baptized with martyrdom, and with the inspiration of the holy Ghost, so much as suffereth unto salvation. Christ also called death itself, Baptism: when he said that he should be baptized with another baptism, and foretold that the Apostles should be baptized with the holy Ghost not many days after his ascension into heaven. Lastly we again in baptism profess death toward sin, and also a new life: Which

profession showeth nothing else, but that unto this Sacrament is joined repentance, which both John and Christ taught, when they spake of Baptism. And the fathers when they passed over the sea escaped into liberty: but Pharaoh with his host was drowned in the waters, whereby was signified that by baptism we ought so to be renewed, as there we should forsake our sins, and issue out with a new purpose to holiness of life. All these things ought we, when we are baptized, often to consider out of the testimonies of the Scriptures, and continually admonish ourselves thereof. For although this sacrament be but only once given, yet ought it never in our whole life be forgotten. For even as it behooved the Jews evermore to remember that they were circumcised, so also we ought continually to call to mind our baptism.

5. But it is wonderful how some dare affirm, that the Baptism of Infants is a new institution in the Church. For Cyprian a very ancient writer, maketh mention of it and answereth, that it is not of necessity, that we should tarry till the eighth day for the baptizing of them: For that the truth of the Gospel hath delivered us from observing the number of days, and that therefore they may well be baptized, what day soever the Church shall be assembled together. Origen also writing upon the Epistle to the Romans, and upon Leviticus, sufficiently declareth that Infants were in his time accustomed to be baptized. And since that these men were not long after the Apostles times, and that they make not mention of it as a thing invented by them, or in their time, it sufficiently appeareth that that custom came from the Apostles. They say that Higinus a Bishop of Rome was the first author thereof, which certainly cannot be proved by his decrees. We read in deed that he made a law for sureties, whom they call godfathers and godmothers, which without doubt was a profitable ordinance. For his meaning was, that

when Infants should by baptism be received into the Church, they should be commended unto the faith of some men by whom they might be instructed. And for the performance of this, the godfathers and godmothers do bind their faith, although nowadays they regard nothing less. But it is a very weak argument to gather thereby, that Higinus was the first author that Infants should be baptized, because he first ordained godfathers: Nay rather seeing he made a decree touching that matter, it is probable that the baptism of Infants was before that time in use. But they cite Tertullian in his book *de Baptisimo*, which is very elegantly written by him. But for so much as that man in his latter age, fell from the true faith unto the Heresy of Montanus, his authority hereof cannot be of so great force: For he also condemned second marriages, and disallowed the Baptism of Infants against the received use of the Church. And if we should follow his opinion, neither young men unmarried, nor yet young widows ought to be baptized. For he affirmed that this Sacrament ought to be administered very late and but to those only which were of full age. But it may sufficiently be declared by the self-same Tertullian, that even in his time the manner was that children should be baptized. And he would not have reproved it, unless it had then been in use and practice.

6. But there ariseth a very weighty question as touching the holiness of children, which are begotten of Christian parents, what manner of holiness it is, and of what sort it is to be accounted. Some have interpreted the words of Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians the seventh Chapter: that they, which be so born, obtain a good and godly education: which might not be, if a divorce should chance between the parents. For they should perhaps be adjudged children unto an unbelieving parent, where they should be altogether set free not unto religion but unto ungodliness. But if the

marriage continue, then hath the believing party power to bring them up to Christ, which exposition Augustine in his book *De Sermon domini in monte*, seemed not to mislike. For he saith, their children are brought unto Christ, and they be consecrated to him in baptism. But Augustine seemeth to say less (although his judgment be godly) than the Apostle minded to prove: for he would confirm the sanctification of that matrimony which he had set forth before: but by this sense he should rather declare a certain fruit of that matrimony, than have proved the same to be holy. For sometimes the children, otherwise begotten by unclean copulation, may have this benefit of godly education and of Baptism. For if by hap any Christian man being fallen into fornication, should beget a child, and should provide to have it baptized and brought up after a godly sort, it should not be proved thereby that the conjunction wherein he abused a harlot was either godly or honest. Which we understand happened in Adeodatus the son of Augustine, who being born in unlawful copulation, was both baptized and by the Fathers endeavor was most godly brought up. Wherefore others say, that Paul by this sentence understandeth only a civil pureness and holiness because that children being born after this manner are taken for Legitimate, and are not accounted for bastards which they say, doeth very much serve to the purpose of Paul. For seeing he would declare that these matrimonies should be still continued, he thereby proveth the right and honesty thereof, in that the children which do spring of the same would by public and just laws be accounted for lawful and just inheritors: But they do not fully satisfy this Argument of Paul. For the Corinthians might have said: We which are now Christians, require more in our matrimonies than to have them established by civil righteousness: we would have them to be holy and such as should please God. How shall it be proved that there is such holiness in unfit

matrimony, that by the copulation of infidels we cannot be defiled? If thou only allege the civil cleanness of the issue so begotten, what doest thou more attribute unto us than the Infidels have? For their children, if they be begotten in matrimony, are lawful, and be admitted as just heirs. So that it seemeth that Paul signified some other thing that is not given to the children of the Infidels. Wherefore I judge it to be this holiness, that they belong unto the Church of Christ: For they are reckoned as if they were born of Parents that were both faithful.

7. But if thou demand how the children of the Christians belong unto the Church or unto Christ, we will answer: No otherwise, then the children of the Hebrews, being of the posterity of Abraham, were said to be contained in the covenant of God. For God promised unto Abraham that he would be not only his God, but also the God of his seed. And therefore are our children baptized, as the children of the old fathers were circumcised, because they must not be thought to be out of the Church. For we have succeeded into the posterity of Abraham: and those things that were spoken of him, do very well agree to us and to our children. For they may have the grace and spirit of Christ, seeing they be parts both of us and of the Church. For this cause the Apostle seemeth to call them holy. Wherefore unto the Romans it is said: But and if so be the root be holy, the branches also are holy: and if the first fruits be holy, the lump also shall be holy. Which words, although they be spoken of the Hebrews, yet are they not strange from us: for we have passed into the family of Abraham and of Israel, because through Christ the wall is broken up by which the Gentiles seemed to be severed from the posterity of Abraham. So as our little ones enjoy the benefit of them which were sprung of the stock of that Patriarch, not that we attribute this to the generation of the flesh, as unto the chief and true cause.

For as our own salvation is, so verily is altogether the salvation of our children of the mere election and mercy of God, which oftentimes goeth together with natural propagation. Weigh with thyself, that even they be elected of God which be also born of the saints, as we saw it came to pass in Isaac which was the seed of Abraham, not only according to the election, but also according to the generation of the flesh: Not that it doth always so happen of necessity: because the promise is not general as touching all the seed, but of that only in which the election together consenteth. Otherwise the posterity of Ishmael and Esau were of Abraham. But because we ought not to be overcurious in searching out the secret providence and election of God, therefore we judge the children of the Saints to be Saints, so long as they by reason of their age, shall not declare themselves strangers from Christ. We exclude them not from the Church but embrace them as members thereof: hoping well, that as they be the seed of the Saints according to the flesh, so also they be partakers of the divine election, and that they have the holy Ghost and grace of Christ: And for this cause we baptize them. Neither must they be heard which move a doubt of this matter and say: What if the minister be deceived? And what if for a very truth, the child be not the child of promise, of divine election and of mercy? Because the same cavil may also be as touching them that be of lawful age. For we also know not, whether they come feignedly, or whether they believe truly: whether they be the children of predestination, or of perdition: whether they have the grace of Christ, or whether they be destitute thereof, and do falsely say that they believe. Why dost thou baptize them? I know thou wilt say: This I do because I follow their outward profession which if they falsify, it is nothing unto me. So we say, that the Church doth therefore embrace our children and baptize them, because they pertain unto us. And that is unto the

Church such a token of the will of God, as outward profession is in them that be of ripe years. For as it may be deceived in the one sort, so also it may be in the other. There is nothing so certain but it may be otherwise. And so not all, so many as are baptized; are either saved or predestinated to eternal life. Neither can we by any other means discern between the baptized who belong unto salvation, and who be not the sons of God, but that we daily judge of them by their works.

8. Wherefore the Anabaptists must not be heard, which will not have children to be baptized. Because they deny original sin, therefore they will have them tarry till they come to years, whenas now everyone having sinned by choice, and fallen by his own will, and infected with vice, hath matter to be washed away by baptism. From these men we disagree as far as heaven is wide, seeing we altogether confess original sin. For it is proved in the Epistle to the Romans where it is said, that by one man sin entered into the world, and by sin, death. Whereby it appeareth, that sin is there, wheresoever death hath taken place. Therefore seeing infants die, it is of necessity that they be subject unto sin. And many other testimonies there be in the same Chapter, which most manifestly prove this original sin. And we have in the psalm, For behold I was born in sin, and in sins hath my mother conceived me. And Christ said: Unless a man be born anew of the water and of the spirit, &c. Whereby is manifest, that if it behooveth us to be born again, we be born in sin. And unto the Corinthians the 2nd Epistle and 5th chapter, it is said of Christ: That one died for all men. But and if he be dead for all, it is manifest that the infants also had need of a redeemer. And when it is said unto the Romans: Christ died for them that were sinners, enemies, and weak, and ungodly: it followeth that infants also are such, in their own nature when they be born, unless we will say, that Christ died not for them,

which is against the judgment of Paul now alleged. And in the book of Genesis it is showed, what the imagination of our heart is, even from the very childhood and deliverance from the mothers womb. Wherefore the Hebrews have often in their mouth *yetzer hara*, an evil imagination, which they take out of that place of Genesis. And we read in the book of Job: Who can make clean that which is conceived of an unclean seed? Where the seed of man is called unclean: which cannot be otherwise referred but to original sin. For if thou shalt weigh the natural causes, the seed of man hath no more uncleanness in it than hath the seed of other living creatures. And to the Ephesians: We were by nature the children of wrath as others be. Where that word Nature showeth that this evil is drawn with us even from the beginning. And although that they be Christian parents, yet because they beget not with that part, wherein they are cleansed anew (with the mind I mean where faith hath place, by which they are reconciled unto God) but with the body and with the flesh, which while we live here, have not altogether put off their uncleanness: as it is derived from Adam, so doth it draw with it his infection and blemish. So then we disagree very much from the Anabaptists: for both we confess original sin which they deny, and do also teach that children ought to be baptized, as at this day in the Church. Therefore how are the infants of Christians when they are baptized, called holy and members of the Church, seeing they be corrupted with original sin? We answer, that in original sin, two things are to be considered: One is the corruption of nature, whereby the posterity of Adam lacketh righteousness, and are loaden with ignorance and evil concupiscence. Then there is a guiltiness whereby God imputeth these things unto sin and unto death. Wherefore the first part all our children undoubtedly have, when they be born: but the other part, I mean guiltiness and imputation unto death and

unto everlasting damnation, those (which not only are born of their parents according to the flesh, but also appertain to the election and promise of God) have not, because it is taken away by the mercy of God, by the holy Ghost, and by the grace of Christ: neither is that corruption imputed to them unto death. They therefore, which be so born of Christians are called holy, because they are judged to belong unto grace and election, seeing nothing persuadeth otherwise. Now then, the Church doth seal these things unto them in Baptism, as to these which belong unto the promise, and already have the gifts of God: I mean the remission of sins and grace of Christ.

10. But one thing seemeth to make here against, which is written unto the Romans the 4th chapter: That it was given unto Abraham to be the father of Circumcision, and not only of Circumcision, but of them also that walk according to the steppes of the faith, which he had when he was uncircumcised. Whereupon it is concluded, that the Ethnics which are joined unto the stock of Abraham, have not that by the seed of the flesh but by the power of faith, which seeing the Infants have not, they shall not be understood to be engrafted into the stock of Abraham. But we must understand, that the Apostle spake there of them which be of ripe age and of the first grafting in of the Gentiles, whereby they were coopted into the stock of Abraham: which none of us doubteth to be done by faith. But when as now, that the Gentiles, and our families or Churches be grafted unto that stock, all the privileges are communicated with them that were granted unto Abraham, among which this was the chief, that God would be both his God and the God of his seed. So as it is granted in like manner both unto us and ours, in manner and form already declared. Further it is written in the 9th chapter of the same Epistle: Not all they which be of Israel be Israelites, nor all they which be of the seed of Abraham be all children: but in Isaac shall

thy seed be called. That is, not all they which be the children of the flesh, be the children of God, but they which be of the promise. Whereupon it seemeth to be gathered by these words of the Apostle, that the generation of the flesh, bringeth nothing at all to pass that our children be called holy. But unto this we have sufficiently answered. For we have declared at large, that this must not be attributed to the generation of the flesh, as to the proper and chief cause, when as our salvation (as Paul saith) consisteth only of the grace of God, and of the election or promise. But because the reason of this election is hidden, and that the first token which we have thereof, is, if children belong unto them that be holy, and be offered by them in the sacrament of regeneration: therefore do we call them holy, although as it hath been said, this token may deceive: even as also the confession of faith, which is expressed in words by them that be of ripe age, when they are to be Baptized, may lie and proceed of hypocrisy. Moreover the Apostle would by that place, call back the Jews, (who disdained the Gentiles) unto the first and principal cause of our salvation which he had propounded unto them not to be the works of ceremonies, or our merits, or the stock according to the flesh, which they always boasted of. He set before their eyes the election of God and the promise: which cause is of that kind that it cannot be deceived, but that it hath perpetually an effect. Yet his mind was not to make void all these second instruments or means and also tokens which God useth, as he would utterly say, that they were nothing. The linage of the flesh is not sufficient of itself unto righteousness and true holiness. For sometime the children of holy men may belong unto perdition. When they be grown to ripe years, they may degenerate from their good and goodly bringing up. They may also depart from religion, which they seemed to receive from their childhood: as we know the Jews did, which have denied

Christ, and have no more to glory of concerning the holy seed: although the promise of God in that stock, shall never be utterly void. For afterward in the 11th chapter the same Apostle most plainly showeth, that he took not from the Jews the gifts of kindred and progeny, when he saith: If the root be holy, the branches are also holy: if the first fruits be holy, so is the whole lump.

11. Neither doeth Christ show these promises to be vain when as in the seed of Abraham according to the flesh he became man, and was so conversant in that nation: as in the Epistle unto the Romans he was said to be the minister of Circumcision for confirming the promises of the fathers. This undoubtedly had not the Jews by their merits, that Christ unto them before others ministered the word of life, but they had it by the promise which was made unto their stock: whereby it appeareth, that it is not altogether a vain and needless thing to be born of a godly kindred. And in the Acts of the Apostles Peter said unto the Jews: that unto them specially pertained the Gospel by the right of the covenant: as it is in the second chapter. Further in the next chapter, they be called children of the Testament. And everywhere in Paul thou readest: First to the Jew, and then to the Greek. And the Apostles observed this: that they went not to preach unto the Gentiles, unless they had first ministered the word of salvation unto the Jews. And more than all these things thou hast in the ten Commandments an excellent promise of God, that God would do well unto those that fear him, and unto their posterity unto a thousand generations. Although we deny not, but that oftentimes ill children have succeeded in the place of good parents: because such promises (as I have said) be not common unto all the seed, but only unto that seed wherein even the election of God and predestination do meet together, the which oftentimes (as we

faithfully believe) hath place in the seed of the Saints. God doeth not so bind his promises to a kindred or to things of this world, but that it may be lawful for him sometime to temper them according to his providence. For it sometimes happeneth that he indueth with greater grace the children of ill parents than others which were born of the seed of the godly. And we must not think, that this covenant of God made with Abraham, and with his posterity and ours is derived from the flesh to the children, but that such promise is preserved only by the power and efficacy of God's mercy.

12. And least thou shouldest think, that the promise made unto Abraham, is only a thing temporal, consider this specially, I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed. They undoubtedly unto whom God is manifested, are delivered from sin, death and damnation. For so much as this property is agreeable unto God, that he will save and deliver them that be his. By which reason Christ proved that the dead do live and shall rise again: because in the Scriptures we read: I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob. Neither are we to doubt, but that the same covenant is applied unto our children, unless we will account God to be less pitiful and merciful unto us than he was unto the Hebrews: although his grace were diminished by the coming of Christ. In the Epistle to the Colossians circumcision is most manifestly compared with our baptism. For it is said: In whom ye be circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands, by putting off the sinful body of the flesh, in that ye are buried with him through Baptism. Wherefore our baptism is of no less account than was Circumcision, for it did seal the covenant and promise in the young children of the Hebrews. The which we must judge to be done by Baptism. This (if we do well) must be observed while the Sacraments be given, that the thing which is sealed with the outward sign be had, and be there present. Those that be of ripe age

declare, that they hold the promise by faith, when they confess the truth of Christian doctrine, and then is applied the sealing, and they are baptized. And in the young children of the Christians, when they are declared by the words of God to have the promise of the covenant, and to be in the church, this communion and promise no doubt is sealed by baptism. Sometime indeed by an overthwart order it happeneth, that the thing followeth the applying of the sacrament, and then the promise or the gift of the promise, which in very deed is not there, is not sealed, as appeareth in them which be unbelievers and come to baptism with a feigned mind. Those men assuredly belong not unto the Church: neither have they the justification or communion of Christ: only they carry a sign about with them. Howbeit it may be, that if they be converted unto Christ, they may afterward obtain these things, neither must baptism be therefore renewed. But this way of receiving the sacraments is not allowed. And as touching the riper age there is no doubt, when they faithfully receive baptism, but that they have first entered into the covenant of God. For so soon as ever a man believeth in Christ, he both hath salvation, and is also justified. And albeit some have doubted as touching the children of the faithful, yet must we judge the self-same [*of them*.] And undoubtedly unless that the children of the Hebrews had been contented with this covenant before circumcision, if they had died the fifth or sixth before they had come to the eighth day, they should have been thought to be damned, and circumcision deferred would have beguiled them, which as an absurdity may not be granted, seeing they were destitute of the circumcision, not through contempt of the sacrament, but by reason of obedience to the law of God. And [*by that reason*] our young children which die before Baptism should be damned. Which although Augustine admitted, yet is it amiss and is not necessarily gathered out of the

Scriptures. But and if so be that they may be saved, the children also of the Hebrews which died before the eighth day might be saved. Furthermore it is necessary that they belonged unto Christ and to the church, seeing out of it there is no salvation. And that the state of our infants and the Hebrews is all one, we have already declared before: because through Christ is broken down the wall of the old ceremonies which seemed to be a stop, and he being made the head corner stone, hath joined together in one the two walls of the Ethnic and of the Hebrew people. So as now there is but one fold and one shepherd: and many bows are broken off and we grafted in their place, so as it is now one and the self-same tree which beareth as well the Ethnics as the Jews that believe in Christ.

13. And that it may be the more plainly understood how they pertain to the covenant of Christ, which either were sealed with circumcision, or now be washed with baptism, it behooveth to repeat that which is written in the history of the book of Genesis the 17th chapter, whereas God did first enter into covenant, not only with Abraham, but with his whole family: and would that not all only Abraham, but all his household servants, and those that were bought with money, should pertain to that covenant: among which no doubt but there were many young children. Afterward there followed circumcision. Whereby it appeareth, that the promise, agreement, or covenant was not brought in by circumcision, but that it went before it. The very which thing must be understood of baptism. For first the word was preached to Citizens, or to householders, and the covenant to be made by Christ was set forth. Wherewithal when they were kindled by faith, and that they had submitted themselves to the covenant, there followed baptism, not only touching themselves, but touching their young children, who were acknowledged to be within the compass of that covenant. St. Paul saith, that

he baptized the house of Stephanas. And in the Acts of the Apostles, as we said a little before, not only the master of the prison, but also all they which belonged unto him received baptism. And that do they observe (as I said a little before) which have heads of Cattle: For they have not been accustomed to set their burnt sign or mark upon either horses or Oxen that belong not unto themselves. So doth the Church baptize them whom it supposeth to belong unto it, and which be not strangers from the same. Neither is it otherwise in a king's letters patents. First we obtain the gift and bill assigned, and then we cause it to be sealed. Cornelius the Centurion, first received the holy Ghost, afterward was given water wherewith he was baptized. The same happened unto the Eunuch which was baptized by Philip. And finally all they which be of ripe age do first by faith take possession of Christ before they be marked with his badge, unless that (as we said before) they come in hypocrisy unto baptism.

14. They were wont to object that there is one consideration to be had of infants, and another of them which be of ripe age: because they that be of years, may have faith whereby they belong to the flock of God, which cannot be attributed unto infants, seeing they have not the use of understanding and reason, by which they may give consent to the promises of God. I know it hath been thought of some, and those of no small estimation, that infants have faith, as though God wonderfully and beyond the course of nature worketh in them, whose opinion to say the truth I do not very readily embrace: not that I judge this to be impossible unto God, that either he may pour in virtues into what age soever he will: or that he can even bring forth a sense of the mind or reason in the souls of Infants, by preventing the time of nature, or else bring to pass that although they themselves neither understand, nor know what is to be believed, yet the

holy Ghost apprehendeth the same in them, and consenteth unto them even as he is said to do in them that be of age in the Epistle to the Romans, when we require things that we know not whether they be profitable or no, but the spirit itself maketh intercession for us, when we know not of it, and prayeth as it behooveth: and God for so much as he knoweth his meaning heareth him. And these things I say as touching God may easily be done. But seeing the holy scripture telleth me not that young children do believe, or that these miracles be done in them: neither that I do see this to be of necessity unto their salvation, I judge it sufficient to affirm that they which shall be saved, (for so much as by election and predestination they belong unto the treasure of God) are endued with the spirit of God, which is the root of faith, hope, charity, and of all virtues which he afterward showeth forth and declareth in the children of God, when through age it may be done. Howbeit by a certain kind of speech, such young children may be called faithful, even as otherwhile we call Infants reasonable, not that they in very deed are able to reason, but because they have a soul, the which so soon as their age shall give them leave, will both reason and exercise them in sundry arts and faculties. And that that age may be adorned with the holy ghost, John and Jeremiah may witness, who were inspired with the spirit of God even from their mother's womb. Which thing also Jerome unto Marcella writeth of Asella, that she was sanctified by the holy Ghost even from her mother's womb: which sanctification must not be thought repugnant to original sin: For doubtless they have it as we above declared, but it is not imputed. For if it should be imputed unto them, it would be altogether of necessity, that so many young children of the faithful parents as died without baptism or circumcision, should be damned, seeing that none with original sin are admitted into the kingdom of heaven.

15. But the cause why our adversaries are so loath to allow of this opinion, is for that they attribute unto the Sacraments more than they ought to do. For they think that by the power and efficacy of the work of baptism, sin is forgiven. Neither do they acknowledge that by the Sacraments, forgiveness is rather sealed, which they of perfect age obtain by believing, and the young children of the faithful, which belong unto election, have it already by the holy Ghost and by grace. And when thou shalt demand of them, wherefore they baptize Infants, knowing that they perceive not those things which are spoken, nor yet do consent unto the covenant which is pronounced to them in baptism, perhaps they will answer according to the opinion of Augustine, that they be saved by other men's faith, that is, by the faith of their Parents. But the Prophet saith, that everyone is saved by his own faith and not by another man's. Wherefore we may more fitly make answer, that as touching them which be of ripe age we require a faith expressed and in Act, but in the young children of Christians which are offered to be baptized we say, that the same is began, I mean in their beginning and root, because they have the holy Ghost, from whence, as well faith as all other virtues do flow. And that it may the better appear that young children which are baptized (and not only they which have been already baptized) do pertain unto the Church, we will declare it evidently enough by the Epistle to the Ephesians: where it is said, Ye men love your wives, even as Christ loved the Church and gave himself for it, that he might Sanctify it, being cleansed by the washing of water through the word, &c. By this place thou seest, that it is the Church which is washed and baptized. So then, so long as young children be baptized, it is manifest that they belong unto the Church, and they cannot truly be parts of the Church, unless they be adorned with the spirit of Christ. Wherefore young children

which verily belong unto the election of God, before they can be baptized are instructed by the spirit of the Lord: otherwise as we alleged before, they cannot be saved, if they died before circumcision or baptism.

16. Neither must it be thought that I have spoken these things, to the intent I would promise salvation unto all the children of the faithful which depart without the sacrament: for if I should so do, I might be counted rash. I leave them to be judged of the mercy of God, seeing I have no knowledge of the secrete election and predestination. But this only I affirm, that they are in very deed saved upon whom soever the divine election lighteth, although they be not baptized. For God hath not tied grace unto the Sacraments, as though without them he neither can nor will save any. Also I hope well of such young children, because I see that they be born of faithful parents. Which (as it hath been declared) hath no mean promises: which though they be not general as concerning all, (as appeareth of Jacob and Esau which had both one father and one mother) yet when as I see nothing otherwise, it is meet that I should hope well of the salvation of such Infants: otherwise not all be saved which are baptized. Certainly Esau was circumcised when he was a young child, and yet who dare say that he was acceptable unto God at that age seeing the Scripture saith, That he was hated of God, before that he did any good or evil? And yet nevertheless we must hope that the children departing with baptism are saved, since there appeareth nothing to the contrary: yea and rather on the other side we have arguments of their salvation, because they be born of the faithful, the promise is extant, they are adopted in the Church, and sealed with the Sacrament. Wherefore letting pass the curious inquiring of Predestination or election of God, we will hope well of them.

17. But some will say, if the children of Christians which belong unto Election, (as thou hast said) before they be baptized, do belong unto the covenant of God, and have the holy Ghost, neither is original sin imputed to them unto death, otherwise they might not be saved, doubtless baptism seemeth to be superfluous. Why then are they baptized? What profit have they thereby, or what is bestowed upon them that they had not before? Before I make answer I will again demand of thee: Admit an Ethnic be of ripe age, who giving ear to the preaching of the Gospel, is converted unto Christ, doeth truly believe: Further by his faith, is already justified: He desireth baptism, but as yet he hath it not. This man seeing he hath already obtained all, I pray thee tell me why should he be baptized? What will the Sacrament avail him? And least the case should seem to be uncertain, we know that this happened unto Cornelius the Centurion. He before he was baptized did believe, and so believed, as the holy Ghost in visible form descended upon him, and afterward was baptized. What had he by baptism, that he had not before? Moreover let Jacob be considered. He was loved of God being an Infant, he was born of faithful Parents, and he truly belonged to the covenant of God. And if he had died before circumcision, who will say, that he should have been damned? If he had already all things that served to salvation, what need was there that he should be circumcised? What had he by the sacrament, that he had not before? But although I have showed an argument which maketh no less against us than against our adversaries, yet to dissolve the same I will add these things. The commandment of the Lord must be fulfilled: he commanded that we should be baptized: and even he commanded Circumcision, so that if any man would contemn these things, he should most grievously sin. Hereunto belong the gifts which are already had, and the promise which already

belongeth unto them that be of Christ, must be sealed with the outward sign, that we may be continually mindful thereof, thereby to take an occasion to exercise our faith, and to be admonished of our duty. Furthermore there be added the prayers of the minister, the vows of them that offer, which things no small deal profit the young Infant: and the Church which standeth by at the ministration of that Sacrament, is taught concerning salvation. Do these things little avail, or be they unprofitable? Yea and it must be thought that God, as he is God, doeth of his mere mercy while his promises and gifts be sealed, make these things more ample, not by the work of the Sacrament, but by his goodness and spirit, by the very which he hath been accustomed while we outwardly hear the word of the holy scripture, to inflame our hearts, and to renew us more unto godliness. And if so be that any man shall proudly under this pretense contemn the Sacraments, he neither hath faith neither belongeth to the covenant of God: so far is it off that he can promise himself salvation. And the Parents and Elders, in whose power the Infants be, ought to be very careful that they depart not without Baptism: which if they do not, both they sin grievously, and they must suffer punishment, because they contemned the Sacraments instituted by God.

18. Now here remaineth that we discuss two places which seem to prove that young children which are departed without circumcision or without baptism, should be thought to be damned. Augustine against the Pelagians, while he seemeth to defend this opinion, always urgeth that place which is in John: Unless a man be born a new of water and the spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. But whereas it is said: of water and Spirit, it is showed to be sufficient unto salvation, that at the leastwise the spirit be present when water cannot be applied, and that there cannot always be a conjunction of both, and he affirmeth that both the one part and the

other must of necessity be had. The like speech thou hast unto the Romans: With the heart we believe unto righteousness, and with the mouth we confess unto salvation. If any man by hearing the word of God shall believe, to whom is not given the liberty of outward confession, shall we deny him to have salvation? For it may well be that a man at the last hour of his life doeth receive the faith, which he can neither testify by words, nor yet by signs. Further our adversaries also confess that there is a baptism of request and desire, which they call, The baptism of fire. For whenas a man believing, desireth baptism and cannot enjoy it, and dieth, they say he is saved. Which also Ambrose judged of Valentinian the Emperor, which came unto him to be baptized, and was slain by the way. How then do they regard this sentence: Unless a man be born again of the water and the spirit, &c? If a request and desire be there sufficient, why may it not be sufficient in children, the election of God, and the promise, and the holy Ghost, wherewith we declare them to be endued, seeing they be born of faithful progenitors? Moreover Christ talked there with Nicodemus, who was of a perfect age, and might have had the benefit both of water, and of a minister. There be some also, which there by the water and the spirit understand all one thing, so as the latter word expresseth the former. For Water allegorically, doeth diverse times signify grace and the holy ghost: as Christ showed when he talked with the Woman of Samaria, and when he cried: He that thirsteth let him come unto me and drink. And in Joel it is said, I will pour upon you clean water, &c. And the same manner of speech in a manner thou hast, in that which John the Baptist said of Christ: He that cometh after me, he baptizeth with fire and with the spirit. In which place, fire and the spirit signify all one thing: but the former answers are plain enough.

19. There is another place in the 17th chapter of the book of Genesis. But the uncircumcised manchild in whose flesh the foreskin is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from his people, because he hath broken my covenant. Behold (say they) the young Hebrews, which died without circumcision were to be cut off, and that as touching the soul: wherefore it seemeth to follow, that they cannot have salvation. Howbeit this place also proveth but little, which even our adversaries shall be compelled to grant: Forsomuch as the Master of the Sentences in the 4th Book, when he followeth this opinion, that children which died before the 8th day being uncircumcised, were damned, is forsaken, and for the more part is not defended by the writers. And as touching the matter: the Hebrews refer these words unto him which after the 8th day was not circumcised, and they understand the cutting off to be as concerning the life of the body, to wit, that he should die before his natural time: which opinion seemeth to be proved out of the history of Moses, where the Angel would slay him because he had not circumcised his son. But this proof seemeth not to be sufficient enough: because it is not read, that the Angel meant to kill the child, but the father, unless perhaps they bring this testimony only to the intent to declare that the threatening was to kill the body. There be others which understand That the soul should be cut off from among the people, because he shall not be reckoned among the Israelites, nor their Church, neither shall be numbered in the commonwealth: there to obtain neither heritage nor office. Now, seeing these two interpretations may be used, it maketh the argument to be weak. But least we should seem to give the slip: admit that God speak there of the death of the soul and of the loss of eternal life: yet may we expound that these things must not so be understood except when the circumcised shall be come to age, and shall consent to the

negligence of his elders which did not circumcise him. Otherwise if he himself shall circumcise himself, and shall detest that which the Parents did towards him, he shall not deserve to be cut off, but rather to be commended. So must the law of God be understood: if there happen a consent of omitting Circumcision, he is worthy to perish, he (I mean) shall be cut off. But if so be he depart uncircumcised, before he have power to circumcise himself, he must be left to the merry of God, neither is it meet to judge rashly of him. But seeing he might belong to the predestination or to the election of God, and that he came of godly ancestors, we may hope well of him. And the self-same judgment in all respects is to be given of this sentence that was of the saying of Christ which we entreated of before: namely, Unless a man shall be born of water and the spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Which saying since our adversaries are constrained whether they will or no, to understand modestly: there is no cause why thy should so greatly wrangle about this sentence. By these things which we have now alleged it is easily proved that our young children, seeing now by the word of God and promise of the covenant they seem to be engrafted to the Church, ought not to be excluded from Baptism. Even as the children of the Hebrews although they were young ones, were circumcised.

CHAP. IX. A. Of the dedication of Temples, wherein is entreated of sundry corruptions of Baptism.

While I earnestly think upon the Dedication [*of the temple*] which Solomon made, that cometh to my remembrance which Augustine hath in a certain Oration to the people, of the dedication of a temple: to wit, that those things which are done in the outward temples, do also pertain unto us, who be the true temples of God. Wherefore in the first Epistle to the Corinthians the third Chapter, it is written, That the Temple of God is holy which are you. Further we have in the 6th chapter: Your bodies are the Temples of the holy Ghost. Therefore we must take heed least we err in the dedicating of any of both temples. The outward temple is then dedicated, when we begin to apply it to holy uses: and godly men are then visibly consecrated unto God, when they be washed in holy baptism. But this must be provided, that both the one and the other be done according to the rule of the word of God. But seeing we are to entreat of these things, it is meet we should begin with the Etymology of the words. In Hebrew there be two verbs *Chanac* and *Cadasch*, which in the conjugation *Hiphil* hath *Hicdisch*, and is nothing else but to sanctify. But *Chanac*, signifieth to teach and

instruct in the first principles. Wherefore Solomon in the Proverbs the 22nd chapter wrote *Chanoc lannaar alpi darco*, which is: Instruct a child according to his way, that is to say, as his capacity will serve. And in Genesis we read that Abraham for the recovery of Lot, armed *Eth Chanicau* his house born servants, whom he had trained not only in religion but also in necessary arts. Moreover that verb signifieth to dedicate, because it is then done so soon as we begin to use anything. Wherefore Chrysostom upon the Epistle to the Hebrews saith: that consecration or dedication is then done so soon as ever we begin to use it. And not only are temples dedicated, but many things else, as a house. And therefore the title of the 30th Psalm is *Schir channucath beth Ie-david*, that is: The dedication of the house of David. Then also men are said to enter their house, when they first begin to eat, to drink, and to dwell therein. Which thing the godly without prayers and thanks giving use not to do. Therefore David when he had dedicated his house, made a song or Psalm: wherein both he himself gave thanks unto God and also prayed, that the same might be godly, religiously, and holily used. Of such dedication also, there is mention made in the 20th chapter of Deuteronomy, wherein are delivered precepts of warfare. Verily God would, that many should be excepted from the wars, and those among the rest, which when they had built a house had not after dedication used the same. And in the Book of Nehemiah's there is a dedication of the walls of a City: which was nothing else, but that the walls of the City being made up, the people, together with the Levites and Priests, and also the Princes went thither, and there gave thanks unto God, because the walls were reedified, and prayed that the City might be righteously used. After which manner likewise, before we take meat, we also consecrate the same: not that we think that the Devil is therein, or that it is evil in his own nature:

Because God saw all things that he made, and they were exceeding good, and Paul in the first to Timothy very well said, That the things which God hath made be good, and that therefore nothing must be rejected which is taken with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified by the word of God and by prayers: But in our consecration, we first give thanks unto God, that he hath provided for us these helps of life. Further we crave that our bodies may not be hurt by them, because we distemper ourselves, whereby we afterward fall easily into sickness, and while we be loaden with surfeiting and drunkenness, we can be no apt instruments either of reason or of the spirit of God.

2. Wherefore it is very commendable, that after this manner we should consecrate all things so soon as ever we begin to use, them: that is to wit, as well by thanksgiving as by prayers: so far are we from disallowing such a custom. Constantine the great, when he had repaired Byzantium, and had determined to use that City for the seat of the Roman Empire, would consecrate the same to God: and to the dedication thereof, he called 318 fathers, which at that time held the Synod of Nice. The same Emperor also going to Jerusalem, built a very sumptuous temple unto Christ, and decked it with precious offerings: with gold I mean, with silver, and with precious stones: And he called away those Bishops, which held a Council at Tyrus, that they would come to dedicate the same. And as Eusebius showeth, that dedication consisted of preaching of the Gospel, of praises unto God, of prayers, and of thanksgivings. And hereof (as I think,) the dedication of temples had original and beginning among the Christians. For I find not in the Ecclesiastical histories, that Temples were dedicated before that time. Neither must this be unspoken of, that the Hebrews accustomed to dedicate Temples not only which were new built, but also those which were repaired

and cleansed from uncleanness. This they did when after the return out of Persia they had repaired anew the Temple and altar. Also Judas Maccabeus reformed the Temple when it was polluted by the Ethnics with the most filthy idolatry of Antiochus. Yea and yet still in the papacy both the one and the other is retained. Such renewed dedications are in the Greek called ἐγκαίνια, which in Latin we may call Renovalia or Renovales dies, that is renewals or days of renewing, which are not once celebrated, but the solemnities of them are done every yere at one time. Moreover in the executing of them, the Papists have gotten to themselves many things as well from the Hebrews as from the Ethnics: pretending that they very much profit the ignorant by the ceremonies which they use. Howbeit what the Jews did in their dedications, the holy history doth plainly teach. But the rites of the Ethnics were sundry and manifold. Whereof we read many things in Tulli: especially in the Oration for his house unto the high Bishops. There the Soothsayer must hold fast a post, and speak certain set words, without stutting or stammering in his tongue, but with a firm and constant mind. Also men were consecrated by the Ethnics, and thereof Cicero rendereth a reason in his second book *de legibus*, namely, that the mysteries which were delivered unto them were certain entrances of man's life. Whereby men might be drawn from rude and rustical to a more human and civil kind of life. Yea and children were said to be initiated or entered, when as they were weaned, because they were then trained up: namely from milk unto a more substantial meat and drink. Wherefore they were said to be consecrated unto the goddesses Edidia and Potina. The things verily were Ethnical, but yet a token of them remaineth in the holy history. Wherein it is showed, that Abraham made a banquet when he weaned Isaac. Wherein no doubt but thanksgiving and prayers were placed among. Also

Chanoch which lived before the flood, had his name of consecration or dedication: and I doubt not but it was by some mystery: of which, although I know that the Hebrews do fable, yet have I not what to bring for a certainty. And to dedicate or initiate the Greeks call τελεῖν and μνεῖν: but to consecrate, they call ἐκθειάζειν καθιερόειν: and to sanctify, ἁγιάζειν. And the Latins name them *Initiari, Dedicare, Consecrare, Sanctificare*. And to sanctify is nothing else but to apply to divine and religious uses, or to prepare himself to offer something unto God. And Cicero said: to bind with everlasting religion. And there is a difference between these words, *To consecrate*, and *To dedicate*: forasmuch as things are said to be consecrated, when of profane things, they are said to be religious and holy: and they are said to be dedicated when they are appointed to any certain God. This truly is a very trifle: but yet it must be earnestly considered, that the Hebrews did dedicate and initiate their things, not by simple and bare words, but by adding of outward rites, signs I mean, and tokens which might be seen: not forsooth that they thought any holiness or divine quality to be in those things: for seeing they be in the soul, they be not capable of holiness: but so they thought, because, the rites being instituted by God, those things which were consecrate, might become instruments of the holy spirit, by which the faith of men might be stirred up. Neither were they deceived because those things for that time had the word of God: and that which is to us at this day, water, bread, and wine, was unto them sundry, and manifold signs in holy things. Furthermore as the holy history teacheth, they extended consecration unto priests, altars, garments, and other implements as well of the Temple as also of the Tabernacle.

3. The very selfsame things in a manner have the Papists of a certain naughty zeal drawn unto them. In the second council of Bracca in the 5th

Canon it is commanded, that a Church should not be consecrated till a provision be made for gifts and revenues. Whereby both the Minister and Deacon might be maintained least the temple being built should lie desolate. Both these might have been done, if superstition had not been added: whereby they in that Synod would have it provided, that in no wise the Temple should be without oil and lights. Much better should it have been that these expenses had been bestowed upon poor and sick folk. The like in a manner hath the council of Worms 3rd chapter. But *De consecratione* in the first distinction, by the former Canons, it is very severely commanded, that no Temple should be built or consecrated, unless it were with the will of the Bishop of Rome. Which in very deed tended unto manifest tyranny. And why it was abolished, I will not now declare. But again *De Consecratione*, in the chapter, *Missarum Solennia* there is strait commandment, that Masses should not be said or sung, except in places dedicated by bishops. And there in the chapter *Si alijs*, it is affirmed that it is far better, that Masses be not said nor sung, than that they should be celebrated in places not consecrate. And least they should seem to speak without the scriptures, they bring that which is written in the 12th chapter of Deuteronomy: Take heed that thou offer not thy whole burnt offerings in every place, but in that place only which God hath chosen. As though God hath chosen to himself all those places, which they with their superstitious Masses do everywhere contaminate. But there be many more of these things in the Extravagants of consecration of Churches and Altars, and also of holy anointing. In a National Council, holden at Colen: which was held in the year of the Lord 1536, in the 9th part the 12th chapter: Those fathers which were present, endeavored to excuse their dedications, and denied that they would follow the trade of the Jews, when as nevertheless in confirming

their trifles they bring nothing out of the word of God, unless it be so much as they wrest for their purpose out of the Old Testament. But Gratian in the beginning of the first distinction *De Consecratione*, while he goeth about to confirm those things which are fondly done in the dedication of Temples, reasoneth on this wise: The Jews did these things, therefore it is much more lawful for Christians to do the same: grounding his reason in very deed from the greater. Which kind of Argument is most feeble: because it is not lawful so to conclude of the ceremonies and rites of the old fathers. In moral precepts, the reason would be firm: but in ceremonies which were figures and shadows it is not meet so to reason, seeing all the commandments of that kind were abolished after the purging of Christ. But I return to those of Colen, who in the place now alleged, the 14th chapter, say, that Temples are therefore consecrated, that from thence ill spirits may be expulsed: which how true it is, shall afterward in his place be declared. But in consecrating of the Church, they have superstitiously devised many things. For they use water, oil, wax, lights, many marks of the cross upon the walls: And upon the flower the description as well of the Greek as of the Hebrew alphabet: when as nevertheless the bishops which do these things be altogether ignorant both of the Greek and of the Hebrew. Their custom is also to reconcile (as they speak) the Temples themselves, if they have been overthrown, if blood have been shed by slaughter, or if filthy lusts have been committed, or if the dead body of a man excommunicate or an alliant from Christ have been there buried, when as nevertheless their temples are continually polluted with horrible Idolatry. But in those reconciliations, least they should be thought destitute of holy scriptures, they bring for example sake the fact of Christ, who having made a whip of small cords, cast the buyers and sellers out of the Temple. Which argument in very deed

doth manifestly reprove them: because the Bishops and Suffragans which dedicate their Temple, do buy and sell their own labor. For unless they be hired for some reward for the doing of these things, they deny to go. Further, what other thing else are the Papists Temples, but the markets and merchandise of Masses? Neither doth that anything help them, which they bring out of the 14th and 15th chapters of Leviticus, seeing all those things belong unto the tabernacle of Moses.

14. Furthermore it is to be considered, that these importunate men, do not only consecrate the Temples themselves, but also the altars, and coverings of the altars: I mean the tablecloths and napkins, and also the Chalices and patins, the Massing garments, the Churchyards, the wax candles, the frankincense, the paschal Lamb, eggs, and also holy water, the boughs of their palm trees, young springs, grass, and potherbs, and finally all kind of fruits: and it is come to that pass, as they consecrate the very belles and they take it in ill part that we say they baptize them. For Hosius cavileth, that this is vainly spoken by us, and affirmeth that they be consecrated by their Ministers, but not baptized. But truly, the common people are wholly to be excused for saying, they do baptize them: for seeing all things in a manner are there done which pertain unto baptism, it is not without a cause that they say they baptize them. For they be washed, they be anointed, they be conjured, they are named and handled with far greater pomp and ambition, than men are while they are baptized with the holy baptism, and much more is attributed unto them, than to the prayers of godly men. For they say, that by the ringing of them, the wicked spirits, the host of adversaries, the laying await of enemies, tempests, hail, storms, whirlwinds, violent blasts, and hurtful thunderclaps are driven away, flames and fires extinguished, and finally what else soever. But we much more soundly and rightly judge, that

it is lawful as we have said, yea to be required by godly right, that in the first use of everything, we should give thanks unto God, and celebrate his goodness, and that with meet and convenient praises, and desire that we may use religiously and holily such a benefit bestowed upon us. These things doubtless cannot be reproved, seeing they have just foundations out of the holy Scriptures. But the trifles of our adversaries, seeing they be not derived of the word of God, but have been brought in by idle and superstitious men, ought worthily to be rejected by the Church of Christ. For such is not the condition of men to institute sacraments at their own pleasure, because that is proper to God alone, and to none besides him. For sacraments be instruments of the holy Ghost, the which he useth to stir up our faith. And seeing he is altogether the wisest, he hath no need that we should by our own imagination or endeavor prepare instruments for him. Which thing also no artificer in his faculty would abide, but would himself make choice of his own instruments. Wherefore great is the boldness of these men, which will prescribe his instruments whereby he should work our salvation. They are also reproved for another cause: because they deal against the devil by commandment, as though they could constrain him to depart when they will, whereas they have received no such grace of the holy Ghost, and seeing that all Christians enjoy not that gift. For the spirit (as Paul testifieth) distributeth his gifts, even as he will. Further they be ignorant whether an evil spirit be in that place, which they say they consecrate: which seeing they know not, neither are warranted by the word of God, whatsoever they do, they work without faith: and therefore they sin, seeing it is written by the Apostle: Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin. Indeed there hath sometime been certain wicked houses where ill spirits exercised horrible things, so as they might not be inhabited by men: but there it was

known by the deed itself: that the ill spirit was present: but in other houses we cannot perceive, either by the effects, or yet by the word of God that there be ill spirits. Why then do they so imperiously conjure them? They might as well conjure the whole world, seeing Paul in the 6th to the Ephesians calleth the devils, The rulers of the world: or at the leastwise the whole air (whereby we chiefly use to take breath) seeing the evil spirits are called the powers of the air. Neither can that be, because they make more account of the ceremonies invented by themselves, than of the Sacraments instituted by God. For they use greater pomp and preparation in the administering of them, than when they celebrate the supper of the Lord or baptism, which Christ instituted: Again, they prefer their inventions above the ten commandments, and would more grievously punish the breakers of them, than those which transgress the commandments of God. Wherefore godliness is marvelously impaired: for men are led away from the word of God and do turn their minds unto vanities and to men's traditions. And it is unspeakable how greatly the ordinance of new worshipping's do displease God: for he hath everywhere in his laws forbidden that it should not be done.

5. But now that we have spoken enough of the consecrating of outward things, wherein this briefly must be held, that besides prayer and thanksgiving, no other thing ought to be used: now will we see whether they deal anything more sincerely and godly in the baptizing of men. Undoubtedly with their superstitions and inventions they have horribly infected baptism. For that sacrament doeth consist of two things: of the outward element of water, and the word of God. Whereupon Augustine very well said: The word is added unto the element, and it is made a Sacrament. Other things which afterward were put thereunto proceeded from Bishops,

who were more given unto Ceremonies than was meet, and were marvelously affected to things invented by themselves. For this is a grievous, and in a manner a continual fault of the nature of man, that we have in estimation those things especially which we ourselves have invented. Therefore were the institutions of Christ and of his Apostles contemned as things worn out of use. Whereof it came to pass that the Papists do more detest them being barely and simply received, than good Orators do the words that be altogether out of use. So that in tract of time the Bishops have foisted into Baptism, Oil, salt, spittle, wax, light, breathings, exorcisms, consecration of Fontes twice a year, (that is at Easter and at Pentecost) three times dipping, and such other like. And (as they be most pregnant in coining of words) they have called many of them not sacraments, but sacramentals, because they be tokens and signs of those things which they themselves not God, would have to be signified: and as they were moved and did dream in their imagination, so they brought in things which seemed good unto themselves. As concerning Oil, we confess that the ancient Kings, Prophets, and Priests, and among the Ethnics the wrestlers were anointed withal. But these men by applying their anointings in Baptism, do say that they shadow Christian kings to be made Prophets and Priests, and also strong wrestlers, to fight continually with the Devil, the world, and the flesh. And while they do these things, they expound them not unto those that stand by: and a great part of their Priests are ignorant of them. Besides this, if they understand the matter after such a sort, (seeing they alone will be Priests) they disagree much among themselves. Wherefore intolerable is their ambition, who by the ceremonies which they have added, do arrogate unto themselves only that which belongeth unto all Christians, as they themselves also testify. But it is no marvel if they be

injurious to other Christians, seeing they spare not Christ himself, whom they fear not to rob of his honor. For he (as the Epistle to the Hebrews teacheth,) is our only Priest which remaineth forever, and alone offereth the sacrifice of salvation for us. But these men with an incredible boldness have challenged unto themselves the ministry both of the Priest and of the offering. Moreover Paul when he armed the faithful unto battle against the world, the flesh and the Devil, he did it by the word, that is, by wholesome admonition, not by oil: neither do we find, that the son of God or the Apostles anointed them whom they baptized. But it is no marvel that these men do things which the Apostles never did, seeing they also teach those things which the Apostles never taught. The use of salt was much in the Old Testament, for without salt sacrifices were not offered. But Christ and the Apostles admitted not that seasoning to the Sacraments of the Gospel. So then, that which is added unto Baptism, is self-worship and no lawful and sincere administration of Baptism. Further why should they have used their corrupt spittle? The devils be no Scorpions, whom they would destroy with their spittle. In deed there is a certain property of spittle against poisons: but that is natural: but to spiritual graces, we read of no power that it hath, especially when the institution and word of Christ is not applied unto it. But they say, that Christ with his spittle tempered the dust, and with that clay wiped the eyes of him that was born blind. We know that this was done: but let them show that Christ commanded that we should do the like: and then we will grant that they do it rightly and orderly, but they can in no place show of such a precept. Whereunto thou mayest add that the spittle of a corrupt and infected man (to say no worse) ought not to be compared with the spittle of Christ. It is therefore a perverse imitation, seeing they learned no such ceremony, neither of Christ nor yet of the Apostles. And it may well

be sometime, that they hurt the infant which they spit upon, if they be infected either with the Leprosy or with the French-pocks: which is not unlike, for it falleth out sometime that diverse of them be whoremongers.

6. Furthermore I would demand of them, wherefore they light wax Candles in Baptism, seeing it is ministered in the day time. I am not ignorant that the Christians were constrained in the old time to use lights in the holy assembly: because when the Church had no peace of their Princes, it was not lawful for the Christians to assemble in the day time: and therefore (as Pliny testifieth) they had their holy assemblies before daylight. Yea and Jerome against Vigilantius writeth: we light not candles in the day time as thou doest vainly misreport, but we use light as a tempering of darkness, that we may watch till it be day light, least we sleep with thee in darkness, &c. For in the time of Jerome, when the Church had now peace, upon certain days there were watches used in the temples: and there candles being lighted, the Christians which watched, gave themselves to prayers, singing of Psalms, and hearing of the word of God: And this is it that Jerome teacheth, that the use of wax lights was not used in the day time, but for avoiding darkness of the night. Whereby whether that this father acknowledgeth not the use of wax candles which are lighted in the day time: and yet notwithstanding in Popery candles are lighted even in the Churches at high noon. The double consecration of fruits is also superfluous at Easter and at Pentecost, because the salt water is consecrated when it is applied to an holy use, the word of God (I mean) being added thereunto. For then (as it hath been said) it is made a sacrament. Let them say moreover what meaneth the breathing of the Priest, before that the Infants be baptized. Perhaps they attempt to breath the holy Ghost upon the Infant, that is to be baptized. But that this is not in man’s power, all wise men

understand. For only God giveth the holy Ghost unto men. But and if they will say, that by such a breathing they drive away the evil spirit, who hath given them such power? But of that matter we will speak more largely when the place serveth. In vain also do they give precept of the three times dipping in the water, seeing that once may be sufficient and otherwhile a small sprinkling is enough. And therefore in the book *de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* the 7th chapter, the proposition is read not simple, but disjunctive: that is to wit, that after the confession made the party to be baptized should either be dipped in the water or else sprinkled. Yea and Cyprian himself allowed the baptism of them that lie bedridden. For many at that time deferred baptism till the end of their life: and when as they in that state being at the point of death could not be baptized, they were only sprinkled with water. We also demand of them, wherefore they conjure the salt, as though the devil by himself were not salt enough, and therefore dwelleth in salt, that he may be yet better and more salted. The master of the Sentences in the 4th book the third Distinction of baptism, saith, that therein be some things (as he speaketh) substantial, but othersome that be added: he saith that the substantial things with us are the word and water: but the rest he saith are added for honesty sake, for comeliness, and solemnity. If we shall receive these things, it will follow thereof that John, Christ, the Apostles, and primitive Church did baptize unhonestly, uncomely, obscurely, or shamefully: because their baptism wanted all these things, the which (as the master of the Sentences deemeth) do serve for honesty, comeliness, and solemnity. This doubtless is lamentable that almost all things in Christianity be corrupted, not only as concerning manners, but also as touching doctrine and Sacraments. Verily it had been meet in baptism to have dealt by faith, and to require a full and perfect

profession thereof. And let not any man answer, that the creed is recited, because in the baptism of Papists it is done very coldly: especially seeing it is always used in the Latin tongue, which is not under stood of them that stand by. And although, they that be present do after a sort know by long experience, the articles of the faith, yet do they but lightly understand them, wherefore it is necessary to instruct them more plainly. They boast also that they use a Catechizing or instruction: But in what sort? Forsooth the same consisteth of five or ten words, and these not understood. Besides they command him that is to be baptized to renounce the Devil and the pomp's of this world: For the which they have no commandment of God.

7. But leaving the rest of their trifles: let us come to Exorcism, wherein they put the whole sum and effect of the things that be added. And seeing the matter is of great importance, I think it first meet to speak somewhat of the signification of the word. In Greek ἐξορκίζειν is to adjure by holy things. Augustine in his book de Beata vita, writeth, that an evil spirit invadeth the soul, troubleth the senses, and casteth men into madness, in the driving out of which they that have authority, do lay on their hands and exorcise, that is, do drive him out in adjuring him by divine things. Hereby it appeareth now that exorcism is an adjuring by holy things. Ulpianus in the Pandects in the Title *de variis & extraordinariis cognitionibus*, in the first law saith, that he alloweth not of those Physicians which enchant and exorcise: and he addeth, that the same is a word which deceivers use. And although some (saith he) affirm, that they be holpen, yet do they nothing but enchant and curse. Also Pliny believed that there be certain diseases, which may be healed by enchantments and adjurations. In like manner there were some which supposed that exorcism is therefore applied to holy baptism, because a great oath is there made in the name of Christ. But they be very

far deceived, for that the sacrificer doth there adjure the evil spirit, neither doeth he take any oath in the name of Christ. True indeed it is, that the verb is derived of the noun ὅρκος, which is, an oath. And undoubtedly as I have already said: A certain adjuration by holy things is performed in exorcism. I have noted that the verb ὀρκίζειν is three times found in the New Testament. For in the fifth Chapter of Mark, the Devil adjured Christ, saying, ὀρκίζω σε τόν θεόν: that is, I adjure thee by God, that thou torment me not. In the 19th chapter of the Acts the sons of Sceva said: ὀρκίζομεν ὑμᾶς τόν Ἰησοῦν ὅν ὁ Παῦλος κηρύσσει, that is, We adjure you by Jesus Christ whom Paul preacheth. And in the first to the Thessalonians the last chapter, ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς τόν κύριον, ἀναγνωσθῆναι τήν ἐπιστολήν πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις, that is, I adjure you by the Lord that this Epistle be red unto all the Saints. Wherefore these places declare, that exorcisms as it hath been said, is an adjuration by divine things. But exorcism is exercised, by a certain commandment and royal power: because the exorcists command the unclean spirits, and very boldly command them to depart: and by this means exorcisms differ from prayers and supplications. Now it thoroughly appeareth, what is exorcism, and what is to exorcise.

8. Now are there three things to be considered in order, first, when exorcisms began: secondly, whether exorcists should be retained, and so retained as they may belong to the holy ministry: Lastly, whether exorcisms are to be joined with baptism. As touching the first; I say that in all the Old Testament I have not read that any exorcisms were ordained for the driving out of devils. I know indeed that there be adjurations extant. Wherefore there is a law of jealousy in the book of Numbers, which commanded unto the Israelites a form of a certain adjuration: but by it the Priests did not adjure the woman to cast Devils out of her: but he wished either good or

evil unto her, according as she had behaved herself. If she had been chaste and blameless, he wished her well, but if she were unclean and defiled with whoredom, he cursed her with express words. Also Joshua adjured Acham, not to drive the Devil out of him, but to drive him to confess a truth of conveying away the accursed thing. Some think that David did exorcise Saul: which I allow not, for he with his Harp played before him, and with most pleasant verses praised God: But that he used not exorcism it may for two causes be affirmed. First because he did not perfectly heal him: but as it is written in the history: While he played, his trouble was asswaged: yet was not the evil spirit utterly cast out from Saul. Further David used not the form of adjuration, which the Scripture teacheth, but verses of Music: and these (as it is like lie) of the nature of prayers. But that there were Exorcists among the Hebrews, I deny not, as I will straightway declare by plain Testimonies: although I grant that I am ignorant in what age they first began. Josephus in the 8th book of Antiquities, the second Chapter writeth, that Solomon made certain charms and exorcisms. But of that matter I spake sufficiently, when I interpreted that place where it is showed that Solomon passed in wisdom all the men of the East and the Egyptians. But to come somewhat nearer unto the matter I think that the wisdom of Solomon was inspired into him by God. And those things which God bestoweth upon men are not to be counted evil, but good: but that incantations are condemned by the laws of God, it is most certain: For which cause they are not given to men by the spirit of God. Whereby it is proved that the exorcisms, enchantments, and the book of the little Key, the which are carried abroad under the name of Solomon: are counterfeit and not to be fathered upon him. They abound everywhere with superstitions, and be fraughted with gestures both ridiculous and Idolatrous.

9. But that the Hebrews (as I have said) had Exorcists, it is proved by the testimony of Christ in the 12th of Matthew. For there the Lord answered: If I in the name of Beelzebub do cast out Devils, in whose name do your children cast them out? Where Jerome interpreteth, that by the children of the Hebrews may be understood exorcists, which all that time wandered here and there conjuring il spirits by the name of the Lord. It is said then that they shall be their judges, not by power but by comparison: They doubtless confessed that Devils were cast out by the spirit of God, but these men attributed the power unto Baalzebub: wherefore they were found to be much worse than they. But he addeth that that place might also be understood of the Apostles: which were the children of the Hebrews as touching the flesh and had already given by Christ the gifts of casting out of Devils, and are rightly said, that they shall be judges of the wicked and of the blasphemous, seeing it is said unto them: Ye shall sit upon 12 seats judging the 12 Tribes of Israel: And he far preferreth this latter interpretation before the first. But me thinks the first seemeth the more agreeable. For if we affirm that these things are spoken as touching the Apostles, the Scribes and Pharisees shall not seem at the full to be reproved of Christ. For they might have said: Thy Disciples also cast out Devils in the name of Baalzebub, even as they be taught by thee. Neither do I persuade myself that those wicked men make more account of the Apostles in better place than they did of their master. But if so be we refer those words unto exorcists, the Scribes and Pharisees are notably confuted. Wherefore I confess that among the Jews there were exorcists. Neither do I deny but that God bestowed that gift (of driving away of Devils from men) to certain men whom he would, yet not unto such as the Priests had appointed. But the Priests therein grievously sinned, in that they would at

their own pleasure appoint a fellowship, or college, or order of Exorcists: as though they might bind the grace of God to their elections and constitutions.

10. But afterward Christ renewed that strength and power, yea rather: he was the a chief and prince of new Exorcists: and he dealt against the unclean spirits with great commandment and absolute power, as it manifestly appeareth in the story of the Gospel. Neither did he only cure them that were present, but them also which were absent: for he healed the daughter of the woman of Canaan which was absent: neither had he himself only power over the devils, but he also gave the same gift unto his Apostles. But there is another place in the Acts of the Apostles, in the 19th chapter: whereby it most evidently appeareth, that such Exorcists were among the Hebrews. For the sons of Sceva adjured ill spirits, which also they attempted to do through the name of Jesus. Howbeit the ancient Prophets, although I read that sometime they did miracles, yet do I not find that they used Exorcisms. But that Christ gave power of casting out the Devil unto his Disciples, it is showed in the 16th chapter of Mark, where it is written: And there signs shall follow: the believers shall cast out devils, &c. And in the 9th of Luke it is declared that John saw a certain man which through the name of Christ cast out devils, and yet he did not follow him: Wherefore (saith John) we forbad him: which deed Jesus disallowed. Many also at the latter day shall say: as we have it in the 7th of Matthew: Have we not in thy name cast out Devils? And Paul as it is written in the 16th of the Acts commanded the spirit of divination to depart: which forthwith was done. Howbeit we must understand, that the Apostles were not always able by their authority to cast out ill spirits. For as the history of the Evangelist teacheth: A certain man offered to them his son to be cured, whom they could not deliver. And Christ coming to them taught that that kind of

Devils, are not cast out but by fasting and prayers. As if he should say: that therein prayers, and that very earnest are needful: the which are very much furthered by fasting: true fasting I mean, not that feigned fasting, which consisteth only of the choice of meats.

11. A great while did these gifts of healing remain in the Church. And what time they utterly ceased, it cannot precisely be defined. And because that they are now no longer had, we are constrained to think that the words of Christ, (wherein he said: These signs shall follow them that believe:) were not generally spoken, as if those graces should be given always unto all the faithful. It was sufficient that they were given to the Church, and remained for a certain space in it. Justinus Martyr, who lived in the time of Antoninus Pius in the *First Apol. pg. 146.* writeth, that the Christians over all the world and in the City itself healed very many that were possessed with evil spirits, which other enchanters, conjurers, and sacrificers could not perform: and that as yet those men of ours persist in their purpose. Neither only did these graces endure until the time of Antoninus, but as Tertullian in his Apology teacheth, they continued still until the time of Severus the Emperor, in whose time he flourished. We are accustomed (saith he) to assail Daemons, that is spirits, and to drive them away from men: and as it should seem he reckoneth himself among the number of them which did this. And in the same place he saith: We drive out ill spirits without reward or hire. Likewise in his book entreating of idolatry, in the *734th pg*. he saith, against them who being Christians yet nevertheless sold frankincense, and those things which were used in the worshipping of Idols: When thou seest the Altar smoking, how canst thou contemn it, and with what constancy wilt thou exorcise thy scholars? And he calleth the Devils, the scholars of these men, because they made their house a Cell for Idols, whereby they retailed

Frankincense unto them, to the intent they might make a perfume for them. By this place we are taught that the gifts of these adjurations, were not only given unto the Clergy men, but that they happened even to merchants also, and moreover that they were granted unto soldiers. For the same Author in his little Book *De Corona Militis pg. 454*. against them which of their own accord went a warfare with Emperors, writeth: Those which he by exorcism in the day time chased away, in the night he defended. Which he therefore wrote, because the soldiers were constrained otherwhile to watch about the Churches and Temples of the Idols. Also in his Book *De Anima*, the last Chapter but one, he teacheth that unclean spirits did oftentimes deceive men, and made lies unto them: namely when they feigned themselves to be the souls of men departed, which wandered in the shape of men's bodies. For the Devil would not that it should be thought of the Christians, that the souls after this life should be detained in hell. And he addeth, that at the last they were convicted, and constrained by adjurations to confess the truth: to wit, that they were no souls of men, but ill spirits. Further in his Book *De Praescriptionibus adversus Haereticos pg. 111*. saith, that the women among the Heretics were wont to use Exorcisms.

12. But it must be considered that what hath hitherto been brought as concerning Exorcisms, must not be understood of the Exorcisms in baptism, but of those whereby the possessed with ill spirits were healed by the Christians. Yea and Justinus Martyr in the former Apology while he is earnestly occupied about baptism, maketh no mention of Exorcism. Neither did that Dionysius whatsoever he were, that wrote the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, make any mention of such Exorcisms. In deed he hath certain things, I cannot tell what, of three times breathing out and three renouncing's. Which nevertheless must be done (as he teacheth) by a man

that is to be baptized, and not by an exorcist, or minister of the sacrament. Of renouncing also Tertullian made mention in his Book, *De Corona militis*, but he writeth that the same was wont to be used under the hands of the chief Prelate. But at this day, there be no Bishops present when the sacrament of baptism is administered. But they were present in those days, and also in the time of Ambrose, as he himself testifieth in the first book *De Sacramentis*, in the first and second Chapters: And also in the Book of them which were entered into orders even from the beginning. Yea and Basel in his Book *De spiritu sancto* in the 27th chapter made mention of Renouncing: likewise anointing and holy water: and also of thrice dipping in the water: but he speaketh nothing of Exorcism. But the consent of Colen, to prove their trifles as touching fault and anointing, allege Origen in the 6th and 7th Homilies upon Ezekiel. But if a man diligently weigh his sayings, he hath nothing which serveth to that purpose. Eusebius Caesariensis in his 6th book 43rd chapter maketh mention of an Epistle of Cornelius the Bishop of Rome, unto Fabius the prelate of Antioch, in which he describeth the manners and life of Novatus, making mention among other things, that at the beginning when he was possessed with a devil, he was remedied by exorcisms, which was an occasion that he was converted to Christ, where notwithstanding he was afterward baptized lying bedridden. And Cyprian in the 4th book and 7th Epistle writeth unto Magnus that the unclean spirits do sometime deceive the servants of God while they be adjured by them, and do fain that they go their ways, whereas nevertheless they depart not. But he saith: that when they come unto the water, that is to wit, unto Baptism, there the devil cannot stay, he utterly departeth, neither is he able to abide the Sacraments. While I diligently consider with myself this place, it seemeth to me that I have found the

fountain, head, and beginning of Exorcism joined together with Baptism. For that Father seemeth to signify, that if deliverance succeeded not after Exorcisms, men in those days fled unto Baptism, and that men followed this way in the curing of them which were possessed with ill spirits. Wherefore the age that followed would imitate this, that Exorcisms should be used before Baptism, even though the possessed were not to be baptized, least they should seem to have anything less than the former church, in which they which could not be cured by Exorcisms, were brought to the receiving of baptism. And afterward it followed that although the power of casting out devils be not nowadays had, yet do the Papists use Exorcisms. But to return unto Cyprian: He in his treatise *De Baptismo Christi & manifestatione Trinitatis*, calleth those children of Sceva (of whom we made mention before) gainful Exorcists, as though they sold those adjurations, and made a market of them. Also Gregory Nazianzen in his *Oration De Luminaribus*, or in his third *Oration ad Sanctum Lauacrum* made mention of Exorcisms: and also many other Fathers. But this must be considered, that the latter age used Exorcisms as being joined with baptism: and as though they belonged unto a certain order of Clergy men.

13. Wherefore I will now come to the second point of the question proposed: wherein we must try whether at this day Exorcists should be retained, and so retained, as in the Church should be a certain peculiar order of Exorcists. It hath seemed good unto many that such an order should be had in the Church. For Epiphanius in his third book and second Tome, when he reckoneth the holy orders, among others, nameth ἐπιορκήσας that is adjurers. Indeed after a sort he altereth the word, but yet indeed he meaneth the self-same thing. Also Isidorus in his book *De Officijs Ecclesiasticis* chap. 13 citeth the place of Esdras where in the second Chapter, the sons of

the children of Solomon are reckoned together with the children of Nathan. The Hebrews were declared to be those servants of Solomon for the reparations of the Temple: namely that they should provide to keep it safe from wind and water. But Isidorus saith, that they were Exorcists: But how truly, let others judge. In the decrees, Gratian Distinct. 77, in the Canon Monachus: Exorcists are called defenders, as if (in my judgment) they should defend bodies and souls from the devil. In the Laodicean Council in the chapter 26, it is forbidden, that none should exorcise, unless he be ordained by the Bishop, as though the Bishop be able by his imposition of hands, to give power to drive away ill spirits. This also we have in the decrees in the distinct. the 69th in the Canon, *Non oportet*, &c. Again in the fourth Council of Carthage it is decreed that when an Exorcist, is ordained the Book of Exorcisms is delivered unto him, and he is commanded to learn them by heart, that he may use them when opportunity shall serve. But at this day the Papists in their Churches have only the titles and names, but they perform nothing of those things which they teach to belong unto their functions. For only the Elders do baptize ordinarily among them, neither are there used besides them any other Clergy men, which by their ministry, may exorcise the infants which be brought unto them. And they which in times past accompanied the Bishops as witnesses of their good name and conversation, were called ἀκόλουθοι. At this time in deed remaineth the order of Acoluthes, but they do not the office. They have also the name and order of doorkeepers: unto whom the Temple doors are said to be committed, that they may have a regard to them that go in, and that they may keep the infidels and excommunicate persons from the holy service. But there is no doorkeeper found at this day that doth execute that office. Furthermore they ordain readers: whose office in the purer times was, that

they should openly read certain places out of the Scriptures unto the congregation assembled: which the Bishop afterward succeeding did interpret unto the people standing by. This office is at this day out of use: Yet is the name and order retained. And they have also added exorcists which should adjure them which be assailed with devils. And this as I have said, the priests at this day do in baptism, not the meaner Clergy men, who seem now to do nothing in the Temples (as we see) but to sing, to bear wax lights, to ring belles, and to help the priest to say Mass: and so now all things in the Church are become ridiculous and foolish. And while they will imitate the forefathers, especially in that wherein they were not to be allowed, they after a sort show themselves to be their Apes. Wherefore vain names and degrees ought not to be retained without the true exercise of a function. What then shall we do with men that be taken and assaulted with evil spirits, when they be tormented by them? Shall we forsake them? Undoubtedly they must not be forsaken: Yet must we not by adjurations command the evil spirit to go forth, seeing we perceive not ourselves to be endued with that grace and power that we should by our own commandment cast forth devils. Wherefore we will use faithful prayers, devout and most earnest supplications for the recovery of them. Briefly it would be well and advisedly done in these days to convert exorcisms into prayers. And hitherto concerning this point.

14. Now let us see for the third: whether exorcisms should be joined with baptism. They which defend the part affirmative, use very many testimonies and sentences of the fathers. Further they bring certain reasons of their own mind. Augustine in the first and fourth books *De Fide & Symbolo ad Catechumenos* giveth an excellent testimony unto exorcism. And in his book *De peccato* originally against Pelagius and Coelestius the 40th

chapter. By exorcisms (saith he) is blown out before baptism a contrary power. The same father in his Enchiridion unto Laurence chapter the 31st saith: that now Exorcisms be in the whole world, and that by an exsufflation or blowing out, the unclean spirit is driven away and the prince of this world is cast forth, the strong-armed man is bound and his vessels are plucked from him. Moreover in the first book and 14th Chapter *De peccatorum meritis & remissione* he writeth: what doth my Exorcism work in the baptizing of an infant, if he be not held in the family of the devil? Undoubtedly Augustine in this opinion erred grievously, in that he attributed over much unto Baptism. For he acknowledgeth it not to be the outward sign of regeneration, but he would that by the very act of washing, we should be regenerate and adopted, and pass into the family of Christ. As though before that very hour of washing, we did pertain unto the family of the devil, and were wholly possessed of him. The same Author in the 6th chapter *De fide & operibus* teacheth that by Exorcisms men be purged. And in his treatise *De Ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* he is of the same opinion. And also in his Sermon *De Sacramentis fidelium feria secunda paschae,* where he saith: By Exorcisms and adjurations ye began to be grinded. Chrysostom also in his Homily of Adam and Eve made mention of Exorcism and exsufflation, as of things used generally by the Church. Furthermore Optatus the Bishop of Miletum in the 8th book against Parmenianus, maketh mention of Exorcisms, as though they served everywhere for the use of Churches.

15. Surely, it would be over long, to recite here the sayings of all the fathers. Wherefore leaving now the Testimonies of them, I will rehearse the reasons by which they defend this opinion of theirs. First they take as granted, that it is necessary unto salvation to pass from the power of

darkness into the kingdom of light. They add afterward that men before baptism, live under the power of the Devil. So then they conclude, that he must be put away, which they judge to be done by exorcism. Secondly, they say, it is come to pass for sins sake that the Devil hath power over men: but they affirm that sin is in them until such time as they be baptized: and therefore judge it requisite that the evil spirit which is always joined together with sin, shall give place unto the good spirit, seeing they cannot be both together. For what agreement is there between light and darkness, and between Christ and Belial? Further that the unclean spirit is driven out by exorcisms, they thereby confirm, because with their cries they testify themselves to be tormented and il vexed while they be adjured. But if thou shalt say unto these men, that the nature of Infants is good: For God saw all things that he made, and they were good: They will answer, that they do not exorcise nor blow out nature which God hath made, but that they would depress the power of the enemy, I mean the Devil, that he should not at his own pleasure hurt nor stir up the infection or concupiscence to commit sin. And they add that it is lawful for them to Exorcise every creature: seeing Paul hath said unto Timothy: that things are sanctified by the word and by prayers. For this purpose also they allege that saying which was spoken by God unto Adam after sin committed: Cursed is the ground for thy sake: and thereby they gather, that by Exorcisms the state of man is to be delivered from the devil and from the curse. They bring also that saying of the Apostle: Our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against wickedness in heavenly things. Wherefore they affirm that the spirits must be bridled by Exorcisms. Lastly they say, that in natural things the impediments are first removed from the matter, before a form and habit of good be brought in. So it behooveth before the form of new generation to

exclude the adverse power which hindereth, and altogether resisteth spiritual birth.

16. But this matter is far otherwise: for seeing the Scripture hath nowhere commanded, that exorcisms should be joined with baptism, it is not to be attempted by us. And if so be we will follow better examples, we shall perceive that Peter baptized Cornelius: and that the Eunuch was baptized by Philip without any adjurations. Thirdly I add, that this gift of the holy Ghost flourisheth not at this day in the Church, that we be able to heal them that be taken with ill spirits, and to cure such as be possessed with the Devil. Therefore we must cease to boast of that which we have not received. Moreover it should be necessary, that they which judge otherwise should show some sign or token of their power which they have received from God. There be (as it is said) very many Lunatic men, and there want not of them that be possessed of ill spirits, why do they not heal them? This whilst they do not to the Devil himself, nor yet to us, let them not persuade us that they be endued with such power. Augustine in the 22nd book *de Civitate dei* chapter 22, writeth that Infants of Christians being baptized, are oftentimes miserably vexed by unclean spirits. Then seeing these Exorcists be not able to drive away unclean spirits out of them, in whom it is not doubted but that they are, why babble they, that they can cast them out of them in whom they show no sign of their presence? Over this let us consider, that Circumcision in old time was in the place of Baptism, and yet that during all the time of the Old Testament no exorcisms were used to the Circumcising of Infants. Which if they had been necessary, we are not to think that so many Prophets had passed them over: especially seeing among the Hebrews, (as we have said) there were some exorcists that were endued from God with the power of driving away ill spirits. Neither can they easily escape which embrace

exorcisms, but that of one Sacrament they make many, seeing they make so many signs which they will to be accounted holy, adding oil, spittle, exsufflations, and such like: so as one Sacrament of baptism doeth degenerate into many. Neither must they be heard when to the intent to mock the simple, they feign a difference between Sacraments and Sacramentals, which is altogether Sophistical. For distinctions are to be received gladly, but those to be such as are taken out of the very nature of things, because they bring much light to controversies: but those distinctions, which spring out of the brain of Sophisters only for the shifting off of Arguments, are altogether to be refused.

17. But seeing that among themselves, even private men and silly women do baptize and use neither exorcisms nor exsufflations, what manner of baptism will they judge that to be? If they will say: a perfect baptism, they ought not to join thereunto these inventions of their own, seeing they judge that to be perfect, unto which nothing can be added: If imperfect, they make themselves wiser than Christ, who joined not exorcisms and exsufflations with baptism. Besides that, they are so insolent, as they say in the 4th book of the Sentences, Dist. the 6th that these their Sacramentals must both be supplied and pieced up, when they have been omitted upon the dangers of life. But they know for a certainty, that they are vainly and superfluously patched. For if (as themselves say, and Cyprian affirmeth) when they come to baptism, the Devil is chased away, neither can he be there anymore after Baptism is celebrated at the peril of Death: if he now be away, why do they adjure him, and by a certain imperious manner command him to depart? A foolish thing doubtless it is to speak with one that is absent, and to command him to depart which is already gone. But that we may again fight with their own weapons, we remit the reader unto Gratian, who *de*

Consecratione, distinct. the 4th chap. *Si parvuli*, bringeth the judgment of Caelestinus who decreed, that from baptism must be driven all those from whom the Devil by adjurations and exsufflations hath not been cast out. There the Gloss saith, that this must not be absolutely understood, because the evil spirit before baptism is not cast out, seeing until the time of baptism we be the Family of the Devil and his members. Wherefore he affirmed that the Devil is not cast out by exorcism, but signified that he shall be cast out, namely in baptism. To conclude, these men be they which so greatly fly from figurative speeches, and cannot abide that we should apply a figure of signification unto the words of the Lord's Supper: where as they at their own will (I will not say for their pleasure) everywhere abuse figurative speeches. But if it be lawful for them to say, that by exorcisms is signified that the Devil shall be cast out, by the same reason another will say, it is signified that he is cast out already. But I go yet unto stronger reasons, and affirm, that those which are to be baptized, be either men of ripe age, or else Infants. They which be of ripe age, it behooveth that they believe before they be baptized: who if they believe they be already justified, and when they are become the members of Christ, the Devil out of doubt is departed from them: So that they ought not to be exorcised or adjured as though they had yet evil spirits present in them. And if they which be offered to be baptized, be the Infants of Christians, I deny them to belong to the devil, seeing they be in the covenant of God, wherein it was said unto Abraham: I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed. Wherefore in the Prophet Ezekiel the 16th chapter and also in the 23rd chapter, God is brought in to the Israelites, blaming them because they had yielded unto Idols, the children which they had begotten unto him, and had made them to pass through the fire that they might become sacrifices of the Idols. And Paul in the first

Epistle to the Corinthians affirmed that the Children of the Christians be holy. Which if it be true, there can no cause be assigned why the Devil should be driven from them by exorcisms.

18. But the head of their superstition is this, that these men think, that by the outward baptism sins are chiefly forgiven. But they are greatly deceived: this is the gift of Christ alone: and therefore John in pointing unto Christ said: Behold the lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world. And in Exodus the 33rd, it is expressed as a thing proper unto God, that he taketh away iniquity, ungodliness and sins. And Isaiah in the 43rd Chapter: It is I that take away sins. In the first of John we read: He it is that is the Propitiation for our sins. Which also Paul affirmed unto the Romans when he saith: Whom he hath set forth a Propitiation through his blood. Also John in his first Epistle and first Chapter wrote: The blood of Jesus Christ his son cleanseth us from all sin. Verily the outward things do not cleanse the conscience, otherwise Christ had died in vain. Again, the soul which is a spirit and without body, is not purged by gross and corporal things. Which the Epistle to the Hebrews the 9th chapter doeth plainly teach, when it saith, That the gifts and sacrifices do not purge nor make clean: but that Christ was the very high Priest, who having wrought eternal redemption, passed into the heavens. And if at any time the holy scriptures may seem to attribute forgiveness of sins or salvation to outward signs, that must be understood by the figure *Metonymia*, whereby those things are given unto signs, which are proper unto the things signified, and the things signified are expressed by the name of the signs. So Peter in his first Epistle saith, that in the time of Noah, 8 souls were saved by the water, alluding unto baptism. Howbeit by water he understandeth not the outward element, but that washing which is done by the blood of Christ. And so in the

outward sign he comprehendeth the thing signified. Which he himself manifestly declareth afterward, when he saith: Not in that wherein the filths of the flesh is put away, but in that a good conscience answereth even to God by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. So that by the water he noted the blood and death which is expressed under the name of Resurrection. After the same manner must that be understood, which we have to the Ephesians: namely, That Christ gave himself for the Church, that the same might be sanctified by the washing of water through the word, &c. The cause of sanctification is Christ himself, who gave himself for us, and for that cause gave the washing of water, that the cleansing by him might be testified by the word and by the sign. Briefly this must be held: that the outward signs join us not unto Christ, but that they be given when we be already joined unto him. Even as the watch word of soldiers doth not levy a soldier, but hath been accustomed to be given when he is already levied. And there is none that marketh his sheep, horse, and ox, unless he first possess those beasts. Yea and the letters of Donation are first finished and written before the seals of the givers be set unto them. And assuredly thus God dealt with Abraham: First he believed and it was imputed to him for righteousness. Then he received circumcision as a seal of the righteousness of faith, which he was endued with when he was uncircumcised. Neither did God begin to deal with Abraham in circumcision, but the same circumcision followed justification. Which is also done in baptism. The thing itself, that is the covenant, made with mankind by Christ goeth before: afterward followeth the outward token. And that it is not otherwise with us than with Abraham, Paul declareth, when he saith, that he was set forth unto us, as an example of justification. Which if it were not, all the Arguments of Paul concerning that matter should be weak: yea rather, they would be utterly overthrown.

19. Yet do I not deny, but that there be certain signified things of baptism, which do not go before but follow the eternal washing: as is mortification and repentance: and according to this Analogy I understand that which we have in the Epistle unto the Romans, to wit, that we die with Christ, and are buried together with him, because the old man, that is the affections and lusts of the flesh must perpetually be mortified: which is not yet brought to pass so soon as we be baptized, but it is requisite that it should afterward be done. And whereas we read unto the Galatians: So many of you as are baptized, have put on Christ: I judge it must be so expounded, as if thou understand, To put on Christ, for to be made the member of him; that goeth before baptism: but if you mean it by manners and life to express the child of God; that followeth after baptism received. So as we must decree as concerning the children of faithful men, that they be reckoned among the faithful, and that the children of the Saints are numbered among the Saints: as Paul testifieth in the first Epistle to the Corinthians. And if that one will object, that in the same Epistle the 12th chapter it is written: that we be baptized into one body: that must not be so expounded, as though we first pass by outward baptism into the body of Christ, seeing we were of the body of Christ before. Then to the intent that this may be testified and sealed, we are outwardly baptized. And therefore before those words it is written: By the spirit we are baptized into one body. So that it is first wrought by the work of the holy Ghost that we become the members of Christ: then baptism is added. Wherefore seeing the Infants of Christians be such, there is no cause why they should be adjured or breathed upon. But we must weigh, that it is not brought to pass by those things that original sin is utterly taken away, because we confess that all men are born the children of wrath, and be depraved with original sin: seeing that kind of sin cometh

not by imitation, as the Pelagians taught, but it is the corrupting of the whole nature of man, both as touching the soul and as touching the body. Again we add that God, by Jesus Christ doeth make clean his elect and predestinate: so as the vice, which in his own nature should be mortal sin, shall not be imputed to them unto death. Further by his spirit he reneweth and adorneth them. Afterward is added the sealing of outward baptism. First therefore, they have election or predestination, they have the promise, and they are born of faithful [*Parents*:] and seeing they be now in the covenant, adopted by God, and justified, there is no cause, but that they be justly and of good right baptized.

20. Wherefore many are deceived, which thoroughly persuade themselves that the Infants of Christians which perish without baptism are utterly damned. In deed Christ said: He that shall believe and be baptized shall be saved: And further added: He that will not believe shall be damned: But did not there put, He that shall not be baptized. For it may well be that some man believeth, and by some occasions is let that he cannot be baptized. Yea and Augustine himself somewhat hard in this matter, acknowledged a baptism as well of the spirit as of Martyrdom, namely, when any man dieth of Martyrdom before he be baptized. And Ambrose in his funeral sermon made at the death of Valentinian who was slain, being newly converted and not yet baptized, affirmeth that he reigneth with Christ in heaven. For albeit that he were not baptized, yet did he therefore travel into Italy, that he might be baptized of Ambrose a Catholic Bishop. Wherefore he affirmeth that he was justified by faith. Therefore look what faith bringeth to pass in men of ripe age before they be baptized, that doth the spirit of Christ, and the promise, work in young children. But here some men demand, whether all the children of the Christians belong unto the covenant. Which, if it be

avouched, then that is objected which unto the Romans is written of the two twins: of whom being not yet born, when as they had done neither good nor ill, it was said: Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated. Neither is it any doubt, but that Isaac was a faithful father and a holy man: whose son Esau notwithstanding is known to have been out of the covenant. Unto this we answer, that those which be of the covenant of God, are considered either as they are before God, or else in such sort as they may be known of the Church. God doubtless hath the number of his children most certain which he hath predestinate from all eternity. But the promise of the covenant with the stock of Abraham, is not of any number certain, and it expressly shutteth forth none of his successors. And so when the children of the believers are offered unto the Church to be Christened, the same hath respect unto the promise according as it is uttered. But if there be any prerogative or exception in the secret counsels of God: the Church stayeth not for that, seeing no such matter belongeth unto it. Therefore it cannot be accused of falsehood when it reckoneth the children of holy men among the holy. And so it circumcised Esau and such like. It is said of some that regeneration is not to be granted but by the word which is the seed of God. For Peter saith in his first Epistle the first Chapter, That we are born anew not of a corruptible seed, but of an incorruptible, which is the word of God. But unto this we answer, that this must be understood as touching men of ripe age, but that the case standeth not so with infants, unless we will make the children of the Hebrews to be in better state than the children of the Christians. For those could not be circumcised, if they had died the 8th day. Whom notwithstanding to exempt from the covenant of God would be wicked. Also it might be lawful to affirm that young children be born again by the word of God, but yet by the inward word, that is by the comfortable

power of Christ and his holy spirit. Lastly is objected that which is written in the 3rd chapter of John: Except a man shall be born again of the water and the spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Unto this may be first said, that Christ would teach Nicodemus a new regeneration, and that the same is done by the spirit. Which he expressed by two words, namely by water and the spirit: neither is it against the manner of the scriptures, that the grace itself of God, should be signified under the name of water. For it as well watereth as also maketh fruitful the mind and the soul of the faithful. Yea and John the Baptist joined together the spirit and fire when he saith: He that cometh after me, shall baptize with the spirit and with fire. In which speech he uttered one and the self-same thing under two manner of words. Or if ye had rather refer these words unto outward baptism, the saying may be drawn unto them which neglect the receiving of baptism, when they have no let to the contrary. For if a man refuse this sacrament, he undoubtedly showeth himself not to be justified. Then seeing the matter thus standeth, that justification dependeth not of baptism, but goeth before it, there shall be no need of exorcisms and exsufflations. For the word of God teacheth not that these things should be used. Also there appeareth not in us at this day this grace of healings: neither are the Infants which are offered to be baptized, such as these men have imagined. But perhaps thou wilt say: To what end then is Baptism delivered unto them, if they had the substance of baptism before? Is the labor spent there in vain? No verily. First, because we obey God, who commanded unto us the work of baptism. Secondly, we seal the promise and gift which we have received. Moreover, faith is there confirmed by the holy Ghost, through the word and outward signs. And when we think with ourselves of this visible word or sacrament, the spirit of God stirreth up faith in our hearts, whereby again

and again, we embrace the divine promises, and so justification is amplified while faith is increased in the believers. Verily God doeth assist the signs ordained by him. For they are no profane or empty things. Wherefore the fruit of baptism is not momentary, but it endureth all our whole life. For which cause they that are baptized, spend not their labor in vain, neither do they an unnecessary work.

21. Now these things being declared and expounded, it remaineth that I answer the judgment of the Fathers, and the reasons which the favorers of exorcisms do bring. The fathers that were of the greater antiquity and purer age, spake of those exorcisms, with which the men taken or possessed of ill spirits were healed by those faithful which had the grace of healings given them by God. And therefore they would wonderfully marvel, if they should now see men being not endued with that grace, so boldly and impudently command the Devils, as at this day it is done by Priests and feigned exorcists. But those things that were afterward spoken by the latter writers of the Church, as touching the joining of exorcisms with Baptism, seeing they be alleged without Scriptures, and savor of superstition, neither are done with any fruit nor ought to be received. But from whence the error sprang, it was declared before, when we handled a certain place of Cyprian. Further another cause of the error was, for that men had begun to attribute over much unto Sacraments. In which thing Augustine (otherwise a man of a sharp wit and incomparable learning) was very much deceived. For he thought that the Infants did then first go out of the power of the Devil when they were baptized. But seeing it hath been declared, that this is not so, I think it good not to use any new confutation. Only this I will say, that the Sacraments must not be contemned: but on the other side, we must not attribute unto them that which belongeth only unto God.

22. And thus much as concerning the Testimonies of the Fathers. Now come we to confute the reasons alleged. First it was taken as granted, that we out of the kingdom of darkness, shall be translated into the kingdom of light. That we willingly grant, but we deny that to be first done by receiving of Baptism, seeing Infants obtain this by the predestination and promise of God, and also in right of inheritance of the covenant. So that there is no cause why place should therefore be given to exorcisms. And they which were of ripe age obtain this translation by faith. For by the same they receive justification. Wherefore they must not be adjured, seeing they belong already unto Christ. We confess also that by the desert of sin it is come to pass, that men are come into the power of the Devil: but yet that the same is taken away and evacuated by Christ through the holy Ghost and the word of God: and as concerning men of ripe age, by faith, not by adjurations and exorcisms. And whereas otherwhile, when adjurations be used, the ill spirits cry out that they be wrung, tormented and vexed, it may be done by collusion: namely that the father of lies doeth fain such things, to the intent that superstitions may increase, and may be longer time nourished in the Church. And whereas they say, that they do not blow out or exorcise the man's nature made by God, which is therefore good, but only endeavor by their adjurations to make feeble the power of the devil and original corruption, least then it should as much hurt as it did before: We answer, that this may much more justly and religiously be obtained by prayers. Further if this were their mind, men ought to exorcise, not only at Baptism, but also in a manner throughout their whole life, seeing men are endangered all their life long by the violence and temptations of the Devil, and also by the naughty original corruption, which doeth perpetually remain in them. But after what manner, meats, and those things which we use for

defending the life of the body are sanctified by the word of God and by prayers, there is no need now to express, seeing of that matter we have spoken largely enough before. They added, that in times past the earth was cursed by God, by reason of the first fault of Adam: and that therefore it is needful that the fruits thereof should by adjurations be plucked out of the power of the devil. This do we not deny, but we add, that the curse was through Christ, either mitigated or turned into blessing, and that therefore exorcisms should be counted for superfluous and unprofitable, seeing that the use of the earth and the fruits thereof (so that thanksgiving and prayers be used therein) are made clean and pure unto the faithful. Also the words of the Apostle were alleged, wherein he saith: That our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against spiritual wickedness's. What this maketh for the present purpose, I cannot so much as imagine, much less perceive. The Apostle in that place instructed us, with a wonderful complete armor against spiritual enemies, and against celestial things: yet spake he not of exorcisms and exsufflations. To conclude, they said that before regeneration be wrought, the impediments must be removed: namely the forces of the Devil. That which they first take unto them, let us grant them: but we must add that such obstacles are removed by the might of Christ, and also by the power of the holy Ghost, by the promise of God, by the right of the covenant, and, in men of riper age, by the preaching of the word, by faith and by prayers, and therefore there is no place left unto adjurations, unless perhaps in someone man, that shall be endued peculiarly from God with the gift of healing. Which power or faculty we judge not, that it can be given by the bishops to whomsoever they will by laying on of hands: seeing it is the holy Ghost which distributeth these gifts of his upon

whomsoever he will. And thus much have we spoken as concerning the question propounded.

Of Papistical holy Water.

23. The fact of Elisha, [*wherein he applied salt to help the waters of Jericho*] do the priests of the Pope imitate of a certain perverse zeal, who not only use salt in the baptizing of infants, but do also pour it into their holy waters, which may rather be called heinous waters. I marvel that they sometimes use not figs, since that Isaiah once applied them in healing the sore of Hezekiah. Howbeit so great is the boldness of these men that in their fainings and inventions, they not only exercise these things which Christ and his Prophets used, but they also take those things which they never used. For they say that they mingle the holy oil with Balm. But they make a notable lie, seeing Balm hath not been brought unto us of long time. And seeing they so bountifully abuse salt, they bewray themselves that the salt is become unsavory. Which Cardinal Caietanus manifestly confessed, when he interpreted the words of Christ, wherein he said: But if the salt be made unsavory, it is nothing else worth but to be cast forth and to be trodden under foot by men. When he wrote these things, the City of Rome was sacked by the Spaniards under Pope Clement the 7th. Whereupon he said: Because we are now become unsavory salt, therefore are we cast forth and trodden under foot. Wherefore we must pray unto God that these bondslaves of Antichrist may become new vessels, and receive the salt of wholesome doctrine, seeing they have of long time forsaken God the fountain of lively water, and have digged to themselves pits, which cannot contain wholesome waters. And this place they have abused for confirming of their holy water, which every Sabbath day they enchant and conjure, ascribing the invention thereof to Alexander the first Roman Bishop of that

name, whom they will to be the fifth or sixth after Peter. And in deed there is carried about a decretal Epistle of his wherein are contained many things as touching this invention, which were afterward set forth in the decrees *De Consecr. distinct 4*, in the chapter *Aquam Sale*. But in my judgment and the judgment of the more learned, that Epistle is no right, but a supposed Epistle. For Alexander lived in the time of Traianus. So then most ancient had the institution of this water been. Whereof nevertheless the Ecclesiastical writers which flourished before the time of Gregory made no mention in any place. But how fond and absurd things they be which are there written, we will somewhat more diligently examine. First he decreed that that water should be sanctified of the Priests. Whereupon the Canonists gather, that the same is not lawful neither for a Deacon nor a Subdeacon, whenas notwithstanding they admit the administration of Baptism both unto laymen and unto women. But this is an old purpose of the devil, to provide that man's inventions may he had in more price than the laws of God. Which also may be perceived in confecting of the unsavory ointment called of them Chrism or the holy oil: where so great a solemnity is used, as it behooveth that a Bishop with all the Clergy men be present, when in the meantime Baptism and the Eucharist, which be the very sacraments of Christ himself are ministered after a vulgar and common manner. But howsoever this Alexander or whosoever he were do approve his holy water, he useth a very wicked argument in usurping those words which are in the Epistle to the Hebrews: If the blood of Goats and of Bulls, and the ashes of an Heifer being sprinkled did sanctify them that are unclean as touching the sanctification of the flesh, how much more doth the blood of Christ, which by the eternal spirit offered himself for us, &c? Wherein Paul the Apostle argueth from the less to the greater. These words Alexander taking, inferreth

that much more the water consecrated by divine words, shall sanctify them that be unclean. And so that which Paul concluded, as touching the blood of Christ, this man with intolerable blasphemy transferreth to holy water. For the worthiness and work of Christ his blood, must not be attributed to the elements of this world, especially when they lack the word of God.

24. Again, he commendeth his water through the fact of Elisha. For if Elisha (saith he) by casting in of salt, put away barrenness from the waters, much more shall this water drive away all barrenness. And yet further amplifying the matter, It will bring all good things (saith he) to them which use it. Moreover he attributeth so great a strength thereunto, as he affirmeth that the crafty endeavors and temptations of the devil are thereby put away, and that it also removeth from the minds of men, hurtful visions and naughty cogitations. And he yet proceedeth further, and useth a very wicked argument. If the skirts (saith he) of our Lord's garment, when he was touched by the sick woman, did make her whole, how much rather shall this water bring health both of body and soul unto the faithful? By these things it plainly appeareth, that this holy water is made equal unto the blood of Christ, and is preferred above the skirts of his garments: as though our sins were so light, and took so feeble root in our minds, as they can be wiped out by the sprinkling of a superstitious water. Besides this, among the false Ecclesiastical men, there is in use another kind of consecrated water, which they use in the consecration or reconciliation of Churches or Temples. That, only the Bishop doth conjure, or as they speak, doth sanctify: and he applieth thereunto wine and ashes. There is also among them another kind of most solemn water, namely, of the fountain of baptism, which they with great pomp consecrate the day before Easter and Pentecost. And thereof is mention made by many of the fathers. And the custom of consecrating such

waters of baptism seemeth to have been of some antiquity. And so whereas I said before that the Elder fathers made no mention of holy water, I had only respect unto that which is said to have been instituted by that same Alexander, namely which they keep in temples, to the intent that men may sprinkle themselves therewith. They themselves also do sprinkle houses, dead bodies, churchyards, eggs, flesh, potherbs and garments with the same. Of this doth Aquinas in the 4th book of sentences, inquire whether it be a Sacrament: And in answering, denieth it, alleging this reason, that it is not instituted to abolish any defect of ours. But he affirmed it to be a certain sacramental thing whereby we are affected, and as he speaketh, disposed to obtain the forgiveness of some certain sins. And from this opinion Petrus de Palude and Alexander de Ales do nothing disagree. For they say, that by the use of the consecrated water, sins be forgiven, not in very deed as by the Sacraments, (which perform this even without the motion of the heart, if only there be put no let) but in respect of merit, because they sprinkling themselves with that water, do devoutly (as they speak) lift up their mind unto God, desiring the forgiveness of sins, which by prayers they obtain. Among those sayings of the schoolmen, there are many wicked and blasphemous things, seeing they attribute to the elements of this world that which belongeth only unto Christ. Besides this, they trifle many ways, disputing whether profane water being added unto consecrated water becometh holy. And finally they conclude that it doth so after this manner: to wit, that those things which be the more worthy do convert into themselves the things which be less worthy. Which is most contrary unto the truth. For if a man mingle water with wine, and do that often, at length the water changeth into his own nature the wine itself which is better than it.

25. But pass we over these things, and let us consider that this ordinance had his original of two sorts of perverse zeal and fond imitation. One wherein they would imitate the Hebrews, unto whom by a prescript rule of the law of Moses that water was commanded, as it is in the book of Numbers. Howbeit seeing the legal ceremonies by the benefit of Christ his death be extinguished, we ought not of our own rashness to revoke the same. While they were in use they had the word of God joined with them: but now when they are destitute of that, they be more superstitious. Another there is wherein they have imitated the Ethnics, who no doubt but used purifying waters, but yet not after the same manner. For when holy service was done unto the supernal God's, the body that was to be purified was all wholly washed: but if to the infernal God's, they were only touched with sprinkling of the purifying water. And this Virgil as a man very skillful of [*their*] high priest's law, did diligently observe by the testimony of Macrobius in the 3rd book of his Saturnals the first chapter. Which I therefore thought good to rehearse, to the intent that sacrificing priests may know, that while they sprinkle things with holy water, they do it not to the high God, but do sacrifice unto the infernal gods, that is, to them that be in hell. And that sprinklings with purifying waters was a use among the Ethnics, the Ecclesiastical history teacheth. In which it is written of Valentinianus, when as yet he was not Emperor, and was in the train of Julianus the Apostate, and had come into the Temple: there the prelate sprinkled him with his water. He being angry thereat, gave him a blow, saying: Why hast thou polluted my purple garment with thy water? Yea and God may therefore seem to have appointed that rite unto the Hebrews, because they should not decline to the superstition of the Ethnics. And that ceremony no doubt so long as it was of force had his utility, as the rest had.

For the old rites before the coming of Christ, were testimonies and certain seals of the heavenly gifts, promises, and favor of God to be given. For these are spiritual things, neither can they be discerned with the outward eyes: and therefore were signs, rites, and ceremonies added thereto, that men being admonished by them, might be confirmed as touching the good will and grace of God. Whereunto add, that all those things shadowed Christ and his redemption. Also we after the same manner do in Christianity use baptism and the Eucharist. And there is no doubt but that David when in the 51st Psalm he sang (Sprinkle me Lord with Hyssop and I shall be clean, and shall become whiter than snow) had respect unto the legal sprinkling, the which in that age as I have declared had the word of God joined therewith. But that which the sacrificers do say that they consecrate, is no invention of God but of men.

26. These men endeavor indeed, howbeit in vain, to fasten to their superstition certain places of the Scripture. As that of Ezekiel: I saw water going forth of the Temple &c. And also the Testimony of Zechariah, wherein it is written: And in that day shall the house of David and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem have an open well. Those things are altogether impertinent to the matter, because the Prophets under this word, Water, meant nothing else than the gifts of the holy Ghost, and abundant grace of God toward the faithful. And there was a certain Papistical preacher in these our days, who commending unto the people the use of the holy water, taught that it served to renew the remembrance of Baptism: and he counseled all those which sprinkle themselves with the same, that they should say in themselves: Remember that thou art Baptized. Howbeit these things, besides that they be fond, they have not any testimony either of the Scriptures, or Canons, or Councils. Over and besides we must weigh how

frivolous and absurd it is, in that they would institute it to be either a Sacrament or (as they call it) a Sacramental thing, because someone Prophet or Apostle did it once or twice. As, if so be God would once by Elisha amend the waters by using of salt, should therefore such a kind of Rite be brought into the Church? Jeremiah ware upon his neck a wooden yoke, And Isaiah healed the sore of Hezekiah with figs. Why did they not here make so many sacraments?

27. In like manner the men of Colen, have offered themselves to be laughed at in their *Antididagma*, where they alleged the example of Marcellus Bishop of Apameansis, as it is in the Tripartite History in the 9th book the 34th chapter, who, when the Temple of a certain Idol was to be burned, and that the fire put thereunto took no effect (for there was present an ill spirit which repressed the violence of the fire) then he, perceiving a danger least the people as yet weak, should take offense, and think that the ill spirit was stronger than Christ, did run unto the Church, and commanded water to be brought unto him, and lying prostrate before the altar, prayed with great spirit and faith. Further he signed that Water with the sign of the cross, and commanded Equitius his Deacon that he should cast the same upon the Temple of the Idol, and after that, he cheerfully set it on fire, which, when he had done, both the Idol and the Temple were very easily burned. They bring also that which Narcissus Bishop of Jerusalem did, As Eusebius reporteth in the 6th book and eighth chapter. He upon Easter day at night (during which night the faithful in times past were continually praying in the Temple) when there now wanted oil in the Lamps, and that it seemed that the lights could no longer endure, and that the people were marvelous sad, he himself commanded that water should be brought him forth of a well near at hand. And when he had prayed earnestly, he

commanded to fill the lamps, and the water did in a manner take unto it the nature of oil, and kept in light all the whole night. But to what purpose are these things alleged? The Histories show not that those were holy Waters. Furthermore if it seemed good unto God to make those Bishops famous by the instrument of water, for confirming of their sound Doctrine, ought therefore holy water to be instituted? Undoubtedly, as a law is not wont to be made, upon a particular example, so for the showing forth of some certain miracle, sacraments in the Church must not be invented according to the will and pleasure of men. Whereas I have now spoken many things touching holy Water, namely that the author thereof (as they will) was Alexander, and have confuted the Arguments whereby he commended the same, and have declared the strength which they ascribe unto it, and have showed how many kinds there be, reprehending two sorts of their fond imitation, and lastly have set forth that an Ecclesiastical Rite must not for every miracle sake be instituted, I think I have spoken enough of that matter: This only will I note at the last, that the end of the miracle showed by Elisha was, that the people of Jericho might by that benefit received be more and more allured to the true service of God: and that not only that City should be won unto God, but that all other Cities to whose knowledge so great a miracle should come, might be brought to the knowledge of God.

CHAP. IX. B. A Treatise of the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

A Treatise of the Sacrament of the Eucharist made openly in Oxford by D. Peter Martyr, the Kings public Professor of Divinity in the same University, when he had now finished the interpretation of the 11th Chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Before which Treatise we have placed an excellent Preface of his touching that matter dedicated by him with the same Treatise unto the most Reverend Father and victorious Martyr of Jesus Christ, Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury.

Now have I determined in few words to declare certain things, which if I should commit to silence, I might perhaps be accounted unwise, a forger of new matters, a bold, rash, and an ungodly man, as though I took from the sacrament of the Eucharist the honor and dignity thereof, or that I would obtrude the holy Supper to the Church without Christ, or persuade such like things, as may tend unto impiety and negligence of Religion. I had rather die or that I had never been born, or to suffer the greatest grief in the world, than to scatter abroad such kind of opinions. Verily I for my part, do attribute so much to the sacrament of the Eucharist, as I say that the faithful,

by exercising of the same, do obtain the greatest benefits which can be hoped for of God in this life; so, that they themselves be not hindered either through vices or infidelity. And truly I affirm now, that there be three sorts of good things, which men do earnestly desire. First, that the life which they received in their birth may be given and preserved to them so long as is possible. Secondly, that they would have God to be gracious and merciful unto them. For, since they that be wise, understand that they be never without fault, and that by the justice of God there is a certain punishment due for every fault, unless they have in readiness a sure satisfaction, they live most miserably. Lastly, this do the wise sort wish for, to wit, that they may live justly, commodiously, merrily and peaceably one with another: For without these things men live both miserably and most unhappily. These in effect be the things which are chiefly desired everywhere of all those men which do not deal foolishly.

And the chief and principal point of these three, is, that the life may be prolonged a very great space of time, which we obtain by a profitable and wholesome kind of diet: this most certainly we have in the holy Supper; where, even as the bread and wine which nourish the body, are given outwardly to the body, so is it truly granted unto their minds, that by faith they eat the body and blood of Christ given for our redemption: whereupon the whole man as well inward as outward is restored to the high felicity. And this is the only way that the scripture alloweth and knoweth of eating the body, and drinking the blood of the Lord, namely, when we apprehend by a constant and firm faith, that Jesus the son of God our Lord and savior gave his body upon the Cross, and shed his blood for us, and that he hath so embraced us, being given unto him by the father, and so joined and incorporated us unto himself, as he is our head, and we flesh of his flesh,

and bone of his bones, and that he dwelleth and liveth in us and we in him. Herein standeth the whole power and reason of this meat and of this drink; whereunto our faith is stirred up and kindled three manner of ways: sometime inwardly, that is to wit, while the holy Ghost by his secret, but yet mighty power, stirreth up our minds to record these things with ourselves, and that they may be embraced with a lively and ready faith. To the self-same thing are we many times moved by help of the word of God, which either by sound or writing doeth outwardly pierce us. Finally, that there should want no reliefs to our infirmity, Christ gave in the supper, bread and wine for signs, the which by his institution and his words are made sacraments, that is to wit instruments, whereby the holy Ghost stirreth up faith in our minds, that by the same faith we may be spiritually, but yet truly nourished and sustained with his body and blood. What then is there that can more further the faithful unto everlasting life, than this kind of meat? Do we not by this manner of eating dwell in Christ, and Christ in us? Can we require that so great a God should more expressly be promised us than when he himself said: He that eateth me, he shall live for me. Moreover in the 6th of John the Lord taught this simple, bare, yet true, that is to wit, no feigned eating of his body and drinking of his blood, which the Lord would afterward to be holpen by the assistance of the outward word, and by the feel of the bread and wine when we come to the holy table. Wherefore he that is no contemner of the divine life, (I mean the eternal and most happy life) how can it be that he will not make singular account of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper? how can it be, but that he will embrace the same as a sweet pledge of his salvation? How is it possible, but that he will use the same in the congregation, so often as it shall be delivered him?

Undoubtedly no man, which will anything earnestly weigh these things with himself.

And next unto life, which all men chiefly desire to lead happily, all men for the most part covet to have God well pleased with them. Whereof, if we be not persuaded, our mind is disquieted, our cogitations trouble us, our conscience tormenteth us, the creatures terrify us, as revengers and most severe Ministers of God, nothing is quiet either within us or without us, we fear heaven and hell both alike, the same hatred bear we to God, that we do to the Devil: for the one we fear as an executioner, and the other as a judge. Wherefore the holy scriptures do help in this behalf, and teach us that the heavenly father is by no other means pacified with mankind than by the sacrifice of his only begotten son; by which sacrifice God hath made an everlasting covenant with his people, hath forgiven our sins, hath adopted those that believe, to be his children, hath committed them to his first begotten son to be saved, and hath incorporated them, and made them heirs of his heavenly kingdom. And in receiving the sacrament of the Eucharist, we are put in mind of the Lord's death, and of the whole mystery of our redemption, by reason of the word of God which became flesh, thereby is renewed the memory of God's testament: and therein is offered the participation of Christ and remission of sins through the sacrifice of Christ offered upon the altar of the Cross.

Wherefore in this sacrament, if it be received rightly, and with faith, not by the power of the work, but by the free benefit of Christ which in believing we apprehend, we confess our sins to be forgiven, the testament or covenant between God and us to be confirmed, and the very son of God having life in himself for the father, to be so received, that whosoever with a true faith are partakers of his flesh and blood, do live for him, and that the

heavenly inheritance is possessed of the faithful, so far as the state of this life will permit. We therefore do challenge unto us not only life, but also a safe and quiet life from the wrath of God: and we which have God merciful and favorable unto us, and the son of God dwelling in us, of what joy, of what delights, of what honest pleasures are we destitute? Without doubt of none, if we seek after those that be true and sound things, and not after fancies and shadows. And of this commodity did Christ make mention in the institution of this sacrament, when he gave his body and blood to be eaten and drunken by faith, namely to the maintenance and nourishing of life by faith. For in the Gospel of Luke he saith, Do this in the remembrance of me. Which Paul expressed more plainly saying: For so often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall declare the Lord's death till he come. Finally in the end it is said of them both by Luke and Paul: This cup is the New Testament through my blood which shall be shed for you. So then as touching the reconciliation with God, the forgiveness of sins, and the confirmation of the Testament, I have feigned nothing, I have devised nothing, I have invented nothing which I have not done out of the holy scriptures. Lastly because a man is not made to solitariness, but that he is desirous of fellowship and of a civil life, therefore when he hath now assured himself that he hath God merciful unto him for Christ his sake, and that by the same his sins are forgiven him, there is nothing else required towards his perfect and absolute life so long as he liveth in this world, but that with other men which in the holy scriptures be called his neighbors, he live together jointly and with singular justice and charity. But this sacrament doth most effectually and earnestly admonish us hereof. For while we in these mysteries become partakers of one Table: what else should we meditate in our mind than this, that we be one body, that we be

members one of another under Christ our head, that we be one bread, that is, to be so joined one with another: even as well near an infinite number of wheat corns are made up together in that bread which we receive? Those, without doubt, which through these admonitions are not persuaded to maintain mutual concord and charity between brethren, have their hearts hardened like stone and Iron, and shall be accounted more savage and beastly, than Tigers and most cruel beasts, insomuch as they knowing that the son of God gave his life for his enemies, are not moved themselves to do good, as much as in them lieth, to their brethren and neighbors for whom Christ died. If a temporal Table do reconcile men one to another when they meet together, why should not rather the Table of Christ bring this to pass? Since the beasts which be most savage are made tame by meat, why do not men wax meek by this heavenly food? If leagues and covenants were wont to be confirmed by meat and drink, why do not the children of God by communicating together, establish peace and friendship among themselves?

Of these things undoubtedly are they admonished by this divine Rite, and by the words of the holy scripture recited therein. But and if the admonition (we being obstinate as we are, and very untoward unto just, honest, and holy things) be thought but slender, or not to be effectual enough, yet upon condition that faith be not wanting, the power of the holy Ghost is by the sacraments and words of God joined unto our hearts, the which doth always stir up unto concord, peace and mutual charity, so as not only an outward admonition is used, but the minds also while we communicate together, do feel the inward encouragement of divine inspiration. Wherefore ye see what notable and excellent good things I teach to be given unto us by the Eucharist. Let now mine adversaries go and cry out as much as they will, that I do violate the sacrament of the Lord’s supper. Let themselves come

forth and show by their monstrous and prodigious transubstantiations, what more sound fruit and just commodity they have brought by this sacrament, either unto communicants or unto Churches than I have verified. Will they speak of the benefit of our dwelling in Christ, and Christ's dwelling in us? That do I also affirm. Will they speak of obtaining a divine life, and a heavenly blessedness? Even that do I also testify. Will they boast of a receiving of the body and blood of Christ. That do I also prove no less than they, but yet such a receiving as is by faith, and from the heart. But will they object the remission of sins, the confirmation of the testament, and the memorial of the cross and death of Christ? I think they will not. For all these things have I oftentimes taught in great assemblies. Will they allege against us the incorporation, (as I may say) which we in communicating by faith, obtain with Christ and between ourselves which be his members? They cannot, for this also hath been perpetually rehearsed of me. What do they then say, since besides these, there is nothing else taught us in the holy scriptures touching the Eucharist? I know now what they will say: Ye take away (say they) Transubstantiation, bodily, fleshly, real, and substantial presence: this do we take in ill part: this do we confess over and above that which you affirm: herein do we disagree from you. I hear them well enough: and as touching Transubstantiation, as well for that it is a vain thing, as because I have dealt therein sufficiently both in my disputations and also in the Treatise which is prefixed thereunto, I have determined at this time to answer nothing.

But concerning the body of Christ, which ye so greatly mislike that I should deny to be present: I will say somewhat for their satisfaction. If I should demand of you to what purpose there ought to be affirmed any such presence as ye do say, ye will (as I think) make me no other answer, but to

the intent the body and blood of Christ may be joined unto us. Howbeit, since the whole work of this conjunction is heavenly and spiritual, it is not required hereunto, that this presence of yours, for the which ye so earnestly contend, should have any place. What need is there here either of any natural touching, or of the nearness of places? Tell me (I pray ye) since the holy scriptures do declare that not only wear coupled together with Christ, but also that we be members together with our brethren, so as we are made all one body: will ye not confess that those faithful which are in Spain, Italy, Germany, and France, are so joined together with us, that as Paul said, They be members one of another with us? I know ye will not deny it. If then the distance of places, and natural touching, which cannot be at all, do nothing hinder this unity whereby through Christ we are joined together in one, why then do ye deny that we are truly joined together unto Christ without a real and corporal presence? But if ye deny it not, why do ye importunately urge this presence? And to use yet a plainer and more express similitude: Man and Wife in the holy Scriptures, as ye know, both are, and are called one flesh. For Adam or God by Adam saith: This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: for this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they shall become one flesh. And so proper is this similitude to the thing which we have in hand, that Paul to the Ephesians, maketh the body of Christ to be in such sort the Church, as the wife is the bone and flesh of her husband. And yet nothing hindereth this unity of the flesh between husband and wife, if (as it happeneth) a man shall sometime be at London for a time, and the wife shall remain at Cambridge or at Oxford. The distance of place and natural touching which now cannot be had, proveth not but that the wife and the husband be between themselves one and the self-same flesh. Wherefore there is no need

that for coming into unity with Christ, ye should so labor to tie his body and blood, or, (as ye speak) to hide them under bread and wine. We are truly joined unto Christ without these prodigious things. The Eucharist without these feigned devises is a whole and perfect sacrament, and no less true, without these delusions are the words of Christ wherein he said, This is my body, wherein he delivered bread to his Apostles as in the Treatise following shall be more at large declared. Wherefore to the establishing and confirming of all these things, the Church hath no need of a corporal or substantial presence of the body of Christ.

But nevertheless I would not have it to be thought, that because of the similitudes which I have alleged, I do but lightly account or do too much extenuate the conjunction which we have and daily enter into with Christ. For I know very well, that the Scriptures, to show that the same conjunction is most firmly knit, have not only been accustomed to declare that we are endued with the spirit, merit, and intercession of Jesus, and that both we are governed and do live by his inspiration and spirit, but also, that he himself is with us, and dwelleth in our hearts by faith; that he is our head, and that he dwelleth in us and we in him; that we are born anew in him, and that his flesh is both given and received, to the intent it may be eaten and drunken. Howbeit I understand these sayings to be metaphorical, since that proper speeches cannot very easily be had for these things: For words according as they signify this or that, so are they appointed to serve unto man's purpose. For this cause when we are to speak of heavenly and divine things, a natural man which understandeth not so great secretes, is not able so much as to name them. And therefore the holy Ghost, to remedy our weakness, having granted us a light and understanding which should excel our own nature, hath also humbled himself to these metaphors, namely of abiding, dwelling,

eating and drinking: to the intent that this divine and heavenly conjunction which we have with Christ might some manner of way be known unto us. And these forms of speaking, since we see they comprehend in them two manner of things, to wit, a singular efficacy, and a signification not proper, but translated, it is necessary that we interpret them, not rashly, but with prudent and spiritual circumscription. Which is then used if we do not extenuate the sense of them more than is meet, especially when they be applied unto the Sacraments, nor yet do attribute thereunto anymore than is requisite. The excessive speeches of the fathers, and contempt of the Anabaptists did marvelously obscure the Sacraments, and especially this Sacrament whereof we entreat, while the one sort judge it to be but only a token of mutual charity: and a cold and a bare sign of the death of Christ: and the other attribute all manner of divinity unto it, by means whereof, before they were aware they made a step unto horrible Idolatry. And no other way can that mediocrity which we desire, be retained, but by interpreting the Phrases, which we have rehearsed, according to the analogy and agreeableness of the holy Scripture. Which although it require that we pluck not in sunder the hypostatical (as they call it) or essential unity of Christ, for which the properties of the two natures, I mean the divine and human, are communicated the one with the other; yet doeth the same require of us, that what we have made common by interchanging the propriety of the words, we should by interpretation distinguish with a sound understanding, that both the divinity be not made subject to human infirmities, and that the humanity be not so much deified, as by leaving the bonds of his own nature, it should be destroyed. Wherefore by a spiritual wisdom, such as is not elsewhere obtained than in the holy scriptures, we must discern what is agreeable unto Christ as touching the one nature, and

what is agreeable to him as touching the other. And thus the presence of the body of Christ, which I remove from the Eucharist, is, in this respect; that they affirm it either to be spread over every place, or else that it is in many places at one very time, in such sort as it can be rid of quantity and circumscription, which is proper and necessary to a human body.

Wherefore if by Presence, any understand the handfasting of our faith, whereby we ourselves ascend into heaven, and both the mind and the spirit embrace Christ in his majesty and glory, to him will I easily assent. But I utterly renounce their opinion which contend that the body is included and covered in the bread and wine, and affirm it to be under the shows of these things, and that they should therein worship and honor him, and briefly to have it erected for an Idol. This is the head and fountain of all the variance; herein chiefly standeth the state of all the present controversy: concerning the which, if we do not well and sincerely and plainly determine, the adversaries will always have somewhat whereby they may with some manner of show tolerably paint out, maintain, and with sophistical arguments defend their superstitions and Idolatries which they obtrude unto the Church. And to comprehend the whole in few words, these two things do I earnestly affirm: The one that this Sacrament of the divine supper, without use is nothing. And how true this is, the other sacraments do give a Testimony. The other is, that even while we use the same, we take hold of the body of Christ and of his blood by faith only. And they which teach otherwise, speak that which themselves understand not, neither are they understood of others, and they cast themselves of their own accord into such obscurities and labyrinths, when as the Scriptures constrain them not thereunto. And this is the ground, strength, and foundation of the opinion which I have declared, to wit, that it is proper and only belonging to the

divine nature, to be everywhere by substance, and to replenish all things; and on the other side this is the state and condition of the human nature, that it is contained in a place definite, and within measures and spaces, and cannot disperse itself unto many or unto all places at one and the self-same time. This doeth the sense testify so to be, man's reason confirmeth it, and no divine Scripture doeth ever prove it to be done otherwise. This have the fathers in many places declared. And this, if it shall be inverted, and otherwise taught, (as of many it is,) there cannot any commodity arise thereby, but that we have the very same already while we stick to our opinion, even the very same which we have now expressed.

They therefore which cry out against me, that I teach that the Supper of the Lord is had without Christ, that is to wit, without his body and blood, let them take this for an answer: that if they mean the presence of the body of Christ, to be an apprehending of him by faith which is offered unto us under the signification of words and signs, and is given by the benefit of the Lord, that presence as I have said, I gladly and willingly admit. For even as a light, a color, a sound, and such like things, although they be distant from a place, yet are they said to be present to the senses while they perceive those things: so according to this signification of presence, may the body of Christ be said to be present, because we take hold thereof by faith. And if the matter shall be discerned with a right and sound judgment after such a manner as hath been declared, it shall be said that the body of Christ is a great deal more present to them which believe than those qualities which are distant by place and nevertheless received by the senses, are said to be present. For the embracing by faith is more assured, and much more firmly do we cleave unto the things which are believed, than the sense or reason doth to those things which they comprehend by their natural power. And as

touching this presence of the body of Christ, I might seem now manifestly enough to have expressed that which I do hold, unless ye would perhaps marvel, why in the questions of these disputations, I have used the words Really, Substantially, Corporally, and Carnally, since they be foreign words, and are altogether strange from the phrase of the holy scripture. Even the self same have I also thought: and for my part if I had been suffered to speak mine own will I should utterly have abstained from these words, as being strange, yea and therewithal barbarous and ambiguous. Howbeit, partly the use received in the schools, and partly the importunity of the adversaries hath driven me hereunto, who to the intent they might the more certainly (as they thought) hinder me, and bring me in the greater discredit with the common people, and with the unlearneder sort of Popish Priests, as though I did utterly overthrow the Sacrament of the Eucharist, both they themselves under these gross sort of words earnestly affirmed the presence of the body of Christ, under the shows, as they say of bread and wine, and contrariwise published by all means they could, that I did most heretically deny the same.

Here otherwhile they, which were present by chance and favored my doctrine and opinion, took upon them the defense thereof: and because the conflict between us and our adversaries happened oftentimes to arise even for these words, they instantly required me that I would once perfectly and most plainly show my opinion what is to be determined, as touching the presence of the body of Christ according to the significations of these words. And hereupon doubtless it happened that I sometimes used these adverbs in the Schools. These flourishes have for their first authors the school Divines. For unto them, these words, although they be barbarous, have seemed fit, and most commodious for the expressing of things more

significantly. Howbeit least we stand here in a doubt, it shall be very good to declare how I understand these things. When I deny that the body of Christ is present Really, Substantially, Corporally, and Carnally, it must not thereof be inferred, that we eat the body of Christ feignedly, falsely, or phantastically. For if by these words they understand the truth of the thing, I will not deny but that the body of Christ is truly received of us. For that which we comprehend by faith, must not be accounted false nor feigned, nor counterfeit, nor fantastical: otherwise the death and resurrection of Christ which we believe, since they be past and are not now present, should be feigned and fantastical, and the Fathers in old time which received Christ, and had the self-same meat and spiritual drink that we have, since they might not have his body and blood which they did eat and drink by faith Really and Corporally present with then, (for the son of God had not as yet taken them upon him) should be said to have had these things feignedly, phantastically and counterfeitly, which would be most absurd: forsomuch as faith is nothing else but a certain power and faculty given unto our minds by God, whereby we assent unto things, which be most true and most certain: and therefore it cannot apprehend feigned or counterfeit things.

But if they contend by these particles, as in very deed they do, that the body of Christ is spread abroad in many and diverse places at one time, this sense do I disallow, herein I am against them, and I would have the readers to think that I utterly deny it. I add also, that in these words Corporally and Carnally, unto them which judge soundly, the receiving with the senses, is signified. Wherefore since the body of Christ is received, neither with the sense nor yet with the reason, I refuse those words the more willing. And hereupon it happened, that when I was to come to an agreement with the

adversaries as touching these questions, I only offered these two words Corporally and Carnally, after which manner I denied the body and blood of Christ to be present, not, that I would willingly or gladly, but that, as I have showed, I was constrained to use them: yea and at the last, when we were to dispute, and that we should now expound the Questions, and that the adversaries fearing least I should cloak some subtlety or shift in these adverbs Corporally and Carnally, to the intent the matter, as they thought, might be set forth more plainly, they would have the other two adverbs Really and Substantially to be added. Whatsoever offense therefore is committed on this behalf, is not done by my will, but by the fault of others. And hereof have I for my witness, the reverend man D. Coxe, the Kings Majesty's schoolmaster, and Chancellor of the University of Oxenford, of whose wisdom, learning and godliness, now the place serveth not to speak, which nevertheless were so notable in him, as they are known far and wide, that is to wit, both in the school, and in the Church, and in the Court. He when my adversaries thus caviled (as I have said) about the questions, was not only present, but by reason of the office which he there hath was the moderator of the disputations. And this also did my reverend Lord's the Visitors know, being excellent men and adorned with all kind of virtues: before whom the adversaries once disputed with me, and that very contentiously, as touching the ambiguity which they suspected to be in the questions propounded, neither could there be an agreement any other way between us, unless I would grant, that Corporally and Carnally, should be accounted for the self-same, as if it were said, Really and Substantially.

Of this matter I thought to write the more at large, because I easily think that many are offended with these words, forsomuch as I understand that some, and those singular men for their godliness and learning, would not

willingly have heard them. Who perhaps will be more inclined towards me, when they shall understand both why I used them, and in what sense I affirm or deny the body and blood of the Lord to be present in the supper. And that I may again make this manifest in few words, I affirm, that this is truly given and offered unto us as well by words as by signs, while they be mightily and most effectually signified by the same. And again in communicating, we truly receive the self-same things, when with a full and perfect consent of faith we embrace those things which be delivered by the signification of the words and signs. Whereupon it cometh, that we are most nearly joined together with Christ: and whom we have obtained in Baptism by the benefit of regeneration, him do we again more and more put on by the sacrament of the supper: forsomuch as it is provided by nature that we are nourished by the same things whereof we consist. And if we mean to be saved, we must take heed that Christ so long dwell in us and we in him, until we be wholly converted into him, and so converted, as there be nothing left of ours, of death I mean which was borne together with us, of corruption and of sin. Now remaineth that I crave pardon for that fault in writing which I freely confess myself to have made: Namely that otherwhile it happeneth in this Treatise, that one and the same thing is twice or thrice repeated, which in very deed is wont to discontent very much those that be wise and learned men, who by themselves without admonition do see many things, and think it superfluous that all should be declared unto them, and do not willingly suffer that the self-same things should be often told. But it must be considered that although these things breed a weariness to the learned, yet sometimes the repetition and double rehearsal thereof is not without profit. For in this unhappy time, the opinion of Transubstantiation, and corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist, hath stuck so deeply in the

minds of men, and they commonly make so great an account thereof, and hold it so dear, as they are wonderfully hindered, and their minds are called away from giving ear unto our reasons and to the truth, which admonish them to believe after another sort. And as one or two calls are not sufficient to awake them which be in a sound sleep, so to have told anything but once is not sufficient to stir up these men from their old received error. Wherefore I shall think I have brought no small matter to pass, if I do any good with this superstitious sort of men by often repeating the self-same things. Now then Charity towards them that be out of the way persuadeth the learned and sound readers, that they will not be aggrieved herewith.

CHAP. X. A. Of the Question touching the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

The contentions that be sprung up as touching the Sacrament of the Eucharist, tend doubtless to this purpose, that we may understand the manner of the conjunction of the body and blood of the Lord, with the signs of bread and wine, or (as others name them, with the sacramental forms. Because it is manifest unto all men that this Sacrament is called the Sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, therefore it behooveth that these things be after some manner contained in the sacrament. But we in the searching out of them will not rehearse all things which are alleged on both parts, least that which otherwise is obscure of itself, should be more entangled, and least the treatise grow to be infinite. But the order and disposing of the doctrine shall be reduced into four principal points. First we will treat of that conjunction, whereby they say commonly that the bread and wine is transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ, which seemeth to be a full coupling together of the sacrament with the substance. Secondly we will examine the other opinion, which is, that bread and wine, as touching their perfect and true natures, are retained in the sacrament: and

so retained, as they may have the true body and blood of Christ joined unto them (as they speak) naturally, corporally, and really. Thirdly shall be considered that which others say, that these things are not any other way joined one with another, than sacramentally, that is, by a significancy and representation. Lastly shall be declared out of the opinions pertaining to the second and third point so much as may most seem to belong unto godliness in this treatise of the sacrament.

2. Wherefore we will begin with the opinion of transubstantiation, partly because it is the grosser, further because it is the newer, and because the other two opinions do jointly and without drift confute the same. Of that the Master of the Sentences writeth in the 4th Book in the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th distinction. And to show it briefly, it is on this wise. The Minister ordained hereunto, when he uttereth the words instituted by the Lord over due and meet matter, that is bread and wine, so he have an intent (as they speak) to do it, the substance of the bread and wine is turned into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, and is so converted as the accidents of that substance which is changed or destroyed, remaineth without a subject: which nevertheless some would to cleave to the body of Christ which succeeded. But this is false, because in very deed the body of Christ hath no such accidents. Others have endeavored to make the air a subject for them as a natural foundation. Which also seeing it cannot possibly be proved, well near all the patrons of this opinion, agree, that they hang in the air, and remain without a subject. Further they will that these accidents which be seen and felt, do signify unto us the true body of Christ, which they have covered and hidden in them. Afterward they proceed further and say, that this body of Christ lying hidden under these accidents, is a sign, as well of the very body of Christ, which did hang upon the cross,

as also of the mystical body, that is of the fellowship of the elect and of men predestinate. Wherefore the Master of the sentences saith, that here is something, which is but only a sign (and that he appointeth to be the visible forms:) and that there is another thing, that is both the substance and the sign: namely the body of Christ, which is hidden under the accidents: for that is a substance, if it be referred unto the visible forms, and a sign, if thou have respect to the mystical body. Another thing (saith he) there is which thou mayest in no wise call a sign, but a substance only, to wit, the mystical body: because it is so signified, as it is no more a sign of anything. Those things which are afterward mingled in the action of these mysteries, are not (saith he) matters of necessity, but only thanksgiving and prayers interlaced. And if thou demand of them how so great a body may be contained in that little cake, they say, that this is not by the manner of quantity, or locally, or as they speak definitely, but by the manner of substance, and as they say, sacramentally. Neither count they for absurd things, that in this sacrament are contained two bodies in one and the self-same place, because they are constrained thus to say: for between the accidents of bread there is a quantity and that doubtless a corporal quantity. Also they do not mislike, that one and the self-same body is truly in many places, and that a man of a just largeness and stature, as Christ was upon the cross, and as he shall come to judgment, is truly, but invisibly contained not only in a small cake, but also in the least part thereof. Many things else might be rehearsed as touching this opinion: but I mind that these shall be sufficient unto our Treatise. He that desireth more, may read the Master of the sentences in the place which we cited, together with a great many of interpreters of him. And of the change or transubstantiation, these Arguments they bring.

3. First, the holy scripture persuadeth it. For in the 6th of John the Lord promised that he would give his flesh, not only for the life of the world, but also to be eaten: And he added: Unless a man shall eat my flesh and drink my blood, he shall not have life. He said moreover, that He is the bread from heaven, and that the lively bread, whom the father had given. Where he manifestly promised, that he would give himself to be eaten after the manner of bread: and that which he promised, he in good earnest performed, as the Evangelists testified was done in the last supper. And that the same which is given is the Lord's body, Paul declareth, when he saith: He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. Again, He eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he discerneth not the Lord's body. But they say, that the whole strength of the argument consisteth, in those words wherein it is said: This is my body. Which they affirm to be manifest, and needeth no expositions. And it behooveth (say they) that we should believe them, for the reverence that we owe unto the word of God. For the Evangelists as touching those words have conspired together in one: namely, Matthew, Mark, and Luke: also Paul the Apostle, in the first Epistle to the Corinthians: and unless the thing were of great importance, and so to be taken absolutely as it soundeth, the Apostles would not with so great unity have consented one with another. But and if it be lawful to shift off by tropes or figures, nothing (say they,) will be now safe from heretics. Furthermore the Propositions of such a kind, as is this, This is my body, must be understood, as that the subject and the predicate do represent and signify all one thing, and be, as it is said in the schools, a proposition of one and the self-same signification, unless there be found anything before or after in the joining together of the speech which may drive us to a trope or allegory, which in this place is not found. Nay

rather if thou rightly look upon the words which follow, they revoke us to the plainness of the proposition: For it is said: Which is given for you. But it is manifest, that the very body itself of Christ was given for us. Moreover those things which differ in nature and form, and by the Logicians are commonly called *Disparata*, as a man, a horse, and a stone, be in that case as they can never be mutually verified one of another. For it will never be true, that a man is a stone, or else contrariwise. But that in this sense the body of Christ and bread are to be understood, no man doubteth. Wherefore it will never be true to say of bread, that it is the body of Christ. So that when the Lord pronounced, This is my body, it must of necessity be that the substance of bread went away. It is added, that Christ did not without consideration use the verb substantive of the present tense, so as he said: This is my body. Doubtless he might have said: This signifieth my body, This representeth my body, This is the figure of my body, or the sign of my body: Or else thus: This bread is my body. All these things, seeing he refused, the saying is absolutely to be understood, as he pronounced it. Besides, if the substance of bread should remain, there should be two substances together at once, yea and those corporal substances: and they should one pierce another, which by the doctrine of transubstantiation is removed. Again there would be an imminent danger least the people should fall into Idolatry. For seeing the body of Christ must be worshipped, if bread remain there, that also should be worshipped. Neither doeth it appear meet for the dignity of Christ his body, that it should after this manner be joined either unto bread or unto wine. They argue also from the manner of a sacrifice. For if the body of Christ be offered by the minister, it behooveth that he have the same, and that he there stand in the sight of God, unless we will say, that he only offereth a thing signified and shadowed.

4. Afterward they cry out that the fathers are wholly on their side. First thy cite Irenaeus, who saith in the fifth book: When the cup tempered and the bread broken, receive the word of God, it is become the Eucharist of the blood and body of Christ. In the 4th book he spake in a manner the same thing. Also Tertullian in the 4th book saith, that Christ taking bread and distributing the same to his Disciples, made it his body. And Origen upon Matthew the 26th Chapter saith: This bread which God being the word confesseth to be his body, and the rest that followeth. Cyprian in his Sermon de Coena Domini: This common bread, being changed into flesh and blood, procureth life. And again in the same Sermon: This bread, which the Lord delivered unto his Disciples being changed not in form but in nature, is by the omnipotency of the word made flesh. Ambrose in the 4th book *de Sacramentis*: It is bread before the words of the Sacraments; after consecration, is of bread become the flesh of Christ. And many other like sayings he hath in his books of the sacraments. And to the same purpose Chrysostom in his 60th Homily *de Eucharistia*, which is in the 6th Tome, saith: This Sacrament is like unto wax put unto the fire, where nothing of the substance remaineth but wholly becometh like the fire: so saith he, the bread and wine is spent with the substance of Christ his body. Augustine upon the Prologue of the 23rd Psalm, saith that Christ bare himself in his own hands, whenas in the supper he instituted the Sacrament. And in the 98th Psalm expounding that sentence, Fal ye down before his footstool, affirmeth that the flesh of Christ must be worshipped in the sacrament: which would not be meet, if bread were yet remaining. And in his third book *de Trinitate*, A sacrament (saith he) cannot be made, but by the power of the holy Ghost working together with us. And Hilarius in his eighth book *de Trinitate*, saith, that Christ is in us by the truth of nature, and not by an

argument of the will only: and he saith, that in the Lord's meat, we truly receive the word being flesh. Leo the Bishop of Rome in the tenth Epistle to the Clergy and people of Constantinople. We receiving the virtue of the heavenly meat, let us pass into his flesh which was made our flesh. They add that Damascenus is altogether on their side. Also Theophilact is brought in by them, who most plainly made mention of the changing of elements. But as touching Anselm and Hugo de Sancto victor, which were in the latter age, there is no doubt but that they warrant Transubstantiation: And that therefore the fathers as well old as new, they say make of their side. And they bring in Councils: namely the Council of Ephesus against Nestorius, where Cyril was president: and he hath many things of this matter and especially he saith, that we being made partakers of the holy body and precious blood of Christ, receive not common flesh, nor as it were the flesh of a man sanctified, but that which is the true sanctifying flesh, and that which is become proper to the word itself. And they cite the Council of Vercellensis under Leo the 9th wherein Berengarius was condemned, of whose recantation there is mention in the decrees *De Consecrat* distinct. 2, and in the fourth book of Sentences. They cite also the Lateran Council at Rome, under Innocentius 3rd who mentioned Transubstantiation in the *decretalles De summa trinitate*, in the chapter *Firmiter*: And *De celebratione Missarum* in the chapter *Cum Martha*. Also in the Council of Constance, where Wycliffe was condemned, who denied this transubstantiation. Further they cite for themselves, (as they say) the consent of the whole Church, wherewith Scotus was so greatly moved in his 4th book, as when transubstantiation might not firmly be showed by the scriptures and by reasons, yet he yieldeth unto it, least he should be against the consent of the Church.

5. Furthermore they draw a most large and far-fetched argument from the power of God, because he can do far greater things than these be. And they bring in many miracles which were done for the testimony of the truth: as that this sacrament in the hands of Gregory, was by his prayer turned into a finger of flesh. Sometime appeared therein a little child: and the sacrament being pierced with small spears yielded blood.

They speak many things also as touching the body of Christ glorified, (which Paul in the Epistle to the Corinthians calleth spiritual) to the intent they might show, that it was very lawful for Christ to deliver his body shadowed and covered with accidents. And they persuade that it is not simply put in the Greek, This is my body, but the article is added, so as it is not said σῶμα body, but τό σῶμα μου This my body. And the Grecians are then wont to ad articles, when they will make the speech very proper and significant. To these things they add: Christ promised to his Apostles: I will be with you until the end of the world, which must not only be understood as touching the divinity, because this also they knew well enough: but insomuch as they were sad for his corporal departure, he putteth them in comfort that he would also be with them in body. Furthermore if transubstantiation should be taken away, and bread remain, seeing that cannot be the body of Christ, there will be left only a signification, and then the new sacraments should not have anything which would not be found in the old sacraments. For those also did signify Christ: yea rather if thou have respect to the outward show they did more express him than bread and wine. For there brute beasts were slain, and their bloodshed, which in bread and wine happeneth not. And it seemeth a marvel unto them, that seeing Christ promised in Peter, that the faith of the Church should not fail, and that the same is the most dear spouse of Christ, how it happeneth that he

hath so long forsaken it in this idolatry, and hath not showed the truth of the thing against so great an abuse. They argue also, that if the substance of bread and wine being preserved, the truth of things cannot be present, as it is concluded, nothing shall be had more in the sacrament than in common meats and banquets. For there also the faithful will understand a signification of bread and wine, and so the dignity of sacraments shall perish. Lastly they say, that the word of God must still retain his power and force which remaineth not, if transubstantiation be taken away. Ambrose in his Treatise *De Sacramentis* saith, that by the operation of the word of God the bread and wine remain as they be, and yet be changed into another thing. Which words Algerius a late writer, in the first book which he made of this sacrament, the 7th chapter: expoundeth that bread and wine remain as touching the accidents, but are changed into another or into a better thing as touching the substance.

6. But now let us see by what arguments on the other part this opinion is overthrown. First the holy scripture teacheth that there is bread, therefore it is not true that the substance thereof is converted into another thing. The Evangelists say, that Christ took bread, brake it, and gave it to his disciples. And Paul five times made mention of bread: Is not the bread which we break, the participation of the body of Christ? And, We be all one bread and one body, which do participate of one bread. Also, how often soever ye eat of this bread, ye shall show the Lord's death until his coming. Again, Whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. Lastly: Let a man try himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. These things seeing they be plain and manifest, therefore if an Angel from heaven shall preach otherwise, let him be accursed. Verily I might allege that which is

oftentimes said as touching the breaking of bread, but because I see that it may be otherwise understood (as though it should be spoken of the unclean and common meat: as in Isaiah the 58th chapter: Break thy bread unto him that is hungry. And Jeremiah in his Lamentations the 4th chapter. The little children desired their bread, and there was no man that would break unto them.) therefore I omit it and will bring nothing but that which is firm. And now seeing the places before cited be very plain, they ought simply to be taken. But some cavil that it is called bread by reason of the natures which be converted, and to speak after their manner, this name is given of the end from which they have [*their nature*] and they bring the like places. When a serpent was made of the rod of Aaron, it devoured the serpents of the Sorcerers, which they also made of their rods. It is said that the rod of Aaron devoured the serpents of the Sorcerers. Further in the holy Scriptures man is sundry times called earth, because his body was made thereof. Woman also was by Adam called bone of his bones, and flesh of his flesh, because she was framed thereof by God. But these things are vainly objected, because in the holy scriptures there is plain mention made of these changes: So then the necessity of the history and words drive us unto these figures, and therefore we admit them. Let these men in like manner show unto us in the holy scriptures, that this change was made: namely of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, and we will also grant them these figures, to wit, that the bread should not be called the same which it is now, but which it was before. And thereunto belongeth that which they say: If a man would give me wine, which straight way would turn to vinegar, and I having that vinegar in a pot, I might fitly say: This is thy wine: not that it is then wine, but because it was wine before. But here the sense judgeth of changing the wine into vinegar, which happeneth not in the

Eucharist, whereas neither the sense nor reason, nor yet the holy Scripture driveth us to confess such a changing as the other is.

7. They object a place out of John in the second chap. When the governor of the feast had tasted the water which was made wine: whereby they will show, that the wine newly brought forth by the miracle of Christ, doth still retain the name of water. But Christ said not simply, Water, but, Water which was made wine. But this declaration shall they not find in the holy Scriptures, that bread is said to be turned into the body of Christ. They fly also sometimes to the 6th chapter of John, so as they say, that the Apostle calleth bread in this place: not bread, that is, of wheat, or common bread, but the body of the Lord, which in the 6th chapter of John is called bread, where Christ said: I am the bread of life. But against them maketh that which Paul saith: The bread which we break is it not the Communion of the body of Christ? Because it cannot agree with the body of Christ that it should be broken, seeing it is written: Thou shalt not break a bone of him. But these so sharp witted men, although they have found in the 6th chapter of John, that Christ called himself bread, where I pray you shall they find that he called himself wine? For so much as in this supper, the other sign is called wine: namely in those words of the Evangelist: I will not hereafter drink of the fruit of this vine. But there is no doubt but that vines bring not forth accidents, but wine. Further it is to no purpose which is spoken of the fathers with great consent, that the mystical body is betokened by the signs of this sacrament, because bread is made of many grains, and wine runneth together of many grapes, which things in accidents have no truth. And of these men we marvel very much, who if at any time they hear us bring similitudes, as for example: The rock, was Christ, The Lamb or beast for sacrifice, is the Passover, Circumcision is the covenant: they cry that these

Allegories serve not for this place. And now these men heap up everywhere tropes and figures. They say also, that bread is here taken for all that which may be eaten, as Lehem in the Hebrew tongue, is taken for all kind of meat. But against them make the Evangelist which restrain this kind of meat unto bread. Others fain that bread signifieth accidents, and the form of bread, who as the Logicians term it, do *Petere prrincipium*, and take as it were already granted that which is in controversy: namely that accidents be there without a subject: which thing they ought first to prove. Neither must miracles be heaped together without necessity.

8. Another Argument is: that the old Fathers had the same sacraments which we have: and yet there was no need of Transubstantiation, that the Rock, or the water flowing out of the Rock, or Manna should be transubstantiated, which might not then be done: wherefor neither is this to be required unto our Sacraments. The former proposition we have read in Paul, to wit, That the old fathers and we had one and the self-same meat. Our adversaries deny it, and would have that our Sacraments should altogether and many manner of ways be distinguished from the mysteries of the old fathers: which we also grant, as well in respect of diverse signs, as also for the difference of times and certain other properties. But as touching the matter of the Sacraments, which was received by the holy Patriarchs, we say that the meat was altogether the self-same, and the drink the self-same with the substance of our Sacraments. Augustine unto Marcellinus writeth of the difference of these Sacraments, that unto a prudent man it may suffice that by some Sacraments it was foreshowed when Christ should come, and that by others it ought to be showed when he was come: where Augustine seemeth to have only a regard to the difference of the time. And in his little book *De utilitate verae poenitentiae agendae*, he very plainly

writeth, that the old fathers when they had Manna did eat the very same thing that we do eat. For (saith he) they did eat the very same spiritual meat. What else is the very same, but because they did eat even it that we do? And because unto some man it might have seemed an unworthy thing, that we have no more than the Jews had, he urgeth the testimony of Paul, unto whom (saith he) it was not enough to say that the old fathers had spiritual meat, but he would add, that they had The very same: whereby we may understand, that they in their Manna did eat the very same thing that we do eat, therefore he added, The very same. Neither is it a let which some do say: that he spake of spiritual eating, to wit, that the Patriarchs believed in Christ to come. First, because these men are not able to confirm their fleshly eating of Christ: Secondly, because the old fathers not only believed with their mind, but received a token of the thing believed, that is Manna or water, therefore the thing did not stand only in faith: and the saying of Augustine standeth fast: that the meat of the fathers was not only spiritual, but the self-same.

9. It little also availeth if thou object, out of the same Augustine upon the Psalm 73, in the prologue, the differences between the new and the old sacraments: which (as it seemeth) he maketh to be three. First, that the savior is there promised, but here given. Afterward he saith, that our sacraments be easier, fewer, nobler and happier: And lastly, that those were as things to play with in the hands of children: but that in ours there is something more profitable and substantial. These things as touching the first, must be understood of the promise of Christ that should come: but notwithstanding that he in very deed had not as yet taken flesh upon him, yet was he spiritually given for a meat unto the fathers believing in the promise. But ours are said to give Christ: namely, because they testify that

he is come, so as he must be looked for no more. Further it is certain that ours be fewer, and have a greater facility, and they signify with greater magnificence, because the words which are declared are more plain than they were in the Old Testament. Moreover the felicity is greater, for we be free from the yoke of ceremonies, and we live in the last hour, being undoubtedly more nigh unto the kingdom of Christ. The spirit also is now more plentiful: and the Church extendeth more largely than it did at that time: Wherefore Many kings and Prophets desired to see those things which you see. And the Sacraments of the law were as things for pastime in the hands of children, because it behooved the age of the old fathers to be exercised like children under many ceremonies, sundry elements, and diverse sorts of instructions. But it is not proved by all these things that the Sacraments of the old fathers had not as touching the substance of a mystery, those things which our Sacraments have. For Cyprian hath in the 2nd book and 3rd Epistle. Our Lord Jesus Christ offered the self-same thing which Melchizedek offered, that is to say, bread and wine: to wit, his own body and blood. Augustine against Faustus the 19th book chap. the 16th In what a doting error be they which think, that the signs and Sacraments being changed, the things also be diverse. And in the same Treatise in the 20th book the 21st chapter: The flesh and blood of this Sacrifice, before the coming of Christ was promised under oblations of likenesses. In the passion of Christ it was given according to the truth itself: after the ascension of Christ, it is celebrated by a sacrament of remembrance. The same father in the 26th Treatise upon John: Those Sacraments were in signs differing [*from ours*] but in the matter which is signified they be equal. Straightway he saith: therefore there was the self-same meat, and the self-same drink, howbeit to them that understood and believed: but to them which

understood it not, it was but only Manna, and the other but only water, but to him that believed, it was the self-same thing that it is now. For then Christ was to come, now he is come: was to come, and is come be diverse words, but one and the same Christ. And Bertramus among the later men thus writeth: But that our fathers did eat the self-same spiritual meat, and drink the self-same spiritual drink Saint Paul affirmeth. Perhaps thou demandest, which self-same? Even the very same which at this day, the faithful people do eat and drink in the Church. For we must not think that there is a difference seeing that he is one and the very same Christ, which with his flesh fed the people, and with his blood gave them drink when they were in the desert, in the cloud, and were baptized in the sea, and which now in the Church feedeth and giveth drink unto the believing people with the bread of his body and water of his blood. And straightway again the same father: A marvel doubtless incomprehensible and inestimable: he had not as yet taken the manhood upon him: he had not as yet tasted of death, for the salvation of the world: he had not as yet redeemed us with his blood, and yet even now, our fathers in the desert did eat his body and drink his blood by a spiritual food and an invisible drink, as the Apostle beareth witness saying: The self-same spiritual meat. And again: For even he also which by his omnipotent power in the Church spiritually converteth the bread and wine into the flesh of his own body and into the water of his own blood: even he then invisibly wrought the Manna which was given from heaven to be his own body, and the water which was poured from heaven to be his own blood.

10. We see moreover in the sacrament of Baptism, that the holy Ghost and remission of sins is given: yet do we not say that these things lie hidden in the waters: yea and we put on Christ, yet doeth not any man say, that water

is transubstantiated. Christ (they say) is after one sort in the Eucharist, and after another sort in Baptism. As touching the manner, I confess that in Baptism Christ is given as a mediator, as a reconciler, and to speak more properly, as a regenerator: but in this he is distributed unto us as a meat and nourishment. Furthermore with this their Transubstantiation, they come near unto a figure of the Marcionites: for they say: It seems to be bread and is not: The very which thing Marcion affirmed of the flesh and body of Christ, that it was not true flesh, but that it only appeareth [*to be flesh*]. Christ is no juggler, neither doeth he delude our senses, but by the senses he proved the Resurrection. Feel (saith he) and see, for a spirit hath no flesh and bones. The Apostles might have said: we feel and we see, it appeareth to be flesh and body, but it is not: and in vain had that proof been, whereby Christ proved that he was not a fantastical body, but that he had a true body. And that he had received his own proper body, and not another, he showed by the wounds of the nails, and by the gap that was in his side. Which Argument of his, if place should be given to these juggling knacks, it would be of no force. Yea and the Fathers argue from the properties and accidents of man's nature: to wit, that Christ was very man, because he hungered, slept, wondered and sorrowed, and wept, and suffered: which Arguments are of none effect, if by these accidents the substance be not truly showed, so as it should not be lawful to say: it is of the self-same fashion, it hath the same taste, the same color which bread is wont to have, therefore it is very bread. For Heretics will confess, that Christ hungered, slept, wondered, wept, and suffered, but when thou shalt thereof infer: therefore he was very man, they will deny the consequence. For they will say, that these properties might have place in Christ although the substance of them, namely, the nature of man be not present. They say, as touching the Argument of

Marcion, that it may be, he took the occasion of his error out of the Gospel, where it is written of Christ that he walked dry foot upon the water, that he was lifted up into heaven, and that he escaped out of the hands of the Jews, so as they saw him not, and yet that these things ought not to be taken out of the Gospel by reason of the danger of the Marcionites. Whereunto we answer, that in the Gospels it is described, that Christ once or twice did these miracles, but ye appoint that these things be perpetual. And that which is in the Scriptures, we ourselves have not feigned, therefore we ought not to be accused of giving occasion. Howbeit in those things which we have devised, which we do expound and teach as doctrine without the express word of God, we must beware least we set open a window to Heretics.

11. Furthermore, the nature of a sacrament is corrupted, of which Augustine upon John saith, The word cometh unto the element, and it is made a sacrament. The nature thereof is, that it should be made of these two things: but as these men appoint the elements, that is, the bread and wine are taken away: And then Augustine ought not to have said: The word cometh unto the element, but, It taketh away the element. And while they remove the natures of the elements, the proportion of the signification perisheth. Wherefore the bread signifieth the body of Christ, because it nourisheth, strengtheneth, and sustaineth: which we cannot attribute unto accidents. It is also a signification of many grains gathered in one, which representeth the mystical body, and that cannot be attributed unto accidents. Wherefore Paul said: We that are many, are one bread and one body, because we are partakers of one bread. In baptism, water is said to be the fountain of regeneration, and because the substance thereof is preserved, that doeth very well agree, for the accidents of water would not be convenient. And in taking away of the substance of bread and wine in the

proposition, This is my body, they abuse the verb substantive Is, for it is transubstantiated, turned or changed from one to another. For while they utter those words of the Lord, the bread is not yet the body of Christ. Wherefore if they would understand Is in his own true signification, they should utter that which is false. Therefore among the schoolmen, some grant that the verb Is should be taken for, To be made, To be changed, or turned. Moreover they attribute this power or efficacy unto those few words of the Lord, that so often as they be repeated, this changing is made, and yet have they not in the holy Scriptures any word thereof. And if a man should speak those words which Paul, Matthew, Mark, or Luke hath, they would think that there is no consecration: for they ascribe all the virtue unto the words of their own Canon. But we know that then the sacrament is, when we do those things which Christ did and commanded to be done: but he not only spake those words, but he also gave thanks, he brake the bread, he did eat, and he reached it unto others to eat. And where as there be many things here, all do concur with the truth of the sacrament, neither must any of these things be intermitted. I pass over that they be ignorant whether consecration be had in the words of Christ or in prayers. Further they set themselves in great peril. For it may be that an ill sacrificer or false worker doeth not speak the words, doth change or invert them. Moreover, seeing an intent (as they speak) of him that consecrateth is required: it might be, that he in doing of these things thinketh nothing at all of consecration, and perhaps that he is minded not to have it done.

12. They fall into many absurdities, and those inexplicable: for therein they affirm that there may be a body, and that in infinite places together and at one very time. But they say, that this is no hinderance unto them, because though the body of Christ be there, yet is it not by the way of quantity. And

this is to be wondered at how they place a body and a quantity, and to be truly present: and yet not by the way of quantity. And seeing they affirm him to be truly present, and corporally, and carnally as they say, but not locally, who perceiveth not that these be arguments invented to deceive? They object that this was given to the human body of Saint Ambrose, who being at Millaine was present at Turon in the funerals of Saint Martin, and there was seen: Why (say they) shall not this which Ambrose had, be rather granted to the body of Christ? But they take as granted, which we grant not. For it might be, that it was revealed unto Ambrose, and that it seemed unto him he was present at those funerals, and by the help of Angels he was perhaps represented in them and unto the sight of the people, but that his body was verily in both places together, we will not grant. Further we might leave it to the author of the miracle recited, to consider whether it be true or no. They oppose again as touching souls, that whereas they be creatures, yet each one of them is in the head, and in all the members of our body. But they deal very unwisely, which compare a spirit with a body, and that they would have to be given unto bodies which they may lawfully do unto a spirit. Christ said plainly: A spirit hath no flesh and bones, whereby he put no small difference between them. Further if we should grant, that that is to be given unto the body which our soul hath, it followeth not that the body of Christ can be in diverse places, because our soul and the Angels cannot be in diverse places at one and the self-same time: For they be creatures, and therefore of a power limited and definite.

13. There follow also many other inconveniences: because if the mice have gnawen these sacred hosts, they will say, that they eat accidents. And if they be filled and satisfied, this also shall be a work of Accidents. And if it happen that a sacrificing Priest, do utter those words over a great vessel of

wine, and over a great chest full of bread, and that thou demand what filleth the vessel, what the chest, or what also filled the bellies of them which did eat and drink thereof: they would answer, Accidents. And because those that eat, are sustained, some of them dare to say, that God createth in the bellies of the eaters and drinkers, either phlegm or some other humor, which may be converted into blood whereby they should be nourished. But and if that that sacrament be burned, as it was done in the time of Hesychius (which thing he himself testifieth upon Leviticus, and the very same hath Origen upon the same book,) undoubtedly ashes will remain, and by that means shall a substance be procreated out of accidents. In like manner worms may arise of the bread consecrated, and there also they will say that substance is brought forth of accidents. Albeit, (as they be bold fellows,) some of them fain that the former matter is by miracle brought again, by reason whereof these things may happen. But if it be lawful after this manner to breed and feign miracles, every divine may escape as he will. For to every intricate matter he will apply a miracle, and so will he unwind himself out of all Arguments which shall be objected against him. These things they affirm not only by miracles, but also by subtle sophistical arguments. As Scotus when he is urged in the uttering of those words: This is my body, that he should tell us what is showed in the subject of the proposition, at length answereth, that there is demonstration made of some singular or particular thing of a more general substance, which together with that which is affirmed thereof doeth show the self-same thing or (as the schoolmen said) is of the self-same supposition: neither do those things differ one from another which are signified by the subject and that which thereof is affirmed, except it be by a diverse manner of conceiving. See whereinto they rush and yet for all that they escape not. For it is not yet answered by

them what is showed, when it is said, This is my body. The Bishop of Rochester saith in these propositions, that when anything is changed into another thing, it is not absurd that that which was before should be showed: And so he admitteth, that in This is my body should be showed the bread which was before, and is changed into the body of Christ while those words be spoken. But then (say I) the proposition is not well framed: For it should have been said: This is made my body, or, This is turned into my body: otherwise, being said, This is my body, the speech is improper.

14. They which say, that the body of Christ is really joined with the signs, the natures I mean of bread and wine being preserved, do thus argue against Transubstantiation: What dignity or privilege have Accidents, that they can be joined with the body of Christ, which ought to be denied to the substance and nature of bread? And if the Accidents can remain, why shall not also the substance of bread be retained? Yea rather, many of the fathers suppose, that this may be done. And thence they take a similitude, that the human and divine natures in Christ do verily remain, and so remain, as one passeth not into another: whose opinions we will bring in when time shall serve. They fall also into another absurdity: for while they break the Sacrament, we demand of them what they break there. Here they stagger and some have said, as testifieth the master of the sentences in the 4th book, that the essence or substance of the body of Christ is broken: but this opinion is by him confuted: because the body of Christ is immortal, and therefore it is not subject to these things, and to new chances. There were others which said that the same is no true breaking, but that it only appeareth to be, and so seemeth unto our senses. And this is also rejected, least we should establish here a perpetual illusion. At length they say, that they be accidents which be broken. And when as they after a sort appoint a Mathematical quantity, that

is, a quantity separated from matter, which if it be divided, it is only done by the power of the mind and by the promptness of the understanding. These men also divide in very deed, so as the parts divided may most manifestly be seen. In Jeremiah we read, Let us cast wood upon his bread: which place is cited by Tertullian and Lactantius, and they interpret that this was spoken of putting the wood of the cross into the body of Christ: and they will that mention was made of bread, because through bread Christ was to give himself unto us. And that which the Prophet speaketh, they will have to be a figure of the bread of the Sacrament: which seeing these men take away, and only leave a figure unto us, they affirm a figure of a figure, so as no sound thing remaineth. The very which may be gathered by that which is oftentimes alleged by the fathers as concerning Melchizedek, who brought the bread and the wine, the figure whereof is not by these men observed, when they remove away the bread and the wine. And the self-same thing followeth as touching the Showbread.

15. Again we will bring a reason taken from baptism. A little before we argued from thence, that for the truth of that Sacrament it was not requisite that water should be transubstantiated: now we reason from the men themselves which be baptized, of whom the Scripture plainly saith that they lay away the old man, and are again begotten: and yet is there no Transubstantiation imagined in them, nevertheless generation is described to be a motion whereby a new substance is gotten. Wherefore it is no marvel that Nicodemus took offense at the words of the Lord, wherein it was showed him that he should be born again. For while he thought with himself that a new generation was preached unto man already brought forth and well in years, he stood in a doubt. But and if we interpret that generation to be new, and the nativity to be spiritual, why do we not

vouchsafe to do the same in the Eucharist? And why do we not transfer all things unto spiritual eating? I gladly join together these two Sacraments, Baptism and the Eucharist, because Paul in the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians the 12th chap. knitteth them together, when he saith: All we by one spirit are baptized into one body, and have been all made to drink with one spirit. Neither is it of any force, if thou shalt say, that we be baptized into one body, to wit, the mystical body, because from the mystical body Christ is not absent, seeing he is the head thereof. And elsewhere Paul most plainly saith, that We in baptism put on Christ. We see moreover, that the holy writers bring out of the 6th chapter of John many things as touching the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Yea rather, there is none of the fathers which in the interpreting of that chapter, writeth not plentifully of the Eucharist. Whereupon we conclude a reason after this manner: The things which be there spoken, either serve unto this sacrament or they serve not: if they belong not unto this, what need is there to rite them, or by those places to dispute of the Eucharist? But if they have respect unto this, seeing there is only a spiritual eating, that is by faith, whereby is received the true body and blood of Christ, what need is there to bring in another new receiving, and to imagine a carnal eating, whereby the same thing should be received again? For if we grant that there cometh some godly and faithful man, then these men shall be constrained to admit, that twice he doth receive the body of Christ: First by a spiritual eating through faith, afterward by their carnal eating which they have never proved. And thus thou seest that these men do stop up their own way, so as they cannot truly cite those testimonies which are upon the 6th chapter of John. And while they affirm Transubstantiation, they are found to be in the same error that the Capernaites were. Even they also revolved in their mind I know not what corporal eating of the flesh of

Christ, from which cogitation, Christ straight way revoked them, when he said: that his words were spirit and life: and that the flesh profiteth nothing. And he objected unto them the memory of his ascension into heaven, saying: What if ye see the son of man ascend into heaven where he was at the first? But these men say, that they are not of the same mind that the Capernaites were: for say they: they thought that the flesh of Christ should be cut into pieces, and should be torn with the teeth, and therefore they have utterly misliked thereof: but as touching the special imagination of the Capernaites, whatsoever it was they know not, but very like it is, that they thought carnally, therefore they were troubled with the mention made of ascending into heaven. Why do not these men teach themselves thereby, who are bound to say that they eat Christ both carnally and corporally? What difference is there whether thou receive him by parts, or if thou swallow him all at once?

16. Hereunto it serveth, that Christ said unto his Apostles about the end of his life, that he would leave the world and would depart from them: which should not be true, if he were with us by transubstantiation as these men would. They have used to answer that Christ left the world as touching mortal conditions, and as touching familiarity and bodily conversation. These indeed are subtle shifts, but they serve not to the purpose. For when Christ spake these words, Philip answered: Behold now thou speakest plainly, and without parables. Howbeit if it were so to be understood, the speech had been obscure and like a parable. Further if Christ remain with us so corporally in the Eucharist, he might by the same reason remain both in our hearts, and also in ourselves. Therefore he might still after his ascension rule the Church by his own self, and be present with his Apostles. But he saith, that he would leave a vicar in his stead: namely the holy Ghost, who

had not been necessary, if whole Christ as touching divinity and humanity (as these men will) were present. For seeing the flesh and body of him is by participation in each one of us (according to their doctrine) and that his godhead is present, he might deal by his own self without the holy Ghost to be the prompter. Mary the mother of the Lord, the most blessed virgin, when she had heard of the Angel, that the word of God should take flesh upon him, and that she was chosen to conceive and bring forth the son of God, she judged these to be strange and wonderful things, and demanded how these things should be, and so forth. But this translation of the bread into the body of Christ, seeing it is no less matter than is that mystery of his incarnation and nativity of the Virgin, it is a wonder that in the holy scriptures there is found neither admiration nor question demanded of that matter: and that in none of the writings of the Evangelists or Apostles, this belief of Transubstantiation is commended unto us, being a thing of so great importance. Neither do we hearken unto some that say, in the 6th chapter of John there went a question before: because the answer that was there given of spiritual eating, they will now transfer unto this sacramental eating, which nevertheless they assign to be another than that was. For us therefore doeth that question and answer serve, but it nothing at all profiteth these men, who fain another eating differing from that spiritual eating, to wit, this eating which we now have in hand.

17. Other inconveniences and absurdities do follow the feigning of these things. For Christ said: I will that where I am, there also my minister should be: and he spake the same often times to his Apostles. And in the Apocalypse we read of certain Martyrs: They follow him wheresoever he shall go. Whereupon would be concluded, that in the Eucharist, not only should be affirmed Transubstantiation into the body of Christ, but into all

the Saints. Which if it displease them, let them leave Christ in heaven with his saints, otherwise they shall follow him together for company. But they say: We suffer him also to be in heaven, visible and in his Majesty and glory, but yet herein the sacrament we affirm him to be invisible: and those things which be objected as touching the fellowship of the Saints and Martyrs, they be true as touching Christ, according as he is visible in heaven in his glory and Majesty. This answer leaneth upon a false ground: for it admitteth that one and the same body of Christ is in many places at once: which the fathers deny. It admitteth that Christ is with us as touching his body and flesh; whereas he said, that as touching these things, he would send another in his place, namely, the holy Ghost. Neither can they avoid it that Christ had two bodies, seeing in the supper when he had taken bread into his hands, if it had been transubstantiated into his body, yet he himself had borne his own body with his body, and it should be necessary to grant both the body bearing and the body borne to be both one, when as nevertheless one and the same agent and patient in respect of one and the self-same thing in one very time cannot be. And thus we see into what absurdities they cast themselves. They are wont to bring Augustine upon the Psalms, who said that Christ bare himself in his own hands. But if the place which is written upon the 73rd Psalm be considered, that he, After a sort, bare himself in his own hands: that also do we grant, because he bare in his own hands the sacrament of his own body, and not properly and really his own body. Add that because Christ communicated with his Apostles, it followeth that he did eat his own self. But they have been accustomed to answer, that these things be exercises of our faith. But we reply, that we have sentences of the scripture, in which our faith may exercise itself far otherwise than in these which men have devised. We believe that the son of

God, is incarnate of the virgin, that he was born, that he died for us, that he was raised up from the dead, and that he was taken up into heaven, and many of these kind of things, wherein our faith doth abundantly enough exercise itself. And seeing the sense toucheth not, the reason understandeth not, nor experience teacheth this Transubstantiation, how shall it be known? I know, thou wilt say, by faith: but if we are to deal by faith, that without the word of God cannot be had, and thereof ye be utterly destitute.

18. Furthermore, seeing Christ made this sacrament of two parts, namely, of the body and blood, thereby it sufficiently appeareth, that the thing cannot be received by this transubstantiation, because these things in the real and carnal body of Christ are not divided: But they have a shift, and they say that it is contained in one of these parts alone or in two. Indeed we hear them affirm this, but the words of the Scripture teach it not: but about the bread only there is mention made of the body and about the cup only is the blood specified. They answer as touching the bread, that by the power of the words transubstantiation is made into the body of Christ or into the flesh of Christ properly and by itself, and that the blood and the soul and divinity followeth by concomitancy. And in like manner do they speak of the cup, that by an efficacy of the words, first and properly there is a transubstantiation made into the blood, but by a concomitancy or a kind of conjunction there is had both the body and the soul and the divinity. And by this their subtle reason, they make Christ less provident, as he that hath given no more unto the two parts than is severally contained in one of them. And of this their fancy hath grown, that afterward they divided the sacrament, and in giving only one part unto the Laity, they have persuaded them, that they have even as much as if they received both parts. Add that by this their feigned devise, they set open a window unto many counterfeit

opinions: because there is no opinion whereunto they by their concomitancy may not tie infinite things. And it would follow as we above said, that all the Saints are present in this sacrament, seeing they always follow Christ. But the only reason whereby we refell them, is this, that they teach, out the scripture doeth not speak.

19. There hath another false and absurd opinion followed this transubstantiation: in that they have thought that after receiving of the sacraments, there remaineth still a sacrament, and that the bread or show of bread doth really and verily contain in it the body of Christ. That this is false we will show by other sacraments, where the whole consisteth in action, which being taken away, it is no more a sacrament. It appeareth in baptism that when a man is dipped or sprinkled with water by the words of the Lord, then it ceaseth to be a sacrament, The very which thing was in circumcision: for that sacrament also consisted in action. Neither will I disdain to take those which be called sacraments by them, as is confirmation, extreme unction, penance, and other such like: all which we see have place in action only. But they are wont to say, that this sacrament of the Eucharist must be excepted. But how logically our adversaries speak this, it may be easily perceived. When as all the parts of the induction are granted, and that there is only an instance put of the thing in controversy, who seeth not that it is lewdly done, and only to dally with the argument, for that is after a sort to grant the premises, and to deny the conclusion?

And by reason of these strange wonders of this Metamorphosis, we are hindered from the end, which is chiefest, and is commended unto us by Christ in the holy scriptures: namely the remembrance of Christ and his death. For here all the mind and meaning of these men is occupied in believing of transubstantiation, yea thou mayest see some sacrificers, who

when they are come to the Communion only urge and thrust this upon us, to be believed, passing over other things more necessary. And by the means of this feigned devise, the Communion is the less frequented, because men being persuaded in that, began to think with themselves: If Christ be there corporally and carnally covered with accidents, surly we will go unto the Temple: we will see, we will worship, we will call upon, we will light candles, and such other like things, whereby they thought they might gratify Christ. Which if they had not thought, but had judged, as true it is, that it is only a sacrament, they would thereby have understood that they should have no commodity unless they had communicated, and their minds would have been more stirred up unto the Communion, which is, truly to satisfy the institution of Christ.

20. Over this we ought to call to mind, that the time of humility and submission of Christ is passed away, and that he now reigneth in heaven, and that he hath a name which is above every name. Wherefore then should it be requisite by transubstantiation to send him down again communicated as touching the body into our jaws and bellies? I know that they say he is not hurt, he draweth no uncleanness. I will grant it, but yet it is not very decent, that, as they say, he should be detained under those accidents so long as they remain sound: which things when they shall be dissolved, they say that the body of Christ flieth away. Whereby it cometh to pass that they daily and especially until noontide constrain him perpetually to depart and fly away. But they say, that we must let these cogitations pass, and yet they themselves by their carnal Transubstantiation do suggest the same. If they might be brought that we should do all things there spiritually, there would be no such cogitation. And while they appoint this his natural and carnal body to be present, do they it to the intent that he should penetrate our soul?

Or else that he may convey himself into our body? Into the soul they cannot say; because nothing is there taken carnally or corporally. But and if they would that the body should be penetrated by him, we demand why he will do this unto it? They will answer, to the intent that man may be sanctified. But it is meet that sanctification should begin at the soul, not at the body. They say that a certain power and efficacy is imprinted by the water, and that the soul is made the better, and the body also confirmed. But if we speak of the power, it is not of necessity that this should be by transubstantiation, seeing it may have it without the same. And the ancient Fathers, when they taught the nature of this Sacrament, said, that an unbloody sacrifice is here sacrificed, which will not well agree, if we should determine that there is true and corporal blood. Neither doeth it suffice that they say: it is an unbloody sacrifice, because Christ is not here slain, nor yet his blood violently drawn forth. For although that these things be not done, yet without blood (according to the gross imagination of these men) the thing is not done. Wherefore it appeareth that the fathers so spake, because they would only have a memory here of the true sacrifice, and a spiritual receiving thereof, which is done by faith. Moreover they are wont to say that the body and blood of Christ is shadowed and covered with the accidents of bread and wine, least we should seem to eat raw flesh and to drink blood. But I do not think that these men will say, howsoever they paint and color the matter, if their Transubstantiation be true, but that we do eat raw flesh: insomuch as no reason is brought either by them or by the scriptures that it should be sodden. And yet it is written of the Paschal lamb, which was a figure of this sacrament, that nothing thereof should be eaten raw.

21. Besides forth we see, that Christ in the Eucharist instituted a sacrament, whereby it cometh to pass that all things be done there sacramentally. Neither is it required, that in Sacraments more should be given or desired than the reason of a Sacrament shall require. Further, if we weigh what Christ did in that last supper, we may easily perceive the thing, it is proved, that he gave his own body. If we demand further, what manner of one he gave, they cannot determine with themselves. Some seem to say, that he gave such as he had, namely a passable and mortal body. Howbeit such a body with those conditions which it then had, might not carnally, as these men dream, be contained in small pieces of bread. But others which think themselves wiser, say that Christ in himself had a body mortal and passable: but that in bread he gave a glorified and spiritual body. Then doth that make against them, which we read in the words of the Lord: This is my body which is given for you, and my blood which shall be shed for you: Where he plainly extendeth his speech both unto the body which he then had, and unto the blood which he at the same hour possessed. For these glorified and impassible things he received not until the resurrection was past. But admit it as they say: We argue, the conditions of the body passable and glorified are contrary one to another, so as they cannot both together at one time be in one subject. Whereupon it followeth that if ye will have them put into the body of Christ at one very time, ye make Christ's body to be twain. Experience and the histories teach us, that we must not allow of Transubstantiation, because they write that Victor the Pope of Rome died by drinking of poison out of the chalice. And Henry the Emperor was poisoned by taking of bread in the Eucharist. If all things be there transubstantiated, and that only accidents are remaining, how may these things be? We know that every of the Sacraments (as the adversaries themselves speak) consist

of matter and form. The matter, they say, is the signs or elements, but the form they say is that which is added by the word. But that which is compounded of the two, must not cast away the one, so as nothing thereof should remain but accidents: otherwise the nature of composition and conjunction would not be kept. Therefore it is concluded that the substances of bread and wine do remain. And before they be aware, the body of Christ is by them deprived of quantity, place, and distance of parts, so as his whole body is constrained to be in the least piece thereof.

22. This Sacrament is not only called the Sacrament of the body of Christ our savior, but also of the mystical body: wherefore Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians said: Ye be the body of Christ: and again, We that are many, be one bread and one body, which be partakers of one bread. And Augustine in his 22nd book *De Civitate Dei*, the 10th chapter, saith that Christians do not offer sacrifice unto Martyrs. The sacrifice undoubtedly is the body of Christ, which is not offered unto Martyrs, because they themselves be the same, to wit, the body of Christ. Wherefore seeing this Sacrament is of both the bodies, even as they appoint not that the bread should be transubstantiated into the body mystical: so it may not be required that it should be truly and properly converted into the body of the Lord, seeing it is declared to be the Sacrament as well of the one as of the other. And of this opinion it would follow, that as well the faithful as the unfaithful do receive the body of the Lord, which I have elsewhere disproved by two reasons. First, that seeing the body of Christ is not plucked away from the spirit of Christ, it would follow that the wicked should receive the spirit of Christ. Secondly, seeing infidels be dead as touching the inward man, they altogether want the instrument whereby they should receive spiritual things. And Augustine plainly said: that none do eat

the body of Christ, but they which be of his body. And Jerome in the 4th book upon Jeremiah the 22nd Chapter: And whereas he inferreth: They shall not eat and drink, he understandeth the body and blood of our Savior. And he spake of the Heretics. And the same Father upon Isaiah the 66th chapter: While they be not holy in body and in spirit, neither do they eat the flesh of Jesus nor do drink his blood. And many such like places are had out of the Fathers. And whereas here they so very often pretend unto us many miracles, we must not so easily give credit, because miracles are not wont to be brought in, unless it be in respect that they be strange and wonderful things, by whose unaccustomed happening, a weight may be added unto the word of God. For then men be stricken with admiration, and may be easily led to embrace the doctrine of Christ. But here is no visible thing changed, and there is nothing that can stir up men to admiration, wherefore they seem in vain to crave help of miracles. The virgin in deed conceived of the holy Ghost, but this she sensibly perceived to be done. And if any at any time have been converted unto Christ, they perceived that their mind and their life was changed from the former conversation. But here is nothing perceived of these miracles which they imagine. Only they be talked of, but can be proved by no reason, or experience, or scripture. Unto these things that have been already said, add, that the breaking of bread is after the same manner unto the death and passion of Christ, as bread is unto the body. But breaking, as they themselves also affirm, is a Sacrament and sign of the passion of Christ, and yet for all that it is not so to be transubstantiated, as it maketh the same to be truly and really present: therefore neither shall the bread be so changed into the body, as it may make the same to be present really. And then forasmuch as this opinion hath naught else but contention of words and inexplicable difficulties, it furthereth not unto godliness.

23. But now let us consider of the Fathers whether they so judge or no. Irenaeus against the Valentinian heretics: The earthly bread (saith he) when it hath received that faculty from the word of God, it is no more common bread, but is made the Eucharist, which consisteth of two things, to wit, earthly and heavenly. First of all he denieth not the Eucharist to be bread, except thou make it common bread. Afterward he saith that it consisteth of two things, whereof the one is terrestrial as bread, the other celestial, as the body of Christ. And as on the one part is retained the truth, to wit, as touching the body of the Lord: so in the other part it is to be preserved, namely as touching bread. And he addeth by a similitude: even so our bodies receiving the same be no more corruptible. Tertullian in his first book against Marcion saith, that God cast not away bread being his creature, seeing in it he represented his body. And in the 4th book against the same Marcion, He receiving bread and distributing to his disciples made the same to be his body, saying, This is my body, that is, a figure of my body. But a figure it should not be, unless it were a body of the truth. Origen upon the book of Numbers, Homily 16, We are said to drink the blood of Christ, not only by the rite of the Sacraments, but also when we receive his word. The very which thing Jerome also wrote sometimes upon Eccles. the 3rd chapter. The same Origen upon Matthew the 26th chapter: This bread which God, being the word, confesseth to be his body, is a nourishing word of souls. Upon Leviticus the 7th Homily: For there is in the Gospel also a letter that killeth, and not in the Old Testament only. For if according to the letter, thou follow that which is said: Unless ye shall eat my flesh, and so forth. And in the same book, Homily the 9th. Do not thou stand in a doubt in the blood of the flesh, but learn rather the blood of the word, and hear him speaking unto thee. For this is my blood which is shed

for you. Origen upon Matthew the 15th chapter: The bread sanctified as touching that which it hath material passeth into the belly and is cast out into the draught. And straightway after: Not the matter of the bread but the word spoken over the same is it that profiteth, yet not him that unworthily eateth it unto the Lord. The same father against Celsus the 8th book: When as we have given thanks for the benefits bestowed upon us, we eat the loaves that be offered.

24. Cyprian in the sixth Epistle of the first book unto Magnus saith: The Lord calleth his body, bread, which is kneaded together by the uniting of many grains, and he calleth his blood wine that is pressed out of clusters and many grapes. And when he interpreteth the Lord's prayer, he calleth the body of the Lord, bread. And in his sermon *de coena Domini*, he saith, that we do not sharpen the teeth, but only we break and eat that bread with a sincere faith. And in his sermon *de Chrismate*, he saith manifestly, that Sacraments have names of those things which they signify. Which two sayings it seemeth that Augustine borrowed of him. The later in his epistle to Boniface. But when he saith the other, Why preparest thou thy teeth or belly? Believe and thou hast eaten: that he hath in the 25th treatise upon John. But the same Cyprian in the third epistle and second book unto Coecilius: In wine he saith is showed the blood of the Lord. And against the Aquarii he saith, that the blood of Christ cannot seem to be present in the cup, if the wine cease to be therein, which by these men's transubstantiation doth come to pass. And in his sermon *de coena Domini*, he writeth, that the signs are changed into the body of Christ, but so as he taketh a similitude of Christ himself in whom the human nature appeared, and the divine nature lay hidden. By which similitude thou seest that he would that as in Christ remained the two natures, so they are preserved in this sacrament. And

Cyprian in his third Epistle and second book: By this reason, neither can the body of the Lord be in meal alone or in water alone, unless both of them shall be united and coupled together, and made firm into a lump of one loaf, whereby also in the sacrament itself our people is said to be united. And Athanasius expounding those words, If any man shall speak a word against the Son of man, it is forgiven him: but he that shall speak against the holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him neither in this world nor yet in the world to come: he writeth: And how great a body should be needful unto this, that the world should eat of it? But he inferreth that the thing must be understood spiritually, and that therefore the Lord in that place against the Capernaites made mention of his ascension. Basil in his Liturgy calleth bread ἀντίτυπον, that is, an example of the like form of the body of Christ, and that after the words of consecration. Dionysius *de Hierarchia Ecclesiastica* the third chapter: The Bishop openeth the bread hidden and undivided, and cutteth it into morsels.

25. Ambrose in his exposition of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, when he speaketh of doing this in remembrance of Christ and his death, saith that we in eating and drinking of the flesh and blood of Christ, do signify the things that be offered. And again, about the self-same place he saith: that we take it into the mystical cup for a figure of Christ his blood. And in the fourth book the fourth chapter, where he putteth a changing of the signs, he entreateth also of our changing into Christ: and yet it is not affirmed that they which receive the Sacrament be transubstantiated. And the same Father in the same fourth book *de Sacramentis* the fourth chapter: This we add moreover: How can it be that which is bread should by consecration be the body of Christ? And straight way: If there be so great a strength in the word of the Lord, as things should begin to be which were not, how much rather

is the word so effectuous, that the things which were may remain, and yet be changed into another thing? Jerome upon Matthew saith plainly, that in bread and wine are represented the body and blood of the Lord. Chrysostom upon the later Epistle unto the Corinthians saith, that not alonely that which is set before us upon the table is the body of Christ, but also the poor people unto whom we are bound to do good: because even he that saith, This is my body, said also by his word, that he receiveth alms and is needy in the poor. In his eleventh homily upon Matthew in his work which is called imperfect: he saith that in the holy vessels there is not the body of Christ and the blood of Christ, but a mystery of the body and blood of Christ. Also upon the twelfth chapter of the second Epistle to the Corinthians the 27th Homily: Even as Christ, both in the bread and in the cup said, Do this in the remembrance of me. The same father upon the 22nd Psalm, upon these words, Thou hast prepared a table in my sight. As it is showed unto us that there is every day in the sacrament bread and wine according to the order of Melchizedek, unto them similitude of the body and blood of Christ. Emisenus whom they cite *de Consecratione* distinct. 2. And he seemeth to put a change of the signs: even the selfsame man maketh mention of our changing into Christ.

26. Augustine hath many testimonies of this matter upon the 82nd Psalm: This that ye see, ye shall not eat, neither shall ye drink this blood which they will pour out: it is a mystery that I speak unto you, which if it be spiritually understood, it will quicken you. *De Trinitate* the third book and tenth chapter: The bread for this purpose made, is eaten up in receiving of the sacrament. Neither is there any cause why the Bishop of Rochester should go about to draw this saying unto the Showbread: for we have showed elsewhere by diverse arguments that his interpretation is not right.

First because, if thou follow the plain sense, and that sense, which at the first view offereth itself unto thee, and which the words make show of, thou shalt manifestly perceive that the speech is of the Eucharist. And Erasmus in the books of Augustine which he mended, wrote in the margin Eucharist. Further a little after in the same chapter, and while he treateth of the same thing, he maketh so evident mention of the Eucharist, as even the adversary cannot deny it. And of the same Eucharist, he had written before in the fourth chapter of that book, when he began the same treatise. Add here withal: that expressly in these words which we have in hand, it is plainly called a sacrament, which if he had meant, that it should be understood in common, it had been no less agreeable unto those things that he had reckoned before, namely unto the brazen serpent, and to the stone erected by Jacob, than unto the Showbread. But in those words he expressed not this word Sacrament, which afterward (that we may understand he speaketh of the Eucharist,) he would not suppress. Lastly he saith: The bread made for this purpose is eaten up in the sacrament, which agreeth not with the Showbread: for that was not made to this end, that it should be eaten, but that they being set upon the table, should remain before the Lord: wherefor they be called in the Hebrew Panim. Afterward it came to pass, that without regard or by hap, they were eaten, least happily it should putrefy before the Lord. For therefore it was changed every week. And when it had been once dedicated unto God, he would have this honor to be given unto it, that it should be eaten of the Priests. But the bread of our Eucharist was verily made to this purpose, that in receiving of the sacrament it should be eaten. And unto the arguments already said, I add one more strong than the rest. For Augustine saith in the present tense: It is eaten, and not, It was eaten: which it behooved to have been, if he had spoken of a figure and ceremony

of the Old Testament. *De Fide ad Petrum* the 19th chapter, he calleth it a sacrament of bread and wine. As touching the memory and death of Christ he abundantly instructed the same Peter in the faith: but of this transubstantiation which these men so greatly urge at this day, he speaketh not one word. Against Faustus in the 20th book and the 21st chapter he saith, that the flesh and blood of Christ was promised to us in the Old Testament, under the similitude of sacrificed beasts: upon the cross it was given in very deed: but he saith, that in the sacrament it was celebrated by a memorial. And in the 21st book *De Civitate dei* the 25th chapter he plainly affirmeth, that the wicked do not eat the matter of the sacrament, that is, the body of Christ. For he is not to be accounted (saith he) to eat the body of Christ, which is not in the body of Christ. And he, in whom Christ abideth not, neither doeth he abide in Christ. And the like words he hath, in the 20th treatise upon John: but in the 30th treatise he saith: that the body of Christ is in some certain place in heaven, but that his truth is everywhere spread, which he therefore speaketh, because truth is spiritual, and is always present with the faithful. And communicants wheresoever they be, do confess Christ, and believe that he had a true body, and no feigned body as the heretics thought.

27. Against Adamantus the Maniche the 12th Chapter he writeth: The Lord doubted not to say, This is my body, when as yet he gave a sign of his body. Neither maketh it any matter if thou say: he gave both the sign and the thing signified: for Augustine had not respect unto this, but he would show that the saying is figurative, and like unto another which he allegeth out of Deuteronomy, The blood is the life. Therefore he said: the Lord doubted not, because in tropes or figures we dare do something. In his 3rd Book of Christian doctrine the 16th Chapter, he showed that it was a

figurative kind of speech which we have in the 6th of John, to wit: Unless ye shall eat the flesh of the son of man, &c. because a wicked thing seemeth to be commanded. For it is more heinous to eat the flesh of man, than to kill him: and to drink blood, than to shed it. Therefore (faith he) it is a commanding figure, namely, that we should sweetly and profitably lay up in memory the flesh of Christ, that was crucified and wounded for us. In an Epistle unto Boniface he said most plainly, that sacraments take their name of those things whereof they should be sacraments: and he expressed by name the sacrament of the body of Christ. And he addeth that the sacrament of the blood of Christ, is the blood of Christ. And all this he wrote to show that baptism is the Sacrament of faith, and that therefore it may be said that it is faith, and that young children being baptized have faith, because they receive this sacrament. And least that any should say, that these be signs substantially (as these men speak) of the thing present, let them consider of the similitudes which these men have alleged: to wit, that we say, when we be near unto Easter, that tomorrow or the next day after shall be the Passion of the Lord, and upon Sunday the Lord rose again, when as yet these things are not now present but were done long before. Further, he here affirmeth, that the baptism of young children is faith; which nevertheless young children presently have not. Yea and the same father, as we have it *De Consecratione* distinct. 2, in the chapter *Interrogo vos*, saith, that it is as sinful a negligence, to suffer the word which is preached, to slip out of our minds, as it is for a part of the sacrament to fall upon the earth. Which if it were granted, this Transubstantiation would take but small place. For it would seem to be far more absurd, that the body itself of Christ should fall or be trodden under foot, than if any part of the holy words should be heard with small regard. Moreover upon the 8th Psalm he saith, that Christ

admitted Judas in the supper, when he commended unto us the figure of his body. They are accustomed to say, that the figure or sign in this sacrament, which is the body of Christ, being hidden with accidents, is his own dead and unbloody body as he hung upon the Cross, and that the blood hidden under the accidents of wine is the figure of the blood shed upon the Altar of the Cross. But who perceiveth not that the devises of these men be vain? For there ought to be put a sign and figure, which is sensible and more known than the thing signified. Therefore the Master of the Sentences out of Augustine defined a sacrament to be a visible sign of an invisible grace. But the body of Christ being hidden under accidents, as themselves affirm is no less obscure than is that which hung upon the Cross: yea and if I may say the truth, more unknown and obscure than the thing signified. Which is against the nature of a sign and figure. For more easily is the body known and considered of us how it hung upon the Cross, than as they make it in the Eucharist.

28. Leo the Pope in an Epistle unto the Clergy and people of Constantinople, wrote, that this is a mystical distribution, a spiritual food, and a heavenly virtue: That here we receive it, to the intent we may be made the flesh of Christ, who for our sakes took our flesh upon him. Cyrillus in the 4th Book and 14th chapter upon John: On this wise he gave unto the believing Disciples pieces of bread, saying: Take ye. The same Father in an Epistle to Calosyrius: Wherefore it became him after a sort to be united unto our bodies, by his holy flesh, and by his precious blood, which we receive in the lively blessing in bread and wine. Now will we allege Theodoritus, Bishop of Cyrus: he lived in the time of Cyrillus, and was in the Synod of Ephesus, and Chalcedon: and he was accounted most learned and eloquent. And when in the Synod of Ephesus, there had happened a

dissension between John the Patriarch of Antioch, and Cyrillus the Patriarch of Alexandria, it seemed good to Theodoritus to cleave unto the Patriarch of Antioch: howbeit the matter came to an agreement, and in the Synod of Chalcedon Theodoritus was known for a very learned man, and holy member of the Church of Christ, yea and in the books which he wrote, he purposely withstandeth Nestor, and by express words dealeth against him. The Book was printed at Rome. And the Papists perceived that he is most manifestly against Transubstantiation, and they have excused him for two causes. First for that the Church had not as yet pronounced as concerning that matter: as though we should seek what the Pope with his Cardinals decreed either at Constance, or in the Synod where Berengarius was condemned, and not rather what hath been preached and believed in the old Church. Further they said, that this man in writing against Heretics, when he entreated of those mysteries, did overmuch lean unto the other part, and so was against Transubstantiation, to the intent the adversaries might be the easilier confuted. But how vain an excuse this is, it may appear by the discourse of the writer, where thou mayest perceive that not one word hath escaped him, but that the whole Argument and strength thereof is drawn from the nature of a sacrament; so as if thou mingle therewithal Transubstantiation, there can be nothing concluded. Yea rather the Heretics will carry away the victory. They add, that he in the self-same book speaketh sometime more reverently of the Eucharist: but all things being considered, he speaketh nowhere so reverently that he is against our opinion, which we have now affirmed. He disputeth against them which denied that Christ had a true body, and said that his body at the time of his Ascension was wholly turned into the divine nature. First he allegeth the

prophesy of the Patriarch Jacob that he may prepare himself a way to derive an argument from the sacraments. The words be these:

29. *ORTH*. Doest thou know that God called bread his own body? *SOD*. I know it. *ORTH*. And again that at another time his flesh was called Corn? *SOD*. This also I know: for I have heard him say that The hour cometh wherein the son of man shall be glorified: and unless the grain of Corn be cast into the earth and die, it remaineth alone, but if it be dead, it will bring forth much fruit. *ORTH*. He undoubtedly in the delivery of the mysteries, called bread, his body, and the Cup mixed, his blood. *SOD*. So in deed he named it. *ORTH*. But it might also according to nature be called a body, yea even his own body and blood. *SOD*. It is granted. *ORTH*. Yea verily our Savior himself changed the names; and to the body, he gave the name of the sign, and to the sign the name of the body. After the same manner also, when he said that he himself is the vine, he called his blood, the sign. *SOD*. This in deed is true: but I would also learn the cause of the changing of the names. *ORTH*. The end why it is so called is manifest unto them which be instructed in Religion. For he would that they which be partakers of those divine mysteries, should not have regard unto the nature of those things which be seen, but that by the changing of names they should believe that transmutation which is done by grace. For he that called his own natural body Corn, and bread, and also called himself a vine; even he himself also honored those things, which seem to be signs, with the name of his body and blood: not forsooth changing nature itself, but unto nature adding grace. *SOD*. Truly the mystical things are spoken mystically, and those things which are not known unto all men are made clear and manifest. *ORTH*. Wherefore seeing he confesseth that the robe and garment is by the Patriarch called the Lord’s body, and that we be entered into the talk of

divine mysteries, tell me in very deed, whose singe and figure thou thinkest that most holy meat to be? Was it the sign of the very divinity of Christ, or else of his own body and blood? *SOD*. Doubtless even of those things whereof also they received their names. *ORTH*. Doest thou mean, of the body and blood? *SOD*. So I mean. *ORTH*. Thou hast truly spoken: For the Lord taking the sign saith not: This is my divinity: but, This is my body: And again, This is my blood. And in another place: But the bread which I will give for the life of the world. *SOD*. In very deed all these things be true, for they be the words of *GOD*. *ORTH*. Certainly if these things be true, the Lord had a body in deed. *SOD*. But I say that he is without body. *ORTH*. But thou confessest that he had a body, &c.

30. Out of the second Dialogue we have these words. *SOD*. We must doubtless (according to the proverb) remove every stone that we may attain unto the truth, especially in setting forth the doctrine of God. *ORTH* Show me then: whereof the signs (which be offered unto God by the ministers of holy things) be mystical signs. *SOD*. Of the body and blood of the Lord. *ORTH*. Of the true body or not? *SOD*. Of the true body. *ORTH*. Very well said: for they must be a principal pattern of the Image. For the painters do follow nature, and they paint the Images of those things that be seen. *SOD*. Thou sayst true. *ORTH*. If then those divine mysteries be examples of a body being, then is the Lord's body now also a body, and is not changed into the nature of divinity, but is replenished with divine glory. *SOD*. In good time hast thou moved this speech of divine mysteries: for thereby will I show thee a changing of the Lord's body into another nature: answer therefore unto my questions. *ORTH*. I will answer. *SOD*. What callest thou that gift which is offered before the priests invocation? *ORTH*. We must not speak openly: For it is very likely that some here present be not yet

thoroughly instructed. *SOD*. This is a diffuse answer. *ORTH*. Look what seed it was, such meat it is. *SOD*. But how do we name the other sign? *ORTH*. This name also is common betokening a figure of the cup. *SOD*. How dost thou call those things after sanctification? *ORTH*. The body of Christ, and the blood of Christ. *SOD*. And doest thou believe, that thou receivest the body and blood of Christ? *ORTH*. Yea verily I believe it. *SOD*. Therefore even as the signs of the body and blood of the Lord, be one thing undoubtedly before the invocation of the priest, but after the very invocation be changed from one to another, and become other things: so likewise the body of the Lord, after it is received, is changed into divine substance. *ORTH*. Thou art caught in the same nets which thou hast laid. For those mystical signs, after sanctification do not change their own proper nature: for they in very deed remain in their former substance, both in figure and form, and are even so seen and handled as before: and the things that are done, are understood and believed and honored, as though they were such as they are believed to be. Compare therefore the Image with the principal figure, and thou shalt see the similitude. For a figure must agree with the truth. For that very body itself hath his first figure, and form, and circumscription, and (to speak plainly) the very substance also of a body. But after the resurrection it became immortal, and it is accounted worthy of the seat which is at the right hand of God, and is worshipped of all creatures, as a body being of the Lord's own nature. *SOD*. Howbeit that mystical sign changeth his first name, and is not afterward named by that name which it was first called, but is called a body. Wherefore the truth itself, must now be called God, and not anymore a body. *ORTH*. Thou appearest ignorant unto me: it is not only called a body, but also the bread of life: for so the Lord called it. Yea and we also call this a divine body and

a quickening body, and the master's body, and the Lord's body, teaching, that it is no common body of every man, but the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is God and man: even Jesus Christ, yesterday and today, and the same forever.

31. There is extant an Epistle in the Library of Florence (albeit not imprinted) of Chrysostom to Caesarius the Monk in the time of his second banishment, written against Appolinaris and others which confounded the divinity and humanity of Christ. Christ is both God and man: God because he cannot suffer; Man, because of his passion and suffering: One son, one Lord, one and the self-same doubtless possessing one dominion, and one power of the natures united (although they be not together of one substance) and each one of them being unmingled keepeth an acknowledgement of his own property: for this cause that they be two things not confounded. For like as before the bread be sanctified, we name it bread, and the same being sanctified, by the divine grace by means of the priest is undoubtedly delivered from the name of bread, and is accounted worthy to be called the Lord's body, although the nature of bread have remained in it, and is declared not to be two bodies but one body of the son: even so this divine ἐνιδρυσάσης, that is to say, the nature of an overflowing body, hath made both these one son and one person. Hesychius in the 20th book upon Leviticus the 8th chapter: Therefore he commandeth that the flesh should be eaten with bread, to the intent we might understand the same to be called a mystery of him, because it is flesh and bread together. Gelasius against Eutyches wrote that in the Sacrament of the Eucharist the substance and nature of bread and wine do not cease to be: and he maketh a comparison of this Sacrament with Christ, in whom both the natures as well divine as human remain whole, even as in this Sacrament doth the nature of bread

and of the body of Christ. Gregory in the register: while we take as well the sweet bread as the leavened bread, we are made one body of the Lord our Savior. Bertram in his little book *De Corpore & Sanguine Domini*, saith as touching the natures of the signs, that according to the substance of the creatures look what they were before consecration, the same they remain afterward. Bernard in his Sermon *De Coena Domini*, manifestly setteth forth a similitude of a King, whereby any man receiveth either the faith of wedlock or the possession of some dignity: as it cometh to pass in the consecration of Bishops, where the King, or the Crosiers staff, or the labels of the Miter, be signs of things given and granted, and yet no vain signs. For the things which they signify are most certainly given. The very which I have showed to be done in Sacraments.

32. Now let us confute the Arguments of these men whereby they endeavor to prove their Transubstantiation. As touching the first, we answer that Christ promised his flesh or his body or blood for to be meat and drink, and that in the 6th of John: which he performeth so often as we believe that he truly died for us. He also performed it when in the supper he instituted this Sacrament: For unto that spiritual eating, he added signs. But specially they objected, This is my body: about the truth of which saying standeth the Controversy: howbeit only as touching the manner: for both as well they as we affirm the proposition to be true, and we contend only about the sense. They affirm the proposition to be plain, and we on the other side say, that Augustine *De doctrina Christiana* teacheth, that we must not so interpret one place as it should be against many other, but so as it may agree with the rest. Neither must they always object a plainness of the sense, otherwise when it is said: Let us make man to our own Image and likeness [*the heretics named*] *Anthropomorphitae* arise and infer, that God hath a body

and a soul and other members as we see them to be framed in man. Thou sayest that this Similitude must be referred unto the soul, because through it man beareth rule over other creatures as God doth: but they say, that these things be there written of man, and that thou vainly goest about to attribute to a part, namely to the soul, that which is pronounced of the whole. Thou again objectest, That God is a spirit, and that a spirit hath not flesh and bones, and so by other places of the Scriptures, thou gatherest the sense of this one place. So said the Arians that they had a plain sense of that place: The father is greater than I. Thou restrainest this unto the nature of man, because in other places, the divinity of Christ is declared unto thee: as in the first of John and in the Epistle to the Romans the 9th chapter: and in the 5th chapter of John's Epistle Christ saith: He that hath not a sword let him buy himself one. Whereby he seemeth to stir up unto revenge: but and if thou have respect unto other places, thou shalt perceive it is spoken figuratively. Paul saith: Pray you without intermission. Up rose the [*heretics called*] εὔχηται, who thought that we should apply ourselves to perpetual and close whispering prayers, when as nevertheless it is said elsewhere: He that provideth not for his own, and especially for his household, renounceth his faith, and is worse than an infidel. And again: Let all things be done by order: And again: He that laboreth not let him not eat. The [*heretics called*] *Chiliastae*, that is the *Millenarij*, thought that they had a most plain word in the Apocalypse the 20th Chapter as touching a thousand years, wherein Christ shall reign with his Saints. And the Sabellian heretics said: There is no difference between the father and the son, by reason of that place: I and the father be one, Also Philip: He that seeth me, seeth also the father: and as I am in the father, so likewise the father abideth in me. These things the heretics said were plain, and made for them. The Ebionites affirmed Christ

to be a mere creature, and they said that these words, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, might not otherwise be understood, seeing that God never forsaketh himself. And because that it is written in the 6th of John: He that shall eat my flesh, and drink my blood shall not die at any time: some have said, that it followeth that they which have lawfully communicated once cannot perish everlastingly. Which error Augustine *De Civitate Dei* doth manifestly reprove. And the words of the Canticles of Solomon: if thou receive them as they appear at the first show, be no other than verses of love or a wedding song. It is not meet therefore to pretend always a perspicuity of words. Christ said: He that hath ears to hear, let him hear, and he that readeth, let him understand. Neither is it convenient forthwith to take quick hold of the first sense, neglecting and not considering other places. Christ said unto the Apostles, Beware ye of the Leaven of the Pharisees. They straightway thought that he spake of bread, when he spake as concerning doctrine. He said also, Lazarus our friend sleepeth. There likewise the Apostles misunderstood him: If he sleep he shall be safe, when as he spake of death. Again, the Lord said: Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it up again: Neither understood they, that he meant as touching his body. He that shall keep my commandments, shall not die forever. Here also the Jews thought that he spake of the common death. Grossly did Nicodemus understand the new birth. No less did that woman of Samaria err, as concerning that water which Christ promised her. And the Hebrews erred when Christ said unto them: That Abraham saw his day, and rejoiced. Wherefore, let them not always say unto us, that this scripture, This is my body, is plain: for we will answer them: it is plain, as touching the signification of the words. But the sense of them is not plain, as in the like sentences it doth appear: Christ is the Rock,

Christ is the Lamb, Ye be the body of Christ, We that be many are one bread. All these be the words of God, and we may pronounce of them that they be plain, that they be manifest: yet for all that, none of them infer Transubstantiation.

33. Wherefore there is no cause why perspicuity should be so much pretended. It behooveth by other places and circumstances of the scripture to regard well what is here meant. Wherefore we will expound this proposition in scanning of it more deeply. God meant to draw man unto him by ample promises, because he would bless him and make him happy: and because we have unbelieving hearts, he would have many benefits to appear towards mankind, whereby he might allure the same unto him. Wherefore, he not only gave us freely all creatures, but also in the time of the flood, delivered mankind (which otherwise had ill deserved) from the destruction of the waters. He declared himself very merciful unto Abraham: also he gave good success unto the stock of Isaac and to his seed Jacob, that it should be increased in Egypt. And when they were there oppressed, he delivered them, he gave them a very happy land, and he exalted them to the dignity of a kingdom and Priesthood: but yet they were always unbelieving men, and smally persuaded themselves of the good will of God towards them. Wherefore because of their infidelity he cast them into diverse captivities, and afterward he delivered them. Finally that there should be no place left to doubt of his goodness, he bestowed the chiefest of all benefits upon us, namely his own son endued with man's flesh, that he should die upon the Cross for our salvation. Which benefit was such, that (as Paul said unto the Romans) how could it be, but that he gave all things together with him? And least it should be forgotten he would have it renewed in the memory by the sacrament of the Eucharist, that we should revolve in our

mind by faith, that Christ by him was delivered unto death for us: and that in believing we should eat his flesh, and drink his blood. Which that it might the more effectually be done, the tokens both of bread and wine were added, which might move us more earnestly than bare words could do.

34. Therefore when he saith: This is my body, he meant no otherwise than he promised in the 6th of John: I am the bread of life. He spake of himself, as touching the body and flesh delivered unto death, or rather to be delivered, as by his words it is manifest. Neither would he any other thing but that these things should be unto us bread and meat, whereby our minds should be confirmed and cherished: and by the mind, the body; and finally the whole man. Wherefore in the Supper Christ did nothing else, but that he transposed the proposition, and as before he had said that his body and flesh is bread, so now on the other side he saith (in showing bread) that the very same is his body: and while he pronounced, This is my body, it was even as if he had said: My body being received by faith, shall be unto you in the stead of bread, or as it were bread, whereby you shall be spiritually fed. Wherefore let the sense be: I give unto you bread to eat, and in the meantime, I set forth unto you my body which shall be fastened unto the Cross, that with a faithful memory, and attentive mind, ye may eat it spiritually with yourselves: and as ye with the body eat bread, so with the mind, ye may feed upon my flesh. What is more easy and plain than this interpretation? And that doeth more better agree with the promise which the Lord maketh unto us in the 6th chapter of John? But and if any man will contend, that that first saying of Christ: I am the lively bread, is taken for the divine nature, as Chrysostom seemeth to take it: first we say that this doeth not well agree, because Christ had ordered his speech concerning the eating of his body, and in the stead of earthly bread, he offered to the

Capernaites his flesh to be eaten, which thing by the course of his speech doeth plainly appear, although he say that the bread came down from heaven: because oftentimes that which is of the Godhead, is also communicated with the humanity. But if this exposition of Chrysostom be of so great force with them, let that also prevail with them when he saith afterward, that the saying of Christ: The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world, doeth belong unto the Eucharist. Neither hath he alone affirmed this, but the rest of the Interpreters do also consent unto him. Therefore when as the Lord saith there, that The bread is his flesh, he now testifieth the same in the supper: for the bread being showed, he said, This is my body. He pronounceth both in the one place, and the other, that his body or his flesh is bread, namely, of the soul, and of our regenerated substance, which [*bread*] is spiritually eaten. And so there shall be no conversion of the proposition, but it shall be understood after the self-same manner both in the one place and in the other. But if thou understand the whole together, to wit the bread and the thing offered by the bread, that is, the body of Christ, we admit the figure Synecdoche: for it is spoken of the whole or of the one part which is understood of the other. But if thou refer the saying unto bread, which both signifieth, and offereth unto us the body of Christ to be eaten, it shall be the figure of Denomination, to wit, when the name of the thing signified is attributed unto the sign. In this interpretation also all things are easy, absurdities are shamed, and one place of the scripture is not contrary to the other scriptures.

35. They said, if place be thus given unto figures, the Heretics will pervert all things. I on the other part say, that unless we use figures, as it appeareth in those things which we have cited a little before, the Heretics have the over hand. For they also will urge the proper sense, that sense I mean which

straightway offereth itself. Only this remaineth to show that such a phrase and figurative speech is very often in the holy scriptures: and this will easily be done. We read that The seed is the word of God: The rock was Christ. Albeit I know some do cavil, and would no figure to be here also, because Paul tended his speech unto the spiritual rock, which they say is Christ verily, and not figuratively. Howbeit Augustine and Origen be on our side, who plainly say that the same outward Rock signified Christ. But least we might seem to shift off that which is objected, we say, that if they will understand, The spiritual Rock, let them also in this place understand spiritual and allegorical bread: and as touching the same we shall truly and without figure confess it to be Christ. Moreover the Lord said: I have chosen you twelve, and one of you is a Devil, yet was not Judas therefore transubstantiated into a devil. Of Circumcision it is written: My Covenant shall be in your flesh: whereas the Circumcision is not the covenant, but only a sign of the Covenant. In the 33rd Chapter of Genesis, it is showed that Jacob built an Altar, which he called the mighty God of Israel. And Moses in Exodus, after the victory against Amalek, called the Altar which he built *Jehovah Nesi*, God my banner: and Jeremiah maketh mention of a City that was called *Jehovah Zidkenu*, God our righteousness, because these should be Monuments of those things which they expressed in names. Of John the Baptist it is written, that he was a burning and a shining Candle: also, he is Helias, if ye will receive him. Christ saith of himself: I am the vine and ye be the branches. I am the door. Of himself also it is written, that He is a stone set for a ruin and resurrection. In Deuteronomy The blood is the life. Whereas it is that wherewith the life is preserved and signified. Of Joseph, his brother Judas said: Let him not be slain, he is our flesh. By which phrase of speech was signified, the natural conjunction of kindred.

Paul saith That many be one bread, which we must understand figuratively. And Christ breathed upon his Disciples and said: Receive ye the holy Ghost. Yet is not the breathing transubstantiated into the holy Ghost. In Genesis: My spirit shall not abide in man because he is flesh. And in John: The word became flesh, wherein is the figure Synecdoche: for the whole man is understood under the name of flesh. And the Lord upon the Cross said: Woman, behold thy son: and to the Disciple, Behold thy mother: yet were they not transubstantiated: they remained the same that they were before: but there was appointed a new order, a new relation and respect to be had between them. Of Christ it is said: That he is our peace, whereas he is only the cause of our peace. Again, My words be spirit and life, whereas they only signified or brought these things unto the believers. John said of Christ, Behold the lamb of God, yet was not his nature changed into the nature of a Lamb.

36. We read everywhere in the holy scriptures, that the words of the Lord are judgment, truth, and righteousness: whereas these things be therein only signified and expressed. And this similitude doeth excellently well agree with the sacraments which are said to be visible words. We have in the Apocalypse: I am Alpha and Omega, that is, the beginning and end of all things. And Paul saith of his Gospel which he preached: It is the power of God to salvation unto everyone that believeth: whereas it is only the instrument whereby the power of God declareth itself unto men that shall be saved. And as touching the Gospel of the cross, he saith, That unto the ungodly it is foolishness, that is, it signifieth a foolish thing unto that kind of men. But he addeth, That unto the godly it is the power and wisdom of God, because it representeth these things unto them. And as touching the law it is said, that He set before the Hebrews life and death, blessing and

cursing, that is, by signification of the law, by the promises and threatening's which were expressed in the same. In the Book of Genesis the 7 kine and the 7 ears of corn are said to be the 7 years, and this was as touching the signification. Ahia the Prophet of Silo gave unto Jeroboam ten pieces of his torn mantel, and said that he gave him the kingdom of the 10 Tribes. In the first Epistle to the Corinthians the 11th Chapter Paul wrote that the woman ought to have on her head power, τήν ἐξουσίαν, that is, a cover, whereby the power of the husband is signified. And in the second Epistle to the Corinthians it is written, That God made Christ to be sin, namely as touching the similitude and representation of the flesh. Yea and the sacrifice which was offered for sins, is called sin. And the Priests were said to eat the sins of the people, that is, the sacrifices which were offered for the sins of the people. In Ezekiel it is written, I will pour upon you pure water: and by water, he signifieth the holy Ghost. The very which thing we read of Christ when he saith: He that shall drink of this water, and the rest that followeth: where the Evangelist calleth to mind, that he spake of the spirit which they were to receive. Of the Lamb, we read that it was called the Passover, although some endeavor to deny it. But in the Hebrew it is, *Zebah pesah hu*: The sacrifice is the Passover. By sacrifice cannot otherwise be understood, but either the beast slain for sacrifice, or else the same action of offering the slain beast. Even so we have the body of Christ, expressed both in the bread, and in the wine, and in the action as well of eating as of drinking. The Lamb was not that Passover of the Angel, but only a monument and signification thereof. Christ sought a place where he might eat the Passover with his Apostles. And by the Passover he understood those meats, and those things consecrated which did betoken the passing over. Paul also said: Christ our Passover is offered. In which place he called

Christ himself our solemnity and our passing over. Which words cannot otherwise be understood than by a figure. And that Lamb was not that passing over of the Angel which then should be, but was already done of old, the memory whereof was represented by those outward signs. Here also we have the body of Christ, which before time suffered; not that it is now delivered to be crucified, or whose blood is now to be shed.

37. And if they would expound these words of Christ rigorously, when he saith, This is my body which is given for you, it should be needful for them to say that the bread was to be crucified, or at the leastwise Christ hidden under accidents, as they appoint in the Sacrament. For Christ showing that which he had in his hands, said that the same should be delivered and shed for them. But if they shall say: it was in deed the same that was delivered, but not after the self-same manner, or in that form, then they seek interpretations and shifts, and take not the proposition simply. The very which thou mayest perceive in these words, Is delivered and is shed. The which, if (while we utter the words of consecration, they be understood of us as they sound, the body of Christ will be signified, that it is presently crucified, and his blood presently shed, or within a while to be shed. But they would have these words to be converted into the preter-perfect-tense, that we may understand that the body is delivered, and that the blood is shed: and this is to deal figuratively when as one tense is taken for another. And whereas Paul said, That they which eat unworthily, are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord: also they eat their own condemnation, because they put no difference of the Lord's body: it is nothing. For Ambrose answereth, as touching the first, while he interpreteth that place: They shall be punished for the Lord's death, because he was slain for them, who make no account at all of his benefit. Wherefore (as we have heard) he

interpreteth them to be guilty of the Lord's body: yet is not Transubstantiation required hereunto. And they which receive unworthily are said not to put a difference, that is, to have the Lord's body in no estimation: because so great is the conjunction between the signs and the things signified, as the reproach of the one redoundeth unto the other. On this wise spake Paul, when he said: A man praying or prophesying with his head covered dishonoreth Christ: where plainly he would have that redound unto Christ which was done about the head of the man, because it should be the sign of Christ. It is also to be considered that Paul wrote unto the Corinthians, who were not altogether void of faith, but men troubled with some infirmities. And we said not that this kind of men only do receive the signs, and have not the body of Christ, but this we affirm of the Infidels, Epicures, Atheists, and strangers from the Church. Wherefore it might rightly be said unto them, not only as touching the signs, but also as touching the matter of the sacrament, that they were guilty of the body and blood, because they made no difference of the Lord's body, seeing they received them without faith, and expressed them not in life. And in this place this also is to be considered, that Paul when he entreateth of the sacramental action, that is to wit, of the eating and drinking, maketh mention of bread, and saith: He that eateth this bread. But afterward when he would exaggerate the fault, he maketh mention of the Lord's body: and if we make an account and just reckoning, [*we shall find*] that in the whole Treatise of this Sacrament, the Apostle more often expressed bread, than he made mention of the body of the Lord. For thou mayest very well find that he mentioned bread five times and only four times, the body of the Lord.

38. But now must we see, what those things be that move us to understand this speech This is my body, figuratively. First let us consider, that Christ

was present at the supper, wherefore there was no need that he should show his body unto his Apostles: For they saw him. Further how might it be that he could eat himself really and corporally? That he in very deed communicated with his Apostles, not only the fathers affirm, but Christ himself saith it, as thou hast in Matthew: I will not hereafter drink of this fruit of the vine. Moreover we have regard to that which is here spoken, of Remembrance, wherein the figure is showed. And we see, that these men change the tenses; and that which is pronounced by the future or by the present tense, as touching the delivery of the body and shedding of the blood, they interpret it by the preter-perfect-tense. We consider afterward, that they cannot be without signs in their consecration, because they understand this verb Is, for, It is changed, it is transubstantiated, or it is made. And Christ seeing he instituted a Sacrament, it is meet that by significations, and figuratively the signs should be understood, according to the nature of a Sacrament, which is that it should be a sign. We have also respect unto the ascension of Christ into heaven, unto the truth of the human nature which he took upon him: and also unto that which is written in John, when it is said unto the Capernaites: My words be spirit and life, the flesh profiteth nothing, namely being carnally eaten: it is the spirit which quickeneth. And again we do consider Paul who here most manifestly nameth it bread: where notwithstanding these men would have it to be a figure, who are so greatly against our figure. Also we hear Paul testify, that the forefathers had the selfsame Sacrament that we have. For by the judgment of Augustine, it was not sufficient for him to say, that they had spiritual meat and drink, but he added, The self-same. And again least thou shouldest doubt, the Apostle also expressed, Baptism: which he saith, that they obtained in the sea, and in the cloud, whereby it appeareth, that they

not only among themselves, but even with us also had the self-same Sacraments. We see likewise that the speeches adjoining are understood figuratively. For in these it is said: The bread which we break, is the communion of the body of Christ. And again: This cup is the New Testament. The which things we have oftentimes rehearsed. Moreover it doth not well agree with the body of Christ, to be eaten. And by these things it appeareth at large what ought to be said to the second Argument, in the which they objected, that the sentence must not be understood by a figure, unless that there were some other thing before or after, which should move us to the same. And they urged that particle: Which shall be given for you, that we rather retain it in the proper sense: but this is manifestly false, seeing we there change the tenses. Neither do we take it to be the body that was delivered, forsomuch as that was visible and passable. Neither can both the conditions of a corruptible body, and the qualities of a glorified body, be in one and the self-same substance or subject, so as one and the same body may be passable and impassible, together at one time. Further we have showed what other places lead us to admit these kind of figures, I mean Synecdoche, or Denomination.

39. We will answer to another Argument as touching things distinct, or as the schoolmen call them *Disparata*, different, among which no mutual predication can be. Those things which be so several or different, if an Analogy or signification do happen, may now be so joined together, as they shall be of strength to make a proposition. And this we perceive to be done, not only when it is said by the Lord: The seed is the word of God. Again: I am the vine: but also even of Paul, when he pronounceth that we be one bread. And again he saith: The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ. And again: This cup is the New Testament in my blood.

Neither do we much pass that some say that Matthew and Mark did plainly and manifestly utter: This is my blood of the New Testament. For we deny not, but that these Evangelists thus wrote, but in the mean time we say that the words also which Luke and Paul have must be received: And we say that those, even as other sentences, which we did now cite, consist of words that do much differ and that after the manner of the Logicians may be called *Disparata*, that is, differing one from another. But by Analogy and signification, they be very well and fitly joined together.

40. In another Argument it was said: that Christ when he uttered This is my body, said not, this signifieth my body, or representeth my body, this bread is a figure or sign of my body. Against these we reply that Christ said not that his body lieth hidden in those accidents without a subject, neither affirmed, that the substance of bread ceaseth to be, or is changed or transubstantiated into his body. Furthermore I marvel that these things be objected, seeing among the fathers these expositions are found. For they oftentimes say, that the body and blood of Christ is represented, is signified, is notified, is showed: and the signs of bread and wine they call, a seal, a figure, and a type, and an example of like form. Neither is there cause why any should cavil that they refer these signs or figures unto the death, and not unto the body of Christ, because the fathers manifestly say, that the body and blood is signified, and that signs and figures are given of the body and blood of the Lord. Which that thou mayest know to be true, among many places of the fathers we will here set forth these few. Augustine *De Catechis. rudib*. As touching the Sacrament which he received, he saith in deed that there be visible seals of divine things, but that the very invisible things be honored in them. The same father *De Civitate Dei* the 10th book and 5th chapter: Wherefore the visible sacrifice is a Sacrament of the

invisible sacrifice, that is, it is a holy sign. Jerome in his 4th book upon Matthew chap. the 26th. That even as in the prefiguration of him, Melchizedek the priest of the high God did in the offering of bread and wine, so he himself also represented the truth of his own body and blood. And to set aside the testimonies of the holy scriptures and the sayings of the holy fathers, Bertram saith that that bread which is called the body of Christ, and the Cup which is called the blood of Christ, is a figure, because it is a mystery. Tertullian against Martion the 4th book: he having received bread and distributed it unto his disciples made it his body, saying: This is my body, that is, A figure of my body. Cyprian in his 2nd Epistle the 2nd book: We see that in the water the people be understood: in the wine, the blood of Christ is showed. Ambrose in his book *De his qui initiantur Mysterijs*. Before the blessing of the heavenly words another kind is named, after consecration the body of Christ is signified. The same father *De Sacramentis* the 4th book and 5th chapter: Do thou this oblation for us, being recorded in writing to be a reasonable and acceptable oblation, because it is the figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. The same father upon the 11th Chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinth. We being mindful hereof, do in eating and drinking, signify the flesh and blood which are offered for us. And straightway after: According to the figure, whereof we receive the cup, being the mystical body, for the defense of our body and soul. Bernard in his *Sermon De Coena Domini*: To this end therefore the Lord drawing towards his passion, provided to adorn his own people with his grace, that the invisible grace might he given by a visible sign. Chrysostom upon the first Epistle to the Corinth. the 10th Chapter: For what do I call the Communion? We be even one and the self-same body. And what signifieth bread? The body of Christ. And what become they that

do receive it? The body of Christ. Basil in his Liturgy calleth it an example of like form and that after baptism. Augustine *De Trinitate* the 3rd book and 4th chapter: The Apostle might in signifying preach the Lord Jesus Christ by the tongue, otherwise by an Epistle, otherwise by a Sacrament of his body and blood. The same father against Adamantus: The Lord doubted not to say: This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body. Again, upon the 3rd Psalm: He admitted Judas unto the feast in which he commended and delivered his disciples the figure of his body and blood. Also against Maximinus in the 3rd book and 22nd chapter: In the Sacraments is considered not what they be, but what they show, because they are signs of things which being one thing do signify another. Hereby thou seest that the fathers do not mislike: nay rather they appoint a signification of the body in this Sacrament. Furthermore we have showed out of the holy scriptures, that such manner of speeches there be, where the verb substantive Is, is taken, for, It signifieth. And so this is become a slender Argument. Therefore whereas they object, that Christ said not, It either signifieth, or it representeth: we answer that it may be so understood out of the holy scriptures, and this we have plentifully showed before. Neither as they think do we argue on this wise: This saying is elsewhere had after this manner, therefore it must be so understood also in this place: but we only prevent them, who when they ought to prove their Transubstantiation, do bring This is my body, which place is in controversy, and the sense doubted of. They object unto us an absolute sense, and they obstinately stand therein, which by other places of the scripture appeareth not to be firm, seeing this saying is very oftentimes to be understood otherwise in the holy scriptures. We for our opinion of the Eucharist have many other reasons. Neither do we bring this as our own Argument, but only we answer them when they obtrude

such a phrase, that it most often signifieth otherwise, and that therefore of the same it is weakly concluded by them.

41. Afterward they argue as touching adoration, that if there remained bread, it should be adored in the Sacrament. I marvel that these men are so mindful of true adoration, when as otherwise both pictures and images are worshipped among them. But they say that they worship not these things, but those which be represented by the same. But how cometh it to pass that they will not grant the self-same thing of bread if it remain, that it shall not be worshipped, but that which is signified thereby? Further why did they not with the like reason remove from thence accidents, least those peradventure should be worshipped? Perhaps they will make this excuse, that none will there worship accidents, when as we know nevertheless that the pictures and figures which they suffer in the Temples be accidents, before which men do fall down. For if they would worship the substances of wood or of stones, they should have everywhere in the woods and in the streets which they might worship. Again, rude and simple men cannot distinguish or put a difference between accidents and substance. And they that feign themselves to be moved with so great a zeal, ought to transubstantiate the cup, least perhaps when it is showed it should be worshipped. And certainly this hath always seemed unto me to be a very light Argument, although it be objected by the Schoolmen, yea and those of no small account. It is moreover objected, that unless Transubstantiation be appointed, then in this Sacrament, two natures or bodily substances shall be put both together and in one and the self-same place. Who will not here marvel, that these men have so great religion and reverence towards nature, as though they would not violate the laws thereof: where nevertheless they appoint accidents to be things hanging without a subject: which is most of

all against the decrees of nature? And through their absurd devise they escape not that which they fear: because when they affirm the accidents to remain, among those accidents there is a body that hath quantity, and doth occupy a place, whereas also they would have the flesh of Christ to be corporally present, which hath a quantity, and that it lieth hidden under accidents, they must of necessity grant that there are two quantities and two bodies together. But according to the opinion which we affirm, there is no peril of this absurdity.

42. They said moreover that it agreeth not with the dignity of Christ, that his body should be joined to the substance of bread; which is a very vain thing: For it is not affirmed, that of the body of Christ and the nature of bread, is made one subject, as of the divine nature and human nature in Christ. Neither yet do we see what greater dignity there is of the Accidents, than there is of the bread; that if the body of Christ be assigned to be with them, it might not as well remain with the substance of bread. And seeing the divine nature is said to be even in hell without abridging the worthiness thereof: and this body (as they judge) is delivered to be eaten truly and substantially even of the wicked, who be most impure, and most unworthy of the same: why are they afraid only in respect of dignity to join the body and blood of the Lord unto bread and wine, especially when there must be a conjunction of the signification? Moreover they had a consideration of the sacrifice: for they say, that the body and blood of the Lord are offered in Masses, and if this alteration be not then, we shall offer nothing but only the thing signified and shadowed. Here shall Cyprian answer for us, who unto Coecilius the 3rd Epistle and second Book saith, that it is the Passion of the Lord which we offer. And who knoweth not that the Passion of Christ is not present in the hands of the sacrificer, since it is a thing that was done in

times past: whereof there is made a memorial, and for the which thanks are given unto God? But all this that they pretend in this Argument is a feigned devise, whereby they imagine that the son of God himself is by the Priest properly and truly offered unto the father. Wherein how greatly they err, the place now serveth not to declare.

43. Now must we show that which they afterward objected, that as touching the opinions of the Fathers which seem to be against our purpose, they make not against us. But before I come to the expounding of them, I am minded to say somewhat before which may be used as certain rules for understanding of the Fathers, seeing they speak most loftily, and deal most earnestly of this matter of the Sacrament. First it must be considered that the holy Scripture hath been accustomed as it were by turns to attribute that which is of the signs unto the things: and again which be of the things to ascribe them unto the signs. The selfsame manner also do the fathers use, so as thou shalt oftentimes perceive them to entreat of the things, as though they spake of the signs: and on the other side so to write of the signs as though they entreated of the things, and of that which is signified. This may very well accord by reason of the great likeness which is between them by the appointment of the Lord. Hereof Augustine unto Boniface, gave a plain advertisement, that is Sacraments the names be changed. Another rule is: that if thou diligently consider, those things which are spoken before and after, thou shalt always perceive the fathers to testify that this food is spiritual and not meat of the throat, belly, or teeth. A third rule is, that if they at any time say, that we communicate with Christ carnally, so as the body also is nourished in the Eucharist: these things must be so taken even as we understand that the son of God (when he was conceived of the virgin and took upon him the nature of man) did then take part of our flesh.

Further we abide in him and he likewise abideth in us, when as we believe his words, and when by faith we receive the sacraments: because in so communicating, there is added unto us the spirit: And our flesh and body, which were already of the self-same nature with Christ, are become of the self-same conditions with him, they are made capable of immortality and resurrection, and when they obey and serve the spirit, they are truly nourished unto life everlasting. And so is our body two manner of ways fed in the Eucharist; first it is fed by signs, secondly by this renewing unto life everlasting. And thus is Christ said to dwell in us by this sacrament. And as touching the first communicating that we have with him by nativity and incarnation, thou hast a testimony out of the Epistle to the Hebrews the 2nd chapter. Forsomuch then as children are partakers of flesh and blood, he himself likewise was partaker with them. Moreover, consider that the word of consecrating, signifieth nothing else among the Fathers than to dedicate a thing common and profane unto a holy use: and this is to make it holy. Wherefore there is no cause, that when we meet in the Fathers with the word Consecration, we should straight way fain unto ourselves Transubstantiation. But that there is some alteration made there, we deny it not; namely in that those things are now made sacraments, to signify unto us effectually that by the power of the holy Ghost as touching the mind and faith, we must offer and exhibit the body and blood of the Lord. Further it must be known, that between us and the Capernaites, as touching the matter itself, there is no difference. They thought that they should eat the very body and the very flesh of Christ: which also we grant to be done. But the difference is in the manner and way of eating. That which they thought should be carnally done, we teach to be spiritually done. Otherwise the true body and the true blood is exhibited, because faith comprehendeth not

feigned things but true things. Also when it is read in the Fathers, that the body of Christ is contained or had in these mysteries: by these words is nothing else to be understood, then, betokened, showed, declared and signified.

44. And when thou hearest the Fathers say, that bread and wine is no more in the sacrament, this thou must not absolutely understand, but as touching thyself, when thou doest faithfully communicate. For there thou must not think either of the bread or of the wine: It behooveth that thy mind and thy sense do only cleave unto the things which are represented unto thee. Therefore it is said, Lift up your hearts, when as thou liftest up thy mind from the signs unto things invisible which be offered unto thee. Also the holy scriptures shun not this kind of figure. Paul saith, Our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, who nevertheless denied not that the body and flesh do grieve the soul and must be bridled seeing he writeth in another place: The flesh lusteth against the spirit. Neither yet was he ignorant, that there be many evil men who be called flesh and blood, by whom yet we be troubled, and with them we have daily wrestling. But Paul meant of that chief and principal contention, from whence these other have their original. He said also that In Christ there is neither male nor female, neither bond nor free: when as nevertheless these offices and these persons, are not removed from Christ and his Church: nay rather there be precepts particularly described of them. But Paul understood that these things are not in Christ as concerning the obtainment of regeneration, forgiveness of sins, and life everlasting, which are the chiefest of all in Christianity. And in the distributing of these mysteries Christ respecteth not these states and conditions. The same Apostle writeth, that The kingdom of God is not in word, and yet would he not therefore that Sermons, Admonitions, and Readings which be done by

the word should be removed from the Church, which is the kingdom of God, but he only respected that high power and efficacy of the spirit, whereby all things ought to be ruled in the Church. Thus the Fathers speak when they deny that the nature of the signs do remain: which must not (as we have said) be simply understood, [*but that is meant*] as touching our faith and cogitation, which ought not to stay upon them. Hereunto thou mayest add, that faith is of so great efficacy, as it maketh things to be present, not forsooth really or substantially, but spiritually: for it truly comprehendeth them. And on this wise did the Apostle say, That Christ was crucified even before the eyes of the Galatians. And so was Abraham said to have seen the day of the Lord. And after this manner, the old Fathers had in their sacraments the self-same Christ which we also do enjoy. And thus thou seest that unto this presence is not required that the matter of the sacrament as touching natural constitution do change place or be present with us with all the material and natural conditions thereof. It is also to be understood by interchange and participation of properties, that because the divine nature of Christ, is most truly present with us, the self-same may be communicated with his humanity. As Christ, when he spake upon the earth: said that the son of man is in heaven: and so he attributed unto the humanity that which belonged unto the divinity. And after this manner I might grant, that the human nature of Christ is present with us in the Communion, if it should be expounded by communicating of properties one with another. Lastly, if thou demand why the fathers used these figures and excessive speeches: we say, partly to follow the phrase of the Scripture, partly to pierce more vehemently the minds of men. Further to the intent they might show that this signification of Sacraments is not as it were Comical or Tragical. For in those each player may represent Hector or Priamus, and there followeth

nothing besides of any great importance. But here the thing represented, is by the power of the holy Ghost, both given and imprinted in our minds by faith, and there follow many gifts and graces, and especially a secrete and unspeakable union with Christ, so as we truly become one with him.

45. But the first objection was out of Irenaeus, who saith that the earthly bread being consecrate, is not common bread, but is become the Eucharist. This do we willingly admit, affirming that it is not here common bread, but holy, and which now, as he said is become the Eucharist. But that which followeth, makes more on our side. For he writeth that the Eucharist consisteth of two things, that is to wit, heavenly and earthly, and saith not, of the Accidents of an earthly thing. He addeth afterward: Even so our bodies receiving the Eucharist, are not corruptible, having the hope of the Resurrection. And if so great a change in our bodies be set forth by him, as he maketh it equal to the change of the bread (for he saith: even as that bread is no more common bread, so our bodies are no more corruptible,) what need shall there be of Transubstantiation, seeing he maketh these changes to be equal as well in the one as in the other? Next of all was Tertullian alleged: and he also expoundeth his own self: He not only saith: The Lord having received the bread, made it his body when he said, This is my body, but he added: That is, a sign of my body. They objected out of Origen, that he wrote that the Lord confesseth the bread to be his body. This do not we deny, but all the strife is as touching the manner how it is become the body of the Lord: and hereof he himself plainly teacheth elsewhere that there lieth a figure, and that this bread is called the nourishing word of the soul, and he teacheth that we must not hold ourselves unto the blood of the flesh, but unto the blood of the word. Cyprian seemeth to speak more hardly, when he saith that this bread is changed not in shape but in nature.

Howbeit we must have regard what he wrote unto Coecilius, namely that with the wine, is showed the blood of the Lord: and that if the wine cease to be in the cup, it cannot appear that the blood of the Lord is there. And whereas he now speaketh of changing, that also we grant. Howbeit a sacramental changing, and then we confess, not that the shape, or the form and accidents of bread have this gift to become sacraments, but that the nature and substance itself of bread and wine is changed into the sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord. And as the substance itself of bread, and not the form nourisheth, even so the body of Christ both nourisheth our soul and it fostereth the body and reneweth it. And as the substance itself of bread consisteth of many grains, so the mystical body which it representeth hath many members joined together. Whereupon as well we as our adversaries say that the form, (that is the appearance and show of the bread) is not changed, but that it is the substance which is changed. And they would have a change to be by casting away of the nature of bread, but we only affirm a sacramental change. And Cyprian himself maketh against our adversaries: for they change not the substance of bread, but they take it utterly away. We say, that it is changed, as that which is become the body of Christ, that is a sacrament of Christ's body which before it was not. Besides these things, Nature among the authors of the Latin tongue, doeth not always signify substance, but power, wit and property. Wherefore Cicero *de Somnio Scipionis*: The proper nature and power of the soul is, that itself should be moved by itself. And unto Lentulus: That is the nature and Religion of thy Province. And when it is said the Nature of Herbs, the nature of stones, and such like. Which signification doeth well agree with the saying of Cyprian.

46. They object Ambrose, and especially in his books *De Sacramentis*, which books some have thought to be none of Ambrose works. The Bishop of Rochester is earnest against them that so think: And he saith, that we must in any wise give credit to Augustine, who ascribeth these books unto Ambrose: And he openly testifieth, that Ambrose wrote the books *de Sacramentis*, and he citeth the prologue upon the Books of Christian doctrine which I have oftentimes read, and never find that which this man writeth. Unless perhaps he mean that which he wrote in his books of Retractations, when he maketh mention of his writings of Christian doctrine, there perhaps he hath some such thing. Moreover, this I know very well, that Augustine against Julian the Pelagian cited Ambrose *De Sacramento Regenerationis vel de Philosophia*, yet not these Books *De Mysterijs vel de Sacramentis*. And the things which be there cited are not found in those books *De Sacramentis*. But I pass not hereof. Admit that they be the books of Ambrose. They do not altogether disagree with us. For he oftentimes maketh mention of signifying, and that these sacraments are named and called the body of Christ, the which we deny not. And if at any time he make mention of changing or conversion, these words must be understood of sacramental changing. Further the self-same father must be perused what he saith in another place. First in his Treatise *De Officijs* the 4th book the 48th chapter: Here is the shadow, here is the Image, there is the truth: A shadow in the Law, an Image in the Gospel, the truth in the heavenly places. Before time a Lamb was offered, a Calf was offered: now Christ is offered, but he is offered as a man, as it were receiving passion, but he offereth himself as a priest, that he may forgive our sins; here, in an Image, there in truth: where as an advocate with the father, he maketh intercession for us. And upon the first Epistle to the Corinthians, as we have

already cited, he saith: In eating and drinking we signify the flesh and blood of Christ which are offered. And when he speaketh of the blood, he saith, that we receive a figure thereof, that is, the mystical Cup. Again the same father in these Books *De Sacramentis* in the 4th Book and 4th Chapter manifestly affirmeth our changing into Christ. The which we have oftentimes noted in other Fathers.

47. Now there remaineth that we consider of Chrysostom. They alleged this similitude of wax, the which being put into the fire, as touching the substance there is destroyed, so as nothing remaineth: so (saith he) thou mayest think that the mysteries be consumed by the substance of Christ's body. What (say they) can be more manifest for Transubstantiation? But here I think it good to examine Chrysostom himself, whereby ye may plainly perceive how rightly those things are noted, whereof we spake before, as touching the sayings of the fathers. He in the 83rd Homily upon Matthew saith: Many say that they would, and do covet to see the form and shape of Christ, also to behold his garments and shoes. But he giveth himself unto thee, not only that thou mayest see him but also that thou mayest touch him. Do we not here understand that he attributeth unto the matter of the sacrament that which belongeth unto the signs: namely, that the body of Christ may be touched and seen, which who seeth not to be true only as touching the signs? Again in the same Homily, He reduceth us, (as I may say) into one lump together with him, and that not alonely by faith, but he maketh us in very deed his body. And the same he wrote in the 60th Homily, and in the 61st unto the people of Antioch: That we I say not only by faith and love, but also in very deed are made and mixed with the body of Christ, and if this be so, that we be not transubstantiated, and yet nevertheless so nearly joined with Christ, what need is it for the bread to be

transubstantiated, that it may be made the body of Christ? But there might arise a doubt, as though Chrysostom maketh against us which affirm this receiving by faith: seeing he saith that we not only by faith, but in very deed also are mingled with him and changed into him. But here it must be understood, that although we have said, that the body of Christ and his blood be eaten and drunk by faith, yet after this receiving by faith there followeth not a feigned but a true conjunction between us and Christ: whereby not only our mind is united with him but also our body and flesh hath his renewing from thence, and we are truly made the members of the Lord and do receive him to be our head, from whence we perpetually draw both spirit and life. And this is it that Chrysostom said, that we are in very deed joined with Christ. And again in the same Homily upon Matthew he saith, that these be signs of the Lord Jesus whereby we stop the mouths of the heretics which demand how Christ suffered. For if he had not had true flesh and had truly suffered, in vain should these signs be. In the same Homily he saith, that our tongue is made bloody in receiving of the Sacraments. And least thou shouldest cavil that the bloodiness, w t which together with the wine or the accidents of the wine, (as they term it) our tongue is made bloody should be understood to be invisible, in the 60th Homily which the same father had to the people of Antioch, he writeth that our tongue waxeth red with this blood: where every man may see that it is Hyperbole or an excessive speech. And in *Encaeniis* he saith, that the blood in the cup is drawn out of the side of the Lord: which cannot be believed as it is spoken, seeing the side of the Lord is not at this day open, and from thence the blood is not drawn.

48. He writeth moreover in the same Homily: Doest thou see the bread or the wine? He answereth God forbid. Certainly if he should here ask the

senses, they would answer, that it is not true that he saith. For by the judgment of our sense, the bread and the wine is present: but he speaketh truly when he addeth: Think not so, because in respect of our judgment, bread and wine do cease to be there. The same father writeth: Think not thou that thou receivest of man the body of Christ, but of the Seraphin that is present, and with a pair of tongs he delivereth unto thee a fiery coal. Here I think not, that they would have the Minister or Pastor to be transubstantiated which delivereth the Sacraments unto us. And he added, Let us run together to suck forth the blood which floweth out of the side of the Lord. These things the Schoolmen themselves dare not speak. For they write that the bread and wine is changed into the substance of the body and blood, yet not so, as to the true substance of the body of Christ anything either cometh or departeth away. And in the 61st Homily unto the people of Antioch he saith, that Christ not only gave himself unto us to be seen, but also to be touched and felt, upon whose flesh also we fasten our teeth. In which place thou seest, that that which appertaineth to the signs, is attributed unto the thing signified by the Sacraments. For our tooth reacheth not unto the substance of the body of Christ, but only unto the bread and signs and Sacraments. The self-same father in the 60th Homily unto the people of Antioch saith, that we ought not to think that the hand of the priest reacheth the Sacrament, but must judge that the hand of Christ stretched forth doth deliver the same. And that he himself also in baptism executeth the office, namely of baptizing. And in the 61st he admonisheth that we should consider that in this Sacrament we leave Christ sitting in heaven, who is worshipped of the Angels. By all this it is plain, that this father of ours provided by all means, to call forth the minds of the communicants from the grosser sort of signs and from outward tokens to

the meditation of divine and heavenly things. And it is a wonder, that these men, who so diligently examine places of the Fathers, bring not that forth which is in the 61st Homily unto the people of Antioch: That they are both impudent and obstinate, which stand by at the administration of the Sacraments, and do not communicate. Wherein he affirmeth, that they do manifest injury unto Christ. But least we should swerve from that which is propounded in the Argument, namely in the Homily *in Encaeniis*, as touching the wax which in the fire runneth all abroad: we answer that Chrysostom eftsoons in that place hath this verb, Think thou: that we may understand that these things must not be understood but as touching our faith and cogitation whereby in communicating we comprehend not bread and wine by themselves, but we seek the things, which by a signification and that effectual are joined hereunto. We moreover bring forth a like similitude out of Cyril the 10th book the 13th chapter upon John, where he saith, that wax being molten, and mingled with other wax, so that of two is altogether made one doth resemble that which is done in the receiving of this Sacrament: which is, that we should in very deed be made one with Christ. The selfsame he hath in the 4th book and 17th chapter. And if so be that this similitude of wax between Christ and us, have place without transubstantiation of our body, the very same may be affirmed of the similitude of Chrysostom, which he putteth between wax and the signs or mysteries. Further our adversaries should be demanded whether they will have these similitudes to be made alike in all respects. Which if they will grant, they must also take away the accidents out of this Sacrament. For the wax which is applied to the fire is not only destroyed as touching the substance, but as touching the accidents. But and if they will not have the similitude to take place in this behalf, then shall it also be free unto us to

understand all this, as touching our cogitations of the mind and comprehension of faith: and we will confess that as touching the thing itself, the nature of bread and wine goeth away, and that our mind only cleaveth unto the things signified, and to that which by the signs is offered unto us: that is, unto the body and blood of Christ. And of Chrysostom thus much hath been said, wherein we may see how truly those things have place, which we spake before of the fathers.

49. Augustine was afterward objected, who should say upon the 33rd Psalm, that Christ bare himself in his own hands, and that verily in the last supper, when he distributed the Sacrament to his Apostles: And this do not we deny. For what should let Christ to bear his body in his own hands, if by Body, thou understand the Sacrament of his body? And this is it that Augustine addeth in the end of this place, After a certain manner: as if he should say: He did not absolutely bear himself, but after a sort he is undoubtedly the very same whom we now said him to be. They oppose unto us the same Augustine, in the third book *De Trinitate*, where he saith, the bread, is brought unto this visible form by the hands of men, but that it cannot be made so great a Sacrament, without the invisible working of the holy Ghost. It is much to be marveled at, why these men acknowledge not in this sacrament any other work of the holy Ghost besides transubstantiation. For the name of the working of the holy Ghost in this sacrament being heard, they straightway infer transubstantiation: whenas notwithstanding these signs cannot be advanced, or translated to the state and condition of Sacraments, but by the help of God: to wit, by the institution of the Lord, by holy words, and by strength of the holy Ghost. Because these holy things do no longer possess our mind after an ordinary and common manner, but by an effectual and most vehement force of the

spirit: and by the strength and operation of the selfsame holy spirit, our minds and souls are furthered to embrace the matter of the Sacraments. Now come we to Augustine, who upon the 99th Psalm, upon that saying, Worship ye his footstool: doth inquire diligently, what manner of footstool that should be; And at the length he findeth that it is said in the Scriptures: that the earth is his footstool. But how saith he shall we worship the earth? Is it not written: Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve? And is it not commanded that we should not worship those things, which be in heaven, or upon the earth, or in the waters, or under the earth? But he saith afterward, that there is a certain earth, which justly may and ought to be worshipped: For the son of God (saith he) took the nature of man upon him, that is flesh of the virgins: and that in the holy Scriptures is called earth: forsomuch as our body is taken out of the earth. But that the flesh of Christ ought to be worshipped, hereby it appeareth, because when he gave the same to be eaten, none did eat it but he first worshipped. These words of Augustine can make nothing against us, because we deny not but that the flesh of Christ must be worshipped by reason of the conjunction that it hath with the divine nature. Here the contention is whether the same flesh lie close hidden under the Accidents, not whether it should be worshipped. But they say: if it were not there in the Sacrament, and that bread should be there, it would be Idolatry. Unto which we answer, that they fall into as great a peril, for they ought to remove the accidents least those should be worshipped, and to transubstantiate the very cup itself. But in a Sacrament we distinguish the signs from the things, and unto the signs we give some honor, to wit, that they should be decently handled, and should not be despised: For they be holy things once dedicated unto God. And as concerning the things signified, namely the body and blood of

Christ, we grant that those should be readily and cheerfully worshipped. For Augustine in this place saith: We sin not in worshipping the flesh of Christ, but we sin in not worshipping of the same. But he adviseth in the mean time that we should not cleave unto the flesh of Christ, but lift up our mind unto the divine nature, whereunto the flesh is joined by a knot not possible to be undone. Otherwise he saith: the flesh profiteth nothing, but it is the spirit that quickeneth. Wherein thou mayest note that this saying of our Savior which is in the 6th of John, is understood by Augustine as touching the flesh of Christ, but not of the carnal understanding as some will have it.

50. And as touching adoration, I will knit up in few words, and will rehearse what I have elsewhere spoken, in my exposition of the Epistle unto the Corinthians: namely, that the same consisteth in invocation and confession, which is of two sorts: as well of the heart as of the mouth, and in thanksgiving. And those things are due both unto God and unto Christ, wheresoever they show themselves unto us. And this is done three manner of ways: First by the internal word when as by the power of the spirit of God any vehement cogitation of God and of Christ, entereth into our minds. Then followeth worshipping: because we either confess or invocate, or else give thanks. Sometime these things declare themselves unto us by the outward word, when as we ourselves read the holy scriptures, or else hear godly sermons: Then are we oftentimes stirred up to invocation or else to other things which belong to the order of serving God. Finally Christ and God otherwhile declareth himself by outward signs, as upon mount Syna: Unto Isaiah under the form of a king sitting upon his royal seat, in the Ark of the Covenant, in the Sacraments: and there also worshipping is given unto him. But even as Augustine admonished that we must not settle our mind upon the flesh, but we must have access unto the Godhead: So I here

admonish that in worshipping, when we receive the Eucharist, we must not stay in the signs, but must worship in spirit and truth Christ sitting in heaven at the right hand of his father. And this because the simple sort do not understand, by reason of the confirmed and grounded error of transubstantiation, therefore I think it not unprofitable if we would forbear from outward worshipping, namely from prostrating or kneeling, until such time as these might be instructed. Inward worshipping may be used without danger: neither would outward worshipping in his own nature be evil: for many do kneel and worship devoutly, at the hearing of those words: And the word was made flesh, and yet is it not to be said that those words be worshipped, but the things signified. And why may not the same be done here, so that the signs be not worshipped, but that which is signified by them? Howbeit in these days for the cause aforesaid, perhaps outward Adoration is not meet, unless that oftentimes mention should be made hereof in Sermons.

51. Neither let any man take an occasion of my sayings, that it should be lawful to worship either Images or pictures, because God and Christ seem otherwhile to declare themselves there effectually. For we have the plain word: Let us not make unto ourselves Images for to worship. But as touching the words of the holy scripture and the Sacraments, nothing letteth that we should adore in the hearing or receiving of them, because those things are instituted by the word, will, and commandment of God, that we may be provoked to the service of God which consisteth in adoration. Neither oughtest thou to gather hereby, that the remnants of the Eucharist must be worshipped. For whatsoever strength the signs have, that they have by the holy Ghost, by the words of the Lord, and by his institution, which things without the use of the sacrament are not extant. And while we eat and

drink, there is a promise. Wherefore that opinion of consecration was not universal, because in the time of Hesychius (as he himself testifieth upon Leviticus) the remnants of the Eucharist were burned. And even this thou hast in Origen upon Leviticus: although it be the same book which is ascribed unto two. And Clement the Bishop of Rome, (as appeareth by his decree, which is *de Consecratione*, distinct. 2.) ordained that the remnants of this sacrament should be eaten by the Ecclesiastical persons. We deny not that they were sometime kept, but this was done without adoration and superstitious worshipping's. They were given unto children and unto Women, to be carried unto the sick, as appeareth out of the History of Eusebius Caesariensis and out of Jerome. And I would not willingly say, that the receiving of these remnants after that manner out of the holy congregation and besides the rite appointed by the Lord was a just communion, which nevertheless I grant the sick might have so that they repeated the holy words, and that some faithful men did there communicate among themselves. For where many do not communicate, the nature of the sacrament is not retained. Christ said: Take ye, eat ye, and drink ye. The bread is broken which pertaineth unto distribution. And in their Canon they say many things, the which unless many do communicate, be lies. Moreover it is called a supper, a Communion, a gathering together. Which names little agree with private action. Neither do we at any time read of private masses among the old Fathers. Honorius the Bishop of Rome, brought in a decree, that the Eucharist should be kept: and he added, that honor and reverence should be done unto it when it shall be carried about. Which if it had been done before his time, it should have been needless for him to make such a decree. And to speak briefly we affirm that this Sacrament, (as before hath been said) hath not his force or efficacy, except

when it is exercised and received: which also thou seest to come to pass in all other Sacraments.

52. Hilarius is objected against us. But he had very great controversies with the Arians, against whom he dealeth, because they thought that between the father and the son there is no conjunction, unless it be by a consent of will. Against these Hilary saith: I demand of you whether between us and Christ, there be a conjunction by the property of nature or by an agreement of the will? For the Arians would lay hold of that place wherein Christ prayed, that we might be one together with him, even as he and the father be one between themselves. There is a place in John the 17th chapter, where it is said, Even as thou father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us. The Heretics added that we have no conjunction with Christ, unless it be as touching the consent and will: and by this they inferred that between the son of God and the father, there happeneth no other union or conjunction than this. Wherefore it was the part of Hilary to show that we be naturally united with Christ, to the intent he might conclude, that the son also is naturally joined to the Father. His proof is on this wise: If the word of God did truly take upon it the nature of man, he doeth naturally communicate in his flesh with us, and we are said to remain in him, because he hath in himself our nature. And semblably in the Lord's supper, if we truly receive his flesh, we do participate naturally with him, and he doth truly dwell in us. And thus Hilary argueth from the truth of Sacraments, which we deny not. And this was the use of the old fathers, that they drew their Arguments from Sacraments as from things best known. But there is none of these things against our opinion. For Hilary contendeth not that the flesh of Christ is hidden and covered under Accidents or in this Sacrament; but he only affirmeth, that we in communicating are truly joined

to the flesh of Christ, the which we deny not. But consider with me that the self-same father, not much before those words which he speaketh of the Eucharist saith the same of Baptism, that by it we are joined unto Christ and one with another, not only in the unity of assent and will, but also in the unity of nature. So that ye shall be constrained there also to appoint Transubstantiation, if for that cause ye bring it into the Sacrament. Chrysostom is not far from this use of taking Arguments from Sacraments: who in the 83rd Homily upon Matthew saith (as we cited before) that these be signs of the Lord Jesus, whereby we both bridle and stop the mouths of Heretics. For they say very often: how did Christ suffer? And we on the other side object: If Christ had not true flesh, these signs be in vain. And this doth rightly follow, because they should else represent unto us feigned things. And thus were the Manichees, Marcionites, and such like pestilent sects, put to silence by them.

53. As touching Leo the Bishop of Rome, there is no cause why we should trouble ourselves much, because he in the sentence objected against us both affirmeth a mystical distribution, and setteth down a spiritual sustenance and a virtue celestial, and saith that we do pass into the flesh of Christ, even as he took our flesh upon him. They cite Emisenus, whose words are read, *De Consecratione*, distinct. the first: but there, if thou look well upon it, thou shalt find these words: Touch thou with thy mind, and with the hand of thy heart take hold of the body of Christ. By which words it is plain, that he affirmeth us to eat the body of the Lord spiritually. Further he vehemently urgeth (as other of the fathers do) our changing into Christ, the which nevertheless (as we see) is without Transubstantiation. I know that some may wonder why we so oftentimes oppose the changing of ourselves against the changing that the fathers seem to affirm to be in the

signs which they constantly say are all one: and some imagine that there is a far other conjunction between the body of Christ and the signs, than is between us and the body of Christ, and that therefore the Analogy and proportion holdeth not, although the fathers do appoint both the one and the other. To this we answer and say, that our Argument is most strong because it is from the greater to the less by a negative. For the joining together of Christ unto us and with them which communicate, is greater than it can be with the signs. Seeing therefore in respect of us transubstantiation is not required, much less shall it be in signs. But that we be more joined together unto Christ than the signs be it thereby appeareth, insomuch as that conjunction was invented because of this. Further the words and the spirit whereby the signs are consecrated, do much less belong unto other things than unto men.

54. Of Theophilact we say that he is a late writer, and who perhaps lived in those times when as many questions were begun to be moved touching Transubstantiation under Nicholas the Bishop of Rome in the time of Lanfranck and Berengarius. Further he was a man of no great judgment, as it may appear by his interpretation of John the 3rd chapter at the end: where he blameth the Church of the Latins by name, as touching the proceeding of the holy Ghost, that it proceedeth from the father and the son. So as we will not think his authority to be so great, as it ought to prejudice the truth: yet nevertheless we will examine his sayings. He affirmeth bread not to be the figure of the body of Christ: and that in his treatise upon Matthew. But and if he mean a void and vain figure, he saith rightly, neither do we appoint such a figure: And we doubt not, but that this is his interpretation, because upon Mark he saith that it is not a figure only: otherwise if he should utterly deny it to be a figure, he should be against the rest of the fathers, whom we

have manifestly proved to affirm that it is both a sign and a figure. He saith that bread is transformed, that it is changed, and transelementated: which speeches, if he understand sacramentally, we mislike them not. For bread and wine be sacraments, and do pass into the Elements of divine things, and they put on a signifying form. But they say that this Father writeth: Therefore the flesh and blood is not seen, least we should abhor it. But if thou wilt sharply urge these words, we will object that which he writeth upon Mark, to wit, that the kinds of bread and wine are changed into the virtue of the body and blood of the Lord. And if thou wilt say that he in another place saith not: Into the virtue, but into the body and blood of the Lord: we answer, that this is the interpretation of those words, that these signs take unto them the virtue of the things, by which virtue the Sacraments have no less than if the things themselves were there; and (as I have said) the abhorring is taken away if we appoint the signs to be changed, not into the thing, but into the virtue. More violent seemeth another saying of his, which he hath upon the 6th chapter of John, where he writeth: Even as while Christ lived upon the earth, the bread was changed into his flesh by a usual way of nourishment, through natural transmutation, so this bread is changed into the body of Christ. Yet nevertheless we grant that this comparison is generally taken. For we deny not, but that there is a sacramental change even in this sacrament. But and if thou shalt say, that thou wilt take this similitude according as it is brought: that so truly is the bread changed into the sacrament of the Eucharist, as in the meat and sustenance of Christ it was converted into his flesh while he lived here, there will follow an absurdity very repugnant unto thine own opinion: to wit, that the accidents of the signs must not be retained in this sacrament, because they were not there kept in the sustenance of Christ while he lived

here. Furthermore the same interpreter upon the 6th chapter of John writeth upon these words: He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him. He saith that this is done while he is after a sort transelemented and mingled with us. Where again thou seest that he, as do the rest of the Fathers, affirmeth so great a change of us into Christ, as he writeth that we be transelementated into him. And thus much of Theophilact.

55. Among the latter men, they allege Anselmus, Hugo, and Richardus, and the Victorines. Howbeit seeing in their time the opinion of transubstantiation was obtruded, they with their writings served the time. Neither ought the new invention of these men be prejudicial to the opinion of the most ancient Church and the opinion of the old Fathers. But among others, they seem to make great account of one: and that is of Johannes Damascenus, who in the 4th Book of the Catholic faith the 14th chapter wrote most amply of this matter. But I find that this man lived under Leo Isauricus Emperor of Greece. And between Gregorius Magnus Bishop of Rome, and this John there were well near a hundredth and twenty years. And when as now in the time of Gregory, many superstitions and inventions of men were heaped up in the Church, all things grew to be worse and worse. Wherefore it is no marvel that this Damascene inclined unto many superstitions and untruths. And of how great judgment he was as well in matters of doctrine as also in expounding the holy scriptures, we have a proof. For he marvelously favoreth Images, and for the defense of them entered into great dangers. And in this self-same fourth Book, he wrote a particular Chapter of that matter, wherein he not only willeth that they should be made, but also be worshipped and honored. Moreover he had in so great estimation the Relics of Saints departed, as upon them also he spent

a whole chapter wherein he feared not to call them the fountains of God's gifts. And he is bold to say, that we ought by faith to worship the Saints, which saying is intolerable, seeing faith is only due unto God and his word. He hath a Sermon of Purgatory, wherein he affirmeth, that Traianus the Emperor, and Idolater and persecutor of Martyrs, was delivered from the pains of hell, and that by the prayers of Gregory. And the Falconilla also an Idolatrous woman was by the prayers of a certain other man saved, when she had been now dead and detained in the pains of hell. And he bringeth in a fable of one Macarius, which talked with the skull of a dead man, of whom he heard, that in time of sacrifice of the Mass, the souls of the dead which are tormented in pains, are in more ease: and he sprinkleth all his Sermon with these fables. And the selfsame man when he writeth of the Resurrection, endeavoreth to prove the same in the book of Genesis: where we read that the Lord said to Noah: Thou shalt not eat flesh with the blood, for your lives will I require at the hands of beasts. He will require them (saith he) at the Resurrection, yet forsooth beasts do not die for man. It seems that he knew not the law made by God in Exodus, where he commandeth the Ox to be slain, which shall push with his horn and kill a man. And in the Chapter *De Virginitate*, he writeth: If Adam had not sinned, men had not been joined together in Matrimony for procreation sake: and because he seeth, that the sentence of God: Increase and multiply, is against him, he saith, that perhaps men might have multiplied by another part of the body. Among the school divines none would have spoken these words. The same man wresteth Basel: For when he perceiveth him to say that bread and wine be ἀντίτυπα, that is, patterns or examples of the body of Christ, he expoundeth him that he meaneth, before consecration. And this is most absurd. For before consecration they have no more in them than other

common meats. And if they should so signify the body and blood of Christ, they should be already sacraments before the uttering of the words of the Lord. Moreover in the Mass of the Greeks, they openly pray after consecration, that the bread may become the body and blood of Christ: And namely the case so standeth in the Mass of Basel, that those words be put after consecration. And in our Canon, if it be well considered, it is named bread after consecration.

56. But now must we see his Arguments. The first is taken from the power of God. For seeing he was able by his word to make heaven and earth to bring forth Plantes, Beasts, Birds, and Fishes; why may he not of bread make his own body? Which kind of Argument is most weak: neither is the disputation now as touching the power of God. For we deny not that God can turn bread into flesh, but the whole contention is, whether he will do it or no. Another of his Arguments is derived from the speech of Christ. For (saith he) it was not said of the Lord: This is a figure or sign of my body, but it is pronounced to be the Lord's own body. But unto this Argument we have before answered. And if this man when he denieth the sacrament to be a figure of the Lord's body, do mean this absolutely, he hath almost all the fathers against him, who in this place do acknowledge a figure. But if he understand it not to be a figure only, to wit, a frustrate or void sign, that also do we willingly grant. Albeit he mingleth certain words in his writings, whereby it may be perceived, that he meant not so grossly as he maketh semblance for. For he saith, that the bread of the communion is no simple bread, but it hath the Godhead joined with it. Which words we will willingly admit, for we say not that it is here common or simple bread, but it is now sanctified and turned into the nature of a sacrament. And it may be said that the Godhead is therefore joined unto it, because the holy Ghost

useth it as an instrument to our salvation. Further he maketh a comparison thereof with Baptism: wherein he saith that God hath used to condescend unto our custom and usual manners. And because men are wont to be washed with water, and anointed with oil, therefore God joined unto these things his grace and spirit in Baptism: Even so seeing the custom of men is to eat bread, and drink wine, unto those things he joined his Godhead. But if he had followed these transubstantiators, he would not have joined unto, but utterly extinguished the natures of bread and wine. And the nature of this comparison requireth, that even as the joining together of Baptism with the grace and holy Ghost doeth not repel or extinguish the nature of water, even so the matter of this sacrament doeth not destroy and cast away the being of the signs. He saith also, that God did so condescend to our custom, as that by things usual and agreeable to nature we may attain to that which is above nature. Wherein he toucheth our transmutation into Christ. But it must be marked that he saith the signs of the sacraments be according to nature: and those if thou appoint to be only accidents without a subject, or which have the body of Christ hidden under them, they be no more according to nature. In deed he useth words in which he saith that the nature of bread is changed, consumed, and become the body of Christ. Which words if they be understood as touching the change of the Sacrament, they do not make against us. And whereas he saith that these things do happen above nature, we grant. For it is no natural thing, that a Sacrament should be made of common bread, no more than the fountain of regeneration is naturally made of water. But and if thou demand of him the manner of this transmutation into the body of Christ, he saith also that it is not easy for us to express the manner how in natural nourishment, bread is changed into our flesh. But of this similitude, how it may be taken, we sufficiently entreated before when

we spake of Theophilact. If thou understand this similitude generally, and appliest it unto a Sacramental changing, it sufficeth: but if thou wilt have the comparison to be made specially of such a changing, as is of the sustenance in our body, when it is converted into flesh: then thou shalt not only make the nature of bread to give place, but the accidents.

57. He addeth that bread is made the body of Christ, and Wine and Water his blood, so nevertheless as they be not two but one. If he refer, One, unto the cup and bread, as if he should say that these be one Sacrament, we contend not much, because in this action, as in one sacrament, Christ even as sustenance is given unto us. Albeit in receiving both the parts of this Sacrament the Church feareth not to say in the plural number, that here be sacraments: And in the Collects of the mass, after communion thou readest oftentimes: The Sacraments which we have received, and the rest that followeth. But if they shall say: They be one, so that after consecration the bread and body of Christ should now be all one, and not two, by reason of Transubstantiation that is incident: we oppose the saying of Irenaeus, wherein he writeth that the Eucharist doeth consist of two things, namely of earthly and heavenly: Also Gelasius the Pope, who argueth from the conjunction of bread with the body of Christ, the natures remaining whole, that the human and divine nature in Christ are joined in one, both the one and the other remaining whole, and inviolate. He addeth moreover, that this Sacrament is not cast into the draught. And surly it cannot otherwise be spoken of the Transubstantiators: For seeing they appoint nothing in the Eucharist besides the accidents and the nature of Christ's body, none of these things belong to the draught. But against these things I object a most manifest place of Origen upon Matthew the 15th chapter, where he interpreteth these words: That which goeth into the mouth defileth not man.

And he saith, If it defile not, neither doeth it sanctify. But what shall we say of the bread of the Lord? Is it true that it neither sanctifieth nor yet defileth? He answereth: That if anything may seem to be impure, it doeth not defile us, unless it be through an evil conscience: Even so that which is seen and is called holy, unless that righteousness and integrity of life be with us, it doeth not sanctify. For if this had wherewithal of his own nature to sanctify, there had not been among the Corinthians so many weak and feeble, and so many that slept. Wherefore that which in the Lord's bread is material passeth through into the belly, and is cast into the draught. But whatsoever cometh by prayer and by the word of the Lord, profiteth the soul according to the measure of faith. Wherefore the matter is not profitable, but the word which is added doth profit the soul. And least thou shouldest think that he speaketh of any other meat, he briefly repeateth, and saith, These things are spoken concerning the mystical body of Christ. None will take exception hereunto, that Origen sometimes erred in doctrine, seeing Jerome, Epiphamus and the ancient fathers, which most diligently scanned his errors, never made mention that he judged ill of the Eucharist: This would they not have done if he had transgressed in so great a matter. And in the self-same place he most plainly added, that the wicked do not eat the body of Christ, because it is a quickening body, and he which eateth it dwelleth in him. Wherefore against this John Damascene being but a late writer and not very famous, let Origen be opposed, a most ancient Father and of great renown.

58. After these matters, that was objected the which Cyril in the name of the council of Ephesus wrote to Nestorius the Bishop of Constantinople. For then there was a disputation against him who affirmed the human person in Christ to be altogether several and distinct from the person of the

son of God, so as there should be no other manner of conjunction except it be of dignity. Against him is argued from the nature of Sacraments. If the flesh of Christ be so severed from the person God, it followeth that the same is no quickening flesh: and whereas we grant the flesh of Christ to be in the sacraments, we should eat the flesh of man, after a sort sanctified and excellent: but thereby we could not according to the promise, obtain everlasting life. This is the scope whereunto all those disputations tend. Those Fathers do not contend, neither go they about to prove, that in the bread lieth hidden the flesh of Christ, but they would have us to eat the same in a Sacrament, and that truly: and to eat such flesh as will give us eternal life. Which we deny not, so it be understood that the eating belong unto the soul and to faith. For we grant that in a sacrament the flesh of Christ is eaten spiritually but yet truly. Neither do we at any time fain such a flesh as is severed and divided from the divine person of the word. They object against us the Council of Rome or the Vercellentian, wherein Berengarius was condemned, and compelled to recant. As concerning which councils seeing their Acts are not extant, we cannot answer much: wherefore it shall be profitable to weigh the recantation itself prescribed unto Berengarius by Pope Nicholas in the Council: and thereby we may see of what credit this Council was, and how well in their wits they were which had the chief rule in the same. In the decrees *De Consecratione*, the second distinction in the chapter *Ego Berengarius*, his recantation is described wherein he was compelled to confess that the body of Christ is sensibly handled with the hands of the Priests, that it is broken and rent with the teeth, which things, how well they agree with the body of Christ already glorified, and unto that Sacrament, let every wise man judge. The Glosser upon the decrees, a man otherwise of gross understanding, could not choose

but see so great an absurdity. Wherefore he saith, that these things must be very advisedly and rightly understood, if not, thou shalt fall (saith he) into a greater error than that wherewith Berengarius was infected. For he saw that it was not convenient to be said, that the body of Christ is sensibly felt in the Sacrament, or that it is broken or rent with the teeth. And the master of the sentences in the 4th book would remedy this sore, and saith that these things must be attributed not to the body of Christ, but to the signs, which they affirm to be accidents. And so in that speech he appointed a figure, whereby that is attributed unto the thing which belongeth to the signs. Which figure if we use, and that in due time, in interpreting the sayings of the Fathers, while they speak magnifically of this sacrament unto the people, our adversaries exclaim that we corrupt and mar and falsify their writings: whereas here nevertheless they themselves fly unto the self-same Anchors, and they will have a figure where it ought least to be, namely in the declaring of an opinion and in framing a recantation, the which ought of all other things to be most clear and plain. So then we pass not of this council seeing they dealt there so blockishly.

59. They also object the Synod of Constance, wherein Wycliffe was condemned, and where John Hus, and Jerome of Prague were burned for sundry articles, but especially for that they held against Transubstantiation, which there by a full decree was ordained. Doubtless this council we cannot choose but call treacherous, seeing it found the means to slay those two men, which came thither under safe conduct. And this also the Emperor took grievously, for he among others had given his word, otherwise the Bohemians would never have suffered those men to go unto that Council. And for so much as they there decreed touching Transubstantiation, it is an Argument that the same is a new opinion. Neither is it of force which many

do say that it was there confirmed by a decree, but not first invented, because under Nicholas the Roman Bishop in the Vercellentian and Roman Synod, it was manifestly enough declared. We grant indeed that this opinion brake out after a sort and was obtruded before the Council of Constance: but because it was not fully received, and had everywhere many contradictions, therefore they judged it necessary to establish the same again, and that tyrannically, to wit, by fire and cruel threatening's. But against this Council we object the general and universal Council of Florence, held under Eugenius, Bishop of Rome the 4th of that name who was there present. And there was also present there the Emperor of Greece with the Patriarch of Constantinople, and many Bishops of the East part. In which Council the Greek Church was joined with the Latin, and they agreed together as touching the dissension that was about the holy Ghost. And we may see in the Acts of that Council, that after agreement was made between them of the East, and of the West about certain Articles, the Pope would have proceeded further, and have driven them to entreat of Transubstantiation, and to have received it according to the opinion of the West Church. There the Greeks resisted, and would not deal in that matter, neither could they by any reasons be driven to give their consent thereunto. And when writings of union were to be drawn and published, they in any wise provided, that no mention should be made of that matter. Which also was observed as appeareth in a Bull of Eugenius, which beginneth: Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad. Wherein he rejoiceth with Christendom, for this good hap that the Greek and the Latin Churches were once again joined together. Wherefore if this Transubstantiation had been of so great importance, the Roman Church would never have been joined with the Greek which did not receive the same. For at this day, they say, that it is

a pestilent heresy not to admit the same. But it is not credible that the Latin Church would then join itself with Heretics, and be partakers with them. And hereby also is the Argument dissolved, which they brought as touching the universal consent of the Church. For it is not true which they assume, that all Churches agreed together in this; for that ancient Church which was in the time of the Fathers, as we have showed, never dreamed of any such thing. Again, the Cast and Greek Churches were of the same judgment that we are.

60. Moreover unto their Arguments they add exceeding great praises of the power of God, that they may bring in men to believe so great a miracle. But it is a most feeble kind of reasoning. That which they ought to have showed, in truth they have never proved, namely that God's will is to do this, and that this the holy scriptures promise us. For that which they allege, This is my body, is in controversy, and may have another sense. Wherefore the Argument is made weak and by a certain example we will show the feebleness thereof. The Lord said to Nicodemus, That none can enter into the kingdom of heaven, unless he be born a new: He began to demand, How can a man of ripe age, or else an old man enter the second time into the womb of his mother? It might have been said unto him: Christ hath now affirmed that it shall so be, why doubtest thou of the power of God whereby all things be created? By it, thou mayest undoubtedly be born again out of thy mother's womb. Howbeit Christ said not so, but he declared, that all this should be done by spiritual regeneration. For albeit he made mention of water, which should belong unto baptism, yet he most plainly taught that we should be born again by the spirit. So we see it come to pass in this place. Christ commanded that we should eat his flesh. And in receiving of bread he said: This is my body. The transubstantiators say: It cannot be brought to

pass that the body of the Lord should be together with bread: wherefore it behooveth that the nature thereof should be transubstantiated into the body of Christ: and this will they persuade to be done by the power of God. But in the mean time they object, We alone say not so: For Chrysostom, Ambrose and Cyril, when they dispute of this change, send us to the power of God, and do extol the same with wonderful praises. But we answer, that the fathers speak well: For indeed it belongeth to the power of God to change bread and wine, that the Sacraments should be such as they were not before. Neither is it a work of nature that they should so mightily and effectually signify, offer and exhibit the body and blood of the Lord, which must be apprehended with our minds and faith. Wherefore the holy Ghost is the chiefest in this business, and the institution of the Lord is of great force, and the words being uttered by divine inspiration, and now repeated do profit very much. Add here withal, that while we communicate there is a change or conversion of us into Christ, which doth far exceed the power of nature. But now seeing the supernatural power of God may be required to all these things, they apply the same unto transubstantiation. And it is even as if we should argue from the more universal to the more particular affirmatively, which is not lawful. Moreover in baptism is required the selfsame power, seeing it is not the work of nature, that water should become the fountain of regeneration. But here some take it not in good part, that Baptism should in such wise be compared with the Eucharist. For albeit they cannot deny that Christ also is present in Baptism, and given unto us (for it is written: So many of you as are baptized have put on Christ) yet say they: Christ is better and after a more excellent manner in the Eucharist, than he is in Baptism: therefore the bread is transubstantiated, and it is not necessary that the water should be changed. Unto whom we answer, that we

need not strive much in which of the Sacraments Christ is more excellent, so it be granted that he is in the one and the other. And even as he may be in the one, the substance of the elements preserved, so may he be in the other. But if thou wilt in any wise contend about the worthiness of them, the excellency of baptism may be showed by effectual reasons. Insomuch as it is more to be begotten, than to be nourished. Furthermore, Baptism was made famous by many miracles. The heavens were opened, the voice of the father was heard, and the holy Ghost was seen in the likeness of a dove: the which happened not in the institution of the Eucharist. And these things we speak not to the abasing of this Sacrament. For it is most worthy, and should be exceedingly honored, but they be therefore uttered, that we may answer to the objection made as touching the power of God. And we have already showed before out of Augustine *De Trinitate*, the 3rd book and 10th Chapter, that so exceeding great miracles as these men bring must not be allowed. Which also appeareth, if thou rehearse the verses of Gregory Nazianzen, wherein he comprehended all the miracles of Christ: neither did he make any mention of these miracles, which nevertheless, if we believe them they be singular and without comparison. Augustine also, while he compriseth the marvels of the holy scripture, in a certain book of his entitled the book of miracles, he maketh mention of Transubstantiation. Wherefore it appeareth that we must not for this opinion bring in an Argument drawn from the power of God, which we deny not: yea rather we affirm that in this Sacrament there is need of it.

61. Next of all, they objected, that their opinion was confirmed by many wonders and miracles, the which be read in Cyprian, in the life of Gregory, and among many other writers. We answer hereunto, that about the Eucharist miracles might be done for three causes: either to keep back

wicked and unworthy men from so worthy a Sacrament: and this kind of miracles we allow. For the Apostle writeth that among the Corinthians many were feeble and weak, and that many were asleep because they communicated unworthily. And unto this order I think those men must be brought whereof Cyprian writeth. Another kind of miracles is sometime brought in to set forth the excellency of this Sacrament, that the dignity and greatness thereof might thereby be expressed. Which miracles also we reject not. For we know also that baptism was oftentimes adorned with many miracles. A third kind there may be for the confirming of this opinion or rather error concerning Transubstantiation. And after this manner the adversaries allege these things against us. But miracles of this sort must be utterly rejected. And hereof are we admonished by the law, that so often as a Prophet goeth about to draw men to idolatry and superstitions, although he get credit thereunto by working of miracles, we must not believe him, yea rather the Lord would have him to be stoned. We know moreover that Antichrist shall come, and that he shall be famous in signs and wonders. And we are not ignorant that in the time of Moses the sorcerers stood before Pharaoh which did wonders against the word of God. And we read in Irenaeus the 1st book of one Mark a deceiver and heretic, who in this sacrament of the Eucharist did wonderfully beguile the simple sort. For he changed the color of the wine, that it might altogether appear blood: and by his enchantment he so increased a little wine, as the whole cup was filled and run over. And when again there was a cup longer and of more receipt, that also was filled up to the top without addition of more liquor. Who would say that through these miracles, his heresy should be approved? If we shall make mention of Ethnics: we read that there flowed in the earth rivers of blood, that out of the thumb of Jupiter sprang blood. Titus Livius saith

that at Rome it rained flesh. Quintus Curtius saith, that at Tyre, when it was besieged by Alexander the Great, bread did openly sweat forth blood. And it is said that Apollonius Thyanaeus, when he was in the Council before Domitianus the Emperor suddenly vanished away, so that he was no more found. And infinite be the things that the Ethnics can bring for to confirm their service of Idols. Wherefore we wholly reject these miracles, which these men say do serve for establishing the superstition of transubstantiation. Neither are we to make great account of that which they bring in here as touching a miracle wrought by Gregory bishop of Rome. For it is written in his life, that the bread of the Lord, or if thou wilt call it the Sacrament of the Eucharist, was turned into a finger of flesh. Which if it were done for the two causes which we ourselves allow, we are not much to stand upon it. Albeit that life of Gregory is not of any great credit. For if we shall believe Vincentius, it was described a hundredth years after his death by John a Deacon of Rome, and sent to a certain Emperor of Germany. But admit it were so: so long as our adversaries would thereof conclude, that through the token of a fleshy finger, the flesh of Christ doth corporally lie hidden under accidents, any man might by this kind of miracles conclude that under Sacramental forms, are contained ashes and coals, because the holy bread was once converted into these in the time of Cyprian, as himself writeth. I think also that the legerdemain of naughty fellows which they have often times used to the feigning of miracles is not unknown.

62. In another Argument they very much obtruded the dignity of the glorified body of Christ which after the resurrection is called spiritual. This we deny dot: yet do we give warning of that which Augustine hath in an epistle to Consentius, that such a body is not so spiritual, as it passeth into the nature of a spirit. For Paul also calleth the body a certain natural body:

which must not so be understood as though the body passeth into the nature of the soul. And again the same father in his 13rd Book *De Civitate Dei*, the 20th chapter, writeth: The soul sometime while it obeyeth the flesh, is called carnal, not that it passeth into the nature of flesh: so likewise the body is called spiritual, not because it gathereth the nature of a spirit, but because it will be wholly subject to fulfill the will thereof. And Jerome in an Epistle unto Pamachius, which was an Apology against John Bishop of Jerusalem (who attributed unto the souls of them that rise again an elementary or airy body that should not be subject either to feeling or feeding) contended by all means that Christ after his resurrection had a most true body, and that doubtless visible. And he preventeth an objection: if in such sort it were visible and one self-same body, why was it not known when he showed himself like a stranger? He answereth: because their eyes were holden that they might not know him: as if he should say: that which belongeth unto the nature of a body both was visible, and might be known, but there was an impediment in their eyes which were holden that they could not discern. Seeing therefore Christ after his resurrection had a true body bound to measure and place, there is no cause why we should deprive it of these properties, and cast it into the narrow corners of a small piece of bread, as though it were wholly contained therein how great so ever it be. But if it be granted, that this also may be done by the power of God, can it straightway be concluded that it is done? The Argument as we showed before is weak. They also argued from the Greek Article, seeing Christ said, τοῦτο ἐστί τό σῶμα μου, This is my body: as though the Article can have strength to draw the proposition unto the proper sense, and permitteth not a figurative meaning. These men are deceived. For the Greek article hath not always that strength. And that appeareth plainly in the 8th chapter of the

Gospel of Luke, where Christ expounded that parable which he had uttered of the sower of the seed. And he saith, ὁ σπόρος ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ: that is, The seed is the word of God: where thou seest that unto the word of God is added the Greek article. Yet did not this speech work that the word of God is bound, as though it should properly, really, and corporally be in that seed which is thrown into the earth, whereof the parable was proposed at the beginning. But it is said to be contained therein by the power and property of the signification: after which manner we also understand it in the words of the Lord: when he saith: This is my body. For we say, that it is not pronounced of the bread of the Lord's body, unless it be by signification. Moreover there was an Argument taken of the promise of Christ, wherein he said: I will be with you until the end of the world. The which is no hindrance to our opinion. For we confess that Christ is present with us by his divine nature, by grace also and by many gifts, which his spirit bringeth unto us. Furthermore, if we desire his blood and flesh, we may also comprehend them in this Sacrament by faith, and may spiritually eat them, whereunto there afterward followeth a most true, yet a secrete and unspeakable conjunction of us with Christ when we be changed into him.

63. Then afterward it was proposed, that if the matter be on this wise, it will follow, that our Sacraments have no more than had the Sacraments of the old Law, seeing in them also Christ was signified: yea and perhaps, if we respect the nature of signs, the thing was more fully shadowed there than it is in our Sacraments, the which be altogether unbloody. But in the sacrifices of the old fathers, the slaughter was plainly seen, and the blood there shed did more plainly fashion out the Lord's death and place it before our eyes, than our bread and wine do. We answer that as touching the substance, our sacraments are the selfsame that the old fathers Sacraments

were, the selfsame thing is given in the one and the other, although the signs be diverse. And this did Paul testify in the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Yet nevertheless our Sacraments have many prerogatives above the Sacraments of the old law. For they be firm and are no more to be changed until the end of the world: and they show not the thing that is to be done, but the thing that is done already. They be plainer, and belong to a more ample and greater number of people. And seeing they be plainer, they stir up a greater faith, and thereby followeth a greater measure of the spirit. In that they be more plain, it proceedeth not as the adversaries fain unto themselves of a more manifest outward prefiguration, but of the nature of the words which be there uttered. For our redemption performed, is with more excellent and plain words declared, than the common people in the old Law understood it. But and if that the thing be more plainly expressed by words, an outward representation is not to be looked for. Besides this they wondered how it can be that the Church was so long in an error, and that no small error, if it be so as we say. Which nevertheless they would not marvel at, if they considered what Christ said of his last coming: Thinkest thou that when the son of man cometh, he shall find faith upon the earth? And it is showed, that so great the error shall be, that if it were possible the very elect should be seduced. I beseech you let these men tell us what manner of Church Christ did find at his first coming? Had not now the Scribes and Pharisees and also the Bishops corrupted and infected all things with their traditions? Yet are we not to think that the Church was utterly left in error. For there were always some good men who were displeased at these things, and which repugned against them. And as in the first coming, there were Simeon, Anna the widow, Joseph and Mary the virgin, Elizabeth, and John the Baptist, which were godly and of very good understanding:

and that the Church would not be said to be utterly forsaken, so likewise is it come to pass in these latter times. For the universal Church is not infected with these traditions of men. They say also that as touching the signification, this very thing may be done by bread and wine in banquets, and that therefore there is no cause that we should so greatly honor the Eucharist. But the Argument is most weak, seeing that in common meats, there is no institution of the Lord, no Sacrament, the words of the Lord not heard, neither is any promise there. Wherefore these things must not be compared together.

64. Lastly there was brought in an argument taken from the force and efficacy of the word of God, (which being spoken of Ambrose, Algerius citeth in the first Book the seventh Chapter.) It is called a working word, as when by the bread and wine which remain the self-same, are changed into another thing. As concerning the words of Ambrose, we willingly accept them. For we also affirm, that bread and wine remain the selfsame not in deed (as the transubstantiators say) as touching accidents or forms, so as there should be a change: (the substance being cast away) but we affirm, that they are preserved as touching their own proper natures, yet that the change is made only by a sacramental grace. And we derogate nothing from the strength of the Lord's words. Yet do we not think it meet to attribute unto them as to some enchantment, that after what manner soever, and in what place soever, they are by the priest pronounced over bread and wine with a mind to consecrate, they shall straightway obtain effect. For all wholly dependeth upon the institution of the Lord and the working of the holy spirit. We need not much to care for Algerius, for he was after the time of Berengarius, and of whose recantation he maketh mention in his writing. Further of what judgment he was, it appeareth by a certain argument of his.

For in the 21st chapter of the first book, minding to prove, that as well the godly as the wicked do receive the body of Christ in the sacrament, (which in deed followeth upon Transubstantiation) Hearken to a similitude (saith he) of the outward word, that is to say, of the speech that is done by the found. Unto whom soever such a speech cometh, it containeth and hath with it his own proper sense. But if it come to men of understanding, they hear with profit, for they perceive those things which he spoken: and if doubtless it shall come to the unlearned and ignorant, it no less carrieth the proper sense with it, but yet without profit to the hearer, because he understandeth it not. This man presumeth in his argument, that words carry a sense with them, yet doeth he not consider, that the sense is not included or foulded (as they say) really in the sound or form of speech of the letters, but by a signification only. The same if it be said unto him, as concerning bread and wine in the Sacraments, because they offer the body of Christ by signification, he shall be confuted by his own similitude. Whereby also it is proved, that the wicked do not receive the body of the Lord, like as the rude and ignorant, who, when they hear the Greek and Latin words, understand not the meaning thereof. Wherefore no man could have said more for us. The same Author affirmeth in the first Chapter of the second Book, that the accidents in the Sacrament do not in very deed admit corruption or horiness, but that it only seemeth so unto us: which the Schoolmen themselves would not have said. For what else is this, than to appoint a perpetual illusion of the sense? So we are not to pass much upon him, although he endeavor by all means to fortify his Transubstantiation.

65. Now have we made trial of the first opinion and that largely: for that being removed, very many superstitions are taken away. Of the other two we will not so largely dispute, because whether of the two is appointed, we

do not greatly pass, so it be soundly understood. Now we will only speak of them, to the end we may see what we shall judge in both to be avoided and what to be received. Wherefore some there have been, which retaining the substance of bread and wine, and also the body and blood of the Lord, have together with these signs yet remaining in their own nature, joined by a most firm knot, the body and blood of the Lord, yet not so, as I think, that of them being joined together, should be made one substance: nevertheless they have said, that the body and blood of Christ is in the bread and wine, really, (as they speak) corporally, and naturally: but others have joined them together by signification only. The first opinion is attributed unto Luther, the other unto Zwingli. Howbeit I have heard men of credit say, that Luther judged not so grossly of this matter: and that Zwingli also believed not so slenderly of the sacraments. And they say that Luther inclined unto hyperbolical speeches, such as after a sort exceed the truth, because he thought that Zwingli and others would make the sacraments to be bare and vain signs: whereas Zwingli meant no such matter. But he also feared, least Luther should affirm those things which both should derogate from the truth of the human nature, and also include the body of Christ in bread, whereupon a greater superstition should yet be nourished, and therefore he thought meet to report somewhat slenderly of this Sacrament: and thus there was stirred up a contention more than was meet, and was a cause of great mischief. Whereas yet in very deed the contention was rather about words than about the matter. Wherefore we will remove the handling of these two opinions from the persons: for we affirm not, that either Zwingli or Luther were of that mind, but only we will examine the opinions, such as are carried about.

66. That those men which so grossly join the body of Christ with the signs, may the better declare themselves, they are wont to bring two similitudes. The first is, if thou have a pot full of wine, and shalt pronounce, This is wine, thou liest not at all, seeing thou showest the wine itself contained in the Cup. In like manner shall it be if thou take a hot burning Iron, and showing the fire, sayest, This is fire, therein thou speakest neither falsely nor absurdly: so (say they) must be understood that saying of the Lord, This is my body: and they manifestly admit the figure Synecdoche. For seeing they show a subject compounded, it is no true proposition unless it be as touching the one part of the thing showed. Yet must it be known that these similitudes are not taken by them, as though they thought that every manner of way they agree with the matter proposed: because they contend that the body of Christ is present not locally, but only definitively, which then they understand to be when anything is not circumscribed with the measure of place, but yet is said to be there, because his nature or essence is then appointed to that place, or worketh therein. But this agreeth not with wine being in a cup: for that hath his place there wherein it is limited. Further these men would not say that the body of Christ is so in bread as it shall take name of the qualities or accidents thereof. For it cannot truly be named white, round, baked or sodden: which nevertheless we perceive to happen unto fire mixed with burning Iron. For it so followeth the fashion of the Iron, the length, the breadth, and the depth thereof, as it may be named by the shapes and forms of the same. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that this similitude in this opinion, is not understood by these men, as touching all the parts, but only that a true and real conjunction of the sacrament and the thing may be showed, which being granted, it followeth, that as well the wicked as the godly, do receive the body of Christ. First (forsooth) that this

conjunction is real, they think it is sufficiently proved by the words of the Lord. But the other, namely that the body of Christ is given even unto the wicked, they see it doeth necessarily follow. But we have already showed the contrary, to wit, that these words of Christ drive us not necessarily unto this sense, and by effectual reasons it hath been proved that the wicked receive only the outward elements.

67. These men also are wont to argue, that if the words of the scripture be understood figuratively, it may then easily be that many precepts should be overthrown. For Abraham might have said of circumcision when it was commanded: It is a figurative speech, and I shall fulfill this commandment, if I circumcise my heart, and cut off the lusts and infections of the flesh. Also when the choice of meats was commanded, the Israelites might have said, that the execution of that commandment might consist in the moral observation, if they did not commit those sins which were signified by those unclean beasts: and by that means neither circumcision nor choice of meats should have taken place. Howbeit it may plainly be proved that this is a weak argument, because it is perceived by the letter itself and by the text that the same is no figurative speech. As touching Circumcision, it is appointed to be the 8th day after the childes birth, and it is added, that the covenant of the Lord was to be borne in the flesh itself. By which words it appeareth, that true Circumcision was commanded. And in the choice of meats the conditions of the living creatures clean and unclean are so expressly described and a purifying appointed as touching the offenders, that no place of doubting is left. We have also a rule of Augustine *De Doctrina Christiana*, wherein he showeth, that unless an ill act be commanded, or some good work prohibited, the speech is to be taken without a figure: the which rule if it be applied to the choice of meats and

unto circumcision, he showeth, that the words of God must be absolutely understood. They say moreover, that in the Prophets and histories, figures are easily admitted, because in these the holy Ghost dealeth after the manner of men, and applieth himself to their familiar speeches, that he may the more and the more earnestly express those things which are to be spoken, but in doctrine and precepts we must not so judge: All things, (say they) must be taken simply, which opinion of theirs is not firm or universal. For as touching precepts, the Lord saith: Beware of the Leaven of the Pharisees, where he manifestly useth a figure, and that such a figure, as the Apostles in that place understood him amiss. Moreover in the 7th of Matthew he commanded that they should beware of false Prophets, for they will come unto you (saith he) in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they be ravening wolves. In which commandment who perceiveth not a figurative speech? And in teaching of doctrine there is no doubt, but figures and tropes are used. Paul saith in the New Testament: The rock was Christ: We be one bread. And of God it is written, that he is a consuming fire.

68. Afterward they affirm that the body of Christ may be everywhere, and that by the words of Christ to Nicodemus in the 3rd chapter of John where it is said: No man ascendeth into heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the son of man which is in heaven. Behold say they the son of man, that is Christ, spake unto them as touching his human nature, and was also in heaven, because the human nature cannot be plucked away from the divine: Therefore what he affirmeth of one, must also be spoken of the other. But it is answered that we will not divide these two natures one from another: yet it followeth not therefore that that which appertaineth to the one should be given unto the other. Indeed we grant that the divinity of Christ is everywhere, but we will not attribute the same unto his body and

humanity. And this did Augustine unto Dardanus most manifestly teach. And that which is brought out of the third Chapter of John, the same Augustine interpreteth, that it must be understood, that the son of man was in heaven as touching his divine nature. Neither did Chrysostom otherwise judge, when he expoundeth this place. For he affirmeth, that to be in heaven was not attributed unto the son of man but in respect of his divine nature. But how feeble an argument this is: These two natures are joined together, therefore that which is granted to the one, must be attributed also to the other. This may be showed by the like: The body of the son and the light thereof, have between them a natural and excellent conjunction: yet the light extendeth not itself to every place, whereunto the body doeth really attain. In like manner the body, our eyes and sight, are very much joined one with another, and yet doth our sight attain to many things unto which the eye of the body extendeth not. Afterward they argue that unto the body of Christ, many things must be granted besides the common course and conditions of other bodies: and that for two causes: partly because it is glorified, and partly because it hath the word joined with it. We confess that many things are to be given, but, to be everywhere, this cannot be fit for it, the nature of man's body preserved. And if we should grant this unto it, it were not to bring renown but ruin thereunto, for then it should be extruded from his own nature. Moreover it doeth not much further this matter, because although we should grant that the body of Christ hath this in it, that it can be in many places, yet would it not thereof follow that God would deal so in this sacrament.

69. Moreover they endeavor to prove this corporal presence, by the similitude of a teacher. Who seeing he can extend his words unto many hearers, in them he communicateth unto the hearers the concept of his

mind, so as all they understand him fully alike: So saith he doth God deal in the words which be uttered at the Sacrament. He fouldeth his body in them, that by them he may be showed in all these signs, and may be communicated unto all that be receivers. Wherefore that which is granted unto a master, and that an earthly master, why shall it not be granted unto Christ? But the comparison is far wide, and as we said before, words do not discover things or the concept of the mind, unless it be by way of signification. And that is to no purpose which afterward they go about to prove that the body of Christ is everywhere, out of the first chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians (where it is said: Christ is given to be the head of the body of the Church: which (as it is written in the Greek) is the fullness of him that filleth all in all things) For the Apostle meaneth not that the body of Christ filleth all things and is everywhere as these men infer. But because the signification of that verb or participle πληρουμένου fulfilling, is doubtful, (for it may be taken both actively and passively, seeing it is a verb of the mean voice) if thou understand it passively according to the Greek expositions, the sense shall be this: That Christ the head of the Church is filled as touching all things in all his members, not that he is accomplished in himself. For he is both sufficiently perfect and happy. Howbeit, that must be understood in respect of the body and members. For as to be the head is given unto him, so likewise the Church is understood to be the fullness of Christ: namely for that it filleth and maketh perfect his mystical body. But if the signification thereof be active, then shall it be said that Christ is the head, because he himself perfecteth all the gifts and virtues in all his members. Neither is the sense that he, as he is man, is everywhere. And it is thought that this may be proved by the Scriptures. For Christ openly confesseth that Lazarus was dead when he was not there. But if he will

contend, that he had not a glorified body, it maketh not much to the matter, because he had nevertheless the godhead joined with it. But to take away the doubt, the Angel now after the resurrection said unto the women: He is risen, he is not here. And again: He shall go before you into Galilee. And again, He was taken away from their eyes as he ascended into heaven. Wherefore he filleth not all things nor is everywhere.

70. They are wont also to cite a place in the 4th chapter to the Ephesians: He that descended is the very same that ascended even above all heavens, that he might fill all things. Which place notwithstanding proveth nothing, and is expounded two manner of ways. First that to fill all things is referred unto that which is prophesied and written of Christ. Wherefore a little before he cited the scripture: He ascended on high, he led captivity captive and gave gifts unto men. And if thou wilt refer it unto places, thou must understand this of the kinds of places, not of each one place particularly, according to that sentence, The Lord would have all men to be saved. So shall we say that Christ sometime occupied the middle places, sometime the higher places, and otherwhile the lower places, as in the sepulcher. The Transubstantiators say, that this belonged not unto them, because they say not that the body of Christ is everywhere, but only where the Sacrament is: yea rather it is against them. For if (as they judge) it be not repugnant to the body of Christ, to be at one time and together in twenty or fifty places, it will not be repugnant to be in an hundredth or in a thousand, and finally in all places: and so will they make the body of Christ to be infinite, neither is there any cause why thou shouldst accuse the form of the Argument. For the selfsame did Jerome use against John Bishop of Jerusalem, where he would prove that our bodies after resurrection, can remain without meat. For Elias (saith he) and Moses by the power of God could remain without meat for

the space of 40 days, therefore might man for more days also be sustained by the power of God. And if for longer time, it followeth that for evermore if it be the will of God. But to return to those men, they, because they see, that upon so near a conjunction it followeth, that the Sacrament may be adored (for if the Lord be corporally and really contained therein, who will not worship him?) they teach that it is free for thee to do it or not do it. For they say: although he be there, yet is he not there to the end he should be worshipped. If thou receive him and eat him, it is enough: if also thou worship him, thou errest not. But we rather judge, that in worshipping we should not convert our mind unto the signs. But if any man while the rite of the Sacrament is exercised, being well instructed in the mystery shall turn his mind to the worshipping of Christ reigning in heaven, he doth rightly, and his bounden duty to worship Christ, which declareth himself unto him: neither is idolatry committed therein. And this Paul taught in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, when he saith: If a man enter into your congregation, if he be unlearned and a plain man, and hear you all speak together in tongues, doubtless he will say: They be mad, neither shall he be edified: but if he shall hear you prophesy, and shall perceive that the secretes of his heart be opened, then will he fall down upon his face and worship God. He will not worship men in such wise prophesying, but seeing the Lord is there revealed unto him, he will turn himself to the worshipping of God.

71. The reasons in brief, for the which their gross judgment seemeth not to be true, are these, to wit, that this real and corporal presence bringeth therewith no utility, which we receive not as well by the spiritual presence. For in the 6th of John, the Lord promised to them that eat him, eternal life: further that he would dwell in them and they in him: over and besides these

things what is required? Moreover it might not be granted that we and the fathers of the old law had the selfsame Sacraments: because it was not possible that the old fathers could have obtained this real presence, for that the son of God had not as yet taken upon him human flesh. Further it would follow, that both the godly and the wicked do eat the body of Christ. Again, besides that spiritual eating which we have in the 6th of John, they bring in another carnal and corporal eating, which cannot be allowed, seeing this eating and that be all one, saving that in the latter are added signs, for the more confirmation of the thing. Finally it followeth, that when they attribute so much unto words, they are in the same difficulty wherein the Transubstantiators be when they say, This is my body. For they cannot express their meaning, that they may speak plainly without contradiction, what they would declare, and how the words while they be uttered may be true, if they admit not a figure. They spread abroad the body of Christ, that it may be together in many places, and everywhere. Neither is it of force if they say, Not locally, because although he be there, as Angels are said to be in a place, that is not fit for the creature as it is proved before by Didimus, Basel, Augustine unto Dardanus, and by Cyril: which places, thou shalt find at the end of the first disputation against Tresham: The words of the scripture drive us not to so gross and corporal a presence: and faith is of the word of God, wherefore faith ought not to embrace the same.

72. Besides this, the fathers teach otherwise, for what manner of body is in the Eucharist, Cyprian in his Sermon of the Lord's supper showeth, when he saith: Who unto this day createth, sanctifieth and blesseth his most true and holy body, and divideth it unto the godly receivers. The proper body of Christ is not created or sanctified of men, neither yet is it divided. Chrysostom upon Matthew the 5th chapter in the 11th Homily in the

unfinished work: If therefore it be so dangerous to transfer unto private uses these vessels sanctified wherein is not contained the true body of Christ, but a mystery of his body, &c. And how we must ascend into heaven when we communicate, if we would enjoy the body of Christ, the same father declareth upon the first Epistle to the Corinthians the 10th chapter, Homily 24. He commandeth us that with great concord and charity we come unto him, and being made Eagles in this life, we should fly unto the very heaven or rather above heaven. For where (saith he) the dead carcass is, there also the Eagles be. The carcass is the body of the Lord by reason of his death. For unless that he had fallen, we had not risen again. And he calleth us Eagles, to show that he which cometh unto this body must mount on high, and must have no community with the earth, and must not lay hold upon, or be drawn unto inferior things, but always fly aloft and look into the son of righteousness, and have a most ready eye of the mind: for this is a table of Eagles and not of Jays. Again the same father upon Matthew the 26th chapter, Homily 83. They were about to journey from Egypt into Palestine, and therefore they did wear the habit of a traveler: thou from the earth must ascend into heaven. And in the 3rd book *De Sacerdotio*: Doest thou think to dwell among mortal men, and to stay and be in the earth? And dost thou not rather think that thou shalt forthwith be translated into heaven? And in casting away all cogitation of the flesh, doest thou not with a single heart and pure mind consider those things that be in heaven?

73. Augustine unto Boniface hath all these things after the same order and sense. The time of Easter being at hand, he saith: As this or the next day save one Christ died, and on the Sunday: This day Christ rose again. Baptism is faith: and the Sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ. And we see that in all the sayings which we have reckoned, that

which is absent, is really pronounced of that which is present. The same Father upon the 54th Psalm: The head was in heaven: and he said, Why doest thou persecute me? We are with him in heaven by hope, he is with us in the earth by love. And in the 119th Epistle to Januarius: Wherefore to that persecutor whom with his voice he slew, and translating him into his body after a sort hath eaten, he sounded from heaven: Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? Upon John the 30th Treatise, and we have it in the Title *de Consecratione* distinction the 2nd, yet the first in deed, The Lord is above, but here also is the truth of the Lord: For the Lord's body wherein he rose again, ought to be in one place: his truth is everywhere spread. Also upon John the 50th Treatise: For according to his Majesty, according to his providence, according to this unspeakable and invisible grace is fulfilled that which was spoken by him: Behold I will be with you until the end of the world. But according to the flesh which the word took upon it, according to that which was born of the Virgin, according to that which was taken hold of by the Jews, which was fastened to the tree, which was taken down from the cross, which was wrapped in clothes, which was buried in the sepulcher, which was made manifest in the resurrection, Ye shall not always have me with you. Wherefore after he had been conversant as touching his bodily presence forty days with his Disciples, they leading him forth, while they saw him, but not followed him, he ascended into heaven, and is not here: for there he sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and is here: for he departed not with the presence of his Majesty: we have Christ always. As touching the presence of the flesh, it was rightly said unto the Disciples: Me ye shall not have always. For the Church had him but a few days as touching the presence of the flesh. Now it holdeth him by faith, it seeth him not with the eyes. And the same Father upon the Epistle of John

at the end: Wherefore our Lord Jesus Christ did for this cause ascend into heaven on the forty day, he in this respect commended his body, because it was to be left on the earth in his members, for that he saw that many would honor him for that he ascended into heaven, and perceived that their honoring is unprofitable, if they tread down his members upon the earth. And that none might be deceived, nor when he should worship the head in heaven, should oppress the feet upon the earth, he told them, where his members should be. For when he was about to ascend, he spake the last words, after these words he spake no more upon the earth. The head being about to ascend into heaven, commended his members upon the earth, and so departed. Thou shalt not now find Christ to speak upon the earth. Thou findest him to speak, howbeit in heaven, and out of heaven itself. Wherefore? Because the members were overtrodden upon the earth. For unto Paul the persecutor he said, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? I ascended into heaven, but I lie still upon the earth. Here I sit at the right hand of the father, there I still hunger, thirst, and am a stranger. After what sort then commended he his body upon the earth being about to ascend? When his disciples had demanded of him: Lord, if thou wilt at this time be presented, when wilt thou restore the kingdom of Israel? He answered upon his departure, It is not for you to know the time, which the father hath laid up in his own power: but ye shall receive the power of the holy spirit coming upon you, ye shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem. Behold in what respect he spreadeth out his body: behold, when he will not be trodden upon, ye shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem, and over all Jury and Samaria, and unto the ends of the earth. Behold I lie which do ascend: For I ascend because I am the head: my body yet still lieth. In what sort doth it lie? Over the whole earth.

74. Unto Augustine, Cyrillus doth consent, who saith upon John the 6th book and 14th Chapter: Here must we note, that although he took from hence the presence of his body, even as he promised that he would be away from his disciples, yet in the majesty of his Godhead he is always present. Behold I am with you always even until the end of the world. And the same father in the 9th book upon John the 21st chapter: And Christ said that he would be with his disciples a little while, not because he would utterly depart from them, for he is with us always even until the end of the world, but because he would not live together with them as he did before. For the time was now at hand, that he should go even into heaven unto the father: And the faithful ought to believe, that although he be absent from us, in body, yet that we and all things are governed by his power, and that he is always present with all men which love him. Therefore he said: Verily verily I say unto you, that wheresoever two or three be gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them. For even as when he was conversant upon the earth as man, he then also filled the heavens, and left not the fellowship of the Angels: after the same manner now he being in the heavens filleth not the earth with his flesh, and yet is with them that love him. And it must be observed that although he should be absent only according to the flesh (for he is always present by the power of the Godhead, as we have said) yet he said he would be a little while with his disciples, manifestly naming himself, that none should be so hardy as divide Christ into two sons. Among these comes Vigilius, which in the 1st book against Eutyches writeth: The son of God as concerning his humanity departed from us: as concerning his Godhead he saith unto us: Behold I am with you unto the end of the world. And straightway after: Because whom he left and from whom he departed with his humanity, he neither left nor

forsook them with his divinity. For according to the form of a servant, which he took from us into heaven, he is absent from us: according to the form of God wherewith he departeth not from us, he is present with us upon the earth: yet both present and absent he is one and the self-same to us. Also in the 4th book: If of the word and the flesh the nature be all one, how is it, that seeing the word is everywhere, the flesh also is not found everywhere? For when he was in the earth, he was not also in heaven, and now because he is in heaven, verily he is not upon the earth. And it importeth not much, that we should expect Christ to come out of heaven as touching the flesh itself, whom we believe to be with us upon the earth as concerning the word. Therefore as you will have it, either the word is contained in a place with his flesh, or the flesh with the word is everywhere: because one nature doth not receive a thing contrary or diverse in itself: But it is a thing diverse and far unlike, To be limited in a place, and to be everywhere. Forasmuch then as the word is everywhere, but the flesh thereof is not everywhere, it appeareth that one and the selfsame Christ is of both natures: That both he is everywhere according to his divine nature, and that according to the nature of his humanity he is contained in a place: that he is created, and that he hath no beginning: that he is subject unto death, and that he cannot die. And straightway he addeth: This is the Catholic faith and confession, which the Apostles have taught, the Martyrs have confirmed, and the faithful do to this day keep.

75. Moreover Fulgentius unto Trasimundus the King, the 2nd book: One and the self-same man, local of a man, which is God immensible of the father, one and the selfsame, according to human substance, absent out of heaven when he was in earth, and forsaking the earth when he ascended into heaven: but as touching the divine and immensible substance, neither

leaving heaven when he descended out of heaven, neither forsaking the earth when he ascended into heaven. And this appeareth certainly by the assured word of the Lord himself: who to show that his humanity was local, said unto his disciples, I ascend unto your father and my father, unto my God and to your God. Of Lazarus also, when he had said: Lazarus is dead, he added saying, I am glad because of you that ye may believe because I was not there. He showed undoubtedly the infinite greatness of his divinity unto his Apostles, saying: Behold I am with you even to the end of the world. How ascendeth he into heaven, but for that he is in a place as very man? Or how is he present with his faithful, saving because he is one immensible and very God? The same father in the 3rd book: The very same and inseparable Christ, as touching his flesh only, rose out of the sepulcher. The very same and inseparable Christ, according to the whole man which he received, forsaking the earth locally, ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God. According to the selfsame man, he shall come to judge the quick and the dead, and to crown the faithful and godly. Lastly Bernard upon the Canticles the 33rd Sermon: I also have the word, but in the flesh, and before me is set the truth, howbeit in a Sacrament. The Angel is fattened, but yet with the fatness of Corn, and is now filled with grain. In the meantime it behooveth me to be content, with the bark of the Sacrament, with the bran of the flesh, with the chaff of the letter, with the covering of faith. And these things be such as being tasted bring death, if they have not received some seasoning of the first fruits of the spirit. Death is altogether to me in the pot, unless it should be sweetened by the little meal of the Prophet. But certainly in how great abundance soever these things do wax fat, the book of the Sacrament and the fat of the wheat, faith and hope, memory and presence, eternity and time, the visage and a glass,

the Image of God and the form of a servant, are not received with like pleasantness. Verily in all these things, faith unto me is rich and the understanding poor. And is the savor of faith and understanding all one, when as this tendeth unto merit, and that unto reward? Thou seest that there is as much difference between the meats, as between the places. And even as the heavens are exalted from the earth, so are the inhabitants therein. Here thou plainly seest that Bernard maketh an Antithesis or contrary comparison between the remembrance and presence of a thing, and speaketh of many other things which serve much to that we have in hand. But let us return unto the adversaries: they have fathers to oppose against us. They have Irenaeus who saith that the Eucharist consisteth of two things: the one earthly, and the other heavenly, the which also Gelasius supposeth. Howbeit these things conclude not unless thou shalt understand the whole Sacrament, so that thou make it one thing consisting of the sign and the thing signified, then we grant that it standeth of two parts. But if afterward thou wouldest appoint so great a conjunction between the bread and the body of Christ as is between the divine and human natures in Christ, that should in no wise be granted, because it were necessary that of bread and of the body of Christ, should be made one substance, that is one subject, so as they might never be sundered one from another, the which is most absurd. Out of the other fathers they object in a manner the very same which the Transubstantiators cited before.

76. Now let us see, what they which embrace the third opinion say against these men. First they admit not that same scattering of the body of Christ, so as it can be everywhere, because it is against the property of man’s nature. And Augustine unto Dardanus doth most plainly write otherwise. Furthermore they contend that the eating set forth in the 6th of John and this

last eating is altogether one, saving that in this are added signs. And that they prove by this Argument, that John when he made mention of his eating at the end of the Gospel, spake not of the institution of the Sacrament as do the other Evangelists: For that he had sufficiently taught before. And the Sum of doctrine which they omitted, John in the 6th chapter fulfilled. And there is not therefore any cause (say they) why any man should say, that the communion is therefore superfluous, because in often communicating we celebrate the memory of the Lord: and thanks giving, and the mind is stirred up with a likeness of those things which be represented. Neither are they dumb, but speaking signs which be there. Further a certain privy token is there, whereby the Christians do make themselves to be joined one with another, and with Christ. Moreover they profess their faith as touching the body of Christ nailed upon the Cross, and his blood shed for our salvation. For it is not enough to believe with the heart, but confession also must be with the mouth: and not only with the mouth, but with outward actions. Neither do they admit it (as these men say) that the wicked also do receive the body of Christ. For sense and reason attain not unto it. Wherefore it remaineth that he be received by faith, whereof they being destitute, can have nothing but the signs. And Paul writeth: He that shall eat the bread unworthily, and saith not: He that eateth the body unworthily.

77. Furthermore they wonder at them which follow the contrary opinion, that unto that corporal eating of Christ they attribute remission of sins: for so much as this is to admit *Opus operatum*, that is merit, in respect of the very act of working. Neither is remission of sins had otherwise than by faith. Afterward they stick unto the saying of Paul, when the Lord commandeth this to be done in the remembrance of him, and that his death should be showed: which words seem unto them to declare the absence of

the body of Christ. But I have elsewhere showed, that this argument is not very firm, unless they mean as touching the body of Christ really and corporally and naturally to be present. Otherwise when it is received by faith, it is not understood to be altogether absent, although he remain in heaven as touching his nature and substance. For he is spiritually eaten, and is truly joined with us. Moreover they cite the fathers, which do plainly pronounce, that the type, the sign and the figure here is the body of Christ. And they bring in two similitudes. One is of a friend, whose friend being absent bodily, is said to be present when he thinketh of him. The other they appoint to be of looking-glasses which be about one, and the selfsame man, whose face and countenance is multiplied throughout all the glasses, although he be not moved out of his place. Similitudes I grant these be, but yet over could to agree with this mystery. For a friend being comprehended in the cogitation, and conversant in the mind, changeth not him that thinketh upon him: he nourisheth not his mind, neither yet doth he restore his flesh whereby it might be capable of the resurrection. And this similitude of the glasses, is a very slender shadow, neither must it be compared to that conjunction which we have with Christ. For the presence that we confess of the spirit of Christ hath the power of the holy Ghost joined therewith, which most nearly coupleth us unto him. But yet the foresaid similitudes are not utterly to be refused seeing they may after a sort lead us to the truth of the matter, so that they make not the things equal. For they show how this receiving may be with faith and with the mind. But they have made mention of two conjunctions with Christ: One is, that by faith we apprehend his body was nailed to the cross, and his blood shed for our salvation. Another is, that the son of God himself took our very nature upon him. And so is there a natural conjunction between us and Christ, whereof

there is mention in the 2nd chapter to the Hebrews. But there is a certain third conjunction, which we enter into with Christ in eating of him spiritually, whereof they do not many times speak, although they pass it not over altogether in silence. But as touching that, we will entreat a little after. Now if these men be demanded, whether Christ be present at the supper of the Lord, they answer that he is present. Howbeit this they speak by the figure Synecdoche, because the one part of Christ that is his Godhead, is truly present. Otherwise in expounding the sentence of the Lord: This is my body, they use the figure *Metonymia*, to wit, the name of the sign for the thing signified. And they grant that Christ himself after that sort is present: as the Son which keepeth itself within his own circle, and yet nevertheless is said to be present with the world, and to govern the same with his motion and light. But how thoroughly faith may make a thing to be present, they think that they declared out of the Epistle to the Galatians, where Paul said that Christ was described before their eyes and crucified among them.

78. Now remaineth that we show our judgment among these opinions, what must be avoided, and what must be received. Not that I am minded to reprove either Luther or Zwingli being singular and very excellent men. For as touching Zwingli, I certainly know, that in his books he affirmeth the signs in this sacrament, not to be vain or frustrate signs, as we before declared. And it hath also been reported unto me, by all them which have had conference with Luther, that he in very deed, between the body of Christ and the signs, put no other but a sacramental conjunction. But how the contention is grown and set on fire between them, it is no time now to rehearse. Now then setting these men aside, which are never sufficiently praised, we will entreat of the opinions, as they are set down and urged on both parts. Wherefore in the first opinion, I allow not that gross knitting

together of the body of Christ with bread, so as it should be naturally, corporally, and really comprehended therein. For the holy Scripture driveth us not thus to affirm. And to multiply and increase so many miracles without the testimony thereof, is not to deal like a divine. And further such a presence is not necessary, and is of no moment to our salvation. Again that the wicked receive the body of Christ I allow not. For whatsoever the Lord instituted, that did he that it might be for our health. But a fleshly and corporal eating helpeth not the salvation of the wicked. Therefore Christ appointed no such eating. And whatsoever the wicked do eat corporally, it ought not to be said, that they eat the body of Christ, unless unto the sign and seal thou wilt attribute the name of the thing. Further we will not grant that the body of Christ is everywhere, or that it is spread over all or many places, because this is against the human nature. Neither must we in like manner judge that there is a difference between the spiritual eating which is in the 6th chapter of John, and that which the Lord instituted in the last supper, saving unto that doctrine and promise which he had first taught, he added a Seal. That also which they speak doubtfully of adoration, must not be admitted. For we taught before and that plainly and manifestly what we must judge of that matter. And thus much as concerning this opinion. From the which I think good, that those things be taken away which I have now recited.

79. And in the other it liketh me not, that they seldom make mention of a sacramental changing of the bread and wine, which nevertheless is no light matter. And the Fathers, wheresoever they seem to favor transubstantiation, have a respect unto the same. And the holy Scriptures contemned it not. For Paul even in the very handling of the Sacrament, nameth not simply, The Cup: but The Cup of the Lord. Further we see in the Old Testament that

things which were offered, are not only called holy, but holy of holy, that is in the Hebrew phrase, most holy. Wherefore there is no cause why they should say that this change is of light importance, seeing it is of great moment. But if they pretend that they do this, because we should not cleave over much to signs: we answer, that a remedy may easily be had for this evil through the doctrine whereby men are taught, that Christ while we communicate, is joined unto us with an excellent conjunction, as he that dwelleth in us and we in him: who also in the next degree is joined with words, and that by signification: Thirdly also he is coupled by signs and also by signification: which conjunction notwithstanding is less than that which belongeth unto words. Yea and of the former, to wit, the conjunction by the words, the signs do take their sacramental signification. If these things be rightly taught, there will be no danger. I grant that the writers of this opinion have sometimes entreated of this sacramental changing, yet but seldom.

80. Furthermore they have not always applied thereunto that efficacy which is due unto it: for these are not made common signs, but such as may mightily and effectually stir up the mind. They will say, that this will be to attribute overmuch to the elements of this world. We answer that these things are not attributed unto those elements for themselves sake, but because of the institution of the Lord, the power of the holy Ghost and plainness of the words. If they shall demand: how may I know that the holy Ghost worketh here? It may be easily answered, because it is already ordained that this is a spiritual eating. But how shall we eat spiritually without the holy Ghost? As touching the institution of the Lord, there is no doubt: and of the efficacy of the word, the scriptures speak everywhere. Paul saith, That the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation: namely that

God will declare his power by this instrument: and what else is the Eucharist, then the Gospel or visible word? Also Paul saith, That faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God: not that the word maketh us to believe, for it is the spirit by whom we believe: but he useth the instrument of words and also of sacraments which be the sensible words of God. For who knoweth not that the creatures are sanctified by the word of God as it is in the Epistle to Timothy? Which also must be rightly understood. For it is the holy Ghost which in very deed doth sanctify. Howbeit he doeth this by the instrument both of the word and sacraments. Wherefore this changing must not be taken from bread and wine, whereby they are made effectual signs of the body and blood of Christ: that is, by the which the spirit of the Lord worketh mightily and not meanly in us, so that we be endued with faith and godliness. For we speak not here of an efficacy which may bind our salvation to the things of this world. Neither let any man here cry out that seeing this receiving is had by faith, what shall the communicants gain; because if they be faithful, they have Christ already joined unto them? It may be easily answered: In deed he is joined unto them, but he is every day more nearly joined unto us, and while we communicate he is more and more united unto us. Moreover this cometh to pass, that we should satisfy the commandment of the Lord, who commanded that we should eat and drink this Sacrament. Otherwise thou wilt say the very selfsame of Baptism. For when as a man believeth he is straightway justified, and hath remission of sins, and yet is he not in vain baptized. But if so be thou wilt demand whether this efficacy of the Eucharist is towards all men alike, I answer, No: but according to the state and measure of the faith of the communicants. Even as Origen said upon the 15th chapter of Matthew: namely, that the matter of this Sacrament profiteth not but by the word and

by obsecration, it may help our minds, according to the quantity and proportion of faith.

81. Another thing there is besides that I would often put these men in remembrance of, that we, by the Communion are incorporated unto Christ. Which word is not new, but is in Paul to the Ephesians, who saith that the Gentiles are made Coheirs and of the same body, which in Greek is called σύσσωμα. For although we affirm that the apprehension or holding fast of the body of Christ is done by faith, yet upon this fast holding followeth an effect, even a true conjunction with Christ, not a feigned or imagined: the which first belongeth unto the soul, secondly it redoundeth to the body. And the same in the holy scriptures is commended to us by Paul under a metaphor of the head and body, when he calleth us members of one and the selfsame body under Christ the head; and under the state of Marriage, wherein two are made one flesh. The which, that Cyril might express, he brought in a similitude of molten wax, which is mingled with other wax, and so of two is made one: Thus would he have us to be joined with Christ. And to this purpose specially, make the words unto the Ephesians, wherein we are said to be flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones: which words if thou look upon at the first view will appear that it ought otherwise to be said: to wit that the son of God is of our flesh, and of our bones, because he assumed flesh of mankind. Howbeit Paul understood not, mere flesh, but flesh clean from sin, capable of resurrection and immortality. The which seeing the faithful have not of themselves, neither drew it from Adam, they claim it unto them by Christ, because they be incorporated unto him by the sacraments and by faith. Wherefore there happeneth a certain entrance of Christ, into us, and a spiritual touching: the which Paul weighed, when he said unto the Galatians, But now it is not I that live, but Christ liveth in me.

Neither is there any need in these respects to draw Christ out of heaven or to disperse his body into infinite places, forsomuch as all this that we teach is spiritual: and yet notwithstanding no feigned thing: for imagined sights, Idols, or feigned things do not nourish the mind, as here we be certain that it is done. For we have said, and we confirm it, that these signs do both signify, and offer, and most truly exhibit the body of Christ, although spiritually, that is, to be eaten with the mind, not with the mouth of the body. But if thou shalt demand, after what manner the Fathers of the old Law in their Sacraments could have the same that we have: it is easy to be answered, seeing we have affirmed that in this Sacrament the thing is used spiritually, not corporally. And in the Apocalypse we read, That the Lamb was slain from the beginning of the world. They waited for things to come, we celebrate the memory of them already done. Lastly we have showed that great heed must be taken least that which we speak of spiritual eating be understood as though it destroyed the truth of his presence. For Augustine said upon the 54th Psalm, that the body of the Lord, is in a certain place in heaven, but that the truth of the Lord's body is everywhere. For wheresoever the faithful be, they apprehend that Christ had a true body given for us, and so they do eat him by faith.

82. Wherefore I have now spoken in this sacramental matter that which in my judgment ought to be affirmed, being according to the Scriptures, which I would the godly reader would well consider and take in good part. And God of his goodness grant that at the length the Church of Christ may obtain both truth and quietness as touching this sacrament. Which two things I therefore wish because hitherto I see that the Eucharist whereof we entreat hath been so overwhelmed, buried and defaced with lies, crafty devises and superstitions, as it might rather be judged any other thing than

that which the Lord instituted in the supper. The which least it should easily be cleansed, the Devil which is the most grievous enemy of all peace and truth, hath sown so many opinions, contentions, disagreements, heresies, and controversies, (saving that they be without blood) that scarcely any consent worthy of Christians can in man's reason be hoped for. But these things (alas) we suffer not without cause, who have done double injury unto this Sacrament, partly for that instead of a notable and singular gift of Christ, we have erected an execrable Idol, and partly because we have without sincerity of faith, with a conscience defiled with grievous sins, and without sufficient trial of ourselves abused these most holy mysteries. I beseech the Lord to take pity of so great a calamity, and vouchsafe at length to restore unto his Church a reformed Eucharist, and the right use of the same: through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

CHAP. X. B. A short abridgement of the disputation which D. P. Martyr made as concerning the Eucharist against Gardener, Bishop of Winchester.

The matter of the Eucharist according as the Lord delivered the same unto us, is both plain and easy to be known: which, if it were handled according to the judgment and sense of the holy scriptures, and that there were a consideration had of the human nature of Christ, and of the received definition of the Sacrament, there should be no great pains taken either in the understanding or handling of the fame. Howbeit by reason of the contention and importunity of the adversaries, it is become more intricate than any blind labyrinth, and it is come in a manner to pass, that through contention we have well near forgone the truth: for they, rather than they would give place to the right and best opinion: yea that they may by all manner of means defend their monstrous devises rather than the truth, they have used all kind of counterfeiting cavillations and deceivable ways. Whereupon when I of late days was diligent to encounter with the huge army of their cavils and sophistical Arguments, and should answer the same with as much diligence as I could, the volume grew in a manner to an exceeding greatness. Fearing therefore least godly men when they come to

take my book in hand, being overmuch tired with long reading, should return as uncertain as before (for seeing the reasons on both sides, and those sometimes but lately and newly devised, it is not possible but those which be the later should obscure the memory of those that went before, or in a manner make them to be quite forgotten) I minded straightway to set the matter before men's eyes in a certain abridgement or resolution, which the Grecians call ἀνάλυσιν, that those which shall read my writings, or be minded to read them, or have already read them, may have present and at their hand certain special notes no less plain than brief, whereunto they may easily refer as well the Arguments as the answers of the disputation. And this (if I be not deceived) will in such disputations be no less help unto the readers than an assured sight of the load star is unto the Mariners when they be tossed to and from the deep Sea. Which therefore being done of me with a good and faithful mind, I would have all good and godly men to take in good part, and most diligently consider the method so devised by me, and then courteously to give their judgment according to the word of God. But I will make no longer preface, since an abridgement requires as much shortness as is possible.

That the words of the Supper are to be understood figuratively.

First undoubtedly in the Sacrament of the Eucharist we affirm that the bread and the wine (which the holy scriptures, the fathers, and the sense itself do testify to be there present) be signs of the body and blood of the Lord: verily not profane or vulgar signs, but such as were wont to be assigned in other mysteries.

Contrariwise our adversaries affirm those signs to be properly and truly the body and blood of Christ. We demand how they know them so to be. Because (say they) Christ said, This is my body. But we interpret the saying

of our savior by that form of speech or kind of figure, whereby chiefly in Sacraments, signs are wont to be called by the names of the things signified.

This opinion of ours do they withstand, and say that the words of Christ are not figurative, but altogether proper and simple.

I. It is objected by us, that there is no certain Argument to be gathered out of the history of the Gospel, to prove that those words must be absolutely understood. For the supper of the Lord is plainly set down by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul. In which places are perceived many figures. The cup is called the New Testament: and yet is not the cup itself nor the liquor contained therein the very New Testament in deed.

II. Those which receive unworthily are affirmed to eat and drink judgment unto themselves: and yet cannot judgment be properly either eaten or drunken.

III. Far is it from the body of the Lord to be truly eaten, for it is altogether a wicked thing that he should be broken, ground with the teeth, and dissolved.

IV. Our Savior said when he sat down at the same board, that he earnestly desired to eat the Passover with his disciples: but every man knoweth that Pesach itself, that is to say, the Passover of the Lord, was not wont to be eaten in that solemnity, but the Lamb.

V. So often (saith Paul) in the 1st to the Corin. the 11th as ye shall drink of this cup. Do we drink the cup or not rather that which is poured into the cup? Wherefore Paul spake in the most usual kind of figure. Seeing then in declaring the Supper of the Lord, the Penmen of the holy spirit, have used many figurative speeches: what doth now let but that the saying This is my body, which we entreat of, was spoken of them figuratively?

VI. I omit many other sentences of the holy scriptures, which evidently appear to be expounded by figures of all such as judge godly: for if I would reckon them up, I should now make no abridgement, but a large book: Therefore when we thus interpret this sentence of ours, we bring in no new thing or that which is repugnant to the Scriptures.

VII. That the words which are written in Paul and Luke as concerning the cup are spoken figuratively, as we have already taught, what attentive reader seeth not that it cannot be justly denied? Wherefore those things that Matthew and Mark wrote of that matter, must be understood figuratively, unless any will deny that the former sayings must be expounded by the later: but that Paul and Luke wrote after Matthew and Mark, no man doubteth.

VIII. Howbeit neither can that which Matthew and Mark teach as concerning the blood, be understood simply as it is spoken. Thus do they write τοῦτο ἐστί τό αἷμα μου. And now what else can this pronoun τοῦτο signify but the cup? For it is specified that Christ both took the same in his hands, and delivered it to his Apostles. Neither do Luke and Paul affirm any other thing when they write that Christ said: This cup is the New Testament: But who dare teach that the cup is properly the blood? Wherefore let the words of Matthew and Mark be rightly weighed on the one part, and the words of Luke and Paul on the other, and then let them deny if they can that there is a figure.

IX. The adversaries themselves, although they be very desirous rather to follow their own opinion than the truth, cannot interpret the words of the Lord without the help of a figure. And I show that in the Sacrament of the Eucharist it is not lawful for them to pronounce of it, This is my body. Let them be ashamed therefore to blame us for the which they themselves may

justly and of due desert be accused. Moreover the very definition of a sacrament, that it is the sign of a holy thing, and a visible form of invisible grace doth most of all defend our opinion. For by that common received definition it is brought to pass that those things which be seen in the Eucharist be signs of the body and blood of the Lord, unless we will blot the Eucharist itself out of the number of the Sacraments.

X. Neither can the forms of speaking which the holy scripture useth, be otherwise expounded, since by the visible part of the sacrament he pronounceth the thing it self which is signified. For how should Circumcision be called, The covenant of the Lord, unless we will say that the same is a sign thereof? Of this opinion is Paul the Author, who calleth Circumcision σφραγίδα, that is a sign or seal of the righteousness obtained by faith. Baptism is also called The washing of the new birth: and in the Old Testament, The Lamb is called the Passover, as we have already declared.

XI. Herewith all agree the Fathers, who in express words teach that Christ gave a sign of his body, That he gave a figure, That he represented his own body, That the things which are seen be figures and patterns of the body and blood of the Lord. Cyprian, Cyril, Augustine, Gelasius, and Theodoretus, do most manifestly teach, that these signs are called by the names of the things which they signify. Since therefore in the delivery of this sacrament the holy Scriptures do admit figures, and the very nature of a Sacrament requires the same, and that the Fathers do most manifestly receive them, shall we be blamed for using a figurative interpretation in expounding the words of the Lord? These reasons alleged, have prevailed so greatly with some of our adversaries, (such force hath the truth) as they grant that those things which be offered to the senses, namely the bread and wine, be signs of the body and blood of Christ, but yet in such sort, as they have present in

them the things that be signified: but this is showed by many reasons to be most far from the truth.

That the figurative speech of Christ's words require no real or substantial presence of his body and blood.

I. First the Scriptures of God do teach, that Christ as touching his human nature is gone from hence, they declare his ascension into heaven, as it is set forth in the Articles of the faith. They assure us that Christ said: that we shall not always have him with us, but that heaven shall contain him until the latter day: and that he shall from thence come at the length to judge the quick and the dead.

II. Again it is not agreeable for a human body to be in many places at one time. Neither yet can it be granted that it is present in the world without place: for these things are altogether repugnant with the definition of a human body, unless we will take away a very true body from Christ. We must beware that we affirm not the same to be scattered or present in many places at once.

III. Neither hath the essence (as I may say) of the Angels which are without bodies, such a property as it can be in many places at one time.

IV. Yea and to say the truth, it might not be eschewed, but that even the very nature of God, if it were bodily, should admit both division and limitation. Since therefore that these things be on this wise, even as the fathers do most fully testify, it is altogether proved, that the body of Christ is subject to these properties and qualities.

V. Neither doeth the very nature of sacraments require that they should have the things signified either to be joined unto themselves or to contain them in themselves. But was the covenant of God included in the Circumcision? Truly the covenant was past, and it was already made with

the Fathers, before that Circumcision was commanded to Abraham: and, if any of that covenant remained, that was wholly kept in the mind of God, and of faithful men: but in the flesh was borne not the covenant itself but the sign thereof commanded by God. Again the paschal Lamb did not verily include in itself the Passover of the Lord. Also what man in his right mind would say that the flesh and blood of the Lord were included either in the water of the desert or in the Manna: and that in the water of the Baptism the spirit and grace are invisibly hidden? But and if in other Sacraments it be not given, and that of their own nature, that they should have the things present either to be cleaving to them or to be included in them: neither are we otherwise to determine as concerning the Eucharist, if the nature or property thereof ought to appear unto us to be the self-same with other sacraments, especially since the word of God hath spoken nothing at all of the matter which we have now in hand.

VI. Moreover since that Paul in the first to the Corinthians writeth that the old fathers did eat the same spiritual meat with us, and drank the same spiritual drink: and yet had they not present with them the flesh and blood of Christ, since as yet they were not extant: and since these men affirm these things to be present in the Eucharist, undoubtedly it followeth that against the saying of Paul, the old Fathers and we had not all the selfsame Sacraments. In signs they do not agree: for they had Manna and water, but we bread and wine. In the things signified they be also diverse: for they by faith received the things signified being absent, as those which were afterward to come: but these men say that they receive the things present together with the signs. Verily there can be imagined no greater difference in these Sacraments, than is to disagree as well in the signs, as in the things signified. And therefore let us rather say with Paul that the sacraments of

the old Fathers, in the things signified are the selfsame that ours be, although that their signs be diverse, and that they are received both of us and them all after one manner, namely by faith. For they by faith received the flesh and blood of Christ which were to be given for our salvation, and we by faith and the spirit do embrace them as already given.

VII. Also if our adversaries opinion should be admitted, it might not be avoided, but that as well the wicked as the godly should eat and drink the flesh and blood of the Lord. But this doeth Christ the Author of the sacraments manifestly refute in the 6th of John, where he saith that his flesh and blood is eaten and drunken by faith. See then (I pray you) that when the wicked are destitute of faith, and be strangers from Christ, what communion have they with the flesh and blood of Christ? Doubtless they have only the signs to be received, and that to their own condemnation: for neither is Christ in them, neither do they abide in Christ.

VIII. They are to be demanded also which affirm that the blood of the Lord is present in this sacrament, for what cause or under what color they dare name that their sacrifice an unbloody sacrifice as they term it. Surely if they will have the blood of the Lord flowing from the Lord's side to be received in their Cup as Chrysostom said, by an excessive kind of speech, let them endeavor the same as much as they will, as they know and as they can: yet shall they never bring to pass but that they must needs drink bloody drink.

IX. Truly such is the nature of things repugnant as they can never be affirmed both at once, that is, at the self-same time of one and the self-same sacrament. Wherefore the body of Christ cannot be together and at one time both above and beneath, visible and invisible, one and many, mortal and immortal, broken and whole. This reason have not we feigned to ourselves,

but we have taken it from Christ, from the Angels, from the Apostles, from the fathers, and from nature itself. For all these do testify that this cannot be all at once. Moreover it were too long to rehearse in how many places and writings of the fathers they have affirmed this absence of the Lord according to the flesh.

X. As though forsooth this presence of the flesh and blood of the Lord, boasted of and defended by these men in the Eucharist, can, while the same is performed, bring any other profit than we have by a spiritual receiving, which (as we have said) is performed by faith and by the mind.

XI. This finally we demand of our adversaries, whether they judge that there is the body of the Lord in the bread without blood, and whether there is blood in the wine without the body? If they say, there is, they divide the human nature by the two parts of the mystery, which cannot be committed without impiety, since the blood and body and human nature of Christ are united by a perpetual conjunction. But if they will say that these things be together, and will feign those strange Concomitancy's of theirs, this at the leastwise they cannot escape but that they shall double the body of Christ, to wit, wholly under the wine, and wholly under the bread, appointing the same (as they will have it) under their Accidents.

XII. Lastly there happeneth unto the words of Christ less than is pronounced by them in the parts of the Sacrament, since they affirm the bread to be the body alone, and the wine to be the blood alone.

These be the principal and chief points which are contained in my book of confession against Gardener, as far as concern the Arguments and confirmations of our part. And now this remaineth, that I lay before the courteous reader some sayings, as it were certain sentences, out of the which not only all our Arguments in a manner are drawn, but whereby also

the reasons of our adversaries may easily be confuted. And so all this disputation will become both plain and easy.

Sayings or sentences out of which &c.

I. Christ in the holy supper called the very bread, his body, and the very wine his blood: whereupon it cometh that they cannot understand his words This is my body simply and without a figure, since neither the bread nor the wine can properly and truly be the body and blood of Christ.

II. These words This is my body, and This is my blood be figurative forms of speech, whereby God pronounced of the outward signs the things which are signified.

III. To eat the flesh or the body of the Lord, and to drink his blood, is to believe that these things were given for us as a price of our redemption, and that unto these are joined those things which for our sakes were taken away upon the cross.

IV. The human nature of Christ from his ascension into heaven until his last coming when he shall judge the world, is nowhere else but in heaven.

V. In the faithful receiving of the Eucharist, we are not only in soul or mind through faith joined to the body and blood of Christ, but we become partakers, of the spirit, grace, and virtue of the Lord, not in deed by the power of the work, but through his goodness and faithful promise.

VI. Wicked men do not eat the very flesh and blood of Christ, except so far forth as they use the outward signs, the bread I mean and the wine, which in their kind of manner be, and are called, the body and blood of Christ.

VII. We are no less joined to Christ in baptism, than we be in the Eucharist: Wherefore the presence of him and the receiving of him, which is spiritual, is to be affirmed alike in both.

VIII. The fathers in the Old Testament did eat the body and blood of Christ as touching the matter itself no otherwise than we do.

IX. Only the faithful do truly and spiritually receive the body and blood of the Lord, and that by faith, inasmuch as it is the only instrument of joining us unto Christ.

X. Our bodies after a certain manner are nourished and restored to eternal life by the body and blood of Christ.

XI. We ourselves by a faithful participation of the Lord's supper, are fed up, and in a manner transelementated by a certain kind of spiritual change into the body of Christ.

XII. By the incarnation of the son of God, we communicate with him in flesh and blood, forsomuch as we believe he took our flesh upon him: and on the other side while in communicating we embrace through faith his body and blood which were given for us unto death, we are spiritually made partakers of them.

XIII. The word of the holy scriptures, or the hearing, or sense [*of them*] in as much as it is received by faith, is the body of Christ, and the bread whereby our minds are nourished.

XIV. The congregation of believers is the body of Christ, whereof he himself is the head, and we also both are and are called his members.

XV. The poor and those which be oppressed for the name of Christ be his body: Thereupon came that voice unto Paul: Why doest thou persecute me?

XVI. Miracles that have otherwhile been showed about the signs of the Eucharist, do neither prove a change of the substance of the Elements thereof, neither yet a real and substantial presence of the body.

XVII. A spiritual presence of the body unto them which do communicate without doubt signifieth not, to be invisibly, but yet properly present as the

Papists say: but that it be present to our faith and spirit no otherwise than his death which we truly believe, and then the good things of the life to come which we expect with a most assured hope, the presence whereof can only be referred to our faith and spirit.

XVIII. Truly our adversaries speak many things of the consecration of the bread and wine, but whether it be performed by prayers or by words, that they cannot determine.

XIX. In the Eucharist we admit no other sacrifice than the sacrifice of thanksgiving, of prayers, and of offering up of our own selves: and these sacrifices must not only be offered up of the Minister, but also of the people that communicate.

XX. Also we grant that a sacrifice is there, in respect that there is a commemoration of the true sacrifice: and the sacraments, that is the outward signs which are proposed, are signs of the same true sacrifice, and by the institution of the Lord, do set forth the same unto the Communicants.

The sentences which I have now rehearsed, the prudent and gentle reader of my Book shall find not only to be handled therein, but also to be confirmed by many testimonies as well of the Scripture as of the Fathers. Wherefore, if it shall like him to have all this whole controversy plainly and evidently described as it were in a certain table, let him with an attentive mind and often repetition make himself well acquainted, first with these sentences, and then with the reasons which I have brought in this Abridgement: for in so doing, I hope he shall both reap profit, and it shall never repent him of the labor he hath bestowed. 1561.

CHAP. XI. Whether it be lawful in the Communion to use one only kind.

Our adversaries endeavor by many Arguments to defend the most shameful maiming of this sacrament which they have brought in. In deed they grant that the Church while it was yet ignorant, used both the kinds, but afterward when it understood that the one part might suffice, especially the laity (to prevent the error of some, which might think that the body of Christ in the sacrament is given severed from the blood, and the blood severed from the body,) it decreed that only the Priests should use both kinds in the Mass; and that to the people, only the one kind should be distributed. Further they say, that it was authorized by the Council of Constance. Moreover they contrive the Commandments of God into two principal points: Some of them they will have to remain perpetually firm and unshaken, so as they may never be violated, among which sort they place the morals. The others doubtless, they appoint to be those which concern outward things: of which kind be the Ceremonies and sacraments. And these they will not have to be so necessary, but that according to the place and time they may be changed. They maintain also that it was no

wrong to the Christian people, that one kind is taken from them. For the body of Christ (say they) is not given in the form of bread without blood: even as in the cup also the blood is not had without the body. They likewise allege, that the liberty of Christ his Church, is far greater, than was the liberty of the Synagogue: and that therefore it is lawful for the Church to change more things in our Ceremonies, than was permitted to the fathers of the old Law. For we are not under the law as servants, but as free men under grace. And they endeavor to show that sometimes the Church in many rites altered even in very matter. First of all they say, that it dipped not them which be baptized, according as the Greek word βαπτίζειν signifieth, but it only sprinkled, or after a strange manner washed. Neither is it to be doubted, but that those which so be washed must be holden as baptized, seeing that Cyprian being demanded whether they which were baptized in yielding up the ghost, should be judged as baptized (for they lay in the bed and being oppressed with the force of sickness might neither be dipped, nor yet washed, but only sprinkled, wherefore they should seem not to be baptized) that man of God answereth, that they had perfect baptism.

2. They vaunt also that in baptism the words have sometime been altered, seeing in the Acts of the Apostles the 8th chapter we read: that baptism was given in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ: when as notwithstanding in the Gospel, the Lord commanded his disciples that they should baptize in the name of the father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost. Yea and they allege that at this day the order prescribed by Christ is perverted. For he commanded that they should first teach and then baptize. But we deal otherwise, we first baptize infants, afterward when they are grown, we teach them. And again they say that that which Christ did is not observed in our communion. For we receive the sacraments fasting, whereas he

distributed them when he and his Apostles had supped. We also choose unto ourselves the morning, whereas he made his supper in the evening. Neither do we wash feet, whereas he first washed his disciple's feet, and commanded that one should wash an others feet. In like manner they allege the commandment of the Apostle, to wit, That a man should not pray or prophesy with his head covered, nor yet a woman with her head bare. Which at this day is not so carefully and precisely observed. Also a decree of the first Council, which was held in time of the Apostles, namely, that the Gentiles should abstain from blood and strangled, is abolished. And these fellows cavil that the case of the Apostles, with whom the Lord in his last supper communicated, is not like the case of the Christian people. For they were ordained by Christ to be Priests: wherefore they say that justly and upon good cause there was ordained another disposition of the communion for the lay people. They fain likewise, that Christ otherwhile distributed the Eucharist under one kind to his disciples, especially when he went with them unto the town of Emmaus, where they are said to have known him in breaking of bread. Whereupon they argue that we offend in seeking to establish a doctrine and precept only by one action of Christ. Further they cry out that the consent of the Catholic Church maketh for them, and they allege causes whereby they are led to minister only one kind unto the laity. The first they say is, least the wine should be spilled, which might easily happen, if it should be ministered to the whole multitude. The other cause is, for that it were requisite that as well wine as bread should be reserved for the sick, and ministered unto them whensoever they should ask it, which might not conveniently be done, because wine is so soon and easily corrupted. Besides this they object that there be many which drink no wine, who being able to receive only one part, if both parts were of necessity, they

would think that neither they communicate rightly, neither that they have the whole Sacrament. Lastly, they allege the honor of the ministry: for they have judged it meet that more should be attributed unto their Massing Priests than unto the general multitude. Neither would they that the communion of the laity should be of equal dignity or estimation with the Mass. I have well-near recited their Arguments which be of most force.

3. Now on the contrary part I will show our reasons, whereby shall be showed how grievously they offend in this mangling of the Lord's Supper. First they depart from the institution of Christ, and preach another Gospel than he himself and his Apostles have preached: And this doth exceedingly jar from godliness. This in divinity ought to be a chief principle whereby all things must be resolved: The Lord said: It is the word of the Lord that endureth forever. From the which, if we should be called back to men's fancies, since they often change, we shall have nothing firm in religion, but we shall be driven from certainties to uncertainties; and the authority of men shall be equal to the authority of God. Unto the Galatians it is written: If we or an Angel from heaven, shall preach otherwise, let him be accursed. But and if that Paul will neither have Angels nor Apostles to be heard, which affirm anything contrary to the decrees of the Gospel, we will nothing regard the boldness and impudency of corrupt men, which teach otherwise of the Sacraments than Christ taught. Paul in the 11th of the 1st to the Corinthians, testifieth, that he received of the Lord that which he delivered: And he out of doubt rehearsed both kinds. So as we may think, that they which otherwise define, have not received of the Lord, but rather of his adversary: wherefor they must not be heard. And unto the Galatians Paul hath, Unto a Testament although it be man's, the same being confirmed, nothing is added or ordained besides: how much less should

men be rash in adding anything to the Testament of Christ? Men which be frail and weak, do only bequeath earthly things by their Testaments. But Christ which is God and omnipotent, hath bequeathed to his Church sacraments which belong unto eternal life. Wherefore none ought at any time to have been so hardy as to invert his Testament. In Deuteronomy the fourth Chapter, the Lord commandeth Israel That he should hear his Law, and specially he mentioneth *Chukim*, which word signifieth Ceremonies, and he commandeth that they should neither add nor take anything from them: which commandment of God, is of great force to beat down our pride. For so proud are we, that we would always have our own devises, not only to be in estimation, but also to be preferred above the words of the Lord: And in the Book of Numbers the 15th chapter it is written, That the children of Israel should have ribands of blue silk in the borders of their garments, that in seeing of them, they might call to remembrance the commandments of God, that they might not do that which was pleasing to their own heart, or liking to their own eyes. And unto the Romans, Paul grievously reproved it, that the Gentiles were infatuated with their own vain disputations, and that they would not worship God simply as they knew him by his creatures; whereupon he saith that they were given over unto wicked lusts. And there is no doubt but that this maiming of the Supper of the Lord, belongeth unto this kind of vice. And moreover to this institution of the Lord concerning the administration of the Sacrament, the universal Church, both in the most ancient and best times hath always consented.

4. Also the fathers have greatly feared to leave the Lord's order in this Sacrament. There is extant a Canon of Gelasius, which is in the Title *De Consecratione*, distinct. 2, in the chapter *Comperimus*, wherein certain men are blamed, because they having received the Lord's body, abstained from

the cup of the blood. Which he saith is superstitious. And he commandeth them that either they should receive the whole Sacraments, or else be driven from the whole. Also he saith it is sacrilege that they should in such sort be divided. This do they endeavor to avoid, and to restrain it to massing Priests while they consecrate. For them (say they) it is necessary to receive both kinds. Howbeit this they have not out of the words of the Bishop. Nay rather there is mention there of the participants, and of them which are to be driven from the sacraments: the which agree fitly unto them to whom they be distributed. Moreover it is written in the decree, that the injury is done not unto the oblation or sacrifice, but unto the Sacrament. For he saith that a division of one and the selfsame mystery, cannot be done without great sacrilege. Therefore seeing they distribute the communion unto the laity under one kind, and make division of the Sacrament, they cannot deny but that they commit sacrilege. Chrysostom in the 18th Homily upon the 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians saith, that there be some things wherein a Priest differeth not from a lay man. I say in receiving of the dreadful mysteries, it is not with us as it was in the old law, where some parts of the sacrifices were given unto the Priests, others went unto them that offered: but unto all us is set forth one and the selfsame body of Christ, and the selfsame cup.

5. Cyprian in his second Book, and 3rd Epistle earnestly affirmeth that in this Sacrament of the Eucharist, we must by no means vary from the institution of Christ. And there when he entreateth at large of this matter, he setteth down these special pointes, namely: That Christ in this matter must be heard: further that we ought not to regard what others have done before us, but what Christ did before all. Moreover, he that doth not as he did, doth in vain worship God with the commandments and doctrines of men. And such precepts of the Sacrament he maketh not light, but saith they be great.

And the same Martyr in an Epistle to Pompeius against Stephen Bishop of the City of Rome, writeth: Where any doubt is, we must always resort to the Tradition of the Lord, to the Gospel and the Apostles. The adversaries say, that Cyprian speaketh not of this which we now entreat of. He disputed against the heretics called *Aquarij*, who used not wine unto the cup of the Lord but water. This (say they) he reproved, and not the taking away of a part of the Eucharist from the laity. I grant it, but I say, that these men sin more grievously against the institution of the Lord than did the *Aquarij*. Because they although they put water in the stead of wine, yet did they not utterly remove the other part of the sacrament. They used the selfsame words, which we speak in delivering of the Cup: only they did change the Element. But these men take away from the people both the whole Cup, and the words thereof. Further I grant the disputation of Cyprian to be particular, whereby he confuteth the *Aquarij*, but the Argument and reason which he useth is universal: namely that in the Sacrament of the Eucharist we must not fly from the institution of the Lord. For this cause also we argue, that we as it were by hands do receive the same from him to the intent we may show, that it was not lawful to take away the cup from the Communion. They have also other subtle shifts, and they say, that Cyprian wrote these things only of them that offer, and that therefore the place serveth nothing unto Communion. But it is a wonder that these so witty men perceived not that they in times past and specially in the time of Cyprian, had no oblation that differed from the Communion. There was no place among them for private masses. Those sprung up many years after, to the great hurt of Religion. Moreover if the Epistle be read from the beginning, thou shalt hear Cyprian say, that these men depart from the

institution of Christ as well by consecrating the cup, as by distributing of it unto the people. Wherefore, the cavil is utterly confuted.

6. Now remaineth that we declare that the reasons which they think to make for them, be of none effect. They said that the Church in the first times used both kinds, while it was yet ignorant. I would to God that we were so instructed, as the Christians were taught in the first times. Afterward (say they) it saw that the lay people may be content with one kind. What I beseech you saw our Popes, that the Apostles and prelates of the primitive Church saw not, who were most plentifully endued with the holy Ghost? What is it else that we see but mere darkness if it shall be compared to the most clear knowledge of them? They add: To the intent that the error of them should be avoided, who perhaps would think that the body of Christ is given a part from the blood, as though the body should sit in heaven at the right hand of the father without blood. These be their monstrous opinions. None of the heretics ever devised this kind of error. But admit there had been sometime such a heresy: might it not otherwise be amended than by corrupting of the Sacrament of the Eucharist? Undoubtedly many pernicious opinions may arise as touching the other part of the Eucharist which they have made to remain. And will they because of those things, take away this also?

7. And that which they object as touching the Council of Constance or Basil, we pass not of it. Neither the Greek Church, nor the whole East part obeyed them: and not without a cause. For they decreed against the word of God. And oftentimes Councils do err, as it is evident of the Councils of Ariminum, Chalcedon, Ephesus the second: and of the Council of Africa that was under Cyprian, and many others. Yea and in the time of Christ, did not the Council of the Priests, and the Church of that time, shamefully err,

when it refused the doctrine of Christ, and condemned Christ himself and the Apostles? Elsewhere I have warned, that Councils have not always decreed that which was true: The greater part there had the overhand of the lesser, and oftentimes the worser of the better. Here brag they: Our Church hath the holy Ghost, and therefore it cannot err. They use a fallacy of the Accident: For they that have the holy Ghost, do not all that they do by him. Even in like manner as a Master builder in that he is a Master builder, in building doth not amiss: but because it happeneth sometime that he is occupied in other cogitations, and perhaps hath drunk overmuch, therefore he otherwhile doth amiss. But the Church (say they) hath a promise of the holy Ghost, and that it shall not be forsaken at any time. I grant: neither is this promise wanting, but is fulfilled: and there be very many always in the Church which do judge rightly. Even as in the Jewish Church in most corrupt seasons, were Simeon, Zacharias, Elizabeth, John the Baptist, Mary the virgin, and Joseph, Nathanael, and many others which were partakers of this promise. Wherefore it followeth that truth prevaileth and errors are discovered. Yet is it not gathered by the power of this promise, that they always define well in Councils. Oftentimes they be troubled with affections, and oftentimes they grope in the dark. How should this be known of us? How shall we understand whether they have decreed well or amiss? All things must be tried by the touchstone of the holy scriptures, there the truth is found out. But let us proceed to confute other their Arguments.

8. They said that the precepts of outward things and of ceremonies are not so firm, as they cannot be changed by any means. Against this maketh Cyprian in the Epistle now alleged against the *Aquarij*: where he calleth the precepts of this Sacrament, great precepts. And Christ also saith that he shall be called the least or none at all in the kingdom of heaven, which

breaketh the least of his commandments. Moreover the places out of Deuteronomy the 4th and 12th chapters, and out of the 15th of Numbers the which we alleged before, do plainly show that it was not lawful to change anything in ceremonies: yet do we grant that there is some difference in the precepts of God. For there be some of them from which we be never loosed, as be all those which prohibit. Also that same sum, whereof the whole law and the Prophets depend: To love the Lord God with all the heart, with all the strength, and with all the soul, and our neighbor as ourselves. But there be other precepts which we are not always bound to execute, except it be when time, place, and reason require that they should be done. For the Hebrews were not bound to do their holy things everywhere and at all times, but at certain days, and in the place which the Lord had chosen. And upon the Sabbath day they could not always be void of outward works. Sometimes it behooved them to fight, as we read in the books of the Maccabees: neither might circumcision be ministered before the 8th day. At this day also he that would desire Baptism, and might not have the liberty thereof, his desire should be imputed instead of the work. Wherefore in these things, when the commandment of the Lord is to be done, it is not lawful to change or invert anything. And although thou be not always bound to do that which is commanded, yet when thou doest it, it is not meet thou should depart from the order which God hath appointed. Nadab and Abihu would alter something about the holy service, and they were consumed with fire. Uzza died for his rashness. And king Ozias when he would burn incense, which was not lawful, was stricken with leprosy. Why are they not moved with the example of their pretty Sacrificers, who take very careful heed in their Mass that they say not Mass without their *Orarium*, or as they term them without their stole or maniple? And they judge it to be a grievous

offense if they shall omit any sign of the cross or any the least jot of this kind: which nevertheless be the inventions of men, mere toys and trifles. Why should not we rather beware that we pass not over those things which Christ himself in his word commanded? And among the Ethnics there was very great care had in their sacred ceremonies, least the priest should trip or miss in a word, which if it happened, it was judged to be no light offense. And have our adversaries thought that Christ's order in the Sacraments may so easily be undone?

9. They said that as touching the old law, we are endued with a greater liberty than were the Hebrews, and therefore we are permitted to change something in ceremonies which for them was not lawful. But these men ought to know that Christian liberty herein consisteth not, that we should change the institutions of Christ: but in that, that Christ hath reduced many ceremonies into few, and instead of laborsome, hath given easy and plain, and in the stead of obscure ceremonies hath set down those which are most evident. Add that we by the power of the spirit, are made willing and voluntary doers, for we are not constrained by the law, but we do willingly those things which religion persuadeth. Wherefore they prove not what they would, but are rather driven to the contrary. For seeing we be so free as we have but a few ceremonies, and those easy and gentle, it would be an intolerable thing, and worthy to be condemned if we should not perform them without corruption.

10. They say, that the ceremony is not for that cause polluted, neither the people defrauded, because so much is had under one kind as under both. For with the body of Christ his blood is also given, and that under our kind, which they say is done by Concomitancy, for so they speak. But these men should have weighed, that the communion of the body and blood of Christ,

is not in this Sacrament by the work of nature. For whatsoever of these things is delivered unto us, is received by faith and is offered unto us by the words of Christ's promises. And in these outward things, God requireth chiefly an obedience. Signs and the outward actions of ceremonies, be frail things: The word of God endureth forever, therefore the nature of the Sacrament must be judged by it. So much is given unto us, as God appointed to give: of whose will we know nothing further than his sayings disclose unto us. But Christ appointed two parts of the Sacrament: by one of the which he said that his body is communicated, and by the other his blood, and of these he hath left unto us express words: wherefore we must rather give credit unto him than unto the subtle sayings of men. Thou tellest me of I know not what Concomitancy: and doubtless it is thine own subtle point of reasoning: I know that it so fareth with the body of Christ which is in heaven, as it is not without blood. I doubt not but that these things be joined together in him. But how wilt thou prove that they be signified when they be joined together in the Sacrament? On the one part, the faith of the communicants comprehendeth there the body of Christ nailed upon the cross for our salvation, whereof we be spiritually fed. And the same faith on the other part layeth hold of his blood shed for our salvation, and hereof we be spiritually watered and have drunk. About these mysteries of the death of Christ is the mind of the faithful chiefly occupied, while they communicate. Wherefore we must not regard in what sort the body of Christ is now in heaven. We follow the words of God, and perceive it is not of necessity that those things which in their own nature be joined together should be communicated one with another. The human and divine natures are joined together in the subject of Christ, neither are they plucked one from another. Yet wilt thou not say that wheresoever the divine nature is, there also is the

human, unless thou wilt extend the body of Christ to an immeasurable greatness, the which is most strange from the nature of man. The son of God, in so much as he is God, is found everywhere, and filleth all places, the which his body doth not. Further in the holy Ghost all graces or gifts are joined together, yet for all that is not the gift of sundry tongues given to him upon whomsoever the power of prophesying is bestowed: or so likewise on the other part. Also severity and mercy, are most nearly joined together in God, and yet nevertheless, when as one is made an inheritor of eternal life, he hath a proof of the mercy and not of the severity of God. And the same might I affirm of many things, which being joined together in themselves, yet are they communicated asunder. But herein standeth the effect of the answer, that this communication is no work of nature, and therefore is not given unto us by the constitution or disposition of the thing which it hath in his own nature, but by the will and pleasure of the giver, of whose will and counsel we cannot decree, further than is expressed by his own words.

11. They said moreover that in Baptism there is much altered: First because Infants have water poured upon them, and are not dipped in, as the Greek word βαπτίζειν signifieth. I know that the Fathers, when it might be, in respect of age and health used dipping: the which was shadowed in the Old Testament when the Israelites passed through the sea: yet is it not of necessity, neither is there a commandment extant for the same. When it is used it hath an excellent signification: because when we are dipped in, we are signified to die with Christ, and when we issue forth, we are declared to have risen with him unto eternal life. Howbeit this signification as we say is not of necessity. But that which concerneth the nature and natural property of Baptism is a cleansing from sins: Wherefore in the Epistle to the Ephesians, Christ is said To have cleansed his Church by the washing away

of water in the word: And we are pronounced to be baptized unto the remission of sins. And this cleansing, whether we be dipped, or whether we be washed all about, or whether we be sprinkled, or after what manner soever we be washed with waters, it is very fitly showed in Baptism. Neither doth the Greek word βαπτίζειν only signify, to be dipped, but any manner of way to be sprinkled. Moreover the reason is not a like: To change the manner of washing, and to take it all wholly away: Because in them which be sprinkled or have water poured upon them, the element of Baptism, namely water is kept and hath his signification. Neither do we superstitiously contend after what sort we are to drink of the cup, either little or somewhat largely. Neither through little pipes as sometime it was done, and as the Bishop of Rome doth at this day, or with our lips put to the cup, or by bread dipped and made wet in the wine, as it is in the history of Eusebius Caesariensis. As touching these things, so the part of the Sacrament remain whole it sufficeth. Howbeit I judge that must be done which cometh most near to the institution of Christ.

12. And whereas they added, that the words which are used at Baptism were inverted, because we find in the Acts of the Apostles, that some were Baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, there be many which grant unto it. Because (say they) in the name of Jesus Christ, the names of the three divine persons are comprehended: Of the Father, (I say) of the Son, and of the holy Ghost. And that Irenaeus very plainly testifieth in the 4th book against the Valentinians. Under the name (saith he) of Christ are the three persons understood. Because that word signifieth anointed, wherein is showed both the anointer, and he that is anointed, and also the ointment. He that is anointed is the Son, the anointer is the Father, the anointment is the holy Ghost: whereby appeareth, that in the same alteration nothing was

taken away, whereas these men took away almost the whole half of the Sacrament. Howbeit I stand not to this answer: because our adversaries cavil that even in the Communion of either kind the whole is signified. Wherefore I say that by that place of the Acts of the Apostles In the name of Jesus Christ, is meant, by the guiding, commandment, will and institution of Christ. Wherefore by these words rather it is known that the Apostles did altogether keep the form prescribed by Christ. Otherwise they would not have baptized in the name of Christ, doing otherwise than he had commanded. Neither are we to think that the Apostles who spread abroad religion with so great godliness and endeavor, rejected the form of Baptizing delivered by Christ. Neither must we pass it over that the Schoolmen (as we read in Thomas,) when they agree that the form of baptizing was in a manner changed by the Apostles, write that this was done for a time by the dispensation of the holy Ghost, to the intent the name of Christ might be made the more famous, and that therefore a perpetual law should not be drawn from thence. The which these men that have taken away the cup of the Communion from the laity, have not observed, seeing they will have their decree to be perpetual, and not for a time. Besides this, the Apostles condemned not for heretics those which baptized after the usual and appointed form. But they have not only condemned for heretics the laymen when they have received both parts of the sacrament, but they also deliver them to the fire. Neither is this doctrine to be suffered, that it is put in men's authority to invert either the matter or the words of the Sacraments as these men have most impudently done: who not only have taken away the cup from the common people, but also the words spoken thereat, the which be very comfortable, and do more largely and significantly express the mysteries of our salvation than do the words which

be uttered, as touching the bread, where it is only said: This is my body, which shall be given for you: But at the cup it is said: This cup is the new Testament in my blood which shall be shed for you and for many unto the remission of sins. Weigh how many expositors thou hast here of the promise which was set down in the other part.

13. They affirm moreover that we have inverted the order in Baptism, because we baptize infants before we teach them. Whereas Christ delivered them first to be taught, and afterward to be baptized. I marvel that these men descend hither as though they would hold with the Anabaptists, to the intent they may be against us, and do not consider that the saying of Christ is generally to be understood, as touching the Gentiles, and not particularly. Verily it is true that in the propagation of Christianity they were first to begin with doctrine. For when as a City, a Province, or a kingdom should be won unto Christ, it behooveth to use preaching before we come to Baptism: which when they have believed, those of ripe age not only are baptized themselves, but they also offer their young children to be baptized. Wherefore that which was so commanded by Christ in general, they will draw unto the particular Baptism of young children. In Greek it is said μαθητεύσαντες, that is, to make disciples and to gather them unto Christ: which in them of ripe years is done both by doctrine and baptism, but in young children by Baptism, seeing they are not yet capable of doctrine. The very which order is seen in Circumcision. As touching Abraham being of perfect age, Doctrine went for most, afterward followed the sacrament: in his son Isaac it came otherwise to pass. And absolutely it is true that in the Church Doctrine doth go before the Sacraments, as every man may perceive. Neither (as we taught before,) do they rightly gather, when as by an order of the words, they will gather an order of the things: For we have it

in Mark as concerning John, That he baptized and preached the baptism of repentance: when as yet there is no doubt but that he preached before he baptized.

14. And as touching the time of the Lord's Supper, we confess that the Church might order the same as it thought good, seeing there is no commandment had thereof. There be commandments as touching this Sacrament: Take and eat ye, Take and drink ye all of it: Do this in remembrance of me: Let a man examine himself, and other such sayings. No mention is there of time, of place, of garment, or other such like circumstances. Christ first ate the Passover, because he would institute the new things after the old. Neither is it commanded us either to kill or eat the Passover before the Communion. And the causes why the Eucharist is distributed in the morning, are gathered out of Cyprian. The first is, because it is more easy at that hour to have the holy assembly. For in the day time there happen many affairs whereby men be led away from the service of God. Further at that time, men be well advised, and we have a mind more fit and attentive to receive excellent things. Thirdly he addeth, that the same morning tide is a monument of the resurrection of Christ, which doeth not a little further the institution of this Sacrament. Nevertheless we must note that the ancient fathers in the time of fasting, (because they did not eat meat till night) had the Communion at evening tide: for all the whole fasting day they spent their time in Sermons, Hymns, and other godly exercises. Towards night the Supper of the Lord was ministered, the Sacrament was received. Afterward they returned home to the refreshing of their bodies. Albeit in the time of Augustine in many Churches, as he himself reporteth, that upon the Thursday before Easter, to the intent the Act of Christ might be represented the better, the Eucharist was given to the faithful at night and

after Supper. But I find this custom to be abolished by the 6th Synod, which at Constantinople was held in Trullo. Whose Canons are extant in Greek, wherein there is plain mention made of this custom to be among the Churches of Africa. But to return whence we have digressed. So the integrity of Sacraments be retained, as touching the time and other such like circumstances, we should not be very careful seeing of those things there is nothing commanded. Christ when he was baptized was thirty years of age. Would it not be a great folly at this day, if we would baptize only such as be 30 years old?

15. Of the washing of feet which is now omitted, we say, that therein is a double signification to be considered: One as touching remission of sins, and cleansing the filth of the mind, the which is given unto us by Christ. Thereof the Lord said unto Peter: If I shall not wash thee, thou shalt have no part with me. And he that is washed hath no need but that his feet be washed. And about this signification St. Bernard dealeth very much. Furthermore that washing was a sign of charity and submission of the mind, which we ought to use though we be noble and of great honor. Wherefore Christ said thereof: Ye call me Master and Lord, and ye say well, for so I am: but if that I, a Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also must one wash an others feet. By which commandment he meant, that no man for any honors sake of this world should cease from doing his duty unto his neighbor, even as touching those things which seem to be but vile, because Christ himself would do them. The washing of feet was common and usual among the Jews. For in the hot regions as Jewry is, when men journey by foot, their bodies are very much wearied with heat. Wherefore unto men wearied and full of dust, the washing of feet bringeth no small refreshing: especially seeing in those Regions, men go not so well shod as they do with

us. Otherwise how could Christ have been washed of the woman that was a sinner, and be wiped with her hair, and be anointed when he should sit down at the Table, unless he had his feet either bare or else so as they might easily be uncovered? And that the washing of feet in the Scriptures doeth represent the meanest services towards our neighbors, Abigail testified, who, when David meant to take her for his wife, answered: Thy handmaiden will be ready, who shall wash the feet of my Lord: as if she had said: I do not think myself worthy of so great an honor: I will rather be ready to do the meanest services unto thy servants. And Paul in the first Epistle unto Timothy, when he speaketh of a widow to be chosen of the Church, requireth such a one as shall abound in good works, and hath washed the feet of the Saints. Where there is no doubt but by the washing of feet, Paul requireth that she have exercised herself in doing of services and commodities to the men of God. And Christ while he saith in the Gospel: When ye fast, I would not have you to be sad as the Hypocrites, but commandeth the contrary: Thou when thou dost fast, anoint thy head, &c. By which place it is not to be gathered that in fasting's we should anoint heads, but because in Syria or Arabia surnamed the happy, the use of Ointments was common, when men would show themselves to be merry, (yea they were in a manner daily anointed, except they had been in some sadness) therefore Christ meant, that when we are in hand with private fasting's, we must not intermit the custom of outward worshipping, as though by fasting's we would win the favor of the people. But we among whom is not that use of ointments are not bound in fasting's to do that which Christ said. The very which thing thou mayest understand about the washing of feet, which our adversaries objected. That cannot be called a Sacrament, (although by the element, it may signify no common thing, and

it hath a commandment joined therewith,) because there be given no particular words, which should come to the element to make it a sacrament, and by which the promise of some singular gift or grace to be obtained is declared unto us. Furthermore, neither Christ nor yet the Apostles decreed, that they which were to Communicate should wash one another's feet. And Augustine in the 119th Epistle unto Januarius writeth, that some Churches removed this Ceremony, least it should be esteemed for a part of the Sacrament, or else for Baptism: the very which notwithstanding some Churches retained.

16. There was also opposed unto us a decree of the Apostles, wherein they ordained, that the Gentiles which were converted unto Christ, should abstain from blood and from that which is Strangled. Which seeing it is abolished, they say it is lawful sometimes to decline somewhat from the Scriptures. Howbeit we must mark in this place, what is the end and meaning of that decree. It was pronounced, because of the dissension risen in the Church. For they which were converted from Judaism, thought that the Gentiles for obtaining of salvation, should be compelled to retain Moses laws, and should keep the old Ceremonies. But Paul and Barnabas taught otherwise, according to whose mind the Apostles decreed. Yet did they not by their constitution prohibit, but that men converted from the Gentiles unto Christ, might keep somewhat of the Ceremonies of Moses, so that they should not think those to be necessary unto salvation. Howbeit to the intent they might not be grievous or troublesome unto them which were converted out of Judaism, who lived then very friendly with them, they gave that commandment: and it seemed to help somewhat to the quietness of the believers. So that the Apostles for no other cause did decree that the Gentiles should abstain from these things: seeing they would not, that the

Jews which were converted should be straight way offended, of whom the Church in that first time did chiefly consist. Wherefore they commanded not these things, in that they belonged unto the law, or unto Moses, but according as they perceived them to further the peace and tranquility of the Church, that the faithful might grow up together among themselves in a greater agreement. Whereupon seeing afterward this cause was taken away (for so much as Jerusalem being destroyed, and the rites of Moses utterly subverted, this difference was not between the Jews and the Gentiles) therefore that decree might be taken away. Howbeit it was kept a long while, even unto the times of Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Origen: and Caesariensis maketh mention thereof, in the history of Attalus and Blandin. These Ceremonies might after a sort be retained at the beginning, until the preaching of the Gospel did take better root, and that all men might plainly understand that the rites of Moses were abolished. Augustine against Faustus the 2nd book and 13th Chapter, maketh plain mention of this matter, and saith, that until both the walls of the Church and Synagogue were well grown together, so as the difference should no more appear, somewhat ought to be yielded to the infirmity of the Jews. And it seemeth that specially that was to be done in those things, which belonged not to sacrifices, but unto daily food. For the Jews could not straightway be well content with the diet of the Ethnics. Afterward they objected the Apostolical tradition, whereby a man is commanded to prophesy and pray bareheaded, and the woman with her head covered: which precepts they say, are not thoroughly kept. Here we answer, that it is not our part to be inquisitive what is kept, or what is not kept. This commandment we know is extant: and they that keep it not, let themselves see to it. I have not seen any minister praying openly, but that his head hath been uncovered. In the very

which habit, I see them to be at Sermons, especially while they recite the words of the holy Scripture.

17. Our Adversaries also argued that Christ gave the sacrament to his Apostles, the consideration of whom was not alike, seeing they were made priests: therefore they affirmed that this example of Christ was not to be extended unto the people. But certainly as touching the Priesthood of the Apostles we know nothing, neither is there any one syllable extant in the holy Scriptures that the Apostles were Priests. The Scripture useth not these words. But go too: Let them understand, By Priests, the Ministers of the Church: Let them tell us why they give not to their Massing Priests, if they Mass not when they come to Communicate, but one part of the Sacrament as unto the laity, seeing Christ gave both unto the Apostles, and no less distributed unto them, than he received for himself. Further if Christ (as they will) gave the Eucharist only unto the priests, how dare they be so hardy as to give a part of the Eucharist unto the laity and common sort, seeing Christ (as they say) did not communicate with them? Add that in the supper with Christ were no women present, unless they will, that they were Priests. Why then do they distribute the Sacrament unto them, seeing Christ gave it only unto men? But they which speak so subtly of the supper which Christ himself had with his Apostles, what answer (I beseech you) will they make unto Paul, who writing to the whole Church of Corinth, and not to the Ministers of the Church only, commandeth that both kinds should be given. And yet they say, that in the Canons, decrees, and Ecclesiastical histories, there is mention made of the Communion of the laity. I deny not but it is so: howbeit they are far deceived which think that the Communion of the laity doth only signify a participation of one part only, for even then both the kinds was given. But it was called the communion of the laity, because the

Ministers of the Church, being once put from their function by reason of some offense, did no more communicate in the clergy or among the Ministers, but were mingled with the company of the lay men.

18. They said that they have the consent of the Church, wherein they impudently challenge to themselves that which is ours: seeing the Churches of Greece, the whole East part, and the universal antiquity hold with us. For the foul mangling of the Sacrament of the Eucharist is but lately sprung up. Among the latter men Thomas Aquinas saith, that even now in his time the same began to be practiced in some Churches, which he writeth in the *3rd part, Quaest. 80. Artic. 12*. Doubtless the importunity of the Adversaries is wonderful. When we fly unto the Scriptures, they cry out that they be dark, and they appeal to the fathers, whom they say are on their side: they fly unto the antiquity of times, whereby they would shift off all the testimonies of the Scriptures. But how uncertain they be in their opinions, we easily see in this disputation, seeing the Scripture is plain: all the fathers make with us, and the whole antiquity agreeth with the Scriptures. Wherefore the endeavor that they have to be contrary ariseth only hereof, that they be sworn and wholly addicted to the laws of the Pope: in comparison whereof they weigh not a hair neither of the truth of the fathers, nor yet of antiquity.

19. And whereas they alleged, that Christ sometime administered only the one part of the Sacrament, because they read in Luke, that the Disciples knew him by breaking of bread, it is trifling. For how it may appear for a certainty, that the breaking of bread there signifieth the holy communion, they have not been able to show, seeth that word also is often in the holy Scriptures applied to common meat. And that those Disciples in taking of common meat, could know Christ, it is no marvel: For seeing he had peculiar thanksgivings, and particular prayers as we believe he had, he

might easily be perceived. Further admit it were so, that Christ offered them only one part of the Sacrament, is it therefore lawful for us to do the same? He did not by that fact abrogate his general commandment, which he gave in the Supper, and that is confirmed by the writings of the Evangelists and of Paul. God once commanded Abraham that he should sacrifice his son, yet did he not thereby pluck away anything from his general precept, Thou shalt not kill. He also commanded the Israelites, that they should carry away the stuff of the Egyptians: and yet nevertheless he would that commandment, Thou shalt not steal, to be inviolate. Lastly where it is named: The breaking of bread, we may by the figure Synecdoche understand the whole Supper, even as it was first declared. And they are to be laughed at when they accuse us to do absurdly, which of one action of Christ, which he had with his Apostles, would gather a general precept: seeing that action of Christ was not ordinary, but it had a precept joined therewith, the which was afterward confirmed by Paul. Moreover we deal as we should, when we have recourse to the head and to the very institution of the Sacrament.

20. Now let us speak of the causes, by which they pretend that the Church was led to make a decree for the mutilation of this Sacrament. The first was, least the cup should be spilled. Here we marvel exceedingly at Irenaeus, Basil, Ambrose, Nazianzen, and Augustine, being very prudent Fathers, who saw not these dangers in the Eucharist: or if they saw them, as likely it is, thou must acknowledge that they made no such account of them, as they in respect of them violated the Sacraments, the which nevertheless, they administered very often: For of private Masses there was then no use. They evermore communicated in the mysteries with others, and the people ran together to the Sacraments much more often than at this day they do. They

were not so greatly troubled if any part of the holy drink had fallen upon the ground. A young maid in Cyprians time did vomit up the same. Their chief care was that it might be distributed unto them that were worthy: But our men now are not careful to drive away dogs and swine, by which assuredly is done a greater injury unto the blood of Christ, than if the same should be spilled upon the ground, Wherefore we counsel that the godly ministers should take very diligent heed that they shed not the holy cup. But if it shall happen by chance, they may be sorry for it, yet the matter must not be so exaggerated as it were a horrible and detestable crime. Augustine, as it is in the first question in the chapter *Interrogo vos*, calleth into doubt, whether the body of Christ be more worthy than his word. To some of the ruder sort it might seem to be a blasphemous question, yet is it disputed of by Augustine, and he attributed as much to the word and saying of Christ as he did unto the sacrament: and he plainly saith, that the word of Christ is no less than the body of Christ. Whereupon he concludeth: that as we are careful that a part of the sacrament should not fall upon the ground, even so no less heed must be taken, as well by the ministers of the word, as by the hearers thereof, that nothing be pronounced in vain out of the words of God. And nevertheless, because it is a perilous thing, that any of the words of God should by negligence slip away from him that pronounceth or from them that be hearers, therefore the godly Sermons are not removed from the people.

21. And as to that, which they speak of corruption which might easily happen, if wine consecrated unto the sick should be kept, we say that no man driveth them into these extremities, unless it be their own superstitions. Who constraineth them to keep the Sacrament of the Eucharist? Who commanded them this thing? It behooveth say they to give unto the sick. I

grant: but the mysteries should also be celebrated before the sick persons. They cavil that the sick cannot always stay and abide the long rites of ceremonies. But let them consider that this very thing ariseth of their own superstition, and not from the commandment of Christ. That which Christ commanded may be drawn into four words. Gregory testifieth in his Epistle that the Apostles used only the prayer of the Lord. But our men earnestly affirm that the Sacrament of the Eucharist should be wrought only in their Mass and not otherwise. So as they themselves are the cause of these impediments, and therefore they must not be ascribed to the institution of Christ.

22. As touching the abstainers from wine, and them which in respect of sickness cannot receive wine, we may readily answer three ways. For there be some which say: When there is this necessity, against which no law is of force, let only one part of the Sacrament be given unto men: but thereby is not proved, that as touching others which are able, the Sacrament should be diminished by the decree or doctrine of men: because it is a rash part, of a particular thing, to bring in a general rule. It seemeth to be God which bringeth that man into necessity, neither doth that man willingly pollute the Sacrament of the Lord. It may otherwise be answered, that such drink must be given unto these men as they can away withal, the perfection of the Sacrament and the reciting of the Lord's words being preserved. But if one will say, that Christ did not so institute, they that thus judge, do answer, that Christ used that drink which might be abidden, and which was meet for the receivers, from whose institution they say that they depart not, when they deliver everyone to drink, that which he is able to abide. For this seemeth rather to yield to the infirmity of a brother, than to violate the Sacrament. But whatsoever may be thought of these answers the which I will not utterly

condemn, to the third I willingly agree, because it seems to me to be sure and perfect enough: to wit, that if a man cannot receive the Sacrament, as it was instituted by Christ, let him abstain, for if he desire it and believe, no commodity or benefit shall in that respect be wanting unto him: even as unto him that desireth Baptism, if he have not the liberty thereunto, it is imputed, as if he had received the same. Neither ought we by reason of these very seldom chances to dismember the sacrament of Christ. Lastly they are bold to affirm that by this means an honor is done to the Ministry. Unto whom we answer, that herein consisteth not the honor of the Ecclesiastical Ministry, that he which distributeth the sacrament should have a double portion or the greater piece of bread, when as the people only receiveth one kind and useth a less piece of bread. Paul very sufficiently in the first epistle to Timothy, and also unto Titus hath described excellent properties of Ministers, by which they should commend their honor. And again unto Timothy he wrote, that the elders are worthy of double honor when they govern well, and do labor in the word of God. And of this matter I think there is sufficiently spoken at this time.

CHAP. XII. Of the Mass, Also of Sacrifices.

Because in many places there is oftentimes mention made of this Hebrew word Mas, which signifieth tribute, whereof is derived Masah, which word by some is taken for the tribute that hath been accustomed to be paid by each person: In very deed diverse bondslaves of the Pope have thought that their Mass hath taken his name from thence. Wherefore perhaps it shall not be unprofitable to write somewhat thereof. We have that word in the 16th Chapter of Deuteronomy, when God commandeth that after Easter vii weeks should be numbered, and then should be held the feast of Pentecost: Thou shalt appear (saith he) before the Lord and thou shalt give *Missath Nidbhath Jadeca*, that is, a freewill offering of thine own hand. And so is that oblation called as it were a yearly tribute, which nevertheless should come willingly. Howbeit others (and that perhaps more truly) interpret that word a sufficiency, namely, that there should so much be given as might be enough and sufficient. For in the 15th Chapter of the same book, where the Lord commandeth the Israelites, that they should open their hands unto the poor, and should lend them sufficient:

that particle *De*, the Chaldee Paraphrast interpreteth *Missah*. In which place I perceive there must be a consideration had as well of the want of the poor as of the ability of the giver: for this was meet to be observed in voluntary oblations, to wit, that so much should be given as the power of the givers would suffer, and as much as might be comely for the service of God. Hereof these men of ours, think that the Mass took her name, as though it were a tribute or freewill offering, which is everywhere offered to God in the Church for the quick and the dead. But I do not so think. Doubtless I know very well, that the Church hath borrowed certain words of the Hebrews: as Satan, Osanna, Zebaoth, Halleluia, Pesah or Pascha, and such other. Howbeit it must be considered that those words came not unto the Latin Church but by the Greek: seeing those words are found in the New Testament as it was first written in Greek, and also in the Translation of the Old Testament, as it was translated by the seventy. Wherefore we have no Hebrew words derived unto our Church which the Greek Church had not before. But if we diligently examine the Greek books of the Fathers, we shall never find the word Mass used by them. Wherefore I do not think that the name of Mass is derived from the Hebrews.

2. The Greek Church called the holy supper λειτουργίαν, which word signifieth a common and public work. Neither is it proper to holy things, nay rather it is applied even to profane actions which were public. And who is ignorant, that the administration of the Lord's supper is a matter pertaining to the Christian people? For so many as be present, ought to be partakers thereof, and to communicate together. And that they do not pass over this: there is an Argument of some weight taken against private Masses out of the Etymology of that word. Furthermore that word, belongeth not only unto the Eucharist, but it is applied unto other holy functions.

Wherefore in the 13th chapter of the Acts it is written of the Apostles, λειτουργοῦντων αὐτῶν, the which some have turned, They sacrificing, whereas they should rather have said: They ministering or working publicly, to wit, in the holy service: which no doubt but they did in preaching of the Gospel. Among the Latins there were other names of this holy function. For sometime it is called a Communion, otherwhile the supper of the Lord, now and then the Sacrament of the body of Christ, or the breaking of bread: and many times our fathers, as did the Greeks called the fearful mysteries, σύναξιν. I omit that they very often used the name of sacrifice, not certainly as our adversaries fondly imagine, that therein is offered unto God by the priest, the body and blood of Christ for the quick and the dead, notwithstanding that the fathers also themselves have not misliked of that manner of speech wherein they said, that the body, and blood of Christ is offered unto God. But what they meant by these words, if they be attentively read, they plainly declare: namely, that then thanks are given unto God, who for our sakes gave his son unto death and unto the cross. By these names have the most ancient Fathers called it the supper of the Lord: but of Mass, they have made no mention. For if thou wilt read Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hilarius and their equals, thou shalt never find that word among them in that signification. Augustine made mention thereof at two several times: namely in his 237th Sermon, *De Tempore*, where he speaketh of the Mass of the Catechumen. There he exhorted men to the forgiving of injuries one toward another. For (saith he) we must come to the Mass of the Catechumen, where we shall pray, Forgive us our trespass, even as we forgive them that trespass against us. Also in the 91st Sermon *De Tempore* he writeth: In the history which is to be read at Masses. Some have doubted whether these were Augustine's sermons. Truly they seem unto me

to be the style and sentences of Augustine. And if I shall follow mine own conjecture, I think that this name of Mass began in a manner at that time to be used, seldom in deed, but not often: for if that word had been usual at that time, there would have been more often mention thereof, especially by Augustine, who applied his speech unto the common people.

3. They allege Ignatius in an Epistle to the people of Smyrna. Howbeit that place maketh very much against the Mass-mongers: seeing Ignatius there decreed, that Masses ought not to be had, unless that the Bishop shall be present: so greatly did the ancient time provide against private Communions: For they would in very deed all to be present, and especially Bishops, while they were administered. These things have I said as it were granting to our adversaries that that was the very true book of Ignatius, and that it hath therein the word Mass: but this are we in no wise compelled to grant, seeing it is Apocriphus, even by the testimony of their own Gratian. And herewithal, that those Epistles were written in Greek, and that therefore no doubt but he which translated them into Latin did put this word *Missa*, for εὐχαριστία. For thus it is in Greek, ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἠγείσθω, that is, that perfect thanks giving was renewed: and straightway after, οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστι χωρίς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε προσφέρειν, οὔτε θυσίαν προσκομίζειν, οὔτε δοχήν ἐπιτελεῖν, &c. that is, It is not lawful without the Bishop either to baptize, either to offer, either to make sacrifice, or to end the feast. And this is the Greek prayer of Ignatius: wherein, as appeareth, there is no mention of Mass. Also Leo is cited in the 9th Epistle to Dioscorus, wherein I confess that that father made mention of Mass, but yet so, as he very much repugneth private Masses. For he was demanded, when the Church was not so great as it might contain all the people which came while the Communion was ministering, what should be done with the

rest of the multitude, which tarried abroad, and could not be present. Leo answereth: when that part of the people shall be gone forth which was present at the holy service, it should be lawful for them which succeeded to begin again the holy service. But if the private Masses had been in use, what need would there have been to ask Leo counsel for that matter? Assuredly this demand is a token sufficient, the Mass was not accustomed to be done but once.

4. They are wont also to bring John Cassianus which lived in the time of Honorius, and was driven out of the Church of Jerusalem by heretics, and then he came to Massilia, and was a Monk by profession. He indeed maketh mention of Mass in his 3rd book the 7th and 8th chapters: but he wresteth the signification of that word far to another purpose than to the holy communion. For with him Mass is a perfection, accomplishment and discharging. Wherefore he saith we wait for the Mass of the congregation, that is, till the assembly be discharged and dispatched. And straight after: Being content with the sleep which is granted from the Mass of the watch, until it be day. Where, by the Mass he understandeth the time of watch, wherein the watches are discharged; then verily it was lawful for the Monks to sleep until day light. Neither are we to pass over that there is most manifest mention made of Masses in the exposition of the Proverbs of Solomon the xi. Chapter which is ascribed unto Jerome. Howbeit that book without controversy is none of Jerome's. For Gregory is there spoken of, which lived long time after Augustine and Jerome. Bruno Amerbachius in an Epistle which he put before his book, saith he saw in an old copy that interpretation, to be entitled unto Bede. Which if it were, it seemeth no marvel that he made mention of Masses. For in that age wherein Bede the Priest lived, many abuses were now crept into the Church. But I therefore

put you in mind of this, because in that place that supposed Jerome affirmeth that the souls of them that be departed are drawn out of purgatory by the celebration of Masses. Jerome is not so accustomed to speak.

5. It resteth that we declare, from whence the name of Mass (which in deed is a Latin name) may seem to be taken. The ancient fathers, (who so shall diligently mark their writings) have said Remiss, instead of Remission. Tertullian in his fourth *Book against Marcion pg. 249.* We have spoken (saith he) of the Remiss of sins. Cyprian *De bono patientiae*: He that was to give the Remiss of sins, in the fountain of regeneration, disdained not to be washed. The same Father in the 14th Epistle the third Book: He that blasphemeth the holy Ghost hath not the Remiss of sins. Therefore seeing in the stead of Remission, they said Remiss, they seem also to have used this word Missa in the place of Mission. And so that which was done in the Church after the sending away of the Catechumen, they called Mass. κατηχεῖν (to tell you that by the way) is to teach and instruct especially by word of mouth, and not by writings. Wherefore they were called κατηχούμενοι, who were not yet washed with the fountain of regeneration, but were instructed as touching faith. By Tertullian they were called *Audients* or *Auditors*, and by Augustine *Competents*. For before they should be Baptized at Easter, they gave their names for the space of 40 days before, in which space of time they were instructed, and by the Pastors of the Church, not only their faith but their life and manners were thoroughly tried. But in the holy assembly, when the holy Scriptures had been recited, and a sermon made, the Deacon spake out with a loud voice: Let the Catechumen come forth: and the Grecians said, ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, that is: Holy things to holy men, according as it is gathered out of the ancient Liturgies: and also out of Cyril upon John, the 12th book, chapter the 50th.

Yea and in the time of Gregory as himself testifieth in the 2nd book, Chapter the 23rd of his dialogues it was said: If any man communicate not, let him give place. And that manner might have seemed very like to a certain rite of the Ethnics. For in a certain service of their Religion, as Festus reporteth, the officer said: Stand forth thou vanquished Enemy, and thou woman or virgin, because in that divine service, it was forbidden unto these kinds of persons to be present. And Apuleius in his second book saith, that the Priest when he should begin the sacrifices, was accustomed thus to say, τίς τήδε, who is there? Unto whom it was answered καλοί κάγαθοί, as if it were said: Honest and good men, when the polluted and unworthy persons were gone forth. So was it done in our Church: for after that by the Deacon was uttered that voice κατηχούμενοι, ἐνεργούμενοι, the Runagates and penitents went away thence. Of these orders Dionysius maketh mention: Ἐνεργούμενοι were those which were vexed with ill Spirits. Perhaps they were persons excommunicated: seeing those at that time I mean in the primitive Church, were delivered unto Satan. Wherefore as it now appeareth by those things which we have spoken, the Latin Church, called the celebration of the Sacrament of the Eucharist Missa, as it were *Missio*, a sending away. For sometime Ambrose also used this phrase *Missas facere*. And undoubtedly this opinion I better allow than the opinion of them which judge that the name was derived of the Hebrew word Mass.

6. But now that we have entreated of the name of the Mass, I think it good to make rehearsal of the parts thereof according as they were in the ancient time. The Greeks seem to have begun their Liturgy with *Kyrie eleison*, as if before all things, they would crave pardon of their sins. This phrase the Latin church borrowed of them, which some do attribute unto Gregory. Howbeit while the people were gathering together, and before they were

assembled, they did sing somewhat out of a Psalm, or out of some part of the Scripture, and that song they called, The Entering in, because in very deed the people then went in. Thereof they made Caelestinus to be author. After *Kyrie eleison* the people being as it were glad for obtaining remission of their sins, they song unto the praise of God, the Hymn; Glory be to the highest, which as they will was invented by Telesphorus. Further they had the Collects which are ascribed unto Gelasius. Besides forth certain things were recited out of the holy Scriptures, either out of the Old Testament, or out of the Acts, or out of the Apostolical Epistles. Which being heard, there remained some portion to be recited out of the Evangelical history. But when the readers of the Church had rehearsed the former lessons, the Deacon because he might be seen of all and understood of all, pronounced out of a high place and pulpit, those things which should be showed out of the Gospel. Therefore while he went and ascended up upon the steppes, the people was accustomed to sing some verses of the Psalms, which they commonly called Graduals. Also they used therein Halleluiah with a certain cheerful cry, rejoicing at the glad tidings of the Gospel. This word Halleluiah seemeth to be taken from the church of Jerusalem: whereof there is mention both in the Apocalypse and in the title of certain Psalms. When the Gospel was recited, the Bishop or pastor of the Church, added an interpretation and exhortation: vices were corrected, and they consulted as touching them that should be excommunicated. Which things being thus finished, the Catechumen and others which would not communicate were sent away. But in our days, because there be seldom any Catechumen, and that those which are not to communicate stand by one together with another, yea and none well-near do communicate, except one sacrificing Priest; the Papists have deferred that Mission, unto the end of their abomination. For

then are they wont to say with a loud voice: Ite, *Missa est*, that is: Go your way: Ye have leave to depart. But in old time when those things were done which we have rehearsed, they which remained to be partakers of the holy Supper, sung the Creed, to the intent they might diligently admonish one another as touching the principal points of Religion wherein they should agree together. For in the Creed is contained the effect of our faith. This contents or sum, doubtless if a man attentively read the ancient Fathers, is called the Tradition of the Church, which both is drawn out of the Books of God, and is necessary to be believed unto salvation. And sometime it is alleged by Tertullian against the heretics, which denied the holy Books. The Synod of Nice set forth the full and perfect Creed: howbeit not first of all, for some things were extant before, as out of Tertullian we may perceive.

7. Moreover when they had sung the Creed, the standers by offered of their goods what they thought meet. Verily the offering had three manner of uses. For, a part was bestowed upon certain moderate feasts which the Christians at that time did celebrate very religiously: and they were commonly called ἀγάπαι: A part which remained was distributed to the poor. And finally thereof was set aside some bread and wine for the use of the holy Supper. And that this oblation of things was then used, two things do testify. First, certain verses sung by the people while the offering was made. Which verses are therefore called by them the Offertory. Further the same is known by those Collects which be had in that part of the Mass. Yea and Justin a very ancient Martyr, in his Apology made mention of this oblation: so did Cyprian also and diverse of the ancient Fathers. After these things, they which came to minister the holy supper, said: Lift up your hearts: even as the Ethnics in their Ceremonies were wont to cry: Do this. And very well (truly) and in good time did the Christians thus say, whereby

they might admonish themselves, that they should think upon no carnal nor earthly thing, but should altogether bend their mind unto heaven, where Christ is to be sought and not upon the earth, as though he were included in bread or wine. Lastly were given thanks, when it was said: We give thee thanks, Lord, holy Father, almighty and eternal God, through Christ our Lord &c. These things are most ancient and are everywhere in the most ancient Ecclesiastical writers: Yea also, the mystery itself of Christ's body and blood is called εὐχαριστία, because the whole confection thereof consisteth of thanksgiving. And when the Minister had said: Through Jesus Christ our Lord, he descended to the proper words of the supper. Which being recited, the Lord's prayer was added. But Xystus would that the people should before that sing Holy, Holy, Holy, &c. And that a convenient access might be given to that song, there were prefaces put between. But hereunto they have patched a Canon of their own, which a certain Schoolman made, as Gregory in his Register maketh mention. Who in deed is not allowed by the same Gregory, in that he would insert his own, and neglect the prayer of the Lord. The kiss of peace they say was invented by Leo the second, which seemeth not so unto me, seeing it was a custom in the Church even in the time of the Apostles, that Christians should one entertain another with a kiss of peace. Yea and Paul maketh mention in his Epistles of that kind of kiss. Also Justin Martyr in his second Apology, speaketh of this kiss. The song of Agnus Dei is said to be brought in hither by one Innocentius. All these things being finished, they came to the distribution of the sacrament. While the same was a doing, or when it was finished, the song of thanksgiving was added which they called the after Communion. When all this was complete and finished, the Minister adding a comfortable prayer licensed the people to depart. All these things, albeit

they led away the Christian people from that first simplicity of having the Lord's Supper, many things being added, as it seemed good to sundry men: yet might they after a sort be abidden, and not justly be accused of superstition or idolatry. Howbeit the same things were not in all Churches nor were not kept after one sort. For as yet it was otherwise in the Church of Millaine by the constitution of Ambrose: nevertheless afterward the Roman Antichrists corrupted all things.

8. But that those things which I have specified were by the old ordinance kept, I may easily show by the most ancient writers. Tertullian in *Apologetico* saith: We come together into the congregation and assembly; that praying unto God we may as it were hand in hand forcibly compass him about with prayers. This force is acceptable unto God. We also pray for Emperors, for their ministers and men in authority, for the state of this life, for the quietness of things, and for prolonging of the end. These things do show the sum of the Collects. And as touching the exercise of the Scriptures, he addeth: We come together to the rehearsal of the divine scriptures, if the quality of times present either compelleth us to forewarn or to call to remembrance. Doubtless by the holy words, we feed our faith, we advance our hope, we fasten our confidence. We nevertheless by often putting in mind, do strengthen the discipline of teachers. There also have we exhortations, chastisements and divine Censures. For judgment is given with great weight, &c. These be the things which were done in the holy assembly. Whereunto these also must be added, which the same Author elsewhere saith: namely, that the Eucharist was wont to be received at the hand of the chief prelates, &c. In these words we may have knowledge of the principal parts of the Mass which we have rehearsed. Justin Martyr in his second Apology writeth that upon the Sunday the Christians come

together, but of other feasts he maketh no mention. There he saith the holy scriptures were recited, unto which afterward the chief Prelate added his own exhortation. That (saith he) being done, we rise and pray: afterward he addeth, Unto the chief Prelate is brought the bread and the drink, over which he giveth thanks as heartily as he can: To whom answer is made of all men, Amen. These words declare two things not negligently to be passed over: First that thanks were not slightly given, but with all the power that might be, that is, with singular affection. Further it is manifest, that all things were spoken with an audible voice, seeing the people answered Amen. Afterward (saith he) the Eucharist is distributed. Last of all is a general thanksgiving, and offering of alms.

9. Dionysius in his Ecclesiastical Hierarchy rehearseth in a manner the selfsame things: namely, a recital of the Scriptures, a singing of Psalms, a communion, and other things which would be now overlong to declare: But (which seemeth the more strange) he maketh no mention of offering the body of Christ. Howbeit we must not think, that he was the same Areopagita who is spoken of in the Acts of the Apostles. But whosoever he was, there is no doubt (as I think) but that he was an ancient writer. And why I should think that he was not Areopagita, I am led by these reasons: first because the kind of writing which he useth, especially of divine names, and of heavenly governance, containeth rather a doctrine of vain philosophy than a doctrine of pure Christianity, and it is utterly void of edifying. Moreover those books be in a manner void of testimonies of the holy Scriptures. Further in his ecclesiastical Hierarchy he maketh Monks to be as a certain mean order between the clergy and laity, whereas in the Apostles time that kind of life was not as yet in the Church. Here withal the elder fathers in no place made mention of those books: which is an Argument that

those were none of the works of the Martyr. Gregorius Romanus first of all other in a certain homily of his, made mention of his writings. But passing over him come we to Augustine. That father in the 59th Epistle unto Paulinus, while he assoileth the fifth question, he expoundeth four words which are in the 1st Epistle to Timothy the 2nd chapter. And those be δεήσεις, προσευχαί, ἐντεύξεις, and εὐχαριστία. And he affirmeth that δεήσεις [*that is supplications*] do go before the Celebration of the Sacrament: And προσευχάς he maketh to be prayers, which are used in the very administration of the Sacrament, wherein after a sort we vow ourselves unto Christ: and ἐντεύξεις he thinketh to be petitions and requests, by which the minister of the Church prayeth for good things for the people which stand by. And finally he teacheth that εὐχαριστίαι were general thanksgivings. I might besides these bring many other monuments of the fathers if I thought not these to be sufficient. But to return to the name of Mass: I see that there were some also which thought the same to be derived of this word *Missio*, because those things which were offered by the faithful were said to be sent, and they think, that the Hebrew word *Masath* gave an occasion of that name, because the Jews used in time of the Pentecost to offer gifts. But for what cause I judge that the name of Mass was not derived from an Hebrew word, I have declared before: And this I now add: If the Mass took his name from the oblation of things which were given by the Godly, the Papists should abuse that name, who have there no respect at all to the alms of Godly men, but only to the oblation of the body and blood of Christ, which they commonly boast, and that impudently, that they offer unto the father for the quick and for the dead. But of those things I suppose we have spoken enough and at large.

Of Sacrifice.

10. Now there remaineth that we speak somewhat of Sacrifice. In seeking out of the definition thereof, first we find it to be a certain action, and the same voluntary: which I have therefore said, because there be some actions which they call natural, but those seeing they depend not of man's choice, cannot be called voluntary. Furthermore, Sacrifice should be referred to Religion, which I therefore speak, that I may remove and sever the same from civil and domestical works. For domestical works serve for the governing of a family: and civil works for the administration of commonwealths. But a Sacrifice is a Religious work: seeing it belongeth to the worshipping of God, and is instituted by him, that we may offer our things unto him, to that end doubtless that he should be honored, and that we may cleave unto him in a holy society, as Augustine in the 10th book *De Civitate Dei* the 7th chapter saith: and hereby we may perceive how far a sacrifice (if we speak properly thereof) differeth from a sacrament. Which is also a voluntary and religious work, and also instituted by God, that by it the promise and good gifts should be sealed and exhibited, because therein we offer not anything unto God, but he himself showeth forth signs and amplifieth his gifts unto us, while we receive with a sound faith those things which be offered.

11. But to make the matter more plain, let us briefly gather a definition of sacrifice. A sacrifice undoubtedly is a voluntary and religious action, instituted by God, that we should offer that which is ours unto him to his glory, and whereby we may the more straitly be coupled unto him in holy society. Unto this definition of sacrifice must be added a partition. Certain sacrifices be propitiatory, and others of thanksgiving. In the first kind God is become merciful unto men through the power and just desert thereof. But of this sort we have only one. Forsomuch as by the only death of Christ, the

eternal father is reconciled unto us, and by the merit of his one only oblation the elect have their sins forgiven them. But in the other kind of sacrifice we give thanks unto God, we celebrate his name, and to our power, we are obedient unto his will. Further it is to be understood that this kind of sacrifice is of two parts, one of the which is inward, whereby in very deed, we willingly and without compulsion refer our will and ourselves wholly and all that we have unto God: we make them subject unto him, and do consecrate them unto his name. The other part is outward, whereby, by some gift, and that visible and sensible we do, as it were by some token and sign, testify what we have in our mind, and unto him do offer somewhat of those things which he himself hath given us. So did the forefathers offer the first fruits, tenths and slain beasts. In which things they not only shadowed Christ the most acceptable sacrifice unto God, but also they testified what manner of will themselves had towards God. By these things it now appeareth, that the outward oblation or sacrifice unless it have the inward part joined with it, which it may truly testify to be in us, is not allowed by God: seeing they that offer in such sort do most foully lie unto God. For to testify that which is not true, belongeth to deceit, and seeing in all things and everywhere lying is discommended, yet is it far more pernicious and detestable if it be done before God. Thereof it arose that God said sundry times by his Prophets that the sacrifices of the Jews were unacceptable unto him, especially for because they made a show of worshipping him with their lips and outward signs, when as their mind was most far from him. Wherefore the inward part he requireth by itself, but the outward he hath no otherwise commanded, but as it may be offered jointly with the inward: otherwise if it shall be naked and alone, both it is unacceptable and highly displeaseth him.

12. If thou shalt demand what manner of outward works those be by which may be testified the inward sacrifice, there may be many reckoned. The slaughters of beasts for sacrifice, the oblations of first fruits and tenths, the which the fathers had while they were under the Law. Moreover there are applied outward words, by which thanks are given unto God, his praises are celebrated, and prayers are made. There be also duties of charity towards neighbors, mortifying of the affections of the flesh, and obedience to be done to the commandments of God. All these latter kinds of sacrifice are common as well to the Fathers as to us. These things we give unto God for testifying our faith and obedience towards him. And seeing there is no doubt of those former which were offered in time of the law, but that they in their times were sacrifices: least there should be a doubt of the other, which we named last, whether they may be counted in the place of sacrifices: it shall be confirmed by testimonies of the scriptures. In the 50th Psalm it is written: Offer unto God the sacrifice of praise. And in the 51st. A sacrifice to God is a troubled spirit, a contrite heart thou shalt not despise. Unto the Romans the 12th chap. I beseech you for the mercy of God that you give up your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, and acceptable to God. Micah in the 6th Chapter saith, I will tell thee O man, what God requireth of thee: Do judgment, love mercy, walk reverently, and modestly before God. Also Isaiah together with the rest of the Prophets hath written many things for the confirmation of this matter.

13. Neither is it to be passed over, that among these outward things which are offered as sacrifices unto God, there are certain degrees and an order appointed. For God himself doth testify that he preferreth mercy and charity towards our neighbors far above the rest. Wherefore in the 9th chapter of Matthew, is brought out of the Prophet Hosea: I will mercy and not

sacrifice. Moreover, it is written in the 1st of Samuel: Obedience is better than Sacrifices. These words teach us that among outward oblations, the killing of beasts, and Tenths, and fruits in the old time held the last place. But the chief place was given to the obedience which is showed unto the word of God, to charity towards our brethren, to thanksgiving, and to prayers. Neither is the end of Sacrifices lightly to be passed over, but with diligence to be set forth, especially as Augustine hath expressed the same: namely that we might with a holy fellowship cleave unto God. For without it, our works though they be never so excellent, can be no sacrifices. Yea and for this cause specially did the very death of Christ which was the chief and only sacrifice please God, for that Christ to no other end offered himself but to fulfill the will of his father, and to obey him as it was meet. But to these things which I have said I will also add another which Augustine writeth in his Epistle *Ad Deo gratias* the 3rd question: namely that in every sacrifice, God requireth two kind of things: First that our oblations be made unto the the true God: the which advise seeing the Idolaters do refuse, whatsoever they do in their rites turneth to their own destruction. The other is that the form of oblations consisteth of the doctrine of the holy scriptures, and proceedeth not of our own inventions and fainings.

14. There ariseth a doubt, because we have put a difference between a Sacrament and sacrifice: And yet, if the Fathers in the old law had in their oblations and sacrifices the selfsame thing that we have, when we celebrate the supper of the Lord (which no man doubteth to be a Sacrament) how will that stand, which we said before, that there is a difference between a Sacrifice and a Sacrament, seeing that of necessity the Sacrifices of the old fathers must also be Sacraments, To this I answer, that the reasons in deed

of these things are diverse, yet that proveth not, but that one thing may be both a Sacrament and a Sacrifice. For no man doubteth but that Philosophy and the strength of the body are diverse things, which nevertheless, are both to be seen in one man. So likewise it happeneth here, that one thing may be both a Sacrifice and a Sacrament, although the consideration of a Sacrament and a Sacrifice is diverse. When the supper of the Lord is celebrated, in that the body and blood of Christ are by faith and spirit given unto us to be received, and the promise of that conjunction which we have with Christ sealed, so that we are the members of his body, in this respect (I say) it is a Sacrament and so is called, because in that Action, God giveth his gifts unto us. But in that by the same action we celebrate the memory of the death of Christ, give thanks for the benefits received, consecrate, and offer ourselves unto God, it is, and may be called a just Sacrifice, because we offer most acceptable oblations unto God. The selfsame thing may we see in the killing of the Sacrifices which were done before God in old time. For those also were Sacraments, whereby Christ was set forth to the old fathers to be received of them by faith, and whereby they communicated before God in eating and drinking together. All these things I say, belonged to the nature of a Sacrament, and yet the same were also Sacrifices, seeing therein they did consecrate both theirs and themselves unto God.

15. But seeing Christ is said to be sacrificed, what mean these sacrificers, which say that he is daily sacrificed in the Mass? For the which cause it is to be noted, that in the supper of the Lord, there may be four oblations. The first is of the bread and wine, which was brought in by the people. Of a certain portion whereof was the Eucharist celebrated, of which the faithful communicated among themselves, and that which remained was distributed unto the poor. And of the same oblation, Irenaeus, Cyprian, and the

Ecclesiastical Stories do speak. And Paul unto the Philippians, the 4th chapter showeth that alms are Sacrifices, when he writeth that he received those things which they sent him, as a sweet-smelling Sacrifice unto God. Secondly there is a thanksgiving which in the holy scriptures is called a Sacrifice of praise. Thirdly the Communicants do offer themselves unto God to be governed and mortified: Of which Sacrifice, how it hath relation hither, thou hast it twice in the Epistle to the Romans. First: Give your bodies a holy and living Sacrifice, acceptable unto God. And in the 15th chapter the Apostle writeth, that He administered the Gospel to the intent that the oblation of the Gentiles may be acceptable and sanctified through the holy Ghost. Fourthly to conclude, when he speaketh there as touching the memorial of the death of Christ which was the true sacrifice, by a figurative speech, the Eucharist or Supper of the Lord taketh his name of that thing which it representeth, and is called a sacrifice: as Augustine saith upon the Psalm: that by remembrance and cogitation Christ is daily offered. By these reasons I perceive the Fathers were led to use in the Eucharist the name of sacrifice and immolation. Which nevertheless I would not use, seeing the holy Scripture calleth it not so, from whose phrase of speech we must not rashly depart: And thou shalt not at any time find in the holy Scriptures, that the ministers of Churches or the Apostles are called priests, for that is fully and wholly attributed unto Christ. And as the Epistle to the Hebrews hath: The Priesthood was translated unto him, and seeing he remaineth forever, he hath no need of a successor. And weak is the Argument of them which bring the saying of Malachi of offering the Sacrifice called in Hebrew *Minchah*, unto the name of the Lord in every place. For Irenaeus interpreteth this of bread, wine, and gifts, which (as we said before) was offered by the faithful in the supper of the Lord. Howbeit

Tertullian against the Jews and against Marcion, expoundeth it of spiritual oblations: I mean prayers, thanksgiving, and godly Sermons. Of the same opinion was Jerome upon Malachi: But the cause why the Prophet maketh mention of *Minchah* before other Sacrifices, is for that the same was universal and was adjoined to all Sacrifices, and so might it easily be offered by poor and simple men.

16. In like manner it is but weak that is objected out of the Council of Nice, that therein is mention made of an unbloody host or Sacrifice: which we deny not if thou wilt refer it to a memorial and thanksgiving. But unto them it is no unbloody Sacrifice, seeing they boast that they have true, and as they term it real blood in the Sacrament. Further according to this opinion not only the minister but the faithful, so many as do eat and drink of the Table of the Lord do Sacrifice although (as we have said) we should not use this word, seeing the holy scriptures speak not so of the Eucharist. Neither may they speak ill of us, as though we take away from Ministers their dignity. For they have their honor still for ought that we say. Let them teach all nations, let them baptize, let them administer the Sacraments, and let them retain discipline in the Church, and let them not think that they have lost their degree, if it be denied that they offer Christ unto God the Father. What more excellent and honorable thing can they have, than to be the Ambassadors of Christ, and to reconcile the world unto God by their preaching, as we read in the 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians? In the Acts of the Apostles we have, λειτουργούντων καί νηστευόντων: Which place although Erasmus translateth: Whiles they were Sacrificing and fasting, yet in his annotations he saith that he understandeth by the Sacrifice, the preaching of the Gospel. Neither is λειτουργεῖν properly to sacrifice, but to execute a public office and action. The Greek expositions also in that place

refer that unto the preaching of the Gospel. And let these men see how they can be otherwise counted than blasphemous, seeing they brag that they offer Christ unto God the father: because it followeth hereupon, that they make themselves better and more worthy than Christ. For he that offereth cannot be unworthier than the thing offered. Whereupon Irenaeus when he useth the word of offering, plainly speaketh it of the oblation which he referreth unto the bread and unto the wine, because it receiveth the dignity from him that offereth, and is therefore acceptable unto God, because he that offereth it is acceptable unto him. And thereby it is most manifest that be cannot understand these things of Christ: For Christ is not acceptable unto God for the Sacrifice sake, but contrariwise rather, we be acceptable unto God for Christ's sake. And I marvel that some would object against this our Argument the Baptism ministered unto Christ by John the Baptist, seeing that was a Sacrament, not a Sacrifice. And we doubt not, but that Sacraments may be ministered by them that are unworthy unto them that shall be better worthy. So then this instance is but vain, seeing a Sacrament hath not dignity by the Minister. But a sacrifice (as saith Irenaeus) getteth honor unto itself by him that offereth. And even this do we read in Isaiah, in the Psalms, in Micah the Prophet and elsewhere, that God detesteth those Sacrifices which were offered without faith, charity, and a good conscience.

17. Many also are wont to say of the sacrifice of Melchizedek, that now there is a priesthood according to that order extant in the Church: Wherefore (say they) even as he offered bread and wine unto God, so we in the form of bread and wine offer the son of God, whereby the thing signified and shadowed, may excel the figures and shadows thereof. But as touching this, the history of the book of Genesis hath not, that Melchizedek offered bread and wine unto God, but unto Abraham and his host, being

wearied. So Rabbi Solomon interpreteth that. Neither can this Hebrew word *Jatsa* in the conjugation *Hiphil*, otherwise signify than either to bring forth, or to bring out. Only Rabbi Solomon added that therein might be a figure, because in that place namely in Jerusalem it behooved them in old time to offer an oblation of wine and *Mincha*. But as touching the history he affirmeth, that those things were offered unto Abraham and to his host: And that Melchizedek would by this gift declare, that he took it not in ill part that his posterity was cut off by Abraham. For he maketh this Melchizedek as other Hebrews do, to be Sem the son of Noah. And therefore went he out to gratify him with bread and wine, that thereby Abraham and his host which were weary, might be refreshed. Ambrose also in his Treatise of the Sacraments plainly saith, that these things were offered unto Abraham. And Augustine in his book of Questions of the Old Testament, writeth that the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ was offered unto Abraham. Now then unto the Fathers which say, that Melchizedek offered unto God, we object the truth of the Hebrew, and other fathers which we have now cited. But admit that he offered unto God, what is this unto the Mass? They shall have no other than an allegorical Argument, which in very deed, is most weak. Further we deny not, but that bread in the supper of the Lord, is after a sort offered unto God to be sanctified, and that it is made a sacrament by him. The difficulty and matter in debate is, whether Christ himself is offered unto God the father by massing priests: the which as it hath been said, these men do not prove. And that a priesthood remaineth in the Church according to the order of Melchizedek, we deny not, by reason of Christ who being our high priest, is entered into heaven, and for us maketh intercession to the Father. Of the which matter it is sufficiently written in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Another Common Place of Sacrifice.

18. And in Sacrifices it is to be observed, that God accepteth better of him that offereth, than of the Sacrifice, yea the oblations please not him but for the offerers sake. This judgment Iraeneus proveth by the Scriptures in his 4th book and 34th chapter. For God had a regard unto Abel and to his gifts, but unto Cain and his gifts he looked not, because of the disposition of them that offered. For look what manner of will he that offereth hath towards God, the like will hath God to the oblation. Christ also saith: If thou bring thy gift unto the altar, and rememberest that thy brother hath somewhat against thee, go and reconcile thee first unto thy brother: and then come and offer thy gift. As though he should say: if whilst thou art evil and enemy unto God, thou doest offer, thine oblation shall not be acceptable unto God. Wherefore Irenaeus concludeth, that it is not the sacrifice which sanctifieth, but the conscience of the sacrificer. And he addeth a reason: because God needeth not our sacrifice. Among men, the evil man oftentimes may be absolved, because men are sometimes covetous and needy, and are easily won with money. But if it happen the judge to be both just and good, he will reject the money, neither will he suffer his equity after that manner to be stained. So God, because he cannot be won by flattery, observeth the minds of men and not the Sacrifices. In Isaiah the 66th chapter, he saith: He that Sacrificeth a beast, is as if he slew a dog: not that God hateth sacrifices in general, but because he alloweth not the oblations of evil men. I have the largelier spoken of these things, because the Papists boast, that in Masses they offer Christ unto God the father: which if it should be granted, then must God the father more esteem a naughty sacrificer than he doth his son. But the wife of Manoah reasoneth most wittily: God hath received our sacrifice, therefore he is not angry, neither will he destroy us. We count the

sacrifices of Christians to be a contrite heart, prayers, giving of thanks, alms, mortifying the affections of the flesh, and such like. These are left unto us after the abrogation of the carnal sacrifices, that we should offer them as the fruits of our faith, and testimonies of a thankful mind. But as touching the pacifying of God, Christ offered himself once upon the Cross, neither is there any need that any man should offer him again. For by one oblation he accomplished all things. Now remaineth, that we embrace his sacrifice with faith, and we shall have God merciful unto us: who of his goodness, will by Christ accept those sacrifices which we have now made mention of.

19. But Augustine against the letters of Parmenianus, in his 2nd book the 8th chapter seemeth at the first sight to make against us. For the Donatists would not communicate with other Christians, because they counted them defiled and impure. And they cited a place out of John: We know that God heareth not sinners. Your men (say they) have betrayed the holy books, have burnt incense unto Idols, have denied God, how then shall God hear them? Augustine answereth, that it may be that an evil Minister, although he be not heard for his own cause, yet when he prayeth for the people he may be heard. And he confirmeth his saying by the Example of Balaam. For he being a most wicked man, prayed unto God, and was heard. But if a man diligently examine these things, he shall find that Augustine is not against us, although at the first sight he seemeth a little to press us. When he had said that the evil Ministers also are heard, he straight way addeth, that is not done for their wickedness sake, but because of the faith and devotion of the people. Whereby we gather, that although the Minister be the guide in words, yet are they not his prayers, but the prayers of the church. For there must be one certain man which must recite the prayers for the rest, least in

the multitude should arise a confusion or tumult, if every man should endeavor to make loud prayers in the Church. Wherefore the Minister is a certain mouth of the Church. So as if he be evil, it is not he which is herd, but the faithful people which speak by his words. And this doeth Augustine teach when he writeth that an evil minister is heard, not for his own wickedness, but for the faith and devotion of the people. Hereby are we admonished, that while we are present at public prayers, we must take very diligent heed, and assure ourselves that these prayers which are recited, are ours. But Balaam by a certain form of prayers, prophesied, and therefore his words are called a blessing, because he prophesied happy things unto the people of God. And he was not moved unto these prayers of his own will, but was set on by the spirit of God. And so he was not heard, but the holy Ghost was the true Author of his words.

20. That which is alleged out of John: to wit, That God heareth not sinners: Augustine saith, that that was not the saying of Christ, but of the blind man, which was not yet fully lightened. Wherefore he affirmeth that sentence not to be generally true. For (as they define) the prayers of perverse Ministers are sometimes heard, because they are the prayers of the Church. But as touching the offering up of Christ, I think not that the Papists will grant that the whole Church offereth him, seeing they will have that to be peculiar to the Mass-mongers. And though they should grant that, yet is not the whole Church greater and more acceptable unto God than is Christ: Because he is not acceptable unto God for the Church sake, but the Church is acceptable unto God for Christ's sake. But to return to the saying of John: That God heareth not sinners, adding a profitable distinction, we may thus expound it. There are some sinners which fall of weakness, or sin of ignorance, which yet afterward do acknowledge themselves, are

sorrowful and repent faithfully. But there are other which sin without conscience, which are destitute of faith, neither are they led with any repentance. The first sort, because they have faith, are heard, the other, for as much as they want faith do in vain pour out their prayers. Howbeit if a man will object the Publican, who being a sinner, prayed unto God, and departed justified: I answer that that Publican was in such sort a sinner, that yet when he prayed he was not without faith; nay rather he prayed from a faithful heart, otherwise God would not have heard his prayers. And undoubtedly James doeth right well admonish us when he saith: Pray having faith. To conclude, that sentence is firm and perfect, wherein it is said: Whatsoever is offered unto God for a sacrifice, the same is acceptable unto him, if faith and justification of him that offereth goeth before. Some cavil as touching the first act of faith whereby we begin first to assent unto God: And they doubt whether it be acceptable unto God or no. Certainly, before it, he which now beginneth to believe, is an enemy. Then (say they) if that first consent be acceptable unto God, then accepteth he the gift of an enemy: but if it be not acceptable, then it justifieth not. To this I answer two ways: first that men are not justified through the worthiness of the act of faith, but by the firm promise of God which faith embraceth. Further when any man first assenteth and believeth, then is he first of an enemy made a friend: And although before he was an enemy, yet so soon as he believeth he is made a friend, and ceaseth to be an enemy. But that which we have before concluded that he which offereth is more acceptable unto God than the gift, the Ethnics themselves saw. For Plato in Alcibiade maketh mention that the Athenians upon a time made war against the Lacedemonians, and when they were overcome, they sent messengers unto Jupiter Ammon, by whom, they said that they marveled for what cause, seeing they had offered

so great gifts unto the gods, and contrariwise that their enemies had sacrificed sparingly and niggardly, and yet had the victory over them. Ammon answered that the gods more esteemed the prayers of the Lacedemonians than the most fat sacrifices of the Athenians. For when they burnt Oxen unto their gods, in the mean time they thought nothing of their souls. So in Homer, Jupiter speaketh: that the gods are not moved with the smoke and smell of sacrifices, seeing they hated Priamus and the Trojans. Wherefore the Ethnics understood that which the Papists at this day see not: who think that their blind sacrificer though he be never so impure and ungodly, doeth yet with his hands offer up Christ unto God the Father.

Of Altars.

21. In the old time there were two sorts of Altars, one of whole burnt offerings, and another of incense. To the first doubtless the Priests only had access, but to the latter, the laity did also go: Neither did they repair thither for any other cause but for their safety. And that men were sometimes saved there when they were in danger, it is sufficiently showed in the 12th of Exodus. I suppose that in the first of Kings the 13th Chapter, an Altar by the figure Synecdoche, betokeneth all that same perverse worshiping, or else that under the name of the Instrument is signified the effect. For no man is ignorant, but that an altar at that time was the principal instrument of the divine service. Yea and Paul useth that word in this sense, when unto the Corinthians he saith: They which wait at the Altar, are partakers of the Altar. Which thing is nothing else, but that it is meet that they which are occupied in the service of God, should have their living thereof. Also Cyprian and Augustine disagree not from that sense, when they say, that Schematics or Heretics erect an altar against an altar, that is, they institute in the Church diverse and contrary services of God. Albeit to say what I think, the fathers

should not with so much liberty in the New Testament have seemed here and there to abuse the name of Altar. For Altar is referred to an outward sacrifice: but seeing this hath place no more among us, because we offer no more outward sacrifices of slain beasts, and that our sacrifices be nothing else than prayers, praises, thanksgivings, mortification of the flesh, and Alms deeds, therefore the correlative (as the Logicians speak) of an Altar being taken away, neither can itself be extant or had. Against this opinion, Bishop Tonstall now lately in England would needs oppose himself, and prove that the Christians also have Altars among them. He brought a saying out of the Epistle to the Hebrews, We have an Altar whereof it is not lawful for them to eat which Minister in the tabernacle. And when it was said to him, that Altar in that place was nothing else but Christ himself: What (saith he) but is it not lawful to eat Christ? Little considering those whom the Apostle drove from eating of Christ: namely they which refusing the Gospel altogether, clave to the Jewish services: for how could such manner of men being envious unto Christ, eat of him? But Petrus Alexandrinus in a certain Epistle of his, which is extant in Theodoretus the 4th book and 22nd chapter, went so far that he attributed more to the outward Altar than to the lively Temples of Christ. For when he had complained that the wicked in the time of Valens the Emperor in the Church of Alexandria, had drawn the virgins naked through the City, and had most shamefully violated them, and also beaten and slain them, he added, that they being not satisfied with those heinous deeds, devised more grievous things, to wit, that they violated and polluted the Altar of the Temple. Also Optatus Mileuitanus in the 6th book against Parmenianus: What is an Altar, (saith he?) Even the seat of the body and blood of Christ. Such sayings as these edified not the people, but rather drove them to the Ethnic and Jewish Rites, when as of a certain

foolish blind zeal they borrowed both Altars and other Rites as well of the Jews as of the Ethnics. Origen also in the 10th Homily upon Joshua maketh mention of an Altar. Likewise Tertullian in his book *De Poenitentia* writeth that there were wont to be certain kneeling's about the Altar. Much more sincerely and wisely did some of the fathers instead of Altar put Table, or in Greek τράπεζα, of which, the faithful took signs of the Eucharist.

CHAP. XIII. Of a Magistrate, and of the difference between Civil and Ecclesiastical power.

Now it remaineth that I entreat of a Magistrate, who in my judgment may thus be described: Namely, A person chosen by the institution of God, to keep the laws as touching outward discipline, in punishing of transgressors with punishment of the body, and to defend and make much of the good. There are undoubtedly many persons elected by the institution of God, which are not Magistrates: such be the Ministers of Churches, which nevertheless are keepers of the word of God and of his law, but not only as touching outward discipline. Because it is the office of ministers, through the word of God to pierce even to the inward motions of the mind: because the holy Ghost joineth his power, both to the right preaching of his word, and also to the sacraments which are ministered in the Church. But the Magistrate only exerciseth outward discipline and punishment upon transgressors. The minister in the name of God, bindeth the guilty and unpenitent, and in his name excludeth them from the kingdom of heaven, as long as they shall so remain. The Magistrate punisheth with outward punishments, and when need requireth, useth the sword. Both of them

nourish the godly, but diversely. The Magistrate advanceth them with honors, riches and dignities. The minister comforteth them with the promises of God and with the sacraments. Wherefore the Magistrate is appointed to the end that the laws should be diligently kept, the guilty punished, and the good holpen and fostered. And certainly the law is a dumb Magistrate: and again, the Magistrate, is a living and speaking law, and is also the Minister of God (as Paul saith) to their praise which do well: and on the other side he beareth the sword against the wicked as a judge and revenger of God. Neither tend these things to any other end than to the safety of men.

2. Howbeit the form of Magistrates is not of one sort but manifold: as *Monarchia*, [*the government of one*] *Aristocrasia* [*the rule of many good men*,] and *Politia* [*politic government*.] Or else *Tyrannis*, [*where one rules for his own commodity*,] *Oligarchia*, [*where a few be in authority*,] and *Democratia*, [*when the people bear the sway*.] The descriptions and natures of which forms Plato, Aristotle, and other Philosophers, have elegantly described. Of all these manners of government the best is to be desired. And all men to whom it pertaineth ought to provide, that a good or tolerable estate, degenerate not into an evil one. But if it happen at any time that Tyrants or wicked princes obtain the governance, that must be suffered as much as the word of God giveth leave. The Jews were by violence oppressed of the Babylonians: whom nevertheless, God admonished that they should obey, and to pray for the King although he were a Tyrant, and possessed the kingdom of the Hebrews most wrongfully. Caesar also held Jewry by Tyranny, and yet Christ said: Give that which is Caesar’s unto Caesar, and the things that are of God unto God. The Apostles also have taught that we must obey princes and pray for them. Nero was a most

shameful beast, to whom notwithstanding the Apostle in his Epistle to the Romans showeth that obedience ought to be given, not only for fear but also for conscience sake. Phocas attained to the Empire of Rome, by evil practices, and most cruelly slew Maurice his prince, and also his children, whom nevertheless the Romans acknowledged for their Emperor: and Gregory the first, read unto the people his commandments and writings. But and if thou shalt demand what form of a public-wealth the Jews had, it may easily be known. At the beginning they had *Aristocrasia* [*where the best sort ruled*.] For God approved the counsel of Jethro, which was, that there should be chosen out wise men and courageous, and such as feared God which should govern the public-wealth, as it is written in Exodus and Deuteronomy. Yea and God himself with his spirit did so inspire these 70 men (whom he had commanded to be chosen as helpers of Moses in the government,) as they also prophesied. On this wise were the Israelites governed, although afterward they were ruled by a king.

3. But this must not be omitted that princes in the holy scriptures are not only called Deacons, or Ministers of God, but also Pastors: Of whom Ezekiel complaineth for many causes, for that they cruelly and perversely fed the people of God. Homer also calleth his *Agamemnon* the pastor of the people. For they ought not to bear rule as thieves or hirelings, to fleece and to oppress, but to keep, nourish, and feed like Pastors. They are also called Fathers, wherefore the Senators among the Romans were called *Patres conscripti*, that is, appointed Fathers. Neither was there a greater or more ancient honor in the Commonwealth, than to be called, The father of the Country. Yea also a Magistrate by the law of God is comprehended under this commandment, Honor thy father and thy mother. Princes then owe unto their subjects a fatherly love, and they ought always to remember that they

are not rulers over beasts, but over men, and that themselves also are men: who yet should be far better and more excellent, than those whom they govern, otherwise they are not fit to govern them. For we make not a sheep the chief ruler over sheep, but the Bellwether, and then the shepherd. And even as a shepherd excelleth the sheep, so ought they to whom the office of a Magistrate is committed, to excel the people. Now must we consider by whom Magistrates are ordained. That is sometime done by the consent of the Senate, sometime by the voices of the people, or by the will of the soldiers, or else by succession of inheritance. Howbeit these are but instruments. But the proper cause of Magistrates is God himself, which may be proved by many reasons. First there is by God kindled a certain light in the hearts of men, whereby they understand that they cannot live together without a guide: and from thence sprung the office of a Magistrate. The law of God also commandeth to obey Magistrates. And before the law given by Moses, as it is written in Genesis, God ordained that he which sheddeth man's blood, his blood also should be shed, not rashly in deed or by every man (for that were very absurd). We may then gather by those words, that a Magistrate was plainly instituted by God, that he should punish man-killers. Paul also writeth that, all powers whatsoever they be, are ordained of God. And Christ answered unto Pilate, Thou shouldest have no power against me, except it had been given thee from above. By these testimonies and reasons it is proved, that God is the true and proper cause of Magistrates.

4. But here some cavil saying: If all Magistrates be of God, then must all things be rightly governed: But in governing of public-wealths we see that many things are done naughtily and perversely. Doubtless, under Nero, Domitian, Commodus, Caracalla, and Heliogabolus, good laws were despised, good men killed, and discipline of the City was utterly corrupted.

But if the Magistrate were of God, such things had never happened. This reason neither can nor ought anything to move us, because the office is to be separated from the person. And certainly it may be that he which hath the office may be a naughty and wicked man, when as nevertheless the authority itself is good and very profitable. For there is nothing so good, but that men by their naughtiness may use it ill. Wherefore it is no marvel, if there have been kings and Emperors which sometime have abused the power given them, which notwithstanding they were not so able to corrupt, but that men by it received many good things and commodities, as I have before showed. By the testimony of Daniel, it is most manifest that Magistrates are of God: For (saith he) he giveth and translateth kingdoms at his own pleasure. Furthermore, we see that the Monarch hath sometime been in the East, sometime in the South, afterward in the West, and sometimes in the North: and that otherwhile there have been good princes, otherwhile evil: sometimes have reigned noble men, and sometime men of obscure kindred. And we perceive, it oftentimes happeneth that riches or power further not to the obtainment or holding of a kingdom, and to think that these things are done by chance without the providence of God, it is most absurd.

5. Some Astronomer perhaps will say, that these changes or alterations are brought in by the stars: But Daniel, the Minister of truth, saith that it is God which changeth times. For even as he hath in the year appointed the seasons of times, so as it pleaseth him doth he sometimes establish princes, and sometime taketh them away. He cast down Saul, and he also promoted David. And he foretold that he would so do, least it might have seemed to happen rashly or by chance. Yea and kingdoms and public-wealths, may be called certain workhouses, or shoppes of the will of God. For that is done in

them which God himself hath decreed to be done, although princes oftentimes understand it not. God called the Medes and the Assyrians, to afflict the Israelites: and those when it seemed good unto him he expelled and took away. He raised up the Persians against the Chaldeans, and the Grecians against the Persians, and lastly the Romans against all other nations. Who divided the kingdom of the Hebrews into Judah and Israel? God verily did it. Ahias the Silonite did foretell that it should so come to pass, and said that the word was come forth from the Lord that it should so be. Who overthrew Ahab? Who caused Jehu to be anointed, but only God? But there are certain tyrants, which destroy public-wealths. I grant it, but our wickedness and sins deserve it. For there be oftentimes so grievous sins, and so many that they cannot be corrected by the ordinary Magistrate, and by a gentle and quiet government of things. And therefore God doth then provide Tyrants to afflict the people: And yet for the most part he tempereth and qualifieth his punishment in placing among them good and godly princes. After the fall of Nero, he set up Vespasian: After Domitian he sent Nerva and Trajan: After Commodus, Pertinax and Severus: After Heliogabalus, Alexander. But they which say: the wicked acts of Tyrants are not of God, yet do those things spread abroad into kingdoms and Empires: Therefore Empires and kingdoms are not of God: they I say make a false Syllogism A secundum quid, ad simpliciter: that is, from that which is in some respect, unto that which is absolute. Neither is this a perfect conclusion. Certain things in a Magistrate are not of God, therefore the Magistrate himself is not of God. Or else they reason ill from Accidents: For vices and wicked acts happen to public powers, but are not joined unto them by themselves, or by their own nature. But some man will doubt: If the Magistrate be an Ethnic and also a Tyrant, whether it be lawful for a

godly man to use his help and aid. What else? Paul appealed unto Caesar a most wicked Tyrant. But it may seem, he did against his own precepts. For in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, he reprehended those Christians which pleaded causes at the judgment places of the Ethnics. He justly reproved the Corinthians because there were Christians among them which might in the Church have decided their causes: Neither was it convenient that Christians should contend with Christians at the judgment places of the ungodly. But Paul when he appealed unto Caesar, had not to do with Christians, but with the Jews and president of Rome. Wherefore seeing he had not a faithful Magistrate, neither could it otherwise be done, and his life also was sought, he did not ill in craving the tuition and help of the common Magistrate, although he were an Ethnic. For even as we use the Sun and Moon, so also is it lawful to use the public and ordinary Magistrate, what manner of man soever he be.

6. The Christian Church did even so, when as yet there were no Christian Emperors. For Paulus Samosatenus was condemned as a heretic, and being a Bishop was cast from his dignity. But because he would not go out of the house which belonged to the bishop, there was suit made unto Aurelianus the Emperor, and aid obtained at his hands, who compelled him to deliver his house unto the new Bishop. Who can say that the Church herein sinned, because it used the public Magistrate, though he were an Infidel? But let us return from whence we digressed, and let us constantly believe that the Magistrate is of God, though oftentimes (our sins deserving the same) many things are by him done wickedly and unjustly. Howbeit Hosea the Prophet seemeth yet to be against us when he saith: They have reigned but not by me. But we must understand that Hosea entreated of tyrants which neither regarded laws, neither nourished the good nor took away the evil from

among the people, and therefore they reigned not by God, but by their own lusts. They regarded their own affections, and not the law of God. Further they invaded kingdoms, being stirred up by their own lusts, and driven by their own ambition: not as they which felt the calling of God unto a kingdom. Neither did they take authority upon them, with a will to obey God, but to satisfy their own ambition. This was not to reign by God. But that they were not promoted to the kingdom by the will of God, that is contrary well near to the whole scripture. For God called Nebuchadnezzar his servant, because he would use his labor to afflict the Israelites, whereas notwithstanding, it might have been said that he reigned not by God, because he fought against the Jews for his own pleasure sake, and not of a zeal to fulfill the will of God. So that the saying of Hosea the Prophet is nothing against us, but that we may believe that the Magistrate is of God, and that we ought to obey him. Paul saith, Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. The same is written to Titus. And in the first Epistle of Peter the 2nd chapter. And Paul to Timothy addeth, That we should pray for them. But the Papists and they which will be called Ecclesiastical men, will not give ear hereunto: For they cry, that they are exempted from public and ordinary powers, whereas yet the Apostle used no exception, when he said, Let every soul be subject to the higher powers: Again, He which resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. Yea and Chrysostom also upon that place, saith, that the Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, and Monks are comprehended under that Law. And Chrysostom wrote these things of Ecclesiastical persons: whenas nevertheless he himself was Bishop of Constantinople, and we had then Christian Emperors.

7. But it is a world to hear the arguments which these false ecclesiastical men use. In the *Extravagants De Maioritate & Obedientia*, in the chapter

Unam Sanctam, Boniface the eighth whom they write to have entered in as a Fox, reigned like a Lion, and died like a dog, saith that there be two swords in the Church. And least he should seem to speak it rashly, he citeth these words out of the 22nd Chapter of Luke: When I sent you without bag or scrip, did ye at any time want anything? They said unto him, No. Christ added: But now I say unto you, let every man take his scrip and wallet, and he which hath none let him sell his coat, and buy a sword. They said unto him, behold here are two swords. Christ answered, it is sufficient. Boniface saith: Two swords are sufficient for the Church: namely, the spiritual sword, and the temporal. Wherefore they which say that Peter had not an outward sword, do seem not to understand the words of Christ, wherein he said unto Peter: Put up thy sword into thy sheath. Thy sword (saith he) and not another man's. For he had a sword of his own, although he were bidden to put it up. But there must needs be some order kept in these swords: seeing what powers so ever be, they be ordained by God. And there would be a great confusion, if, two swords being in the Church, the one should not be governed by the other. So then the Temporal sword ought to be governed by the spiritual. And to make this Argument more plain: The Church (saith he) hath two swords, but it useth not them after one and the selfsame manner. For it exerciseth the spiritual sword, but the temporal sword ought to be drawn only at the beck and sufferance of the Church. This is so obscure, that it may in a manner seem to be a riddle. Howbeit this is his meaning, that the sword of the Emperor ought to be drawn only at the will and pleasure of the Pope: That when he commandeth, he must strike: and by sufferance, that is, he must go foreward in striking, so long as he listeth and will suffer it. These things therefore must be in order: and the order is, that the temporal sword be reduced unto God by the spiritual. For as saith that

Dionysius, (who is thought to be the Areopagite, whereas he is another) All inferior things are referred to the chiefest, but yet by a mean. Wherefore (saith he) the temporal sword must be drawn at the Popes beck, that so it may be referred unto God. Thus we see it to be done at this day: For so often as the most holy father doth hold up his finger to make war against the Lutherans, he will have the Emperor forthwith to obey. And if any prince will not with competent submission obey him, straight way, legates are sent up and down, that all other Kings and Princes should bend themselves to his beck, and to vex and withstand him that will not obey him.

8. Boniface addeth moreover, that he himself is above all Kings and Princes. For principality is to be esteemed according to the dignity of the things which be exercised by it. We (saith he) exercise spiritual things, and they temporal: their sword therefore is inferior to ours, and they unto us. He addeth also another reason: They pay unto us tenths, but tenths are paid by the inferior unto the superior: wherefore seeing kings and Princes pay tenths, they testify that their lands and revenues belong to the Church, and that they are subject unto it. Besides this, he which blesseth, is greater than he which is blessed: but Bishops consecrate and anoint Kings. The Gloss addeth, that of Kings, only the right shoulder is anointed, but Bishops have their heads anointed. Kings are anointed with Oil, but Bishops with Chrism: So then we must needs confess that Kings are inferior to Bishops. Furthermore Kings receive their crown and scepter of Bishops. For who (saith he) invested Saul, and who David, but Samuel? Who anointed Jehu, but a Prophet sent by Helizeus? The thing also which is exercised by Bishops is greater, than that whereabout Kings are occupied. For Christ said unto Peter: Whatsoever thou shalt bind in earth, shall be bound in heaven. This power is greater than all human power. And God said unto Jeremiah: I

will set thee over nations and kingdoms, that thou mayest root out and destroy, scatter and plant, therefore we are greater than all the power of Kings, and are exempted from their Law: So that the profane and lay powers of Emperors and Kings must be judged by Ecclesiastical persons, and ought by us to be appointed, and may by us be overthrown. For unto whom it belongeth to build, to the same it pertaineth to destroy: Therefore the spiritual Magistrate ought to judge of the Civil Magistrate. But if the spiritual offend in anything, of whom ought he to be judged? The lesser (saith he) ought to be judged of the greater. Then of whom shall the Pope which is the highest of all be judged? Of no man (saith he) except God only: because he that is spiritual, is judged of no man, but he judgeth all things. Hath he not trimly erected his tyranny? He calleth only himself spiritual. The Glosser although he were otherwise gross enough, yet could he not be so much a block, but that he saw these things to be spoken very absurdly. how (saith he) is the Pope spiritual, if he be impure and wicked? He expoundeth himself by this distinction: There is (saith he) one manner of spiritualty of the person, and another of the state: Then, if there be some spiritual person, he may reprove all men by a brotherly admonition, but he ought to be reprehended of no man: for that he being spiritual committeth nothing amiss. But otherwhile some person which is not spiritual in life and manners, ought nevertheless to be called spiritual because of his degree: as are many Bishops and Popes. Wherefore we must call the bishop of Rome, whatsoever he be, spiritual and most holy. Howbeit, what else is this, but to teach us to lie, and that if they will have a shameful harlot, yet they must be called most holy? Boniface at the last concludeth that all emperors and Kings must be subject to his power only. And he addeth a reason: unless we will together with the Manichee's appoint two beginnings. Which ought not

to be done: for Moses said not, In the beginnings, but in the beginning God created heaven and earth: wherefore (saith he) we define, determine, and pronounce, that all men ought of the necessity of salvation, to obey the Pope, as the chiefest power. And thus (trimly forsooth) he concludeth that all ecclesiastical persons are exempt from the civil Magistrate.

9. Before I come to confute this boasting more than Thrasonical, I think it expedient to speak of two manner of powers: namely, of the Ecclesiastical power and Civil power. In that it is said that the ecclesiastical power is preferred, above all Civil function, it is somewhat that they say, so it be rightly and aptly understood. All Ecclesiastical power is established by the word of God, so as without it, it is none at all. But the word of God is a common rule, whereby all things ought to be directed and tempered. For it teacheth in what manner the outward sword and public-wealth ought to be governed: And generally also it showeth how all things ought to be done of all men. So Ambrose when as Theodosius the Emperor raged too cruelly and without all consideration against the Thessalonians, persuaded him, that in all punishment of death, there should be 30 days space after the sentence given, least the Magistrate should do those things in a rage and fury, whereof although he afterward repented him, yet they might not be any more remedied. So, many Bishops oftentimes in things most weighty, used their authority, and many times either put away cruel wars, or else pacified them, and even while wars were in hand preached Sermons out of the word of God. So that the Ecclesiastical power after this manner comprehendeth all things, because out of the word of God it findeth how to give counsel in all things. For there is nothing in the whole world whereunto the word of God extendeth not itself. Wherefore they are far deceived, which use to cry, what hath a preacher to do with the public-wealth? What hath he to do with

wars? What with Pothecaries? What with Cooks? But let them tell me: when the Minister of the word perceiveth the law of God to be violated in these things, why should he not reprehend them by the word of God? Why should he not admonish them? Why should he not exhort them to cease from sin? Doubtless it is his part to correct sinners, not in deed with the sword or punishing by the purse, not by imprisonment, not by banishment, but after his own manner, that is, by the might and power of the word of God. Again, the Political power is extended to all things which pertain to political power. But after what manner? Shall civil power require good motions of the mind and inward repentance? It cannot cause these things: yet it must wish they were had, and use those means whereby they may be had. For it ought to have a care that Bishops, pastors, and teachers in the Church, do teach purely, reprehend fatherly, and by the word of God administer the Sacraments. This in deed the Magistrate doth not by himself, but he ought to have a regard that those may be in a readiness which should do them well. Wherefore either power extendeth most amply, and comprehendeth all things, but not after one and the self-same manner. And the rule of either of them is to be taken out of the word of God, the which doth plainly appear to be in the Church.

10. Again, there are two subjections, one is political and civil, whereunto all men are subject: who if they offend in anything against the laws, do look at the just Magistrates hand for imprisonment, punishment by the purse, banishment, death, and external punishment: nevertheless if they do well, honors, rewards, dignities, and praise. In this sort the civil power is not subject unto the Ministry of the word, because it cannot in this manner be punished. The other subjection is spiritual, that is, of faith and of obedience. For straightway, as soon as men hear of their duty out of the word of God,

and that either this thing or that is to be done, or this or that to be avoided, they give place, believe and obey, because they perceive that it is the word of God which is spoken. And these are the ends of either power. And so must be understood that saying of Valentinian the Emperor, out of the Tripartite history: which we also have in the distinction 63rd, the chapter Valentinianus. Choose (saith he) such a Bishop unto whom we which govern the Empire, may sincerely put under our necks, and use his admonitions as it were medicines, &c. By which words is understood that it belongeth to the Ecclesiastical power, to admonish out of the word of God for salvation. Albeit the same Emperor or afterward erred: For when he had appointed Ambrose Pretor of the City of Millaine, the people did choose him to be Bishop: which when the Emperor knew, he gave thanks unto God after this manner: I had appointed him ruler over the bodies of men, but thou wouldest have him ruler over the souls &c. Valentinian did not rightly put a difference between offices: why so? Ought Bishops to have a care only over souls, and not over bodies also? What if they give themselves unto Gluttony or drunkenness, or live licentiously touching outward behavior? Must they not reprove these things? Yes truly must they, neither must Princes have only a care over the bodies of men, and neglect their souls. For we do not imagine that a Prince is a Neatherd or Swineherd, to whom is committed a care only of the flesh, belly, and skin of his subjects, yea rather he must provide that they may live virtuously and godly. But what if Christian princes, when they are by the word of God admonished of public and most grievous sins, will not hear, neither amend that which they have naughtily committed? What I say shall the Bishop do in this case? Ambrose excommunicated Theodosius the Emperor, when he exercised so grievous tyranny against the Thessalonians. Innocentius also

excommunicated Archadius, when he had exiled John Chrysostom, which freely and truly admonished him, as we have it in the distinct. 96, chap. *Duo sunt*, and in the distinct. 18, in the chap. *Quoniam quidem*. And they be the words of the 6th Synod, where it is decreed that every year there should be had two Synods. And if that princes would hinder them, let them be excommunicated.

11. But what do I make mention of these latter things? Let us read Eusebius in the 6th book, the 34th chapter: where he saith that Philip the Emperor, who lived in the time of Origen was the first Christian prince, and that he would have been present together with the faithful on Easter Even, and have communicated with them in prayers: but the bishop, because he was a wicked and naughty liver, rejected him among them that were put to penance, that he should make open confession before the Church and confess his sins, otherwise he could by no means be admitted unto the Communion. This did the Bishop of that time against the Emperor, and chief Monarch of the whole world. Wherefore, the civil power ought to be subject to the word of God which is preached by the Ministers. But in like manner the Ecclesiastical power is subject unto the civil, when the Ministers behave themselves ill, either in things human, or things Ecclesiastical. For these powers are after a sort interchangeable, and sundry ways are occupied about the selfsame things, and mutually help one another, even as Aristotle unto Theodectes calleth Rhetoric and Logic interchangeable arts, because either of them are occupied in the selfsame things, after a sundry manner. The Ecclesiastical power, is subject unto the Magistrate, not by a spiritual subjection but by a political. For as touching the Sacraments and Sermons, it is not subject unto it, because the Magistrate may not alter the word of God, or the Sacraments which the

Minister useth. Neither can he compel the Pastors and teachers of the Church to teach otherwise, or in any other sort to administer the Sacraments, than is prescribed by the word of God. Howbeit Ministers, in that they be men and Citizens, are without all doubt subject together with their lands, riches, and possessions unto the Magistrate. So Christ paid tribute, so also did the Apostles and the whole primitive Church there being most holy men. Their manners also are subject unto the Censures and judgments of the Magistrates.

12. We say moreover that Ministers are subject unto the Magistrate, not only as touching those things which I have rehearsed, but also (as I before signified) concerning their function. Because, if they teach not right, neither administer the Sacraments orderly, it is the office of the Magistrate to compel them to an order, and to see that they teach not corruptly, and that they mingle not fables, nor yet abuse the Sacraments, or deliver them otherwise than the Lord hath commanded. Also if they live naughtily and wickedly, they shall put them forth of the holy Ministry. This did Solomon, who deposed Abiathar, and put Sadock in his place, as it is written in the first book of kings the 2nd chapter: And in the New Testament. Justinian displaced Silverius and Vigilius. And this I doubt not, but was done sometime by other princes. But how justly, I will not presently declare. This one thing I will say, that it was lawful in the causes now alleged. But some man will say that I speak now of the fact and not of the right: yea but I speak also of the right. For the king ought to have with him the law of God written because he is ordained a keeper, not only of the first table, but also of the latter. So then he which offendeth in any of them both, ran in danger of his power. But although a king may remove an unprofitable and hurtful Bishop, yet cannot a Bishop (on the other side) depose a king if he have

offended. John in deed reproved Herod, but he displaced him not of his kingdom. Ambrose and Innocentius excommunicated Emperors, but they proceeded no further. Yea and Christ called Herod a Wolf, but he took not away his kingdom from him, and he paid tribute unto Tiberius a most wicked prince. Neither was he at any time author to any man to shake off his yoke. Wherefore let Popes take heed: by what right they remove at their own pleasure kings and Emperors out of their places. This did neither any of the Prophets, nor the Apostles, nor yet Christ. The popes boast that they have great power: but if the same be any it consisteth wholly in the word of God. Let them teach, preach, and admonish, if they will exercise their power, otherwise the civil and temporal power, which they so much boast of is far from the Ecclesiastical Ministers. Briefly, as there is found no king nor Emperor so great that is not subject to the word of God, which is preached by the Ministers: so on the other side is there no Bishop, which having offended, but ought to be reproved by the civil Magistrate. What difference soever there be, the same (as I have said) is wholly as touching the manner of reproving. This the Ministers of the Church do by the word, and Princes by outward punishments. But our false Ecclesiastics will be princes and reign, and yet Christ would be no king. And when he was sought for to the end he should be made a king, he utterly refused it, yea rather he plainly confessed, that his kingdom is not of this world. He said also unto the Apostles: Princes of the nations do bear rule over them, but ye shall not so do. Peter also whose successors these men profess themselves to be, warneth Ministers that they should not exercise dominion over the Clergy: But these men will have prisons, soldiers, and swords, and stir up wars as they list themselves.

13. Perhaps they will object unto us the Assamonites out of the Old Testament, who for a certainty were both kings and Priests, and confounded both the powers. That History indeed is written in the books of the Machabites. But we must see whether they did it rightly or else wickedly and ambitiously. Doubtless I think they did it not orderly: for God by his word, had many times adjudged the Kingdom to be given unto the Tribe of Judah, even unto the time of Messias. And contrarily he commanded the Levites that they should possess no lands, and much less to occupy a kingdom among their brethren. But if a man had rather say, that they did this by a certain secret revelation and hidden judgment of God, he shall not further the cause of these men; seeing that which is done after this manner must not be drawn to an example: For I think rather that they offend in so doing. Certainly they did well, when they delivered their country from tyranny: but that being performed, they ought not to have taken the kingdom upon them: and God declared plainly that the same Act of theirs displeased him. For as we gather out of Josephus, that house afterward was never void of troubles. They further object unto us, that Peter slue Ananias and Sapphira, and that Paul strake Elimas the sorcerer with blindness. This is true in deed, but they did these things by the word of God, not by violence, not by the sword, neither by help of an executioner. Let these men do the same things by the word, and we will regard them. Why do they not hear Paul unto Timothy: Let no man going on God's warfare, wrap himself in cares of this life? If they will go on warfare for God, why do they in such sort hinder themselves with worldly business? Have they so much leisure from their own affairs as they can have a care over other men's? Let them answer plainly: would they at this day abide that any king should attempt to teach the Gospel or administer the Sacraments? They would not suffer it.

Neither did God himself also suffer it. But he strake Ozeas with Leprosy when he would have burnt incense unto God. Why then do they invade the bounds of other men? These functions ought to be separated, because either of them requireth a whole man apart by himself: yea rather there hath scarcely been found any one man, at any time, which could rightly execute either of them, so hard is the execution of them both. Howbeit both of them do one help another: for the politick Prince giveth judgment: and the Ecclesiastical in deed doth not give judgment, but he teacheth how judgment ought to be given. Have not respect (saith he) of persons in judgment. Afflict not the poor and stranger, receive no bribes, and so forth. So on the other side, the civil Magistrate preacheth not, neither administereth the sacraments. But unless these things be rightly ordered, he ought to punish the Ministers. And to be brief, there are two things to be considered of us in this comparison. In the Civil Magistrate is to be considered both the power and also the man which beareth and exerciseth the power. He in respect that he is a Christian man is subject to the word of God: and in respect that he beareth authority and governeth, he ought also to be subject unto the same word of God; seeing out of the same he ought to seek rules to govern and bear rule. In the Minister of the Church also is to be considered both the ministry itself, and also the person which executeth it. As touching the person, the minister is subject unto the Civil power. For both he is a Citizen, and he also payeth tribute as other men do, and is under the correction of manners. But as concerning the Ministry, he is also subject some way unto the Magistrate. For if either he teach or administer the sacraments against the word of God, he must be reprehended by the Civil Magistrate. And yet must he not seek for rules and reasons of his function at

the same Magistrates hand, but out of the word of God. By this distinction we may easily understand the differences and agreement of either power.

14. Now resteth that we come to that Thraso Boniface, to confute his Arguments. First out of that saying which the Apostles answered, Behold here are two swords, and Christ added, It is sufficient: he gathereth that the Church hath two powers and both of them committed unto him. To this I answer, that it is possible, that sometimes there may be two swords in the Church, but they have not always been therein, neither perhaps shall ever hereafter be. What outward sword had the Church in the time of Christ and of the Apostles and Martyrs? But yet now (they will say) it hath: I grant, because Kings and Emperors are Christians which in old time were Ethnics. The Church also hath husbandry, trade of merchandise, the art of building, and other such like. For they which exercise these things, are members of the Church: but that cometh to pass as the Schoolmen speak accidentally: since there may be a Church though it had none of these things. So now because there are princes in the Church, it is said to have an outward sword. But because princes in our time are a part of the Church, it doeth not therefore follow that the sword of Princes is the sword of Ministers: even as although there be in the Church husbandry and the trade of merchandise, and also the Art of building, it cannot thereby be gathered, that Ministers are husbandmen, merchants, and Carpenters.

15. Now come I to the place of the Evangelists: The Apostles say, that they wanted nothing when they were sent without wallet and scrip: unto whom Christ said: Let everyone take unto him his scrip and wallet, and he which hath none, let him sell his coat and buy a sword. What would Christ signify by these words? Nothing else truly but to show that the state and condition of times afterward, should be far otherwise, then it had been

before. Hitherto saith he (while I was with you,) ye felt no grief, neither wanted you anything. But now harder times are at hand, now shall ye have need of coats, scrips and swords. By these words he declared that he should depart from them, and that he would send them into the whole world to teach and preach the Gospel in which Ministry, they should meet with so many adversities, that they should think themselves to have need of swords. It is a figurative speech, whereby is understood one thing by another, as is that in Genesis when the Lord said, that he repented that he had made man. For God is not in very deed touched with repentance, but he doth that, which men repenting have used to do: that is, he changeth the fact. And in very deed he then by the flood destroyed mankind which he had created. So now he instructed not his Disciples to fight with the sword, but only by a certain circumlocution describeth the condition of the time to come. And even as a long robe oftentimes signifieth tranquility and peace, so in this place a sword noteth troublesome and unquiet times. After this manner Chrysostom interpreteth these words when he expoundeth this place of Paul, Salute Prisca and Aquila. The Lord (saith he) hath not broken the law, which before he made, saying: And he which striketh thee on the one cheek, turn unto him the other. Bless those that curse you: pray for them that persecute you. How then doth he command his disciples to buy themselves swords? He meant no such thing (saith Chrysostom:) For it is a figurative kind of speech, whereby he signified, that he should be taken away from them, and that they should be afflicted with many calamities. These words are not so to be taken as they appear at the first sight. In another place, Christ also saith: That which ye have heard in the ear, preach upon the house tops. And yet we never read, that the Apostles stood upon the house tops when they preached unto the people: Neither in very deed had it been

decent, that leaving the appointed place and the Temple, they should have spoken from the house top. The sense was, that those things which they heard privately, they should speak openly and manifestly. The Lord also said: Destroy this temple, and in three days I will restore it: Which also is spoken figuratively: For he commanded not to overthrow the Temple of Solomon (as the Evangelist himself interpreteth, but he understood that which he spake as touching the temple of his own body, wherein (as Paul said) dwelled all the godhead bodily. But to return to the matter: That Luke so meant, Chrysostom proveth by these things which follow: to wit, that it might be fulfilled of the son of man which was spoken of him: And he was counted with the wicked. But the Apostles understood not Christ: for he thought that they had treated simply, and spoken (as the words sounded) of an outward sword: And so did Boniface wholly interpret the same. And in that Christ addeth: It is enough, he understood that two swords are sufficient in the Church, so as there ought none to be neither more nor fewer. But Chrysostom understandeth it far otherwise. For when Christ perceived that the Apostles understood him not, he by that answer declared that he would let that matter pass. And indeed so is a Schoolmaster wont to say unto a Child, which yet understandeth not that which is taught him: It is well. Otherwise undoubtedly two swords were not sufficient against all the adversaries of Christ. Moreover there should have needed Corselets and shields. Chrysostom therefore concludeth that the speech was figurative and spoken in a parable. Furthermore if the exposition of Boniface be received, we must think, that the Church in the time of the Apostles, should have had two swords, which is most far from the truth.

16. Howbeit let us come to that which Christ said unto Peter, Put up thy sword into thy sheath. Thy sword (saith Boniface) not another man’s sword.

Now what gathereth he by these words? Although Peter have his sword, yet if he be commanded to put it up, how can he have it drawn: or to what end hath he a sword, if he may not use it? But perhaps Boniface will answer: I have needed a sword, but I use it not, otherwise than by the hand of another. Or, I use not mine own sword, but the sword of the Emperor and of other Princes. For they ought to draw the sword at the assignment and sufferance of the Church. I would gladly demand, whether Christ, when he bad Peter to put up his sword, meant this, that he should indeed use it, as he listed and would himself, but yet by the labor of another man. Assuredly that which a man doth by another, he seemeth to do it himself. If a man, by money or gifts, get one to kill his enemy, although he do it not with his own hand, yet nevertheless he should be a murderer: otherwise Princes do not with their own hand kill the guilty, but command the hangman to do the execution. There is in this answer of Boniface a deceit of Equivocation. For we demand whether an Ecclesiastical Minister may bear the office of a Magistrate, and use a civil sword: and they remit us to the sword of Peter, a man otherwise private. But Bernard in his 4th book *de Consid.* unto Eugenius, seemeth thus to interpret the two swords. I grant that Bernard hath some such like things, but yet not the same altogether. Howbeit we must remember in what time Bernard lived, he lived at that time when things were corrupted in the Church. And if a man read those his books *de Consideratione*, he shall see that he grievously complaineth of the corruption of his times. Eugenius was by the Romans excluded the City, and perhaps he devised how to restore himself. Wherefore Bernard exhorted him to preach the Gospel, that he would deal against the Romans, rather with the word and with sermons than by the sword. Eugenius said: What meanest thou? Wouldest thou have me to feed Serpents and Dragons, and

Beasts? Yea (saith Bernard) assail them, howbeit with the word, not with the sword. And in another place he saith: If thou wilt have both swords, thou shalt lose both. Neither are we to think, that Eugenius would by himself have fought: but peradventure he assayed to move war by others: from which purpose Bernard dissuaded him. And thus much of him.

17. But that which Boniface added, that those swords of the Church ought to be ordered (namely that the one should be subject to the other, which he proveth by this saying of Paul: Those powers which be ordained, be ordained of God) manifestly testifieth how he wresteth the scriptures. For this word *ordinatae* that is, ordered, is in Greek written τεταγμέναι, which is nothing else than instituted or appointed. Notwithstanding, put the case it be so as Boniface hath expounded it, what manner of order I beseech you shall this be? Certainly such as the minister should teach, and that the civil power should hear and believe. But this toucheth not the Pope, which teacheth not at all. The lowest things (saith Dionysius) are by means reduced to the highest. Wherefore Boniface concludeth, that the external sword is brought unto God by the spiritual sword. In very deed I will easily grant, that the sword of the spirit which is the word of God, is the mean whereby the other sword, namely, the external ought to be tempered and directed unto God. But why doeth not the Pope retain this mean? Why useth he not the word? Why teacheth he not? Why preacheth he not? Princes which go astray, are not by him reduced into the right way: nay rather on the contrary part, the Pope and Bishops of the Church are sometimes rebuked, and justly reproved of Princes. Doubtless Aaron being high Priest, fell grievously in making the golden calf, and obeying the foolishness of the people. Moses blamed him grievously who as it appeareth, was a civil magistrate. For toward the end of Deuteronomy, he is called a king. And

when the priests abused the money which was offered for the reparations of the Temple, who remedied that but only Joash the king? I will not speak of David and Solomon, and others which distinguished the lots of the Priests, and orders of the Levites. And I will not now prove these things by anymore examples, seeing they are manifest enough by themselves. Wherefore I grant that the civil power may be corrected by the ministers through preaching of the word of God. But the Pope useth not this kind of government, but rather an incredible tyranny. They boast moreover, that they themselves are greater in dignity, for that they exercise spiritual and heavenly things: whereas Princes are occupied only about earthly and civil matters. Be it so: For we deny not but that ministers are occupied, about things greater and more divine than magistrates are. But doeth the Pope alone minister them? Nay rather, he never doeth it at all. Wherefore if the dignity of the ministry depend of those things, then will it follow, that many Bishops and Priests do in dignity far excel the Pope which never preacheth, and to few or none administereth the Sacraments.

18. Let us come to the Tithes, by the payment of which Boniface laboreth to prove, that all Princes are subject unto him. This argument seemeth to have some show, because at the first appearance it agreeth, with the 7th chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where Paul proveth the dignity of Christ to be greater than the dignity of the priesthood of the Levites. For thus he gathereth: Abraham paid tenths unto Melchizedek, at which time Levi was not yet, but was at that time in the loins of Abraham, and so was tithed in him. And he which payeth Tithes unto another, confesseth himself by the same thing to be his inferior. Christ was priest according to the order of Melchizedek. whereupon the Apostle concludeth that the Levitical priesthood was much inferior unto the priesthood of Christ. I have opened

the fountain from whence Boniface derived his Argument. The place is very dark and needeth explication: And moreover Boniface doth not aptly apply it to his purpose. First we must understand that Tithes in the old time pertained unto Ceremonies, and that as well in Melchizedek, as in the Levites: Because in either Priesthood, they were referred unto Christ. And either Priesthood was in very deed a figure of Christ. For even as the Levitical priest entered once every year into the most holy place, and that never without blood: So Christ by his own blood, entered once into the Tabernacle, that is into heaven. And again: Melchizedek, for that he had neither Father nor Mother, resembled Christ, who in respect that he is God had no mother, and in respect that he is man wanted a Father. But what signified the tenths in either priesthood? Truly they signified nothing else, but that it behooved the old fathers to acknowledge that whatsoever they had, came from Christ. By that ceremony, the people worshipped Christ himself. And if a man will compare Melchizedek and the Priesthood of Levi together, although both of them seem to be a shadow of Christ, yet shall he perceive that he is more expressly and manifestly signified by Melchizedek, as the Epistle to the Hebrews testifieth. Boniface saith: We receive the Tithes of all lay men. Ye take them in deed, but now that Christ is come, the paying of Tithes is no more a ceremony, as it was before the coming of Christ, when by Tithes men worshipped Christ which was to come in the flesh, and confessed, that they ought unto him, both themselves, and all that they had. After the very which manner they paid the first fruits of all that they had. Nevertheless our men in these days receive Tithes: but by what law? Truly not by the ceremonial law, but by a moral Law: since it is requisite that the Minister should be sustained by the people: For the laborer is worthy of his reward: And he which serveth the Gospel ought to live by

it. So then, whether stipends be paid unto Ministers out of lands or out of houses, either in ready money or in Tithes, it maketh no matter, so that they be not maintained dishonestly but honestly. In deed these rewards in some places do retain the old manner of Tithes. Howbeit in many places they are not called Tithes, but stipends or wages. And doubtless they be rather rewards which are due to the labors of Ministers than Tithes.

19. And as concerning the Argument propounded, we must understand, that such rewards and stipends are things indifferent: for they are sometimes paid unto inferiors, and sometimes to superiors. For tributes, which are given unto kings and princes, are their stipends which we give unto them, partly to nourish and sustain them, and partly to confess that we are subject unto them: and lastly that they may have wherewithal to defend both us and the commonwealth. And sometime inferiors also do receive stipends. For princes pay them unto soldiers: and yet can we not therefore say, that the soldiers are greater than kings and princes. Notwithstanding I would not be thought, that I speak these things to diminish the dignity of the Ecclesiastical Ministry, but that it may be understood that these men's Arguments are very trifling. Neither doubt I to affirm that the Church itself which payeth the stipend unto the Minister, is greater than the Minister. So that if we speak of Tithes as they are at this day given unto Ministers, it followeth not that they should be greater which pay them. But in that kings and Emperors are consecrated and anointed of Bishops, and in that they receive the crown and sword of them, it nothing helpeth their cause. For if we speak of the civil power, that is not given by the Bishop but by God. But this is there done, to the intent that after the king or Emperor is chosen of God in such manner as is agreeable, prayers should be made for him in the assembly of the Church, that God may confirm and strengthen his heart that

he may increase godliness in him, and pour into him the fear of his name, prosper his counsels, and so make happy his actions, that they may prove profitable unto the Church and unto the public-wealth. And the Bishop, while these things are in doing, is the mouth of the Church, and goeth before it in expressing the prayer. And this anointing was derived of an old ceremony and custom of the Jews. And that the king receiveth not his power of the Bishop, but of God, even their own decrees do testify. In the distinct. 96, in the chap. *Si Imperator*, Gelasius saith, that the Emperor hath the privileges of his power at the hand of God. What doth Boniface then arrogantly challenge to himself? Even that which belongeth unto God only. For as Paul saith: All power is of God. In the Code, *De Iure veteri enucleando*, Law the first, Justinian declareth that his power was given him by the Majesty of God. And the gloss in the *Extravagants De majoritate & obedientia*, in the Chapter *Unam sanctam*, towards the end saith, that power is given unto kings by God only: and that therefore they do indeed receive the crown of the Bishop and the sword from the Altar.

20. But let us more nearly examine the Argument of Boniface: I (saith he) give power unto Emperors: Therefore I am greater than Emperors. Let this most blessed Thraso answer me: Who consecrated him when he was chosen Pope? Truly the bishop Hostiensis: Let us therefore conclude that the bishop Hostiensis, is greater than the Pope. And if that follow not, then is also the Argument of Boniface weak, because, (as I have showed) it is laid upon a rotten foundation. For it is not the bishops that give power unto kings. Moreover have there not been many Emperors which were never consecrated by bishops, and yet notwithstanding were Emperors no whit the less? Neither were the old Grecian Emperors so anointed. It is therefore a new invention. But what if I prove that the chief bishop was sometime

consecrated by the civil Magistrate? Undoubtedly Moses consecrated Aaron though nevertheless (as hath been said) Moses was a civil prince. So that Boniface laboreth in vain about his consecration, because he gathereth nothing thereby. He boasted moreover of the keys: We (saith he) have the power of binding and loosing. But the power of the keys consisteth herein, that ye should preach the word of God truly. For he which believeth the Gospel, is loosed; and he which believeth not, is bound. But when ye neither preach nor teach, neither can ye bind nor lose. And farther this subjection which we have granted is spiritual: namely of faith and of obedience: and not civil and with dominion. Afterward was Jeremiah objected, unto whom the Lord said: I have appointed thee over nations and kingdoms, &c. First I demand here what kings Jeremiah directed, or from whom he took away their Empire, and what new kings he ordained? There can be none showed. Therefore what do these words signify: I set thee over nations and kingdoms? Nothing else than that by the spirit of prophesy, and word of God, he should foretell what kingdoms God would overthrow because of sin, and what new ones he would institute. Why do not the Popes so exercise their power? Let them set before kings and princes of the earth the threatening's of God, and let them in this manner be over nations and kingdoms. Could Jeremiah be called the cause of the overthrow of kingdoms? He was not properly the efficient cause, but only a certain occasion. For when he had admonished the king of Judah, and he believed him not, the prophet by his preaching was some occasion, that he should be condemned and overthrown. So Paul saith: To some we are a savor of life unto life, and to other the savor of death unto death. When as yet the Apostle properly killed no man, but his preaching after a sort brought death unto those which would not believe. It is God therefore that pulleth down

and overthroweth, planteth, and scattereth: neither disdaineth he sometimes to call us his fellow-workers.

21. Boniface goeth on: The lay power ought to be judged by the Ecclesiastical. But by what kind of judgment? Verily by this, that in the Church is set forth the wrath of God against sinners, and that they be admonished and corrected by the holy scriptures. Nevertheless that Bishops may expel kings and put them out of their kingdoms, where is that permitted? From whence have they it? What charters will they bring for it? Again that is most intolerable which he saith: namely that the Pope can be judged of no man. And yet John the 23rd was in the Council of Constance deposed, and not only by God, but also by men. Thus do these men make and repeat Canons, and the same they allow and disallow, as often as they think good. Yea and Emperors have sometimes thrust out and put down Popes as it is before said. Paul to the Galatians saith, If an Angel from heaven preach any other Gospel, let him be accursed. If the Pope (which may be and in times past hath been) obtrude wicked opinions, who shall pronounce him accursed? Shall he in no wise be judged of any man? The Church (no doubt) shall give sentence upon him, and the Magistrate, (for that he is the principal part of the Church) shall not only judge together therewith, but shall also execute the sentence. Further it belongeth to the Magistrate to provide, that the goods of the Church be not given to the enemies of godliness. So as if Bishops become enemies of the Church, a faithful Magistrate ought not to suffer the goods of the Church to be wasted by them. The Canonists have this oftentimes in their mouth, that for the office sake is given the benefit. Therefore when they do not their office, ought the Magistrate to suffer them to enjoy their benefices? But let us hear how Boniface proveth that he can be judged of no man. Because, He that is

spiritual (saith he) judgeth all things, but he himself is judged of no man. A goodly and well applied Argument I promise you. But let us see what kind of judgment Paul writeth of in that place. Verily he speaketh not of the common kind of judgment, whereby men are either put to death, or put out of their room, he entreateth there only of the understanding of things divine, and which avail unto salvation. These things (I say) belong properly unto the judgment of the spiritual man. But as touching judgment seat and knowledge of civil laws, Paul never thought of them [*in that place*] which is easily perceived by his words: We receive (saith he) not the spirit of this world, but the spirit which is of God. If thou wilt demand for what use the spirit is given us: He answereth: To the end, we should know those things that are given us of God. And because the spirit of this world cannot give judgment of things that be divine, it is added: The natural man perceiveth not those things which be of the spirit of God. The spiritual man judgeth all things. What? Doeth he judge also civil and public causes? No not so: but he judgeth those things which belong to the salvation of men: he himself is judged of no man. Assuredly, both Peter and Paul, were judged by the civil power, unto which Paul appealed, that he might be judged there: and yet were they spiritual. But that place must thus be understood: He that is spiritual in that he is such as one, cannot in things divine and such as pertain to salvation, be rightly judged of any man, which is not endued with the same spirit that he is of. The wicked sort and worldlings, account him oftentimes for a seditious, impure, and infamous fellow: But only God and his spirit looketh upon the hearts. Lastly Boniface concludeth, that there is one chief power only, and that belongeth to the Pope, least we should with the Manichees seem to make many beginnings. And he addeth: that God in the beginning, and not in the beginnings created the world. We also detest

the Manichees and affirm, that there is one only beginning, and pronounce one only fountain, and offspring of all powers, namely, God and his word, without which there can be no power either civil or Ecclesiastical. For the foundation of either of them dependeth of the word of God, and so we make but one beginning and not two. Further if Boniface will urge these words in Genesis: In the beginning God created, &c. there ought to be but one only king in the world. For when Paul said: One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, he added not: One Pope.

22. At the length our Thraso cometh so far, as he excludeth them from the hope of salvation, which acknowledge not the Pope for the chief head and Prince of the Church. But when there were two or three Popes all at one time, which thing both happened, and also endured for the full space of 60 years, it must needs be that those which at that time were of Boniface his opinion, should confess themselves then to be Manichees, and to have established two beginnings. Again, what think they of the Grecians, of the Persians and Christians which dwell in the East part, seeing they acknowledge not the Pope, who nevertheless read the scriptures, believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and both are, and also are called Christians? All those Boniface excludeth from the hope of salvation. This is the ambition and unspeakable tyranny of the Popes. When we object unto the Papists these words of Paul: Let every soul submit itself to the higher powers, they answer: That every soul ought to be subject unto the higher power, but yet to their own, not to other men's power: otherwise it were need that Frenchmen should be subject to the Spaniards, and the Spaniards to the Germans, which because it is absurd, it is concluded, that every man ought to obey his own Magistrate. But now the Clergy acknowledge the Bishops for their head, and that they should be subject unto them: And the Bishops

acknowledge the Archbishops and Primates, and they lastly the Pope. After this manner (say they) we obey the Pope and satisfy Paul. What have we to do with Kings, and the civil Magistrate? Howbeit this is nothing else than shamefully to abuse the words of the Apostle. Do they not see that they divide the public-wealth into two bodies, which ought to be but one body only? For when they divide the kingdom of the Clergy from the kingdom of the Laity, they make in one kingdom two peoples, and set over either people his Magistrate: and thereby it cometh to pass that the Clergy which be Frenchmen, seem not to be Frenchmen, and the Germans seem not to be Germans, and this maketh not conjunction but division. Besides this, of what power (I beseech you) speaketh Paul? Verily not of Bishops or Archbishops, but of that power which beareth the sword. He doth not without a cause (saith he) bear the sword. He speaketh of the power to whom tribute is paid. For (saith he) even for this cause ye pay tribute. But Bishops neither bear sword, nor yet require tributes of the people. Wherefore Paul speaketh not of them. And though that in Germany Bishops have the sword, and gather tributes and customs, they do not that in respect that they be Bishops, but in that by accident they have the civil power joined to them, how rightly, let themselves see to it. But it is manifest that Paul spake of the civil power, unto which he commanded that every soul should obey. Neither is the interpretation of Origen probable, wherein he affirmeth that Paul said: Every soul, and not every spirit: Because (saith he) the spiritual man is moved with no affections, neither possesseth anything in the world, therefore he is not subject at all to outward power. And so Paul commandeth every soul, that is every living man to obey the civil power. But what? Was not Christ spiritual? Who was more spiritual? And yet he acknowledged the superior power, and paid tribute. What say you to the

Apostles, were not they spiritual? And yet never exempted themselves from the civil power: nay rather, they obeyed it, and taught others to obey the same also.

23. But let us see further what answer our Boniface men make. They say that they have not this power ordinarily, and by the right of their function, but granted them by the privileges and gifts of Princes. And why (say they) is it not lawful for us to enjoy the privileges and liberality of Princes? Notwithstanding we ought here to have a regard not what princes have don, but what they ought to have done. God without doubt hath made subject every soul to the higher power it was never lawful for any Prince to break that law. Neither doeth human reason see better than the providence of God what should become of the affairs of mankind. And the event itself hath sufficiently declared, how much that remissness of Princes hath profited. For after that Bishops and false Ecclesiastics got themselves once from the subjection of the civil power, they straightway became far worse than they were before, and made the people which were committed to their charge nothing the better. Wherefore let them cease to say that Emperors and Kings have given them these things: let them rather hear the word of God, wherein they are commanded to obey Princes. But they have not only withdrawn themselves from obedience towards princes, but have also claimed to themselves an immunity or freedom. And an immunity is a liberty from doing of homages, and bearing of civil burdens. And among burdens, are numbered tributes and customs. Tributes are those which are paid of lands and possessions. Customs are those which are paid of merchandise, and of those things, which are either carried out or brought in. These things Ulpian calleth the Sinews of the commonwealth, as without which it cannot either consist or be governed. By what right therefore and reason have these men

withdrawn themselves from the public utility? With what face do they boast of such liberality of Princes, which neither Christ, nor the Apostles, nor the Prophets used? And although they have this (as they say) by the gifts of Kings and Emperors, yet must they take heed that it be not hurtful unto the Citizens, and while they themselves be eased, others be above measure burdened. And yet are they not by privileges and laws of Princes exempted from all burdens. In deed they are freed from personal burdens: and that not without great reason, which even the Ethnic Princes saw also. In the digests *De vacatione & excusatione munerum*, in the law *Praetor*, Ulpianus saith: If a man have gotten a benefice, and cannot without hurt of conscience be absent from it, he is acquitted. And Constantine the Emperor, in the Code *De Episcopis & Clericis*, law the first and second, exempteth them from personal and vile burdens. Personal burdens are those which are accomplished by the industry of the mind, and labor of the body. Vile burdens are these: as to burn lime, to dignity sand, to keep the Conduits, to heat the bath, and such other like sort: from these burdens they are worthily exempted, because the ministry, by vile exercises would grow unto contempt. And they are made free from personal burdens, because when they should give their minds to holy things, they ought not to be withdrawn to other things. Princes therefore have rightly granted these things to Ecclesiastical men, that they should not be absent from the study of Religion, and because they should not be contemned of the common people.

24. But what if a man claim himself to be a minister, only by his apparel and garments, and doeth nothing in the Church, should this immunity also be granted unto him? No undoubtedly. Yea Justinian in the Code *De Episcopis & Clericis*, in the law *Generaliter Sancimus*, saith, that he meaneth only of those, which diligently give themselves to holy things, and

not of Vagabonds and Idle persons which only brag of the name of the ministry. Moreover Ministers are not loosed from ordinary charges although they be exempted from extraordinary burdens. Ordinary burdens be those which are always imposed by the commandment of the laws: extraordinary are those, which be exacted only for some present necessity, and afterward cease. So that if Ecclesiastical men have manors or lands as other Citizens have, they ought to pay for them. For the Church when it receiveth possessions, it taketh them together with their burdens. But they are free from extraordinary tributes, because in the old time Ecclesiastical men were poor, and besides necessary food and apparel had nothing remaining unto them, or if perhaps there remained anything, all the same whatsoever it were was bestowed upon the poor, but now it is clean contrary: for both they abound in riches, and they bestow very little upon the poor. And yet if any great necessity happened, they were also constrained to pay extraordinary charges: as if there were any high ways to be amended, and any bridges to be made, or any ships to be built for transporting of an army as appeareth in the Code, by the laws of Emperors. Neither doeth brotherly charity suffer, that when other are burdened, they should lie still idle in wealth and riches: neither is it to be abidden, that they should be eased and others charged.

25. Yet the Pope in his decretals (*De Immunitate Ecclesiae*, in the chapter *Non minus*, where the words of the Lateran Council are cited, and in the chapter, *Adversus consules*) will have the ecclesiastical men to be utterly exempted. And Boniface the 8th, in 6, *De immunitate Ecclesiarum*, in the chapter *Clericis Laicos*, permitteth them not to pay anything: yea and he excommunicateth the Prince, which taketh tribute of a Minister of the Church, and also the minister himself which payeth it. This law as being too

cruel, Benedictus the 11th after a sort mitigateth in the *Extravagants De immunitate Ecclesiae*, in the chapter *Quod Olim*. Yet he permitteth not the Prince to do anything without asking Counsel of the Bishop of Rome. For he indeed doth not excommunicate those Princes which receive tribute of ecclesiastical men, but only those which exact it of them. Seeing he permitteth not, that Princes should exact anything in their own right, which yet he sometimes permitteth in case of necessity: as in danger of Religion and life: so that first there be had the consent of the Bishop and clergy, and afterward also the Pope to allow of the fact. So long then hath he decreed that they must tarry. So these men exempt themselves from the obedience and tributes of Princes and Kings: which (as I have before said out of Ulpian) are the strength and sinews of the commonwealth. When I think upon these things, I call to remembrance a profitable saying of Dioclesian: of whom, when a Philosopher had desired an immunity, This request (said he) disagreeeth with thy profession. Thou (said he) professest, that thou wilt overcome thy affections, but thou showest that thou art overcome of avarice. So these men profess themselves to be spiritual, but in a spiritual man there is nothing more required than charity, which counselleth us not to live franchised and securely, when others are oppressed with cares and burdens. Aquinas bringeth a place of Genesis, to show the Priests are exempted from tributes, not indeed by the law of God, but by a law made by Princes, and yet nevertheless agreeing with the law of nature. For Pharaoh King of Egypt provided, that the Priests should not pay the fifth part of their fruit for tribute, when as nevertheless so much was exacted of all the Egyptians. Wherefore he concludeth that Priests are exempted. This place is diligently to be considered. First let us note that the Egyptian Priests had their daily living out of the treasury of the King. They had

provision given them to live by. Afterward it came to pass, that when the hunger waxed great, all the Egyptians sold their lands unto the King, therewith to buy corn to satisfy hunger. But when that famine was past, the King restored the lands unto the owners: yet upon this condition, that every year, they should pay him the fifth part; but of the lands of the Priests, there was no fifth part paid. And no marvel: because they sold not their lands unto the king, seeing they were maintained at the common charge. Yet it is to be thought, that they paid so much tribute of their lands, as they were wont to pay before the famine. Neither undoubtedly can any other thing be gathered out of that place, except that Priests ought to be maintained of the common cost. And in that they paid not the fifth part, that happened for another cause, as we have now declared.

26. They allege also the 7th chapter of Esdras, where Artaxerxes provided that when he had laid a tribute upon the Jews, there should be nothing levied upon the Levites in the name of a tribute. But this is not to be marveled at, seeing the Levites had no lands to pay tribute of: in as much as to them pertained only the oblations, first-fruits and tenths, for which cause they were released of tributes. Also Julius Caesar in his Book of the French wars saith that the Druids which were the French Priests, paid no tributes. But Pliny in his 16th book and 44th chapter writeth that the Druids had no lands. And yet are not these things spoken to this end, that I would not think it lawful for Magistrates, to deal somewhat gently with Ministers, and to bear somewhat with them: because they must always apply themselves to holy things, and study for nothing else. Whereby it cometh to pass that they cannot increase their substance: yea rather they very oftentimes suffer great loss, neither have they their substance but during their life. Only this I disallow, that they claim unto themselves immunity both real and personal,

that they utterly refuse both ordinary and extraordinary charges, and that by tyranny or contrary to the authority of the word of God: and for that the Pope will not suffer Princes to exact tributes of Bishops and Ecclesiastical men after their own mind: and because they will not yield them if they be required. The word of God hath otherwise commanded, when it saith: Let every soul be subject to the higher power. And therefore (saith he) ye pay tributes. None is exempted, neither would Christ himself be exempted. Chrysostom upon that place of Paul: It may (saith he) seem grievous unto Christians, for that they being the Children of God, and appointed for the Kingdom of heaven, are subject unto the Princes of this world: But he answereth: While we are in this life, our dignity is hidden. For it appeareth not what we shall be. Wherefore whilst we live here, let it not be grievous unto us to do reverence to Magistrates, to give them the way, and to honor them, these things are full decent and well beseemeth saints. Now that we are regenerate by the word and the Spirit, it might seem that we need no Magistrate. Whereupon the Jews, because they were the people of God, took it very grievously, that sometime the Babylonians reigned over them, sometime the Persians, sometime the Grecians, sometimes the Romans, and other nations which were strangers from God. The Anabaptists and Libertines cry, that it is a thing unworthy for a Christian to suffer a Magistrate over him. The clergy of the Pope also have shaken off this yoke from themselves. But the Apostles, which foresaw that this would come to pass, did oftentimes urge that the civil power should be obeyed. Which precept is two ways transgressed: One is when men say, that they will not obey the Magistrate and do seditiously take arms against him. The other way is, when they circumvent him by subtlety and guile, so as he cannot execute his office. For in Courts there be such, as flatter in the ear of

Princes, dispraise and praise whom they list, accuse the good instead of the evil, and commend the evil for good. So according to their mind some are made governors over countries, and other some are displaced. Wherefore Dioclesian said: A good, wise and wary Emperor is oftentimes set to sale by his subjects. The Prince is at home in his palace, they that are familiar with him accuse and defend before him whom they will. Yea and among the Romans, the Senators were many times circumvented. The course of justice, is by many deceits hindered: neither doeth it much force, whether it be done by violence or by guile, because the public-wealth is hurt both ways, and the institution of God contemned. And thus far as touching these things.

27. Neither must we here pass over that, which hath been often said that the Magistrate must not be obeyed, if he command anything against the word of God. For when he so doth, he is no Magistrate. Because (as Paul saith) He is the Minister of God to good: So as if he command things contrary to the word of God, in that behalf, he is not his Minister. But thou wilt say, that sometime grievous, troublesome, and difficult things are commanded, which nevertheless are not against the word of God. What is to be done in these cases? We must obey. For we are commanded to obey our Masters though they be severe, so that they command nothing against the word of God: which if they do, we must answer them with the sentence of Peter, who saith: We ought rather to obey God than men. Nebuchadnezzar would have his Image worshipped: The faithful Hebrews answered: Thy Image O king we will not worship. Antiochus commanded the Hebrew woman, to eat swine's flesh: but she chose to die together with her seven sons, rather than to commit anything against the law of God. Also the Martyrs both in the old time, and also in our time, suffered most extreme

punishments and most cruel deaths, because they would not sin against the Law of God. Eusebius Caesariensis writeth that Constantius the father of Constantine feigned upon a time as though he would put out all the Christians, which would stand to their Religion, out of their honors and offices. But they which were godly in deed, freely gave over their dignity, and chose rather to leave their honors, than to depart from Christ. But this turned to their good: for the Emperor embraced them: And those which had denied Christ for to keep their dignities, he utterly removed from his person; saying, that they also would not be faithful unto him, which were unfaithful to God. Afterward Constantius, the son of Constantine being an Arian, went about to draw the faithful Bishops to his heresy. But they chose rather to be banished than to follow that wicked purpose of the Emperor. Afterward Julian the Apostate opened the Temples of the Idols, and labored to drive the Christians to the Ethnic Religion and worshipping: yet such as were godly in deed, held the Religion of Christ, more dear and near unto them than their life. Yea and Achilles in Homer saith: I will obey princes, but yet so they command things honest and just. And these things not only belong to subjects but also to inferior Magistrates. For what if the superior prince command the inferior Magistrates to receive the Mass in their Cities, undoubtedly they ought not to obey. If a man will say: he is the superior power, and therefore ought to be obeyed: I will answer, in things that be civil and human let them obey, as much as behooveth, but in no wise against God. We must always run unto that principle: *Propter quod vnumquodque est tale, id ipsum est magis tale*. That is to say: That whereby a thing is such as it is, is the more such itself. And therefore if we obey the Magistrate, for God's cause, much more must God himself be obeyed. So

then the inferior Magistrate ought not in such cases, to have a regard what the superior power chargeth, but what God himself hath commanded.

28. There be some which say, that before we depart from the obedience of the Magistrates as touching Religion, we must expect the consent of the Church. They which thus speak let them consider, that Christ never so commanded: every man for himself, is wholly bound to the law of God, whether others consent or dissent. If the goodman of a house have many servants which he commandeth to do his work in the country, but some of them when their Master is absent will loiter, ought the rest therefore to be idle, because some consent not to their common business? Did Paul when he was called to preach Christ, tarry for the consent of his other brethren? No truly. But as he writeth to the Galatians. When it had pleased God to reveal unto me his son, that I should preach him among the gentiles, I did not straightway ask counsel of flesh and blood, neither went I to the Apostles which were before me, but I went into Arabia. Wherefore he tarried not for the consent of other, but straightway obeyed his calling. So also ought we to do: after that God hath opened unto us his truth, we must not tarry. Indeed, if the thing be doubtful and dark, we must tarry for a consent. But our cause is manifest, and without all obscureness. Which if we will omit till a consent be had, the thing itself is lost and good occasions broken off. Tiberius would have brought Christ into the number of the God's, howbeit he thought that the consent of the Senate should be had. But the Senate would not, and by that means it came to pass, that, while consent was expected Christ could not be counted among the God's: whereas Tiberius had been able to bring it to pass by himself. But I pray you let them tell us, for whose consent will they tarry? For the Bishops consent?

But they no doubt will never consent, since they are sworn enemies of the truth.

29. Now let us return unto the inferior Magistrates of whom we spake before. We must remember what God hath commanded children concerning their parents. Honor thy father and thy mother. By which words undoubtedly, is commanded honor and obedience towards higher powers. For they have the place of parents, towards the inferior Magistrates. But let us see what Christ hath pronounced as touching this matter. He that loveth (saith he) father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me. The same without doubt must we think of the Magistrate, which is the father of the country. We must obey him, but yet not above the Lord. Yea if he command anything against him, he is both to be hated and also denied. Neither is it lawful for any man to profess himself to be a Christian, which will not dissent from the superior Magistrate in those things which be against the word of God. This were to have a will to serve two Masters, and to halt on both sides. If God be God, let us follow him, and that not by halves, but wholly. But it is to be feared (say they) least while we are against the superior power, we bring danger to the public-wealth. To this I will answer, contrary to that which Demades in the old time answered unto the Athenians. Cassander the Macedonian which succeeded Alexander the Great, entreated with the Athenians, that they would worship Alexander for a God. They stayed thereat: But Cassander seemed that unless they would consent, he would make war upon them. Wherefore Demades spake thus unto the people: That it was to be feared, that while they retained heaven they should lose the earth. So do I answer these men, only changing the words: That it is to be feared least while they overmuch regard and defend the commonwealth, they lose heaven. For although the superior power, do

fume and threaten, we must valiantly deal in a good cause. Seeing that God must be worshipped sincerely and godly, although all Magistrates and all the world were against us: And therefore if that superior power command anything against the law of God, it must not be obeyed. So did Nabaoth the Jezraelite behave himself, he would not grant unto Ahab his vineyard, which was his inheritance: neither had he therein any other respect, than that the law of God should remain inviolate: wherein it was commanded that the tribes and families of the Israelites, (as touching possessions) should remain distinct and separate. So by reason thereof, it was not lawful for Nabaoth to alienate his inheritance forever. Yet a man being far indebted, might have sold his inheritance till the year of Jubilee, but after that year, it returned to the old possessor again. God would by this means, that the inheritances of the Israelites should not be confounded. Wherefore Nabaoth, would not sell his ancient inheritance, least the law of God should be broken. Him also ought the Magistrates to follow, and not to give place in their Cities and dominions, unto most impure Masses, and papistical Idolatry. The Jews when they were oppressed by the Macedonians, did rather choose to suffer anything than that the Image of Jupiter Olympius should abide in the Temple of God. And when the Romans bare rule over them, how great sedition and tumult stirred they up, rather than they would suffer the silver Eagle, or the Image of Caligula to be set up in the holy place? Yea and Valentinian the Emperor, being an Arian (as both Eusebius writeth, and also Ambrose in his Epistles) would have had the Church of Millaine delivered unto him, there to have celebrated together with his heretics prayers and holy services. But Ambrose would not give place, but rather abode day and night in the Temple, together with the people, than that the Emperor should find it void, and so to possess it. If the Hebrews

would not have the Temple of God polluted with Idols, and Ambrose suffered not the Church to be contaminated with heretics, why do faithful Magistrates suffer their Temples to be defiled with Idolatry, and unclean services of the Papists?

30. They say that these things belong nothing at all unto them, and that these temples are not in their power. What then? If murder should be committed in those temples, or that any should there conspire against the public-wealth, would they there leave murderers and conspirators unpunished? And would they say, that these wicked crimes belong nothing unto them? Would they willingly and wittingly suffer these things? I think not, if they were wise, and would have the commonweal safely provided for. If a man should object unto them: This Temple is not yours, neither maketh it any matter unto you what is there done: yes (would they then answer) seeing it is in our City, even for that very cause it pertaineth sufficiently unto us. But wicked acts, far more grievous than murders and conspiracies, are there committed: I mean Idolatry, sacrilege, and blasphemy. And shall a Magistrate which will be called a Christian think that these things belong nothing unto him? But (say they) the superior power hath commanded them to be done. To this I have before answered at large. Now this will I add, that if the same power should go about to destroy the City, or to take away or diminish the privileges, they would never suffer it: they would rather proclaim wars. Yet notwithstanding these things, which are far more grievous and cruel, are openly and manifestly done and suffered. And which is most grievous of all: those things are there suffered, where the Gospel of Christ hath many years been received.

31. Now there resteth (because the Magistrate oftentimes excuseth himself, in saying that Ecclesiastical causes belong not unto him) to declare

that to be untrue. Although it be manifest enough by those things that I have already spoken, yet for the more easy understanding, I think it good to add thus much. First I say that the Magistrate is the keeper of the law of God, which containeth not only the latter Table but also the first: Wherefore the Magistrate is a keeper as well of the one as of the other. I add also that which Augustine saith: that not only private men, but also kings, ought to serve the Lord. For in the Psalm it is written: The people came together, and kings to serve the Lord. And in another place: And now O kings understand, be learned ye that judge the earth, serve the Lord in fear &c. A private man saith Augustine serveth the Lord, if he confess his name, and live uprightly: But this is not sufficient for a king and Magistrate, seeing he ought so by his authority and power to serve the Lord, that he punish those that be his enemies: which unless he do, he seemeth to consent unto blasphemers and heretics. For the king when he seeth these men and suffereth them, is as much in fault as if he should join himself with them, and maintain their wickedness. Nebuchadnezzar, as soon as ever he knew God, made a decree, that whosoever spake blasphemy against the God of Daniel, should die. The like decree made Darius afterward. So likewise our Magistrates ought wholly to take away all Idolatries, blasphemies, and superstitions, so soon as ever they shall find them out. The Ethnic princes never thought that the care of Religion appertained not unto their power. Why was Socrates condemned at Athens? I demand not now, how rightly or justly (for as it is thought in a manner of all men Anitus and Melitus lied against him.) This I speak for that he was for no other cause condemned, but for Religion: as though he taught new God's and led away the youth from the ancient and received worshipping of the God's: and he was by a profane Magistrate condemned. Wherefore the Athenians thought that the preservation and care

of Religion belonged to their Magistrate. The law of God commanded, that the blasphemer should be put to death, not I think by every private man or by the priests, but by the Magistrate. The Ethnic Emperors also in those first times did for no other cause rage against the Christians, but because they thought that the state of Religion belonged unto their judgment seat. And assuredly as touching this opinion, they were not deceived. For none (as Chrysostom saith) either Apostle or Prophet, reproved the people, either Jews or Ethnics, because they had a care of Religion: but they were deceived in the very knowledge as touching Religion, because they defended their own as true, and condemned the Christian as ungodly and blasphemous. Constantine and Theodosius and many other godly princes are commended, because they took away Idols, and either closed up, or else overthrew their Temples. Howbeit they did not these things in any other respect than that they thought the charge of Religion to belong unto them: otherwise they should have been busy fellows, and should have put their Sickle into another man's harvest. The Donatists took this in very ill part, and grievously complained thereof in Augustine's time, because the Catholic Bishops required aid of the civil Magistrate against them. But Augustine confuted them by the self-same Argument which I have a little before rehearsed: And addeth this moreover: why did ye accuse Caecilianus Bishop of Carthage, before Constantine, if it be wicked for an Emperor to determine concerning Religion?

32. Furthermore there is gathered by those things which the same Father wrote against Petilianus, and against Parmenianus, and also in many other Epistles, how that the Donatists accused Caecilianus, as it is said, before Constantine the Emperor: who first referred the cause to Melchiades bishop of Rome. And when by him they were overcome, they again appealed to the

Emperor: neither rejected he their appellation from him, but committed the matter to the Bishop of Orleans, by whom they were again condemned. Neither rested they so: but they appealed again to the Emperor, who heard them, decided their cause, condemned them, and by his sentence quitted Caecilianus. Where are they now, which so often and so impudently cry, that there is no appealing from the Pope, and that the causes of Religion belong not to the Civil Magistrate? To whom in the old time belonged the right of calling general Councils, pertained it not unto Emperors? As for the Council of Nice, the Council of Constantinople, of Ephesus, and of Chalcedon, Emperors called them. Leo the first of that name, prayed the Emperor to call a Council in Italy, because he suspected the Grecians about the error of Eutyches, and yet could he not obtain it. And the Bishops were called together to Chalcedonia, whereat the Emperor was also present, as was Constantine at the Council of Nice. Neither do I think that they were there present, to sit idle and to do nothing, but rather to set forth unto the Bishops what they should do, and to provoke them to define rightly. Theodoretus telleth that Constantine admonished the fathers to determine all things by the scriptures of the Evangelists, Apostles, Prophets, and scriptures inspired from God. Justinian also in the Code, wrote many Ecclesiastical laws of Bishops, of Priests and other such like. Yea and Augustine himself hath taught that the Magistrate ought after the same manner to punish Idolaters and Heretics, with the same punishment that he punisheth adulterers withal: for so much as they commit whoredom against God in mind: which is much more heinous, than to commit whoredom in body. And look by what law murderers are put to death, by the same also ought Idolaters and Heretics be punished, for that by them are killed not the bodies, but the souls: Although the common people are stirred up only

against Homicides, because it seeth the blood of the slain bodies, but seeth not the death of the souls. Surely it is profitable that the Magistrate should take this care upon him, and by his authority compel men to come to the Sermons, and to hear the word of God: for by that means it cometh to pass, that through often hearing, those things begin to please which before displeased. As the histories teach God hath oftentimes made godly Princes famous through most noble victories which have had a care of these things.

33. Besides it cannot be denied, but that it is the Magistrates duty, to defend those Cities, and public-wealths over which they are governors, and to provide that they take no harm. Seeing then Idolatry is the cause of captivity, plague, famine, and overthrowing of public-wealths, shall it not belong unto the Magistrate to repress it, and to preserve both the true and sound Religion? Lastly Paul teacheth fathers to instruct their children in discipline and in the fear of God: But a good Magistrate is the father of the country, wherefore by the rule of the Apostle he ought to provide that subjects be instructed as common children. Nevertheless Kings and Princes which say that these things pertain not to them, do in the meantime, let, give, and sell Bishoprics, Abbeys, and benefices to whom they think good: neither think they that this belongeth not to their office: only they think that they ought not to take knowledge of matters of Religion, and they neglect to provide that they whom they promote to most ample dignities, should execute their office rightly. This therefore only remaineth for them, even that God himself will at length judge of these things, and revenge their negligence.

CHAP. XIV. Of the office of Magistrates, especially in exercising of Judgment.

Princes for the most part in the time of great quietness, as though they had made an end of their labors, use to give themselves to sports and to pleasures. For so Alexander, when he had overcome Darius, was made feeble through riotousness. But far otherwise did David behave himself. For he thought it not enough to have conquered his enemy: but thought that the private evils and injuries at home belonged also to his office: since that a public-wealth is corrupted, even as is a human body, not only by outward discommodities, but also by inward evils, as it were by certain noisome humors. Yea, and such ought to be the end of war, that peace among Citizens and domestical discipline may be established. And therefore Justinian in the Preface upon the Institutions of the Civil law: The Majesty of the Emperor (saith he) ought not only to be adorned with arms, but also armed by laws, that each time, as well of war as of peace may be rightly governed, and that the Roman prince may not only be conqueror of his enemies in battles, but also by right course expel the lewdness of malicious detractors, and that he may become as well most religious for the law as

triumphant over his enemies. And the law is, not man's opinion (as some have foolishly thought) but an everlasting precept proceeding from nature being the guide, and from the law. And that which is here spoken as touching nature, that do we much more truly understand of God himself, the author of nature. For that which God hath set down ought to be a law unto us. And that law men do oftentimes understand by some light of nature, and (as Cicero saith) by a long experience of affairs, and government of commonwealths. For things being in such sort marked of wise men, committed to writing, and declared in their kinds and distributed in their parts become at the last a certain Art, or else some similitude of an Art. Ulpian in the *Digestes*, in the Title *De Jure & legibus*, saith that *Jus*, that is, right, is so called of *Justicia*, that is, Justice. This agreeth not with the Grammarians. For they affirm that the word Ius is absolute, and that that only is just, which is done *Jure*, that is, by law or right; so as they think that *Justicia* is derived of *Jus*, but not *Jus* of *Justicia*. But these things I pass over. This is certain, that that thing is first which expresseth anything: and the next is that which executeth and worketh that which is expounded. That did Aristotle call δικαίωμα καί δικαιοπράγημα, which is a remedying of injury. Then followeth a certain habit and proneness of doing whatsoever is expressed. This may hereby also be proved, that in all Arts there is first a matter to be wrought upon, then a science. For number is first before Arithmetic, and song before music, and everything that may be known, before knowledge thereof. Wherefore right goeth before justice. For δικαιοσύνη, which is righteousness, is as it were δικαίου σύνεσις, that is, the in being of right. I know there be some which defend Ulpian, and say that he considered not the very nature of things in themselves, but so as it is brought forth and breaketh out into Act. But how soever it be, the matter is

not of great weight. A Prince ought to take special heed that he minister justice, and that he do it with a good mind and justly. For it is not sufficient that some good thing be done, unless the same also be done well. And this who so do, Ulpianus saith they may be called Priests. For they be Priests and presidents of the laws. And laws be holy things; as it is in the Code *De Legibus*, in the law *Legis*. Wherefore to give sentence, and to speak law, is a holy thing. That sentence which is written: namely that David did execute justice and judgment, some do so expound it, as they understand, that he did not pronounce all things out of the written law, but even much according to equity and reason: since that also is to do justice. But for equity and reason there is no place, except where nothing is provided for by the laws: that is, where neither reward of well doing, nor punishment for wicked acts is expressly appointed. And it is specially to be noted, which is added, namely To all the people. For that betokeneth that he did execute judgment sincerely and truly, without respect of persons. And this is it so to bear rule as thou mayest be a help to the people. Solomon in his proverbs: By justice (saith he) shall the kings seat be established forever. Contrariwise, Tyrants because of their iniquity shall soon be taken away. Howbeit to execute justice is manifold and hath many parts. For it behooveth both patiently to hear, wisely to know, uprightly to give sentence, and courageously to do execution: Considering that many do oftentimes judge rightly: but yet for want of courage they only have their sentence in papers. We must take heed that the guilty be punished, that discipline be established, that good laws do flourish, that good manners may be preserved. This virtue is most profitable, not only in peace but also in war. These things ought a Prince specially to do. For he should be as it were a certain living law. But contrariwise they do wickedly which think that the judgment of causes do

nothing at all pertain unto their office. Such was Anthonius Caracalla, who would never give judgment. And unto Adrian when he excused himself that he was not at leisure to help a poor woman, it was answered: Then I would not have thee to bear rule.

That the charge of Religion belongeth unto Princes.

2. But thou wilt say: Is it lawful for Princes to determine of Religion? Undoubtedly it was lawful for Saul to abandon Witches and Soothsayers, since God commanded them to be taken away. But they which say that Profane Princes (as they call them) ought not to deal in these things, they provide very ill for the safety of the Church. For what if a Pastor become a Wolf, who shall take him away but the Magistrate? Or if the Bishops as it happeneth govern not according to the dignity of the Church nor by the word of God, who shall punish them? But King Ozias (they say) when he would sacrifice was stricken with a leprosy. And Uzza when he had put his hand to the Ark that was falling out of the Cart, was stricken to death. Wherefore Princes (say they) ought not to intermeddle with these things. What shall they then do? They feign that in the Church there be two great lights, and that the Pope with the Bishops be the greater light: and that the Emperor and kings and Magistrates be the lesser light: These ought to take care, that is as much to say, as destroy their bodies, but the other the souls. So would they have Princes to be only certain herd men to pamper the body. But the very Philosophers do not so absurdly judge. For Aristotle in his Politics saith, that the office of a Magistrate is, to provide that the people may live well and virtuously. And no greater virtue there is, than Religion. And God commandeth in Deuteronomy that the prince should write out for himself the book of the law, not only for himself to keep, but also to compel others to keep it. And the law containeth not only civil government, but also

Ceremonies and the worshipping of God. And whereas the law is distributed into two tables, both of them are committed to the power of the Magistrate. Moreover Paul saith, that the Magistrate standeth in the stead and place of God, and that every soul ought to be subject unto the higher power. From which place (saith Chrysostom) neither Bishops nor Evangelists nor Apostles be excluded. And Augustine against the Donatists: It were a goodly matter in deed (saith he) if Magistrates should have power to punish adulteries, but might not punish the whoredoms of the soul. And he addeth that kings ought to serve God, not only that they themselves may live modestly and godly, but also that they may bring others unto godliness, and defend the worship of God. In all Arts (as saith Aristotle) there is a certain respect unto the principal Art. For example, the Art of Riding commandeth the Sadlers craft. Also the Art of Navigation is above that Art which maketh Oars and sails, wherefore seeing the office of a Magistrate is the chief and principal science, he ought to rule all the parts of a commonwealth. In deed he himself exerciseth not those Arts, but yet ought he to see that none do corrupt and counterfeit them. If a Physician cure not according to the prescript of Galen or Hippocrates, or if an Apothecary sell naughty and corrupt drugs, the Magistrate ought to correct them both. And if he may do this in other Arts, I see no cause why he may not do it in Religion. So Hezekiah, Josiah, David, Solomon, Constantine, and Charles showed very well that religion belonged unto their charge. Ozias was stricken and that justly. For God appointed him to be a king and not a Priest, he notwithstanding contrary to the commandment of God would offer sacrifice. But if he had corrected the Priest when he offended, or had made him do his duty, there should not any evil have happened unto him for that matter. Uzza was stricken unto death because he rashly laid his hand upon

the Ark. The Levites ought to have carried it upon their shoulders: nevertheless they laid the same in a Cart. And he was punished for laying hold upon it when the Cart staggered.

3. Howbeit because the power of a Prince is feeble and without limits, therefore he hath need of many eyes, many hands, and many feet. Wherefore it is described by whom David ruled the commonwealth, not only in profane, but also in Ecclesiastical affairs. Joab being a valiant man, and skillful in the art of war, the kinsman of David, and of an approved faithfulness, had the rule and government of the wars. That office was due unto him by promise, because he did first smite and vanquish the Jebusites. Furthermore David, to the intent that nothing should be done unorderly or be forgotten: he would have a recorder or master of the requests, to put him in mind of causes both private and public. Him the Italians call *Referendarium*: The French men, *Maistre des requests*, A Master of the requests. Afterward he bent his mind to Ecclesiastical affairs, and agreed together two families of Priests which were at variance. For those (as it oftentimes happeneth among Ecclesiastical men) contended for the principal place. For which, although there be wont to be great debate between profane Princes, yet nowhere greater than between them which ought most of all to contemn these follies. The two families of Ithamar and Eleazar contended between themselves for the high Priesthood. And least we should think that there were two high Priests, we must understand that there was only one. Abiathar was he, whose son Ahimeleck, David made equal with Sadock, that they two might be next unto the high Priest. Howbeit some think that those two were as the kings chaplains, that wheresoever he should be, either at home or abroad, he might always by them ask counsel of the Lord. Afterward in the time of Solomon, Ahimeleck

was constrained to give up his place, and instead of him came Sadock. God had then long before commanded that the Priests should be chosen out of the family of Aaron: So as David admitted not other families, but only followed the prescript rule of the law of God. This would not the Pope at this day suffer, to wit: that the Emperor should ordain orders among Bishops and cardinals. And yet nevertheless David did this, and thought not that he did anything against his own office. David took the shields of Gold of Hadarezer, and whatsoever Gold, silver, and brass he had gathered out of Beta and Berothay and of King Thoi, he consecrated all wholly unto the Lord. So in the book of Numbers, what money soever the Israelites took from the Moabites they did consecrate to the tabernacle. Rightly did David, and as it became a godly King. For although he were prohibited by the Kings law that he should not heap to himself treasures, yet was there no let but that he might seek for and keep those things, whereby the Temple of God might be built and adorned. Yea and Moses commanded all the vessels of the Tabernacle to be made of the spoils of Egypt. God had before forbidden David that he should not build him a Temple, yet he forbad him not to gather together the stuff for that building. Godly Kings employ all things to the building and beautifying of the Church of God, and in the meantime, contemn not the outward ornaments of Temples: but the wicked Nebuchadnezzars, and Dionisi do pull away all, even with a contempt of God. Neither is it any marvel: In minds that be unlike, the endeavors be unlike also. Howbeit David and other Princes, to whom this care belonged, meant to signify nothing else save that they allowed of the worshipping of God. This also do the Princes of the Papists at this day, and ever have done, and that oftentimes of goods evil gotten. But David carried away these things from the Enemies, yea from those enemies, whom he knew to be

condemned and judged by God, that he might not seem to have done anything against the law of God. The people for adorning of the temple brought many vowed oblations, much rather behooved it kings to do the same. The Ethnics also consecrated their goodly spoils unto Jupiter Feretrius: and whatsoever they had taken from their enemies, they committed a part thereof to their gods. These things may be a sufficient argument that David took not this war in hand for covetousness sake, but to augment the glory of God. Even so Christ, our true David, when he had spoiled the house of his strong and armed enemy, turned all his spoils unto his own use: and of them which he had before held captives, made some Apostles, some Evangelists, some teachers: and good Arts, as Logic, Rhetoric, and Philosophy, which before had served Devils, he employed unto the buildings of his Church.

4. Doubtless clemency is a goodly commendation and worthy for princes. Which also they themselves understanding do place it almost in the first front of their Tithes: and of their subjects will be saluted by the name of Most merciful. And by three reasons they should be led to be gentle. The first is, because they be God's lieutenants upon the earth, and therefore above others ought to imitate him. For, to have mercy and to forgive, is proper unto God. Secondly they rule and govern men, not wild and brute beasts. Wherefore it is meet they should deal courteously with them. Lastly by gentle dealing, they get themselves the goodwill of the people. Wherefore Solomon in the 20th chapter of the Proverbs said: That by mercy is the kings seat established. And Cicero when he praised or flattered Caesar said: that his valiant courage, his arts of war, his victories and his triumphs, were common unto him with other soldiers, but that his clemency, his sincere and perfect goodness pertained to himself. Therefore clemency is

worthy to be praised, but yet not always to be used: For there is a time which requireth severity. Clemency is a certain affection of the mind, whereby we are prone to forgive, and turn aside from revenge. And the same (if it be not against justice, if it do not violate right and laws, nor yet breedeth a confusion of things) amongst men it is the matter of virtue: but if so be that it bring in those things which I have recited, now is there no virtue there: but it doth degenerate into vice, and is changed into slackness, negligence, and foolish pity. Thus sinned Ahab that would be more pitiful than God. So also sinned Saul, which spared Agag the king of the Amalekites, contrary unto that which the word of God had prescribed. So then this their pity, is no virtue but a vice, seeing it hath no justice joined with it. David also was sometime infected with this vice what time as he was over-pitiful towards Absalom his son, and towards Ammon.

Whether it be lawful for Magistrates to let the guilty pass unpunished.

5. This sentence is plainly gathered out of the Scriptures, that the Magistrate ought not to set free those whom God hath delivered to be punished. But some man will object, that the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites, which ill vexed and betrayed the Hebrews who fled unto them, when they were spoiled by the Chaldeans, were sharply rebuked by the Prophet Amos though notwithstanding God had brought upon them that calamity. Yea and the Chaldeans themselves are reproved by the Prophet, because they dealt ill with the Jews. I answer, that the Jews were not delivered to the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites to be punished, but unto the Chaldeans, as the Prophets have prophesied. Seeing then God revealed nothing at all unto these people as touching the destruction of the Jews to be executed by them, they were justly reprehended, and condemned

of cruelty. For seeing they were their neighbors, and after a sort a kin, they showed them not such courtesy and entertainment in that their calamity, as they ought to have done. But the Chaldeans are therefore reproved, because they exceeded measure against those which were overcome. Neither became they cruel against the Hebrews, to satisfy the will of God, but to fulfill their own hatred and ambition. But what shall we say to Augustine, who would have those that were guilty and condemned, to be delivered and yielded unto him by the presidents of Africa, so they would promise to amend and repent? For he said that this was a part of his duty, and unless he obtained what he desired, he was offended, and complained that he could not obtain that of authority which belonged to his office. Macedonius who had given into his hands one that was guilty, wrote unto him, that he marveled how this should belong unto the office of Bishops, and he alleged his reasons why it should not seem so to be. Wherefore seeing there be Arguments both on the one part and on the other, I have thought good to set them down to affirm what must be determined of the question. And for this end is this Treatise: because the guilty are delivered by God unto Magistrates, to the end they should be punished by the Laws: therefore it seemeth not in their power to let them go unpunished. But Augustine taught otherwise.

6. And in the first place I purpose to allege his reasons. The first is, when repentance cometh, and promise of amendment, sins (as he writeth) are become more venial or pardonable: wherefore somewhat of the severity of punishment must be forgiven. Secondly the Magistrate in punishing, ought to seek nothing else than amendment or correction of faults. And this is the best way of amending, that he which is guilty should repent and purpose to live better. Thirdly after this life there is no place of amendment and

correction: and it is dangerous, lest if they should straightway be put to death, they might fall into everlasting punishments which should never have end, therefore life must be granted them that they may repent and amend. Fourthly it becometh princes to imitate God, and he destroyeth not the ungodly, but maketh his sun to rise upon the good and bad. And he suffereth and cherisheth them with most ample benefits, whereas notwithstanding he very well knoweth both what they are and what they will be. So that Princes should much rather pardon offenders, seeing it is unknown unto them what manner of men they will become at the length. He confirmeth his reason out of a place in the Epistle to the Romans, wherein it is said: Doest thou not know that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? We (saith he) do imitate God, when we would not have the guilty to be destroyed but to be kept unto repentance: Princes also should follow this. God doeth not punish very many in this world, yet doeth he otherwhile bring punishment upon some, least he should seem to have cast off the care of the world. But he suffereth many to go unpunished, that we may persuade ourselves that once at the length shall be the general judgment, wherein according to their deserts he will punish them that be obstinate and grounded in sins: but those which promise repentance and amendment, he giveth to the Church. Fifthly the heavenly father hath commanded, that we should love our enemies: but they which are condemned to death for their misdeeds, be enemies of mankind: so according to the word of God we ought to bear them good will. But we can wish no better to them than salvation, that is repentance, amendment and eternal felicity. Sixthly, in the Church, they shall not straightway be admitted unto the holy supper. First their mind shall be tried by that public repentance, they shall pour out tears in the holy congregation, they shall crave the aid and prayers of the Church, they shall fast, they shall

go in the habit of Mariners, and they shall exercise themselves in godly works. What else is this than to punish themselves justly? Wherefore those whom ye shall let go, shall not escape among us unpunished. Seventhly that which we desire is easy, not only possible unto you, because ye have the power of life and death over them for whom we entreat. Therefore, when ye yield them unto the Church, ye depart not from your duty. For you exceed not the charge committed unto you. Eighthly: that which we require of you, I would not have you to doubt, but is for your own profit. For ye as well as other Christians have need of mercy, unless ye think yourselves altogether free from sin. Then set them free unto us, that your fault may also be forgiven by God. Ninthly it is meet that ye should follow the example of Christ. He acquitted the adulteress which was guilty of death, he condemned her not: only he exhorted her to amendment, saying: Go thy way, sin no more. Tenthly: After all this, consider ye the fact of Joseph the husband of the blessed virgin: He being otherwise a just man, was so moved with mercy towards his spouse, as although he knew her to be great with child, yet would he not put her to open shame or by accusing her of adultery, abandon her to extreme punishment. Again ye ought to have a consideration of man's infirmity, which is such, as being well weighed, it may not only assuage the grief of the accuser, but also the rigor of the Judge. Furthermore ye civil men, which would be accounted honest, boast everywhere as a token of good nature and gentleness, that ye had rather defend in place of judgment than accuse: therefore ye ought not to be offended at us, if we seek the preservation of them that be guilty. Nevertheless, between intercession and defense, there is a great difference: For he that defendeth that which is laid to the charge of the guilty, affirmeth it to be well done, the which we do not. For neither do we comfort and

excuse thieves and murderers and other malefactors, but confessing that they have offended, we make intercession for their safety. Moreover, the manner of civil men is, that if they see broils risen in another man's house, for that the father would punish the son, or the husband his wife, they come between them and entreat that the matter may be pacified. And what they themselves would punish in their own house, they entreat that it should not be punished in the family of another. Hereunto, even you yourselves which be rulers of the people of Rome, do sometime in the Ecclesiastical Synods, make intercession for some priests, that they be not more sharply dealt withal and according to the severity of the Canons of the Church. Wherefore that which you grant unto yourselves towards the Church, grant in like manner unto us to use at your tribunal seats and at your executions. Last of all, we while we crave of your power this kind of obedience, chiefly have this regard, that unto the ministry of the Church, and unto the word of truth which we preach, we may win the love and goodwill of the people. For when they shall perceive that the Ministers of the word of God and the pastors of the Church, do so desire and thirst after the salvation even of most wicked men, they cannot choose but love them, and gladly give ear unto them.

7. And this last Argument, as it seemeth to me moved him to make these demands. Yet do I not see that other Bishops, especially those of the East part, were earnest in this matter, so far as I might discern by the most ancient Ecclesiastical histories. But as touching the salvation and repentance of the guilty, there was no cause why the bishops should so much disquiet themselves, if the Ministers were brought to the prisons of the condemned men, before they were put to execution. For by exhorting them, by warning and teaching them those things which serve unto

repentance and amendment, they might as they do in our days have brought them by the help of God unto acknowledging of their sins, and sound repentance. But I perceive not that this wholesome ordinance in times past was in use in the Church, especially when the Emperors now professed Christ. Now that we have rehearsed the reasons of Augustine, I think good to admonish you hereof, to wit, that the letting go of Benhadad which is declared in the 1st book of kings the 20th chapter, is not in all parts conformable unto the pardoning which the Bishops required of the Magistrates for them which be guilty. For neither any high priest, nor priest at all made suit for Benhadad. Further he himself made no promise of repentance or amendment, yea, and there was nothing at all specified concerning Religion. Yet there remaineth some likelihood that on both sides he is let go, whom God had delivered unto the Magistrate to be punished.

8. But after the reasons of Augustine let us hear the Arguments of Macedonius. First he said: In this letting go, we seem to allow that which we would have punished, but it is sin that we would have punished: therefore we seem to allow of sin itself. So then we make ourselves guilty, because the allower and author of the offense are both alike culpable, wherefore we are subject to the same kind of offense that they be whom we so let go. Augustine answereth: We while we crave to have those yielded unto the Church, seek it not to the end that sin should go unpunished, but rather amended. Even as God when he maketh the Sun to arise upon the wicked, doeth it not that sin should escape unpunished, but (as the Apostle saith) by his goodness provoketh them to repentance. Moreover we would in any wise that sins should be punished, howbeit by another kind of punishment, that is, by repentance, not by the sword of authority. Secondly Macedonius objected: The sword of the civil power will be in vain: to what

end should there be prisons, Gallows, hangmen, executioners, and such like, if guilty persons as you would, should be let go unpunished? But Augustine saith, that these things are not in vain: because they punish the impenitent and obstinate: but others which promise that they will amend their life, your power and instruments of punishments do bring them hereunto. For unless they should be terrified by this means, they would continue in their mischief. So as our intercessions are nothing at all against your severe power: nay rather if the same were not, our intercessions should have no place. Moreover for this cause are they available, that we may lead a peaceable and quiet life among the wicked. Thirdly Macedonius argued: The punishments that we lay upon the guilty, are either just or unjust: if they be unjust, let them be removed and let them no more appear in the commonwealth: but if they be just, wherefore do you hinder them with your intercessions? Augustine answereth: They be just against them which be stubborn and obstinate in their sins: but when there cometh promise of amendment and repentance, forsomuch as the guilty person is changed, the punishments must also be changed or taken away. Hereunto Macedonius addeth: They which are so delivered, it cometh often to pass, that they afterward fall again into the self-same vices, or else commit those that be more grievous. Augustine answereth: Seeing this is not done by our fault nor will: neither do we make intercession for them that they may become such evil persons again. Macedonius said yet further: Others being corrupted by this example will more vehemently run astray, and so all things will be filled with theft and robberies. Whereunto Augustine said: God also will easily sustain this kind either of reproach or cavillation. Why do we not also say that evil men are corrupted to commit daily more and more grievous sins, through the good will of God, whereby he suffereth and

cherisheth the wicked? Lastly Macedonius had respect unto the losses and hindrances done unto Citizens, and said: It will by this means come to pass, that things taken away by theft and robbery will not be restored. Unto this Augustine saith: It would in no wise be so: for that is reckoned to be no true repentance wherein other men's goods are retained: neither is the sin forgiven unless there be a restitution of the thing stolen. But yet he showed after what manner: namely that if it may be or if the guilty man have other men's goods in his hands. Howbeit otherwhile these robbers and thieves do straight way consume those things which they have naughtily gotten, do riotously waste and destroy them, and when as there remaineth with them not one jot thereof to restore: when they have changed their mind, they must be given to the Church, least they be perpetually afflicted without a cause, and their repentance be hindered. These things have we heard to be spoken of Augustine and Macedonius, according to both parts of the question propounded. I might add, that James in his Epistle wrote, that judgment without mercy remaineth unto him who hath not showed mercy: and also that Ezekiel who under the person of God saith: I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted and live.

9. Some man perhaps will marvel why Augustine set not down among his reasons, that the guilty sort must also be spared because they be ignorant, or be stirred up by their lusts, or frail affections, and therefore do fall into so grievous offenses. Hereunto I answer: Perhaps Augustine comprehended this kind of Argument when he said: That man's infirmity must be considered. And certainly, to be ignorant and overcome with lusts pertaineth to imbecility. Howbeit we might otherwise answer; that he prudently omitted this, because he would not sustain the person of a defender, but of an intercessor. It was none of his part to minish or extenuate sin: He

confessed those things to be naughtily done for the which he entreated, but he craved a remission Furthermore they which committed those things which they knew to be punishable by the public laws, knew them to be sin. Neither can they which be stirred up with lusts be compared (as of some they be) unto them that be frenetic and out of their wit, who are rather to be pitied than punished, for as yet reason reigneth in those men, but in the other it is extinguished or else stopped. Moreover the frenetic persons do not procure the evil unto themselves, but they which obey lusts, do otherwhile stir them up: they seek occasions, they shun them not nor yet wrestle against them, neither do they repress outward actions; which they might do although they were not yet regenerate. Wherefore the comparison is very unlike.

10. But because the reasons of Augustine (under correction of so notable a man) be not firm, therefore must they be confuted. Which as it is easy to be done, so I judge it very profitable. First he said, that sins are more pardonable, as he termeth it, when they have promise of amendment and also repentance joined with them, and therefore ought no longer to be punished severely. Unto this we answer, that the pardon which followeth faith unto which is adjoined repentance is obtained of God, and pertaineth not to the civil Judge, who hath respect to a thing already done, not unto those things that be present. He added, that the severity of laws seek correction, but that those men are corrected by amendment of life and repentance, and that therefore nothing else must be anymore wrested from them by violence. But correction is sought for by the Magistrates, not only for his cause that is punished, but also for other men's sakes, which are terrified through beholding of the punishment, so as they may desist from that kind of sin, which they see is so severely punished, or else to beware

that they fall not into such heinous offenses. Wherefore it is written in Deuteronomy, the 13th chapter, as touching the stoning of an Idolater: To the intent, that the Israelites may see and fear. Augustine further argued, that after this life there is no other place of amendment and repentance: and that therefore there is a danger, least if they that be guilty should after this manner be suffered to depart out of this life without repentance, they would fall into those punishments which shall never have end. To this I answer, That repentance is not denied unto them which he condemned: For time and space of repentance is given them: and there are appointed unto them pastors and Ministers of the word, to admonish them diligently of salvation, and to drive faith and repentance into their minds. Notwithstanding it seemeth that Augustine in this place attributed over much unto that public repentance, as though the guilty sort, if they should be put to death without it, might not have salvation. But the matter is not in such sort, and those things which be there spoken, if they be somewhat narrowly considered cannot stand together. For seeing that repentance of that kind is not often renewed, least (as Augustine himself confesseth) so notable a remedy should through much frequenting become of no estimation, what shall we do unto them, which after that repentance fall again into the self-same and more grievous crimes? Shall we bid them to despair? No verily. If they believe sincerely, and that they are again penitent, no doubt but they shall again obtain pardon of God. And if that the sins committed after the same public repentance may be forgiven without it, why shall not those sins also be forgiven without it which were done in the former time? The grace of God is not tied to those rites and ceremonies which are abolished in our age. In the stead of public repentance they have placed auricular confession, which cannot be denied but was the destruction of the west Church. Further

those words of Augustine are to be noted, to wit, that after this life, there is no place of amendment or repentance. For so is Purgatory taken away, if that those which depart from hence, are either exalted unto glory or else do fall into punishment that shall never have end.

11. That doubtless which was brought as concerning the imitation of God is of small force, because his counsels far differ from ours. He is exempted from all laws, and governeth all things by his own free will as it pleaseth him: Howbeit we live under laws, and must do not those things which are seen but which are prescribed. God must be imitated of us, but yet so much as our condition and the laws laid upon us will bear. To the proof that he brought out of the Epistle to the Romans: Because God of his benignity leadeth evil men unto repentance, it may also be said, that Princes do lead such guilty ones to repentance when as with singular benignity and gentleness, they make the way open for the Ministers of the word of God to come unto them. God in very deed commanded us to love our enemies, howbeit that must be understood, that we do it so much as the laws and the safety of the commonwealth do permit. Is it not also commanded us that we should account as Ethnics and publicans, those rebellious and obstinate persons, which will not hear the Church? And yet though we do this we love them well enough. In like manner it is lawful for the Magistrate to slay the guilty, and therewith to keep charity towards them. It was said also, that these escape not unpunished, seeing they punish themselves in the Church by fasting, weeping, praying, and by exercising themselves in good works. Some punishment indeed they sustain, yet not so much as the laws require, seeing it is not lawful for them to kill themselves, when as nevertheless by justice they ought to be put to death. That Argument derived from a possibility and easiness, because Magistrates have power of life and death

over the guilty, is not firm, for the powers which be the governors of the world have their sword from God to take vengeance of them that be guilty and to defend honest and good men, and not that they should use the same at their own will and pleasure. And it is certain that they do not their duty, if they let go the guilty unpunished, seeing they have received authority to punish them. He said moreover: ye also that be Magistrates, have need of the mercy of God, seeing (even like other men) ye pass not over this life without sins: wherefore yield ye unto others, that it may also be yielded unto you. Nevertheless it must be considered, that every man ought to give, not that which belongeth to another, but that which is his own. Howbeit, whatsoever pain and punishment is forgiven to the offender, it is not given of the Magistrates goods, but it is given either of the party harmed, or else of the public discipline and severity of the laws. Which things, if they be not kept and remain safe, there followeth an incredible confused order.

12. And as touching that which is brought of the adulteress, whom the Lord Jesus Christ absolved, it serveth not unto this present question, because while Christ lived upon the earth, he had no Magistrates office, but was an interpreter of the will of his Father, and he ministered the word of God unto the people. Wherefore it was not his part to condemn the adulteress to death, seeing he took not to him the sword upon the earth. Also he could not prosecute the accusation of her, seeing he took her not in the present crime, neither could he prove the crime by witnesses: but as a Minister of the word of God, he first gave a warning of repentance unto the accusers: after that, according to his office he warned the adulteress that she should sin no more. So that we may not gather hereby that the fact of Christ, either diminished or hindered Magistrates from the lawful punishing of them. Neither doth the example of Joseph the husband of the blessed

virgin anything more belong unto this matter, for he also was no Magistrate. But he would not bring Mary into obloquy, because he was just. These words have a double sense. First *Tsedec*, sometime among the Hebrews is mercy, and therefore some think that Joseph spared Mary whom he suspected of adultery, because he was of a merciful and pitiful mind: wherefore he determined to put her away, omitting the accusation of the fault. This interpretation if we follow, we cannot otherwise but condemn Joseph of too much tenderness and slackness, that would not provide to his power, for taking away the evil of adultery out of the Commonwealth of Israel, according as the law of God had commanded. Or else we will say, that Joseph, seeing he was properly and truly just, would not defame the adultery of his wife, because he was uncertain of the manner of the crime. For as well it might be, that the maid sinned before they were betrothed as after. If she had fallen after they were betrothed, she was held for an adulteress: but if before, she might only be accused of whoredom. Which crime in very deed was no crime of death: yet he that had done the dishonor to her, should of necessity marry her: yet so notwithstanding that her parents had given their consent. Wherefore seeing he was just, he would not accuse Mary of adultery, because he was not sure that it was adultery. And so to unwind himself out of these perplexities, he determined to put away his wife. But that this might not be, God forbad it by an Oracle. Briefly, he was no magistrate. Further that kind of the crime did not appear. Howbeit they of whom we now entreat, be Magistrates, and they must give just punishment for a fault that is known, and not for that which is uncertain.

13. Moreover Augustine willed that man's weakness should be considered: for if that be somewhat diligently weighed, he thinketh that as well the grief of the accuser as the rigor of the judge shall be broken.

Profitable and very godly is the admonition, because it is every man's part to sorrow, that the nature of men so nobly instituted, is fallen headlong into so great an imbecility. Howbeit, we must not be led by this sorrow (although it be just,) either to diminish or to corrupt public justice. Besides forth, it was inferred that good men say, they had rather defend than accuse before the judgment seat. I know this hath been often boasted of, but I affirm that both the duties be necessary unto the commonweal, and that sometimes the one, and sometimes the other is more to be desired as may seem most convenient for the party accused, for the time and for the place. For he that accuseth helpeth the Magistrate, who cannot see all things by himself. He also that defendeth the party accused, helpeth the commonwealth: he instructeth the Magistrate against the vehemency of accusers, or their slanders or cavillations. Nevertheless Cicero said when he accused Verres, that he defended Sicilia. And so earnestly did he labor, that his accusation should be accounted for a defense. And as for them which run unto families, among whom they perceive either trouble or discord to be raised, if they do it with this mind, that by their coming they may provide least the good man of the house should exceed measure, either in punishing his servants or children, or in correcting his wife, they are to be praised: but if it be to the intent they may take away all kind of chastisement and discipline, they behave not themselves well. Neither also did he well, which for a priest made intercession to the Ecclesiastical Synod, if perhaps he meant that an adulterer, a whoremonger or a drunkard should be unpunished, and honest Canons of the Church to be neglected for his sake. But if he only sought, that he should not be punished over sharply or more than was meet, and that he should be gently handled, so far as Ecclesiastical discipline would suffer, he shall not be blamed. In deed Paul made entreaty

unto Philemon for Onesimus, which had fled from him. But that servant being now renewed in Christ returned of his own accord unto his Master. He was no captive, neither was it a crime of death: Wherefore this example belongeth nothing to the cause which we have in hand.

14. There remaineth the last Argument, which as Augustine thought was of very great weight: namely that it would win favor and good will to the word of truth, which is preached by the Ministers of the Church. The reason in deed is plausible: For the Church of Christ seemeth herein to be amiable and loving, in that it hath careful pastors, and such as be very desirous of the salvation of Christians, and would gladly have their offenses, though they be grievous to be forgiven them. Thus do some say, that Constantine was allured unto Christianity, because our Bishops had promised him pardon for a parricide committed, for he had caused his son to be slain. But whether this be true or no, I refer it to the Authors. That goodwill and favor must be won unto the holy Gospel, I myself also am of that mind, but yet not by such a way, as the laws and discipline, (which be the things whereon the commonweal doth depend) should be loosed. Grace undoubtedly is preached in the Church of Christ, as touching reconciliation with God, which is freely granted unto believers without works: but yet not to this end that the guilty sort should be plucked away from Magistrates. This did not Christ nor the Apostles at any time: neither do the holy scriptures either in the old or New Testament command any such thing: nor yet is it read that the holy fathers in old time did set forth any such example. Augustine was very mild of nature, and whereas this thing was already usurped in his time in the Church, and especially in the Church of Africa, he would not have it abrogated. For which cause in that Epistle, he gave place both to his own nature and to the cause. And James when he saith, that Judgment without

mercy remaineth to him that hath not showed mercy, speaketh not of Magistrates, but he earnestly putteth other men in remembrance to forgive injuries and offenses: which can never sufficiently be urged among Christians. And Ezekiel when he saith: I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he convert and live, writeth it of God, who is free from laws. But earthly Magistrates must judge according to laws. Yea and good princes for their own part would not the death of sinners, but their conversion, and wish them life, and would bestow it upon them, but yet so far as the laws whereof they be Ministers do permit them.

15. Now there remaineth that I declare what I am to say as touching this controversy. First let us make a distinction between inferior Magistrates and superior, from whom there lies no appeal, and who have absolute dominion. The inferiors must in any wise judge according to those things which are prescribed unto them by superior Magistrates. But the chief Magistrates, who both may interpret the laws where they be obscure, and also have committed to their judgment those things, touching which there hath been no decree: three things let them, that they cannot forgive punishments. First the accuser, that is the party harmed, and which complaineth at the tribunal seat. For the Magistrate is the keeper of Justice, wherefore he is bound by his office to give every man his right: which unless he do, he is no lawful Prince. Secondly the disturbance of the commonwealth. Aristotle in the 5th book of Ethics the 5th chapter saith, That if Citizens see that the injuries done unto them are not recompensed by punishments, they think that they live in servitude, and that they be not now Citizens but bondslaves. But admit that the accuser be pacified, yea and that he entreateth for the release of the punishment of him that is guilty, and saith that he is satisfied, is it yet free for the Prince to forgive the punishment? No forsooth. Because it is his

part to defend the safety of the commonweal: which continueth not, unless that heinous offenses be repressed by punishments. While an evil man is punished, others do fear, but the impunity of one or two maketh evil men the more bold. Wherefore if the Prince neglecting punishments slack the severity of the laws, now doth he not well use clemency but he bringeth in public calamity. The third thing which hindereth him is the laws as well of God as of nature: Further, the laws of men which be honestly and lawfully made. Let him consider with himself, that people have not chosen Princes, which should bear rule after their own pleasure, but that they should be the Ministers of laws. Yea sometimes they take away the rule from them if they govern not according to the laws. The Persians had a certain king called Cabades, that is glorious, who when he favored adulterers against the prescript rule of the laws, and had made an unjust, law, namely that adulterers should not be punished unless they had been perpetrated by violence, the subjects took the matter in so ill part, as they cast Cabades out of his kingdom. But it is commonly said: that Princes should be inclined unto mercy and clemency: I grant, but yet so far forth as the right of the party offended, the public commodity, and prescription of the laws will permit. Moreover this specially taketh place in doubtful things, and when laws are to be interpreted, and when the crime is of that kind, as a punishment is not appointed to it by the laws. So then it is not well to desire of chief rulers and Princes in judgment, that wicked men should be let go unpunished. But and if thou wilt say, that they now repent themselves, they will amend their life, and they be changed: I answer, that the Judge respecteth not what they be now, but what they were when they committed the wicked facts. Whereupon Aristotle distinguishing the kinds of causes: unto the kind Deliberative he assigned the time to come: for they which do

deliberate, take special heed unto that which shall come to pass if this or that thing be done. And unto the kind Demonstrative he ascribed the time present. For those things which be praised or dispraised, are set before our eyes as though they be now done and be present. Unto the Judicial kind he assigneth the time past: because it is a Judges part to inquire whether it be done or no, and whether it be well or ill done.

16. But least I should seem without manifest testimonies to have determined of the controversy, I will first allege what God said unto the Israelites before the law was given unto them. He that shall shed man's blood (saith he) his blood shall be shed by man, because he is made according to the Image and similitude of God. In the law of Moses, the wellspring of punishments was that voice of the Lord: Take thou away the evil from the midst of thee. Of the Idolater he said: Spare him not, take no pity of him, neither keep thou him secrete, the 13th of Deuteronomy. Of the willful murderer: Let him die. For a slaughter by chance, there were assigned Cities of refuge: But he which had killed one of set purpose, he said not, Let him go, and give him to my altar: but he saith: Pluck him away from my altar. The self-same thing also is showed out of the New Testament. We have in the Epistle to the Romans, If thou do evil, fear, for he beareth not the sword without cause, for he is God's minister and revenger. Then if God appointed him to be a revenger, it is of necessity that he should punish wickedness. The same thing we have among the Civil laws, whereof I might allege many, but I will content myself with three, which are in the *Digestes*, in the Title *De Poenis*. The first is of Ulpian, which beginneth *Si quis forte*: where it is defined, that a guilty man must be punished, although he shall say that he hath certain secrete things belonging to the safety of the Prince, which he would reveal unto him; neither must he

be sent unto him, because these things be done and feigned for the delay or shifting off of punishment. Nay rather (saith he) such wicked persons should suffer the more grievously, because they hid their secretes so long from the Prince: and because even yet they would not have disclosed them, unless there had been hold taken of them. And if the laws suffer not that executions or punishments be deferred or shifted off for the safety of the prince, which is a great thing in the commonwealth, why shall they forgive the guilty, giving them hope or promise of a better life? Another law is in the same Title, in the Law *Respiciendum*, and it is of Marcellus, wherein Presidents are admonished, that they should weigh the matter itself and the cause: and that they should not endeavor to get praise either for severity or for clemency: let light faults be lightly punished, and grievous faults, severely: but yet with some moderation. The third law is in the same Title, in the Law *Divi fratres*, where it is decreed that the Presidents should not make the sentences void which had been given. These things do plentifully testify that it is not the part of Judges or Magistrates to yield unto intercessors those that be guilty.

Whether the excuse of David wherein he purgeth himself because he punished not Joab ought to be allowed, and whether a Magistrate may well let pass a fault without any manner of punishment.

17. But here must we briefly discourse of a question: whether that excuse of David which he useth in the second Book of Samuel the 3rd chapter, ought to be allowed. For there be Arguments on each part. This brief Treatise I hope will not be unprofitable. For as Basel saith in the first Epistle: The histories and lives of saints, ought to be unto us as a certain lively Image of the commonwealth of God. For in them we may see, how the law of God at all times hath been observed or neglected. The fact of

David seemeth that it may be defended by these Arguments. First that Joab was gracious and very mighty among the soldiers, and might not be punished without a great tumult, and that David was wary least he should do any great harm to the commonwealth, and raise up more grievous evils, seeing by the death of such a Prince and Captain of the soldiers, the kingdom would be weakened. For so it is written of Honorius the Emperor, when he had at Ravenna killed Stillico the lieutenant of his wars, he cut off his own hands. For after that he was taken away, he did never anything worthy of fame. Further that precept of punishing great offenses was affirmative, neither did it bind at all times. For so are we commanded to come unto the holy assembly, to do alms, and such like: howbeit not always but when the time shall serve. Even so David, although he ought to have punished Joab, yet might he wait a time. Further, although he were then let by the power of Joab, yet was he never unminded to punish. For at his death he commanded his son Solomon, that he should not suffer his gray hairs to descend with peace unto the grave. And Plato saith, that punishments are like unto medicines, and must not be used when things seem to be so desperate as they cannot be cured: and that Princes be as it were certain Physicians of the commonwealth. Yea and God himself oftentimes differeth punishments although (as Valerius Maximus saith) he recompenseth the slackness with the greatness of revenge. Also Saul when he had delivered the Jabins from siege, and enjoyed now the whole Empire of Israel, and some had persuaded him to put such to death as had before refused him to be king, yet chose he rather to forgive them. David also forgave Semei, and is therefore greatly commended. And Augustine oftentimes made intercession for Heretics unto the Emperors, and not only for Heretics but also for murderers and most ungracious robbers by the high way, and for

Circumcellion's. Lastly, Christ of whom David was a shadow and Image forgiveth all sins, and freely receiveth all men into grace. Wherefore in this fact, he departed nothing at all either from his duty, or from the Image which he represented.

18. Also on the other part there be other Arguments, and those in my judgment much more weighty. First he being the king of Israel, it had been needful for him to have stood to the laws of that Commonwealth. And God in Deuteronomy commanded with most effectual words, that the king should provide that the Law might be distributed unto him, and should always have the same ready with him, and should rule by the prescript thereof. And it was already written in the 21st chapter of Exodus: If one shall by hap or chance kill another, I will assign him a place of refuge: But if he shall do it by laying in wait, or of set purpose, thou shalt pluck him away from mine Altar. Howbeit, Joab of set purpose and by laying in wait killed Abner, wherefore he ought in no place to have been safe. Further it is written in the 18th chapter of Exodus, that they which should bear the office of a Magistrate ought to be valiant men, fearing God, lovers of the truth, and haters of covetousness. Wherefore David in the punishing of wickedness ought to have been valiant, and to have feared the power of none: For this is not to have a kingdom, but a kingdom to have him. And he is had of a kingdom, which for obtaining of a kingdom, neglecteth justice. Paul saith that a Prince is the Minister of God unto wrath, and beareth not the sword in vain. This duty ought to have been performed by David. In Deut. the first Chapter God commanded the Tribunes and Centurions, That they should not have respect of persons in judgment. For so only the poor and men of low degree should be bound to laws, but the mighty, stout, and noble should escape. But Judges must neither be bent to wrath nor to mercy.

And for that cause in Mars street where judgment was most severely executed, it was forbidden unto Orators to stir up affections: yea rather the causes were also known after a dark manner, least the Judge should be privately touched with the favor of any man. Yea and in the Roman laws in the title *De poenis*, in the law *Respiciendum*, thus it is written: The Judges shall not endeavor to get glory either by gentleness or severity. Howbeit in light faults there is permitted some certain inclination unto lenity, and in the greater faults, unto severity, but yet using therewith a moderation of benignity. In which place the gloss rightly observed, that there the rigor of the sentence may be moderated, where there is nothing by name determined in the laws. And in the Code *de Poenis*, in the law *Decurionum*, it is written, that the people must not be heard, if they cry that any man should either be condemned or delivered: for that the people is a beast of many heads. Besides this, the Judge is no other thing but the law itself that speaketh: neither can he by any means seem to be a Judge, if he depart from the prescript rule of the law. And the wise man Sirach prudently admonished: I would not (saith he) have thee to be a Judge, if thou be not able to take away injuries: least thou fear the person of the mighty, and cause an offense to arise to thy integrity. Also it was said unto the king of Israel which had suffered Benhadad the king of Syria to escape out of his hands: Thy life shall go for his life. Thou wouldest not punish, wherefore thou shalt be punished and shalt render an account of other men's wickedness. There followeth of this tenderness and foolish pity, an innumerable sort of mischiefs. The gentleness of Eli both extinguished his family, and in a manner subverted the public-wealth.

19. But thou wilt say, that God doth patiently bear these things: thou sayest well. But consider with thyself, that if inferior Judges so behave

themselves in the Commonwealth, how will the prince take that? No doubt but he would condemn them of treason. And do we think, that God will not take it to be wickedly done, if he see his laws contemned and trodden under foot? David saw a danger to hang over him: But he had the promise of God, and that was not written in the wind or in the water, but was stable and eternal. And what if he had been cast out of his kingdom? Yet God could have reserved him full and whole. Wherefore we see that David was so troubled in that he depended somewhat of men. It had been a hard matter to have punished Joab, yet should he at the leastwise have attempted it. He doth nothing here now, only he complaineth of the power of Joab. In very deed I deny not, but that punishment may sometimes be differed and that fit occasions may be waited for: but to do nothing at all, it was too great a lenity. And surly there be many causes why punishments ought otherwhile to be deferred: as appeareth in the Code *De Poenis*, in the law, *Si vindicari*. First, least the Magistrate should do anything unadvisedly in his wrath. That law did Theodosius the Emperor write at the request of Ambrose, when he was by him grievously blamed and excommunicated, because through a willfulness, and rage of mind he had been over-cruel against the Thessalonians. That history, and cause of the law is set forth in Socrates, and is repeated in the decrees, Cause 11, Quest. 3, the Chap. *Apud Thessalonicam*. Wherefore it is provided, that between the sentence given, and execution should be 30 days space. Another cause of delay is, if the woman which should be executed be great with child. Also a servant ought to be deferred until he have made an account unto his Master, and have certified him of all things. The execution likewise of him against whom a thing is examined by torments is deferred, that it may be known whether he stand to his opinion. For men being oftentimes overcome with torments,

confess those things which they never thought. Likewise execution is many times differed, so often as we are to inquire of other crimes, or of them that be privy to things. And these only (so far as I know) may be the just causes of differing punishment. For if a man that is condemned in a province, say that he hath somewhat which pertaineth to the safety of a prince, the Roman laws decree, that he should not be heard, because he seemeth only to seek the delay of punishments. Nevertheless, and if he have anything that pertaineth to the prince, he should have showed it before. But now none of these matters can serve for Joab, wherefor David should not have deferred his punishment so long.

20. Sometime punishment is forgiven, if a man shall offend under 25 years of age. Albeit an adulterer is not pardoned, although he be under that age. And besides this, it must be considered, whether a man have sinned by deceit, or by the provocation of his mind, or by wantonness, or rashly. For in him that hath used deceit or laying in wait, the punishment also is augmented. But Joab used both wicked deceit, and having called Abner after a courteous and friendly manner, slue him even before the public place of judgment, and violated the public faith. Also punishments may be augmented, as we have it in the *Digestes De poenis*, in the law *Aut facta*: If a fault be committed by a multitude through sedition, then verily someone man is more grievously punished to the terror of others. By this lenity of David some are after a sort animated unto detestable facts. For afterward Thieves were so hardy as to kill Isbosethe at his own house: Ammon to deflower his own sister: Absalom to slay his brother Ammon: And Joab himself to kill Amasa. We cannot perceive that David behaved himself on this wise towards others, since he commanded that the Amalekite [*which by his own confession*] furthered Saul unto his death: and afterward, that the

thieves which had slain Isboseth, should forthwith be slain. It may also be perceived that he somewhat followed his own private affection unto Joab, for he was his own sisters son. But albeit he were not led with any such affection, yet he made a great show thereof. For he that in the selfsame or in the like cause forgiveth one man and punisheth another, cannot seem to be led with the love of justice. David in deed was a man of a gentle and meek heart, yet should he not have polluted that work of God, and have set a color on the vessel which was beautiful of itself. For this was to communicate with other men's sins. What shall we therefore say? David no doubt was holy and feared God: yet so excellent a body was not without his blemishes. Even as there is no day so beautiful and clear but hath his night: so was there never man so holy and perfect in every respect, but was corrupted with some sin. Verily we ought to follow and imitate the virtues of godly men, but not to dissemble their faults.

21. Now will I in few words confute those reasons which were brought on David's side at the beginning. Joab was mighty: what then? Assuredly David had God himself on his side. Did he peradventure think him to be weak? Furthermore he had all the Israelites, which so much attributed unto Abner, that out of all doubt they would have aided David in the punishing of Joab. That which was brought as concerning the delay of punishments, it is already answered. For I say not, that he should straightway have been slain. He should have been taken and cast into prison, his cause was to be known: lastly, punishment was to be executed. But in that he deferred the same even to his death, the delay was over great. But at his death he gave it in charge to his son Solomon. Yea, and David himself answereth far otherwise. Let God judge (saith he.) Truly this is not the part of a Magistrate to cast the judgment of causes upon God. Punishments be like

unto medicines: those are not to be used except when they may profit. But if they had not profited Joab, yet might they have profited others. God differeth punishments: therefore David also doth rightly differ them. But the doings of princes must not be compared with the doings of God. For God is eternal, and immortal, but a prince may die. And what if he die tomorrow? Who shall then take punishment of the wicked? But God if he do not take punishment today, yet will he take it tomorrow, or when he himself will. And further, he hath a through trial of all men's minds, and he seeth for what cause everything is done. But unto men is permitted no mitigation in the law of God. Saul forgave: I grant, nevertheless of his own: but David forgave that which belonged to another man. Augustine made intercession for heretics: Howbeit, this he did least the Ethnics should think that Ecclesiastical men prosecute their own displeasures. Further he did not that to the intent he would take away the laws of princes: but that he knew that the Emperors did other whiles permit their presidents that they should have power to remit somewhat of the bitterness of the laws and punishments made by them, if they did think it profitable. But as touching Circumcellion's, how rightly he entreated for them, let he himself see: For they were both thieves and homicides. We doubtless must live by laws and not by examples. Christ forgiveth sins, and David was a shadow of him. I grant that in deed Christ forgiveth, yet is that in the kingdom of the Church. But David governed even the political kingdom. Neither is always the Argument firm enough that is taken from figures. For otherwise we will say, that certain harlots, which are mentioned in the holy Scriptures sinned not because they were shadows and Images of the Church. And Christ himself, although he be inclined unto mercy, and forgiveth many things, yet shall he in that last time be a severe judge, and who will not be entreated. And he

shall say unto the ungodly: Go ye cursed into everlasting fire. And altogether in the same state be they also which by reason of the power of men remit excommunication and Ecclesiastical discipline. Howbeit what is to be determined of that, we have declared elsewhere in his own place. But here perhaps some man will object: that David is accused of us without a cause, for that he in this matter, as at many other times, followed the guiding of the holy Ghost, and for that cause sinned not at all. Nevertheless, I am not wont willingly to use this kind of excuse, unless I see that the thing which is done against the common law, be allowed by the holy scriptures. Further I do not here contend against anything, but the excuse of David. For he said not that he was led by the impulsion of the holy Ghost: but that Joab was mighty and gracious with the soldiers, and might not be kept under by the laws. This excuse do I say must not be received.

22. Howbeit, seeing they seem to be reproved which do judge others (and truly not amiss, seeing they also are infected with the same faults,) let us see whether they judge rightly which think that Judges cannot nor ought not to exercise judgment against others which are accused, when they be guilty of the selfsame crime themselves. But this were to overthrow all public-wealths, and utterly to take away judgments. Neither is that Paul's meaning in the second Chapter to the Romans: but he only showeth, that they sin most grievously, which with a great severity punish others, and over-slip themselves. Doubtless they ought first to correct and amend themselves. Nevertheless Paul biddeth them not to forsake the office committed unto them. They use also for this purpose to cite the saying of Christ, unto them which accused the adulterous woman: He which amongst you is without sin, let him cast the first stone at her. And yet this sentence of Christ is not against just punishments, and lawful judgments. Neither commanded he

them that they should not proceed in accusing of the woman, whom they had taken in adultery. He himself was no Magistrate, but the most high preacher of God. Wherefore that which was his office to do, he executed, in persuading those hypocrites to repentance. And he would first have had them provide, that by a lively faith and repentance they should first have rid themselves from the sins whereunto they were bound. Neither forbad he but that they should execute that which the law of Moses commanded. He saw that these wicked men in these punishments, were infected with two manner of faults. First in as much as the punishment and pain, which their neighbor was put unto, was pleasant unto them: For by accusing him before the Magistrates and Judges, they privily fulfilled upon him their hatred and enmities. Another fault was their hypocrisy: for that when as they themselves otherwise abstained not from the selfsame wicked acts, yet by accusing of offenders, they made a show, as though they had been zealous of the law. These things Christ endeavored to correct. He condemned not the woman because he was no political Magistrate. He accused her not to the Magistrates because he found her not in adultery. Wherefore, forasmuch as he was not a meet witness, he was not bound by the law to prosecute such an accusation. But that which pertained to his function, he left not undone, since he admonished her, that she should afterward abstain from sin. Likewise, when we see any wicked act done by our neighbors, God requireth not that we should not judge of it according to the nature thereof. For, Woe be unto us (as the Prophet saith) if we shall call evil, good. That which is evil ought to be judged according as it is. Neither ought we, either to suspend our judgments, or to turn away our eyes from those things which are in very deed evil. But if we shall feel ourselves to be infected in like manner with the selfsame fault: let us descend into ourselves, and with a

due chastisement reprove ourselves. And thereby shall it come to pass, that we ourselves being by repentance corrected, may the more fitly and fruitfully admonish our brother when he sinneth. Neither against this is that sentence in the 7th of Matthew: Judge not, and ye shall not be judged: Because in that place is not entreated of the taking away of brotherly admonition: but only the curiosity of the ungodly is there reproved, who when themselves abound in all manner of sins, do most diligently search out the sins of other men, not to the intent they would amend them, but because they delight themselves in the multitude of sinners, and think that by fellowship their offense is lightened. The godly are not infected with this curiosity: as they which continually have their eyes fired upon their own sins, and daily revolting's: so that they have no leisure to consider of other men's faults, unless they be offered unto them. Moreover they rejoice not, neither delight themselves in the condemnation of their neighbors: especially that condemnation which is rashly done. For they know that their brother, which pertains unto God, either standeth or falleth to his own Master. But we entreat now of private men, and not of Magistrates or Pastors: whose part is by office to be inquisitive, touching the life and manners of those which be committed to their charge. Wherefore all men as well subjects as Magistrates ought to judge sins which be laid before them, by admonishing and punishing every man according to his calling, least vices do spread far abroad.

Whether it be lawful to release just punishments which are enjoined by laws.

23. Of this question there be many Arguments on both parts. For first kings are stirred up unto clemency, which would be done in vain unless they might forgive. Also David forgave seditious men, and sware unto

Semei, that he would not punish him. And Paul commendeth Onesimus, a fugitive servant, unto his Master Philemon and prayeth him to forgive him his fault. And the use was among Christian Emperors that in the week before Easter, when the memory of Christ his death was celebrated, the prisons were set at large. And among the Jews the custom was, that in Easter someone condemned man should be set at liberty by the chief Ruler. Also Augustine made intercession oftentimes for the Donatists and Circumcellion's, which had not only troubled Religion, but also had done injury to the life and goods of the Christians. Further we read that it was decreed among them of old time, that if a guilty person had fled unto Churches, he should be without harm. And hereof Chrysostom maketh mention in his Oration against Gainas.

24. Also there want not firm Arguments on the contrary part. For first, it seemeth that a godly work should not be hindered: and it is a godly work to punish the guilty, seeing it profiteth the commonwealth, and taketh away sins. Moreover by this means the office of Princes is hindered. For they bear the sword: which if they use not when time and cause requireth, they do not their duty. Besides: he that releaseth punishments giveth of another's and not of his own, since judgment is the right of God, as it is written in the first Chapter of Deuteronomy. And in the second of Paralipomenon the 19th chapter Jehoshaphat saith: Exercise judgment, not only for man but as it were for God. And the punishments of the law cannot be taken away unless it be by him that appointed them. But God appointed the punishments for sins. Wherefore no man should diminish or take them away. But that God appointed the punishment of death for grievous sins, it appeareth out of the 18th Chapter of Deuteronomy, where it is thus written, that the people desired that God himself would not speak unto them, because they might

not abide so great a Majesty: and for that they chose rather to hear Moses to be the interpreter: that God heard these prayers of the people, and promised not only that he would give Moses unto them, but also would provide that no Prophet should at any time be wanting unto them. A Prophet (saith he) will I raise up unto you from among your own brethren. But he addeth: If any man will not hear that Prophet, I will make inquisition against him. Howbeit this place proveth not, that that punishment was the punishment of death. More certain is the other place in the 17th Chapter of Deuteronomy: If (saith God) there shall happen a difficult case, ye shall go up to the high Priest or unto a Levite: and he that shall not hear the voice of the Levite or high Priest, or of the Judge, shall die the death. But that was for changing the state of the commonwealth. Samuel's counsel was demanded as concerning that matter, and he was not only a Prophet but also a judge; they gave not ear unto him therefore they were worthy of death. Indeed, God might have forgiven them, but the Prince could not. Furthermore there is a way opened unto mischiefs, when men promise to themselves, that either through grace or reward they shall escape unpunished. This also may be proved out of the histories. God commanded that all the Amalekites should be slain, Saul spared Agag their King: he was grievously reproved by Samuel, because this was not lawful for him to do. And when the king of Israel had spared Benhadad the king of Syria, whom God had commanded to be slain: Thy soul (saith the Prophet) shall be for his soul. In deed the Prince hath power of life and of death. But yet, as he may not punish him that is innocent, so must he not let him escape that is guilty. Yea and the Lord saith: Thou shalt take away the murderer from my Altar, and shalt put him to death. Finally, if this should be permitted unto Princes, judgments of

death would be sold, and the execution of Justice should be at pleasure of the Magistrate. Thus have we Arguments on both parts.

25. But here must we consider, that some laws there be human, and other some divine. And it belongeth much to the state of this question, whether sort they be. For human laws, because they proceed of a weak reason, are never perfect: neither can they comprehend all things, or foresee all chances and circumstances. Wherefore oftentimes, if we should severely and sharply urge the words of the law, many unjust things would be decreed. And so, there is oftentimes need of moderation, and interpretation, and correction of the law. And moderation is the bridle and rule of human laws, when we consider not so much the words themselves, as the counsel and mind of the writer. Furthermore, Lawyers may interpret men's laws if they seem doubtful, either by other laws, or by examples of former judgments, or by the ordinance and custom of the City: or else according to justice and safety of the commonwealth: but to correct or change, or to mitigate a law, is not any private man's part, but the office of the Prince alone, who made the Law. Wherefore Augustine in his Book *De vera Religione*, A Judge (saith he) ought not to judge of the law, but according to the law: otherwise all things would be bought. The same thing we have in the *Pandectes, De legibus & Senatus Consultis*. But now can we not say that the laws of God are imperfect so as they contain not all things. For the mind of God is infinite and most perfect. Doubtless it is the part of wise men and divines diligently to weigh and examine the laws of God and to expound some places by other places, to consider the decree and order which the Lord hath made, to discuss things that seem to be repugnant, and to judge of two laws, when both of them cannot be kept, whether is to be preferred before the other. For example: The law is that the Sabbath day must be kept holy: there

is another law that the City must be defended: it so falleth out sometime, that unless we fight on the Sabbath day, the City cannot be defended. Here the better law must be kept, namely, that the safety of the City be defended. For God saith: I will have mercy, not Sacrifice. And Christ answereth: that it is lawful to do good on the Sabbath day. The Law of God is, that we must obey our Parents. Another law is, that we must obey God: the Parents command something, which is against the law of God: here the better law must be kept: to wit, that we obey God. This is lawful for us in the law of God. But to abrogate or correct, or by moderation to diminish, and put away the law of God, is by no means lawful for us. Wherefore let Pighius take heed what moderation it is by which he teacheth us that we should understand the first precept: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, &c. For seeing this cannot be, he saith, that the words of the law must be mitigated by a fit interpretation. Christ gave and instituted his Supper, and commanded that the same should be ministered in both kinds. But the Roman Antichrist saith: that many chances may happen by reason of beards, of diseases, of shedding of the blood: therefore the Cup must be plucked from the laity. God in the holy assembly would have all things to be ministered in the vulgar and known tongue. Nevertheless these men say, that their mysteries must not be rashly profaned: There is no necessity that the people should understand all things: These things must be committed only to the learned and wise. But who hath taught these men this moderation in the law of God? The Jews used only the laws of God, therefore the Princes might not mitigate them by interpretations, but human laws they may, because they be enacted by them.

26. Furthermore some commandments forbid a thing to be done, others command or (as the Schoolmen speak:) Some be affirmative, others be

negative. Those laws which forbid or deny anything, do evermore hold. As for example: we are bound at all times that we shall not steal: that we shall not commit adultery, &c. But those which command anything, although that they also have great strength, yet do they not perpetually bind. If any shall give us a blow upon the right cheek, we are commanded to offer unto him the left. Assuredly we ought always to have a mind ready so to do: howbeit we are not bound at all times, and towards all men thus to do: For this Christ himself did not, but being stricken, answered: If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil. And Paul: God (saith he) shall strike thee thou painted wall. We must thus do when either the glory of God or the salvation of him that hath stricken shall seem to require it. God commandeth that we should come together to the holy congregation, to celebrate the Sacraments and to give Alms. Yet doeth he not command that we should always do these things. But to what purpose is all this? Namely hereunto: God commandeth if any man shall not obey the Judge or the high Priest, that he be slain. This law in very deed bindeth the Magistrate, yet not always, but when it may be done: and sometime it happeneth that it cannot be. Nevertheless if thou punish not when it may be, thou offendest the law of God. Moreover we must take heed, that the greater good be not hindered by the lesser. Joab was an evil man and a murderer, and worthy to be slain by David. But when David saw that he was able to do much with the army, least any trouble and sedition should arise, he would not lay hold of him. And it may be that he spared Semei for the self-same cause. In like manner Saul, least any trouble or sedition should arise, or least that the election should be disturbed, would not at that time kill the rebels. For otherwise he might not have forgiven them those punishments which were appointed by

God. Nay rather he could not by sacrifices have purged a sin which had been done with a stretched-out hand and of set purpose.

27. Now let us make answer to the Arguments which are wont to be objected: whereas they say, that Princes are often stirred up unto clemency, it behooveth to understand what is the nature of clemency. And this may easily be understood by the contrary. Cruel is he which in punishing exceedeth measure, through a certain cruelty of the mind, and is not moved at the miseries of men. On the contrary part he is merciful which cannot abide to execute punishments but releaseth them, and that through a gentleness of the mind. And I add: Through a gentleness of the mind: for if he be led by reward or favor or necessity to release punishments, he is not merciful. This virtue (as saith Seneca,) doeth chiefly belong unto Princes, and them which bear rule. For kings, are therefore called pitiful and merciful, not because they be so, but for that they ought to be so. But private men which have no public power of punishing, may forgive many things, yea and oftentimes also ought: howbeit they should not be called merciful, but gentle. And we ought to know, that clemency doeth diminish punishments, not rashly nor by chance: not after a man's own pleasure, but by a right reason. And I call reason, not man's judgment by itself, but that which is framed according to the word of God. For if punishments be released unadvisedly or at a man's own pleasure, now can it not be a virtue, for it doeth violate justice. And virtue is a certain form of right reason. Clemency doeth make the law somewhat to yield. But severity is by no means turned. And sometime the one is to be used and sometime the other. If there happen an outrageous cause, severity must be used, not clemency. Sometime the cause is made the lighter by circumstances: then there is place for clemency. Doubtless clemency, although it bend the common law,

yet doeth it nothing against right reason. Seeing it hath a consideration of the Circumstances, and according to that it appointeth punishments. And when the merciful man remitteth any part of the punishment, this he judgeth that he whom he forgiveth, ought not to suffer anymore. For he respecteth not the words, but the meaning and purpose of the law. Nevertheless when the punishment due is altogether remitted, it is no clemency but pardon, and that is to be hoped for from God alone. Which the Jews also understood when they said: Who is this that forgiveth sins? Yet do the Papists brag, that they and theirs can give a pardon of sins. But thou wilt say: If so the case stand: then might other princes use clemency, but the Jews might not, because they used the laws of God. I answer, that they also might be merciful, yet not otherwise, than where no certain punishment was prescribed by the law of God. In Leviticus and in Deuteronomy it is commanded, That weights should be just, and measures right. He that had done otherwise, was to be punished, yet no certain punishment was appointed. Wherefore in that case there was place for the clemency and severity of the Judge. Another law there was, that he which had deserved to be beaten with staves, should be punished with no more but forty stripes. In this case it was in the power of the judge, that the party should be punished with few or many stripes within that number. There was another law that the servant which had sold himself into the power of another man, should be grievously punished. But if his Master had oppressed him with violence, there was no punishment determined by the laws. Herein also was place for the clemency of the Judge. Wherefore not in vain was clemency often repeated unto the Princes of the Jews. For it was lawful to use the same both in the human laws set forth by them, as I have said, and in the divine laws, so far forth as punishments were not prescribed by the laws.

28. And as touching the clemency of Augustus Caesar, I answer, that that law which we have, *Ad legem Juliam majestatis*, was human. For by what punishment conspirators must be afflicted, it was decreed by princes, and so that law might be mitigated by him. He judged it would be sufficient, if he had grievously rebuked Cinna: And assuredly we read in that history, that he was greatly vexed: and therefore he judged it better, to remit somewhat of the punishment. But how small a portion must be remitted, just moderation doth declare. But human laws, when they follow the prescript of nature, must be accounted the laws of God: As to put a murderer to death. Herein must nothing be remitted by the Judge. Doubtless, Clemency is an habit wherewith by the gentleness of the mind we mitigate legal punishments within the limits of Justice. David forgave Semei: I grant, but yet when he perceived that it was not lawful that he should go unpunished, he commanded Solomon that he should not suffer his gray hairs to escape unpunished unto the grave: Nevertheless, it was not expedient for David himself to kill him. For first Semei being of the family of Saul, he might seem to be moved with hatred against his posterity. Further he had confirmed his words of whom he had been called before, a bloody man. Lastly it was not meet for him to disturb that gladness and gratulation of the people. After this sort he forgave Joab, who had killed two better men. For he saw that he was able to do much with the army: Wherefore he also remitted him unto Solomon. Howbeit it cannot be denied, but that David sinned, both when he absolved Amnon of Incest, and Absalom of parricide. But what David refused to do, that did God himself afterward by himself. For Amnon was slain by Absalom, and Absalom being hanged on a tree, was thrust through by Joab with a spear. And whereas Paul commendeth Onesimus unto his Master Philemon, that serveth not much to the purpose.

For Philemon was a private man, and here was no prescribed law of God, only Paul prayeth him to forgive private injury, which is a common thing unto all Christians. He prayeth (I say) Philemon to let pass his wrath. And that he doth not against the law of God, but according to the same. For in *Deuteronomium*, there is a law, If another man's servant shall fly unto thee, thou shalt not restore him to his Master, which must be understood: so long as his Master is in a rage and unpatiently disquieted. This was profitable to the Master least he should overmuch feed his wrath: and unto the servant, least he should be overmuch punished,

29. But the fact of the Romans, in that at the feast of Easter they released unto the Jews some man that was bound and condemned, we cannot allow. For God never commanded, that in their solemnities any guilty man should be released. Howbeit, the Romans by this means curried favor with the Jews, to the intent they might the more easily bear that servitude. The selfsame reason it was why Christian princes in the holy week [*of Easter*] would open the prisons, and let forth guilty men: insomuch, that they were not very skillful in the laws of God. For if they had been bound for debt, they had forgiven not their own but other men's. Again, if for heinous offenses, this had been to open a window unto mischief. But princes cannot easily hold the mean. And in like case, as they will have the Ministers of the word either to be poor wretches, or else after a sort to be princes and God's, so do they either punish the guilty together with the innocent (as Theodosius did) or else they so spare all men, that nothing is administered severely. And as touching Augustine, in deed I grant that he entreated for the Donatists: yet he denied it not to be lawful for Magistrates to punish Heretics. But when the Circumcellion's or idle persons became cruel against the Christians, and that the Church was constrained to call for the

help of princes, and that now these idle persons were punished, the Church seemed to be cruel and to prosecute her own injuries. Howbeit Augustine desireth not that they should be wholly forgiven, but only that their blood might not be shed. Yet howsoever it were, the example of Augustine ought not to prejudice any man's opinion, since we live by laws, not by examples. At this day if a man had killed a Minister, or done a robbery, who would entreat for him? But there was a refuge unto the churches for such as were guilty. Admit it were so, and we also do not take away sanctuaries, for God permitted them. For if the cause be obscure, they may better be there than in prison while the same be known. Nevertheless the cause being manifest, God himself commanded, that the wicked man should be taken from the very altar and be slain. These be the things which move me to think, that it is not lawful for a prince to forgive the punishment of offenders. And assuredly the wise men have always held that commonweal to be well ordered: where very few things are left to the power of the Judges. But few such things had the Commonwealth of the Israelites. Yet had it some. That which was defined by the laws, was in no wise to be remitted. Let not thine eye (saith God) spare thine own wife that sleepeth in thy bosom.

Of Executioners or Hangmen.

30. Moreover Gideon did for this cause perhaps, drive his son to slay the kings, that he might inflame his heart from tender years, against the enemies of God's people, as it is written of Hannibal, who from a child, vowed himself against the Romans. Or else he did it, to learn him from his youth to obey the law of God: wherein was commanded that the blood of the next of the kin being shed, should be revenged. But might not this have been committed to an executioner? Why would he so urge his son? To this we may answer two ways: First that in the old time it was not dishonorable

to slay the guilty. Further that it cannot be perceived, that the ancient Hebrews had executioners. And that this for a certainty was no office among the Hebrews, that which is written in the law testifieth: namely that a blasphemer being taken, was so stoned to death, as the hand of the witnesses did throw the first stone at him: neither was putting to death committed to any particular executioner. And there are many examples which testify that it was not ignominious to slay the guilty. Saul, when he would have the priests slain, did not call executioners to do it, but turned to the noble men which were with him, and commanded them to assail the Priests: Who reverencing their Ministry, and dignity, durst not obey. Only Doeg the Edomite, was bold to execute so horrible an act, who was not of the least estimation with the king. Also Samuel with his own hand slew king Agag the prisoner. In like manner, Joab when he had caught hold of the horn of the Altar, was slain of Banaia the chief captain of the host. Wherefore it seemeth that the Hebrews in those ancient times had no executioners. But as much as may be gathered by the History of the Ethnics, the officers of punishments, called *Lictores*, began at Rome under Romulus, who (as Plutarch writeth in the life of Romulus) were called so, either of *Ligando*, that is, of binding, or else because the Grecians called them λειτούς, or λειτουργούς, for that they executed a public office. Romulus gave them rods bound together to carry, and with them was joined an Axe. They had also cords therewith to bind the Citizens, who being bound, they might either beat them with rods, or strike them with the Axe. But the men of more ancient time wanted this office: every man executed the same, according as it was commanded of the Magistrate without any infamy unto him. And in very deed, that work of punishing malefactors hath in it no dishonesty or uncomeliness. For if it be honest for a Judge or Prince to give

sentence of death against evil doers, why then shall it not be just and honest to execute the same sentence? Yea and God himself in punishing, useth not only evil spirits, but good spirits.

31. But thou wilt say: why are officers of punishment and executioners commonly so evil spoken of? First because the common people are greatly afraid of them: Neither would any man be punished for his wicked facts. Hereby it cometh, that the sight of the Executioner, driveth a certain horror into them. And that the people were so affected, the manner of the public-wealth of Rome declareth, where, when ambitious men flattered the people more than was meet, they banished the executioner from the judgment place, from the sight of men, and from the chief house in Rome, as even the Oration of Cicero for Rabirius doth testify. The Citizens of Rome were not beaten with rods, nor put to death. Their extremist punishment, was banishment. They were carried into Islands, and at the length condemned to the Mines. But the latter Roman laws, which are in the Digests, did quite disannul this exemption. For in very deed, it was unjust: For a fault worthy of death ought not to be winked at, whatsoever Citizen of Rome were Author of it. And there were two principal laws, whereby the back and the head of the Citizens were provided for, I mean the law Portia and Sempronia, whose power and protection Paul (as we have it in the Acts) used, and by that means escaped both rods, and bonds. This is one cause why the officers of punishment and executioners are so odious.

32. Another cause hereof is the papistical opinion of irregularity, which (as the Canonists will have it) is gathered of every manslaughter. These men think, that a man cannot so justly kill any man, but that the same will let him from being promoted to the holy Ministry, whereas nevertheless the Inquisitors of heretical lewdness (as they call it,) do daily cause an infinite

number, and those innocents, to be killed. The Popes Legates also in governing of Cities and provinces and making of wars, although they be Cardinals, and Bishops, do still continually cause blood to be shed. But in the meantime with great hypocrisy they provide that the sentence be given by a lay Judge (as they call him,) and so they wrap themselves out of that irregularity. Howbeit the holy scriptures do not so teach. Moses said unto the Levites, which with him had killed so many: Ye have consecrated your hands: So far was it off, that they should be deprived of the holy Ministry. But thou sayest that David was in old time forbidden to build the Temple for his shedding of blood. But in this place we must mark the mystery wherein Solomon shadowed Christ the peaceable king. Seeing by him he was expressed, who without weapons hath gathered together the Church, being the true Temple of God, unto the true and everlasting peace. Nevertheless blood being justly and rightly shed debarreth not from the holy Ministry. For Phinehas who held the high Priests office, thrust through two most impure whoremongers. Elias, a man of the stock of the Levites, slew with his own hand the Prophets of Baal. And Samuel a man of the same Tribe, did himself kill Agag the king, and yet neither of them both were rejected from their office. Neither do I therefore speak these things to commend the promoting of Men-killers unto holy orders: but this only I oppugn, that every slaughter and every man-killing maketh not a man so irregular (as these men say) that he cannot be ordained a Minister of the Church. What if a man have been a Judge or Magistrate, or in just war hath fought for his country: cannot he straightway therefore be ordained a Minister of the Church? Peradventure he hath obtained excellent gifts of God, and is endued with singular learning, adorned with a pure life, instructed with dexterity of government and with godly eloquence: cannot

the Church (as these men most absurdly think,) use his gifts? Certainly that was not observed in Ambrose: He was servant unto Caesar, and decided matters in the law, being Pretor of Millaine: And yet was he suddenly taken perforce to be a Bishop. I know that Paul requireth that a Bishop be no striker, yet no man doubteth but that this must be understood of an unjust slaughter or violence. But what should a man here do? All things are by the Papists handled superstitiously.

33. Finally, the third cause why officers of punishment and executioners are evil spoken of, is this, because very many of them live wickedly and dishonestly, and have before time been naughty men. Howbeit the office doth not dishonest them: but they rather by their fault pollute an excellent office. Aristotle in his 6th Book of Politics the last Chapter saith, that good men abhor this kind of office: namely, of punishing of men, because it hath an hatred annexed unto it. For they oftentimes incur the hatred of men. Howbeit in my judgment, a good and godly man ought not for that cause to mislike of his office. I remember an answer of Chrysippus, who being demanded, why he exercised not the office of a Magistrate: If I exercise it not rightly (said he) I shall displease God: and yet if I do it rightly, I shall displease men: but I will neither of both. Unto some he seemed to have answered very prudently, but me thinketh he answered foolishly. For he should rather have answered contrary; that the public-wealth ought to be governed and that rightly, to please both God and good men. Doubtless a wise and good man should have no respect unto wicked men. By these things it is now manifestly showed that Gideon, in that he by himself killed the Kings of Madian, committed nothing that was unfit for him: neither that he commanded his son to do a dishonest act.

Of Sanctuaries called Asyla.

34. But because it is written that Adonias caught hold on the horns of the Altar, and the very like also is read of Joab, therefore it seemeth good to entreat somewhat of Sanctuaries: wherein is granted a liberty to them which fly thither for refuge. They call a Sanctuary a holy thing or place, from whence it is not lawful to draw any man by violence. If we give credit to Servius the Grammarian, upon the 8th Book of Aeneids, the Noun is derived from α a Particle of depriving, and σύρειν, that is, to draw, and by an ill pronunciation ρ is changed into λ: or else of the verb συλᾶν, that is, to take away. As Homer useth it [*in these words*:] ἀσύλων τεύχεα καλά, that is, drawing goodly Armor. Howsoever the name is derived, we will not much strive. But yet this I will not pass over, that hereof cometh the word ἀσυλία, that expresseth the right which they enjoy that fly unto Altars, Images, and Temples. Whereupon is vaunted that saying, εἰς τον Θησεῖον καταφεύγοντες ἀσυλίαν εἶχον: that is, They that fled into the Temple of Theseus had the right of Sanctuary. Certainly, the Temple and the Image they called ἄσυλον. Pollux saith, that the common criers or Heralds at Arms were ἄσυλοι, that is to say, safe men, so that where soever they were, they should be kept inviolate. Plutarch saith in his Problems of the Tribune of the people: They made him both holy and also ἄσυλον, that is, inviolate, neither was it lawful for any man to lay hands upon them.

35. But the beginning of Sanctuaries they affirm to be by the Nephews of Hercules. For when he was departed out of the world, they feared the violence and disquietness of them whom their Grandfather had afflicted. Wherefore at Athens, they built the Temple of mercy: and they caused a decree to be made, that they which fled thither for succor, might not be pulled away from thence. Thereof doeth Statius make mention, saying: The fame is, that the Nephews of Hercules built a habitation, &c. Livius writeth,

that Romulus and Remus, after Rome was built, opened a Sanctuary between the Castle and the Capitol, in that place which was called *Intermontius*. So many as came thither, though they were wicked men, obtained freedom from punishment. Unto what God that place was consecrate, it is doubted. There be some which think it was dedicated unto Veiovis, but Dionysius Halicarnassaeus freely confesseth that he doeth not know. Augustine *De Concordia Evangelistarum* the 1st Book and 12th Chapter, condemneth this Act of Romulus and Remus, in respect that they for the advancement and increase of the City which they had built, should grant impunity to wicked men, and those armed against their own Country, whose laws they feared: and thereby for a reward of flying away obtained impunity. We deal not (saith he) by this example in the Church of Christ: wherein doubtless is given a security unto sinners and penitent persons. So then Sanctuaries have been in sundry places, to wit, in Asia, in Greece, in Egypt. At Rome it was decreed afterward, that the Images of the Emperors should be sanctuaries. Wherefore Philostratus saith: The Sanctuary of the Image of Tiberius. Furthermore such an immunity was translated unto the temples of Christians, unto Abbeys and Monasteries. For when Princes had dedicated their name unto Christ, they gave unto holy houses those privileges which sometimes had belonged to Idolatrous Temples and Idols, because they thought that Sanctuaries be so necessary a thing unto the society of men, as without them the commonwealth might not consist. Then seeing it behooved to have those, they committed that honor unto Churches. But if antiquity of time should be sought forth, we must rather go unto Moses than unto the Nephews of Hercules. For Moses was of more ancient time than they. He doubtless in many places of his laws, hath made mention of Cities of refuge. And in Exodus the 21st chapter he commanded in the

name of God that manslayers, which willingly and of set purpose had slain any man, should be plucked from the very Altar. But if any man had unwittingly and unwillingly slain a man, he promised to give them Cities of refuge, which in the 25th chapter of Numbers he performed, when as now the Israelites had occupied the kingdoms of Og, and Seon, and had given them to the Tribe of Gad, Reuben, and to the half tribe of Manasseh. Moreover three Sanctuaries were there appointed, to wit: one in the Tribe of Gad, another in the Tribe of Reuben, and the third in the half Tribe of Manasseh. Whereof in like manner, there is plain mention made in the fourth Chapter of Deuteronomy. Further, when they were past over Jordan, other three sanctuaries were opened by Joshua: that is to wit, in the Tribe of Naphtali, Judah, and Ephraim. But in those they obtained not impunity except such as by chance and unwittingly had killed a man. The Cities were called *Hamiclat*, because they to whom such a thing had happened, did gather and assemble there together. For the verb Calat signifieth to draw together and to draw to. Whether the Sanctuaries of the Ethnics had a prescribed time, wherein they flying thither might there remain, it appeareth not to me. Howbeit I think they were to remain there, until matters were taken up between the parties. But the Sanctuaries of Moses prescribed that it should not be lawful for such as fled thither, to return home, unless it were at the death of the high Priest. Which ordinance (no doubt) was mystical. For thereby was shadowed, that our return into the heavenly country happeneth to us by no other means than by the death of Christ.

36. Now let us recite the causes for which the use of sanctuaries hath been thought profitable: and on the other side, the harms and impediments of them. For those things being known, we shall perceive, whether it be profitable that Sanctuaries should be open in our times. Very many causes

of the commodity of them are reckoned, and those no slight causes. First it cometh sometime to pass that the cause is doubtful, and that the interpreters of laws, do follow rigor more than is meet, and he that is in the state of judgment sometimes perceiveth that the Judge is angry with them, and that his adversary is very mighty. Hereupon the guilty man feareth, least that either by the wrath of the Judge, or by the power of the adversary he should be oppressed, and so it is better that he should lie secrete for a time, until men's minds be appeased, and the laws somewhat more gently interpreted: that if it should be otherwise done, the guilty man might straightway be apprehended and rid out of his life, upon no very just causes. Furthermore, servants by that ordinance found a great commodity. For Masters which had bought them, did other whiles rage most cruelly against them: So that when they perceived them to be kindled with wrath against them, they fled unto Sanctuaries, and there called for the help of Magistrates. The cause was inquired of, and a Caveat of immunity being put in, they were reconciled unto their Masters. Or if a master had been found over cruel or of unchaste life, who would endeavor to constrain his bondman or maidservant unto dishonest things, he was constrained to sell his bondservants, and so he lost not the value but the dominion over them. And those were not accounted fugitive servants, as we read in the *Digestes, De Edicto Edilitio*, in the law *Fugitivus*. Moreover, Sanctuaries were profitable in the time of war: for when a City was to be taken, and that there appeared no aide: those that were besieged, did fly unto the Temples, and that did no small deal profit the Romans, when the City was taken forcibly by Alaricus; since all those which fled unto the Temples of Peter and Paul were saved. Moreover the commodity is manifest, which is gathered out of the laws of Moses as touching manslaughter coming by chance. The cause might not straightway

be tried: therefore it rested that it might be known, and that the Judges might decree, whether the homicide were willful or whether it were committed by chance. But if so be that Cities of refuge had not been given, the danger was least the revenger of blood, to wit, the next of kin unto him that was dead should slay the mankiller before the cause were lawfully known. Yea and some also be far in other men's debt and have not wherewith to pay. And some laws be very strait, and decree: that where he hath not to pay in money, he should bide punishment in body. Wherefore, they cast those poor wretches into bonds and prisons. So that it is profitable to have a sanctuary, to the intent the matter may be moderately agreed upon by certain conditions. I will not forget that in the time of Basel it happened (as Gregorius Nazianzenus reporteth thereof in his funeral Oration) that a head ruler of Valence the Emperor, had an associate who loved inordinately a certain noble woman, and was desirous to marry her: but she refused. The ruler assisted his associate. Whereupon violence was prepared to be done unto the afflicted woman: and therefore she fled unto the Church. Basel protected her by right of Sanctuary which was granted to Churches and Altars. Princes having a respect unto these commodities, not only granted these privileges unto Churches, but they also provided by laws, that whosoever should violently draw away any from thence, they should incur the crime of Treason, as we have it in the Code *De ijs qui confugiunt ad Ecclesias*, in the law *Fideli*. Wherefore they held this for a crime of death. But on the other side there followed thereof many harms and discommodities, which I think good in like manner to rehearse.

37. Thereby it cometh oftentimes to pass, that Masters be despised by their servants, if they upon hope to escape punishment do fly unto Sanctuaries, and there remain many days, in which time their masters

without doubt are constrained to be destitute of the duties and necessary service of them. Herewithal thou mayest add, that men do then more freely sin, if they have Sanctuaries ready whereunto they may fly. This did Tiberius Caesar prudently perceive, who, as Suetonius and Tacitus report, being displeased at so great a liberty, took away the privileges from all sanctuaries. It was come to pass (as Plutarch saith in his Problems) that the Priest of Jupiter stood before the gates of the Temple, and they which came and fell down at his feet should be out of danger, and if they had been bound, they were straightway loosed. After the which manner also, many temples of the Papists at this day become dens of thieves. For they which be indebted, by keeping of themselves there, be nothing careful to satisfy their Creditors, they shun labor, and behave themselves ill in such Sanctuaries. There happeneth another mischief, that they which are come thither and their cause known, are found wicked men, and do escape by the help of the Monks and Priests: and by this means grievous crimes are left unpunished. Yea and the Commonwealth itself is oftentimes by the like manners troubled: to wit, when as in such Sanctuaries those that be guilty of treason be defended: as Adonias who hurt the commonweal, and by reason of the Altar remained without harm.

38. That immunity in such kind of crimes was granted unto those which fled to the Church, Socrates testifieth in the fifth Book and 6th Chapter of his history, where he showeth that Eutropius one of the noble men of Arcadia, desired very much to be revenged of them which fled unto the Church. And seeing that was not lawful for him by the law, he wrested a decree from the Emperor, whereby the right of Sanctuary of the Church, was abrogated. But within a while after it happened that the same Eutropius himself with certain men of his, incurred the indignation of Caesar.

Wherefore least he should be apprehended, he went to the Church, which thing did not profit him. Against the same man, Chrysostom inveighed in a Sermon, saying, that the Church could not defend him who took away the privilege thereof. And because Justinian saw that the same so large and ample immunity did hurt the Commonwealth, therefore he restrained the same, as we may see in the Authentics, in the Title *De Mandatis Principum*, the Paragraph *Quod si delinquentes*, where he excepteth homicides, adulterers, and those which ravish virgins. For he writeth unto his lieutenant, that he should in any wise punish such, and should not suffer them to enjoy any privileges of Sanctuary. This law being otherwise firm and of good authority hath the Bishops law disabled. For in the *Decretalles De Immunitate Ecclesiae*, in the chapter *Inter alia*, Innocentius the third wrote unto the King of Scots: Let none be taken away from the Church though he have committed grievous faults. Further he decreed that they which have betaken themselves to the Churches, if they be afterward delivered, cannot anymore in respect of that crime, be punished with corporal pain, but only by some other civil punishments. And before that the rulers of the Church do render them, let them receive an assurance from the Magistrates that they do not put them to death.

39. But least they might seem to give too much liberty, they excepted three cases. First they will not have common thieves to be defended, who lie in wait upon the highways. Secondly, Robbers by the night, which spoil the fields. Thirdly they which commit heinous offenses in the Churches or the Churchyards, being animated upon hope that they shall there be without harm. For such are not protected by the Church, seeing they do grievously sin against the Church. This is decreed in the decretals, *De Immunitate Ecclesiae* in the law *Immunitatem*. And as touching servants, they decreed,

that if they shall fly unto the Church being armed, they shall not be received. That also we have in the Code *De ijs qui confugiunt ad Ecclesiam*, in the law, *Si Servus*. Howbeit if young men go thither and seek advocates in the Church, they are received: their Masters are called, who assuring them of impunity, take them into their hands again. But other faults although they be grievous, as murders, ravishing of virgins, and adulteries, they defend: as it is in the decrees 36th quest. 1st in the Canon *De raptoribus*. And that immunity they give not only unto Christians, but also unto Jews, so that they dissemble not: So do they in like manner unto Ethnics, and also unto men excommunicate, and unto heretics. But they make a difference after this manner: If an heretic come into peril for other faults, he is defended: but if for heresy itself, he enjoyeth not sanctuary. Furthermore this liberty is not only granted unto the Church, but also unto a Bishops house, although it be not joined to the Church. Which thing is in the decrees. 17th quest. 4th in the Canon *Id constituimus*. As much privilege also they grant to their breaden God, when it is carried about either in pomp, or unto the sick. For then, if they take hold by the priest, they have sanctuary. Nevertheless, they which live in a sanctuary, and have obtained privilege, may there deal with their adversaries. But if they owe anything, and be indebted to the common treasure, the Canonists in that case decree that it is lawful for Judges to cite that man before the Church door: if he will satisfy, it is well, if not, they proceed to the possession of his goods, which afterward they sell, and withhold, until all the debt be discharged. But if so be they owe not unto the common treasure, but to other men, they have respite given them for thirty days, wherein they may go forth and seek some Patron. But if sentence be pronounced against them, they are

constrained either to stand to the judgment, or else to return to the sanctuary.

40. Also in the time of war they will, that the rite of sanctuary shall be of force, to the intent that they which fly unto the temples may not be killed by the enemies: unless perhaps they make the Temple their hold, and do fight from thence. Very many such like things they have which very often do turn to great wickedness. But yet they themselves do judge, that this immunity must by all means be retained. And in deed some of the fathers, and some Councils do seem to be on their side. Of Basil and Chrysostom, we have already spoken before. Augustine in his 1st book *De civitate Dei*, the 7th chapter, compareth the sanctuary of the Empire of Romulus with the Temples of the City of Rome: in which in the time of Alaricus a barbarous king the Christians had immunity. For when he had taken the City of Rome by force, he would have them all to be safe, which fled for succor unto the Temple of Peter and Paul. Romulus (saith he) opened a sanctuary, to increase the number of Citizens: Alaricus to preserve a multitude of his enemies, which is more to be praised. And in the same book the 4th chapter he saith that the sanctuaries of Christians were of far greater power than those of the Ethnics. And again, he useth the example already alleged. And he added, that the Christian sanctuaries were able to defend the Romans being now Captives: but the sanctuary of Juno, which was at Troye, was not able to defend the Troyans from the Greeks: As Virgil uttered in the second book of his *Aeneidos*:

The Temples great were spoiled, and Juno's holy doors were brast,
Both Phoenix and Ulysses false, with them their train about:
The pray did keep, and Greeks to them the Troyan riches brought.

Yea moreover it is said that the same Alaricus restored much of the gold which was taken out of the Vatican. When Boniface the Earl, which under the Romans governed Africa, had taken one by force out of the Church of Augustine, Augustine in his 187th Epistle to the same Boniface writeth, that he wondered very much that he plucked a man from them, and he willed him safely to restore the party, with all convenient speed. And he addeth, that he commanded his Clergy men, that they should not take any offerings out of his house, and that he had now excommunicated him. This also we have in the decrees 17th quest. 4th in the Canon, *Miror*. And in the 188th Epistle, the same Earl made a very lowly answer unto Augustine, whom he very much loved, acknowledging that he had grievously sinned. Behold (saith he) I now restore the man whom I took away: yet let it be known to thee, that he is most worthy of death. Wherefore we see that grievous offenses in the Church, had defense in right of the sanctuary. In like manner the Councils greatly favored sanctuaries. The Council of Arausicanum, chap. the 5th decreed that none should be plucked away from the Church. The 4th Council of Aurelianensis, chap. the 21st not only commanded that this rite should be retained by the Bishops, but will have them to be excommunicated, which shall neglect to do it. The 12th Council of Toletanus, chapter the 10th giveth for sanctuaries 30 paces about Churches which be of the lesser sort. But unto the Metropolitans it giveth forty. The Councils of Ilerdenum, & Triburiensis, decreed in a manner the same things.

41. What shall we then judge? Must sanctuaries be retained, or abrogated? I forasmuch as I perceive that the law of God retained sanctuaries, but yet of very strait liberty, and do see also that the laws of Nations instituted them: and that other whiles there may be just causes of them, therefore I

would determine that they ought to be retained, certain cautions being observed. First, that no private or public things be hurt by that liberty. Secondly, that no injuries be done to any man, or else vices nourished and maintained through the hope of pardon and impunity. Further, it seems that we ought to take heed, that they be not open unto all kind of crimes, but that they be granted for some certain men: as when one man hath killed another, neither wittingly, nor willingly. Or else, if a good man without his own fault by the injury of fortune, shall be burdened with debt, or in such like things. But to grant sanctuaries for all crimes, it is far from godliness. Again, it were good to be decreed, that they should not be many and much frequented, that men may behave themselves the more circumspectly and gravely in their dangerous actions. The old law had only six in the whole kingdom of Israel. But in our Regions there be always many. For the Canonists have marvelously endeavored to enlarge that liberty. Notwithstanding it should be the part of a good magistrate to restrain the number of them. Also it ought to be provided that they which be detained in sanctuaries, when by judgment they be found guilty might not easily scape away: And that the priests or Monks if they make a way for them to escape, should undergo certain punishments. Howbeit it is come to pass that they themselves also are Sanctuaries, as being men that have extorted and usurped sundry forms of exemption.

CHAP. XV. Of Exile or Banishment.

Forsomuch as Abiathar was banished to the territory of his Father, and Semei commanded to keep himself at Jerusalem, the which be kinds of banishments, it shall not be amiss to speak somewhat of Exiles or Banishments. First we will inquire out the definition of Exile. Secondly, we will search which be the kinds thereof. And thirdly shall be disputed whether this kind of punishment ought to be used in Commonwealths; namely, for expelling of an hurtful man out of their dominions, when they may punish him. And to keep a right Method, we will begin at the Etymology of the word. Of the Hebrews it is called *Makalash*. For the verb Kalash is to gather or bind together. Therefore did they call Cities of refuge by this name, because they gathered themselves unto them, and thither were the fugitives drawn together. And it may also be called *Magnahash*, of flying or scaping away. The Grecians also called exile φυγήν φυγαδείαν, a *fugiendo*, of flying away. The Latins if we may believe Nonius Marcellus, called it *Exilium*, because they that so fly away be without country or Land, namely of their own. And men were said to go from one soil to another,

when they fled from any hurt or punishment which remained for them at home. But they which study to comfort exiled men, do call their exiles peregrinations, when as nevertheless there is perceived no small difference between these things. For peregrination is taken in hand willingly and for sundry causes, not for the avoiding of punishment which should be laid upon them at home. But so men speak, that they by a more mild word may extenuate that punishment: exhorting their friends by that manner of speech, to take that upon them as voluntary which they suffer against their will. And undoubtedly, that flying away comprehendeth in it some voluntariness, as are the mingled actions, whereof there is mention in the Ethics, for they which so go from one country to another: would shun greater punishments, which they should incur by tarrying in their own country. Also unto exiles they have joined those which vulgarly are called Banna. Between them are perceived some differences, although not great. But hereof we read in the digests, in the Title *De interdictis & relegatis*.

2. These things being set down after this manner, it will not be hard to enter into the definition. Wherefore we will say, that exile is a flying away, wherein the guilty for this cause do go from one country to another, that they may avoid the punishments of laws or else suffer them. Wherefore it is a flying, but not of every sort, because otherwhile men do fly either poverty, or scarcity of grain, or the distemperature of the heaven, or else sickness, and the plague: but they return when they will, and therefore it was said: That they may avoid punishments or else suffer them. And that latter [*particle*] which is added, belongeth unto them which be carried into the Island or unto the Mines. And whereupon these things began it is easy to be showed. The Roman commonweal either is considered, [*as it was*] when the liberty thereof stood, or else when afterward it began to be ruled and

governed by one king. So in like manner Exiles were of two sorts: to wit, one in the time of liberty, and another under princes. When it was a free City, banishment was enough (if they were Citizens,) when the question touched their life. But afterward the Emperors commanded that Malefactors should be carried away unto the Mines or into the Islands. Wherefore Cicero in his Oration for Caecinna said, that Exile was the haven of punishments, not an execution of death. And he added that the city of Rome by their laws punished no offense by banishment. Nevertheless, if any would avoid prisons, bonds, and other punishments, those fled into exile as unto an Altar. Neither must it be read unto Arms, as corruptedly some copies have. For if that the parties which were guilty, would in abiding at home hazard the extremity of the law, the city should not be so soon taken from them as their life. But when they would none of that, the City was not said to be taken from them, but contrariwise they were said to lean it. And in the fifth Philippic Oration he saith: They which were condemned for capital crimes had no sooner chosen a City, but they were admitted into it, whither they came to dwell. Furthermore out of a certain Oration of Julius Caesar, (which is described by Salust in the conspiracy of Catiline) it is gathered, that the ancient Romans did imitate the Greeks, so that they punished the Citizens with stripes, and put the condemned to death. After that, were made the laws of Porcia, and also certain other laws, which would not that a Citizen should be punished with death, but granted him to go into Exile. Cicero in his Oration for his house, said, that Exile was not by express name laid upon them which were condemned, but they were forbidden water and fire, to wit, that by a certain space of miles they might not enjoy the use of human things. And certainly it behooved Cicero himself to be absent five hundredth miles from the City. So then the

Citizens of Rome were not by express name sent into Exile. But as touching the thing itself, there seemed to be but small difference. In deed they were not laid hold upon, but they were constrained to depart, except they would live of the air. Wherefore so often as thou shalt read in the histories, (while the Commonwealth stood) the name of Exile, we must after this manner interpret the same.

3. Among the Grecians also there was a kind of Exile which they called ὀστρακισμόν [*to wit of ten or 15 years*] which was not laid upon men because of crimes, neither was it counted among punishments, neither did it bring any infamy unto them that were exiled, but it did rather moderate envy. The name is derived of ὄστρακον, by which word is signified a shell. For there were certain shells, wherein was written the name of him that was to be banished. We might call the same a banishment by lot. Nor did they only live thus in exile, which excelled others in riches, favor, and power, but also they which excelled in eloquence and wisdom. Wherefore Damon the Schoolmaster of Pericles, was cast forth in this respect, because he was wiser than the rest. Aristides also, when at the incitation of Themistocles, this kind of banishment should have been decreed unto him, was present in the assembly. By whom sat as it happened, a certain man of the Country, who having the right of voices, and could not write, prayed Aristides, whom he knew not, that in the shell which he had, he would write the name of Aristides. To whom Aristides said: Doest thou know that man? He denied that he knew him. For what cause then (saith he) wilt thou cast him out? The country man said: because they oftentimes call him just: but we Athenians cannot abide so great justice. The manner therefore was in the government of common people, to use very great endeavor, that none in the City should excel. Yea and Aristotle in the 5th Book of his Politics, *De*

conservando statu Democratico, maketh mention hereof, counseling that if any man in a City should excel overmuch, he should be removed from thence, because such men for the most part would bear rule over others.

There is moreover another kind of Exile which is called voluntary: and it is not of one form only. One is called φυγή ἐπί φόνῳ that is, for the cause of slaughter yet not of voluntary, but when a man is slain of one unwittingly and unwillingly. When this happened, they for purging sake removed their habitation, for men-killers have always been counted impure. Wherefore in the Pandects in the Title *De poenis*, in the law *Aut facta*, in the Paragraph *Eventus*, a Lawyer saith, that such a kind of Homicide was accustomed to be purged by banishment. And he added thereto the verses of Homer wherein Patroclus saith, that he when he was a child, unwittingly slue his companion, and that his father brought him unto Peleus to be purged, and so the purging being performed, a companion was given unto him. And in Herodotus the first Book, Adrastus is recited, who to be purged came unto Croesus. And Eustacius an interpreter of Homer teacheth that those purging's were used to be ministered with blood. So that to go from one country to another for purging sake, is reckoned among voluntary exiles. Howbeit Orestes who willingly and wittingly killed his mother, came for purging sake to the less Tartaria. Yea and Livy in his first Book writeth that Horace when he was returned a vanquisher and had slain Horatia his sister, was absolved of the slaughter, but was commanded to depart into another Country, that he might make satisfaction for the murder. And in the holy scriptures, he that had committed a slaughter unwittingly and unwillingly, retired himself unto a City of refuge. But Plato in his 9th Book of Laws ordained that they which willingly had slain a man should be banished forever, and such punishment he called ἀειφυγίαν: but they which

unwittingly and unwillingly had committed slaughter, should be banished for the space of one year.

4. Also there was another kind of voluntary exile, as when a man was sued to condemnation, and before that the Action was commenced, it was lawful for the party accused, to fly, because he would not abide judgment, as he that despaired to be quit. After that sort fled Verres, as testifieth Asconius Poedianus. So likewise fled Cicero himself when he saw that he should be inferior to Clodius his accuser. And in the Oration for Cluentius it is showed, that one Fabritius, when he was risen from the bench, went his way. Livy also writeth in his second Decade, the 6th Book, that one Fulvius, before the day came for the choosing of officers, went his ways unto the Tarquinii. And in the 3rd Book *Ab urbe condita*, he writeth that the fellow officers of Claudius Appius went to dwell in another Country. Wherefore it was lawful for them which would, when suit of law was or should be commenced against them, to depart into exile. The Romans as touching this matter did imitate the Greeks. For Demosthenes, as it is in his Oration against Aristocrates teacheth, that this was lawful. Yet canst thou not judge, but that it might be, that they could let it. Some such thing as this, David in the holy histories seems to have done, when he fled not only into desert places, but also unto Achish King of the Philistines. Also Absalom when he had slain his brother, fled into Gessur. Likewise Jeroboam, when he saw that he incurred the crime of Treason, departed away. Howbeit in these things there was somewhat otherwise than was in the institution of the Roman laws. For the Israelites being once spoken of fled only, because they stood in the fear of themselves, when as yet they were not summoned to appear: but the others, namely the Greeks and Romans, had it granted them by laws that they might depart away when the suit was commenced.

5. There was yet another kind of voluntary exile: as when they had stood to the trial of law, and abidden judgment, yet would not pay the penalty awarded, whether it were money or some other thing else, they might fly away. But some demand whether it were more grievous to prevent judgment by flying away, or else to fly after judgment was now given. And the first in deed is thought of many to have been a less matter, because they should seem to depart away of their own accord, when as others were in a manner cast forth. Again, because the former which expected not judgment, did by flying into another Country, after a sort retain their dignity and degree. And this is gathered by the Oration of Cicero for his house. Also it is to be noted that when sentence was pronounced against any man of things touching life and death, so that he was let from [*the use*] of fire and water, that was done otherwhile for a time, and otherwhile forever. And sometime such banished men were forbidden to have access to certain places: and an otherwhile was appointed them a certain space, how far they should be distant from the City. And for the most part there was no certain place of banishment limited, but it was left free unto the exiled men, that they might be wheresoever they would, so they kept the limits of distance from the City or from Italy. Hereupon (as we noted before out of Livie) Fulvius went to the Tarquinii, and Milo, to Massilia. In this state the thing was, when the Roman liberty stood.

Under the Emperors the law was made more strait, as it is in the Title *De Interdictis & relegatis*, in the law *Exilium*. Marcellus maketh three sorts of Exile. The first, if one or two places be forbidden, as if a banished man should utterly refrain from Mutina or Bononia. The second he calleth *Latam fugam*, namely when as all places besides one were forbidden. To this kind of exile belonged the banishment of Abiathar and Semei. The third kind he

nameth *Deportatio*. Exiled men of the first kind were called *Interdicti*, that is, prohibited, but the others *Relegati*, that is, sent away. Plutarch in his Book of Exile, maketh mention of the first kind, while he comforteth a friend, because he is excluded but from one City alone. And this kind of Exile is called ἐξορία, whereas *Relegatio* is called περιόρια. Therefore Dionysius in a certain Epistle of his to John the Apostle, reproved some, which thought they could περιορίζειν τόν ἥλιον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, that is, Banish the sun of the Gospel. Under which saying he called John the Evangelist the sun of the Gospel.

The Exile which they called *Deportatio*, was a certain grievous punishment. For the guilty were delivered to public servants, and being put into a ship were sent away far off unto desert places. Wherefore Terence in the Comedy *Phormio* saith, that that wicked fellow should by common consent be banished into desert lands. They that were thus banished or carried away, were cast from the City, neither could they make a Testament, or obtain anything for themselves. Otherwhile men were banished unto the Mynes, that is, to do a public work. There was also another Exile, when a man was commanded to keep his house, to whom at that time the house was instead of a prison. Briefly; what time as the liberty fell, banishments were imposed by the sentences of Judges. Therefore Jerome in his 2nd Apology against Ruffinus, writeth that in his days were no banishments but such as were ordained by Judges. Furthermore there was some kind of banishment dishonest, but another only miserable. Whereupon Cicero in the Oration for his house: A dishonest banishment (saith he) it is, if it shall be the punishment for sin: but if it happened through condemnation, it was only dishonest in the opinion of men, but not in very deed: because men are sometime justly, and otherwhile unjustly condemned. Then he added that

Exile is a name not of dishonesty but of calamity. And to omit nothing, there be found other two, not properly but Metaphorically called Exiles or banishments. One, which the ancient Fathers in their writings oftentimes bewail, namely the state of this our life, wherein we are expelled from the kingdom of heaven or perfect regeneration. But the other is praise worthy, whereby we are banished from our own selves, the flesh and the world. Howbeit if it be asked unto what kind of punishment their flight belongeth which leave their native Country, least they should contaminate themselves with superstition and idolatry: We answer that it is voluntary, for they fly from those mischiefs which at home would hang over their heads by Tyrants. For if they should tarry at their own house, they must needs enter either into the one or the other: since either it should behoove them to go to the Mass, or else to suffer grievous torments.

6. The third point of the question propounded, is whether at this day it be lawful for Christian Magistrates to use Exiles. Which if it be granted, it is demanded whether kind must be chosen. But that this kind of punishment is lawful, many Arguments persuade. First of all God commanded Adam to be banished when he cast him out of paradise. The same punishment he laid upon Cain. Wherefore he saith: This day doest thou cast me out from thy face. But God therefore did not slay him, because of the scarcity of men, or else for some other causes unknown unto us: yet nevertheless commanded him into Exile. So that (as I said before,) there were certain Cities of refuge appointed by the law of God, unto which they retired themselves, which unwittingly committed murder. Also it is manifest out of the book of Judges, that Giphtha, being cast out from his brethren, lived in Exile in the land of Tob. And king David, when Absalom was returned out of Gessair, banished him from the Court to his own house. Solomon also used

banishments against Abiathar and Semei. And as we have it in Amos the 7th Chapter, Amasias commanded the Prophet in the kings name, that he should depart out of the bounds of Samaria. Likewise in the law of God, the leapers were banished out of the Cities from the congregation of men unto solitary places. Yea and excommunication itself seemeth to be a certain kind of Exile. Insomuch as Christians are commanded to shun wicked men: neither is it lawful to admit those into society. Also natural reason admonisheth us hereof. For Cities are said to be certain bodies, and for the health of bodies, Phisitians have been accustomed to remove naughty humors and corrupt members, thinking it a great deal more safe, that they should be cast away, than that they being kept, should disturb the whole body. The same thing is observed in vines, which every year are pruned, least the unprofitable twigs should hurt the fruit. Also the unprofitable branches of trees are wont at certain times of the year to be shred and cut away. Here withal concurreth, that all sins are not alike, and that therefore all are not to be punished with death. Wherefore it appeareth that there is place left for banishment, neither is this kind of punishment unprofitable to them that are punished. For if they should dwell among their own Citizens, as well the fault committed, as also other kind of punishments would daily be cast in their teeth.

7. On the contrary part the Arguments are as many which dissuade very much from this kind of punishment. First that the law of God hath not prescribed a just Exile, seeing that which it commandeth as touching Cities of refuge, belonged not unto a just Exile. Further it behooveth that punishments be such as either they should make him better that is punished, or at the leastwise, should terrify others from sins: but Exile seemeth to perform neither of both. For they which are driven out of a City, are not

therefore made anything the better, but rather become the worse. Put the case that some man be cast forth of a City which professeth the Gospel, he perhaps goeth unto a papistical City, and there is made an Idolater. Add that Euripedes writeth that among other discommodities of banishment, there is taken away the liberty of speaking, for a stranger dare not in another country speak freely that which he thinketh. Although that he will retain the lawful worshipping of God, yet shall he hear many things against the same, and hardly will he be bold to defend it freely. Oftentimes did David while he was in Exile lament that he lacked the holy congregation and communion of the Sacrifices. Moreover in this respect are banished men made the worse, because they become enemies to their native country, and conceive hatred against it: and in such sort conceive it as they dare oftentimes join themselves with enemies, and as much as in them lieth betray their country unto them. And thus we read that Coriolanus did, when he went to the Volsi. The like Plutarch noting in a book entitled, The virtue and fortune of Alexander, taught that banishments are oftentimes certain seeds of wars. Certainly David himself, when he lived in Exile, was constrained even against his will, to come into battle with the Philistines against the Israelites. But if a man will say, that Camillus a banished man, delivered his country, and that the banished Athenians saved the City of Athens from 30 Tyrants: we answer, that so notable exploits happen not oftentimes but very seldom, but we must have regard unto those things which happen for the most part. Furthermore wicked men are not made the better by banishment, because they count that kind of punishment most easy. For they say with themselves: Although I shall depart hence, yet the Sun and Moon are also seen in other Regions: and that which some have done of a virtue, they do with dishonesty. For when it was objected against

a Philosopher that he should be banished, he answered that he was a Citizen of the world. Diogenes when he heard that the Citizens of Sinope had commanded, that he should be banished out of Pontus: said, I in like manner condemn them that they be perpetually upon the shores of Pontus Euxinus. They allege also that Themistocles who while he lived in banishment, was very much enriched, and said unto those that were with him: Yong men, unless we had perished we should have been utterly undone. By such examples, banished men are made the bolder, and seldom are the better. Out of Caelius the 20th book 1st chapter, we have learned that L. Neracius having confidence in riches, was very proud and malapert, so that it was a game and pastime unto him to strike a free man on the face: upon which fault in very deed was laid a penalty of twenty-five pieces of money called Asses. Wherefore he carried a servant about with him, which ware a purse well stuffed with money: but he at his own pleasure bid beat very many, and straightaways commanded to pay them 25 pieces of that money. So then a light punishment doth the more easily provoke unto sin. Here withal add, that banished men, seeing they know the secretes of a City, and discommodities of the Citizens, do very often show all those things unto the enemies. Moreover to excuse themselves, they defame their own City: and the Citizens which be therein, and are held in estimation; they affirm them to be more wicked than themselves. And they set forth the examples of Socrates, Aristides, and Cicero, who were sometime driven into exile. Besides forth, if the avouterer and avouteress be cast out for adultery, they meet again together in another place, and persevere in the same wickedness. And when men have robbed in their own country, they being cast forth of the same, will not cease to rob elsewhere: so as their sins be not hindered by their banishment. Also this punishment seems to be

much against charity towards our neighbors. For when a province or City hath wicked men among them, they so disburden themselves, as they burden other Cities and provinces. Besides, they which so be cast forth, if they might abide in their country, would be more diligently marked, seeing they be there well known: but in another land, where they are not known, they both sin more easily and also escape unpunished. And at home Infamy would bear a stroke with them, and they would be ashamed, when as in another place, they live without shame. If Citizens should so send out one infected with the plague as they would command him to enter into other Cities, those Cities would not only put him back, but would also complain and that grievously of those men. But if it would be unjust, as touching the sickness of the body, what are we to judge concerning the vices of the mind? Also if a man by poison kill a condemned man, he should be accounted most wicked: Howbeit to send mischievous men into strange lands, seemeth to be nothing else but to infect them. There might be other Arguments and that very many to persuade on this behalf, but these seem to be the chiefest.

8. Now are we to determine which may seem to be the right way. Doubtless it appeareth unto me that either part is to be embraced: and I would say, that the use of banishments is after some sort to be retained, but not so, that banished men should be sent unto others, among whom they should become the worse, and to infect them. Wherefore they ought to be banished within the bounds of the dominion subject unto the Magistrate. For wicked men should the easilier be restrained, if it were not free for them to wander here and there, and according to the greatness or lightness of their offense, so may they limit unto them places more painful or more commodious. And assuredly God when he would banish Adam and Cain, he

sent them not forth of his dominion. Further the laws of Moses so appointed the Cities of refuge, as he would have them to be certain. But thou wilt say: Then will all places be filled with banished men: I answer that we must not easily be led unto this kind of punishment. For there be other kinds of punishments, as are prisonments, lessening of substance, removing from offices, and diverse other. Moreover God sent not into exile, Core, Dathan, and Abiron, when they were seditious men: neither did he condemn unto banishment Achan a heinous offender. Banishments then must be used otherwhile, but not often. The Roman laws when liberty stood, did not cast forth into Exile (as it hath been said) although they suffered, such as were willing to depart. David banished Absalom, but not out of the bounds [*of his dominion*.] Solomon also commanded that Abiathar and Semei should be banished, but he cast them not forth of Jerusalem. Jephtha also was cast out by his brethren, but yet into the land of Tob which is thought to have been in the tribe of Gad. Neither is there any need to take an example of wicked Amasias, although he cast not forth the prophet out of the tribes of the Jews: for he sent him into the tribe of Judah. Also the Leapers were commanded by the law to be out of the Cities, and to wander among desolate places, yet were they not sent away unto strange Nations, neither was it a sin to be stricken with leprosy. So then, that separation must not be counted a punishment, but rather a certain caution, least they that were whole should be infected. Excommunication which was said to be a certain kind of banishment, doth not utterly cast men out of the Church: because it is lawful for the excommunicates to hear the word of God. Further they are admonished by the faithful, although it be not lawful to be conversant with them for the soul sake. Moreover the Church ceaseth not to pray for them, that they may repent and return into the way again. True in deed it is, that ill

humors are driven out of the body: and corrupt members out of the Commonwealth, unfruitful twigs and bows are cut off, as well from vines as from trees: howbeit between these things and banished men there is no just comparison: for these things being cut off and expelled, cannot hurt as do banished men, who are wont to hurt both themselves and others also. Besides, true it is which is commonly said, that an evil must be corrected where it is bred. But some man will object that it would be unprofitable, if banished men should be had in such places: for there perhaps they cannot do or occupy anything. Hereunto may be said, they are banished unto work. In times past lewd men were sent away unto the Quarries and Mines. And at this day in many places, they are sent into Gallies, that they may neither hurt themselves nor others, and that they may labor with some profit to the Commonwealth. By this means might the inconveniences which come by banished men be taken away. These things undoubtedly are not set down of us by reasons Demonstrative, but confirmed as me thinketh by probable reasons. This moreover I think good to add, that if any through fear fly away of their own accord, the City is not therefore to be blamed, because it could not let them. But yet it seemeth not to be well advised, if afterward it forbiddeth them to return. Better it should be to suffer them to return, whom being returned, they may send out unto such places as they shall think to be due unto their misdeeds.

CHAP. XVI. Whether it be lawful for a Christian man to go to law.

Here now the place putteth us in remembrance to see whether it be licensed unto a Christian man to try matters by law. In which we will accomplish three things: First, we will prove by firm and strong Arguments that it is lawful. Secondly shall be set forth the form and way wherein this ought to be. And finally whereas there be certain places in the holy Scriptures, which seem to teach the contrary, and that certain reasons are wont to be brought which are thought to be a let, we will interpret the words of the holy Scripture, and will confute the reasons objected. As touching the first, the sentence of Paul which we have in the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians the 6th chapter plainly persuadeth, that to go to law is not forbidden: he reproveth those only, because they went unto Infidels. Further because they were overcome with perturbations of the mind, in that they could not bear injuries: finally because themselves did injury. Remove thou those faults that are reproved, and what will remain, but that causes may be heard between faithful men in the Church, and that wise judges may be appointed, to discern and pronounce justly of causes? In the Acts of the

Apostles Paul appealed unto Caesar for defense of his own life, he would not be judged by the lieutenant of Jury, because he saw that his Tribunal seat was already corrupted by the head Bishops and Priests. He chose Caesar to be his judge, with whom his cause might be understood. Wherefore before the Apostle were laid two unjust tribunal seats, and both of Infidels. That he chose unto himself, which seemed to have least discommodity. Every godly man (so much as is possible) must escape the judgments of the faithless and ungodly: even as we at this day, will not be judged by the Pope, who holdeth all for excommunicate, even so many as will not be subject to his Tyranny. And the very same Apostle (as we read in the same Book of Acts) sent a young man his sisters son unto the Tribune, who should declare the conspiracy which the Jews made against him: and so was he saved and sent again by night unto Cesarea. Whereby it appeareth, that it is not forbidden to implore the help of public power.

2. Furthermore God did not institute anything which is against Charity. But judgment and Magistrates without all doubt are brought in by God, so as they are not repugnant unto charity. We read in Genesis the 9th, in Exodus the 18th and in Deuteronomy the first, that a Magistrate and judgments are instituted by God. The Anabaptists cry that in Christianism, there is required a far greater perfection than in the old law, and therefore that arguments must not be sought from thence. These mad men under a color of perfection endeavor to confound the world by a confused order of things. If we should want Magistrates, would not murders, robberies, and other mischiefs everywhere abound? There is no hope that any man might let offenses to happen. For (as Christ said) they must of necessity happen. What do these men mean? Will they have them punished or not punished? If they will say, unpunished, what end or measure will there then be of

calamities? But if they will have them to be punished, by whom at the length, shall punishments be executed? Doubtless Magistrates being taken away, if every man punish and revenge at his own pleasure, all things will be filled with a confused order, and while they fain to follow perfection, they will bring us into an utter confusion of things. Besides this in the 18th chapter of the Book of Exodus, and in the first Chapter of Deuteronomy, God provided with all diligence, that the qualities and virtues of them which should be appointed Judges might be expressed, to the intent we may plainly perceive, that he had a singular care of judgments. In Isaiah it is said: Seek ye judgment, help the fatherless, judge the widow: and the like places we meet withal everywhere in the Prophets. And in the Psalms it is showed that God hath so great a care of judgments, as he himself will sit with the Judges. Wherefore it is said, God stood in the Synagogue, or in the company of Judges: he is Judge in the midst of them. And in Paralipomenon the Judges are admonished that it is not the business of men which they execute, but the business of God: The very which thing is written in the first Chapter of Deuteronomy.

3. But least these men should think that a Magistrate and Judgments are assured only by the old law, we hear that they be established in the Epistle to the Romans the 13th chapter, and also by Peter in his Epistle. And that it is lawful for godly men to bear office, the examples of Joseph, David, Hezekiah, Josiah, Daniel and his fellows do plainly declare. And in the New Testament Paul in the 16th chapter to the Romans writeth: Erastus the Chamberlain of the City saluteth you. And in the Acts of the Apostles, when Sergius Paulus the Proconsul was converted unto Christ, he renounced not his office. And that it belongeth to a Magistrate, to judge causes, and take away contentions, by punishing and rewarding, it is perceived by the

definition thereof. For it is a power instituted by God unto the safety of good men, and reprehension of evil men, by laying of punishments upon the one sort and giving rewards unto the other. Yea and it is a most firm reason [*to say*:] There be laws, therefore there be Judges. And if there be judges, there shall also be actions or pleadings of causes. And we read that the Israelites, even at the very beginning had controversies, which they brought unto Moses. Whereupon Judges were appointed when as Moses alone was not able to sustain so great a labor. And at the last was the law given upon Mount Syna, as we have it in the 20th Chapter of Exodus. Neither could the law in a manner bring any utility, except that Judges had been appointed, which should execute the same. Aristotle in his Politics, called Judges a lively law. Seeing therefore Judges (as it hath been said) be the work of God, and by him are instituted, it is the part of godly men to set them forward. And it cometh oftentimes to pass, that thou art not able to help the poor, the fatherless, the widow and stranger, and finally them which are committed to thy trust, and to deliver them from their oppressors, unless thou shalt implore the aide of public judgments: and to forsake them thou mayest not with a safe conscience. As touching the poor and oppressed, the law admonisheth everywhere: and how those which belong unto us must be holpen, Paul unto Timothy wrote in these words: He that hath not a care of his own, and especially of his family, hath renounced his faith, and is worse than an Infidel. Elisaeus the Prophet offered himself of his own accord to entreat with the Magistrate for the widow his hostess. And that we must not straight way depart from our possessions and fathers inheritance, the example of Naboth the Jezraelite doeth testify, who would not deliver his vineyard unto a Tyrant: and this he did not through a desire that he had of earthly things, but that he might obey the law of God, who after a just

manner divided the lands amongst the Tribes and families: as it is contained in the Book of Joshua, and forbad by the laws, that they should not be transferred from one family unto another.

4. Moreover if our neighbor can be brought by the authority of the Judge, from detaining of other men's goods, it shall not be ungodly to law against him, that he may at the leastwise be pulled from sin. And Augustine in his Book De Sermon Domini in monte saith, that a servant being conveyed away from a godly Master, if it be known that he will be marred under the government of him that enticed him, and that he may be revoked from thence and recovered by judgment, he must not be forsaken. It also happeneth oftentimes that the Pastors of Churches are hindered by the wicked from preaching, or from feeding the sheep of Christ, and may be holpen by the public power to execute their office freely: then must they not delay to attempt by judgment. For they then implore the help of God, when they go unto the power appointed by him, and unless they should this do, they might seem to tempt God. Sometimes also there may happen a doubtful case, and that between the godly, for the just possession of something: whereas either of them would yield to other, and neither of them will have himself to be trusted, because he feareth least he do challenge that which is another man's: and therefore with one consent they covet to have that which is doubtful, to be determined by judgment, whereby they may with a more safe conscience possess that which they have. And they which endeavor wholly to take away judgments, do give an occasion unto Julian, Porphirius and Proclus, who slandered Christianity that it was an adversary unto lawful commonwealths.

5. Now seeing it is proved, that it is lawful sometime for godly men to go to law, let us see as touching the other point, with what cautions this must

be done. First of all must be provided, that we mistrust not God, and that we put not confidence in Princes and Judges. Such men doeth the holy scripture plainly detest, which pronounceth that we ought not to put our trust in Princes, neither to put flesh for our Arm. Besides this let Charity be kept inviolate, so as we account not for an enemy that adversary, against whom we have commenced action. Moreover the powers of our mind must be examined, and we must take heed, that we be not led unto this by disturbations of the mind or corrupt affections. For it is better to lose the thing than to make a wrack of the spirit of lenity and Christian gentleness. Neither yet ought we for this cause to go unto the tribunal seats, that we may either increase our patrimony or revenue: but the glory of God and safety of our neighbor must chiefly be respected. Also it is profitable, that he which is to deal against any man in judgment, do consider the imbecility of man, and weigh how weak he himself also is. For by that means (as Augustine wrote unto Macedonius) the vehemency of accusing is asswaged. This did Christ commend when he answered the accusers of the adulterous woman: He amongst you that is without sin, let him cast the first stone at her. And as judgments are at this day, we are to take heed, least with the endeavor of contention, we cast not both ourselves and our adversaries into grievous and unprofitable expenses. For judgments are everywhere long deferred, sometimes by the treachery and covetousness of Judges, to the intent that they which be adversaries at law may be polled. But yet the delay of judgments cannot all wholly be condemned. For oftentimes in the giving of sentence there must be provision made against the manifold and subtle malice of men: for the discovery whereof nothing is more worth than delay. For in process of time many things are opened, which by crafts and subtlety were hidden.

6. But it should seem that all means must be assayed before we come to suit of law: even in like manner as before war is moved, all remedies should be sought. And this would be very decent for Christians that controversies should be taken up by arbitrators and common friends. Which also should not be wholly left unto Magistrates, for they should be eased of very great and grievous trouble. Seeing they are constrained oftentimes to sit all the day long to hear causes, and the time which should be employed about council matters for the Commonwealth, least it should take any harm, they are constrained to spend upon adversaries at law. In old time among the Romans, the degree of gentlemen called Equites, did execute judgment, afterward judgments did fall to the Senators, but yet not so as the whole Senate did judge: for there were some certain Senators chosen to this purpose. And this most of all is to be regarded, that in contending at law, we seek not those things which be ours, but which are Jesus Christ's: which being hard to do, there is nothing more fit to find out the deceits and pretenses of our own thoughts than to examine ourselves. And seeing a man may see many causes, for which it shall be lawful for a Christian man to contend at law: let him seek, wherefore he very oftentimes omitting those honester sort of causes, had rather now make suit in law for riches and substance taken from him. And let him say with himself: Many a time hast thou forsaken the poor oppressed, thou hast not cared for the fatherless children being spoiled, thou hast not defended widows being robbed: yea and thou hast neglected godliness, seeing thou hast seen the same contaminated with blasphemies and heresies: And this that thou shouldest not do, is by express words forbidden in Deuteronomy: Why doest thou now straightway make suit by law for thy field wrongfully possessed by any man? Doubtless these things declare that thou art rather moved through

covetousness than for justice sake. It is now a common custom, that although we look upon the wicked which deface the Commonwealth, and which pollute and destroy Cities everywhere, yet in this point we are more dumb, than fishes. But if a little of our own money and substance be sought for, we straightway fly unto patrons and advocates, and unto places of judgment. Seeing then these be certain tokens that thou art careful for thine own things, and not for that which belongeth unto God, or to thy neighbor, therefore he that shall perceive these things in himself, it is no sure way for him to go rashly to the law. In the meantime all this might be showed to the adversary, that he should desist from suit of law, least he break charity, least he more seek his own, than those things that belong to God and to his neighbor, least both parts be pressed with too much charges. For perhaps by the calling of these things to remembrance, his malice shall be asswaged. This also must be taken heed of, that thou go not to law under every Judge. Seeing thou oughtest not to commit thy cause unto him, whom thou shalt perceive to be altogether unjust, corrupt, or a contemner of Religion, unless thou be compelled thereto. If Paul appealed to Nero, he did it after a sort against his will. He might not escape the judgment seats of wicked men, he chose that for himself, which seemed more fit for his vocation.

7. But now in the third place must be brought the sentences of the scriptures, by which it seemeth that a godly man is altogether forbidden to contend in judgment. In Matthew the 5th chapter it is written: If a man shall strike thee on the one cheek, turn thou to him the other: and he that would take thy coat from thee, give him also thy cloak: and if one constrain thee to walk with him one mile, go twain with him. These things seem to persuade, that we should utterly abstain from contentions. Some think by this means to satisfy themselves because they say that these are councils: but these men

be deceived. For whensoever anything is offered unto us to be done, which we understand doth further the glory of God, if we may do it, and do intermit it, we have flatly sinned, because the love which we owe unto God, with all the heart, with all the mind, and with all the strength, is not kept. And if these things should be esteemed as counsels, and should belong only unto them which be perfect, it would follow, that Magistrates in not revenging should be more perfect, than if they punish and revenge. And a private man by revenging his own injury, should not sin, although he should perhaps decline from Christian perfection, which things are most plain absurdities. Wherefore Origen and Nazianzen, who against Julianus and Proclus say, that to revenge, is no sin, but not to revenge, is better and more perfect: do answer neither soundly nor worthy for a Christian man. These sayings must be taken as precepts and interpreted by comparison, to wit, that we must rather desist from judgment, and from taking punishment of an adversary: rather to suffer a blow on the cheek, to abide the loss of our Cloke, and to go the journey of two miles, than that charity should be violated, or that thou shouldest move the hatred of thy neighbor, or be an offense unto the weak, and shouldest follow those things which be thine, and not those which be Jesus Christ's.

8. And as touching revenge, the same is of two sorts: one public, and another private. The public, which ought to be executed by the Magistrate, is required by God: so far is it from displeasing of him. Of the Magistrate it is said, that he beareth not the sword for naught. For he is the Minister of God to take vengeance of him that doth evil. But private revenge is lawful unto no man. And Augustine unto Marcellinus writeth: Not to revenge, is to abstain from the desire of revenge: And there he plainly writeth, that these be without doubt precepts, and always necessary as touching the

preparation of the mind: but as touching external execution, that must always be done, which we perceive to make most for the glory of God, and the salvation of them with whom we deal. For Christ when he was beaten by a servant of the high priest, did not turn his cheek to him, but rather reproved him, when as nevertheless he was ready as touching the mind, both to die, and to be crucified for his salvation. And even this did Paul show, when he being stricken answered the high priest: God shall strike thee, thou painted wall, who nevertheless was ready to spend both himself and his life, for the safety of the faithful. Wherefore, if a neighbor through our patience be made the worse, we must not stay from reproving and accusing: so far is it off, that thou shouldest show outward gentleness unto him. Those things which Christ spake in these places, belong not unto Magistrates, but unto private men. And when he said that his kingdom is not of this world: he removeth not away those things which serve to the necessary administration thereof, but would have them to remain perfect and sound. Neither must we think, that charity is violated, when as punishments are done by the public power for great offenses. And this do parents show, when they beat their children: For by that means they omit not to prosecute them with fatherly good will. Torquatus put his son to death, for the safety of the Commonwealth: whom nevertheless he ceased not to love, as it became a father. And Augustine against Faustus the 2nd book saith, Moses slew many thousands for the Idolatry [*committed to the*] golden Calf: but that he kept charity towards them, the prayers which he had before the slaughter of them do declare: If thou let them go (saith he) it is well, if not, wipe me out of the book of life. Yea and God himself which is the principal charity punisheth his elect, and chastiseth them, but he ceaseth not to love them.

9. And when it is written: You have heard that it hath been said: An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, resist not evil at all: We are not to believe that the old law favored private revenge, which in Leviticus is in plain words forbidden: Seek not the revenge of the Son of thy people. Yea and rather charity is commanded towards our enemy, seeing every man is commanded to take home unto him his enemies Ox and Ass that goeth astray, and to restore the same unto the owner: and also to help his enemies Ass if it should be fallen and pressed under his burden. But in that law of rendering one for another, the Judge was instructed what he should do in the punishing of offenses. And Christ when he said: But I say unto you, resist not evil, amendeth the perverse interpretation of the Scribes, which taught men to come unto judgments being led with a desire also of revenge, that they might crave of the Judge, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, with the desire of revenge. Christ said: The matter is not so: As much as in thee is resist not evil. Yet he forbiddeth not, but that if thou for the benefit of another, and for the glory of God, wilt attempt the law, it may be lawful for thee. Some object, that God would that thou shouldest suffer the taking away of these goods, to the intent that such and such might be punished. If thou by judgments dost endeavor to withstand, thou seemest now to resist the will of God. Howbeit these men are grossly deceived: seeing it is no firm consequence: God would that we should otherwhile be sick, therefore we must not use Physicians and medicines, because God hath prepared these things also, and if thou apply not them, thou shalt tempt him. God will both that thou shouldest be sick, and that through medicines thou be helped. In like manner also he will that we should suffer some loss, and that we should not turn unto blasphemies against God: but he will in like manner that we should not despise the

remedies of the judgments which he himself hath set forth. It is only the mind of the user that maketh these things either good or evil. The Apostles who being sometime stirred up with a desire of revenge, craved that fire might come down from heaven against the Samaritans, were forbidden that they should so desire, because they knew not of what spirit they were. But even to the selfsame Apostles, being now confirmed by the holy Ghost, and being void of perturbations of the mind, it was granted to slay by the word: For Peter slew Ananias and Sapphira. Paul delivered unto Satan, and made Magus blind.

CHAP. XVII. Of War or Battle.

Because in the holy History, there is often mention made of war: I thought good to speak somewhat of the matter. And as touching the Etymology of the word, it is called in the Hebrew Milchamah, of Lacham, which is to fall and be cut off, and that either with a sword or with the teeth, because in war many slaughters are committed. The Grecians between πόλεμον and μάχην put the same difference that the Latins have put between *Bellum* and *Praelium*, that is, war and battle. And it seemeth that πόλεμον hath taken name of πολεῖν, that is, of turning: because many are the turnings and chances in war. Whereof perhaps came that saying: Many be the news of War. In Latin it is called Bellum, either by the figure Antiphrasis, as who would say, not good: or else because it is a good thing, and compared unto peace: or else (as Festus saith) of *Belluis*, that is, cruel beasts or monsters. Now will we distinguish war, the subject doubtless into accidents. Some war therefore is just, and othersome unjust. Howbeit to speak truly, unjust war, is no war: it is rather Thievery. And just war may thus not unaptly be defined. It is a Hostile dissention whereby through the

Princes edict mischiefs are repressed by force and Arms, to the intent that men may peaceably and quietly live by justice and godliness. The general kind is dissention. For contrary unto war is peace, and as the general kind of peace is union, so the general kind of war is dissention. But because dissention is manifold (for men dissent among themselves either in opinions or in kind of life, or in will,) therefore Hostile is added. And because there may be a Hostile dissention, which is not tried by weapons, there is also added, By Force and Arms. The efficient cause is the commandment of the Prince, without which, war cannot rightly be made. The end is, that people may quietly maintain justice and godliness. Here have we comprehended the four kinds of causes. The form, is Hostile dissention: the matter are the mischiefs which ought to be repressed: the efficient cause is the Magistrate: the end is, that we may live justly and godly. But when we say that the Edict of the Prince is required, we understand no difference between a King, the government of many good men, and a commonwealth; but we only oppose a Prince against a private man.

2. Hereof are gathered those three properties which commonly are ascribed unto right warfaring. First, that there is required the authority of the Prince: Secondly, an honest cause, to wit, that peace be sought for: Lastly that it be done with a good mind. I am not ignorant that Plato in Alcibiade. 1. writeth that men move war, when as either they be deceived, or constrained, or spoiled. But all these things are included in that part wherein I said: To the intent that mischiefs may be repressed. Augustine in the tenth question upon Joshua saith, that war hath a revenging force, and that therefore it is good right to make war upon any nation or City which shall despise to correct that which is shamefully committed: and that therefore the war of the Israelites against the Tribe of Benjamin was just,

for that they being so often admonished, yet would not revenge a wicked act. And he addeth that the cause of war is just, if things taken away by injury be not restored. Isidorus also in the 17th book the first chapter saith: that war is rightly taken in hand either for demanding of restitution, or else for the putting away of injuries. And Augustine in the self-same former place: The war (saith he) is rightly made, which is taken in hand by the commandment of God. And they which so make war saith he, are not so much the Authors of war, as they be the Ministers of God. The same Father in the 44th question upon Numeri saith, that the war which the Israelites made with the Amorites was just, because they had denied unto them a safe passage, when they required the same. And as touching the efficient cause: that war cannot be made, without the authority of the Prince, it is certain. For Paul saith, That he beareth the sword. Therefore he may either give it or take it from whom he will. And in the Code, in the title *Ut armorum officia nisi iussu principis sunt interdicta*, in the law *Nulli*, Valentinianus saith, Let no use of wars be had without our consent. And in the *Digestes Ad legem Juliam majestatis* the 3rd law: They which make war or muster men, or gather any army together without the commandment of the Prince, are in danger of the same law. And in the Code, *De re militari*, in the law *Nemini*, the self-same thing is decreed, and that not unjustly. For if a private man, at his own assignment will take weapons in hand, he doeth injury to the Magistrate: seeing if he be wronged, it behooveth him to make suit unto the Prince for his right. But if he will with strong hand give sentence on his own side, he committeth treason. Yea and he which fighteth in the Camp without commandment of the Emperor, is put to death, although that the matter otherwise happen well. The like have we in the *Digestes De re militari*, in the law Desertorem. And those things which be so taken by the

enemy are unjustly possessed, and ought to be restored, because the commandment of the Prince was not had therein. Wherefore let the banished men at this day take heed what they do, when they denounce war against their own Cities from whence they be cast: seeing that is no war but Thievery. For which cause Caesar when he went to Rome with his Army, and that Antony and some of the Tribunes of the people came unto him, was glad that he had in his Army some Magistrate.

3. Now come I to the Question. The Anabaptists being the furies and plagues of our time, say absolutely that it is not lawful to war. And for the confirmation thereof, they bring certain goodly Arguments out of the holy Scriptures. You yourselves (say they) affirm that it is lawful to make war either for the avoiding or revenging of injury, but it is not lawful in respect either of the one cause or the other: therefore it is in no wise lawful. For Christ saith: If a man give thee a blow on the right cheek, reach thou unto him the left. If a man take away thy coat, give him thy cloak also. And lastly he concludeth: Resist not evil. And Paul saith: Render evil for evil unto no man. Again, Revenge not yourselves (my beloved) but give place unto wrath. And Christ said unto Peter, He that striketh with the sword shall perish with the sword. Also Paul out of Deuteronomy citeth that saying: Revenge belongeth unto me and I will revenge. Moreover, Christ saith: Judge ye not, and ye shall not be judged. But he which maketh war upon another man, doeth undoubtedly judge him against whom he fighteth: and usurpeth unto himself the office and authority of God, and jugdeth another man’s servant. Christ also in the Parable, will not have the tares to be taken away or weeded out, but commandeth that the same should be left until the Harvest. Howbeit these men when they will root out the evil men, they also in the meantime destroy the good. And in the Parable of the wedding, the

King himself saith: that he will send his Army, that is his Angels, and will destroy those which will not come. Paul also unto the Corinthians saith: Why rather suffer you not wrong? Why rather sustain ye not injury? And if it be not lawful to contend at the law, much less is it lawful to make war. And Christ saith: My peace I give you. And Paul: Being at peace with all men. Isaiah also and Micah say, that in the kingdom of Christ the Speares shall be turned into ploughshares, and swords into spades. Furthermore our wars ought only to be spiritual. Therefore Paul unto the Ephesians hath instructed us with the Armor of God. For our fighting is not against flesh and blood, but against celestial wickedness. And again, Our weapons (saith Paul) are spiritual. Also the Fathers when they expound the wars, which are described in the Old Testament, say that those were shadows of those wars which we must have with the devil. Unto which purpose they cite Gregory the 23rd Quest. 1, the chapter *Nisi bellum*. Many other arguments besides might I bring, which they are wont to cleave unto. But these I thought sufficient. For these being confuted, the rest will easily fall of themselves.

4. But on the contrary part, that it is lawful to make war, it may be proved by most strong Arguments. For first in the 3rd of Luke: when the soldiers were come unto John, they began to demand what they should do to obtain salvation. But he said: Do violence unto no man, accuse no man falsely, and be content with your wages: but he commanded not that they should renounce their oath. Also Christ commendeth the faith of the Centurion: he said That he had not found so great faith in Israel: but he bade him not that he should depart from warfare. Cornelius the Centurion, even then when he was in warriors state, heard that his prayers and alms deeds pleased God. Augustine for this purpose oftentimes citeth that saying: Give unto Caesar the things which be Caesar’s. But those things are not given for any other

use, but for the payment of wages unto the soldiers, and for defense of the Commonwealth. And Paul when he had said, that the Prince beareth the sword and is the minister of God, therefore saith he: Give custom unto whom custom, and tribute unto whom tribute belongeth: for money is the strength of wars. It is most certain doubtless, which he saith, That a Prince is the minister of God unto wrath. And if so be that a Prince may chastise seditious Citizens at home, why may he not also suppress an outward enemy, if he do violence and vex and waste the commonwealth? God oftentimes warneth Princes, that they should relieve the oppressed, the fatherless and widows: and sometime it happeneth, that this cannot be done without war. By this means also there is respect had though not to the will of the enemies, yet to their profit. For even as a father, of charity chasteneth and punisheth his child, so ought a Prince to restrain the fierceness of an enemy, not of hatred, but of Christian charity, and to benefit him, whether he will or no: and by this means the licentiousness of sinning is diminished in him. And Augustine unto Boniface saith, that there is nothing more unhappy than the happiness of sinners. Further, God in the Old Testament, made laws, concerning the taking in hand and making of wars. But evil things must rather be taken quite away than adorned with laws. In Deuteronomy the 20th chapter God commandeth them to be discharged out of the host which either built that year, or planted, or married wives, and they which were of a faint courage, least they should trouble their brethren. He commandeth that the Priest should be present, and to instruct and warn the people that they should be of valiant courage, that God would be with them, and that although they should see themselves to be exceeded in number and multitude, yet not to have faint hearts, but to cast their hope upon God. He also commandeth that they should not cut down their fruit

trees upon their enemies soil. In the 10th chapter of Numeri he commanded two trumpets to be made wherewith they should sound, and especially in war: that those being heard, they should not doubt but that the remembrance of them was before God. In the 31st chapter of Numeri, he commandeth that there should be sought for a revenge of the Midianites: because that through the making common of their young women, they had circumvented the Israelites in their journey. Again, he commanded also that that pray should be common, as well to the soldiers which fought against the enemy, as unto them which they had appointed to keep the fardels, and unto the Levites, and that some part should be employed unto the use of the sanctuary. But this he would not have done, if by no means it had been lawful to make war. In the 17th chapter of Exodus, when the Amalekites had done violence unto the Israelites, Moses commanded Joshua to take muster, and to fight against the enemy. And in the meantime lifted up his hands unto God, Aaron and Hurre sustaining his weary arms: and God sware that the war of the Amalekites with them should be perpetual. In the 31st Chapter of Deuteronomy God also promiseth victory unto his. One of you (saith he) shall chase a thousand: and ten, ten thousand. Joshua when he came into the land of promise, saw the Lord armed and shaking a drawn sword, and heard him promise, that he would be the Prince and Captain of that war. In the 13th of *Deuteronomium*: if any City turn to Idolatry, God commandeth that the same should be overthrown, and that the pray should be burned. And when in the first of Judges, war was to be taken in hand against the Hevites and Canaanites and Jebusites, they ask counsel of the Lord what Tribe should first ascend: and he answered: The tribe of Judah. David in the 144th Psalm: Who teacheth my hands to fight and my fingers to the battle? But God teacheth not evil. And there is a great Emphasis in

that which he saith: My hands, for he was a man according to the heart of God, yet did he not make war by his own counsel, but by the commandment of God.

5. Neither must those wars be unspoken of, which the Maccabees made for Religion, and for the commonweal. Ecclesiastes saith: There is a time of war, and there is a time of peace: but there is no time for a thing unjust and forbidden. While Amnon stood to his promise, David maintained the league, and sent Ambassadors unto him. But when as he had reproachfully handled the Ambassadors of David, the wars began. Zechariah the 10th Chapter, They shall fight because the Lord will be with them: Yea, and they be called the wars of the Lord. For so said Saul unto David: Thou shalt make the Lord's war. And Abigail: Thou (saith he) fightest the Lord's battles. And in the 2nd book of Paralipomenon the 20th chapter. When the king of Syria, had gathered his power against Jehoshaphat, and he openly made his prayers unto the Lord, Jahaziel the Levite, being inspired with the holy Ghost: This (saith he) is the war of God, not of men. In the New Testament, Paul would by the aide of the soldiers, be brought unto Caesarea, that he might not be taken hold of by the Jews. In the Epistle to the Hebrews it is thus written, The Saints by faith subdued kingdoms: Wherefore war may be an exercise of faith. And least that any man should think that that place is to be understood of spiritual fighting, it is added: They overthrew the Armies of Aliens. Augustine unto Boniface the warrior thus writeth: Thou oughtest to know that thy strength is the gift of God: Therefore so often as thou puttest on armor, thou shouldest remember to take heed, that thou use them not against him that gave thee them. Besides, in the making of war, there is need of patience in the enduring of labors, a stout heart in perils, a diligence in the enterprising of things, a speediness in

performing, and a Counsel in providing. Which things undoubtedly cannot be had without the gift of God. And Augustine addeth, that peace is of will, and war of necessity. Wherefore we must pray unto God, that we may be delivered from the necessity of war, but not from war itself if it be necessary. Of this saying, Hostiensis gathereth, that he doth ill which taketh war in hand of will, and not of necessity. And necessity oftentimes cometh by reason that a Magistrate must many times for duty sake make wars, least he should seem to forsake the people. Men are two ways retained in their duty: namely, by reward, and by punishment, that the observers of laws may be rewarded, and the contemners punished. Wherefore this the Magistrate may rightly provide, and that without blame. The same Augustine: All things (saith he) are at quiet when wars be made. For wars he saith are not made for pleasure sake, or upon a greedy mind of getting, or upon cruelty, but for a desire of peace that good men may be advanced, and evil men restrained. Which saying is recited by Gratian, Cause 23rd quest. 1, the Chapter *Apud pios*. And in the same question in the chapter *Militare*: To go on warfare is no sin, but to go to the war for bootie's sake, is sin. And against Faustus, the Maniche, in the 22nd book, of the 73rd chapter: What do we reprehend (saith he) in war? That men do die who otherwise should die, if that were not? But this is the part of an effeminate and weak man. wherefore we condemn a covetous desire, a cruelty of fighting, and a lusting after dominion. But in that the godly are defended and the wicked suppressed, that may not be condemned.

6. But I hear of a doubt objected by some, that the greater part of these Testimonies are avouched out of the Old Testament. To what end speak they this? Do they not receive the Old Testament? Undoubtedly the holy Ghost in the New Testament cited very many testimonies out of the old. Howbeit,

the Old Testament they reject not, nevertheless they say that there be things extant therein, which are not set forth unto us to be followed. I grant that. But those things which be written of war, belong unto the law of nature, which ought to be eternal. For it is an everlasting law, that good men should be holpen, and evil men repressed. Albeit in the New Testament there is no lesson given as touching warfare. First because the Christians in those beginnings had not either a Commonwealth, or their Magistrates: Secondly, because there had been sufficient commandment given of that matter in the Old Testament. For immediately after the flood, God made a law, That blood unjustly shed, should be required [*of the man-killers*,] and that was to be done by the Magistrate. Wherefore it was sufficient that those things were confirmed in the New Testament. And that did Paul in the Epistle to the Romans, when he writeth, that a Magistrate hath the right of the sword. Yet did not God in those first times forsake his Church, although the same had no Magistrate. For instead of the outward sword, it had the wonderful power of the holy Ghost. For by it Peter five Ananias, and Sapphira, and Paul made Elimas blind. So those things which the Church had not by an ordinary means, it had them then by miracles. They had no languages, they had no Physicians, they had no Schools: but they had from God the gift of tongues, the gift of healings, and the words of wisdom: But now must those things be gotten of us by study and industry. After the same sort God gave unto the Israelites Manna from heaven, when they were in the desert and could neither till the fields, nor yet have grain. But when they were come to the land of promise, they lacked Manna, therefore they began to till and ear the land, and to live upon their labors. So was it with the Christians at the beginning, yet in the mean time they used a civil Magistrate. For if they had offended in anything, or if they had been commanded anything, they might

not escape, because they were Christians: yea, and they also went a warfare with the Emperors which were Ethnics. For there is a special mention made of that famous Legion of Thebes. And Eusebius in his first book and fifth Chapter saith, that the Christians went a warfare under M. Aurelius the Emperor in Germany: And that they in a great drought prayed to the Lord, and obtained rain from heaven. Moreover the Gospel, as it forbiddeth not the use of the Sun and Moon, so it forbiddeth not the just use of war.

7. And whereas I say that the Authority of a Magistrate is required, there be some which think that this is not generally true. Wherefore they use this distinction: that it is one war whereby we invade our enemies, and another whereby we defend our own. They confess that it is not lawful for war to be made without commandment of the Magistrate. But in the defending of our goods, if it be a sudden violent assault, they say that oftentimes it is no safety to expect the rule of the Magistrate. For so it is lawful to a good man and one that is a private person, being assailed on the way by a thief, to defend himself with his weapon, which nevertheless they so temper, as it may be lawful with moderation of such defense as is faultless. It may also be (say they) that some City is suddenly besieged by the enemy: where if the assent of the Prince be expected, all things will come into danger. But he that is so oppressed by a thief as he cannot crave the tuition of the Magistrate, he is now no more a private man, for the Magistrate himself armeth him, and giveth him the sword in his hand to defend himself. For he will not that a Citizen should perish without a cause. The same answer may be made for the defending of a City. For the laws themselves will in such a case that Citizens should defend themselves. And that they should do that, they are bound thereunto, both by the laws, and by the royal authority of the Magistrate. Therefore Hostiensis saith well, That wars are unjust which are

taken in hand, neither by the commandment, nor by the secret consent of the Magistrate. But Abraham say they, although he were a private man, yet he armed his own family, and delivered Lot. And Samson a man private, yet made he great slaughters of the Philistines. Howbeit Abraham and Samson, although they seemed to be private men, yet in very deed they were not. For God had already chosen them, and would have them to be princes. For of Samson it is read, that the spirit of the Lord came upon him. These examples none ought to follow, unless he be such a one as feeleth, and hath a sure trial in himself of the same vocation. Howbeit, Abraham they say made a league with Escol and Mambre, and that they were mighty men and princes: And therefore Abraham by their furtherance armed soldiers. But forasmuch as I in the definition added, By force and arms, therefore they say it is not lawful to use wiles. Yes in deed, it is lawful. For what doth force against a foe, if fraud or force thou use? And wiles are included in those words: Force, and Arms: since there is a certain force in wiles. So Abraham also did when he divided his Army, and by wiles overcame his enemy when they feared no danger. And after the same manner did the Israelites, when they besieged the Benjamite's. The like did Joshua in the besieging of the City of Hay. Howbeit, in the placing and practice of wiles, we must take diligent heed that the covenants, and leagues be not violated. For we must keep faith, even with our enemy. But wiles herein consist, that we keep our counsels secret from our enemy. Yea, and this doth God himself. For Christ spake many things unto the people in parables, and said that it was not given to them to understand those things, but he expounded them severally unto his Apostles. Briefly, wiles when they be referred unto justice, cannot justly be condemned.

8. Howbeit therein seemeth to be a greater difficulty that we said, war must be taken in hand for the suppressing of wickedness. For how can the soldiers know, with what mind the Prince maketh war? For it may so be that he though he make show of other causes, yet he may in very deed, be led either with cruelty, or with ambition, or with lust. I answer: So long as the war appeareth not to be unjust, the subjects must obey the Prince: this shall in the meantime be sufficient for them: But if they plainly perceive that it is unjust, they must rather obey God than men. For although the Magistrate do give thee a very strait commandment, yet there is no power may bind thee against the Lord. And undoubtedly subjects in this case must not be negligent, and be carried with a blind obedience only: they must be as inquisitive as they may. For neither must our works also be blind. These things I speak of subjects, since unto mercenary soldiers they do not appertain: Because they without any just cause do willingly and of their own accord cast themselves into these ambiguities, and into these snares of conscience. But subjects must in any wise obey their Magistrates in good things, and in things indifferent.

9. And although war be just, yet must it not straightway be taken in hand. All means must be attempted, rather than we should come to battles. Yea and for the sparing of Citizens blood, conditions must oftentimes be received though they may seem somewhat unreasonable. Hezekiah the godly king, made no doubt to melt the Ornaments of the Temple, to redeem the necessity of battle. But when that nothing prevailed, he fled unto prayers and craved help of the Lord. Howbeit thou wilt say, that this is the part of a cowardly man, and of one that dishonoreth his stock to grant unto such manner of conditions: Nay the same is rather a true magnanimity of mind. For Cicero when he would exceedingly commend Caesar, said that he

was accustomed to forget nothing but injuries. And Augustine: This (saith he) he spake either as a true praiser, or as a great flatterer. And if so be it were not true, yet he showed what manner of one he ought to be. Injuries (no doubt) must be forgiven as much as is possible: seeing war is amongst the terrible and cruel remedies, which must not be applied, unless that extreme necessity seem to require. For Physicians do not sear or cut, but when it seemeth that in a manner the whole body is put in hazard. And besides that many terrible and cruel things do happen in time of war, thou canst not in very deed after thou hast once begun, appoint an end when thou wilt. Therefore Homer rightly said: That there is some satiety of all things except it be of war. That this is true, we have too much experience in these days. For our Princes cease not from wars, unless they be destitute of money. And they pronounce wars oftentimes upon light causes, only of a blind provocation without any grave judgment or deliberation of their counsel. But there ought to be a certain mean way appointed, that neither we be too vehement nor yet too slack. For although we ought not to be hard in forgetting of injuries, yet must only those be forgiven which be in our own power. In so much as we must neither forgive perverse and Idolatrous worshipping's, neither yet other men's injuries. And besides this we must use victory with moderation and reason. And this was it which Abner required of Joab, least his brothers should be slain until few were left. Because when we see, that those which were equal unto us in fortune and honor are now become subject unto us, we should therewith be satisfied. Therefore Virgil very well said: Spare them that be subject, and vanquish them that be stubborn. For he that useth clemency towards them that be overcome, may appear to be the saver of them: and the men vanquished, will always (so long as they live) carry about them an excellent monument

of his moderation and clemency. And in no other thing do we more imitate God, as Seneca writeth in his Treatise *De Clementia*. And yet must we not be so merciful, but that we may command pledges of them that be overcome, or else place Garrisons among them, least some tumult might be raised through our negligence. For three things chiefly are to be required in them that be overcome. First that their faults may be amended, secondly that they may be made an example, to the intent that others may take the better heed: lastly that others may live the more peaceably and quietly. These ends it behooveth them that will rightly make wars, to set before their eyes, seeing all things must be referred to the glory and honor of God.

10. Hitherto we have spoken after what sort the injuries of other men must be holpen. But what if the Prince himself shall be assaulted by himself? Shall he defend himself by armed force? I answer: First, he must do nothing with fury or blind motion, but must be able specially to overrule his affections. Further he ought to be more easily entreated in his own injuries, than in other men's. For even as he is not liberal which giveth of another man's, but rather he which departeth with somewhat of his own: so he is merciful, which rather forgiveth his own injuries than he which forgiveth other men's. First therefore a Prince ought to weigh with himself his calling, whether he came to that dignity by good means, or rather intruded himself by violence and oppression. And let him beware that he mind not by the blood of Citizens to defend that which he naughtily attained to himself. But if he perceive, and know for a certainty that he was placed in that office by God, he ought by all just means to defend himself. For now he doeth not so much defend himself as the Commonwealth and the ordinance of God. He ought in no wise to seek his own but the glory of God and safety of the Church: and especially if the enemy be such, as mindeth

either to destroy or pervert the worshipping of God. Cicero is commended, because when strength of arms was offered him by which he might have defended himself, yet he chose rather to go into banishment, than for his own cause to shed innocent blood. Albeit in that he afterward repenting himself wrote unto Atticus, that he might have died valiantly, he may not therein be allowed: for he was not also constant in that which he had rightly purposed. Otho the Emperor when he perceived that the matter tended to the slaughter of Citizens, gave place of his own accord: and that rightly in very deed. Howbeit in that he slew himself, he cannot be praised. But the moderation of our David, is by all means to be commended: for he when Absalom was in arms chose rather to give place than to set Citizens together among themselves, being otherwise ready to execute the will of God howsoever it were. If he shall say (saith he) thou pleasest me not, I am ready, let him do that which seemeth good in his own eyes. So these things being diligently considered, it is lawful for a prince to defend himself. But what shall we say of Zedekiah the King, for he when he had a lawful calling, and was besieged by Nebuchadnezzar an Idolatrous Prince, and saw that the City and religion should be utterly overthrown, would not yield himself, and for that cause is condemned. Some man perhaps will say that his calling might not seem to be lawful, since that the Kingdom might rather have belonged to Joachim. But this will not I say: for in so much as the same Joachim was already led away captive, it seemeth that of right the succession returned to his Uncle Zedekiah. Howbeit these things appear more probable unto me: Zedekiah had broken his oath and covenant, he was an Idolater, he had defaced the law and religion of God. Over this God had given him commandment by Jeremiah that he should yield himself, but he would not obey, but set himself against the word of God. Also it was now

time, that that people should be sent into banishment, because their sins were come to their fullness. For neither was the king better than the people, or the people than the king. But what shall we say of those Roman Popes, when two or three be created at one and the self-same time? Is it lawful for them as they are wont to do, to maintain their election by force and arms? It is not lawful. For neither is the succession of them lawful, nor yet the end good, seeing as much as in them lieth they deface and oppress the law of God.

11. But is it lawful for the Ministers of the Church to bear arms? It is not lawful. For they must avoid all things which may hinder their function. And Aristotle in his Politics saith, that two offices must not be committed to any one man, because no man can be fit for both the functions, seeing either of both, requireth a perfect and whole man. Yea and scarcely can there be any one man found that can well execute the one or the other. For first the office of a minister is to teach the people. Which function how great it is by itself alone, everyone may easily understand. Secondly to pray day and night for the people: lastly also to exercise discipline. Who is able so to do these three things, as he can have leisure besides to fight? Paul unto Timothy saith: Suffer thou afflictions as a good soldier of Christ. Let no man going on warfare entangle himself with the affairs of this life, that he may please him which hath chosen him to warfare. There is no man crowned but he which hath lawfully contended. He warneth Timothy, that he ought to be a good soldier, and therefore that he prepare himself to afflictions. For if thou wilt do thine office rightly, thou must of necessity suffer many things. And he addeth: No man going on warfare entangleth himself with the business of this life. For both in the Code and in the Digests, Soldiers are commanded to leave both the trade of Merchandise and also husbandry, to

the intent they may always do that which they are commanded. But how much rather must this be intended of the Ecclesiastical function? In holy services the Crier was wont to proclaim: Do this: to the intent the Priest might understand, that he ought wholly to be occupied in holy things. The office of a good Pastor is no slight thing, which may be executed without singular diligence and attention. None shall be Crowned (saith Paul) but he that hath striven lawfully: that is, he that hath done even so much as the law commandeth. And Paul in another place: Our weapons (saith he) be not carnal but the power of God, to cast down every high thing that advanceth itself against God. This is the armor that must be committed unto Ministers. Howbeit if an enemy upon the sudden besiege the City, and hath even now laid siege to the walls, the Minister of the Church may rightly take Arms and repel violence, and do that which becometh a good Citizen. Notwithstanding when other soldiers shall come, he must retire himself to his office. But this will the Bishops never grant. For if any man perhaps shall kill an enemy, him they account for irregular. And for the proof hereof they allege (forsooth) the fact and example of David. God saith unto him: Thou canst not build a Temple unto me because thou hast shed blood. Behold (say they) he is forbidden to build the temple because of blood justly shed. Howbeit these things are mere trifles: for that temple was a shadow of the Church. And because Christ built his Church not by violence or by blood, therefore God would have his temple to be built not by David but by Solomon the peaceable king. Moreover Solomon in himself did shadow Christ. But Christ gathered unto himself men that came not against their wills, but a willing people. For that cause God made this answer unto David. And whereas they say that this must be understood of blood justly shed by David, it is false. Nay it ought rather to be understood of the

betraying of Uriah, and of those soldiers which were slain together with him. This fact although God had forgiven David before, yet would he appoint some discipline for it. But let these men which be so sharp and witty tell me, whether Peter, when he slew Ananias and Sapphira, or Paul, when he had blinded Elimas, were made irregular. Or else if they were not from that time forward exercised in the office of Apostles.

12. But in a Camp there be, and ought to be Ministers, howbeit, not to fight but to instruct the soldiers, and to minister the Sacraments if need require. In *Deuteronomium* God commanded the Priests to be in the Camp, who should sound with the Trumpets. And when as Ministers do teach virtues and the worshipping of God, they may often put men in remembrance of those things which pertain unto the end. And if the Prince be over-slack, they may stir him up unto virtue, and utter this saying unto him: The Lord commandeth that evil should be taken away from among the people. Joiada, a good high priest preserved Joash the king, and when he was now grown to be a young man, he created him king, and by just battle chased away Athaliah, although that he fought not with his own hand. Yet notwithstanding Moses together with his Levites slue a great number of idolaters. And Samuel slue Agag. But these things because they were particular must not be drawn in example. Howbeit, whether Bishops have the right of both swords, I will speak nothing in this place. Only this one thing I will say, that it is not convenient, seeing they cannot be fit for both functions. But the Assamonites thou wilt say, held both the head bishopric and the kingdom. I answer, in that they delivered their Country and preserved Religion, they are to be praised: But in that they would retain unto themselves the kingdom, I allow it not: seeing they usurp another man’s right. For the promise of the kingdom was made to the Tribe of

Judah, and to the house of David. Hostiensis in this matter is altogether of my mind, and addeth at the last: Let the laws say, let the Canons decree, let men cry out as much as they will, yet will our Clergy men be warriors. And assuredly, ever since the times of Adrian the Pope, which called Charles the Great into Italy, the Bishops and Cardinals have never ceased from wars.

13. But the war of mercenary soldiers is for many causes disallowed. First seeing such soldiers do without a cause put themselves in danger. For if the war be unjust, and that unknown unto the people, subjects may be excused, but those men cannot, insomuch as they cannot pretend an obedience: because they are not led with obedience, but with covetousness. Further unless that these men would so easily run to the Drums, many wars would not so rashly be taken in hand, nor be so long continued. Moreover they bring to pass that their Country is ill reported of, and is hated of other nations. For it must needs be, that he which taketh harm be aggrieved. Also they are lavish of their own life which had been meet for them to have saved. Furthermore they leave their own vocations, their wives, their children, their families, and have a care of other men's. Also they wast the strength of their own country, since it is not credible, that all they which go forth do return home. Besides, it is a thing of most wicked example: For after a sort they sell their own life, not for justice sake, but for money. And yet would not Abraham take any part of the pray from the king of Sodom, whom he had mightily holpen. He thought it to be sufficient, that he had delivered Lot. Moreover (which is a special point of unrighteousness) they hurt them of whom they were never hurt: so as the poor wretches whose towns and fields they waste and spoil, may cry out: Wherefore do you these injuries unto us? What have we deserved at your hands? Have you so great leisure from your own business, as you will destroy other men's? Add

withal, that such soldiers do return home much worse than they went forth. For they imitate whatsoever they perceive to be done naughtily and licentiously among other Nations, and when they be returned home, they infect their own country. Yet nevertheless, I blame not honest leagues, made between near neighbors, but yet so, as the cause of the war should be considered, whether it be just or unjust. Further that they assist one another to repel an unjust force, or unclean, not for to make war for their own pleasure. But by this means (will they say) a commonweal shall be unskillful of warlike affairs. Howbeit, it is not the part of Godly men so to think: For who were ever less exercised than the Hebrews, when they went out of Egypt? Yet was God present with them, and having destroyed the warlike Nations, he brought them into the land which he had promised. But that rule of Paul must still be retained: We must do no evil, that good may come of it. So, many mischiefs must not be suffered, that thereby we may have better exercised soldiers. Possidonius in the life of Augustine the 27th chapter saith, that he in his writings would never commend them which went to war in any place of their own accord, although he used oftentimes to entreat for other naughty men. But Plato would have wars to be common unto women as well as all other exercises. But we judge out of the word of God that the same is not lawful. For it behooveth them to tend to their household, and especially to have regard unto chastity. Yet if a very great necessity of the commonwealth require, they may help the soldiers, either in gathering of stones, or in carrying of earth unto Bulwarks: but unto the ordinary warfare, they ought not to endeavor themselves.

14. Now as touching the Arguments of our adversaries. The first four, or five, seem to be of one sort, and may be confuted with one answer. First we must note, that the Scribes and Pharisees had corrupted the law of God,

wherefore Christ restored the law to a perfectness, and rejected the inventions and traditions of them. For he teacheth nothing contrary to his faith, neither is the law repugnant unto the Gospel. And he seemeth to set forth two things: First that we should love, and secondly, that we should help even our enemy. These things in very deed they say are peculiar to the New Testament. But they are far deceived, seeing God commanded these things in the Old Testament. For in the 19th of Leviticus: Thou shalt not seek (saith he) revenge, neither shalt thou remember the injuries of the children of thy people. Yea, and in the 22nd chapter of *Deuteronomium*, we are commanded to do well, even unto our enemy. If thou meet (saith he) with a stray Ox of thine enemy, bring the same to him again. If thou see his Ass fallen down under his burden, help with him to heave up. Wherefore Christ only revoketh the true meaning of the law, which the Pharisees had corrupted. So then there is no repugnancy between the law and the Gospel, seeing we are of both commanded to love our enemies. Also the law and the Gospel agree as concerning the public authority of the sword. For the law saith: An eye for an eye. Again: Thou shalt take away evil from among the people. In these words the sword is committed to the Magistrate. The same thing doth Paul teach unto the Romans: He beareth not the sword in vain: for he is God's revenger. And Peter in the 2nd chapter: To the punishments (saith he) of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well. But to punish (thou wilt say) and to forgive be contraries, whereof the law teacheth the one, and the Gospel the other. If thou well mark them, thou shalt perceive that they be no contraries. For the one pertaineth to a private man, the other unto the Magistrate. Be it so that the Magistrate forbiddeth by an edict, that Citizens shall not use weapons, will he therefore take away weapons from officers of punishments? I suppose not. Even so Christ, when

he taketh away from men the endeavor of revenge, doth not unarm the Magistrate. For Christ in that place instructed the Apostles whom he meant not to make Magistrates, but to send them into the world, as sheep among Wolves. Wherefore he teacheth them what they were to look for. And all they which will live godly in Jesus Christ, must suffer persecution. But as touching the Magistrate, he spake in another place. Neither must those things be rashly confounded one with another. Further Christ spake after the manner of the people, and used a figurative speech. And those things so spoken do (I know not how) more pierce the minds of the hearers: Because, If one shall give thee a blow on the right cheek, is a figure. That did Augustine think in his 6th Epistle to Marcellinus. For as concerning the letter, it is absurd (saith he) that no other part of the body should be understood but the right cheek. For what if he first give a blow upon the left cheek? Now hast thou not another left cheek which thou mayest lay before him. But the meaning of Christ is, that we should not seek revenge, and that he expressed in that figure. Neither in very deed is the other Cheek always to be offered. For by such patience should the obstinacy of thine enemy oftentimes be stirred up the more, and so shouldest thou give an occasion unto evil, which thou oughtest to diminish as much as thou mayest. Then we are to see what Christ would and meant. And undoubtedly Luke spake neither of the right nor left, but only of the Cheek. Chrysostom saith that Christ in those words comprehended all kind of injuries which are done by striking. For what if one do strike thy head or thy shoulders, is not the selfsame patience required of thee? Christ in like manner saith: If a man say to his brother, thou fool, he is worthy of hell fire. What if he call him ass, or knave, doth he not seem to deserve the self-same thing? But as I have said:

Christ in few words would comprehend all kind of injuries. Yet these be expressed by name, because they were the chief.

15. Of this matter Augustine entreated somewhat largely against Faustus that Manichie in the 22nd book the 79th chapter. We in the holy Scriptures have in part Commandments, and in part Histories and things done. And albeit that things done do not always express the law of God, yet do they seem oftentimes not obscurely to declare the strength thereof. But who was ever a perfect observer of the law, if Christ himself, if Paul and the Prophets were not? Nevertheless, Christ when he received a blow upon the Cheek, offered not the other, nay rather he blamed him that did it. If I have spoken evil (saith he) bear witness of evil, but if I have spoken well, why strikest thou me? Neither did Paul offer the other Cheek, but said: God strike thee, thou painted wall. Thou sittest here judging after the law, and against the law commandest me to be stricken? And Micah, when he had declared unto Ahab the success of the war, he received a blow of Zedekiah the false Prophet, and yet undoubtedly did not he offer his other Cheek: but, Then shalt thou perceive (said he) how thou canst escape, when thou shalt go from Chamber to Chamber to hide thee. And because the Manichies were delighted with the books of Apocrypha, he cited against them the Gospel of Thomas, not that he esteemed the same to be of so much authority, but because it was very often cited by them. And thus it is written: Thomas being at a banquet, a certain servitor gave him a blow, and Thomas straightway answered, Let God be avenged of thee. The same servant afterward going to fetch water, was held and slain by a Lion, and his hand wherewith he had stricken Thomas, was brought by a Dog into the banquet: a manifest token of God's revenge. Wherefore these things (saith he) must not be referred to the letter, but to the preparation of the mind. So likewise

ought we to be settled in mind, to be willing unto all things, if we shall think that those will make to the glory of God, or to the salvation of him that doth the injury. But if he through our patience become the worse, those things in very deed we ought not to do, but only to retain them in the mind. For so was Christ prepared in mind, even then when he rebuked that servant. And in his time, he suffered all contumelies and injuries, and the cross itself. And Paul although he somewhat sharply answered the high priest, yet afterward writeth unto the Corinthians, And I gladly give and offer up myself for you all. He who in the first Epistle to the Corinthians had excommunicated a man committing incest, in the latter Epistle is the cause that the selfsame man is received with all gentleness. And he that was so hard against his brethren, would even for the very same people become accursed. And Moses, although he had so hardly entreated his brethren, yet said he: Either spare them O God, or else blot me out of thy book. Also Christ although he gave not the other cheek, yet upon the Cross he said, Forgive them, for they know not what they do. Wherefore if we see amongst us, the word of God to be smitten and to have injuries done unto it, that must we in no wise dissemble: or if our good name be hindered, without which there can be no authority of our doctrine, that must we by all means defend. I know there have been some which said, that more perfecter commandments were given unto us than unto the Jews: But Christ in very deed meant nothing else but to confute the traditions of the Pharisees.

16. Resist not evil, that doeth Chrysostom thus expound: Resist not with any evil thing, as if so be, Evil, were the ablative case. For fire (saith he) is not quenched with fire, but with water. Others expound it more absolutely: that we must not resist injuries with private authority, or to seek revenge. And it is Evil, that hurteth either the body, or the goods, or a man’s good

name. The same thing it is, which is said in another place: Revenge evil for evil unto no man. But all those things must be understood with this exception: So they make to the glory of God and salvation of thy neighbor. And that there must be an exception doubtless understood in these words, it appeareth by the examples and doings of Christ and of his Apostles, and even for the self-same cause that Christ, when he had taught that the cheek must be offered, yet added after: If they persecute you in one city, fly you into another. Further in Luke he thus admonisheth: To everyone that shall ask of thee, give. But if thou shouldest so do, thou wouldest in short space leave thyself nothing wherewith to maintain thy family. Therefore Paul added an exception: Not that there should be a liberality showed unto others and a penury unto yourselves. Wherefore Christ meant to exclude nothing else but the desire of revenge. And seeing we be certain of the sense, what need we contend about the bare saying? For if we would rather give all things than go to the law, we should do nothing else but increase the boldness of naughty lewd fellows. Howbeit if we be oppressed either with violence or with the iniquity of the judge, we ought rather to give all than to depart from right perfection. Julianus, Celsus, Porphyrius, and others, when they understood not these things, cried out, that the doctrine of Christ made to the overthrowing of Commonwealths. But those men (as I have said) being blinded with malice, understood nothing. The saying of Christ is, that we should not regard the injuries done unto us, yet not so as we should abandon all that we have unto pray and spoil. Give place unto wrath: that is to wit, The wrath of God. We ought to know, that God will revenge our injuries, and that we must not take upon us his office. But God will declare his wrath, either by himself, or by the Magistrate. Christ said unto Peter, Put up thy sword, and that justly: for Peter both was a private man and was

moved with an ill spirit. To me belongeth revenge, and I will recompense. God saith, that revenge belongeth unto him, and that he would do the same, either by himself or by the Magistrate. Wherefore he would not have us to curse, or call for revenge, but rather to desire this, that the minds of evil men may be changed: for that there is no peril at all though they become the prouder, seeing God himself will take our cause upon him. Judge ye not and ye shall not be judged. This must we specially understand, that Christ did not utterly take away all kind of judgment: for to judge in that place, is to condemn. But there be some which note all the sayings and doings of other men, and certainly they do not that for the amending but rather for the slandering of them, and that they themselves may seem the better: or else because they be delighted with slandering. This doth Christ reprehend, because it proceedeth of hatred, envy, pride, and it bringeth forth very ill fruits. That this was the meaning of Christ, it appeareth by that which followeth: Cast the beam out of thine own eye, and take the mote out of thy brothers eye. For we find it everywhere, that it is not lawful to condemn those things which we see nowhere condemned in the scriptures: seeing if I condemn open theft or adultery, I condemn it not but God. Why doest thou judge another man's servant? Paul speaketh not there of judging sin, but of indifferent things which thou mayest use both well and ill, such are meat and drink. For men oftentimes of a pride so judge of those things, as they condemn that for a most grievous crime which is mean and indifferent.

17. Christ would not have the Cockle to be taken away: therefore (say they) it is not lawful either to war or to use the sword. This place unto some seemeth ambiguous and doubtful, but if we understand that parable without exception, we shall leave no place no not for excommunication: which nevertheless the Anabaptists do specially urge. Wherefore they are both

ways confuted. What then is the meaning? I will declare. There is no entreating in that place of the office of the Minister, or Magistrate, but only of the state and condition which should afterward be of the Church: to wit, that the same should always have Cockle mingled with wheat, good fishes with evil, the foolish Virgins with the wise, and that the Cockle shall so remain, as it can never by any help of man be taken away. But the goodman of the house commandeth, Let them not be rooted up: Therefore evil men must not be taken away by the sword. I answer that parables must not be urged unto all parts, otherwise we should fall into many absurdities. The unjust Steward is commended in a parable. Here if thou wilt present and urge all parts, thou must of necessity say that purloining servants, which waste and convey their Masters goods are to be commended. That parable therefore must only be considered of that one part which Christ meant. For otherwise The Magistrate is commanded, to take away evil from among the people. And Paul unto the Corinthians admonisheth, That the leaven should be purged. But it happeneth oftentimes that sins cannot be proved, or if they can, yet in that they are public and spread abroad, they cannot be taken away. Wherefore Christ warneth, that although this happen sometime, yet we must not despair: For it will come to pass that at the last they shall be taken away by Angels. Yet in the meantime he plucketh not away the sword from the Magistrate, but that it shall be lawful for him to exercise his office as much as he can. But the Magistrate (say they) when he punisheth the guilty man with death, leaveth no place for repentance: therefore he ought not to use the sword. Howbeit this is too too foolish. For if it be never lawful to use the sword, why is it given? Is it given to the intent it should be always hidden in the scabbard? Or why doeth Paul call him the revenger unto wrath? And as to that which they speak of repentance, they have space

enough, even then at that instant when they shall perceive themselves that they must now be executed. For the Thief repented even upon the Cross: And many at this day, which can hardly seem to be revoked any other way, yet by these means are chastised and return to themselves. We ought to judge in any wise for a certainty, that the elect what time soever they die, they never die without repentance.

18. But the king sending his Army destroyed them which despised to come to the marriage. That king (say they) is God, and his host be the Angels. Wherefore the Magistrate must not put himself among them. Yea but the host of God not only be Angels but also Magistrates. For so was the power of Nebuchadnezzar called the host of God. And truly seeing the people held in contempt and scorned the sayings of the Prophets, and after a sort would not come to the marriage, God sent against them his host: that is, Nebuchadnezzar with an incredible multitude of soldiers. So afterward, he sent against them the Romans. At this day also when the holy preachings are contemned, God stirreth up cruel Princes and Tyrants, which may be called the hosts of God. From whence at this day do so many wars arise, but because ungrateful men neglect the word of God and despise salvation offered? It is not lawful (say they) to go to the law, but that is a certain pleading war, therefore much less is it lawful to war: for that this is joined with a great deal more bitterness. Surely Paul did not utterly take away all judgments: only those he took away which were exercised by Christians at the judgment places of Ethnic Princes. Nay rather (say they) he wholly revoketh them from going to the law. For he saith: Why do you not rather sustain loss, why do you not rather suffer injury? That doeth Paul therefore say, because men are seldom wont to go to the law with a quiet mind. Howbeit if a convenient means be offered, whereby thou mayest attain to

thine own, thou not only mayest, but oftentimes also oughtest to sue at the law. Only must hatred and the bitterness of enmities be laid away: seeing otherwise it appeareth sufficiently out of Paul himself that it is lawful to contend at the law. For he warneth that the poorer sort of men in the Church should be chosen, which may be acquainted with the causes of their brethren. But ridiculous are the expositions of the Sorbonistes and Sophisters which say, that these things belong not unto precepts but unto Counsels: for when they say these things, they exclude and disable all the power of the commandments of God. Undoubtedly when Christ thus speaketh, Yield also thy Cloak, offer thy left cheek, I came not to break the law but to fulfill it, he showeth himself not to give Counsels but precepts. But afterward he also said more plainly: He that shall break one (not of the Counsels) but of the least of these commandments: Again, It was said (saith he) of old time, But I say unto you. These be words of commanding not of counseling.

19. Christ saith: My peace I give unto you, therefore it is not lawful to make war. If we will thoroughly understand this place, we must know, what is peace among the Hebrews. *Schelom* signifieth a happy success of things: and so were they wont to salute one another. Also Christ departing out of the earth did so salute his Disciples. And that far otherwise (saith he) than the world is wont to give peace: For men can only pray for peace, and for all good things, I will give those things in deed. But if we would have that word to signify true peace, undoubtedly Christ left unto us the peace of conscience. He also left peace unto men among themselves. These things serve nothing unto the Magistrate or unto the sword. Paul said: Having peace with all men. But he added two exceptions, So much as lieth in you: and, If it may be. And I verily think that there is no Magistrate, but cometh

to the sword against his will. Nero himself when he was to subscribe to a sentence of death, I would wish (saith he) that I could not write: yet are they driven of necessity to use the sword. They shall turn their spears into spades. This place also do the Jews object against us. Where is your Messias, (say they) seeing ever since the time that ye began to worship him, ye have had experience of more wars than ever before? But the wretched men understand not that the Prophets mind in that place was to commend the doctrine and institution of Christ. For if we could be all such as Christ taught us to be, there would be no need of sword: since no man would commit anything, for the which he should be punished with death. Howbeit because there is always some Cockle among the wheat of the Lord, therefore is there need of a Magistrate. But if so be that the Church shall never be thoroughly purged, to what end belongeth that promise of turning Speares in Spades? I answer: It ought to be sufficient for us, if we have in this life some beginning of felicity. For even now also, amongst men which be true Christians, there is no need of the sword: But that promise shall be fulfilled in all respects at the second coming of Christ. And in this very time how many of us soever do worship God truly, do live in such sort, as wars are not stirred up by us. And that Christ was the Author of this peace, thereby it appeareth, that when he was born, the Temple of Ianus was shut up at Rome: for he would have that appear to be a token of his coming. Paul unto the Ephesians saith, that Our weapons be spiritual. True it is in so much as we are Christians: but because we not only are Christians, but also men, therefore neither Paul nor Christ would pluck away the sword from the Magistrate. Our wrestling is not against flesh and blood. That saying must be understood, by comparison, as must also many other places of the scriptures, in which things somewhat is denied, not in all respects, but only

by a comparison. Paul unto the Corinthians saith: Christ sent not me to Baptize. What then? When he baptized, did he anything besides his vocation? No verily, neither was this his meaning: but he meant that he was chiefly sent to teach the Gospel. Even so, this wrestling with flesh and blood, is none at all, if it be compared with that spiritual blessing.

20. Also Tertullian, a very ancient writer in his book *De Corona militis*, seemeth to make for the adversaries. He saith that it is not the part of Christians to make war, and this distinction he useth: If thou have already taken a soldiers oath when thou receivest baptism, depart not from warfare: but if thou shalt then be free, bind not thyself. This distinction is not good. For if war in his own nature be evil, what time soever thou gavest thy name thou must depart: for an unjust covenant made, must straightway be broken, so soon as ever thou understandest the same to be unjust. Howbeit, Tertullian entreateth not of every warfare, but of that only wherein soldiers were driven to Idolatry, to the services of the God's, to eat things dedicated unto Idols, and to wear crowns. Unto this kind of warfare, Tertullian exhorteth that the Christians should not come. But and if so be they were found in those at the time of Baptism, they should remain in their state: yet so, as they should do none of those things which we have spoken of, but rather that they should offer themselves unto Martyrdom. And undoubtedly, many soldiers became Martyrs for that cause. And that which he saith, that thou must not depart from the vocation of a soldier, if Christ shall find thee therein: and that if thou be free, thou must not come thereunto, may be declared by an example. Paul when he saith: If a man have a wife that is an Infidel, which he married before he was a Christian, and she will dwell together with him, she must not be rejected: but if he have already given his name unto Christ, he must not in any wise marry with an Infidel. Tertullian

altogether seemeth to exclude nothing else than voluntary and mercenary warfare. For otherwise to say that a Christian ought not to obey the Magistrate, if he be called unto wars, is very madness. And indeed, it ought not to be marveled at, if Tertullian erred in this thing, for he was inclined to the Montanistes, and judged not rightly as concerning flying away in time of persecution.

21. And seeing the question concerneth the causes of wars, and whether wars may justly or unjustly be taken in hand: some will make war whether it be by right or by wrong, and othersome for turning of the same away, will receive even most dishonest and unjust conditions. But Hezekiah by his example, and that in his own self taught that all this deliberation must be revoked to the judgment of God: forsomuch as all those things which happened unto him in war, he referred unto Isaiah as to a most holy interpreter of the judgment of God. Then to let him understand that the chief care of that matter was in him, he sent even them which standing face to face, both saw and heard Rabsacke, that if Isaiah would demand anything else, they might declare it all unto him. Furthermore, war is not of the kind of those things which are to be desired for their own sakes. For in such manner of things, there is no measure to be put, seeing overmuch cannot be there where nothing is enough. For no man at any time either regarded virtue too much, or two much loved God. But those things which are prepared for the cause of other things, especially if they have great damage joined with them, ought some way to be tempered by reason. But war is a cruel thing, and (as Cicero said) the Latin word *Bellum*, hath his name of *Belluis*, that is, cruel beasts. For it is the property of cruel beasts, so to rage with themselves, and to tear one another. Neither can a war be justly enough made, unless it be taken in hand for another thing. And that other thing is,

that safe peace may be kept. Insomuch as peace is not ordained for war sake, but war is taken in hand for peace sake. And of this thing we may have a similitude of our own bodies. For who would so live, as he should perpetually wrestle against diseases. Wherefore war is made for peace sake, not that we should therein abuse leisure, and give ourselves to lust, but that we may sincerely and quietly worship God. And by this reason Plato reproved the laws which Minos and Lycurgus made, because they provided so many things touching warfare, as though the principal point of the Commonwealth consisted in making of war. For an active, wise, and valiant manner of warfare cannot but move fear, and bring great loss to the enemies. Which thing Polibius showing the cause teacheth: Neither in deed is it to be thought that the manner of warfare importeth not much, seeing only in the same we see, that those things which seemed impossible to be done, are easily brought to pass: and again those things which seemed easy to be done, cannot be performed: And according to the manner, they that do things differ among themselves, so as some may seem to be advised, others unadvised: some witty, others foolish: others slow and idle, and others industrious and apt to everything.

22. The unspeakable losses which unto the king himself and also unto all the people are brought by wars, ought to warn even private men to pray unto God, that he will set over them such Princes, as be godly, wise, modest, and favorers of peace: and that by their travel and endeavor he will keep and maintain them in a peaceable and quiet state. And seeing it so greatly behooveth us to have good and godly Princes, it is necessary that we should be no less careful of their safety than of our own. And we must take special regard, that neither we ourselves do stir up new matters, nor yet that we sooth princes when they go about to do anything covetously, or

ambitiously, much less to encourage them thereunto by flattery. But if by dissuading from unjust and unnecessary wars, we shall nothing prevail, yet at the leastwise, let us keep our own conscience safe and sound. For even as the Benjamite's with their fornicators, and the Trojans with their adulterous Paris, were punished together: so in a manner all mortal men are wont miserably to be punished with them with whom they have committed sins. Undoubtedly Princes being men, and all men generally which bear rule in any place, ought to look into these glasses, namely, that they consider what, and how great calamities are brought by unnecessary wars stirred up either rashly, or covetously, or unjustly, and for that cause may after some manner prefer peace before war. This peace which both God and men make such an account of Joash being destitute of, could not choose, having lost so great and notable a good thing, but judge himself to be miserable and unhappy. And herein was that misery the greater, because instead of that good thing lost, he received a very great and grievous evil. For war being given in the stead of peace, might take away all the good things that were gotten: because thereby cometh to pass, that all Religion vanisheth away, good laws and customs are abolished, good manners are corrupted, arts are overwhelmed by oblivion, Cities and Towns are overthrown, the fields which were husbanded with great charges and labors; are destroyed, Treasures are forcibly taken away and unmeasurably spent, men are slain, or brought into servitude, women are defiled, or else enter into the yoke of bondage, or else have both evils done unto them. But what evils war may bring with it, the Poets have represented by those things which they attribute unto Mars and Bellona. For they called them both ἀζώνους, that is, as Servius interpreteth, common God's, or else, as it might as well be expounded, unquiet or dissolute, that is, loosed and unbridled from all

bonds of Religion, right, shamefastness, and laws: since in wars men think that whatsoever they lust is lawful. Doubtless they called him θούριον, that is fierce, or violent αἰμοχαρία, a rejoicer in blood, βροτολοιγόν, the destruction of mankind. That Bellona his sister and spouse, is in like manner delighted with the effusion of man's blood, it is proved in that Tertullian in *Apologetico* writeth that his priests lanced themselves with knives, and with their own blood accustomed to pacify him. All which things teach that war is, as it were a certain forge of all evils, and therefore to be reckoned among the most cruel sort of punishments wherewith God punisheth the wicked.

23. Moreover, war when it is once taken in hand requireth infinite courage, power and charges for the maintenance thereof: otherwise all the end thereof dependeth of the will of the conqueror. For which cause, before it be taken in hand, there must be a consideration had of all these things, and in any wise consider (as the Lord hath persuaded in the Gospel) whether our power be equal with the power of our enemies. Which being so, Joash took an Argument, as it were from the less and more easy affaire unto the greater, and more difficult, to this effect: to wit, that if Amazias might not seem to be equal, no not in joining Matrimony with his children, much less he should be able to sustain war begun against him. The things here being compared one with another, then he compared together the events themselves, to wit, that the thistle was trodden down by a beast that passed by. And this comparison is very apt for the purpose: seeing in this beast are notably represented, Soldiers, Armies, Weapons, Instruments and ordinances of war, and such things as are wont to be used in the war. For even as a beast is by no reason but by a rash violence carried to everything that it meeteth, and as neither a mind nor reason, but thirst, hunger, anger,

and lust be his guides: so the enemies darts, ordinance, and instruments of war are not by their own proper motion, but by a certain motion of another, stirred up to the destruction of all men. Yea and the soldiers themselves according as they be a lawless multitude, and at large from the bonds of discipline, they being become dissolute and unruly in the household of Mars, are led much rather by wrath, lust, covetousness, and other affections, than by any right and reason. Here now do I end, but yet so, as that which we shall speak afterward when we entreat of the battle of couples, the same will I here make mention of. To wit, that we must call to mind that we are to war with the devil: in which war there never ought any truces to be made. For he goeth always about roaring, and seeking whom he may devour.

Whether it be lawful for the godly to have peace with the ungodly.

24. This question is now to be discussed and defined, whether it be lawful for godly men to make peace, and to keep it with the ungodly. And me thinketh we may say, that it is lawful: especially if it be concluded for the peaceable defending and keeping of the bounds and borders on either side. Paul saith: As much as lieth in you, have peace with all men. So did the most Christian princes with the barbarous Infidels, in making peace sometime with them. So Jacob in the old time made a league with Laban. So also did the children of Israel with their other neighbors, excepting the vii. Nations. For God commanded them not to make war with all those Nations that dwelled about them. But if thou wilt demand whether it be lawful for the godly, when they take a common expedition in hand, to join their Army and power with the ungodly, that seemeth to be denied: For Jehoshaphat had evil success, when in making of war against Ramoth Gilead he joined himself with the king of Israel. Neither sped the same king luckily, when he sent ships, together with the king of Israel's ships to

Tharsis: insomuch as there arose a tempest in Asehougaber, wherein they suffered shipwreck, and so he lost his Navy. And as it is written in the latter book of Paralipomenon: God by the mouth of his Prophet reproved Jehoshaphat, because he had joined himself with an ungodly king. The Machabites also made league with the Romans and Lacedemonians, but what displeasure they had thereby, their history declareth. But now that we have made the matter plain by examples, let us confirm it also by reasons. This no man can deny, but that in such hosts as consist of the godly, and ungodly together, the sincere Religion and Idolatry are mingled one with another: whereby it easily cometh to pass, (of such weakness is our nature) that the impure do infect them that be holy. And it seldom happeneth, but that some impiety cleaveth unto the children of God. Further when they come to handy strokes, they must call upon God, and when the victory is obtained, they must also give thanks unto God. And in doing of these things, what invocation (I pray you) what Sacrifices, what thanksgiving shall there be? The true God shall be mingled with Belial, Idolatrous rites with lawful rites, and true godliness with superstition. These things undoubtedly displease God. For if he would have things on this sort mingled together, why chose he a peculiar people unto himself? Undoubtedly he did it, that the faithful might live purely by themselves, and worship the true God sincerely. And seeing the matter is so, it is not lawful, confusedly to deal with the ungodly: otherwise the order which God hath appointed should be troubled.

25. A man might peradventure say, that Abraham made league with Abner, Escol and Mambre, and with their aid took in hand an expedition, wherein he delivered Lot his kinsman who was led away captive. But they which object this example, where find they that these men were Idolaters? I

undoubtedly do not see that it can be gathered by the holy Scriptures. I rather suppose that they were worshippers of the true God. For God said unto Abraham, that he would not straightways give unto him the land of the Canaanites, because the sins of that Nation were not yet at the full. Wherefore it is not absurd to say that those three men were yet there, and did worship the true God simply. Forasmuch as we know assuredly, that Melchizedek also was in those regions, who blessed Abraham and was the priest of the most high God. But admit that they were Idolaters as these men will have them: shall that which was lawful by a certain special prerogative unto Abraham, be straightway counted lawful unto all men to do it justly and without punishment? I think not. Furthermore we must mark, that the Commonwealth of the Jews was not yet ordained. And Abraham alone could not dwell among the Canaanites without some covenants or leagues made with them. Whereunto thou mayest add, that God had not yet given a law wherein he specially forbad anything as touching this matter.

26. But if a prince or Christian public-wealth (as sometimes it chanceth) should be in danger, may they desire help at the hands of Infidels? They may not. For, if Paul will rather have us to suffer wrong and hurt, than that we should go to the judgment seat of the Infidels, when we are at controversy with our brethren, how much less is it lawful to use the help of the ungodly to deliver us from other Christians which unjustly oppress us? I know that Asa king of Judah, sent money, Gold and silver unto Benhadab king of Syria, to make war against the king of Samaria, that thereby he might be delivered from him, which in a manner oppressed him. Howbeit I do not think that the Act of this king (though it had good success) is to be followed, seeing he was reproved of God for it. And though it be not expressed in the book of Kings, yet in Paralip. it is manifestly described.

For there we read that the prophet was purposely sent of God unto Asa the king to reprove him grievously for this his act. Yea and there is another notable example of this sort written in the same book: namely that Amasia did hire against the Edomites, 100 thousand Israelites, which the prophet in the name of God grievously reprehended and commanded that he should put away the Israelitish soldiers from his host, because the will and good pleasure of God was utterly from them. The king answered unto the Prophet: But now I have given them a hundredth Talents for their stipend. The man of God answered, that the Lord could aptly and easily repay him as many Talents: and that for so small a loss he should not suffer Idolaters which were hated of God to be in his camp. I will not tell how often the Jews were forbidden by the Prophets that they should not require help of the Egyptians, or of the Assyrians.

27. But it is a worthy thing for Princes and people to note, that when God was angry, neither dens, nor caves, nor most strong Castles, could help the miserable Israelites. For sinners must not only take heed of outward enemies, but they must chiefly avoid the anger of God. From the which, undoubtedly no man can escape by caves, dens, or munitions. And as long as that endureth, these human helps do not defend from outward enemies. But if any man will not believe this, let him call to remembrance the breadth of the walls of Ecbatanus: which, as it is written in the book of Judith the first Chapter, was thirty foot broad, and seventy foot high, and had in it a hundredth Towers: and yet all those things could not withstand them which besieged it. And of Babylon also it is written, that the walls of it was a hundredth foot in height, and fifty foot in breadth. And it is said to have been so large, as it might have been a province rather than a City: and yet it was conquered and utterly overthrown. These their horns are erected

against God. These things lead unto desperation the afflicted which think not upon God: as though Tyrants by whom they be oppressed, could never be plucked out of so strong and well fenced places. Nevertheless in the Prophet Habakkuk such mad building is wonderfully laughed to scorn by the spirit of God. And Abdia in the name of God threateneth the children of Esau, that their nest should be thrown down to the ground howsoever it seemed unto them that they had set it in heaven. But what more notable example need we seek for, than that Tower, which forthwith after the flood men began to build, as though they would defend themselves against God, if he should go about again to destroy the world with waters. But God from heaven laughed to scorn their mad furiousness, as it is largely set forth in the Book of Genesis. God wanteth no excellent devises. For first from such as so much trust to munitions, when they have now a sit occasion to use them, he is accustomed to take away the courage's and all cheerfulness from the hardy, and so to strike them with folly, that he utterly maketh them void of wisdom. Wherefore he weakeneth their hearts, and their strength faileth them: yea and they seem to be made afraid and very sore abashed, even of the very stones, beams and walls of their Castles. I might here easily show things which have in our age happened, but that I must have respect to be brief. Read the 2nd chapter of Habakkuk. What then? Are not Cities and Castles to be fenced? I forbid it not. But I would have Princes which in such sort do build, first to be ascertained of this: to wit, that no things created can defend or succor men, unless with them be joined that power of God, whereby with his beck he ruleth and governeth the world. The which when he withdraweth, whatsoever men go about or enterprise, the contrary altogether happeneth. And even as out of bread, wine, and other meats, we ought not to look for nourishment, if God withdraw to

himself that power and operation of his which he daily ministereth to those things: so also without it, there is no defense to be had by walls, nor by most strong Castles. For which cause, before we begin any munitions, we must put our confidence in God, and lay the most profitable foundation of holy prayers, and pray to God to keep us chiefly in true and sincere godliness, to call us back from sins, and to give us continually a sound repentance. Lastly we must desire, that when a just and holy man shall have need of defenses, he will vouchsafe to give unto him that his most mighty and healthful power. The very which prayers, we must use both in meat, drink, apparel, or any other thing when we begin to receive them.

Of Spials.

28. The first espial we have in the Book of Numbers the 13th chapter. Another happened under Joshua, when those two searched the City of Jericho, whom Rahab the harlot kept with great faithfulness. And the third is that finally which is spoken of in the Book of Judges the first chapter, ver. 24. Howbeit I am not ignorant that Joseph in the Book of Genesis laid to his brethren's charge, that they were espies. But the office or work of spies (as Chrysostom saith, expounding these words of Paul in the second Chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians: That there were false brethren entered to espy out our liberty) is to know the doings of the adversaries, that they and theirs, may have the easier entrance to conquer or repulse them. Now we understand that it is an Action, and we see to what end it is ordained. Moreover it cometh from enemies and from the mind of an adversary, but it is done privily and craftily. As it is lawful to fight with enemies by force and Arms, when war is justly taken in hand, so is it just to use the art and subtlety of espials. Whereupon Jerome upon the 27th chapter of Ezekiel saith, that espialship is an indifferent thing: namely which a man may use

both well and ill. Moses and Joshua used it well: and also the house of Joseph. If so be that the war be unjust, the espialship serving thereunto must needs be unjust also. Wherefore the brethren of Joseph, (when he said unto them: By the life of Pharaoh, ye be spies) did put away that from them as an injury or a reproach. But the punishment of spies, (if they be taken) is all one with the punishment wherewith enemies are punished, when they fall into the hands of their enemies. For it forceth not whether a man fight with weapons, or by subtlety and craft. Wherefore they must be of a valiant courage, which for the common profit adventure their life in making espial: since it is not every man's work to be a good spy. Josephus writeth, that the spies which were sent by Joshua were Geometricians: because it behooved that they should know well the situation of the land of Canaan. And Homer affirmeth Ulysses and Diomedes to be spies, which otherwise were noble men. Paul the Apostle in the Epistle to the Galatians, the place before alleged, in the second Chapter, very well translated the work of an espial, to the contentions of Religion. Where he writeth that there were παρείσακτοι, that is, certain spies among the false brethren, which παρεισῆλθον crept in, κατασκοπῆσαι, to espy out our liberty: as though he should say: They subtly sought and searched out our mind, to the intent they might overthrow the same, and made search with great diligence, whether they that were with us kept uncircumcision. That was to espy out the liberty of the Church, to wit, that thereby they might overthrow the Christians.

Of Treason.

29. This place putteth me in mind to speak somewhat of Treason. And it is a question whether it be at any time lawful, or whether it be always forbidden. Jerome *De optimo genere interpretandi, unto Pammachius*, saith that Princes do in very deed admit Treason, but they condemn the traitors.

Whereunto agreeth the saying of Antigonus the king: I love Traitors, so long as they are in betraying, but when they have betrayed I hate them. Plutarch reporteth the same of Rhimotalchus, king of the Thracians, who fell from Anthony to Augustus, and after his victory, boasted of the same among his cups, and that so insolently, and above measure, as Augustus, turning him to his friend, said of him: I love the treason, but the Traitor I commend not. Which sentence though it seem plausible, and just at the first sight, yet ought it not to be accounted either true or wise: for if wise men will allow and praise any action, they must also praise and allow the Author thereof. Neither doth any man lawfully unto others that which he would not suffer himself. And there is no mortal man that would have either himself or his to be betrayed. Furthermore one Lasthenes, when he had betrayed his Country Olynthus to the Macedonians, and thought that for the same he should have been had in honor of them, it happened far otherwise unto him. For he was by the soldiers called Traitor everywhere throughout the Camp. Wherefore he grievously complained thereof to Philip the king: who made him answer, that his Macedonians were very rude and rustical people, which knew not how to call things by any other name, than by their own and proper name. They call (saith he) a boat, a boat. This was as if he had answered: Seeing thou art such a one, thou oughtest not to be called by any other name. Asconius Paedianus, upon the second against Verres saith, that to betray, is worse than to besiege. For the enemies besiege (saith he) and it ought not to be counted a vice in them: but they betray which would seem to be friends, and ought to be such in deed towards us. And therefore when they depart from their duty, they sin far more grievously than do the other. Jerome also in the place now alleged *De optimo genere interpretandi unto Pammachius*, showeth how Theodosius the Emperor, put to death Hesychius a man that

had been Consul, because he opened the letters of Gamaliel the Patriarch. Neither was that any marvel; for that with the Romans it was death to open the secrets of any man, as we have it in the *Digestes De re militari*, in the law *Omne*, in Paragraph the 2nd. And in the Code *De Commercijs & mercaturis l. 2.* And in the *Digestes Ad Legem Juliam Maiestatis*, in the laws the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, he that had forsaken any munition committed to his charge, fell into the crime of treason.

30. The example of Camillus also is worthy to be noted, who commanded that the Schoolmen of the children of the Phaliscians should be brought home again into his Country with the stripes of his own scholars, because he would have betrayed them. In like manner the Physician of Pyrrhus, which promised unto the Romans that for their sakes, he would destroy his king, was by them detected to the king, to the intent he might the better beware of them. Whereby peace followed between Pyrrhus and the Romans. Isaiah in the 16th chapter, doeth therefore vehemently rebuke the Moabites, because they had so cruelly entreated the Israelites, when they were oppressed by their enemies, and admonished them, not to betray the Jews flying unto them at the same time. And Paul writeth in the latter Epistle to Timothy, that in the latter times there should be men corrupted, with most grievous crimes: among which he reckoneth Traitors also. Besides this, the Citizens are sworn unto the Magistrates, to defend the City or public-wealth when need shall require. And though they were not sworn, yet the natural and common law requireth the same of them. And this do the members of all living things testify, which do willingly and most readily endanger themselves for the body, and for the nobler parts thereof, I mean the head or heart. The very which thing Citizens are by the laws of nature

bound to do for their country, if it be in danger. Wherefore if they should betray it, they cannot be excused but that they sin most grievously.

31. But before we go any further, it seemeth good to define what Treason is. *Prodere* in Latin, which is to betray, seemeth (so much as belongeth to this matter) to have three significations. Namely, to lay open, to deceive, and to deliver. Treason therefore is an action, whereby through guile, bewraying, or delivering, our neighbors or their goods are hurt, and that specially by them, which ought rather to have defended the same. But there be many kinds of Treason. For they do betray, which do by subtle guile detect the faults of their brethren. Augustine is alleged for this matter, Cause the 2nd, question the first, in the Chapter *Si peccaverit*: Where he saith, Reprove thy brother (whose sin is only known to thee) secretly: For if thou shalt do it before all men, thou shalt not then be a corrector of sin, but a betrayer. Also, he which circumuenteth another, and bringeth him into danger, he betrayeth him. Wherefore Jerome as it is in the 24th Cause, quest. 3, in the Chapter *Transferunt*, saith that the same belongeth principally unto false Prophets and evil Pastors, which by their naughty doctrine and examples destroy the sheep of Christ committed to their charge whom they ought to defend. They are numbered amongst them which deliver up Castles, and munitions unto their enemies. Whereof there is written at large in the 22nd Cause, quest. 5, in the Chapter *De Forma*. They are also counted betrayers, which do detect and open secretes committed unto them, especially such as are of great weight, and bring in danger the life, estimation or goods of their brethren. And this kind is noted in the Title *De poenitentia*, distinct. 6, in the Chapter *Sacerdotes*. Finally Chrysostom upon Matthew the 25th Homily, as it is alleged in the decrees the 11th, quest. the third, and in the Chapter *Nolite timere*: Not only they are said to

betray the truth which in the place of it speak a lie, but they also which do not freely profess the same. Wherefore there be reckoned many ways or kinds of betraying: But we will not now presently speak of them all, only we will touch those kinds which serve for our purpose. Howbeit, this I think good to be added: that some judge that betraying and espialship differ not much one from another: And that it may sometime be, that one man may be a betrayer and a spy. For if any Citizen be corrupted with money by the enemies, the same is both a betrayer of his country, and also doth in the meantime the part of a domestical spy. But this seemeth not to be wisely spoken, because the nature of these things as it appeareth by their definitions doth very much differ, although sometimes they cleave both to one man, so as the same man may both be a betrayer and a spy. Even as Music and Grammar differ much one from another, and yet it oftentimes happeneth, that one man is both a Grammarian and a Musician. Nevertheless, the difference which I have before mentioned, is for the most part observed, although not always, namely, that espialship cometh of enemies, and betraying of them which be amongst us, whom we trust as friends.

32. But to the end we may the plainlier know, whether betraying be at any time lawful, I think it best to call to mind those words which Augustine writeth against the letters of Petilianus the second book and 10th chapter: We may not (saith he) hear the complaints of such as suffer, but seek out the mind of them which are the doers. This the man of God wrote against the Donatists, which accused our men as betrayers and persecutors. But he answereth them, That Paul also delivered up some unto Satan. Whose salvation notwithstanding seemed to be committed to his charge. Howbeit, because he did it of a good intent, namely to teach them that they should not

blaspheme, and that their spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord, he might not be accused either of betraying or treason, because as it is said in the words before rehearsed: the complaints of them which suffer must not be heard, but the mind of the doers. Wherefore, when war or controversy shall happen between any, of which the one part is known to have a just and good cause, if the other part which defendeth the worser cause, and therefore doth unjustly, will by no means be brought to any good or reasonable conditions, surly good men, which perhaps are found on the same side, ought in such sort to help and defend the other part, as they may advance justice. And if it be need, they ought to fall from the unjust to the just men: neither can their betraying be condemned as ill, although before they had been never so great and nigh friends unto them which work unjustly. But now must we speak somewhat of the Israelites cause against the Canaanites, which may be considered of us two manner of ways: Namely, either by the common ordinary law of nature, or else by faith, and by the word of God. Concerning the natural or common law, Epiphanius writeth that the land of Palestine pertained in very deed to the Children of Sem: by occasion whereof, Melchizedek reigned there, which was either Sem himself, or else one of his children. But the Canaanites which came of Cham, passing over the bounds of Egypt and Africa, which were appointed unto them, did cast out of Palestine the sons of Sem: and therefore the Hebrews which were the posterity of Sem, when they required to be restored to the lands of their forefathers, seemed to do it justly and rightfully. Wherefore as he saith: God, both by one and the selfsame work restored unto the Israelites the countries which pertained to their ancestors, and also punished the Canaanites for their wickedness. Howbeit, I cannot easily agree to the opinion of Epiphanius, since the time of prescription was

past very long before: for there had been the space of at the least 500 years between. For which cause, it might not be said that the Canaanites possessed that land unjustly. If we should deal by this reason now in our time, then should there in a manner none be counted a lawful Prince and just possessor, seeing their ancestors came to the possession of those provinces and kingdoms by violence, driving out both the kings and the inhabiters that were in them before. So then the Israelites seemed not to have any just cause by man's law, whereby they might make claim to the land of Palestine, as to their own: neither alleged they any such reason at any time. And yet nevertheless they had good right thereunto, seeing God testified as well by words, as by wonderful works, that he would the Hebrews should have the possession of those Regions to whom (as David hath well said) both the earth and the fullness thereof belongeth. Neither could the Canaanites murmur against the judgment of God, for so much as they were justly cut off from their right, for their sundry and manifold wicked Acts. So as none might in this cause justly defend the Canaanites, if they would cleave to the true God, and believe his words. Whereupon that Luzite which betrayed his Citizens, did it either of faith, as did Rahab in Jericho, or else by a bargain made with man. For the keepers or spies said unto him: We will show thee mercy. If he were stricken with fear, how could that, (as they say) happen unto a constant man? (For he was after a sort a prisoner, and was fallen into the hands of his enemies.) Then was he brought to it by a compact of man, and by that means did he shamefully: because it is not lawful for any man to make any dishonest covenants against his own country. Neither can he be excused in respect of fear: for nothing must be done against justice and conscience what fear soever he should be stricken with. But if he were stirred up thereunto by faith, and for

that he saw his Citizens obstinately to resist the word of God, and his works, then did he well: Neither may his Treason be either disallowed, or else condemned. For no laws, no vows, no covenants or bonds, though they be never so strait, may bind any man to impugn or to resist the word of God: which word all men must earnestly labor to keep and fulfill, seeing this sentence standeth fast and shall do forever: That we must obey God rather than man. Neither can any man (as Christ saith) serve two Masters, especially if they command contrary things.

33. Moreover the Magistrate must be aided in the rooting out of vices, and to him assuredly it is lawful, privily to send men, to find out and discover wicked Acts, whereby they may be punished, and that (as God hath commanded) evil may be taken out of place. Yea and it is also lawful for him to offer rewards unto men which be confederated together for some evil purpose, to the intent that they may discover the conspiracy: and that without doubt belongeth to betraying. Howbeit, heresy must never, either be dissembled or praised, or any wicked Act committed to the intent that lawful betraying may have success. Wherefore Augustine in his latter book of Retractations testifieth that he wrote his book *De mendatio*, chiefly because that some to the end that they would detect the Priscillianists, feigned themselves to be followers of the same heresy, for that the same Priscillianists, when they were accused, affirmed with great stoutness, that they were far from any such doctrine. But afterward nevertheless, they disclosed themselves unto these men by whose dissimulation they were deceived, whom they thought they might have trusted. Howbeit Augustine in the same book *De mendacio*, teacheth that by this dissimulation of the Catholics, there happened very many evils and dangers. For there they commended Priscillian, they unjustly praised his book which is entitled

Libra, they allowed the heresy, pronouncing many things which could not be spoken without blasphemy. Moreover that which they did was dangerous. For if they which after this sort dissembling, were of any authority or estimation, the heretics might by their commendation be confirmed in their opinion, and especially those with whom they did so dissemble. For those peradventure were Priscillianists before (although not very firm and constant) which after they heard their heresy to be praised of a grave man, did then stick more and more in their error. Furthermore in thus dissembling, and being conversant with the Priscillianists, the dissembler also might easily fall into danger, so as he himself at the length might of a Catholic become a Priscillianist. And finally the heretics themselves by the dissimulation of our men might easily gather, that they did very well in hiding, dissembling, and denying their doings. But that betraying, is sometimes lawful in a just cause, and such a cause as is without the dangers above mentioned, not only the reasons which we have before alleged do declare: but we may also prove it by very many examples written here and there in the Scriptures. The Gabionites betrayed the rest of the Canaanites, when they fell from them to the Hebrews. Rahab also betrayed her public-wealth and king, in receiving, hiding, and sending away them which were deadly enemies unto it: who nevertheless is said in the Epistle to the Hebrews, to have done those things by faith. And Jahel the wife of Aber the Kenite betrayed Sisara: for she by a marvelous craft, slue him whom she had called into her, and closely hidden as it is declared in his place in the history of Judges. Yea and Jonathan the son of Saul betrayed unto David the purpose and counsel of his father, as it is written in the first book of Samuel. Besides these Husay the Arachite, betrayed Absalom the son of David, when he resisting the counsel of Ahithophel obtruded his own

Counsel, which was far worse, and showed all things unto David. I might bring in a great many of examples more, but these I think to be sufficient unto the wise Reader.

CHAP. XVIII. Whether Captives ought to be kept or put to death.

But whether Captives should be slain, or saved, it cannot be determined in one sentence. For otherwhile, they which have saved them are blamed, and elsewhere some are called back from slaying them. And God reproveth the cruelty of the Babylonians against the Israelites. Furthermore Ahab because he spared Benhadab, heard of the Prophet: Thy life shall go for his life, and thy people for his people. And Saul was defeated of his kingdom, because he spared the king of the Amalekites. Wherefore sometimes we must spare them, and sometimes they must be put to death. Which thing may well be known in one and the self-same Elias: who having slain the first two bands of fifty with fire from heaven, saved the third: which no doubt happened according to their diverse affection. For the two first fifties were altogether wicked men, contemners of the word of God and of the Prophets: But the other declared by prayers and humble speech, whereby they approved themselves unto the Prophet that some godliness and faith did stick in their mind. Also he thought it not meet to spare the Prophets of Baal because they were men wholly given to

ungodliness, neither would they yield when they were openly overcome: nay rather they were always prepared and ready to amplify and defend most shameful Idolatry, wherefore it is needful to weigh the offenses. For we account none to be our enemies for any other cause, but that they have offended and must be kept under subjection. But among other things, which lighten or aggravate the fault, are knowledge and ignorance. And that the fault is no small deal lightened by not knowing of the thing, it is certain: because seeing it hindereth the will, they which sin in such wise, seem not to have sinned willingly, but rather against their will. But we must understand that ignorance is of two sorts. One is said to be of the fact, and another of the law. That which is of the fact, doeth all wholly take away the nature of sin. As if a man meaning to kill a wild beast slayeth his own father, being hidden among the shrubs and bushes where he was not accustomed to be at another time. Nevertheless the ignorance of the law doeth not generally excuse, for every man is bound to know the laws, especially the common laws and laws of nature: and it behooveth the faithful men of God to understand the principal points of the holy laws. But if he that sinneth by this ignorance, and he that committeth those things, which he knoweth to be against right and laws, be compared together; this [*latter*] is worthy of the more grievous punishment. Wherefore Christ saith: A servant knowing the will of his Master and doing it not, shall have double punishment. And there is much difference between him which willingly and of his own proper naughtiness rashly runneth into grievous crimes, and another which is not stirred up of his own accord, but by another man: and especially by him which hath him at commandment: As were those soldiers which are spoken of in the Books of Kings. For the king of Syria sent them to apprehend the man of God. Further they went to Samaria, not by their

own will, but being after a sort led by the hand of God. For they went not of their own mind unto the City, being populous, and which they might not resist. Besides this also, they came thither without any harm doing: For they spoiled not the fields, nor fortresses, nor Towns, but followed the Prophet the right way.

2. Also it must be understood that certain nations were given over of God, and others were not. God so gave over the Canaanites, as he would have them to be utterly destroyed by the Jews. Wherefore in sparing of them when they had brought them under tribute, they most grievously offended God, as it is plainly testified in the Book of Judges. But whereas the Gabionites were forgiven, that happened by a certain special event. There was a guile wrought, secondly there was an oath made, whereby although the Jews were not bound, yet for reverence sake of the name of God, God would have it to be of some force. Which I therefore add, because after a sort they were punished with death. For the Hebrews made them servants, and constrained them to hew wood and to draw water: and servants, (as teach the Roman laws) are in a great sort of things accounted for dead men. But we note that of the Nations which were not given over by God there was a sundry consideration had, to wit, according to the greatness of their offenses. In so much as David most severely punished the Ammonites, because of the ingratitude and ignominy done to his Ambassadors. For when the City was taken, he commanded the Citizens to be destroyed with Saws, Rakes, and Axes, and also to be burned in Kilns, wherein Bricks and Chalk were burned. And on the other side, the Syrians whom he had overcome in war, he put under Tribute. Moreover among enemies, some repent and will yield themselves, and promise that they will make satisfaction for the injuries done by them, and doubtless those must be

mercifully spared. But there be others which with a most stubborn mind do resist, and are ready to defend their naughty acts by wars: against such we must decree the more severely. So did the Israelites behave themselves against the Benjamite's, when they had in a manner extinguished that tribe, leaving very few on live. By the like example also was that nation brought to destruction under Vespasian and Titus, because the Romans being ready to forgive them that were besieged, they very obstinately resisted. These two things did the Poet express, when he said that this was a mark proper unto the people of Rome: To spare them that were subject, and to vanquish them that were proud.

3. Furthermore enemies are spared when there is any hope of peace, that in very deed it may be the more firm, and that their minds may be the more united when the Captives being gently used are sent back again into their own country. Enemies also are saved when both sides hope for to change Captives one for another: namely that each part may receive their own. But on the contrary part Captives are slain, that a terror may be put into the enemies least they should think that their state and lot should be easy, if without yielding of themselves they fall into the hands of their adversaries. For over much lenity is often times a great provocation unto sin. And not seldom it is that Captives perish because of revenge, namely by reason that the adversaries cruelly slue the Captives when they had taken them. Also they seem justly to be slain, who have been oftentimes forgiven, and nevertheless return to their kind, that is, to their old wicked acts. Oftentimes did the people of Rome make as though they knew not of the treachery of Jugurth, which afterward being eftsoons begun a fresh, received a just punishment. They also are not spared, who by just conjecture are suspected, that they will do harm again unto the vanquishers. And surely, of this sort

are to be accounted the most cruel prescriptions of Scilla and Marius. For the one of these, when he understood that the common sort of people would not be quiet, he condemned them. On the other side Marius perceiving the hatred of the nobility to the destruction of the people, condemned the nobility. Both of them in very deed provided to make sure the power of their own part. But very easily are they forgiven, of whom there is no more damage to be feared when they be once overcome. For this cause Aurelianus when he had overcome Zenobia, which invaded the Empire in Syria, and according to the manner had triumphed of her at Rome, not only forgave her, her life, but also permitted that she should live conveniently and honestly in the City. And they which for these causes that we have hitherto recited use clemency towards them that be overcome, perhaps they justly and of good right deserve to be praised. But there be others, which are led not by a virtue of the mind, but rather of a covetousness to forgive captives, namely to wrest from them a very great ransom. And they oftentimes have no consideration, either of honesty or of the commonwealth. Some also are found which spare the multitude of the Enemies, and only put to death the heads of the evil, and the principles of wicked acts, to the intent they may be examples unto the rest, that they should not adventure the like. Also in the old time among the Persians there was a law, that when any man had been convicted of a capital crime, he should not straight way be condemned, but all his whole life should be tried and diligently examined. Whereby if his notable acts were found to exceed his evil acts in number and greatness, they discharged him: But on the other side, if the offenses and evil acts had exceeded, then at length they condemned him and put him to extreme punishment. So it appeareth that Solomon dealt. For when as Abiathar the Priest had incurred the crime of

treason, he said unto him, Thou art the child of death. Notwithstanding because thou wast present with my father David in his days, and diddest put thyself in jeopardy and hast taken pains with him, therefore I will not slay thee this day: wherefore go unto thy fathers lands in Anathoth. This law of Conquerors in such sort provided against enemies, just and good Emperors are wont to restrain within certain bounds. For Cities being won, when they should be sacked, Princes are wont to set forth Edicts, whereby they charge that no violence be done to free bodies. They sometime also decreed that so many as fly to the Temples should be safe and inviolate: As did Alaricus the King of the Vandals, when he had taken possession of the City of Rome. And undoubtedly in victory if there should be no hope of pardon to them that are overcome, the thing would be altogether cruel. Wherefore it becometh an Emperor, (unless that the causes now brought or such like causes shall hinder him) to be of a mild heart, and more inclined to save those whom he hath overcome, than to destroy them.

4. And there is no doubt, but that there be found many noble minded men. Who notwithstanding they be much delighted with victory, yet nevertheless do very much mislike of cruelty. Aeneas who is called godly, as we read in the 10th Book of Aeneidos, sorrowed because he had slain Lausus the son of Mezentius. And Marcellus having conquered the Syracusans, who most obstinately did resist, when he beheld the city being set on fire to fall down on heaps, did weep. Thus did he sorrow for the ruin of a most unfriendly City. Some such like thing also is reported of Scipio in the destroying of Carthage. Yea and they in old time so tempered themselves from shedding the blood of enemies, as those which were overcome they put under a yoke, as we read was done at the gallows made at Caudina. But otherwhile some Princes being driven by indignation and wrath, no less rash than vehement,

not weighing well the matter, have so raged against their enemies, as they have caused to be slain, both the guilty and the innocent one with another. Which happened unto Theodosius the great when he was vehemently inflamed with wrath against the Thessalonians: which sin of his Ambrose did most severely chastise. They will be provoked unto clemency if they forget not that themselves also are men: and that those things which have happened to the overcome, may sometimes also happen to themselves. Into which cogitation Cyrus fell, who having taken Croesus judged him to the fire. But he that within a while after was to be burned, began to cry: O Solon, Solon, because he before his death had made answer unto him, when he boasted of his wealth and happiness, that none might be called happy before his death. With this saying Cyrus being moved, he not only delivered the man from death, but also held him in honor about himself, and many times used his counsel and advise. Also Iustinianus, when he had by Belisarius overcome Gilimer the king of Vandals, after he had triumphed of him, was required to decree what he would have done with him: he cried out, Al is most vain and but plain vanity: neither did he slay the man, but he banished him far off into France. Also Julius Caesar when he had obtained victory, was very much inclined to forgive them that were overcome, for which cause he is marvelously commended by Cicero. This also ought very much to drive princes unto mercy, that among their Titles they specially embrace that wherein they are called most merciful. Wherefore seeing they rejoice in this Title, it is meet they should in very deed declare themselves to be such. Verily seeing the wars which are exercised among Christians who be all of one Religion, although they be just wars be more than Civil, our Magistrates (unless that just occasions as many such like may be gathered beside those which we have alleged) ought to have their minds so

much the readier bent to show mercy unto them which be overcome. And thus far concerning this matter.

Of things which be taken by the right of war.

5. That it is possible that some things may be claimed by the right of war, it may be proved both by men's laws and by the laws of God. But I will begin with man's laws. In the *Digestes De captiuis & Postliminio reversis*, in the law *Postliminium*, the things that we have lost in war, or in the affairs of war, if we shall afterward recover again, we shall obtain them by the law *Postliminium*. For so long as they are not recovered, they are possessed by our enemies. And this right is against them which are pronounced enemies. But those were pronounced enemies against whom the people of Rome did publicly proclaim war, or they which did proclaim war against the people of Rome: as it is in the same title, in the law Hosts. For pirates or thieves cannot by this means attain to be owners, or possess anything by the law of war. For war ought to be made, to the end we may attain somewhat by right of war. And in the *Digestes De acquirendo rerum dominio*, in the law *Naturale*, Paragraph the last: such things as are taken from enemies, are by the common law of nations straightway become theirs which take them. And thus the laws of man, as touching this matter are very manifest. So is it also by the laws of God. Abraham as it plainly appeareth in the book of Genesis the 14th chapter, made wars against the five Kings which had led away Lot prisoner. The battle being finished, the pray came into the hands and possession of Abraham: which may easily be proved, because of that pray he gave tithes unto Melchizedek. But it had not been lawful for him to have given Tithes of another man's goods: wherefore they were his own of which he gave. By reason whereof we must believe that that pray was in his possession. For in that he gave it to the king of Sodom, it was of his mere

liberality, since he was not thereunto compelled by the law. I might rehearse what things Joshua, Othniel, David, Solomon, and many other more possessed by the right of war. For when those Princes had the victory, the things taken from their enemies came to their possession. But it is not sufficient to make war, for claiming of somewhat by the right thereof, but the war also must be just: for unless it be just, it is not war but theft and robbery.

6. But how can we know that the war is just or unjust? Augustine, as he is alleged in the 23rd Cause, Question 2, in the chapter *Notandum*, writeth that the war between Sihon and the Israelites was just. For they desired to pass without doing any harm through his kingdom: which in respect of the fellowship of man should not have been denied them, especially seeing they had faithfully promised that they would not be troublesome unto any man. This sentence of Augustine the Glosser goeth about to defend, and that by the Civil laws. In the *Digestes De Aqua pluvia coercenda*, in the law In *Summa*, in the Paragraph, *Item varus*, something is permitted in another man's ground, so that it be done without harm of the possessor. And in the Code *De Servitutibus*, in the law *Per Agrum*: Maximianus and Dioclesian do thus decree: No man can forbid thee to use the common high way. And that thing only did the Israelites desire: wherefore being repulsed, they justly took war in hand. So much saith the Glosser: whose reason doeth not so fully satisfy me. For that which Augustine speaketh of private men, may easily be admitted: and these things which are brought out of the civil law do seem also to be written concerning private men. But if a man will lead a host through another man's Country, although they make faithful promise not to be troublesome, yet whether a way ought forthwith to be granted him and he to be believed, it is uncertain. They promise (thou wilt say) that their

Hoste shall do no harm, but if they stand not to their promises, then will the land be in their possession. Undoubtedly, Julius Caesar would not permit the Helvetians to pass through his province, although they promised that they would pass without doing injury or harm. But I say that the war which the Israelites made against Sihon was just, yet not therefore because he denied them leave to pass through his Country, but because he came with his host out of his own borders, and willingly offered wrong unto the Israelites. For every man ought to defend both himself and his against violence. That which Augustine bringeth hath some show, yet his reason is not firm. For how could Sihon know certainly, whether the Israelites would do him harm or no, especially they being so many in number? For there were six hundredth threescore and six thousand armed soldiers and well appointed to the battle. He might perhaps have permitted them to have passed and that safely, although not all of them together, but by bands. But seeing the first reason before alleged is sufficient, we need not much to labor about excusing of Augustine.

7. The same Augustine in the 105th Epistle unto Boniface: In the making of just war (saith he) many things must be taken heed of. For it is not sufficient, that the war be just, unless also the war be justly handled. Wherefore he admonisheth his Earl: When (saith he) thou puttest on thine armor, remember that thy strength is the gift of God, and determine with thyself not to abuse that gift against God. Yea rather do this: Fight for his laws and name: let promises be kept even with enemies, but much more with friends, for whom thou makest war. By which words he blameth those soldiers which are more grievous in Cities than be the very enemies. Of which sort, we see in our days a great many more than we would, which being in their Garrisons (good Lord) how do they handle the Citizens, and

men of the country? How shameful and abominable things do they commit? He addeth also a third Caution. Consider with thyself that war must be made upon a necessity. Wherefore have thou always a mind unto peace. Make war because thou canst not otherwise do, but if thou canst make peace, refuse it not. War is taken in hand only for the amending of things [*that be amiss*.] Yea and the Apostles did so afflict some, to the intent they might become the better. Paul said unto the Corinthians: Deliver such a one unto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may by saved. And to Timothy he saith, of Hymenaeus and Alexander: I have delivered them to Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme. So ought they also to restrain princes, to the intent that they may be made the better. And Augustine in his 19th book *De Civitate Dei*, saith that wars, though they be just, unto Godly men they seem both troublesome and grievous. For besides other things, which the nature of man escheweth, they shall see the wickedness of the contrary part, by reason whereof they are constrained to fight and they cannot but be sorry for it. And in the Epistle before alleged: Rage not (saith he) nor wax not insolent against those which submit themselves, but let mercy be showed to those that be overcome. Such is that saying of Virgil, Spare thou them that be subject, and vanquish them that be proud.

8. Moreover he admonisheth the same Earl to beware of vices, which are wont to follow Hosts: Namely, of filthy lusts, of ravenous pillage, and of drunkenness. For it is a most dishonest part that thou shouldest make war for the amending of other men's vices, when as thou thyself in the meantime art a great deal more vicious, and much more art overcome both with affections and diseases, than they which are overcome. And in war we reprove not the end, but the desire of hurting, the cruelty of revenging, the outrageousness of rebelling, and the greedy desire of ruling, these things

(said he) are condemned. For they which without those vices, make just war, are the Ministers of God and of the laws. The same father against Faustus the Manichie: This order (saith he) must be kept, that the war be proclaimed either by God or by Princes, to break the pride of man, and to tame the obstinate. Moreover soldiers ought to be persuaded that the war is justly made, and not taken in hand against the word of God: otherwise let them not go on warfare. Neither do I to this end speak these things, because I would have soldiers to understand the secrets of princes, but that to their knowledge and wittingly, they suffer not themselves to fight against true and just causes. Yet it may be (saith Augustine) that the prince himself may make war against his conscience, and yet his soldiers nothing offend, so long as they obey the ordinary power: For the people must obey their prince. And in their so doing it may be doubtful unto them, whether their prince make war contrary to the commandment of God. But they are excused, so long as they obey their own prince in a doubtful cause: their own prince (I say) and not a strange prince. Wherefore those hired soldiers cannot be excused, which having no respect to the cause, but only for money and reward sake do serve strange princes. Wherefore Jephthah thus reasoned as touching the first point of his Oration: We have taken this land by the right of war, therefore thou unjustly requirest the same again of us.

9. He addeth afterward: Our God hath given it unto us which is the Lord and distributer of all human things. He bringeth his Argument from the gift of God. And that God may give and distribute kingdoms, the very Ethnic authors saw. And therefore in Virgil, Aeneas doth so often boast, that he by the commandment of God went into Italy, and for that cause would not abide either at Carthage or in Sicilia, when he might have obtained either of those kingdoms. Augustine in his 5th book *De Civitate Dei*, the 21st

chapter: As touching kingdoms (saith he) and provinces, it is certain that God distributeth them, both when and how much, and to whom he will: doubtless by his judgment which is secret, but not unjust. In the book of Genesis, God promised to Abraham and his posterity the land of Canaan, but yet he promised it after four hundredth years. Now (saith he) I will not give it: for the Canaanites as yet had not fulfilled their sins. I will not cast them out now, but I will tarry till their iniquity be come to the highest, afterward I will bring you in. And in the second chapter of Deuteronomy it is written that the Horites dwelled in Mount Seir: which were men expert in wars and very valiant, whom God (saith he) drove out of those mountains, to the intent that the children of Esau might possess the land. And in the same Chapter he testifieth that he did cast out the people of Emim, and gave their kingdoms unto the Ammonites, and drove out Zanzumim out of their seats, and placed the Moabites there.

10. But if thou wilt say, that this was done by God peculiarly against those Nations, because the Edomites had their offspring from Esau, the Ammonites and Moabites of Lot, which was the kinsman of Abraham, and together with him accomplished most dangerous voyages: I answer, And this may also be said of other Nations there, which came not of Abraham. The Cappadocians drove out the Hevites, which were the first inhabitants, who going out of Cappadocia destroyed them, and inhabited those Regions in their stead. And in Deuteronomy the 32nd chapter, it is written: When God by lot divided the Nations and the people, according to the number of the children of Israel. In that it is said to be done by lot, that is all to be referred to our understanding, which see not the causes of things. But with God nothing is done by chance. God hath distributed the Nations, according to the number of the children of Israel. Seeing the Israelites were not yet

increased when God put the people into those Regions: who at the last gave place unto the Israelites when they came. Neither ought we to be offended, if by this distribution oftentimes fertile and fat lands happen unto the ungodly. Forsomuch as Augustine in his 4th book *De Civitate Dei*, the 33rd chapter saith: That gifts, which endure but for a time, happen both to the just and unjust, seeing God maketh his sun to shine both upon the good and evil, and raineth upon the just and unjust. But by this common benefit the godly sort have this commodity only, that they understand that these things are not the chiefest gifts, which we ought to look for: because these are common both to the good and to the evil. Howbeit, the godly wait for other more excellent gifts which are not common to the good and evil. Yea, and Daniel saith: The name of the Lord be blessed forever: For it is he which translateth kingdoms, and driveth out the first inhabitants, and bringeth in other. Neither doth he only bring men into provinces, but also setteth Angels to rule over them as we there read, the prince of the Persians and Grecians: And he hath not only divided men by Regions, but also by tongues and manners. Further me must remember, that these mutations were not only done at the beginning, but also in the latter times. For the French men possessed Gaul, and the English Saxons, Britain: but the Britain's being cast out by them, found new places in Gaul by force and arms. And that part which they obtained, they called *Britanie* according to their own name. The men of Gaul also of late, going out of their own borders, possessed a great part of Italy. The Huns subdued unto themselves Pannonia, and called the country Hungaria. So God distributeth kingdoms, casteth out some, and bringeth in other some, as it seemeth good unto his just judgment, which is secret. For the earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof. This distribution chanced even at the beginning to the sons of

Noah, and afterward to those which built the Tower of Babel: For God dispersed them throughout the whole world.

11. Now will I declare by what means God is wont to give kingdoms. He giveth them of his own liberality, no right compelling him thereto. That is the true manner of gift, which otherwise is not a gift unless it be free. And yet nothing letteth, but that God, by the duties and obedience of godly men, may be provoked to give. He giveth in deed many times things unto godly men, but yet of no duty: Because there hath been none at any time so godly, as he might desire anything of God as his own in his own right. For he must do his duty though God give him nothing. And yet there is a certain recompensing gift, although it be free and given without any right compelling it: yet because it is after a sort bestowed upon duties, it hath a show of a reward. So in Ezekiel God gave a gift unto the king of Babylon: Because (saith he) he labored in the siege of Tyre, I will give unto him the land of Egypt. There be also amongst men recompenses: when duty is repaid with duty. These also are voluntary, neither can they be demanded by Judicial action, and therefore are they counted among gifts. But we have nothing which we can give unto him: wherefore if we attempt to bring anything unto him, we render unto him his own. And so no consideration of merit can be fit for us towards him: wherefore God giveth liberally, no law compelling him thereunto. Nevertheless, it may be demanded whether such gifts can be revoked. Why can they not? Seeing the gifts of men also are revoked sometimes: as we have it in the Code *De revocatione donationum*. First if they have conditions annexed unto them, which have not been performed. And assuredly, God after that manner gave the land of Canaan to the children of Israel: namely that they should worship him, not only in ceremonies, but also in good manners and holiness. But seeing this

condition was not performed, God justly revoked his gift and led them away captive: and gave the land unto the Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, and Romans. A great ingratitude also of him that is endued with the gift, maketh the gift of small force. For if he be so ungrateful as he will be contumelious and reproachful unto the giver, the gift is then revoked. So God in Ezekiel complaineth: I have clothed thee with vestures and garments of sundry colors: thou hast bestowed them upon Idols, and hast given them unto Baal: therefore will I take away my garments from thee, and my clothing's of sundry colors &c. But thou wilt say that the gifts and vocation of God are without repentance, as it is written to the Romans: that I grant, but the changing is in us, and not in God: for if we shall continue thankful, and stand to the conditions, the gift would be firm and ratified. Further Paul in that sentence spake of gifts and calling, which come unto men by the eternal predestination of God, and not of those which are given only for a time.

12. David in the first Book of Samuel the 20th chapter decreed, that the pray should be equally divided among all: For he judged it to be a just thing that they which remained with the carriage, should be partakers of the pray. And this for many causes seemeth to be just. First because they tarried by the common consent of all. Secondly that notwithstanding they were one from another by distance of places, yet were they not severed in fellowship. Further, seeing that they abode still weary and tired, and otherwise would have gone against the enemy: their will was to be accepted for the deed itself. Also because they set forward to the common peril: for if those former had been overthrown, these men could not have been long safe. What if so be that in the meantime, while David was away with his, some enemy had assailed these men at the carriages: these men had been in no

less danger than those which went against the Amalekites. When Abraham had put his men in arms for the pursuing of those five small kings, and had delivered Lot, he joined unto him Abner and Eschol. But they so far as we can gather by the history did not fight. Perhaps they were left at the carriages. Yet when the enemy was overthrown, Abraham gave part of the prey to them also. And in the 31st chapter of *Numerie*, when war was taken in hand against the Midianites, and that out of every tribe a thousand were armed throughout all the tribes, and the rest remained in their tabernacles, when the victory was finished, the pray was so distributed, as the first part was yielded unto the Tabernacle, the second unto them that fought, and the third unto them that remained in the Camp. And in Leviticus the Priests which ministered in the Tabernacle, although they did not all minister every day, yet were they all maintained by the oblations. But good ordinances are oftentimes by men's negligence blotted out of remembrance. Wherefore it is the part of godly Princes to provide that these things may ever between while be revoked. By reason of ill manners (said he) sprang up good laws: Even so here by reason of the malicious importunity of these men, good ordinances are revoked.

13. But this question as touching the distribution of the pray, must be somewhat more deeply considered. Ambrose in his book *De Patriarcha Abrahamo*, (which place also is cited in the Decrees the 23rd Cause, question the 5th, in the chapter *Dicat*) saith that the soldiers take not the pray for themselves, but for the Emperor: which things must be distributed among the soldiers, at the Emperors appointment. And the Emperor himself must retain for himself a part which they call the principal part, seeing otherwise it appeareth scarce equal, that every man should catch for himself as much as he can. For so might it come to pass that every drudge or

scullion, should light upon a rich bootie, and that some captain of soldiers or well deserving soldier should be excluded. Wherefore this civil and equal way, David followed in dividing of the prey: and suffered not himself to be disquieted with the importunity and slanders of those men. So me thinketh must be understood those words which be in the *Digestes De Acquirendo rerum Domino*, in the law *Naturalem*, in Paragraph the last: namely that those things which be taken in wars, are theirs that take them. They be indeed, but at the devotion of the Emperor, not as each one will himself. But in distributing, a proportion must be kept, not Arithmetical but Geometrical. That did Isidorus note, who is cited in the Decrees, distinct. 1, chapter 1, the chapter beginning *Jus militare*. For he saith, that the pray must be divided, according to every man's dignity, valiant courage, and labor, and that the principal portion should be set aside by itself: Because that portion was chosen out of the whole prey which the soldiers had carried together, and with great triumph was afterward brought into the Treasury. Why then (saith he) did David part the pray equally amongst all? Some answer, that he by that means would provide for the common peace of the soldiers, and to quench envy. For they would all have repugned, saying, that they had been all alike strong, and that they had employed as great labor the one as the other: so as it would have been hard to give judgment afterward. Others think that to be done, because that victory happened not by the strength of man, but by the only benefit of God. Howbeit that seemeth not to be very likely. For although it be true, that God alone gave that victory, yet did David make that law, not for that time only, but forever. And it is not credible that he would abolish the Geometrical proportion: or if that God gave the victory, that therefore he would exclude just order: in as much as God commanded to retain that, even in those things which were specially

given by him. For in the distributing of alms, he would have a consideration to be had chiefly of our household, and of the faithful. So as in distributing of the pray, David was to keep a certain proportion of justice. For in the Gospel the Lord gave more unto him that had gained five talents, than unto him which had gained only one. Wherefore I thus affirm, that David divided not the pray equally, but had a consideration of the soldiers. Nay rather (wilt thou say,) the letter Caph being doubled, doth show an equality of likeness. For saith Isaiah: Such as the people is, such shall be the Priests. Again, Such people as mine be, such a people be thine. And again: Such as my horsemen be, such be thy horsemen. There is in very deed some equality even in this place which hath recourse both to the one and to the other. And David made as well the one sort as the other partakers of the pray, and that also after one manner: yet so, as a proportion might be kept what each one had deserved, not only of them which fought against the enemy, but also of them which remained with the carryings. Wherefore in my judgment this is the meaning: That David indeed gave of the pray unto all, but yet that he had a consideration what each one had deserved. And thus the law was just, which otherwise might have seemed unjust.

CHAP. XIX. Of a several Conflict or Combat between twain hand to hand.

Now let us see whether it be lawful to fight a Combat. They commonly call the same *Duellum*, that is, a Combat between twain: Not because this word doth properly signify that thing. For *Duellum* properly signifieth every fight, because therein two parts do contend. But I, to the intent that this treatise may be the plainer, will call μονομαχίαν, that is, where one fighteth with one, *Duellum*, a Combat. David (say they) fought a Combat hand to hand, therefore it is lawful. And the fathers when they wrote upon that place, made some note of that matter. Howbeit the Canonical laws utterly condemn it. And the latter sort of Lawyers, when they treat thereof say, that the thing itself doubtless is naught, but yet for as much as it is suffered among Princes, therefore they say that they give Counsel how the same must be used. As if there should be a disputation of whoredom, all men would straightway grant that the same is wicked and damnable: but because it is suffered in many commonwealths, they would admonish with what moderation it should be used. Many say that it is lawful to fight a Combat, as if sentence of death be given against an

innocent with this exception: to wit, unless he will fight a Combat. The self-same thing they think to be lawful, if that suites in law of civil and criminal things cannot otherwise be ended. They say that examples be extant of Christian Princes, who not only permitted this, but also they themselves after this manner contended. And they add that this kind of fight hath some show of a lot. And seeing lots are permitted, as we have largely before declared, this also by the self-same right may be permitted. Lastly they say, that this is no less lawful than war: But war may lawfully be made: therefore also a Combat. Before I come to the matter itself, it behooveth to show that there is a great difference between a Combat and war. For in war men encounter with great forces, yea sometime with all their strength: but in this cause the trial of the whole matter is permitted only unto two. And although More and Less (as they say,) do not change the kind, yet be there here great differences. And further, we must consider, that there is a great difference between a Combat and that defense, whereby they say it is lawful to repel violence by violence. Because he that is so invaded by a Cutthroat or thief, although he be a private man, yet is he sufficiently armed by the commonwealth, only for defending of himself and not for killing. For he that is in that place cannot always call for the Magistrates help. But here they meet together by appointment, and the one is fully minded to kill the other. Moreover these conflicts are taken in hand, either by private appointment, or else by permission of the Magistrate. Nevertheless that is altogether condemned. For it is written: Thou shalt not kill. But this if the Magistrate permit, there seemeth to be in it a certain kind of justice. Howbeit we ought to know, that we must not obey the Magistrate, if either he command or permit those things that be unjust and repugnant to the word of God. In deed we must obey the Magistrate, but yet *Usque ad Aras*, [*that*

is, with a safe conscience towards God.] And seeing such kind of fight is a human action, that must be observed therein, which is observed in other Actions: That is, unto what end the same is taken in hand. And the end of every action hath a respect either of justice, or injustice: either of goodness, or naughtiness. Wherefore let us take reasons first from the word of God, secondly from good laws, and lastly from the end. Now let us enter into the matter itself.

2. The final causes why some think that combat should be permitted, be diverse and manifold, set forth here and there among many sorts of authors, both Lawyers and Canonists, and Schoolmen. First they say it is lawful, because they say it is instead of proof of a hidden thing, that it may appear some man hath right and is an innocent. For when there appear neither witnesses nor evidence, the uttermost is to try the matter by battle. And among the Lawyers this kind of trial is called vulgar, as in the Decretals *De Purgatione vulgari*, and in the same place *De Clericis Duello certantibus*, and in the Decrees, 2nd Cause, quest. 5, in the chapter *Consulvistes*, and in the chapter *Monomachia*. It is also called vulgare, because it is only of the common sort of men, and hath not any strength either by right or by laws. Wherefore this kind of proof is deceitful and uncertain. It is not lawful to abuse the creatures of God. But these men abuse them: seeing they lay hold of that for a Testimony, which was not instituted to that use. And that doth the end oftentimes declare: whereas the juster part is often vanquished. For this seemeth to be the order of nature, that the more strong and skillful, not the more innocent, should have the victory. And in the Decretals *De Purgatione vulgari*, in the Chapter *Significantibus*, there is a case described: namely that there were two men, of whom one accused the other of theft, and that they fighting together a Combat for trial of the cause, the juster

man was slain: For the theft was found with the other. But that which is every man's right may be tried if thou wilt ask counsel of the holy Scriptures. Either it may be proved by witnesses, as when it is said, In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word stand. Or by writings, as in the 32nd of Jeremiah, when a near kinsman would redeem lands, there were books written and sealed. Or by public confession: therefore Joshua commanded a wicked man openly to confess his wickedness, and to give the glory unto God. Or by an oath, and therefore in Exodus, if one had lent his garment to another, and that the same afterward had been stolen, it behooved him to whom it was lent, to confirm by an oath that he took it not away. And in the 6th chapter to the Hebrews, that an oath is the end of every controversy. But that suits in law should be finished by Combat, it is nowhere read in the holy Scriptures. Wherefore they which fight after that manner, do it not of faith: And whatsoever is not of faith, is sin. Neither is it to be doubted but that it is the will of them both that one would kill the other. But yet of necessity the one of the two must be innocent. So that they that defend these things will that an innocent man shall be slain. Besides, what else is this but to tempt God? For if the matter may be found out by no tokens, and that God hath reserved the same wholly unto himself, it must needs be an intolerable importunity, to go about to seek out the same. But if all just means being attempted, the Magistrate can understand nothing of the fact, he must absolve the man accused, and not commit him to a hazarded conflict. Moreover the Magistrate which suffereth these things to be done seemeth to seek a miracle which in old time was done in glowing hot iron and scalding hot water. For in the Decretals *De Probatione vulgari*, the last Chapter, it is written that the manner in Livonia was, that if a crime might not be proved by just Arguments, and that the person accused cried

out that he was innocent, he for trial of himself, should tread with his feet upon hot Iron, or else dip his hands in hot scalding water. Yea and to this very use, or rather abuse were they wont sometime to apply the Eucharist with this form of words: The body of our Lord Jesus Christ be unto thee for a trial. It seemeth that the same was a certain ill imitation of the water of jealousy which is described in the 5th chapter of Numbers. But of this profanation and abuse of the Eucharist, they had not one word of God in that place. Neither were the Sacraments instituted unto that end that they should decide controversies at law: they be testimonies of the heavenly doctrine and of the Gospel, and they be signets and seals of the promises of God. Wherefore they should not so rashly have been laid open to the finishing of Civil controversies. Further, let there be as much heed taken as there can, that the weapons on both sides may be alike, and that no man help any party, yet can it not be provided, but that the one shall be weaker than the other. And it is injury that the weaker should be coupled with him that is the stronger: Whereupon some of the fathers called this an invention of the devil.

3. Another cause why men will fight after this manner is for the ostentation of strength and force. For there be certain *Thrasoes*, which if they see themselves at any time contemned, do straightways challenge the Combat: But that madness must in no wise be suffered. Yea and *Panormitanus de Torneamentis*, in the Chapter *Foelicis*, saith that all games, wherein, either the life of man, or the safety of souls is jeoparded, must be utterly taken away, because they are repugnant to the word of God. Neither did he alone judge thus, but the Civil laws also. In the Code *De Gladiatoribus*, it is the law of Constant. In civil quietness and domestical peace, bloody shows do not delight. But the Combat whereof we speak, is

in a manner a fighting with swords. And Leo, and Anthemius in the Title *De Ferijs*, in the law *Dies Festos*, decree that dolorous sights of wild beasts should be taken away. And those sights were, that men should be committed to Bears or Lions. In the Digests: *Ad legem Aquiliam*, in the law *Nam Judus*, it is thus written: A sport that is hurtful is worthy of blame. And in the Proem of the Digests, in Paragraph, *Illud vero*: Who will call those Games, whereby great offenses do arise? It is an abuse of the word, for they ought rather to be called by any name than Games. And in the Authentics, in the Title *Ut omnes pareant Judicibus prouinciarum*, Paragraph the first, Justinian saith, that fortitude or manly courage without justice is not praise worthy. And he addeth: that he calleth it by the name of Fortitude in his own country speech. For the Romans called that Fortitude, which is joined with virtue. But contrariwise in the Code *De Athletis*: there is a law of Alexander Mammaea, that those which had thrice vanquished in sacred conflicts, and had been lawfully crowned, should afterward have immunity. And *Ad Aquiliam*, in the law, *Qua Actione*, Paragraph, *Si quis*: It is decreed that if Pancratiastes had slain his adversary, the law *Aquilia* should cease. And there is extant a letter of Frederick the second, which seemeth to agree herewith. And first touching that which concerneth runners and wrestlers, we condemn not all exercises, whereby either health or strength may be exercised: But and if any perhaps be slain amongst them, that happeneth by chance and seldom, and besides the will of him that slayeth. And of that law *Aquilia*, there is a reason rendered: that the harm which is done is not the cause of the injury. But in a Combat they come thereunto with a mind prepared to slaughter: and it very seldom happeneth but that one of them is slain. Howbeit, the letter of Frederick must be reformed to the word of God.

4. The third cause is, to avoid ignominy: I am challenged, (saith some man) But if I fly, I shall be accounted a coward, and that discredit will redowned to my whole family. But this cause is not just enough. For we must use things, according as the dignity of each thing shall require. If it may seem that thine honor will be put in jeopardy, thou must not therefore adventure thy life, for that must be more worth to thee than any honor. This rather must thou regard, that thou bring not any shame to thy profession. And the common profession of all Christians is, to do well and to suffer ill. Wherefore Princes sin grievously which give liberty unto such bickering's. The fourth cause is, that hatreds, controversies, and enmities, cannot oftentimes be otherwise finished. And that therefore trial must be made by Combat, that there may be some end of quarrels. But neither is this cause in very deed just enough, seeing there be other means to finish controversies. For those are finished either by a consent of parties, or by the sentence of the Judge. But if they go yet further, the Magistrate hath the sword, he must use the same, and not permit the matter to Combat or chance. He hath weapons and Armor, he must make just war, and defend the innocent. Nevertheless he must defend him by justice, not by the uncertain end and fortune of Combat. Moreover, the cause being now known, the Magistrate knoweth, that the one is innocent, wherefore he ought not to abandon him to present death. The power of the sword is not committed unto him, to the intent he should afterward permit the same to the rashness and fury of two men: Nay rather he is for this cause placed in so great authority, that he should do what lieth in him: which undoubtedly he doth not, if he permit controversies to be decided by Combat.

5. The fifth cause is, that least in an Army all the forces should be put in peril, it is better that the whole matter should stand in the danger of twain.

Yet this is not sufficient. For we must not do evil, that good may come of it. But if thy cause be just, why doest thou suffer the same to be hazarded in the life of one man? Thou oughtest first and foremost to take heed, that thou take not unjust war in hand: secondly to do as much as thou canst, and to fight with all thy forces: since justice must not be dallied with, and placed in the fortune of twain. There is also another cause, whereby some of the Schoolmen being overcome (which I should not pass over) grant that such a time may happen, when Combat ought to be permitted. Of that mind was Caietanus. And if there be two Armies (saith he) and one is superior in the equity of the cause, but inferior in strength by many degrees, so as if the same should come to hand stripes, they must all of necessity perish: it is better that the life of one man come into danger, than that the whole host should come into certain destruction. But neither can this in very deed be a sufficient cause, for it proceedeth of fear and desperation. For as we have before said, God defendeth not with sword and shield, and no less can he overthrow with few than with many. But we shall perish sayest thou: How knowest thou that? Thy life is the life of God, and thy cause, if it be just, is the cause of God. But Caietanus addeth: If an innocent be pressed with the false accusation of his superior, and that the Magistrate being corrupted, pronounceth against him the sentence of death, and the other be not able to resist: in this case, it is lawful (saith he) to admit a Combat, if it be offered by the Magistrate. Since if it be lawful to defend thyself against a robber by the highway, why may it not be lawful against a violent accuser? For what difference is there, whether he himself draw sword against thee, or whether the Magistrate do it by his appointment? For so is it said that David flue Uriah with the sword of the Ammonites. Herewith some do yield: Howbeit, I see no cause why they should so do. For as we declared before, there is a

great difference between a Combat, and defense against a robber, since in a Combat they fight by appointment: in the other by chance. Against a robber, to defend himself: in Combat to slay the other. What shall I then do, wilt thou say? Even desire help of the Lord, and suffer all things, rather than to commit anything against the word of God. Now let us answer unto their Arguments.

6. We must obey the Magistrate (say they:) I grant, but yet saving our conscience and duty unto God. Controversies (say they) can be finished no other way: Yes verily, I taught before by what means they may be finished. Godly princes have in such wise fought: Though they were godly, yet were they also men, and they might err and be deceived. And most prudently doth Demosthenes answer: We must live by laws, and not by examples. It is lawful (say they) to use Lottes, therefore it is lawful to use Combat. I answer, although there be some Lotte in Combat, yet is there slaughter added therewithal. But even Jonah thou sayest, was by Lottes cast forth into the Sea: Nay rather he was in very deed found out by Lottes, but not cast forth. Howbeit, he being a prophet willed himself to be cast in by the commandment and inspiration of God. War may lawfully be made, therefore a Combat they say. Nay rather we have taught before, that between Combat and war there is a great difference. But David fought with Goliath: I grant, but yet was he led so to do, by the inspiration of the holy spirit. Neither must all things which are done by holy men, be drawn straightway unto an example. The Hebrews trust up the goods of the Egyptians: Abraham decreed to sacrifice his son: Samson married a wife that was a stranger: but that was done by the Lord. Wherefore we must give ear to reasons and good laws: For the Acts of holy men are oftentimes rather to be wondered at than followed.

7. But now will I set forth unto thee which art the Reader, a necessary Combat which we must continually make. God himself set two adversaries together in fight: namely the old man and the new, the flesh and the spirit. For as Paul saith unto the Galatians: The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. And unto the Romans: The wisdom of the flesh is enmity against God. I know that in me, that is in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing: I feel another law in my members, fighting against the law of my mind. Unhappy man that I am, who shall deliver me? Let us strive here that sin may not reign in our mortal body, and that our old man may be crucified. And these verily be no light and playing pageants. I (saith Paul) chastise my body and bring it into servitude. Neither shall any be crowned unless he strive as he ought to do. And they which contend in wrestling, abstain themselves from all things. And no man being in the warfare of God, entangleth himself with carnal desires. And in the twelfth Chapter to the Hebrews. Let us look back unto Jesus Christ the Captain and finisher of our faith. This Combat lasteth not for the space of one hour, or month, or year, but all our life long. We have a magnifical Theater. For we are made a spectacle unto God, unto Angels, and unto men. We have the sword of the word of God, and the shield of faith, and for our adversary, we have the devil. For our striving is not against flesh and blood, but against spiritual naughtiness in celestial things. We have force and strength from Christ. I am able to do all things in Christ, which comforteth me, that the victory in the end may be certain. For I know whom I have believed, [*and*] that he is able to save that which I have committed unto him. I have fought a good fight, I have kept the faith, I have finished my course: A crown of righteousness is laid up for me: And God will subdue Satan under our feet.

CHAP. XX. Of Nobility, of Bondage, of Occupying merchandise, and engrossing of wares.

Aristotle in his second book of Rhetorics writeth of Nobility, that the same consisteth herein, that a man have excellent and famous Ancestors. For although that oftentimes even in these our days are found men which achieve notable enterprises of no less excellency than are those mentioned of the forefathers, yet are those ancient acts of greater estimation by reason of their antiquity. For there is a difference between εὐγενεῖς and γενναίους. For they are called εὐγενεῖς which are born of noble parents, but γενναῖοι are those which retain still the virtue of their Ancestors, and do not degenerate from them. We see that in the families of noble men the selfsame thing in a manner happeneth which happeneth in corn: which is accustomed some years to bring forth more plentifully, and some years more barrenly. And sometime it chanceth, that after a few barren years, follow other fertile years. So the families of noble men sometime bring forth many excellent men, as it were a very plentiful harvest; sometime as it were an unfruitful soil, they lie barren and idle: And again afterward they after a sort revive, unto the virtue of their Ancestors. And how this

degenerating cometh, the same Aristotle after this manner declareth: It cometh to pass oftentimes (saith he) that the children or posterity of wise and witty men become fierce and cruel, as it is written of the posterities of Alcibiades. And on the other side, of meek, loving, and gentle Parents, are born children cowardish, sluggish, and blockish: which we read to have happened in the families of Simon and Socrates. The self-same things may we behold in the children of Israel. They had Patriarchs as Princes of their stock, being men endued with great virtues and singular nobility. Of their posterity sprang forth oftentimes excellent men: which posterity although sometimes it seemed to lie still without any notable issue, yet God always between whiles stirred up in it, some, either Judges, or Kings, or Prophets, or Priests which excelled in life, wisdom and godliness. Moreover the same Aristotle in his first Book of Rhetorics, writeth that the true nobility, or felicity of any nation herein chiefly consisteth, that together with prosperous success it have virtue joined: which two things God gave abundantly unto the Hebrews. He addeth moreover, that the people is called noble, which is not mingled with the mixture and confusion of other nations. For which consideration the Athenians boasted that they were αυτόχθονες, that is, of one and the self-same soil.

2. But there can be showed of no nation which had a stock so pure and unmixed as had the Hebrews. For Abraham was the head of their stock: whose Nephew Jacob had 12 children, of whom came the 12 tribes. Further every tribe had their certain families, Lands, Cities, and Regions, which they inhabited. To be short, as writeth *Eusebius De preparatione Evangelica*, there was no commonwealth, neither of the Lacedemonians, nor Athenians: (which two seemed of all other to be most excellent) which had their stock so certain, or their tribes so certainly derived from one

Prince and progenitor. For to nobility is required that the people should live in their own laws: But no nation at any time had their laws so proper as had the nation of the Hebrews. For laws were given them particularly from God, which infinitely excelled the laws of all other nations. And they lived under their own laws so long as they obeyed the Lord. For he then defended them from all misfortunes. But by reason of their sins, they were sometimes led away captive by outward nations. But these captives were not perpetual: since after that they had been punished for their wickedness, they were restored to their old places again. Moreover antiquity commendeth and setteth forth the nobility of a people. For there can be nothing of Antiquity found in the histories of the Ethnics, but that the same followed long time after that the commonwealth of the Jews was established. Before the war of Troy, whatsoever is set forth by Ethnic writers is fabulous. And that war was then made when Jephthe was now Judge over the commonwealth of the Jews. Also it furthereth no small deal unto nobility to have had excellent men of that stock. And there was never either more or more excellent men than among the Jews. I will not speak of the great multitude of children and the goodness in children, which wonderfully flourished among the Jews.

3. I know there be some which despise this nobility derived from Ancestors. For they say that oftentimes of horses are born Mules. And they make mention of Iphicrates, which being a notable Emperor, and hearing one contumeliously and insolently objecting unto him that he was the son of a shoemaker, made this answer: My stock beginneth in me, but thine endeth in thee. And he which upbraideth unto a man either fortune or want of nobility, doth even like him which beateth the garments, but toucheth not the body. For even as garments are without the body, so nobility and fortune are without us, and are accounted among outward good things. Cicero,

although he were a man new start up, yet he made no great account of his nobility. They which give themselves to hunting prepare the best dogs they can get for hunting, and not whelps though they come of never so good a kind. And for battle, strong and war-like horses are sought for, and not the colts of good horses.

Whereto serveth pedigrees, or whereto is it good,
Friend Ponticus, to be derived from long descent of blood?
Or what shall it avail to thee to reckon in a row,
Great numbers of thine Ancestors that lived long ago?

It is a ridiculous thing for a man to boast that he can reckon up seven great grandfathers. These reasons some use to extenuate the nobility of blood. Neither are these things spoken amiss or yet without profit, especially against them, which only for the virtue of their ancestors will be counted noble: whereas otherwise they themselves live dishonestly, vilely, and obscurely. And if any man have together with virtue obtained nobility of blood, doubtless he hath great commodity by it, since nobility is not a thing altogether outward, as it was objected. For the properties, and marks and motions of the Ancestors are, I know not how, transferred to the posterity, which although that in the next children or children's children do not oftentimes show forth or appear, yet are they still kept by a certain power, and revive again in other of the posterity, so as in them the spirits and courage's of their ancestors are renewed unto virtue. Wherefore, seeing such sparks are still reserved in us, they are not wholly to be accounted among outward good things. Neither agreeth that comparison of the Mule, which they say is procreated of a horse: for that in the Mule the generation is stayed. Neither can the Mule if we consider the common course of nature live long. But they which are begotten of noble parents, although they

themselves degenerate, yet may they afterward bring forth others. And to stay even in that similitude: It no small deal adorneth the Mule, that he is begotten of the horse, seeing for the same cause, they are more commendable than Asses. But Juvenal, Cicero, and Iphicrates spake of those noble men, which when as they themselves had no part at all of their fathers or predecessors virtue and good disposition, would notwithstanding be had in estimation for this cause only, that they came of a noble blood. He which being but of obscure parentage hath made himself honorable by virtues, is of far more excellency, than are they which coming of great nobility, do with vices and wicked acts, and with Idleness and cowardice, dishonor both themselves and their stock. And how much God attributed unto the posterity of the godly, it is manifest not only by a place in the 9th chapter to the Romans, but also by that place in Exodus, where God promised that he would do good even to a thousand generations of the just: but even hereby also in that he decreed, that the Priests and Kings should be chosen out of a certain stock. This prerogative the Ethnics contemned not. For he which praiseth Alcibiades, (which some think was Euripides,) when he was crowned in the games of Olympus, saith, that he which shall be happy, must come of a noble City. To which purpose I might cite a great many of other things, if need should so require. But what shall we say of our estate? Are we more abject than the Jews? Or may we in comparison of them seem to be without nobility, seeing Paul thus writeth, Consider your calling brethren: Not many noble men, not many wise men are called? I answer, that there is no cause why we should therefore be sorry for our estate. For although (if we consider the stock itself from whence we were cut off, and which we cannot deny but was a wild Olive tree) we be obscure and without nobility: yet after we are once grafted in Christ, all his nobility

is most truly communicated unto us: For we are now not only members of him, but also flesh of his flesh and bone of his bones, so as now all his fathers are made our fathers. Which things, although they have not happened unto us by natural generation: yet unto a godly man it ought to be sufficient, that they were afterward given unto us.

Of Servitude or bondage.

5. The first mention of Servitude or bondage in the holy scriptures is in the 9th of Genesis. And it shall not be unprofitable if we speak somewhat thereof. The name, if we weigh the Latin Etymology was derived of *Servando*, that is, keeping: because those whom the vanquishers had not slain in war, they kept to themselves, to the intent they might use their labor. Thereof were they called Servants: as saith Florentinus the Lawyer, in the fourth book of the Institutes. By the same reason had *Mancipia* their name, because they were taken with the hand from enemies, as we have it in the first of the *Pandectes* of Justinian. Pliny in his 7th book, the 56th chapter, attributed the invention hereof to the Lacedemonians. But our writings which be more ancient, do make us believe that he is deceived. The cause of bondage is sin. For war denounced and made, if it be just, it is done for the repressing of sins: but if it be unjust as touching their part which make it, yet by the dispensation of God it is just, who prepareth thereby to punish those which he hath known worthy to be chastised. This did Daniel and other Prophets most manifestly declare, when they accounted their own iniquities, and the iniquities of their forefathers to be the cause of victory unto the enemies against the people of God. Truly bondage is therefore a punishment, because it is against the nature and condition of man. God ordained man, not that he should serve, but that he should have dominion. Wherefore the good fathers in old time, did not

exercise dominion over men: they were Pastors of the flock, and they ruled men only with love and Counsels. And seeing Man is made to the Image of God, and that it is the property of God to command, not to execute things commanded: it is proved that men also are not of nature to serve. Howbeit, bondage must not be rejected by this Argument, seeing it is invented as a bridle of iniquity, and a medicine unto man's naughtiness. For thou mayest find many things which have had their beginnings of a naughty cause, which must not be altogether rejected, but retained. Hereupon the Apostles Peter and Paul very oftentimes in their Epistles, put us in remembrance, that subjects and servants should be dutiful towards their Lord's, and that they should not presume to shake off the yoke of bondage: Nay rather as Peter expressly said: We should serve them though they be evil and froward. For the Gospel hath been suspected hereof, even from the beginning, that it rashly called men unto liberty, and thereby raised tumults in Commonwealths. Wherein men were altogether deceived: since Christian piety disturbeth not the state of worldly things. Wherefore consider thou, that bondage got her first original from sin, the mercy of conquerors being applied thereunto. Then seeing God hath decreed by this means to amend perverse manners, it should be wickedly done of men to shake off the same by violence. Add here withal, that our pride and haughtiness is hereby kept under. The people of Israel scarcely at any time converted unto God, unless they were warned by this scourge, as each one may read in the book of Judges. Wherefore, that which is so profitable should be unjustly refused, when it shall be laid upon us by the Lord. But and if it may seem hard to any man to obey froward and unjust Masters, let him consider that the excellent God our father instructeth us by his example, who with his Sun and rain, serveth the commodities, not only of the godly, but also of the

ungodly. And oftentimes, if thou consider the easiness of the state, thou shalt find it a harder matter to rule well (especially if thou govern evil and foolish men) than it is to obey, so that thou shalt many times find the state of serving to be less troublesome: which nevertheless, as well the constitution of our nature not born to serve, as also the haughtiness and pride which everyone of us hath gathered even from the beginning, maketh grievous unto us.

6. But now let us see how servants must be handled by their Masters: Wherein I allege that the state and condition of things is of two sorts. One which concerneth the salvation of souls, hath respect unto Christ and unto spiritual things. And as touching this, let Masters understand that servants are equal unto them: that is, they are no less than themselves, or their children, wife and kinsfolk: For so much as in Christ there is neither male nor female, neither bond nor free The other is of bodily, or outward and civil things: and about these good things there may and ought to be made some difference in appareling of the body, in diet, and other things of like sort, between freemen and bondmen. Who if they do not their duty, shall be accounted seditious and rebellious, they may be chastised and beaten, that through them, the domestical peace be not disturbed: yet so, as this be not cruelly done, but for their commodity, that they may be restored to the amendment of mind. And Paul as well to the Ephesians as Colossians, exhorteth that even the Masters themselves should be equal towards their servants. And for what cause they ought to do it, he there declareth. Let them consider (saith he) that they themselves also have a Lord in heaven. As if he should have said: Even as they would that they themselves should be used of him, so ought they to order themselves towards their servants. I beseech you let each one of them remember that while they think they be

not fitly served in all pointes, whether they themselves in all respects according to the commandment prescribed, do obey the heavenly Lord of all things. There is moreover another kind of servitude, whereof the Apostle maketh mention in the 5th chapter to the Galatians: Serve ye one another through charity. And that in very deed is not upon constraint, but voluntary: the which also, if our first parents had not fallen, might have place in mankind. For it is meet that the younger should obey the elder, the unwiser the wiser. Truly it is convenient, that they which be the elder and have more perseverance, should have preeminence, so as we are not to think that this kind of servitude of which we now entreat was brought in by sin, but that other which is found out by power and law. Wherefore that is not taken away, which is spoken both commonly and by Aristotle in his Politics, to wit, the servitude is partly natural and partly by the law: Neither ought we to forget, that the service of God, wherein the faithful do obey and believe him, is called a certain servitude which must be preferred above all the liberty of the flesh. Hereof Paul in the Epistle to the Romans maketh mention at large, when he saith, That we being delivered from sin by Christ, are now the servants of righteousness.

7. Moreover, Servitude was in old time the punishment of sin: And no man is ignorant how it is a common saying: What a number of evils do crave bondage? Even as it was lawful among the Hebrews for a man to sell himself, and his children, when he was brought to extreme poverty: So is it credible, that there was among them a Magistrate, who being required by the Creditors, should constrain the debtors (when they had not wherewith to pay,) that they should sell themselves and their children, that by such means their debts might be all paid. Which is evidently enough gathered by a parable written in the 18th chapter of Matthew, as concerning the king

which commanded a debtor of his together with his children to be sold for the satisfying of him. But how the laws of men and of God have decreed towards debtors, I will touch in few words. At this day an Arrest, as they call it, is in use, whereof notwithstanding the civil laws have made no mention. And thereby the debtors are staid in the same place, where they were apprehended, and are forbidden to depart from thence before they compound with their creditors. And in some commonwealths they which are indebted be cast in prison until they have paid. In the laws of the 12 tables as Aulus Gellius reporteth in the 20th book and 1st chapter, There was appointed by the Judge the space of 30 days, wherein the debtor might seek money for payment of his debts: which if he could not obtain, he was bound in fetters and gives, and delivered to his Creditor, who constrained him to work at home like a laboring beast, until such time as he were satisfied of the debt. And of such bonds Livy maketh mention, and declareth that by reason of them there sprang great sedition, because the people would not be so cruelly handled by their own countrymen, and by them which were rich. The Saxon laws do bind the debtors: but the Roman laws nowhere (so far as I know) have expressly decreed prisons for debtors. But expressly (I said) because it seemeth to be gathered in some sort. For in the Code [*the Title*] *Qui bonis cedere possint*, in the 1st law it is written: that by departing from the goods, imprisonment was avoided. Whereby surly it appeareth, that the debtors which would not yield their goods should be thrust into prison. And thereupon is gathered, that the departing from goods was in place of a benefit unto the Romans, for by it they avoided imprisonment. But they which being condemned by the Judge, were not able to pay the condemnation laid upon them, were punished in the body. For they were driven to so many and so great labors and works, until such

time as they had satisfied that wherein they were condemned: As we have it in the Digests, in the title *De Poenitentia* the first law, in the Paragraph, *Generaliter*.

8. Howbeit, by the Roman laws, power is not taken away from the Magistrate, but that he may cast them into prison, which by craft do circumvent some, to the intent they may trust them with money, against whom afterward they vaunt: when they show that they have not wherewith to pay. Howbeit, this is done by authority of the Judges, not that the laws have expressly so decreed. But that this should be done by private men, the Roman laws have in plain words forbidden: As we have it in the Digests, *De Reg. Juris*, in the law, *Non est singulis*. Neither were free men brought into bondage, for not paying of debts: As it is in the Code, *De Actione & obligatione*, in the law, *Ob as alienum*. Yea and by Justinian very grievous punishments are decreed against them which durst to attempt it, as it is in the Authentics, *Ut nulli Judicum liceat*, in the Paragraph, *Quod vero*, *Col. 8*. where he decreeth that they which have committed this wicked act, should lose their right of demanding that which is due unto them. Further, that they shall pay as much money unto him that hath the wrong [*as the debt cometh to*.] Neither was any man thrust into prison for public debt: as we may see in the Code, *De Exactionibus tributorum*, in the law, *Nemo*. Bartolus also, about the law *Alia*, in the Digests, *De Matrimonio Soluto*, saith, that the bargain is of no force, wherein a man bindeth himself to prison, if he pay not the debt within a certain time, so bereaving himself of the benefit of departing from his goods. Of the same opinion is *Panormitanus de Pignoribus*, in the chapter *Lator*. Howbeit, two cases are here excepted. The first is: if he that is not able to discharge the debt, have alienated all his goods before for deceiving of his Creditors: As we have it in the Digests, in

the title, *Quae in fraudem Creditorum*, in the last law. The other case is, if a debtor, when he got other men's goods into his hands did know that he had not wherewith to pay, as it is written in the Digests, *De Jure dotis*, in the last law but one. Neither are we to pass over that which is in the Code *De captiuis post liminio reversis*, in the last law, which was made by Honorius, that if any captive be delivered at the cost or charges laid out by another: he when he shall be returned home, ought to repay the charges to him that hath redeemed him. And if perhaps he shall not be able to repay him, he should satisfy his redeemer by services and labors, and finally by his travel for the space of five years. And thus much as touching the imprisonment or bondage of debtors out of the Roman laws.

9. The laws of God have made no mention of imprisonment of those debtors which have not wherewith to pay, but bondage they have laid upon them. And for better understanding of the matter, we will define a servant or bondman. He is an instrument endued with reason, which being separated from others may execute his office, and is not at his own liberty, but is in subjection of another man. But of servitudes there be many kinds. Some have taken place by the right of victory, and they which took bondmen in the wars, had power over them of life and death. Others are made bondmen, not by the right of war, but because they have sold themselves by reason of poverty. Or else they have been plucked away from their parents, or from their Lord's, or else from the sentence of the Judge, when they were not able to make satisfaction for that which was stolen. Others be bondmen, because they have been procreated of parents being bondmen. Further as touching divine laws, some servants were Hebrews, and others were strangers, as Canaanites, Philistians, and men of Tyrus &c. God by his laws did very much mitigate the servitude of the Hebrew bondmen. First, he

would not that they should be straitly governed by their Masters, that is by proud dominion and haughtiness. Besides he decreed, that deliverance should always be at hand, and that it should not be hindered by any reward. Moreover the Jews might not be constrained to serve above six years, for the seventh year he was suffered to go free. Neither did he always serve out the 6 years. For if the year of Jubilee had fallen in the third or in the 4th year of the bondage, he escaped free. Besides he would have a bondman of this kind, to be dealt withal like a hired servant, that letteth his labors to hire. Neither was it lawful by the laws of God, to sell a Hebrew unto strangers. And when he was let go free, it was commanded, that he should not be sent away empty, but that a portion of corn, of sheep, and of other goods should be given unto him. And not only he himself was delivered, but together with him, his children, and also his wife, so that she were a Hebrew. For the bondslaves which were strangers were never redeemed nor yet delivered, unless the Master were willing: and the children procreated by them, were kept in perpetual bondage. It is manifest by these things which I have rehearsed, that God did very much ease the bondage as touching his own people the Jews. Unto this lenity it seemeth that Constantine also had respect, as it appeareth in the Code, the second law, *De patribus qui filios distraxerunt*. For it suffereth not, that children should be sold by their Parents, unless it be in extreme necessity of hunger. And he will that they should straightway return to freedom, when there shall be offered an opportunity of redeeming, either by restitution of the money unto the byer, or else by putting another bondman in his place. And albeit that the law of God did so mitigate servitude, yet did the widow make request unto Elisha, that it might not happen unto her children: partly because Mothers covet to have evils though they be easy to be turned away from

their children, and partly because that clemency of God expressed by the laws, was not perfectly kept by cruel Masters. For which transgression, Jeremiah did earnestly rebuke king Zedekiah, because perhaps he feared least that children being alienated, should by Creditors be driven unto Idolatry, which then had invaded the 10 Tribes.

Of Traffic, or occupying of Merchandise, and engrossing of wares called *Monopolium*.

10. Whereas the holy History speaketh of the Traffic of Solomon, that Narration hath two things worthy to be observed. First, that it may be declared how Solomon had such store of horses, seeing Palestine breedeth not many of those beasts. In deeds it hath many Asses, and also many Moyles and Camels, but very few horses. Wherefore it is declared, that Solomon easily prepared himself horses out of Egypt. Further it is showed, that riches came unto Solomon not only by Navigation, but also by way of Merchandise out of Egypt. The matter was on this wise: In Egypt there is an increase of a great number of horses, and those fierce and courageous, which not only do suffice that Nation: but also other Nations adjoining do fetch from thence. Which was not permitted of them to be done freely: For Pharaoh would have a certain tribute thereby. So as there was a certain appointed custom given for the carrying away of every horse, even as at this day we see in some kingdoms. And forsomuch as Pharaoh was the father in law of Solomon, this prerogative of his, he gave unto him: Namely, that strangers should not carry horses out of Egypt, but by the leave of Solomon, and by paying the custom which he himself had appointed. Wherefore it was easy enough for him, to have plenty of horses in his own kingdom. Moreover, through that custom, there came very much unto his Treasure.

And he exacted the custom by a certain company of his own Merchants whom he had appointed unto this office.

11. Howbeit this kind of gain seemeth not only to be vile, but also incommodious and hurtful unto Nations and provinces. For it hath respect unto μονοπώλιον, which is then done, when as a certain kind of things are committed to someone man alone to be sold. Engrossing of wares are forbidden by the Roman laws: As it is in the Code *De Monopolijs*, in the law, Unica. By which very strait law, Zeno the Emperor decreed, that they which used engrossing of wares, should be despoiled of all their goods. And he added, that even the letters of the Emperors should not be heard, if they should seem to give any man license to engross or get all into their hands. And undoubtedly, they that engross all into their own hands, sell not things according to their value and worthiness, but set a prize upon them at their own pleasure. But how this kind of Traffic serveth to gain and getting of wealth, Aristotle showeth in his first book of Politics, the 7th chapter, bringing the example of Thales Milesius. Against him was poverty upbraided: Namely that whereas he was more studious in Philosophy than the rest, he also seemed to be in more necessity than others. Wherefore he being minded to defend Philosophy from the reproach of ill men, seeing he foreknew by Astrology, that the year following there would be a great plenty of Oil, before that winter should pass away, that is, before the Olive trees should have flowers, hired all the storehouses, the wine presses, and oil mill's. And whenas there followed a great fruitfulness of the fruit of Olives in Chios and Miletum, none could have any storehouse or instruments for Oil, unless it were permitted them by Thales. These things when he set forth to hire, he somewhat raised the price: whereby he got an abundance of money, and gave foolish men to understand that it will be an

easy matter for a wise man, if so he think fit, to gather unto him great store of money. The self-same fact doth Cicero rehearse in his first book, *De Divinatione*: but somewhat after another sort than did Aristotle. For he writeth not that the storehouses of Oil were hired, but that the Oil itself was bought. This doth Pliny show in his 18th book the 28th chapter, but he ascribeth it not to Thales, but to Democritus. And he saith, that he did not foresee a great plenty of Oil, but a very great scarcity, and bought for himself all the Oil which should be growing in the country. The same Aristotle brought an example of him, which bought up all the Iron at Siracusa. And when the Merchants were come to the Fairs, he somewhat advancing the price, got very much gains. This did Dion the Tyrant take in very ill part, and therefore drove him out of the City. For he supposed that the engrossing by private men was not profitable to his exchequer. Strabo in the fourth book of his Geography saith, that the *Taurisci*, (which at this day we call *Taurinati*, being a people towards the Alps in the borders of Italy, had in times past excellent Gold mines. And when in the digging of Gold they were holpen by other Italians, who afterward transported into diverse parts of Italy that which they received for their wages: thereof it came to pass, that in the space of two months Gold in Italy was sold a third part better cheap than it had been before. Wherefore the *Taurisci* ordained an engrossing in their own hands, by means whereof it should be lawful for themselves only to sell their Gold. And there are accustomed to be made engrossing's of salt, and of Alum, and of many other things which belong as well to meat as to drink. And this (as Aristotle teacheth in the place now alleged) have the Commonwealths and princes of Cities attempted, when they have need of money. And this sometime did Charles the 5th within our

age in the low countries: And likewise the king of Portugal as touching spices.

12. But to return to Solomon, He cannot be accused of filthy and hurtful gain: For he used not this μονοπώλιον, of what sort soever it were, within his kingdom, so that he did no harm to his Citizens. But thou wilt say, that by using of this traffic in Egypt he did hurt the Egyptians. No not one whit: For he prescribed not anything to the Egyptians, for it was lawful for them to buy of whom they would, and that for the usual price. Also it hindered no strong nations at all: Because the Noble men and Princes which were near neighbors, or else merchants might not otherwise bring out horses from thence without the grant and good will of Pharaoh, unto whom also it behooved to pay the custom appointed by him. But if that Pharaoh would grant this right of his unto Solomon, it was free for him to do the same without injury to any man. I am not ignorant of this, that there be some of the Hebrews which think that this right given to Solomon, pertained not only unto horses, but also unto silk. For they judge that the Hebrew word *Micue* is even the same in effect that is *Ticua*, whereby is signified yearn or a thread of silk. In very deed, garments of silk were in great estimation in the east and south Regions, therefore they think, that as well horses as silk might not be brought out of Egypt, unless it were by Solomon or by his agents. Howbeit the matter is uncertain, namely as touching silk: wherefor I will not much strive about that matter. But this I affirm, that even hereby is gathered, (which also other good authors as I showed before have taught,) that the engrossing of wares is a very certain and ready way to make gain. But of what price the horses were, and for how much they were carried out, it is declared. A Chariot of four horses cost six hundredth shekels of silver or drachmas: That is after the account of our times two hundredth and forty

crowns of the Sun, as Budaeus a very learned man in his book *De Asse* hath declared, when he purposely took in hand to expound this place. So that they paid for every horse 60 Crowns: which also is in use at this day. For a horse of lusty courage and great, as are barded horses, will be of no less price than threescore crowns.

13. But when as Pharaoh sendeth the people crying out unto Joseph, and he selleth Corn, it is not meet that they which engross wares into their own hands should hereby defend their naughty covetousness. They do therefore use the same because it helpeth to make them very rich. A thing doubtless not beseeming to a man that is wise and of a good nature. For sometimes private men buy of Princes a right of selling this or that kind of thing, so as it may be lawful for them alone, and they themselves set a price, not according to justice, but according to covetousness. Wherefore engrossing of wares must be condemned, as being that which hurteth the public profit, and is against justice. Yet do I not deny, but that the commonwealth itself standing in any necessity, so as it wanteth money, may ordain that certain things be engrossed for a public benefit. For I think there is no difference between this, and to impose a new tax. But here the case is altered. The king commanded that corn should be gotten together and kept for a public safety. For private men neglected this care, therefore it behooved the Magistrate to have here a great regard. Moreover, he hindered not others which would do this. Herein also was the commandment of God, which excuseth whatsoever may here seem absurd unto man's reason. Justinian forbad engrossing's, because it was brought in not to the utility, but to the destruction of the people. And because it was chiefly used in the Country of Palestine in respect of the slime which there groweth, to wit, that someone man bought all that stuff, that he alone might sell it abroad, and the

Grecians call that slime ἄσφαλτον: hereof it came to pass that those engrossing of things are commonly called *Asphalta*. But in this place we say that either this was no very engrossing, or else that whatsoever we read here to be done, must not be drawn to an example, seeing we have the commandment of God against it.

CHAP. XXI. Of Troubles and Sedition: further of the suffering of Tyranny.

In times past even Christ himself was accused of sedition: so was Paul, and in a manner all the holy men, and Preachers of the Gospel. And in the first times of Christianity, all damages and calamities were ascribed to the Church, as it sprang up. And when Christian Religion was received by Constantine the Great and published throughout the Roman monarchy, that did the Ethnic men judge to be the beginning of the decay of the Roman power, and that the same was afterward brought low by no other means, but because the worshipping's and superstitions of their fathers being cast aside, Christian Religion had been brought in. Wherefore Augustine, and very many other Ecclesiastical writers, wrote noble Apologies and notable books of that matter. Ahab said that Elias troubled Israel. Which saying is Metaphorical, because to trouble is nothing else but to mingle and confound the low with the high and the uppermost with the nethermost. And that is plainly perceived in a vessel wherein is contained liquor of diverse parts, I mean of thick and of thin: There the thinner occupy the higher places, and be more clear, and which may be better seen through: but all the dregs and

thick things seek the bottom, and there lie being pressed down. But if any man shall stir them and raise them up aloft, all is said to be troubled, for they thick and are made muddy. From hence is taken a similitude both unto the commonwealth and unto the Church: Where, when superstition and corrupt Religion, which ought to lie oppressed, is had in honor and flourisheth, and on the contrary part pure and sincere godliness disturbed, now are all things confounded and troubled. The very which thing happeneth, where honest and wise men are despised and rejected, and the ungodly and foolish have the government of things. By this means therefore, as well the commonwealth as the Church is troubled. But when this happeneth, the opinion of the godly and the ungodly is not alone. For the ungodly think that the matter goeth then well when evil things do flourish. Contrariwise holy men endued with true judgment, esteem those things to be troubled, and judge things then to be quiet and well ordered, when justice and holiness are held in reputation, and when impiety and naughtiness, as they deserve, are rejected.

2. When Ahab laid unto Elias charge the troubling of his Kingdom, it seemeth that he had respect unto two kinds of troubling: one Civil, and another Religious. For as touching godliness and worshiping of God, there was nothing more delightful unto a most corrupt king, than to promote Idolatry, and to amplify the same, as much as in him lay. But on the other side the Prophet Elias dealt in nothing more earnestly, than to turn away the people from it, and to bring them to the worshiping of the true God Jehovah: And therefore Ahab said that he troubled Israel. The Civil trouble was, that the King would have had his dominion to enjoy the commodities of life, and to flourish in wealth and abundance: but those good things were marvelously diminished and extenuated through want of Rain, and drieth of

three years space: So as the commonwealth was troubled, both as touching Religion, and also the necessary helps of this life. This in effect is the chiding of Ahab the King against Elias. But now must we consider how Elias behaved himself with the King. Doubtless he committed nothing unworthy of a Prophet and legate of God. He dealt constantly, and with valiant courage defended he the ministry of God's word. He humbled not himself at the Kings feet, he craved no pardon, neither did he promise that he would amend if he had done anything unacceptable unto him: not that he was proud or arrogant, but because he saw that this accusation did directly assail the word of God, as though the disturbance had risen thereby. If he had been to deal in his own private business, I doubt not but that he would have used modesty meet for a godly man, but to have the estimation and dignity of the high God to be impaired, he might not abide. Wherefore he answered: It is not I that trouble Israel, but thou and thy fathers house. He useth a contrary accusation and returneth the crime upon the accuser, that is upon the wicked King. Neither must he be accused of insolency, because (as Paul hath declared to the Galatians the 1st Chapter,) He must be taken accursed whosoever (although it shall be an Angel) that teacheth otherwise than the gospel or truth of God showeth itself. And if Angels are not exempted, Kings also must not be exempted. Doubtless it behooved Elias to have a great spirit, that he should adventure to oppose himself against a furious King. The self-same thing also did John the Baptist show, who set himself against Herod otherwise a most cruel King. Helias addeth a cause why Ahab and his ancestors troubled Israel: namely, for that they forsook the true God, and who was the God of their Fathers, and contemned his commandments and laws, serving strange God's. This he saith, was the original fountain and root of disturbance. And for because this is a great

matter, and that the knowledge thereof serveth very much for these times, wherein the Papists say, that we be the disturbers of the Church and the authors of sedition, and we in like manner return upon them that these evils have sprung up from themselves: it shall be very necessary for determining of the cause, to speak somewhat herein as touching trouble or sedition. And what the word of troubling signifieth, and from whence the translation was derived, I have expressed a little before. Now let us come to a just definition of the thing. But first I thought it good to show the Etymology of that word, namely Trouble. Ulpianus according to the opinion of Labeo in the Digests, in the Title *Vi fractorum bonorum*, saith in general, that this word *Tumultus* is derived ἀπό τοῦ θορυβεῖν, that is, Tumultuary. Cicero in the 6th *Book De Republica* (as it is reported) wrote that sedition is a disagreement of men among themselves, when one draweth one way and another, another way. The Greeks call it στάσιν and ἀκαταστασίαν. But the Authors of sedition and trouble, the Hebrews call *Hakerim*, the Greeks call παράσσοντας, and ἀναστατοῦντας, that is, troublers. And thus much as touching the word.

3. But as concerning the true nature or definition, Sedition or trouble belong to the predicament of Action. For they which make any trouble, do it either by judging of contrary and diverse things, or by uttering of the same, or else by performing of them by the work itself. It is an Action (I say) not natural but voluntary, which is referred unto vice. The next general word thereof is contention: Seeing in every trouble, men contend one against another. Under this general word, there may be reckoned four kinds. For the same happeneth either amongst many, or else between one or two. If there be many that contend, those either be kinsfolk and near friends, or else they be foreigners and strangers. Plato in the 5th Dialogue *De Republica* saith,

that the Greeks be kinsfolk and friends, and the strangers he calleth Barbarous. If we shall contend with such men, he thinketh it to be war: but when the Grecians fought among themselves, that he said belonged unto sedition. But and if the contention be about holy and religious things, that is commonly called Schism: but if a contention be stirred up between one or two, then it is a brawl, as the same Ulpian affirmed, according to the opinion of Labeo, in the Law before alleged. Neither will they have it to be a trouble or Sedition, if two or three or four contend among themselves, but as they say there must be a good many. These be the chief kinds of contention. Howbeit of war and brawling I will not now treat. But trouble and Schism, that is sedition, as well in religious things, as in civil things I will comprehend in one.

4. And forsomuch as Actions are wont to be known by the objects, that is, by the matter about which they be occupied (as sight is known because it consisteth in the apprehending of light and discerning of colors: also hearing, because it admitteth sounds and words:) therefore must we consider what doeth sedition or trouble, and about what things it is conversant. We say that the same argueth a Privation of two most excellent things: to wit, of Order and of unity. Order (if we credit Augustine) is a disposing of things like and unlike, giving to everything their own places. All things in the world be not equal and after one sort. But then are they said to be in order when they be well disposed, and obtain places fit for themselves. And men's actions have then an order when they are tempered to things according to their own state and dignity. Whereupon Chrysostom excellently well wrote in the 23rd Homily upon the Epistle to the Romans: That God appointed amongst men many differences of Rule and subjection. For we find there be Masters and servants, Parents and children, man and

wife, Magistrate and subjects, Olde men and young men: but the Actions of men will not be set in order, unless they be made agreeable unto these and such like degrees. But this cannot be done, unless things be ordered according to the rule of the law. Wherefore seeing trouble is said to take away order, we perceive that the same taketh away the law, which is the head and fountain of good order. For even as God in the nature of man's body separated diverse members and placed them in marvelous order, the head in the high top of all, and therein the eyes like unto windows, under it he put a mouth to receive meat, a breast to contain the inward parts which sustain life, a stomach for the digesting of meats, flanks, thighs, ham's and feet; which things being so set in order do testify the excellent wisdom of the Creator: But if they be confounded and set out of order, they make not a man but a monster: Even so hath he in his laws revealed the way and the measure whereby our actions may be rightly disposed and ordered.

5. Furthermore, Trouble or sedition taketh away unity: For the minds of Citizens are separated and marvelously drawn one from another: And that is very deformed and becometh not a Commonwealth. Wherefore Luke in the Acts of the Apostles minding to commend the society of the Christians, saith: They were of one mind and of one heart. And this unity consisteth in cleaving unto him, which above all things is one. He truly is the true God, without whose fear and worship, the true unity cannot be obtained, but all things remain torn and rent one from another. Whereupon Augustine in his Sermon *De verbis Domini*, upon the Gospel of Luke the 26th chapter, entreating of those words wherein the Lord said unto Martha, But one thing is needful, writeth: Give one thing, and thou shalt have the people, that is to say, well and rightly ordered: take away one thing, and thou shalt have a route. But a route, is nothing else but a rude unruly multitude. By these

words we may gather, what is the true subject of this privation. For the privation standeth not by itself, nor hangeth in the air. The subject thereof is a multitude or a company of men, which is meet and apt to be set in order, or to be deprived thereof: And also to be truly one, or to be pulled one from another. If this company be deprived of this order, then is it deprived of peace and tranquility, which chiefly standeth upon these two things.

6. This definition of ours do the words of Elias confirm, who minding to reprove Ahab for moving of trouble, said: Thou hast forsaken God, which saying respecteth the privation of unity, And his commandments, which maketh to the privation of order: And thereby proved him to be a mover of trouble. Paul exhorteth us to the retaining of those good things, and of those excellent habits, in many places, but especially in the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians the first Chapter, saying: I beseech you brethren, (he speaketh to the multitude of Christians which was, or should have been the subject of the order of unity) that ye all speak one thing, and that there be no Schisms among you, but ἠρτισμένοι, be ye knit together in one mind, and in one judgment. He requireth a consent among the faithful as touching the mind, and as touching words, so much as may be, and also as touching works. But as touching works (which here he seemeth not to touch,) he very well showeth in the second Chapter to the Philippians: Be ye of one mind, agreeing together in one thing, doing nothing by contention and vain glory. A wholesome exhortation doubtless, which hath respect unto peace and unity. Also Pythagoras said: φευκτέον στάσις τῆς πόλιως, the sedition of a City must be avoided.

7. If we seek for the causes of this evil, many may be brought. In the place now alleged unto the Philippians, Paul rehearsed two: Contention, which seemeth to signify a ready inclination unto strife's and debates: We ought

not to obey corrupt inclination. Also a greediness of glory driveth many unto that point, and likewise the desires of pleasures and gain: but above all things a diversity of faith whereof Jerome spake writing upon Matthew in the 10th Chapter, treating of these words, I came not to send peace, but a sword: where he saith that for the faith of Christ, the whole world is divided against itself. Neither is there any house, wherein there be not believers and unbelievers. And again upon the same Chapter, expounding that saying, Brother shall deliver Brother, he saith, there is no faithful affection of them, whose faith is diverse. Plato in the 4th book *De Repub.* saith, that seditions arise, as well through too much abundance as through too much scarcity. For they which abound on every side with riches be of haughty mind, and contemn the poor in comparison of themselves. On the other side, the poor being despised are stirred up against the rich, and one City is divided into parts. This we know happened in the Church of the Corinthians, whereas the rich and wealthy, would not sit down at meat with the poor, but they joined themselves to men of their own degree, and made dainty and gorgeous feasts among themselves, neither did they tarry for the poor: But the poor being contemned, tarried long and sat by themselves using most simple and poor fare. Thereby arose troubles and seditions: This (as saith Paul) is to eat anything else rather than the supper of the Lord. There might perhaps other causes also be brought, but those which we have recited are the better. There remaineth [*to speak of*] the end, which (if we respect troublesome and seditious men) is to overthrow and consume for their own gain sake, things that be well ordered. Wherefore Chrysostom upon the 5th chapter to the Galatians (expounding those words: If ye bite and devour one another, take heed least ye be consumed one of another) saith, that sedition doth at length bring consumption and corruption. And he compareth the

same unto a moth, which departeth not from the garment, until it have consumed the same as much as it can. But if we have respect unto God, and demand unto what end he suffereth these things to be done, we will answer: To the intent that they which be proved, may in troubles and seditions be made manifest. And whereas they lay hidden before, they may now shine above others. Hereof hath Paul put us in mind, in the first to the Corinthians, saying: It behooveth that heresies should be, that they which be proved may be made manifest.

8. By these things which we have now alleged, the whole definition may be gathered, which standeth in the general word, and in the differences, and comprehendeth all the causes: So as we may say, that trouble or sedition is a voluntary action, whereby there is contention among many, as well touching civil things as matters of Religion. And there is brought in a privation as well of order, as of unity, by reason of the inclination of the mind to the making of strife, or for anger for receiving of an offense, or for desire of glory, or of pleasures, or of gain, and most of all, for the diversity of faith, or else for too much plenty or poverty, and that to the overthrow of good ordinances, and that godly men may shine more and more by the occasion thereof. This is a very full definition. I am not ignorant that other descriptions are commonly used: as when it is said, that sedition is the violence and wrath of the people. But here only is touched the cause enforcing. It is also said to be sedition, when the people disagreeing come to hand strokes: whereby is showed, that the same is no light motion but a vehement, which draweth the matter unto a conflict. Which Virgil seemeth to have laid before our eyes, when he saith:

And like as in a people stout, when oft it doth betide,
The common sort to make a fray, of wit which are full wide:

Now flies the stones, and fiery flames; and fury feeds the fight.

But that which we brought is a full definition, and comprehendeth the whole matter. There remaineth that we consider of the ground or subject, or concrete (as the Logicians speak,) seeing we have spoken of the nature itself. He is a seditious person (saith Isidorus) in his Etymologies, which causeth a dissention of minds, and maketh discords. Yet nevertheless not only the Authors and heads of that wickedness are to be accounted seditious, but they also which follow them, which help them, nourish and defend them: Albeit that they which are the captains, and disturbers of the peace, do sin much more grievously than do others.

9. But the greatness or grievousness of this crime dependeth of the excellency of good things which be taken away by it. What worser thing can happen unto a multitude, than if order and unity be subverted? Plato in *Sophista* saith, that sedition is the corrupting of natural knowledge. Which that it may yet be more plainly understood, I will bring the saying of Augustine, which we have in the 9th chapter *De Civitate Dei*, where he said, that wise men prescribed not every company of men to be a people, but that which was joined by consent of law, and mutual participation of profit. But since that sedition perverteth law and common profit, the fault is much more grievous than brawling, in which the strife is for the benefit of one or two: and yet is not common law overthrown, nor public benefit taken away. Also the greatness of this sin is gathered by the punishments: as Paul said to the Galatians: I would they were cut off which trouble you. Wherefore trouble is meet to be cut off. In like manner the Apostle said in the same Epistle to the Galatians: They which trouble you shall bear their judgment. The sedition of Core, Dathan, and Abiram was punished by death. So was the sedition of Absalom. Likewise was Seba the son of Kichri

stirred up against David. The laws of men have reckoned his heinous crime among the offenses of death: as we may see in the Digests, *De Poenis*, in the law, *Si aliquis aliquid ex metallo*, in Paragraph, *Authores*, or *Fautores*. For both those titles are read. Of them it is there pronounced on this wise: Either let them be hanged on a gibbet, or be cast unto the beasts, or else be carried unto the Island. Even so is it written in the same title, in the law *Capitalium*, the Paragraph *Solet*, and in the Code *De seditiosis,* the first and second laws. And sometimes they have the same punishments laid upon them, which they have that be guilty of treason: as we have it, *Ad legem Juliam Majestatem*, the first law. The Canons of the Church have oftentimes decreed, that those which were seditious, should not receive orders. And thus much of the punishment, and greatness of the crime.

10. It is further to be understood, that they must not be all accused which contend in sedition. For whereas there be two parts, of which the one striveth against the other, it is of necessity, that seeing they contend about contradictions in things repugnant, the cause of the one part is good, and the cause of the other is evil: they which defend a just cause, good laws, and common profit, are not to be accounted seditious. Contrariwise, they which strive against these things must be punished. Elias and Ahab were both in one contention. We must consider which part of those troublers is guilty. By the things which we have spoken, we may discern the same. Yet is it better to gather this by the words of the Prophet: Thon leadest the Israelites from the true God unto Baal, and takest away the law of the true God, therefore art thou thyself a troubler. But I call back the people unto Jehovah the God of their Fathers, and I contend in behalf of the laws made upon mount Sinai, and received by our forefathers, therefore I am no troubler nor seditious man. Thou and I follow things contrary, but seeing I defend and maintain

the sound opinion and the better side, I am not to be accused of troubling and making sedition. And even this may be lawful for us to return upon the Papists, when they count us troublers and seditious men. We maintain the true worshipping of God and the glory of Christ, we receive the Scriptures of God, we use the Sacraments sincerely as they were instituted by Christ, we receive three Creeds, we will not worship Creatures, Images, or Idols, therefore we are no troublers. Justly are they accused of so great wickedness which do all things contrary. Happy is that Commonwealth or Church which is ruled and governed by the word of God: And contrariwise, unhappy is the same, which followeth the inventions of men, rejecting the Oracles of God. Happy is that people (said David) whose God is Jehovah. Whereupon is concluded on the contrary part: that unhappy is the people which hath not Jehovah for their God. And in that history [*of Ahab and Helias*] we see that that kingdom of the 10 tribes was grieved with famine, and had heaven closed up. And albeit the Papists be not troubled with famine of outward meat, yet are they pined with great penury of God's word, and the light of heaven is most manifestly shut from them. A very strong Argument it was of the Prophet, and by that means he brake the heart of Ahab, so as he had no answer to make: wherefore he gave place to the Prophet. But the Romanists at this day are not content with such a reason, because they make their own inventions equal unto the scriptures, or else account them greater. Now resteth it to see whether the Scriptures use the word of Troubling in such sort as I have set it forth. In the book of Joshua, it is said that Achan troubled the people, because against the commandment of God he had conveyed of the things accursed: which thing grievously displeased. Also Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, You troubled me: for against right and equity and promise made, you slue the Shechemites the

third day after their circumcision. But much more plainly doth it appear out of Paul to the Galatians the first Chapter, where he saith: I marvel of you that ye so soon departed from Christ to another Gospel, which is not another Gospel: but that there be some which trouble you. He meant that the false Apostles troubled the Christians in respect that they led them away from the Gospel.

11. But for so much as the Magistrate is a lively law, and that he representeth God, they which rise up against him are justly said to be seditious: seeing they as much as in them lieth, do take away the execution of laws, and the Image of God. Wherefore the Magistrate must be reverenced: Neither must we be against him, so long as he ruleth according to the word of God, or by honest civil decrees, or else while he command ἀδιάφορα [*that is things indifferent*,] although they may otherwhile seem to be grievous and painful. For Peter saith that we must obey our Masters though they be froward. And thither may be drawn the words of Christ wherein he said: If any man shall constrain thee to go one mile, go with him twain: And if a man will take away thy Cote, give him also thy Cloke. But if the Magistrate will command ungodly things, and those things which be repugnant to the word of God, he is not to be heard, neither must he be obeyed: For we must obey God rather than men. If he command to worship Images, to corrupt and deform the Sacraments, or command dishonest customs, or will adventure to set forth new Articles of faith, we must not obey him: Neither by so doing can the crime of sedition or troubling be laid against us. And not only we must not obey, but we must also gainsay and repugn ungodliness as much as in us lieth, after the example of Christ, of John the Baptist, and of all the Prophets and Apostles: and to think that those men were troublers, is a wicked part. Moses and Aaron were against

Pharaoh, in laying before him the word of God, and certainly by him they were called seditious, whenas yet they were nothing less. Neither were Josiah, Hezekiah, and Asah seditious princes, when they overthrew the Images, Idols, and superstitions, which their Ancestors had erected, and held in estimation. The high priests and Scribes, and also the Roman princes would have had the Apostles to be altogether silent, and not to have preached the name of Christ: which they would not do. And Abraham would not worship the fire as it was worshipped in his country. Daniel and his fellows said to Nebuchadnezzar: We will not worship thy Image. Yet are they not therefore by the judgment of the godly accounted seditious. Wherefore let the Magistrate be obeyed, and had in honor, when he commandeth things according to the word of God, when he ruleth by just decrees, or commandeth things indifferent. But it is demanded, whether Elias in calling the king a troubler, went against that precept, whereby God commanded, that no man should speak evil of the Prince of his own nation. We answer, that commandment is violated, when that is done rashly, or for his own advantage: or else when the authority itself is contemned: which thing Elias himself did not. Only he accused his sin so far forth as belonged to his own function. And Christ called Herod, a Fox: And as touching them which would have killed him, he said, That they were Children of the Devil. Sometimes it furthereth very much to the glory of God, and also unto the Church, that the sins of Magistrates should be reproved, and that is done without sedition or troubling. But hereof we have spoken sufficiently.

Whether it be lawful for subjects to rise against their Prince.

12. Let us divide subjects, so as some of them may be mere private men, and others in such sort inferior, as the superior power in a manner dependeth of them: As among the Lacedemonians were their ἔφοροι, and at

Rome the Tribunes of the people. Those which only are subject and counted altogether private, ought not to arise against their Princes and Lord's, and displace them of their dignity or degree. The two Apostles Peter and Paul have commanded the same: namely, that servants should obey their Lord's how rigorous and hard soever they be. Moreover, the sword (as it is written to the Romans,) is only given to the powers. And they which resist the power, are said to resist the ordinance of God. God would that the Jews should obey Nebuchadnezzar, and was angry with Zedekiah the king because he revolted from him. Yea and Jeremiah by the commandment of God, admonished and exhorted the people to pray for the health of the king of Babylon. David also would not stretch forth his hand against the anointed of the Lord, when he might have done it without any difficulty, and to his great commodity. The godly soldiers of Julianus the Apostate obeyed the same Julianus in fighting and pitching their Camps: neither did they at any time (notwithstanding they were armed) draw weapon against that most cruel Tyrant. Phocas when he had slain Maurice, possessed the Empire by great violence and injustice, and wrote unto Gregory at Rome, who obeyed him, as his Prince, and gave unto him great reverence.

13. But there be others in the commonwealth, which in place and dignity are inferior unto Princes, and yet in very deed do elect the superior power, and by certain laws do govern the Commonwealth: as at this day we see done by the Electors of the Empire: And perhaps the same is done in other kingdoms. To these undoubtedly if the Prince perform not his covenants and promises, it is lawful to constrain and bring him into order, and by force to compel him to perform the conditions and covenants which he had promised, and that by war when it cannot otherwise be done. By this means the Romans sometime compelled the Consul, whom they themselves had

created, to go forth of his office. The Danes in our time did depose their king, and held him long in prison. Polidorus Virgilius writeth that English men sometimes compelled their Kings to render account of the money which they had misspent. Neither are we ignorant that Tarquinius the proud, was by the Romans for his over much cruelty and arrogancy thrown out of his Kingdom. I will not speak of Brutus and Cassius which slue Caesar. But whether they did it justly or otherwise, most grave men vary in their opinions. And I in examining their enterprise by the rule of the Scriptures, do not allow it. For they gave not unto him the government or Empire of Rome, but he usurped the same himself by violence and power. And God as testifieth Daniel translateth Empires and kingdoms. Though also it be lawful to resist Tyrants which assail a Kingdom, yet when they have obtained the same and do bear rule, it seemeth not to belong unto private men to put them down. Wherefore seeing that the Kingdom of the Jews was such a Kingdom as in it all men depended of the King, (For they were not chosen by noble men, but the posterity of that family which God had appointed, did govern by succession:) Therefore in the laws of Deuteronomy, and in the 1st book of Samuel wherein is ordained the right of Princes, there is no liberty granted unto any man to disturb them. Yea and sometimes it hath happened that some of them were killed, yet we never read that God allowed the murdering of them: nay rather he punished the murderers. When God at any time would displace the Kings of Judah, he did it by the Babylonians, Assyrians and Egyptians, but not by the Jews. He only armed Jehu against his Lord: which as it was peculiar, so must we not take example by it. He destroyed Saul also by the hands of the Philistines and not by David. And I am not ignorant how many things of this matter are decreed in the Code and in the Digests *Ad legem Juliam Majestatis*: But

endeavoring to be brief I do of purpose pass them over. And although I know right well that the Ethnics in the old-time appointed rewards for such as killed Tyrants: yet I have answered, that godliness and the holy Scriptures allow not the same. Assuredly, if it be lawful for the people to cast out of a Kingdom those that unjustly bear Rule, there shall never be any Princes or Kings in safety. For although they live justly and godly, yet do they not satisfy the people.

Whether Jehoiada did right in putting Athaliah from the kingdom.

14. But there be many reasons, whereby it may be showed that Jehoiada did well and rightly conspire against Athaliah. First he was not altogether a private man, but was the high Priest in the commonwealth, unto whom belonged to judge not only Ecclesiastical and sacred, but also civil causes. For the Jews had no other Books of law but the holy Bible. Further there conspired with him the Levites and Priests, and also the Princes of families, and the most noble men of the kingdom, and the captains of the soldiers. By which kind of men it was meet that the commonwealth or kingdom of Judah should be delivered from that woman's Tyranny. Moreover than this were the promises of God which he had made unto the family of David: which promises, it was the high Priests part to defend. Also the law of Deuteronomy was to be observed, namely that the kingdom should not fall unto strangers. Besides, Jehoiada was joined in affinity with the kings family, forsomuch as he had to wife the sister of Achazias departed. Wherefore it was his part to provide, that a confused order should be rid out of the kingdom of Judah. But perhaps some man will reprove this endeavor of Jehoiada. First because he did not rightly and orderly in dispossessing of that person which was already in office. Meet in deed it is for good men to travel and endeavor to their power that the state of things present should not

be changed, but when it is changed, and that someone hath gotten the sovereignty, and is entered into the government: it is not lawful to cast him out. Furthermore, although that some conspiracy may otherwhile be good, yet it seemeth in his own nature to have the show of evil, wherefore men ought justly to fly the same, especially Priests, whose part it is with all diligence to keep innocence. Besides this, Jehoiada might on this behalf seem to seek his own. For seeing the child was very young, he after a sort did intrude himself to be governor in his stead. Moreover it might seem that God was displeased therewith, which in this respect may be proved, in that Joash when Jehoiada was dead, killed his son, as though God would revenge the sin of his father. Add here withal that this was done by the Levites and Priests by force and arms, which the holy ministry ought to eschew. Furthermore because he set forth the holy place to be violated with slaughter and blood, which is thought to be contrary to all godliness. To all these things we will answer in order.

15. To the first reason thus we answer, that indeed it is not the part of a private man to put out of place a Magistrate already constituted, or a Prince which is in possession of a kingdom. But we deny that Jehoiada was a private person, seeing in the commonwealth he was the next person to the king, and judged, and sometime exercised both the sacred and civil affairs, and was the keeper of the laws. And in Deuteronomy there is a law for instituting of the king, which now by Athaliah was violated, and the promises made unto David and his posterity were hindered by Athaliah. Besides this it happened that she not only was a stranger, but an Idolatress and that incurable: wherefor she was worthy to be deposed by the primates and peers of the kingdom. And whereas in the second place it was said, that not only evil must be taken heed of, but also the show of evil: we admit the

sentence of the Apostle to be true: adding nevertheless that the same is not general, in that it belongeth to things indifferent: Albeit in those things which are of necessity to be kept, it cannot take place. But and if those things which God hath commanded may sometimes in man's judgment seem to be evil, it is not in our power to eschew that show of evil, but we ought in any wise to do that which is commanded by God. It was a show of evil for a man to be willing to kill his own son, to carry away goods forth of Egypt by fraud, to disobey Antiochus that commanded to eat swine's flesh, and not to do that which the Roman Caesar's commanded, whereupon the Christians were everywhere accused of sedition: but those things that we have mentioned were so necessary to salvation, as the show of evil was nothing there to be passed of. So likewise seeing that unto the high priest by his office, belonged the reformation of things fallen in decay, there was no cause why he should stand in fear of this show of evil. He was not occupied in an indifferent, but in a necessary matter. Whereas it was afterward alleged, that he might seem to have done these things for his own commodity, that under pretense of protectorship of the child, he himself would bear rule until Joash had come to full age, is but vain: since that he ruled in deed the child's age as a good tutor, but the kingdom was governed by the Counsel and judgment of the Senate, not by the judgment of one high Priest. And straightway the matter was discovered. For he claimed not the kingdom for himself or for his own house, but for him to whom in right it belonged. So then the Assamonites sinned very much, not in deed in that respect that they fought with strange nations for setting their religion and Country at liberty, but because they did rather claim the kingdom to themselves than to the tribe of Judah and family of David, whereunto of right it belonged. Wherefore the rest of the nobility being negligent, the care

of restoring the kingdom turned to the high Priest himself: which if he took upon him in respect of his office, he is to be praised not reproved.

16. Besides there was objected as touching the place, because he seemed to open the Temple unto slaughters and effusion of man's blood, which was not convenient for the holiness thereof, the same being appointed for sacrifices. Hereunto we answer that Athaliah had the Tyrannical government in her hands, they could not easily go to the usual place of assembly in Mizpah, where the people were wont to meet together at other times in the more dangerous cases, as is manifest out of the Book of Judges and first Book of Samuel. Wherefore a place fit and free from suspicions was chosen. But and if that Jehoiada would have dealt by open force, civil war might easily have been stirred up, and the Citizens have bent themselves one against another: for Athaliah also had her favorers: neither was she utterly void of Soldiers. To this end therefore that the king which lay hid in the Temple, might the easilier be brought forth from thence, and also be anointed by the Priests and be defended from violent assaults by any munition of some close building, there could not be perceived a more convenient place than the Temple. But as concerning slaughters and effusion of human blood, these things made not so great a matter as is wont to be made of superstitious men. God ordained in the law as it is in Deuteronomy, that whosoever unwittingly or unwillingly had killed any man, he might repair to Cities of refuge. But if a man had advisedly and of set purpose committed murder, him (saith God) pluck thou away even from mine Altar. And when Joab would not depart from thence, Solomon commanded that he should be slain there: neither did he fear to violate the Tabernacle of God. But thou wilt say: he spared Adonias, when for the same cause he fled thither. I grant: but yet he did it not because he thought that if

he were slain there, the Tabernacle should therefore be polluted: but he did it, either for that he had not utterly cast away all hope of his amendment, or else because he was not guilty as Joab was, of two murders and and those most unjust. Therefore at such time as the Temple might be spared, they did the same gladly: but when the wicked could not elsewhere be suppressed, they feared not to slay them even in the Temple, when as the slaying of them should be a certain kind of sacrifice not ungrateful to God.

17. Lastly, it remaineth to see whether it beseemed the high Priest and Levites to take arms upon them, yea and whether it be meet for Ecclesiastical men in general to deal in martial affairs after the example of Joiada and his fellows. That this may be the better declared, I think it best to show the difference between the state or condition of the Old Testament and the new. As touching them in old time, I have no doubt but that it was lawful for them. For the Levitical tribe was not altogether exempted from Civil government: nay rather to them were committed the judgments not only of Ecclesiastical, but also of Civil affairs. Furthermore the administration of sacrifices and sacraments was not so greatly frequented: because the sacrifices were made only in one place, that is in Solomon's temple. And whereas they were 24th as well of the Levites as priests they scarcely once or twice in the year or little more ministered these holy things: so as they had leisure both to exercise judgments and civil affairs. And this also may be declared by many examples. When the Israelites journeyed through the wilderness, the Levites also had their tents, and went forward armed with others of their brethren. Besides this Moses brought forth the Levites from one gate of the Camp unto another, who with their naked swords slue the Idolaters which they met, sparing neither brethren, nor kinsmen, nor alliance: unto whom at the length Moses said: Ye have

consecrated your hands. Banaias also the son of Joiada: notwithstanding he was a priest, was made ruler over the host of Solomon Eli, was the high Priest who nevertheless had the principality over the people, and judged Israel many years. Which thing also Samuel did being a Levite, who was present in the wars, and slue Agag the King of Amalek. The Assamonites likewise, which were of the stock of the Priesthood, fought against the Macedonians and were present at many battles. But why in times past both the principality and Priesthood were joined together, this may be declared the cause, namely that in those persons Christ was shadowed: to whom was due both the true Priesthood and sovereign kingdom. But after his coming upon the earth, we have no other Priest but himself, our only mediator and redeemer. Undoubtedly those ministers of the Church which are instituted by him, are appointed to preach the Gospel of the son of God, and to administer the sacraments. Wherefore it is meet that they should abstain themselves from outward principality and administration of civil affairs, since they have been so instructed by Christ. For he said unto his Apostles, The Princes of the nations have dominion over them, but it shall not be so among you. And being required by a certain man to command his brother to divide the heritage with him, said: Who hath made me a judge over you? Showing that it agreed not with his vocation while he remained upon the earth, to have authority to divide heritages. And after the same manner ought ministers to judge themselves to be sent, even as he was sent from the father. Moreover Paul informing his Timothy, and instructing him as touching the holy ministry saith, No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life. Where he useth an argument of comparison, to wit, from the lesser to the greater. Even as if he should say: If it be not lawful for them which are bound by the oath of warfare, to take upon them

other business or trades of life: much less ought they which are bound to the holy ministry, intermeddle themselves with other charges. For their vocation requireth the whole man, because they must not [*only*] twice or thrice in the year execute their office, but it is necessary that (as the Apostle hath warned) they preach the Gospel, and earnestly apply themselves to reading and doctrine both in season and out of season.

18. Howbeit it must be understood, that Arms is not utterly taken away from the Ministers of the Church: because so it may otherwhile befall, as it shall be lawful for them to exercise the same. For if in a desert place, any of them should be set upon by murderers, wherein they cannot implore the aid and help of the Magistrate, it should be lawful for him, to repel violence by violence, and to use weapons, if they should come to hand strokes, by making (as they term it) a blameless defense. For he that is so invaded, is not in that place a private person, but is armed by the Magistrate, and by just and public received laws. For neither the laws, nor yet a just Magistrate would that their Citizens should rashly perish. Wherefore in that case they give leave to use weapons. God also by his laws would, that if thieves came armed to any house in the night season, if they were killed by the owner of the house, that fact was not punishable: because they were judged to have come not only to rob, but also to murder: and God decreed no unjust thing. Seeing therefore that the Ministers not only do service to the Church, but be also subjects of a City and parts of the Commonwealth, they ought not to be deprived of the privileges, which other Cities enjoy, especially, when as by the use of them they are not revoked from the holy Ministry. Also it may so happen that there shall be so great scarcity of men in a Town, as without help of the Ministers, the walls or gates might not be defended, nor the enemy repulsed: in that case they are not let, nay rather they are bound, and

that justly, to help their country being in danger. But if such, or the like necessity do not urge, I think it not the part of a godly Magistrate to compel them unto warfare: because they cannot with a safe conscience leave their vocation: neither can they execute the same, together with the exercise of war. But yet I deny not, but that it may be lawful for a short time, and when necessity urgeth. Neither yet do I deny but that he may be in the Camps to preach unto the soldiers; yea rather I do counsel, that this be diligently done: for in the place there is most need of the word of God, as well for reproving of the evil acts which commonly depend upon wars, as also to encourage the minds of them that fight. Forsomuch as God himself made the law, as it is in Deut. that the priests should come forth into the Camp for to put the soldiers in remembrance of the promises of God. But yet notwithstanding these exceptions, the Pope and Bishops of our times are not excused, when they proclaim and make wars: yea rather they set princes together at variance, neither do they think themselves to live well and quietly, unless that slaughter, sword, and war, rage in every place.

Of the enduring of Tyranny by godly men.

19. Tyrant hath the name of the Greek verb τυραννέω, which is to rule or have sovereignty: And that word sometimes we interpret in good part, and sometimes in bad. In good part in Virgil,

Some peace shall I have, which have touched the Tyrants hand.

But in the songs of Horace the 3rd book, Acron expounding that particle, *Late Tyranni*, saith, that Tyrant signifieth a cruel man, a mighty man, and a Lord. And while it is drawn into the ill part, it is thus defined: That it is he, which beareth rule against right, honesty and laws. This doubtless may be done two manner of ways: either by invading unjustly, or by ruling the dominion naughtily. Wherefore such a wicked prince must godly men

suffer, seeing they be private persons, and have no authority over him. Neither is it their part, seditiously to move war against him. Paul saith: Let every soul be subject to the higher powers: for whatsoever powers there be, they be ordained of God, and they which resist power, get unto themselves damnation. And let us reason thus: Those things which God will take away from his by other means and instruments, let us bear it with no less patience if he take them away by Tyrants. And what godly man will not abide diseases, storms, and losses, of which sort Job suffered diverse? Without doubt we must assure ourselves that even these things are no less done by God through Tyrants, than by those other means.

20. But here some man will say, If this reason take place, it shall never be lawful for me by help of the Magistrate that I may be delivered from ungodly men, if they afflict me against right and unlawfully, because I shall think that God would have it so to be done by them. But the reason is not alike, because in this case God hath opened a lawful way unto thee, that the conditions of piety being kept, a man may justly obtain remedy from the Magistrate. But against a Tyrant thou hast not how to deal, unless thou wilt raise up sedition, tumult or conspiracy against him, or else thou thyself of thy private authority wilt kill him: which things be contrary to the meaning of the holy scriptures. But some object unto us, Gideon, Samson, Jephthah, and such other godly Judges. Howbeit, these men did not their Acts by private authority, seeing they were driven by the spirit of God which himself testified, seeing we read that with great miracles he furthered their successes. What we are to do in these things, let us rather learn of Christ: who paid tribute money, and answered to the Herodians, that unto Caesar must be given that which is Caesar's: Neither would he ever move or work anything against the Romans, who without all doubt exercised tyrannical

power against the Jews. But on the contrary part Judas and Theudas, as Josephus showeth in his 18th book of Antiquities, when they vaunted that they would set themselves against the tyranny of the Romans, their success was no less unhappy than wicked. They filled all with robberies, turning at the length the weapons upon themselves. As touching the Machabies, thou mayest affirm the same that we answered of the Judges. For the Levite which sent the dead body of his concubine, cut into so many parts, and distributed through the tribes of Israel, and therefore seemed to have raised up war, is no cause to move thee, seeing that fact was a kind of accusation. When the Israelites were in that liberty, that they obeyed not a king, it was meet that such a heinous act should be judged publicly, that by public sentence and counsel it might be punished. Three special ways hath God exactly set forth unto us in the holy Scriptures, of delivering of his people from Tyranny. First by giving of miracles and power from above, as happened at the going forth out of Egypt. Sometimes on the other part, by changing the minds of kings and princes: As he would to be done in Cyrus and Darius. For these wore made so gentle and well-willing towards the Israelites, as they sent them home again honorably endued with most bountiful gifts. Otherwhile the Lord raiseth up unto his people some deliverer, which may be the Author of liberty and may have a certain calling to this purpose, as in the book of Judges we read to be oftentimes done. Thou shalt note moreover, that the brothers of Dinah could object: The maid hurt by the Tyrant belongeth unto us, her virginity is committed unto us, wherefore we may revenge upon him that hath violated the same. But they should have consulted with themselves [*saying*] she belongeth more unto God than unto us, she is his, he will revenge, he will deliver. Seeing a lawful way for us unto these things appeareth not, let us bear it as we may,

and let us commit unto God the matter which belongeth altogether unto him. Neither can a sheep be taken away, nor hogs be lost without he himself will: neither by tyrants, no nor yet by the devil, as we may perceive by the book of Job, and by the Gospel of Mark.

21. To be short: Because powers be of God, tyranny must be abidden. And in the 9th chapter of Daniel, when the Prophet would begin to speak of this matter, he straightway said: And the word went forth. And the wisdom of God speaketh in Solomon, By me kings do reign. And because thou shouldest not think that he speaketh only of lawful kings, he also maketh mention of tyrants. But if thou affirm that it must be there interpreted in the good part, let it not be forgotten which is written in the book of Job, that for the sins of the people a hypocrite doth reign: albeit that according to the Hebrew truth, that place might be otherwise understood. Also Christ plainly answered unto the president of the Romans, who exercised tyranny in Judea: Thou shouldest have no power at all against me, unless it were given thee from above. Wherefore seeing thou art certain, that tyrants also do reign by the will of God, thou when thou art pressed with their yoke or injuries shalt thus reason with thyself: Unless that God would have me to suffer these things, either he would by his power have delivered me from this injury after I was fallen thereinto, or else he would have turned away the same, least I should have run into it. Either of both was easy to be done of him: but seeing he hath done neither, now am I certain of his will, I patiently suffer this hand of his. And thou being thus certified, thou wilt not attempt or endeavor anything seditiously in the Commonwealth. Wherefore thou must appeal only unto the tribunal seat of God, when there is no other superior or greater power given whom thy Tyrant is to obey. For if a greater were, there should be no let but that thou mightest fly unto him: even as

Paul, who from the judgment seat of Jerusalem appealed unto Caesar. Let all godly men therefore persuade themselves of this, that their forces are discharged without reproach from the raising of troubles in the Commonwealth, in that respect that they would by violence do anything against the public Magistrate of what condition soever he be. And when they pretend an offending, an abusing and such like, of wife, of daughter, or sister, and that they would have her to be delivered from filthiness, from the sword, and from violence: let them always have that saying before their eyes: We must not do evil that good may come thereof. Those things which thou mayest and are lawful for thee to do, do them faithfully. Admonish a tyrant, desire him and neglect not those things which thou shalt think will further thy business, and most carefully commit the matter unto God.

21. But now it seemeth good to treat wherefore tyrants be so stirred up against godly men and against the Gospel. Paul in the 2nd chapter to the Ephesians: The prince of the world (saith he) worketh with efficacy in the children of disobedience: even as godly men are moved in the holy Ghost. By which place it is manifestly gathered, that wicked men be instruments which the devil useth for the execution of his fury. And moreover unto the Devil is given power against the Saints, although the same be repressed and bridled within certain bounds and limits, according as unto the Lord it hath seemed profitable for his. For this cause doth the Devil rage in his own members, that he may be a hindrance unto God and to the Gospel. And therefore doth God permit these things, to the intent that the excellent victories of Martyrs may appear, and that the Church no less than the world may have her excellent men. So then thou understandest for what end or purpose God suffereth these things to be done. Assuredly it is no marvel that the Devil rageth against the Gospel, because through it, he is spoiled by

Christ: For the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to all them that believe.

23. There remaineth a doubt, why God doth prosper Tyrants which be altogether cruel and wicked: who have had sometime such prosperous successes as their Kingdoms have been advanced to most ample Monarchies. As it is manifest by Romulus, Cyrus, Philip, and Alexander of Macedonia: which even of Ethnic Historiographers, are noted to have been most violent and unjust. First as touching these Monarchies, how they have grown, this shall be imputed the cause: that in the world there is a certain conjunction between causes and effects, firmly appointed by the institution of God, which cannot easily be changed: nay rather it seems many times to take place. Wherefore those Princes or people which have attained and kept these studies and Arts of government which are of force; as well to increase as amplify dominion and Empire, have obtained this good success. For present example, let us speak of the Romans. They (as the histories declare, and as Augustine testifieth) might get themselves so great power, because they had those things by which it hath been usually obtained. First they had a desire of praise, not in very deed altogether false and counterfeit, namely such as thereby they might approve themselves sound and just Judges. Moreover they were liberal of money: yea and add, if ye will, that they were oftentimes contemners of the same, and desirous of glory. Which glory notwithstanding they ascribed to their country in general: which they so loved, as they would have it for a long time to be free, but evermore to be the Lady of other countries. And by Virgil is set forth that excellent property of the Romans: To spare the subjects, and to vanquish the proud.

24. They suffered not themselves to be weakened with delights and pleasures: neither set they their mind upon heaping of riches. Besides this,

there was a patient enduring of labors, and also a discipline of war. They polled not their subjects, but protected them. They wasted not their money upon stage players, Jesters, Dicing, Harlots, or haunting of victualing houses. They obtained not their offices by guile, by deceits, or by ill practices: but by honest means: whereby at home they used great diligence, and abroad a just government. They gave counsel freely, taking heed least their mind should be subject to lusts and vices. Wherefore, seeing they had so excellent studies, virtues and faculties, they easily obtained by nature to bear rule over others. For such a conjunction and linking together in the world is ordained by God, as of such causes (unless he himself let it), those things do always or for the most part follow. Howbeit I deny not, but that in the commonwealth of Rome, there were many vices also, seeing the people was constrained sundry times to avoid from the Tyranny of the Fathers: Albeit that even in those times they had some excellent active and valiant men which tempered and corrected such vices. But afterward when the Empire was obtained, when vices had exceedingly prevailed, vices were supported together with the very hugeness of so great a kingdom, and people and nobility. So notwithstanding, that they themselves abused so great an Empire, yet God did both punish the world and the infinite wickedness thereof. And the Church was wonderfully increased with witnesses, and heaven with Saints. There be moreover other causes, (as unto us unknown, so most just) for the which God suffereth these things to happen. The Roman Empire at the length gave peace unto the Church. In the Monarchy of the Persians, the people of Israel was restored into their own country. And while Nebuchadnezzar enjoyed the kingdom of the Chaldeans, the name of God was published and spread abroad among the Gentiles. Under the kings of Macedonia the holy Scriptures were translated

out of the Hebrew into the Greek tongue while Ptolomaeus did bear rule in Egypt. And thus shalt thou evermore find, that God very well knoweth how to use an evil thing.

The end of the fourth Part.

APPENDIX. Scripture References.

In the original edition of this book, there were a considerable amount of scripture references in the margins. They have been listed here. Duplicate scripture references within a specific chapter have been omitted.

A good resource for using these references electronically, is to visit Blue Letter Bible at www.blueletterbible.org and utilize their "Multiple Verse Retrieval" tool. Doing so will allow you to paste in an entire section of references and retrieve the whole verses, without having to look them up individually.

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